

Gender and Politics Series

Series editors: **Johanna Kantola**, Senior Lecturer in Gender Studies, University of Helsinki, Finland and **Sarah Childs**, Professor of Politics and Gender, University of Bristol, UK

This timely new series publishes leading monographs and edited collections from scholars working in the disciplinary areas of politics, international relations, and public policy with specific reference to questions of gender. The series showcases cutting-edge research in Gender and Politics, publishing topical and innovative approaches to gender politics. It will include exciting work from new authors and well-known academics and will also publish high-impact writings by practitioners working in issues relating to gender and politics.

The series covers politics, international relations, and public policy, including gendered engagement with mainstream political science issues, such as political systems and policymaking, representation and participation, citizenship and identity, equality, and women's movements; gender and international relations, including feminist approaches to international institutions, political economy, and global politics; and interdisciplinary and emergent areas of study, such as masculinities studies, gender and multiculturalism, and intersectionality.

Series Advisory Board:

Louise Chappell, University of New South Wales, Australia

Joni Lovenduski, Birkbeck College, University of London, UK

Amy Mazur, Washington State University, USA

Judith Squires, University of Bristol, UK

Jacqui True, Monash University, Australia

Mieke Verloo, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Laurel Weldon, Purdue University, USA

Titles include:

Gabriele Abels and Joyce Marie Mushaben (*editors*)

GENDERING THE EUROPEAN UNION

New Approaches to Old Democratic Deficits

Phillip Ayoub and David Paternotte

LGFT ACTIVISM AND THE MAKING OF EUROPE

A Rainbow Europe?

Elin Bjarnegård

GENDER, INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation

Elgin Brunner

FOREIGN SECURITY POLICY, GENDER, AND US MILITARY IDENTITY

Andrea Chandler

DEMOCRACY, GENDER, AND SOCIAL POLICY IN RUSSIA

A Wayward Society

Sarah Childs and Paul Webb
SEX, GENDER AND THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY
From Iron Lady to Kitten Heels

Jonathan Dean
RETHINKING CONTEMPORARY FEMINIST POLITICS

Elizabeth Evans
THE POLITICS OF THIRD WAVE FEMINISMS
Neoliberalism, Intersectionality, and the State in Britain and the US

Meryl Kenny
GENDER AND POLITICAL RECRUITMENT
Theorising Institutional Change

Andrea Krizsan, Hege Skjeie, and Judith Squires (*editors*)
INSTITUTIONALIZING INTERSECTIONALITY
The Changing Nature of European Equality Regimes

Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay (*editors*)
GENDER, POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS
Towards a Feminist Institutionalism

Emanuela Lombardo and Maxime Forest (*editors*)
THE EUROPEANIZATION OF GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES
A Discursive-Sociological Approach

Birte Siim and Monika Mokre (*editors*)
NEGOTIATING GENDER AND DIVERSITY IN AN EMERGENT EUROPEAN
PUBLIC SPHERE

Anna van der Vleuten, Anouka van Eerdewijk, and Conny Roggeband (*editors*)
GENDER EQUALITY NORMS IN REGIONAL GOVERNANCE
Transnational Dynamics in Europe, South America and Southern Africa

Polly Wilding
NEGOTIATING BOUNDARIES
Gender, Violence and Transformation in Brazil

Gender and Politics Series
Series Standing Order ISBNs 978-0-230-23917-3 (hardback) and
978-0-230-23918-0 (paperback)
(outside North America only)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

The Politics of Third Wave Feminisms

**Neoliberalism, Intersectionality, and the
State in Britain and the US**

Elizabeth Evans

Lecturer in Politics, University of Bristol, UK

palgrave
macmillan



© Elizabeth Evans 2015

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-349-45181-4

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted her right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-45181-4

ISBN 978-1-137-29527-9 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137295279

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	vi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
Introduction	1
Part I	
1 Understanding Third Wave Feminisms	19
2 Conceptual and Contextual Framework: Intersectionality and Neoliberalism	39
3 Reclaiming and Rebranding Feminist Activism	60
Part II	
4 Feminist Inclusivity	87
5 The Sisterhood: Inclusivity and Spaces	111
Part III	
6 Feminism and Women's Political Representation	137
7 Representing Women's and Feminist Interests	158
8 Abortion and Reproductive Rights Activism	177
Conclusion	197
Appendix A: Interviews Undertaken with Feminist Activists	204
Appendix B: Interview Guide	205
<i>Notes</i>	206
<i>Bibliography</i>	220
<i>Index</i>	234

List of Tables

1.1	Approaches to third wave feminisms	22
1.2	Interviewees' definition of the third wave by category	25
1.3	Interviewees' self-definition as third wave	27
1.4	Interviewees' self-definition by ideology	30
1.5	Third wave self-definition by ideological identification	36
6.1	Number and percentage of women in the House of Commons, 1992–2010	140
6.2	Number and percentage of women in Congress, 1991–2013	140
6.3	Number of women elected by party	141
6.4	Diversity of women currently serving in the US/UK legislatures	141
7.1	Most frequently cited feminist issues	165
8.1	Developments in British abortion law	180
8.2	Developments in US abortion law	181
A.1	Interview schedule	204

Acknowledgements

As with any endeavour, there are those without whom this book would not have been possible. I'd like to thank the British Academy (grant number SG121297) for funding that enabled me to travel to the US to undertake the fieldwork for this book. And I would particularly like to thank all of the feminist activists who gave up their time to talk to me. I was humbled by the inspiring work that they are engaged with and am extremely grateful for their candour and enthusiasm. I must also thank the numerous activists in New York and Portland who showed me round their cities, introduced me to their friends and took me to feminist events. Undertaking fieldwork is usually fun but special thanks go to those who made my summers in New York and Portland particularly special.

I started the research for this book whilst a newly appointed Lecturer in Politics at Kingston University, London, and I would like to thank my former colleagues and friends for their support and encouragement during the early stages of this project. I am also hugely grateful to my friends and colleagues at the University of Bristol whose enthusiasm and intellectual engagement has helped drive this research forward. Bristol is a fantastic university at which to undertake gender scholarship and I am grateful to be part of such a strong and vibrant feminist community which encompasses both students and staff.

I have presented various aspects of this work at workshops and conferences and at invited lectures. I would like to thank all of those who were part of the panel discussions that I participated in and those who have commented on my presentations, in particular at the European Conference on Politics and Gender (ECPG), European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Political Studies Association (PSA), Council for European Studies (CES), and International Political Studies Association (IPSA) conferences over the past four years. Several individuals have given of their time to read over various versions of this book, whether as an entire draft or as individual chapters or papers. In particular, I would like to thank Faith Armitage, Prue Chamberlain, Sarah Childs, and Francesca Gains. I would also like to thank the countless feminist activists I've met at various events and marches over the past few years who have chatted with me about this research.