

Celebrating a Wisconsin Femsem Tradition

on the occasion of the long sabbatical for

Myra Marx Ferree

Superfemsem: January 25, 2019 #supfemsem

A compendium of self-introductions and abstracts organized by sessions, with page numbers:

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Kathrin Zippel, Professor of Sociology, Northeastern University, k.zippel@northeastern.edu
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My research engages three separate but interrelated fields. First, as a sociologist of gender I seek to understand gender inequalities and discrimination in academia and other workplace organizations. Second, as a political sociologist I explore how activism and organizational, political, or legal reforms can improve gender equity and inclusion in these organizations. Third, as a scholar of globalization, I use a comparative, intersectional lens to explain how the social, political, and economic context shapes gender equality reform efforts, particularly in globalization and restructuring of (welfare) states in the United States, European Union (EU), and Germany. My multiple methods research integrates these three and seeks to advance diversity, equity, and inclusion by contributing to sociological and interdisciplinary scholarship on gender, science, and higher education as well as comparative workplace policy (discrimination, sexual harassment, and work-family conflicts).

My book ***The Politics of Sexual Harassment in the United States, the European Union and Germany*** (Cambridge University Press) explored the globalization and diffusion of the concept of sexual harassment from the US to Europe, and the different paths countries have embarked on to change employers' practices and the culture in the workplace.

My most recent book explores gender and global transformations of science and education, entitled ***Women in Global Science: Advancing Careers through International Collaboration*** (Stanford University Press). I argue that global science is the new frontier for women, providing both opportunities and challenges as gender shapes the dynamics and practices of international research.

What do we talk about when we talk about women and science? Framing problems and solutions in the EU, US and UN

My current project with Myra looks at globalization and gender in university reform movements from a comparative, political sociological perspective. We are exploring gender equality (policy) reforms in higher education in the United States, the EU, and the United Nations. We are currently examine discourses of gender equality in over 100 reports on gender & science with a combination of qualitative data analyses and computational methods including computer assisted text analysis, structural topic model.

Diffusion of ideas of gender equity interventions through networks of U.S. universities

I am also working on an exploratory study the evolution and structure of the NSF funded ADVANCE network with an interdisciplinary network analysis in order to provide insights into how ADVANCE ideas on systemic equity-enhancement have spread across universities. We will use computational methods including computer assisted text analysis. See abstract

https://www.nsf.gov/awardsearch/showAward?AWD_ID=1836671&HistoricalAwards=false

- I have served as co-PI of Northeastern's National Science Foundation ADVANCE Institutional Transformation grant and would be delighted to speak on gender, science & academia issues more broadly including improving gender equality in hiring & climate, as well as how to do international collaborations, etc..
- If you have any suggestions for speakers on gender & Europe to the US, I am delighted to coordinate/cooperate. I can suggest them to our speakers' series at Northeastern in Boston & the Social Exclusion and Inclusion Seminar at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies to Harvard University which I co-chair.
- I am a Humboldtian and DAAD Alumni, so happy to talk to you about how to apply to these organizations to finance research stays in Germany.

Feminist and leftist responses to Permanent Austerity in Ireland: Coalition, Contest and Co-optation.

Pauline Cullen (Sociology Maynooth University, National University of Ireland)

<https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/people/pauline-cullen#3>

Pauline Cullen is a Lecturer in Sociology and Politics in the Department of Sociology, Maynooth University, National University of Ireland. Her research examines civil society mobilization on social justice and gender equality at national and European Union level, women's movements and gender and political representation. published in the *Journal of Civil Society, Social Movement Studies, Gender Work and Organization, Media, Culture and Society and Politics & Gender*

This research explores patterns of coalition and contest shaping feminist and leftist resistance to permanent austerity in Ireland. Ireland has entered into a period of economic recovery yet high rates of family homelessness, child poverty and deficits in public services suggest an uneven and gendered experience of 'recovery' indicative of permanent austerity. An absence of hard right populism and overt anti-immigrant sentiment marks Ireland as distinctive in European terms, while a micro political form of populism operates on the right and the left in league with forms of localism, clientelism and patriarchy compatible with the broadly centrist parties that hold political power. Social conservatism around distributional politics and the state's ideological commitment to social disinvestment in turn limit opportunities for social movement mobilization and create an inhospitable political context for complex intersectional claims.

Feminist actors, like other civil society groups have been weakened by the resource deficits and contraction of political space associated with austerity that lead to strategies of survival and adaptation. Over the last decade feminist leadership and focus has been less on socio economic issues and more on bio-politics evident in the 2017-2018 successful campaign to repeal the constitutional ban on abortion. This campaign, supported by leftist forces, neutralized specific claims including on distributional issues to attract rural, middle class and non-feminist constituents seen as essential for electoral support and in turn marginalized working class and minority women.

In this paper we assess recent coalitional work between leftist and feminist groups on permanent austerity through three diverse case studies on family homelessness, pension cuts and equality proofing. Patterns of coalition are shaped by factors including: the absence of a class distributional agenda in Irish politics, a dearth of trade union feminism, the responsive nature of the political system to populist messaging and the tendency of left-wing populism to co-opt female labour in campaigns yet dismiss feminist justice claims as divisive. We find in continuity with earlier forms of anti-austerity protest, in the use of maternal and gender essentialist framing and campaigns directed by leftist political formations and larger social policy NGOs with feminist actors at times side-lined. Conflicts arise as state feminist support for advances in gender recognition and bio politics affords the state political cover as gender progressive. At the same time the nature of collaboration dilutes the feminist project as it creates forms of exclusion where not all women feel included.

Feminist collaboration with the state results in a lesser focus or leverage on distributional issues which in turn contributes to an indifference to and or rejection of the state feminist actors and feminist analysis by both leftist forces and progressive NGO's. However, we also note several points of manoeuvre for coalitional work around the financialization of public services. Such mobilization involves networks of younger and older women that secured a repeal of abortion and includes how social and body politics are intertwined. Other opportunities include gendering of the agenda and analysis of left political economy alternatives through work with think-tanks and trade unions and the insertion of feminist frameworks in feminized occupational labour campaigns for nurses, teachers and care workers.

Madeleine Pape

Papers and research descriptions at <http://www.madeleinepape.com/>

[Madeleine Pape](#) is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison whose research and teaching interests include gender, Science and Technology Studies (STS), health and medicine, political sociology, organizations, socio-legal studies, and physical cultural studies. Pape's research agenda is motivated by feminist theories of gender, knowledge, and institutional change, which she extends to the study of embodied difference. Pape's dissertation, *Inclusion and Exclusion: Institutional Reproductions of Sex and Gender*, examines how practices of regulation and rule-making in US biomedicine and international sport promote sex as binary, biological, and distinct from gender. In addition, she investigates how such practices suppress alternative accounts of gender and sex as complex, dynamic, and entangled. Building on her experiences as an elite 800m runner, Pape has engaged in extensive advocacy work around the regulation of women athletes with high testosterone, including serving as a witness in two appeals to the Court of Arbitration for Sport.

Gender Segregation and Trajectories of Organizational Change: Explaining the Under-Representation of Women in Leadership

This paper offers an account of organizational change to explain why women tend to be under-represented in leadership compared to non-leadership positions. I argue that the presence or absence of gender segregation is a key factor underpinning these divergent trajectories, leading to a distinction between change that accommodates women's participation in segregated roles and that which transforms gendered organizations by challenging constructions of binary difference between women and men. I offer a case study of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) from 1967-1995 to explore how the organizational pathways of women leaders and non-leaders diverged over time. In considering how the IOC was able to accommodate women on the sporting field while justifying their exclusion from leadership, I show that this is partially explained by the presence of formally codified rules and procedures for women athletes. However, a key preliminary condition was the construction of women as athletically able but inferior to men and leadership as gender-neutral and meritocratic. This discursive and structural divergence was legitimized by external stakeholders, who were less willing to mobilize in support of women leaders, since their presence in the unsegregated sphere of leadership would undermine the logic of binary gender difference and masculine superiority.

Shauna Morimoto, University of Arkansas

On the Academic Borderlands: Being Off White and Intersectional Privilege

In the context of policies for gender equity in STEM fields in higher education, the U.S. has turned to incorporating intersectional policies. In doing so, they seek to continue to increase diversity in STEM while also grappling with the privileging of white women in academic contexts. The current study considers the implications of such policymaking by examining the position of Asian and Asian American women as non-underrepresented minority women. From the ameliorative perspective, Asian and Asian American women straddle the privileges of being over-represented in STEM fields compared to non-Asian women, but are also racially marked as “different.” Specifically, in science fields, racially Asian women lack male privileges of being naturally able to understand math and science, but they can, at once, “recoup” this privilege through racial stereotypes. At the same time, however, race-gender assumptions preclude them from the aggression that is typically associated with academic success (and masculinity). Importantly, Asian women’s status in STEM disciplines is different than of all other women because they are more likely to be in STEM fields and academic positions. Thus, I examine “model minority” assumptions that go along with being Asian—hardworking, deferent, and good at math and science—in the context of white women’s gendered but racially unmarked experiences. In this context, I then turn to consider the context of a globalizing workforce and economy and how ethnicity maps on to questions of race for Asian Americans.

Theoretically, I discuss the privilege of white women that is at the heart of much intersectional theorizing. Extending this discussion, I look to those who are “off-white” and the privileges and penalties of these academic borderlands. My concern, of course, is with respect to how categories of race and gender can inform and help move praxis, social movement, and policy towards greater equity.

For biographical info and research, please see:

[University of Arkansas, Shauna Morimoto](#)

Johanna S. Quinn

Johannaquinn.com

Johanna Quinn is a Postdoctoral Fellow for Research on Youth Thriving and Evaluation (RYTE Institute) at Montclair State University, where she directs the qualitative research activities for the institute. She completed her doctorate in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2017. Her research examines the role K-12 schools play in creating, sustaining, and ameliorating racial, class, and gender inequalities, and how out-of-school programs build youth's social and emotional capabilities. Her research appears in *Gender, Work, and Organizations* and *Research in Human Development*. Over the course of her academic and professional career, Johanna has spent more than ten years researching and working in public schools. Most recently she conducted evaluation research of a social/emotional learning program, collecting data in over 60 New York City elementary schools. She is a founding member of Baychester Middle School in the Bronx and is inspired to research, write, and teach about the ways that race, class, and gender intersect in people's lived experiences.

Sarah A. Robert, PhD

Associate Professor

University at Buffalo's Graduate School of Education

Sarah A. Roberts' research focuses on how teachers enact policy and how teachers' work is transformed in the process. She is particularly concerned with all the work teachers do in addition to facilitating learning in the classroom. She blends ethnography with archival research, policy and media analysis to theorize policy enactment in local contexts with attention to historical and contemporary power dynamics, especially gender. She aims to mediate the often-diverging interpretations of what "problems" a policy should address and forge a more inclusive policy making process to bring forth equity. Her work has centered on Argentina for the past two decades, examining gender dynamics in textbooks, teachers' work, school food, and national education reform. She is currently conducting an ethnography of teachers' work in the United States. While she is from the United States, this is a shift in research context and the expertise that comes with it.

ABSTRACT:

My current project is an ethnography that critically examines US-based neoliberal education reform in a high-poverty, post-industrial context. While the US federal government's power over local schools has grown exponentially with the last two administrations, US schools have been locally controlled for centuries. I (again) examine the global-to-local movement of reform discourses and practices. I build on my previous contributions to research on gender, teachers' work, and education policy in 3 new and important ways. First, I compare and contrast teachers' reform enactment with multiple and competing groups. Public education requires more than teachers to educate youth. I have been collecting data that brings to the fore the relationships of those multiple stakeholders (e.g., parents, elected officials, community groups and corporations). Second, I frame the reform process in terms of *clientelism* (the exchange of goods for political support or projects). Most often applied to discuss Latin American politics, my fieldwork reveals that same political system in the Northern Hemisphere, complicating understandings of education reform politics. Third, historic relationships of power based on race, class, and gender must be critiqued, building an intersectional focus to my research. The outcome of this study will be my fourth book, tentatively titled, *Lay down my burden: Neoliberalism, Clientelism, and Education Reform in the United States*.

Rachel Fish

Bio:

Rachel Fish is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Teaching and Learning at New York University, as well as an affiliated faculty member in Sociology of Education and in the Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of Schools. She studies how schools exacerbate and ameliorate inequality by race, gender, socioeconomic status, and linguistic background, focusing on sorting processes such as special and gifted education. This work explores issues including the social construction of disability and giftedness, teachers' racialized and gendered perceptions of students, and parent advocacy as a mechanism of inequality. Fish uses multiple methods, including experimental and quasi-experimental methods, observational data analyses, and interviews. She received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, her M.A.T. in Special Education from Western New Mexico University, and her A.B. in Sociology from Bryn Mawr College. Prior to joining NYU, Fish was a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Notre Dame, and taught students with disabilities and giftedness in northwestern New Mexico.

Abstract:

In this paper, I ask how school context matters for the salience of racial stereotypes and biased perceptions by teachers. I use a factorial vignette survey to experimentally test for racial and gender bias in teachers' perceptions of students' skills and behaviors, relying on a sample of teacher-respondents from schools of varying racial compositions. I find that for most of the fictional students, teachers' perceptions of student skills and behaviors largely align with stereotypes in the context of *racial distinctiveness*; boys of color are seen as more behaviorally problematic, White boys are seen as having higher academic competence, and White girls are seen as compliant in schools where they are in the racial minority. However, teachers' perceptions of girls of color follow a different pattern, in which both their academic and behavioral challenges are seen as behaviorally problematic in school with more peers of color. This aligns with research on the policing of Black girls' behavior in schools with predominantly children of color. Findings have implications for understanding racial inequality in schools, and also for understanding the mechanisms of racial bias more broadly.

Anne Genereux

University of Wisconsin, Sociology, ABD

Adolescent Healthy Relationship Education

Emerging over the last 30 years, adolescent healthy relationship education focuses on teaching characteristics of healthy relationships and effective communication skills. Despite this overarching focus, healthy relationship programming developed from three distinct, yet related, policy and program areas: teen dating violence prevention, youth relationship education, and comprehensive sex education. These program areas see healthy relationship education as the answer to different problems. Teen dating violence prevention programs focus on the problem of interpersonal violence and related risk behaviors. Youth relationship education programs seek to address the decline of marriage and the increase of divorce and non-marital childbearing. Comprehensive sex education programs seek to remedy a lack of accurate information about reproductive and sexual health. These different conceptualizations of the 'problem' are political and evident in the history, funding, and curriculum of the program areas. This presentation maps out the three distinct lineages and poses the question of how politics influences adolescent healthy relationship education.

Julia McQuillan

Are we transformed yet? Institutional Gender change with whole people

Abstract

Can concerted efforts change STEM academic departments to increase the proportion of women, and can the changes be sustained without the concerted efforts? To answer this question, this quick presentation will show one slide – the proportion of women in STEM and NON-STEM departments before, during, and after an intensive, multi-intervention, five year set of efforts. In addition, this presentation will raise the question – can we have a sociological theory of changing gender structures to create more inclusion and equity in historically male dominated settings that incorporates the challenges and opportunities of knowing individuals who are much more than gender statuses? In other words, can we remodel historically masculine settings to increase gender equity while working with the people who are the focus of change? How can we use theories that make “gender” abstract at the levels of ideas, interactions, and institutions and simultaneously work with whole people who are more than signifiers of sex categories? Do we need specific tools for doing gender transformation work when we are part of the institution?

Dr. Julia McQuillan is Professor and Chair of Sociology at the University of Nebraska. She earned her Ph.D. in Sociology in May of 1998 from the University of Connecticut and started her first and only faculty position at the University of Nebraska in the same year. As a co-principal investigator on the ADVANCE-Nebraska NSF grant (<http://advance.unl.edu/>), she has brought sociological perspectives to efforts to recruit, retain, and promote women in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) departments. Her research focuses on social inequality, with special emphasis on changing structures and practices to increase equity and wellbeing. She was fortunate to work with the team (including Lynn White, David Johnson, Arthur L. Greil, Mary Casey Jacobs, Naomi Lacy, and Laurie Schauble) who created the two-wave, public use dataset called the *National Survey of Fertility Barriers*. She also combined her interests in social inequality and health to work on informal science education as a vehicle for engaging youth with science and meaningful careers.

She led the learning science research for the National Institutes of Health Science Education Partnership Award (SEPA) with Dr. Judy Diamond and Charles Woods on the “Biology of Human.” This project emerged from prior collaboration on the “World of Viruses” project (<http://worldofviruses.unl.edu/>). Also with team members Patricia Wonch Hill and Amy Spiegel they conducted a four-wave Science Identity Study on middle-school youth. In addition to publications from this project, she was honored that the TEDxYouthLincoln team (<http://www.tedxlincoln.com/>) invited her to give a talk (“How do we find science kinds of people?”) at the 2017 youth event. She is leading a new SEPA project, Worlds of Connections ([www. Worldsofconnections.com](http://www.worldsofconnections.com)) that will engage youth with network science for health research for bio-behavioral and biomedical careers.

Her publications are available, with all University of Nebraska Sociology publications, in the university digital commons archive: <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/sociologyfacpub/> and her faculty webpage is <https://soc.unl.edu/julia-mcquillan>

Taylan Acar is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

After receiving his PhD degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2016, Acar spent one year at the Institute for Sociology at the University of Tübingen as a Postdoctoral Researcher. Acar has been working on the educational disadvantages and educational aspirations of immigrant students in the German context. Currently, he is working on the transformation in family processes in Turkey; specifically, the decline in fertility rates and postponement of the first-time women get married and bear children.

<http://soc.boun.edu.tr/people.php?id=48>

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Taylan_Acar

Changing Family Processes in Turkey: Fertility and Marriage

Abstract:

The aim of this project is to understand the mechanisms of the changes in the family processes in Turkey. Specifically, I aim to examine the recent declines in fertility rates and postponement of the first-time people get married and bear children. It is important to examine these changes in Turkish families, because the contemporary changes in these areas are puzzling from social scientific and demographic perspectives:

- 1) Challenging the premises of demographic transition theory, Turkey does not go through an industrialization and we do not witness dramatic increases in women's labor market participation, which would translate into these changes in familial processes.
- 2) The political authority becomes more and more social conservative on the issues of women's reproductive rights and contraceptive use, challenging a cultural understanding for what we observe today.

Despite this socioeconomic and political environment, the total fertility rate in Turkey declined below replacement level of 2.1 children per women last year: 2.07 (TUIK, 2018). In addition, the mean age of first marriage for women increased from 20.8 years in 2008 to 24.6 in 2017. The goal of this project is to examine mechanisms behind these drastic changes in the Turkish family formation processes.

The method of the project relies on survey data. First of all, I will use the 2008 & 2013 Turkish Demography and Health Surveys (TDHS) to examine the overall patterns of changes in family processes in the past two decades. Then I will collect my own data in order to access to more detailed information about how women perceive, assess and understand their familial experiences. I anticipate the new data would provide me a deeper understanding of the mechanisms behind changes in the Turkish family processes; it would also allow me test a richer set of hypotheses that would otherwise not be available with the TDHS data.

Kristen Springer is unfortunately dealing with an urgent and serious family health crisis and can't participate in any way unless (by some miracle) she is able to briefly skype in.

She is Associate Professor and Under Graduate Director of Sociology at Rutgers University (PhD, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006; MA, Yale University, 2000; MPH, Emory University, 1997; BS, University of California at Santa Cruz).

Her current scholarship focuses on the health effects of gendered norms and family dynamics among older adults. Specifically, most of her research centers on three related areas: 1) long-term health effects of childhood abuse; 2) marital income dynamics and men's health; and 3) masculinity ideals, socioeconomic status, and health outcomes. She has also begun extending this agenda to theorize and model the biological and biosocial processes underlying these substantive areas. She has research published in journals including *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *Gender & Society*, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *Social Science & Medicine*, and *Social Science Research*. Professor Springer's research has also been featured in national and international news sources including *ABC News*, *LA Times*, *The New York Times*, *US News & World Report*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today*.

Her website is: <http://www.kristenwspringer.com/>

Yangsun “Sun” Hong (sunhong@unm.edu) is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication & Journalism and the combined B.A./M.D. degree program at the University of New Mexico.

Her research focuses on the relationship between women’s intersectional positions, socially situated nature of communication, and the impact of communication experience on behavior. She works on two complementary lines of research at the center of health and political communication. How does communication influence social and psychosocial determinants of health and social/political behavior for women? How can mass media and communication improve health and sociopolitical wellbeing among marginalized groups?

Incorporating Intersectionality into Health Communication Research

This research identifies the mechanisms through which interlocking social identities and the systems of oppression are reflected by social contextual and psychosocial factors leading to health prevention behavior by shaping experience of stigma and communication inequalities. I specify a model in the context of awareness and adoption of a new HIV prevention method, PrEP (Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis), among low income black women living in Washington, D.C. and Atlanta who have a risk of HIV infection. This study shows that experiences of everyday discrimination constrain their chances to build and maintain social contextual opportunities to have social connections to communicate health, to build trust in medical services, and obtain social support. This study also finds that absence of state policy for minority groups plays a role as structural stigma that has negative impact on the social contextual predictors for HIV prevention behaviors such as information seeking and adoption among low income black women. Finally, my research suggests a media intervention strategy with the goal of reducing social barriers for PrEP awareness and adoption among marginalized women. Based on the social influence of mass media, this study explores the ways in which mass media changes social norms and the social stigma concerning PrEP uptake and motivates communicative and community actions regarding HIV prevention.

Gina Marie Longo, PhD

University of Wisconsin-Madison

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND NATIONAL SECURITY RISKS: HOW RACE SHAPES THE POLICING OF IMMIGRANT MEN OF COLOR IN U.S. SPOUSAL REUNIFICATION CASES

ABSTRACT

When a U.S. citizen petitions for a visa for a non-citizen spouse, U.S. immigration investigates the couple to determine if the relationship is ‘genuine’ or ‘fraudulent’ (i.e. for immigration papers). This study is an analysis of how race and gender are enacted when assessing the validity of relationships for immigration for foreign, non-white husbands and U.S. citizen women petitioners. The evidence combines an online ethnography and textual analysis of a large on-line immigration forum, where U.S. citizen women who are petitioning for “green-cards” for men of color from mid-developing countries and are seeking advice from similar others about the potential obstacles to their petitions’ success. I argue that these conversations about marriage fraud reveal how ideas about US men of color are applied to Black African men to construct them as a racial threat to the nation and reconstitute intersectional exclusions that are no longer explicitly named in US immigration law. I show that the construction of the marriage fraud is based on a racialized and gendered discourse that emphasizes racial purity and immigrant men’s masculinity and sexuality when proving relationship genuineness. As forum-members discuss their experiences with immigration, they highlight intersectionally racialized stereotypes and narratives about men of color to explain how and why immigration officials closely police these foreign men of color.

BIO

Gina Marie is a first-generation college graduate from South Florida. She began her academic career in community college in her hometown of Boca Raton. Upon receiving her Associates Degree in Liberal Arts, she attended Florida Atlantic University where she obtained her B.A. and then her Master’s degree in Political Science. Gina began pursuing her PhD from the University of Wisconsin, Madison’s Department of Sociology in August 2009. Despite financial hardship and dyslexia, she graduated with her doctoral degree in August 2018, where she worked with Myra Marx Ferree and Pamela Oliver.

Currently, she works as a post-doctoral researcher on Tonya Brito’s Access to Justice Project at the University of Wisconsin, Madison’s Law School, which explores the challenges to self-representation that low-income, non-custodial parents experience throughout child support court. In Fall of 2019, she will be joining the Department of Sociology at Virginia Commonwealth University as an Assistant Professor specializing in Digital Sociology. She can be found at www.ginamarielongo.com

During her time at UW, she won five teaching awards, which includes the student-nominated University Housing Honored Instructors Award. As part of her service work, she has participated in the First Year Experience SOAR Program and has worked with organizations such as UW Campus Women’s Center and the Arabic Language and Culture Club to promote diversity and inclusion on campus.

ANNALIESE GRANT

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Annaliese is a PhD student in the sociology department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her interests include gender, family, class, media, mixed methods, and interpersonal relationships.

Girls Work, Too: Structures of Work for Women and Girls in Financially Unstable White Families

A wide range of scholarly work investigates the crucial roles women's emotional and physical labor has in the family, with women often doing more physical tasks in the home and more emotional and unpaid labor in general. Most of this literature looks exclusively at the labor adult women engage in, assuming the traditional generationally-specific structure in which adults work and children are simply the targets and/or beneficiaries of that work. Parents work and children get cared for. However, research on low-income families suggests that a slightly different model may also exist, in which children, too, engage in family labor from ages much younger than the middle-class norm. This research looks at how work in financially unstable white families is distributed between women and girls of all ages in a family structure, and when and how girls begin performing labor in the family. To answer these questions, this research focuses on 40 interviews from mothers and their adult daughters, recounting the history of work women and girls performed inside and outside the family. With girls who begin "working" in some capacity for the family as young as 6 years old, this work hopes to make visible the kinds of labor in which girls from low-income and financially unstable families engage and perhaps point us toward a re-conception of the scope of women's work from an intersectional perspective.

Maria J. Azocar

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I am a doctoral candidate in the University of Wisconsin-Madison Department of Sociology. My research interests are at the intersection of the sociology of expertise, sociology of professions, sociology of law, and the sociology of gender. In my research I employ qualitative research methods, ranging from content analysis, in-depth interviews to ethnography.

I study how professional groups construct their expert knowledge and how power differentials matter in that process. From an intersectional perspective, I study the consequences of engendering expertise not only for professional groups, but also for how state institutions respond to social needs of the population.

In my previous research, I examined how lawyers in Chile competed for the recognition of their gendered expertise in policy-making processes over criminal law reforms and family law reforms. Also, I have studied the construction of expertise on lawyers' every-day practices, by exploring family judges' emotion work in courts. For my doctoral dissertation, I am studying the policy debates on pension reform in Chile and how economists in interaction with lawyers and social scientists have constructed the boundaries of their expertise. Economists have made knowledge claims that gendered their opponents, technologies, claims, affects, and the alliances they have established. By looking at the economists' inter and intra professional struggles in an intersectional way, my study shows it to be not only about gender but simultaneously also about class, generation and internationalization as power relations.

Other recent research focuses on the use of numbers as a technology of governance (with Jeanne Hersant) and policy debates on gender violence in Chile (with Hillary Hiner).

My work has been published in *Gender & Society*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Sociology Compass*, *Latin American Perspectives*, and *Revista de Derecho (Valdivia) Chile*.

I received my M.A. degree in Sociology at UW-Madison and my B.A. degree in Sociology at the Universidad Catolica of Chile. I have developed much of my academic career in the University of Diego Portales (Chile) working on interdisciplinary policy projects.

As an activist, I am involved on queer activism initiatives in Chile and in projects promoting diversity in the academia.

[Pilar Gonalons-Pons](#) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania.

She works on the political economy of reproductive labor. Her research examines how work, families, and public policies structure economic inequalities, with a particular focus on the organization and gendering of reproductive labor, both paid and unpaid. Her studies contribute to debates about the uneven pace of change in gender inequalities, the role of family processes in exacerbating inequalities, and the relevance of public policies mediating these processes.

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BIO

Mieke Verloo is Professor of Comparative Politics and Inequality Issues at Radboud University in the Netherlands, and Non-Residential Permanent Fellow at the IWM, Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna.

She is the winner of the 2015 ECPG Gender and Politics Career Achievement Award.

She was Scientific Director of large research projects on gender equality policymaking in Europe (see www.mageeq.net and www.quing.eu). Within the MAGEEQ project, she and her team focused on gender equality as an explicit task of the European Union, unpacking the multiple meanings of gender equality in the policies of six Member States. The MAGEEQ research showed a large variety in the meaning and motivation for gender equality policies across the West, South and East of Europe. The MAGEEQ Critical Frame Analysis methodology also proved to be suitable for investigating different policy realms, both those that barely grasp the notion of gender, and those in which gender equality or gender mainstreaming is at the core of policy attention. In the QUING project, Prof Verloo and her team performed a larger comparative analysis of gender+ equality policies in 29 Member States of the EU and worked on generating new theory on discursive politics. QUING also expanded the study of equality infrastructures in the analysis of gender equality policymaking, particularly on the relationship between gender inequalities and inequalities originating in ethnicity, class, religion or sexuality. The research showed a shift from gender only equality policies to a wide variety of forms of engagement with intersectionality in anti-discrimination and policy agencies and in civil society consultation.

Mieke Verloo has extensive consultancy and training experience on gender mainstreaming and intersectionality for several European governments and international institutions, as well as being a leading innovative force in developing Gender Impact Assessment instruments, policy strategies such as Gender Mainstreaming and methodologies such as Critical Frame Analysis.

Mieke Verloo's latest research focuses on opposition to gender equality from an intersectional perspective in a context of troubles with democracy. Based on new theoretical thinking, and linking with interested and engaged European scholars, she has organised conference panels and workshops since 2015 on this 'new' phenomenon, leading to the edited volume on Varieties of opposition to gender equality in Europe published by Routledge (2018), and the special issue 'The feminist project under threat in Europe' in Politics and Governance, co-edited with David Paternotte.

Her recent work is on the complex relationship between democracy and intersectional feminist politics.

ABSTRACT

"Still struggling with gender equality and intersectionality: at the Special SuperFemSem in Madison for Myra Marx Ferree, 25 January 2019"

Gender and feminism have become newly salient in ways that are to some degree surprising in the last few years. The level of contestation about gender and feminism has gone up, even in Europe. This leads me to question once more: What then is gender equality? What should it be? And how can we use the scholarship on intersectionality we have to better understand these troubled times?

MORGAN C. MATTHEWS

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Morgan C. Matthews is a Ph.D. student in sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her research interests include gender and politics, political representation, legislative institutions, and political parties. Her most recent projects unpack how the structure of partisanship in the United States affects gender inequalities in political representation. One project, currently under review, draws on interviews with state legislators and longitudinal committee leadership data to explore how the structure of partisanship and majority rule in state legislatures diminishes women's access to political power through committee leadership positions. A new project (see abstract below) looks at how U.S. partisanship has been racialized and gendered in historical perspective. Morgan's work has appeared in *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* and The Society Pages' *Feminist Reflections* blog. Currently, Morgan is the website coordinator for the Sex & Gender section of the American Sociological Association. She received her B.A. in sociology from Dartmouth College in 2015 and her M.S. in sociology from UW-Madison in 2018.

WORKING ABSTRACT

The "Year of the Woman" is a popular discourse that marks years of dramatic gender change in electoral politics. Given the recurrence of this discourse – in 1992 and again in 2018 – it can be used to consider how "women's politics" is homogenized in the popular media and how the trajectory of race-gendered U.S. politics has evolved over the past quarter-century. This paper is based on a comparative content analysis of newspaper articles from the *New York Times* about the "Year of the Woman" from 1992 (n=71) and 2018 (n=56). Drawing on insights from theories of the racial and gendered state and intersectional approaches to politics, I find that this discourse became more race-gender critical between these election years as the narrative focus shifted from women as "outsider candidates" to women's activism and political resistance more broadly. Race-gendered struggles for state power through electoral politics face a new challenge that is evident from the comparative analysis of this recurrent discourse: In a more party-polarized political arena, women of color are being deployed strategically in discourses of conservative and progressive party politics. Based on this analysis, I discuss the implications of the evolution of race-gendered partisanship in the "Year of the Woman" discourses and suggest future directions for research on gender and partisanship through an intersectional lens.

Title: Sexual Citizenship in the Contradictory Age of Illiberalism

Presenter: Nancy A. Naples, Board of Trustees Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the University of Connecticut.

Background: Following a decade as a social worker in NYC working with and advocating for pregnant and parenting teen mothers, it is not a surprise that my early work focused on the welfare state and even less surprising that I was highly influenced by the work of feminist welfare state theories like Ann Orloff (early co-organizer of Fem Sem), June Jensen who I met at a conference held at UW Madison on Comparative Research on Gender and States. Other influences include feminist scholars Gwendolyn Mink, Julia O'Conner, Sheila Shaver, Sonya Michel, Molly Ladd-Taylor, Grace Chang, and Linda Gordon (who was also at UW Madison at that time); and, of course, Myra Marx Ferree who published my first two books (both of which took an intersectional approach to women's community activism and the state) in her Routledge book series on Perspectives on Gender.

Abstract: This presentation reports on a work-in-progress that has a long history. Through my commitment to an intersectional understanding of the welfare state and social movement activism directed at the state, I recognized the silence surrounding sexuality and the unquestioned heteronormative assumptions in feminist theories of the state. This led me to engage with the concept of sexual citizenship as an analytic frame that potentially offered a useful and flexible tool for linking diverse claims and disparate policy arenas as well as bringing sexuality into view. Liberal democracy is another taken-for-granted and privileged category within the broad-based feminist scholarship on the welfare state. My current work engages with feminist and queer approaches to the state as they land in the contemporary social context of so-called "illiberal" state formations.

Bio: Naples' research focuses on the intersection of gender, sexuality, race, political activism, and citizenship in comparative perspective. Her work has appeared in a wide range of journals including *Social Problems*, *Gender & Society*, *Feminist Economics*, *Social Justice*, *Social Politics*, and *Qualitative Sociology*. She is author of *Grassroots Warriors* and *Feminism and Method*. She is editor of *Community Activism and Feminist Politics: Organizing Across Gender, Race, and Class* and co-editor of *Teaching Feminist Activism: Lessons from the Field* (with Karen BOjar); *Border Politics: Social Movements, Collective Identities, and Globalization* (with Jennifer Bickham Mendez) and *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics* (with Manisha Desai). She is Editor-in-Chief of *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies* and Series Editor for *Praxis: Theory in Action* published by SUNY Press. She has served as president of SWS, SSSP, and ESS. Her awards include the Jessie Bernard Award, (ASA 2015); the Lee Founders Award, (SSSP 2014); the Feminist Mentor Award, (SWS 2011) and the Distinguished Feminist Lecturer Award, (SWS 2010). The book she co-edited with Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men* by Lionel Cantú, was co-winner of the Best Book Award from the Sexualities Section (ASA 2010).

Katrina Quisumbing King

University of Southern California

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Katrina Quisumbing King is a Provost's Postdoctoral Scholar at the University of Southern California. In fall 2020, she will join Northwestern University as an Assistant Professor of Sociology. Her research interests center on race and ethnicity, migration and citizenship, state-making, law and society, and theory. She studies racial classification and exclusion from a historical perspective that foregrounds the state's authority to manage populations. She is particularly interested in the ways state actors conceive of and make decisions around race and citizenship. Her research recenters empire as a key political formation. In the U.S. context, she focuses especially on how state actors define colonized populations and how these people fit into the U.S. racial order.

Professor Quisumbing King's research has been funded by the National Science Foundation and has received awards from the American Sociological Association's sections on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, Political Sociology, and Comparative Historical Sociology. She earned her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin – Madison in 2018. During the 2016-2017 academic year, she was a Provost's Predoctoral Fellow at MIT.

The Political Uses of Ambiguity: Statecraft and U.S. Empire in the Philippines, 1898-1946

A perennial question in the scholarship of the state asks how states rule and expand their capacity to do so. Within this field, scholars have paid special attention to activities that rationalize and build administrative capacity, known as legibility projects. I argue that alongside these legibility projects, state actors also use a technique given less attention, which I term institutionalized ambiguity. Using the case of U.S. imperial rule and decolonization of the Philippines, I introduce a framework for research on ambiguity and the state. I show how state actors resolve conflicts inherent to an empire state that masquerade as nation state by institutionalizing ambiguity in legal status. I detail how this ambiguity enabled an array of future legitimate decisions about the relationship of the colony to the metropole. U.S. politicians used ambiguity to define territory and membership in seemingly contradictory ways, to exclude colonial subjects from social and juridical citizenship, and to maintain territorial sovereignty over the archipelago. Overall, the institutionalized ambiguity of Philippine legal status enabled the persistence of inequality in citizenship, social welfare benefits, and geopolitical arrangements in the first half of the twentieth century. More generally, institutionalized ambiguity allows state actors to manage imperial conflicts over racial hierarchies and treat populations in differentiated ways all whilst maintaining state control.

Lauren Parnell Marino

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Lauren is a PhD student in the Development Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her research interests include gender, empowerment discourse, women's labor force participation, and international development. She is particularly interested in Uganda but is broadly interested in the African continent. Lauren studied Luganda as a FLAS Fellow and also spends time working in the university's African Studies Program. Before coming to Madison, Lauren worked in the international development sector, including time at Ashoka, Uganda Crafts, and the Interfaith Youth Core. She earned a Bachelor's degree with honors from Northwestern University in Social Policy, and a Master's degree in Gender, Globalization, and Rights from the National University of Ireland, Galway as a George J. Mitchell Scholar.

Abstract

Women's empowerment programming has become a priority in much of the international development sector. Much of women's empowerment discourse in the development sector posits that the simple fact of employment will generate women's empowerment. This reflects a view of empowerment as a binary state and presumes that increased access to resources like income will lead to empowerment. My research sees empowerment not as something people can possess, but rather as a linked set of circumstances which bring more meaningful choices under their control. Drawing on the work of Naila Kabeer, I understand empowerment to be a process through which people use their agency to convert their material and non-material resources into achievements. My research builds on the idea that women's experiences of empowerment are in part determined by the larger structures that govern their lives.

My research asks: *How does the structure of industries impact the empowerment of women working within them?* Using case studies of three industries: coffee, beer, and handicrafts, I will further explore: What types of resources develop for female workers from different industry structures? How does industrial structure mediate agency? And, what types of achievements become possible for women working within different structures?

Kellea Miller, PhD is a women's rights consultant with expertise in global grantmaking, monitoring and evaluation, and mixed-methods research. Since 2002, Kellea has worked for international nonprofit organizations and bilateral agencies, including Global Fund for Women, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, the International Accountability Project, UN Women, and Oxfam America. At UN Women, Kellea helped architect the Fund for Gender Equality, a \$65-million grant program to advance women's economic and political empowerment. From 2012 to 2015, she managed Astraea's LGBT Global Development Partnership, a groundbreaking initiative with USAID to advance LGBT human rights. She currently manages the Resourcing Feminist Movements initiative at AWID (Association for Women's Rights in Development). She holds dual degrees in Public Policy and Feminist Studies from Stanford University and a PhD in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin. Her academic research focuses on gender equality discourse, global feminist movements, and development financing. She can be found at kelleamiller.com.

Grantmaking As a Social Process:

Staged Model of Power in Grant Selection for Women's Rights

Most resource mobilization literature asks: What effect do funders and funding have on grant recipients? For example, studies of social change philanthropy show that, even when funders intend to support social movements, they professionalize and “defang” the organizations they support (Jenkins, 1998). Research on feminist NGOization, the professionalization, institutionalization, and proliferation of women's NGOs, affirm the constricting and deradicalizing effects that can come from seeking and securing grants (Alvarez, 1998; Bagić 2006). Few studies look beyond the outcomes of resource mobilization to the entirety of grantmaking processes and institutions.

In this presentation, I propose a framework to study grantmaking processes themselves, using the case of the Fund for Gender Equality, a women's rights grant program of UN Women. I extend current literature by exploring grantmaking as a *social process* in which different forms of power become salient at different moments in the grant cycle. I ask how power – from within and outside funding organizations – circumscribes grant decisions. I bring out of the shadows the effects of funders' implicit assumptions about how change happens and show how philanthropic power begins long before the allocation of grants.

Why do Autocrats Adopt Women's Rights? Contrasting the Maghreb and Middle East

By Aili Mari Tripp (in press, Cambridge University Press)

There are few issues as potent as women's rights that have drawn such large crowds into the streets in the Maghreb (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria), both for and against these rights. My forthcoming book asks why authoritarian regimes adopt women's rights. It answers this by contrasting the Maghreb and the Middle East to show that the Maghreb countries have adopted more gender reforms, and has done so more quickly, and more extensively than countries in the Middle East. It shows that these countries adopted these reforms for political purposes of expediency to stay in power, to keep extremist elements at bay, and to respond to popular pressures from women's movements, which pressed for reforms especially at critical junctures of social and political change. Leaders are also seeking to create an international image of modernity and progress that is tied to women's rights. Close cooperation between activists in the three countries resulted in a diffusion of goals and convergence of constitutional reforms.

This book, which is based on extensive field research in the three countries, draws also on an original database of legislative and constitutional gender reforms in the two regions and on examples of symbolic and ritual expression, signaling the centrality of women's rights in political discourse.

Biography

Aili Mari Tripp is Wangari Maathai Professor of Political Science and Gender & Women's Studies and Chair of the Department of Gender and Women's Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Tripp's research has focused on women and politics in Africa, women's movements in Africa, women and peacebuilding, transnational feminism, African politics (with particular reference to Uganda and Tanzania), and the informal economy in Africa. She has a book in press entitled *Why do Autocrats Adopt Women's Rights? Contrasting the Maghreb and Middle East* (Cambridge University Press), which is a comparative study of women's rights legal reform. She is also coordinating a related research project on Women and Peacebuilding in Africa, funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Foreign Ministry of Norway, involving research in northern Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan, Algeria, and Somalia. She recently has won awards from Fulbright, the American Academy in Berlin and the Center for Research on Gender and Women at the UW-Madison. She is author of several award-winning books, including *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa* (2015), *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime* (2010), *African Women's Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes* (2009) with Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kwesiga, and Alice Mungwa, and *Women and Politics in Uganda* (2000). Her first book was *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania* (1997). She has served as President of the African Studies Association and Vice President of the American Political Science Association.

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Gender in the Gun Violence Prevention Movement

Mary Bernstein, University of Connecticut

Abstract

In this presentation, I invite you to help me think through the best ways to conceptualize the relationship between gender and organizational dynamics, race, emotion, identity and strategy in gun violence prevention (GVP) activism. GVP activism is bifurcated along racial lines that roughly correspond to the daily gun violence that decimates urban communities and the mass shootings that characterize gun violence in suburban communities. Elsewhere, I examine why these types of gun violence are constructed as separate and unrelated, rather than as two subtypes that constitute a master category. In this presentation, I want to think through similarities and differences across these lines. For example, both urban and suburban groups deploy the identity of “mom” or “mother” as an emotional strategy to justify activism, mobilize constituents and facilitate changes in laws and policies as well as in cultural views and everyday practices. However, this strategic deployment of identity and emotion differs in the extent to which fear, grief, or anger is highlighted and men’s emotions are often ignored. Gender dynamics also influence groups not organized around the identity of mom/mother, in some cases substituting a mother’s fear and/or grief with emotions rooted in religious views about redemption and social justice or anger at government for failing to enact commonsense gun laws. Finally, gender affects the organizational dynamics as the moms/mothers’ groups tend to be directed in part by men and rank-and-file men commit to being “man enough to be a mom.”

MARY BERNSTEIN (Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut) publishes broadly in the fields of sexualities, social movements, politics, gender, and law. She is winner of the *American Sociological Association’s* 2017 Simon and Gagnon Lifetime Achievement Award for the Sociology of Sexualities and the Outstanding Article Award from the *Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements* (2009). She is co-editor of three books and her articles appear in numerous journals including the *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Annual Review of Sociology*, and *Gender & Society*. Her research has been supported by the National Science Foundation and the Williams Institute of UCLA. Her current research examines the gun violence prevention movement.

[Silke Roth](#), University of Southampton, silke.roth@soton.ac.uk, @SilkeRoth

Organising for change - intersectional perspectives on activism and meaningful work or: What am I doing here?

How does my current research on **Veterans in general** and **Team Rubicon UK (TRUK)** in **particular** fit into my research trajectory?

[Team Rubicon UK \(TRUK\)](#) represents a [bridging organisation](#) between the military and humanitarianism. It is a charity that provides volunteering opportunities which contribute to the **well-being of the volunteers** as well as the affected communities which the organisation helps. It is an organisation of rather than for ex-service personnel, thus the organisation provides **peer-support** and a **safe space** where service leavers can share experiences during and after **transition** from the military to civilian work and life, and to apply and [transfer skills](#). It is also a **gendered organisation**.

1) Volunteering in the male life-course (1986 – 1991)

In the 1980s, I studied First Aid Providers including some veterans who had been first aid providers during WW II. Comparing three generations of men, I found that volunteering provided stability across the life-course in times of crisis (unemployment, divorce) like a third leg (family, employment, volunteering). I noted generational differences regarding a tension between “community” and “professionalism” – socializing vs. blue-light tasks which required more resources (equipment). → TRUK is relevant for a **transition – from the military to civilian work and life**. Volunteering potentially also contributes to **well-being and stability**.

2) Coalition of Labor Union Women (1992 – 2003)

My study of CLUW looked at the **bridging between two organisational cultures** – trade unions and the women’s movement. This included **working class** as well as **middle-class cultures**, new and old social movements. CLUW included people from a wide range of different organisational and occupational backgrounds and formed [coalitions](#) and alliances with range of social movements organisations. → I consider Team Rubicon a bridging organisation between the military and humanitarianism. The organisation is a charity and thus a **Third Sector Organisation**.

3) Aid worker biographies and careers (2003 – 2015)

My study on people in aid initially sought to understand transnational lives. It became clear fairly quickly, that the aid workers had mixed motivations which included [meaningful work](#), [professionalism](#) and **travel and adventure**. They also engaged in [edgework](#) or voluntary risk taking. Aid work and **aidland** were experienced as more intense and separate from “normal life” → There are parallels between aid work and military work which include meaningful work, professionalism, travel and adventure which are related to many [paradoxes](#). Differences include the **class-background** of ex-military people and people in aid as well as **different attitudes to education**.

4) Occupy (2011)

Occupy London Stock exchange (LSX) provided a [safe space](#) for people from a wide range of backgrounds, many interviewees spoke about **mental health issues**. Occupy was a **tent city**. Occupy created a space for misfits and for those wanting to change society by engaging in prefigurative politics. → TRUK represents a **safe space** for people with a military background. Moreover, the exercises and operations take place **outdoors** and allow people to stay in tents. These volunteering opportunities allows TRUK members to create a **temporary community with like-minded people** which is **separate from “normal” life**.

5) Buddhist retreats (future research)

TRUK’s headquarter in the English countryside reminded me of Buddhist retreats. In addition to the remote location, other similarities include regulated time and a team spirit which was created through the clothing, rituals and mutual affirmation during training and exercise. Focus on need for community.

(I have also published on [European Women’s movements](#) in [comparative perspective](#), [gender differences in political participation](#), [digital humanitarianism](#), the [role of linguistic capital in aid organisations](#), the [sustainability of activism](#), and [contemporary counter-movements in the age of Brexit and Trump](#).)

Paulina García-Del Moral

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Unsafe Travels? On the Transnational Travels of Femicide/Feminicidio/Feminicide

In this presentation, I engage Gail Lewis's (2012) discussion of the unsafe travel of the feminist theory of intersectionality. Lewis argues that as intersectionality has travelled transnationally, it has at times become detached from the "subjects and sites of origin" and thus depoliticized. The unsafe travel of this theory is therefore linked to the failure to preserve its "original content and integrity." By taking the transformation and travel of the concepts of femicide and *feminicidio*/femicide in from North America to Latin America, I interrogate this conception of unsafe travel. While agreeing with Lewis to a certain extent, I argue that epistemic inequality in the production and circulation of knowledge is a key factor in the unsafe travel of feminist concepts, especially when it comes to Global North and Global South dynamics. What constitutes the safe or unsafe travel of feminist knowledge requires analysis of the politics of the production of feminist knowledge as well as openness to innovation and expansion of concepts by putting the experiences of new subjects and contexts at the center. This process entails, undoubtedly, ongoing negotiation between different feminist actors with different political and epistemological agendas.

Bio

Paulina García-Del Moral is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology & Anthropology at the University of Guelph, Canada. Her research focuses on the intersection of law, gender, and power in transnational processes in Mexico and across Latin America, Canada, and Europe.

<https://www.uoguelph.ca/socioanthro/people/paulina-garc%C3%ADa-del-moral>

“No red, no blue”: partisanship, populism, and collective identity

Sadie Dempsey

The contours of the contemporary US political landscape are defined in large part by heightened partisanship and political polarization. I examine the impact of this political environment on one social movement organization, which I call Democracy for the People (DFP), a statewide group in Wisconsin that emerged out of the Bernie Sanders campaign for president in 2016. When positioning DFP on the left-right political continuum, it appears to fall far to the left. However, activists within the organization continuously make appeals, both internally and externally, to include some conservatives in their organization. In a time marked by heightened partisanship and polarization, how can we understand why DFP members resist partisan identities and seek to work beyond partisan divides? In this paper (which is a working draft that I plan to turn into my Master's), I use data from 21 months of fieldwork and 26 in-depth interviews with members at all levels of the organization, to explore these complex organizational dynamics surrounding collective identity.

Ultimately, I argue that this appeal to everyday conservatives is both pragmatic (the members in the organization seek change through electoral politics and thus need to attract a wide base of supporters) and ideological. Because the organization emerged out of the Bernie Sanders campaign, it attracted a wide range of activists that includes independents and leftists who are openly critical of the Democratic Party. Rather than being viewed as inconsequential “closet partisans,” I argue that activists without strong ties to the Democratic Party create space to negotiate a collective identity that isn't exclusively grounded in partisan identity. The organization also borrows populist rhetoric used in the campaign, framing DFP as representing everyday voters against political and corporate elites who are corrupting democracy. This use of populist rhetoric creates a sense of “us” that includes everyday citizens who may be conservative. The organizational culture of DFP shaped by those resistant to partisan ties and the use of populist rhetoric ultimately creates space for a form of collective identity that transcends partisan identity, even in a time of heightened polarization. In the discussion today, my hope is that we can talk about the consequences of this form of collective identity, particularly the challenges it may pose for intersectional movement building today.

Bio:

Sadie Dempsey (smdempsey@wisc.edu) is a graduate student in Sociology at UW Madison. Her research interests include social movements, political sociology, gender, and sociological theory. Her Master's research is an ethnography and interview based study of social movement organizations that emerged throughout Wisconsin in response to the 2016 election. She is also working on an interdisciplinary research team conducting interviews across the state to better understand the impacts of growing political polarization and media fragmentation on social life and democracy in Wisconsin.

Sandra R. Levitsky, University of Michigan

The website for Sandy Levitsky's bio can be found here:

<https://lsa.umich.edu/soc/people/faculty/slevitsk.html>

**INVENTING UNIVERSAL PUBLIC PRESCHOOL: THE POLITICS OF WELFARE
STATE EXPANSION ON NEOLIBERAL TERRAIN**

Compared to every other advanced democracy in the world, the U.S. government plays a shockingly limited role in helping working families with the cost or provision of child care. Despite reform efforts dating back to World War II, the assumption that the care of small children is the responsibility of the family rather than the state has stubbornly persisted. Yet there are signs that the politics of child care—re-framed today as “early childhood care and education”—are changing dramatically. Today, 43 states spend a total of almost \$8 billion on publically funded preschool programs for 4-year-olds, and 29 states have extended such services to 3-year-olds. That this political transformation from “child care” to “early education” has occurred during an era of shrinking welfare state commitments and growing privatization of education, makes the shift all the more remarkable. *How do we explain the dramatic expansion of the state's role in solving a problem so stubbornly cast in American politics as a family dilemma?* The answer, we argue, lies in a shift in institutional “ownership” of the problem. By shifting institutional responsibility for a given social problem, reformers potentially access a new repertoire of rights, frames, and political allies. In this paper, we trace how reformers triggered such an institutional shift by coupling “arts” of government associated with neoliberalism—in particular, the logic of social investment—with the norms and values of public education to shift the “problem” of child care from the family to the institution of education.

The Challenge of Trickle-Down Intersectionality (or “Why Protest Can Only Get ‘the’ Women’s Movement So Far”?)

Zakiya Luna, MSW, PhD

The field of social movement research appears to be making a slow intersectional turn (Roberts and Jesudason 2013, Verloo 2013, Terriquez 2015, Terriquez et al. 2018, Brown et al. 2017, Fisher et al. 2017, Stout et al. 2017). Of recent, scholars have been intrigued by large scale protests that have occurred 2017-2019 (referred to by various scholars as the “post-Trump” era). Of these, the Women’s Marches appear to be the most enduring set of protests as they have raised questions among both academics and the public about the role of women, persistence of feminism, and enduring inequality. The marches also seem to be the place where “intersectional feminism” has been promoted as an ideal by March leaders and an area of inquiry by scholars interested in assessing how intersectional the marches were and what this means for “the” women’s movement and social movements broadly (e.g. special issues of *Gender, Place and Culture* in 2017 and *Mobilization* in 2018).

Why does “the” women’s movement continue to have difficulty practicing intersectionality in the long-term to build power and shift culture? As I am currently conceptualizing the answer, *trickle-down intersectionality* describes the challenge of moving the goal of intersectionality from the leadership of a specific protest or movement to a wider set of actors such as diverse group of event participants. Intersectionality is more than a set of ideas or coalition of movements, rather it is a set of movement practices. As I develop the concept, I am focusing on the difference between mobilizing for specific events and organizing for long-term change including consciousness raising and culture shift—the differences between “top-down” and “bottom-up” organizing. The paper in development primarily draws from a project of which I am the PI, [Mobilizing Millions: Engendering Protest Across the Globe](#). An initial set of research teams were on the ground at various 2017 Women’s Marches: Austin, Boston, Los Angeles, Oakland, Philadelphia, Portland, St. Louis and Washington D.C. There and online we distributed a survey about the motivations and experiences that brought millions of people to the marches globally. A second survey followed up with participants from the first survey. Finally, we conducted interviews with a subset of respondents. While the concept crystallized for me looking at early and continuing data on the Women’s Marches (and so many anecdotes on people’s experiences), I see many instances of activists’ frustrations with the challenge of doing intersectionality in my earlier research on the reproductive justice movement and in continued conversations with activists in a range of settings.

[Zakiya Luna](#) is Assistant Professor of Sociology at University of California, Santa Barbara (courtesy appointment in Feminist Studies) and a faculty affiliate of the [Center on Reproductive Rights and Justice at Berkeley Law](#), which she helped co-found. Her book, *Domesticating Human Rights: Reproductive Justice and the Last Utopia* is under contract with New York University Press. Her work has been published in *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *Mobilization*, *Gender and Society* among others. With Whitney Pirtle, she is coediting the Routledge volume: *Black Feminist Sociology, Perspectives and Praxis*. She is co-creator and co-editor of the University of California Press book series, [Reproductive Justice: A New Vision for the 21st Century](#). As a [CoreAlign](#) Generative Fellow (Blaze Cohort) and member of the Humane Resources [Innovation Lab](#) where her team examined how reproductive justice movement organizations could help their employees and volunteers thrive while sustaining the movement. Professor Luna is sad for sociology and gender studies (as fields and departments) that Professor Ferree retired but thrilled to be here to celebrate.

Shreenita Ghosh is a doctoral student in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at UW-Madison. Her primary field of research interest is in Social Movements, digital media, and social networks.

#Backlash

Digital feminist activism is a new iteration of feminist activism which uses the internet and the various new tools and tactics it has to offer to spread awareness, unify people, disseminate information, and mobilize constituents. Feminist hashtags have become immensely popular in the recent years where the community-driven tagging system has been utilized by millions of users to aggregate, track and organize content around a single topic through the use of a hash (#) symbol followed by a keyword. However, like many social movements working to reorganize the structures of inequality and threatening the status quo of society, these too have faced dissonance, resistance, and backlash. While initially unequivocally deemed a major success, a wave of backlash hit these movements claiming lack of intersectionality, executive ability and warning their possible role in danger of driving the sexes apart.

I situate backlash as a communicative phenomenon rather than a movement by a social group. Backlash can be through other hashtag content, replies and retweets to current hashtags as well as by traditional media. For my dissertation work, I aim to study the backlash discourse surrounding the #metoo hashtag activism campaign. As the first step of the study, I examine the #metoo campaign tweets to understand the online content, the arguments, and emotions portrayed through the same. I would like to inspect the patterns of external events, media coverage and overall discourse that initiate different communicative responses of people. I would love to share my work done so far with the Super-Femsem for advice and feedback on how to carry the work forward, possible approaches and considerations.

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Sexual Violence and Gendered Belonging at State University

Changes in the governance of sexual violence in higher education have inspired myriad prevention efforts and new sociological research. Universities now require that students, faculty, and staff learn about their schools' systems to address sexual violence. However, the current systems are relatively new, continue to change, and vary widely between institutions. In my study, I investigate how the governance of sexual violence has changed from 1972 through 2017 at State University, a large, public, Midwestern university. I analyze student newspaper articles collected from 1972 through 2017 newspaper issues. My study compares the actions that State University's administration has taken over the past 45 years (e.g. free nighttime transportation) with student-driven responses to sexual violence (e.g. "Take Back the Night" marches). My coding of the newspaper article dataset will reveal which organizations have endured and how their approaches have evolved. Preliminary results indicate that the focus of sexual violence interventions shifted over the 45 years of data, from women to a gender-neutral victim-survivor. The struggles over sexual violence at State University shed light on the feminist anti-rape movement's calls for dignity and recognition of women as full members of the university community.