

POLITICISING THE PRODUCTIVE: SUBJECTIVITY, FEMINIST LABOUR THOUGHT AND FOUCAULT

Wendy Bastalich

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Departments of Politics and Social Inquiry
The University of Adelaide
June 2001

TABLE OF CONTENTS	(i)
ABSTRACT	(iii)
DECLARATION	(iv)
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	(v)
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. DEFINING THE POLITICAL: TRUTH AND POWER IN FEMINIST LABOUR THOUGHT	14
 Human capital theory and the contemporary industrial context The power of exclusion The State and public policy Approaches to change: Wage equity Wage solidarity Conclusion 	15 20 31 37 42
3. FOUCAULDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL RE-CONCEPTUALISATIONS: DISCOURSE, POWER AND THE SUBJECT	47
 Discourse and power The carceral society Bio-politics Liberal techniques of government Conclusion 	48 53 58 62 72
4. RE-ACTIVATING FEMININE DIFFERENCE: THE CONSTITUTION OF 'WOMEN'S WORK' WITHIN LABOUR FEMINIST THOUGHT	73
 Polarising production Some problems arising from binary thinking Reconfiguring the questions Conclusion 	74 81 86 90
5. PRIVILEGING THE MARKET: THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIAL SUBJECT WITHIN FEMINIST LABOUR AND PUBLIC PROVISIONING DISCOURSE	91
 Politicising the social subject The re/productive citizen Market dependence Social security and the State Conclusion 	92 95 103 106 108

6. THE PRODUCTIVE SOUL: CONSTITUTING THE SUBJECT WITHIN SEX SEGREGATION AND PAID EMPLOYMENT TEXTS	110
 The subject and the regulation of work Feminism and the productive subject The colonisation of alterity Economism and power Conclusion 	111 115 120 125 129
7. THE DISCIPLINE OF WOMEN: RE-CONCEPTUALISING FEMINIST EXPLANATIONS OF JOB HIERARCHY AND COMPARABLE WORTH	130
 Feminist equal pay for work of equal value debates Job evaluation and social control The discipline of women Implications for strategy Conclusion 	131 133 139 146 148
8. REFUSING THE ECONOMIC ORDER: FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF FOUCAULT	149
 Insurrection and the Left Rethinking economic oppression Micro-structures of power and cultural specificity Power, the subject and feminist change strategy The practice of liberty Conclusion 	150 153 156 162 169 174
9. CONCLUSION	176
REFERENCES	181

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the implications of Foucault's genealogical analyses and related commentary in political philosophy for the English speaking, academic, feminist literature about women and work. Although the field positively subverts the universal masculine subject of economic theory and policy, the thesis demonstrates that much feminist thought problematically retains a vision of the subject as defined by re/productive contribution. Foucault and those who share a Foucauldian approach have argued that conceptions of the subject as defined by productive contribution and reproductive drives have been, and continue to be, involved in the reproduction of the existing order of production. The thesis raises the concern that, in some of its central assertions and practices, feminist labour thought reproduces this kind of subject as universally and ahistorically 'true', and in doing so unknowingly participates in the production and circulation of the knowledges that support the social hierarchies, divisions and normative assumptions it attempts to challenge.

This argument is demonstrated in four parts which follow upon a summary of Foucault's middle period genealogies and a re-conceptualisation of feminist labour questions in light of them. The first part argues that the association of (emotional, domestic and familial) labours with the 'invisible' economic contributions of women within much feminist labour thought repeats normative meanings that are the product, and the means by which, women's work has been derided. Second, the subject frequently reproduced within feminist work and welfare thought does not undermine the market as the principle for social distribution, as feminist labour thinkers have sometimes asserted, but demands 'rights' and 'needs' that give the market a central role in the determination of value and security. Third, the subject of much feminist labour thought is sometimes imagined to be predisposed to the development of labour capacity or, alternatively, to find power, autonomy and freedom in material wealth and economic choice. This conception normalises lifetimes committed to the market and echoes a more widespread and immanent social drive towards the increased participation of the population in market-based production. Finally, the thesis argues that feminist critiques of comparable worth misunderstand the role that job evaluation plays in producing the normative conditions upon which occupational hierarchy depends. The debate about comparable worth does not prevent the reproduction of statements and practices that participate in the discipline of women at work.

In closing the thesis answers traditional labour feminist critiques of Foucault's work. Here I argue that an increased awareness of the conditions and possible effects of universalist assumptions about the subject offers feminist labour thinkers and practitioners more strategic and subversive responses to economic problems than current theoretical paradigms allow. It also encourages greater sensitivity to a diverse range of cultural positionings.