

INCLUSIVE ECONOMIES, ENDURING PEACE: THE TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INTRODUCTION

This annotated bibliography provides resources for understanding social reproduction, especially the gendered dimensions and costs of social reproductive labour in conflict-affected environments. The underlying concern is that non-recognition and under-valuing of social reproduction (including care work) within households and communities leads to human depletion. Depletion occurs when human resource outflows exceed resource inflows as a result of carrying out social reproductive work over a threshold of sustainability, making it harmful for those engaged in it (Rai, Hoskyns, & Thomas, 2014, p. 4). Non-recognition, especially by state and international financial institutions, also affects directly and indirectly the policy and development strategies that could reverse this depletion.

The bibliography presents core concepts of a Monash-Warwick pilot study “Inclusive Economies and Enduring Peace: The Transformative Role of Social Reproduction”. The pilot study (2019-2020) documents the economic, political, affective, and financial costs of social reproductive labour in two conflict-affected contexts (Sri Lanka and Myanmar), and the implications of these costs for an enduring and inclusive peace. The six core concepts are: social reproduction, the household, depletion, social infrastructure, conflict and violence, and the regenerative state. We also include a section on feminist research methodology, including the Feminist Everyday Observatory Tool (Rai & True, 2020), used in the pilot study. We provide a critical overview of each concept, covering definitions and key debates within the topic. We recommend and outline approximately six pieces of literature for each concept, which we think will enable the reader to engage in more depth with the key academic and policy issues arising within the topic. Boxed case studies in each section highlight each concept. The overviews, core reading lists, and selected case studies are generally oriented towards conflict-affected environments. We expect this annotated bibliography to be of value to at least three major reader groups working on violence and conflict: development practitioners; non-feminist academics seeking to better apply a gender lens to their research; and our fellow feminist academics, researchers, and practitioners.

1. SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Social reproduction is defined as the reproduction of social life, which includes biological reproduction, the unpaid production of goods and services in the home, social provisioning such as voluntary work to maintain communities, and the reproduction of culture and ideology (Hoskyns & Rai, 2007). The labour of social reproduction consists in the variety of socially necessary work that provides the means to maintain and reproduce the population, including to ‘produce’ the worker (Bhattacharya, 2017; Laslett & Brenner, 1989).

Social reproduction researchers use a materialist lens to conceptualise the relations between gender oppression and capitalism. That is, they explore how the uneven distribution of resources between people shape power relations between individuals and groups. At a macro level, this means exploring how the reproduction of the capitalist system sustains the drive for accumulation of economic resources and is therefore essential to its functioning. Important questions about the transformational power, form, value, conceptualisation, and usefulness of the term social reproduction remain. How should we theoretically valorise social reproduction? What is the relationship between processes of value-generation and unwaged labour? (Eelson, 1979; Mezzadri, 2019). Is ‘domestic (unwaged) labour’ to be conceptualised as separate from capitalist production, although it is the pillar upon which waged workers’ exploitation (that is, Marx’s labour theory of value) is built and the secret of capitalist productivity? (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Federici, 2004; Fortunati, 1995). Other analysts identified the need to be more attuned to the empirical realities of women who engage in both social reproduction and production (Waring, 1989) and for whom social reproduction is “the fleshy, messy and indeterminate stuff of everyday life” (Katz, 2001, p. 711).

Is social reproduction “life’s work” in this neoliberal era, when nearly all aspects of human existence are shaped and valued according to the market and increasing numbers of individuals toil under conditions of profound and embedded insecurity? (K. Mitchell, Marston, Katz, & Hanson, 2005). Neoliberalism, defined here as the roll-back of state services, and the roll-out of policies that help the circulation of financial capital to the detriment of other areas of life, has had a profound effect on social reproduction, as we explain in the section on “Social Infrastructure” below. Should social reproduction and production be framed within a merged, or unified, theory (Meehan & Strauss, 2015; K. Mitchell et al., 2005)? How to position the historical specificities of transnational social reproduction, whether the starkest example of colonial slavery or the contemporary ‘global care chains’, whereby social reproduction is accomplished through gendered labour flows from the Global South to wealthier households in the Global North and migrant workers simultaneously care for their own households from a distance (Parreñas, 2015; Pratt, 2013)? Such a lens, focusing on care work as a significant aspect of process of social reproduction, potentially elevates households above the ‘traditional’ capitalist workplace, as sites of labour and social relations (Winders & Smith, 2019, p. 882). It can build upon and advance earlier research that exposed how patriarchal dynamics are crucial to the violent creation and reproduction of the capitalist social formation (Federici, 2004).

Our project does not conflate ‘care work’ with social reproduction, even though it is an important aspect of social reproductive work. Social reproduction is, by and large, undertaken by women; always in demand but typically unrecognised, undervalued, and unsupported. Social reproduction is emplaced outside the production boundary set by the United Nations System of National Accounts, leading to its exclusion from the calculation of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Rai, 2019). GDP neglects the value and costs of social reproduction and is therefore an inadequate way to measure work in the economy. National labour market surveys judge those doing most of society’s unpaid reproductive labour as ‘economically inactive’, despite their often full engagement in a range of

work, such as care of children and other family members, and making up shortfalls in inadequate state services. The lack of valorisation and material support for social reproduction, therefore, disproportionately impacts women (Rai & Waylen, 2013).

These gendered dynamics manifest worldwide, within and across different societies, both relatively peaceful and conflict-affected, through what might be described as “variegated social reproduction” (Bakker & Gill, 2019). Looking specifically at conflict-affected societies, feminist research indicates that the accentuation of women’s poverty and insecurity, especially in displaced communities and among women-headed households, increases their vulnerability to multiple forms of violence (True, 2012).

Finally, as women are increasingly drawn into labour markets, sometimes ‘equalising down’ men’s wages, and caregiving becomes ‘economically irrational’, it can lead to an extremist backlash that is associated with antifeminism and gendered violence (Folbre, 2001; Johnston & True, forthcoming). Failure to pay attention to social reproductive needs in conflict-affected environments is, then, a failure to create the conditions for an equitable and sustainable peace.

CORE LITERATURE

1. **Bhattacharya, T. (ed) (2017). *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*. London: Pluto Press.**

This collection, edited by a Marxist historian and activist, advances a more fulsome theory of social reproduction, building on a reading of the ‘economy’ that includes daily and generation reproductive labour (p. 2) and treating oppression (gender, race, class) as structurally relational to capitalism (p. 3). The collection includes contributions from leading feminist writers and activists Lise Vogel (Foreword), Susan Ferguson (Chapter 6) and Nancy Fraser (Chapter 2). Marx defined ‘simple reproduction’ as the reproduction of the capitalist system, which includes the reproduction of labour power; social reproduction theorists are specifically interested in how the processes that (re)produce the worker sustain the drive for capital accumulation and are therefore essential to capitalism’s functioning. The chapters explore and seek to theorise the social reproductive labour undertaken in households and communities (including, as Fraser notes in Chapter 2, in schools, hospitals and prisons). Several contributions (Chapters 4, 5 and 9) explicitly link social reproduction theory to intersectionality (a framework usually understood as antagonistic to Marxist theory), to focus on the roles played by gender, race, and sexuality in shaping human exploitation and oppression.

2. **Federici, S. (2004). *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Creative Commons.**

In this important text, Federici exposes the set of gendered phenomena that were crucial for primitive /original accumulation in Europe and subsequent processes of capitalist accumulation. The book asks: how do these processes related to the intensification, under neoliberalism, of violence against women?? It is acknowledged that women’s subordination to men existed in pre-capitalist society – as it does, of course, in other social formations, such as the caste system – but in Federici’s view, pre-capitalist female oppression was at least partly mitigated by women’s access to commons/other communal assets. The book’s historical analysis documents how the original transition to capitalism required the creation of a new sexual division of labour: production was separated from social reproduction and women’s labour and reproductive function were subjugated to the reproduction of the workforce. A new patriarchal order was established, based on the exclusion of women from waged work and the specifically capitalist use of the wage to command the labour of the unwaged. In other words, wages became the measure of ‘productive labour’ under capitalism, establishing a power dynamic between waged men and unwaged

women. Concepts of femininity and masculinity – sexual hierarchies – were given specific inflection and instilled in the population as means of capitalist social discipline. Notably, the text documents how the state was reconstructed as “the chief supervisor of the reproduction and disciplining of the work-force” (p. 84). Defined as mothers, wives, daughters, widows, women’s status as workers was hidden. Once their social reproductive activities were defined as non-work - lying outside the sphere of market relations or as ‘extra-economic’ - their labour began to appear as a natural resource, available to all. Women’s loss of power with the sexual division of labour also manifested through a new sexual differentiation of space: a woman unaccompanied in public was at risk of sexual assault and ridicule, while those who dared work outside the home and for the market were portrayed as sexually aggressive or as witches (p. 96-100). Federici’s analysis brings to the forefront the issue of violence, exposing how women are controlled, under capitalism, through violence and coercion that manifests through ideology, through the sphere of social reproduction, and through patriarchal social control over female bodies.

3. Hoskyns, C. and Rai, S.M (2007). “Recasting the Global Political Economy: Counting Women’s Unpaid Work” *New Political Economy*, 12(3): 297-317.

This paper identifies an alarming trend: the increasing depletion in global capacities for social reproduction. Social reproduction is described as “the glue that keeps households and societies together and active” (p. 297), which depends heavily upon the unpaid work of women at home and in the community. The trend of depletion is impacting both the Global North and South. The globalisation of production, women’s move into paid work, changing functions of the state, and the commercialisation of services drive this depletion. National accounts and economic analyses still leave unpaid social reproductive work largely unmeasured. As a result, global depletion of social reproductive capacities is barely noticed. The authors, as researchers and political activists, ask: why does it continue to be so difficult for feminist research on social reproduction to be recognised and incorporated into global political economy analyses, at both theoretical and policy-making levels? To answer these questions, the paper examines three decades of policy changes and juxtaposes these with the researchers’ own illustration of how the international political economy works. The authors propose two alternative and superior ways in which domestic work could be accounted for in an analysis of the world economy. The paper concludes that the ‘tipping point’ - whereby policymakers eventually accept a growing body of evidence and argument – has yet to be reached with regard to recognition of the significance of social reproduction. At the time of writing this annotated bibliography, COVID-19 has accelerated global processes of depletion through social reproduction, but few policies have been actioned to address this.

4. Laslett, B. and Brenner, J. (1989). “Gender and Social Reproduction: Historical Perspectives”. *Annual Review of Sociology* 15: 381-404.

In this article, Laslett and Brenner define the concepts of gender and social reproduction as developed in feminist theory, and discuss their utility for historical research. ‘Social reproduction’ is “the activities and attitudes, behaviours and emotions, responsibilities and relationships directly involved in the maintenance of life on a daily basis, and intergenerationally” (p. 382). Social reproductive labour is, then, the work that provides the means to maintain and reproduce the population. It includes “how food, clothing, and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, the ways in which the care and socialisation of children are provided, the care of the infirm and elderly, and the social organisation of sexuality” (p. 382-3). The ‘organisation of social reproduction’ refers to “the varying institutions within which this work is performed, the varying strategies for accomplishing these tasks, and the varying ideologies that both shape and are shaped by them” (p. 383). Through a review of historical literature, the authors demonstrate that the organisation of (gendered) social reproduction shapes and is shaped by political and economic institutions. The article argues that recognition of the dependence of both polity and economy on the gender division of labour can contribute to a better understanding of how state policies and economic organisation both reflect gender interests and shape capacities for collective action to address gendered inequities.

5. Meehan, K. and Strauss, K. (eds.) (2015). *Precarious Worlds: Contested Geographies of Social Reproduction*. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press.

Meehan and Strauss' edited collection contributes to the theoretical and empirical literature on social reproduction. It discusses social reproduction's co-constitution with production, and how these dynamics shape the distribution of precarity across the world. The collection comprises eight studies, spanning nine countries across both the Global South and Global North. Part I focuses on state restructuring and political transformation and how these processes position citizens and their social reproduction in relation to state/nation-building. Part II considers care work as it exists outside of a capitalist framework, while Part III examines workers engaged in production. Part IV focuses on case studies of producers navigating shifting political economy tides in the neoliberal era. The contributors do not all conceptualise social reproduction in the same way and the foreword does, in fact, critically note the gaps and divergences that mark the broader literature on social reproduction. However, the editors make it clear that the theoretical variability in this book is deliberate: they do not aim to produce a unified theory of social reproduction but "to advocate for social reproduction's continued salience by bringing different approaches to SRP [social reproduction] into conversation" (p. 15). Further, the book is optimistic about the possible "progressive alliances and politics" that could be forged through conversations across diverse approaches to conceptualising social reproduction.

6. Winders, J. and Smith, B.E. (2018). "Social Reproduction and Capitalist Production: A Genealogy of Dominant Imaginaries". *Progress in Human Geography* 43: 871–889.

This paper provides a critical genealogy of the dominant imaginaries through which social reproduction has been explored in feminist literature since the 1960s. Its authors posit that feminist scholars have implicitly interpreted and valorised social reproduction in diverse ways that crucially connect with geography, and note how social reproduction is a profoundly spatial phenomenon (p. 872). The paper identifies and explores four, historically contingent, feminist imaginaries of social reproduction. 'Imaginary I: Separate and unequal', arose from the 1960s and 70s debates over the origins of women's oppression through domestic labour. 'Imaginary II: Overlapping duality of equals', adopted a broader and more pragmatic approach to conceptualising social reproduction, informed by women's empirical realities. 'Imaginary III: Merged spheres in life's work and precarity', framed the spheres of social reproduction and production as completely merged: all life is work. 'Imaginary IV: Centering care from the intimate to the global', centres social relations and care work in its analysis. The article aims to clarify conceptual convergences and divergences within the broader literature, reveal the historical contingencies underpinning each imaginary and, through comparisons, identify elements of each that might contribute to (or limit) a politics of opposition and the creation of alternative approaches that can end the assault on certain forms of social reproduction.

CASE STUDY: SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN MOZAMBIQUE

Contemporary labour regimes are highly precarious in Mozambique (Cabo Delgado), as shown in research undertaken there since 2011 (Stevano, 2018; Stevano, 2019). The region's economic growth is driven by export-oriented agro-industry, natural resource extraction and tourism. Meanwhile, people engage in multiple forms of labour - casual waged work, small-scale farming, and income-generating activities - to sustain their reproduction. Public provision of social services is minimal and so women responsible for the care of children and/or sick family members are dependent on familial care provision to be able to start and continue to undertake paid work. Further, women's pay is expected to contribute towards social reproduction of the wider household and community, for example, to wedding and funeral costs. Women's work is, therefore, not only shaped by global processes of capitalist development but also by the gendered division of labour within the household and community, and by the material social practices that configure social reproduction (Katz, 2001).

2. HOUSEHOLD

The heteropatriarchal household – a woman (and children) under the power and protection of a male patriarch – has historically provided the stepping-off point for analyses of economy and society. It has been used as shorthand for the smallest social unit that forms the building blocks of society (Aristotle, 1905; Harding & Hintikka, 1983) and as a microcosm for the natural (gender) order (Marx & Engels, 2004 p. 45).

Discussing the historical development of the division of labour (who does which work), Marx and Engels estimate that social structure in “tribal ownership” is stratified like a patriarchal family, with women, followed by slaves, at the bottom of that hierarchy. Lenin took this analysis further, arguing that women were largely in a form of feudal servitude in the household (Lenin quoted in Vogel, 2013). Twentieth century economics, likewise, took the patriarchal household as a baseline on which they built their assumptions (Becker, 1974; Grossbard-Schechtman, 1999). Feminists have consistently questioned these assumptions, asking why actors are assumed to be acting as self-interested individuals in the markets, and as altruistic (couples) in the household (Folbre, 1986, 2001). The household thus sits at the centre of debates about the market economy and the moral economy (Mies, 1981; Polanyi, 1944; Scott, 1976).

In analysing the household, four axes are useful: (1) personnel and household composition; (2) production activities and division of labour; (3) inter and intra household exchange; (4) and, running through all of these, the resultant patterns of power and authority (Wilk, 1989).

On the first axis, household composition varies geographically and temporally, with extended patrilineal families the norm in some areas, nuclear families in others, with new theorisations of the global household very relevant (Safri & Graham, 2010, 2015). Feminist and queer theories unpack and interrogate heteronormative assumptions around the form and arrangements of the household (Peterson 2014; Bedford and Rai 2010; Oerton 1997). The variation of household forms across time and place points to its socially constructed nature (Wilk, 1989), as detailed in the “Social Reproduction” section, above.

On the second axis, the gender division of labour is a key contribution of feminist analysis of the household. It built on the established notion that in any given society different parts of production were assigned to different people, but takes the gender or sexual division of labour to be central, and socially-constructed, not biologically determined (Mies, 1981).

Third, the relationship of the household to broader patterns of production and exchange are central to many feminist analyses (Barrett, 2014; Mies, 1982). Women’s relationship to capital and labour can be analysed along four schema: as wage labourers, as producers of use value in the home (domestic labour), as the unique producers of labour power in sexual reproduction, and as commodities exchanged for marriage and money (Hartsock, 2004, p. 16). A key debate between radical and Marxist feminists has been to identify the origin of women’s oppression. For Lise Vogel, the origin of women’s oppression under capitalism lies not in the exploitation of their labour for men and children inside the household but, instead, in the social significance of that labour to the production process. It is an articulation between household and the capitalist mode of production (Vogel, 2013). These articulations do not simply support a market economy but transform the household into a site of marketised social relations (Gunawardana & Elias, 2013), also making it a source of capitalist accumulation (Mies, 1982). At a global scale, colonialism was both a process of accumulation and of defining women everywhere as dependent housewives, parsing labour into ‘productive’ formal sectors, and ancillary, feminised, informal sectors (Mies, 1986).

CORE LITERATURE

7. Folbre, N. (1986). 'Hearts and Spades: Paradigms of Household Economics'. *World Development* 14 (2): 5–40.

Folbre argues that conflict, not altruism, often lies at the heart of households (cf. Sen, 1989). Economists from orthodox and heterodox backgrounds have overlooked household conflict because they assume that harmony in goals, work, and the distribution of resources between partners is characteristic of households. Neoclassical economists assume that when rational individuals interact with the market, they act in “naked self-interest”. At its heart is the gendered assumption of the agent as ‘homo economicus’ in the market, and the pure altruist in the household (p. 247). Folbre then moves to critique Marxist structural accounts of the household, which prioritise conflictual relations between classes, not within individuals of the same class. Such accounts also tend to assume altruistic motivations for household production, while still eschewing analysis of the pursuit of economic self-interest by members of households.

The second part of the paper outlines how both neoclassical and Marxian economics underwent “revision” to accommodate the idea that relations inside households may be conflictual, conceptualised in both strands as “bargains” (p. 250; see also Kandiyoti, 1988 below). Some neo-classicists model these bargains as arising from unexplained factors such as son bias, with others explaining different bargaining power of men and women as arising out of men’s greater access to paid work outside the household. In contrast, Marxian economists may emphasise how patriarchy gives men greater resources in all spheres (political, economic, social) that increases their bargaining power. Overall, there is little agreement from Marxian economists on the interaction effects of capitalism and gender on the household. Some Marxist analyses then suggest that capitalism weakens patriarchy, while others show that capitalism selectively strengthens aspects of patriarchy.

8. Kandiyoti, D. (1988) 'Bargaining with Patriarchy'. *Gender and Society* 2 (3): 274–90.

Kandiyoti develops the notion of the ‘patriarchal bargain’ as way to understand different forms of patriarchy. Patriarchal bargains describe women’s strategies within a constellation of class, caste and ethnic constraints. Bargaining occurs between men and women on the distribution of resources, labour, and power in the household. First, Kandiyoti describes various patriarchal bargains women make over labour, money, and expenses in polygynous societies in southern Africa. Households are not couples engaged in cooperative economic goals but rather, men and women have separate economic lives. For women, the precarity of polygyny discourages them from depending on their husbands, but this insecurity in turn encourages relative autonomy, which women strive to maximise. Polygyny and more economic autonomy comprise a different form of patriarchal bargain. Second, Kandiyoti describes the patriarchal bargains inhering in “classic patriarchy”. Characterised by extended patrilineal and patrilocally-defined groups of male kin, it is a globally dominant form of patriarchy. The bargain women make here is temporal: young girls married into their husband’s patrilineal family experience hardship and oppression at the hands of their male and female in-laws, but this is offset by the power older women eventually gain over younger women. Because their sons are their only route to power, older women make a patriarchal bargain to uphold the power of their sons over their wives (p. 280-1). Patriarchal bargain types are different according to caste, class and economic conditions. The final part of the article describes how the material basis of classic patriarchy crumbles under the forces of capitalism and new labour markets, causing some women to fight harder to retain the benefits of those earlier bargains that gave them support, respect and access to younger women’s labour. This process explains women’s (reactionary) conservatism in a variety of countries.

9. Rubiano-Matulevich, E. and Viollaz, M. (2019). 'Gender Differences in Time Use: Allocating Time between the Market and the Household.' *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 8981*

This is a policy-oriented systematic review of men and women's time use data in both the labour market and the household. This large "n" study makes powerful, cross-country findings about the household gender division of labour. The authors collate data from time use studies from 2006 to 2014. Data was collected from time use diaries kept in fourteen countries, and from stylised question interviews in four countries, totalling eighteen countries across at least 210,000 households.

The first finding is that when domestic labour is counted, women across all countries work on average longer hours than men. Second, when women marry/cohabit with an intimate partner, they suffer a "marriage penalty" of increase in domestic work, a penalty seen in loss of time spent on paid work and leisure time. This effect was strongest for teenage women and girls aged 15-19 (p. 18). Third, when women have children, this penalty of loss of paid work and leisure being replaced by unpaid domestic work doubles. Fourth, men do not suffer a 'marriage penalty' in loss of paid work or leisure time. Rather, they often increase hours spent on market work after marrying and having children. Fifth, despite entrenched patriarchal gender norms across all eighteen countries, variation in penalties and benefits to men and women are heterogenous across the eighteen-country sample. This reflects national differences in parental leave schemes, childcare costs, access to productive inputs and labour markets (p. 20). A finding of heterogeneity of penalties and benefits shows that unequal and unjust gender divisions of labour are not inevitable, but rather respond to context, especially state policies (see also "Social Infrastructure" below).

10. Safri, M. and Graham, J. (2010). 'The Global Household: Toward a Feminist Postcapitalist International Political Economy', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36 (1): 99-125.

Safri and Graham are concerned with expanding the category of household beyond the micro level to the global. Their concept of the global household unites the household and the transnational family to encompass households with members who have migrated across borders. Using three areas, globalisation, development, and economic transformation, they build a theory of globalisation-from-below, working from the household up. Methodologically, the authors re-examine secondary data and studies to show that millions of people belong to a transnational household (p. 107-109), and that hundreds of billions of dollars flow transnationally as remittances (p. 110-11). The economic activities of households (unpaid household labour, household-based business income, monetary and in-kind remittances, and gifts) produces a large percentage of global GDP when taken in aggregate, comparable to that of multinational corporations (p. 107). They finally estimate that global unpaid labour in the home (social reproduction) runs into the trillions of dollars (p. 112). The household as a major player in the international political economy is a better lens through which to understand how globalisation happens. It shows how people, especially women, undertake economic development and non-market activities in ways that are crucial, but invisible, to the world economy.

11. Vogel, L. (2013). *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory*. Leiden: Brill.

Vogel's book first lays out the theoretical debates between socialist feminists and key texts in Marxian analysis, and then, in the final chapters, puts forward her "Unitary Theory". Vogel seeks to theorise women's oppression not as interaction between two separate systems, one concerning (capitalist) production and one concerning patriarchy, but rather through a unified, materialist explanation (p. 28). In developing this theory, Vogel shows the implication of capitalist accumulation in the development of a historically-specific gender division of labour reaching into, and dependent on, domestic labour in the household.

The first and second parts of the book interrogate socialist feminist and Marxian concepts, to ground her argument (Benston, 1969; Dalla Costa & James, 1975; J. Mitchell, 1971). The third part argues that household divisions of labour under capitalism are not biologically determined but arise out of historically specific social relations. In the development of capitalism, men of the subordinate class must provide for women of the subordinate class during (at a minimum) pregnancy and lactation. Subordinate men's and women's differentiated roles allow for the reproduction of labour power, and result in different relationships of men and women to necessary labour (comprising labour necessary for subsistence plus domestic labour) and surplus labour (which accumulates as profit/resources) (p. 153). This results in the oppression of women by men of their own class, and dictates women's time use in productive and reproductive work. The ruling class, to reduce the amount of necessary labour and ensure stable reproduction of the workforce, encourages male supremacy in the subordinate classes (p. 153). On Vogel's view, taking the household as the starting point overstates its role in production (whereas workers may live in barracks) and fetishises it as the only site of the renewal of the labour force (whereas generations may be replaced through slavery or immigration) (p. 148). It is specifically in capitalist societies that the necessary labour (comprising labour necessary for subsistence plus domestic labour) that enables social reproduction is deemed domestic labour and unwaged, compared, for example, with a situation where necessary labour and surplus labour are waged (p. 152, 159). Because of the drive to accumulate, capitalism tries to expand the amount of surplus labour (which can accumulate as profit) and reduce the amount of necessary labour. Savings on necessary labour are achieved by reducing the cost of living, socialising domestic labour tasks (schools, ready-made clothing, health) and by the use of forced or cheap domestic labour (prison labour or imported migrant labour) (p. 162-4). Thus, accumulation by the ruling class through the expropriation of surplus labour intensifies the gap between waged productive work and the unwaged domestic sphere and fetishes the household.

CASE STUDY: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE ARMED HOUSEHOLD

Gender relations have been a core feature of various resistance, reactionary, and non-state armed actors in Myanmar, as Jenny Hedström's work demonstrates (Hedström, 2017, 2016). By placing the household at the centre of her analysis, Hedström shows how, in the case of the Kachin Independence Army, the revolutionary household plays a crucial role in distributing and producing material resources for war, generating consent for armed revolution and sustaining the decades of civil war. Women's activism for armed opposition movements travels transnationally with their global households, sustaining exile movements outside Myanmar's borders, the location of many migrant workers and/or refugees, and linking to broader feminist agendas (Olivius & Hedström, 2019).

3. DEPLETION

Depletion is a concept developed by Rai et al. (2014) to better measure, examine and account for the costs of doing social reproduction inside the home, the community, the state and across the globe (p. 95-7). Depletion occurs when human resource outflows exceed resource inflows as a result of carrying out social reproductive work over a threshold of sustainability, making it harmful for those engaged in it (Rai et al., 2014, p. 4). In other words, instead of the classic conception of social reproduction as comprising hours worked and converting that to a dollar value, the authors propose a formulation where resources available in any given society to sustain wellbeing is the difference between inflows (medical care, support networks, leisure) and outflows (time spent caring, domestic labour, reproduction), over time.

Although the term depletion is a relatively new concept (Elson, 2000, p. 28) the depleting effects of labour (both productive and unproductive) and the need for constant replacement (reproduction) because of 'wear and tear' was noted by Marx in Capital Volume 1 (Vogel, 2013). Engels likewise noted the effects of factory work specifically on women, as "physical and moral – [family] bond deformations, diseases, miscarriages, harder child births, fear of lost wages because of pregnancy" (Engels, 1887, p. 121; Vogel, 2013). Despite the obviously depleting effects of labour under certain conditions, labour time and wages, rather than the effects of work, are the main measure of labour. Depletion as a measurement contrasts with pure measures of time use, as it enables analysis of labour conditions/labour and productive labour/reproductive labour as interrelated and indivisible.

Depletion can work effectively as a concept in several areas. In the feminist political economy of everyday life, depletion can be used to analyse the daily and intergenerational effects of neoliberal policy on women's bodies and women collectively (Elias & Rai, 2015). That is, in neoliberal economic policies where state-led social services are cut, women are forced to increase their share of social reproductive activities, leading to depletion of women, their families, and wider social ties and communities.

Depletion can also help analyse the temporal dimensions of dispossession. Dispossession is typically conceived in terms of violent, grand structural moments of enclosure; however depletion also helps us see dispossession as an "incremental, under-the-radar process of erosion of the capacity for social reproduction that is ongoing in the everyday lives of marginalized populations" (Fernandez, 2018, p. 159).

CORE LITERATURE

12. Elson, D. (2000). 'The Progress of Women: Empowerment and Economics', in *The Progress of the World's Women*. New York: UNIFEM.

The report, led by Diane Elson, provides an overview of the progress of the world's women across five areas: economics and empowerment, rights, targets and indicators, broader contexts, and women's activism. The first chapter (pp. 16-37) on the economy outlines the contributions of social reproductive work and mentions "depletion" in its chart on "Revisioning the Economy Through Women's Eyes" (p. 26). This chart displays the sexual reproduction of labour to supply people and care to the productive sector. The private sector sells goods, and the public sector levies taxes, makes income transfers and supplies public services. The chart shows that (women's) provisioning of care labour, an unequal gender division of labour and the lack of income transfers or public services, is not a "bottomless well" (p. 28). Moreover, if "too much pressure is put upon the domestic sector to provide unpaid care work to make up for deficiencies elsewhere, the result may be a depletion of human capabilities" (p. 28).

13. Fernandez, B. (2018). 'Dispossession and the Depletion of Social Reproduction'. *Antipode* 50 (1): 142-63.

This article uses the concept of the depletion to engage critically with geographer David Harvey's claim that neoliberal capitalist development generates processes of 'accumulation by dispossession'. Drawing on the feminist scholarship of Federici (2004), Hartsock (2006) and Li (2009; 2010), Fernandez examines accumulation by dispossession confronting the Miyana, a Muslim fishing community in central Gujarat. The paper then uses Rai et al.'s (2014) concept of depletion to centre the impacts of dispossession upon social reproduction. Dispossession happened in three ways: when a natural resource frontier was closed to make way for a wildlife sanctuary; when land and livelihoods were encroached upon by state-supported salt-making firms; and through the exploitation of prawn harvesters on the bottom rung of the expanding prawn export industry. Fernandez analyses the gendered consequences of this dispossession through the lens of depletion. Depletion through social reproduction happened because there was a lack of basic facilities (for example, piped drinking water) and social infrastructure (for example, access to healthcare) in temporary settlements set up for dispossessed fisher households. Women were especially depleted because they had to compensate, with their unpaid social reproductive labour, for this lack of infrastructure. Households were depleted because inflows from fishing income increasingly failed to replenish outflows of labour power, which affected household health, including women's reproductive health. Fishing income was also now insufficient to invest in boats and nets and therefore could not even sustain the households' means of production. Finally, depletion was caused by the breakdown in community and kinship bonds and the intensification of poverty and inequality (class differentiation) among the Miyana, all of which contributed to increased inter-ethnic violence and extractive economic relationships.

14. Gunawardana, S. (2016) "'To Finish, We Must Finish": Everyday Practices of Depletion in Sri Lankan Export-Processing Zones'. *Globalizations* 13 (6): 861-75.

Gunawardana uses the concept of "depletion" to analyse the interaction of markets and social reproduction in Sri Lanka. A key contention is that factory export processing zones (EPZs), not just households, are a site of depletion. First, women come to the factories in EPZs to work because social reproductive resources "at home" are depleted; they experience depletion of social reproduction. Second, despite factories being relatively stable sources of employment, neoliberal drives for efficiency further deplete the workforce, especially as there are no increase in inputs (raised wages, increased leisure time) and factories reproduce paternal and patriarchal relations

between young women workers and male management (p. 865). Third, the graduated sovereignty of export processing zones, as sites of foreign investment and production in global value chains depletes and degrades the workforce at a macro level, leading to the reproduction of the idea of the workforce as disposable, as waste (p. 864). Gunawardana here builds on the notion of a globalised reserve army of labour, to argue that depletion and disposability is inherent to the creation of value in global value chains.

15. Rai, S.M., C Hoskyns, and D Thomas. (2014). 'Depletion'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16 (1): 86–105.

Rai, Hoskyns, and Thomas develop the term depletion to better measure and account for women's social reproduction across sites: the home, the community, the state, and the globe (pp. 95-7). Instead of the classic conception of social reproduction as comprising hours worked and converting that to a dollar value, the authors propose a formulation where resources available in any given society to sustain wellbeing is equal to inflows (food, shelter, medical care, support networks, leisure) minus outflows (time spent caring, domestic labour, reproduction), over time. If outflows exceed inflows below a threshold (more than normal wear and tear) this is depletion. The authors suggest three sites for measuring this depletion: in the individual (tiredness, weight problems, sleeplessness, low self-esteem, guilt, insufficient leisure time), in the household (no house or garden repairs, decrease in leisure time together, decrease in financial resources) and in the community (no time for collective action, depletion of environmental resources, individualisation and privatisation of social spaces) (pp. 89-91). The second half of the paper documents the gendered harms inhering in depletion through social reproduction, using evidence from Canada, the Pacific, Tanzania, and Nicaragua. The authors note that it is the total number of hours worked (not the balance between wage labour and social reproductive work) that leads to the greatest stress. Depletion is mitigated in some higher wage households through outsourcing social reproductive labour, often to migrant workers; however, in countries sending social reproductive labour abroad, depletion of community social reproduction occurs. The authors propose three strategies to reverse depletion through social reproduction: mitigation (buying social reproductive labour), replenishment (increasing inflows from the state and others) and transformation (structural change of the household) (p. 98).

16. UN Secretary General. (2019). *Report of the Secretary-General: World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Why Addressing Women's Income and Time Poverty Matters for Sustainable Development A/74/111*. New York: United Nations.

This UN Report of the Secretary General focuses on understanding high levels of income poverty and time poverty of women as interconnected phenomena. The report outlines how traditional poverty indicators neglect time use and time deficits. It suggests a united approach to time poverty, multidimensional poverty indices and depletion aids an understanding of women, social reproduction, and poverty (p. 11). Bringing together income and time poverty allow us to understand how deficits in both lead to the depletion of women and girls, drawing on work by Rai et al. (2014). This fuller understanding also leads to a critique of existing economic empowerment programmes that entrench the idea that women's time is infinitely elastic and neglects the danger of overwork. The report recommends integrated public policy approaches that provide universal social protection, paid maternity and parental leave, and child and family transfers to reduce women's income and time poverty and reverse depletion (p. 96). Seeing state expenditure on buttressing social reproduction as an investment rather than consumption, would benefit lives and the economy (p. 109) (see "Social Infrastructure" below).

CASE STUDY: DEPLETION AND CONFLICT MIGRATION REGIMES

In the East Timor Crisis, tens of thousands of ex-East Timorese refugees, victims, and perpetrators fled or were forced over the border after the end of war in East Timor in 1999. Nearly two decades on, the depletion of (land scarcity, drought) and depletion through social reproduction (economic grievances, gender-based violence and social conflict) propel these ex-East Timorese to migrate to palm oil plantations inside Indonesia as day and domestic labour, or externally as domestic workers to Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong. These sites abroad are themselves in a social reproductive deficit because of the lack of social infrastructure like elder care and health care.

Ex-East Timorese enter global, social reproductive migratory circuits on extremely adverse terms. The social reproductive labour they perform renders them vulnerable to ongoing depletion through overwork, lack of rest, access to health and exposure to violence. Johnston and Elias (forthcoming) argue that at the heart of the conflict migration regime lies states' roles in regulating and benefiting from a pool of labour whose social reproductive capacity has been already depleted by conflict. Conflicts in Southeast Asia, such as in Myanmar, the Philippines and Thailand, are continuing to produce huge pools of dislocated and depleted migrant workers that supply vital labour and social reproductive labour to industries in the region.

4. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Social infrastructure is a relatively new conceptual tool (Seguino, 2019). Social infrastructure refers to those parts of the economy that put money, resources and time into human wellbeing and development, *inter alia* health, education, welfare, and care. It can include physical buildings and non-physical investments in human beings' capabilities, livelihoods, and agency (Fontana & Natali, 2008; Seguino & Were, 2014). It goes to the heart of feminist macroeconomics, dealing as it does with the big issues of the structure of the economy, employment policy, government expenditure, fiscal settings, taxation and monetary policy.

While much feminist economic measurement and modelling on the 'care economy' since the 1990s has focused on gender inequality and policy at the microeconomic level (the gender division of labour, household bargaining) relatively little formal work has been done at the macroeconomic level of the implications of and responses to these inequalities (Braunstein, van Staveren, & Tavani, 2011). Social infrastructure provides an overarching analytical frame for understanding the economy-wide effects of these kinds of investments, which benefit whole populations but especially women (Agénor & Agénor, 2014).

Neoliberal policies seek to withdraw the state from the provision of social infrastructure, with the consequence that "women are treated as an expandable and costless resource that can absorb all the extra work that results from cuts to resources that sustain life" (Pearson, 2019). This withdrawal of the state from the provision of social infrastructure can be conceptualised as a negotiation or erosion of the "reproductive bargain", in which the state and society collectively provide services and resources to enable the daily and intergenerational reproduction of human beings (Pearson, 1997; Pearson & Elson, 2015).

Feminist economic analyses offered cogent critiques of the economy-wide dampening effects of neoliberalism and austerity during the 2008-9 financial crisis (Hozic & True, 2016; Pearson & Elson, 2015). These critiques, which hinge on the disproportionately negative effects of austerity and crisis on social reproduction, have even greater salience during the COVID-19 economic crisis. There have been negative flow-on effects on women's labour, savings and pensions, on gender wage gaps, overwork, gender-based violence, and time poverty (Johnston, Davies, Morales, Stone, & True, 2020). Over the last five years, some policymakers have broadened the concept of "infrastructure" to include social infrastructure (Government of Australia, 2019; Strumskyte & OECD, 2019).

CORE LITERATURE

17. De Henau, J., Himmelweit, S. and Perrons, D. (2017) "Investing in the Care Economy: Simulating Employment Effects by Gender in Countries in Emerging Economies." A report by the Women's Budget Group for the International Trade Union Confederation and UN Women. Brussels: ITUC.

The paper uses a gender lens to model the effects of increasing investment in social infrastructure in six emerging economies (Brazil, Costa Rica, China (People's Republic), India, Indonesia, and South Africa). It questions why, for instance, investment in the (predominantly male-dominated construction sector) is counted as investment, while support for social areas of the economy like health, education and welfare is seen as a cost. This gender

bias spreads into the UN-mandated system of national accounts, permitting hard infrastructure to be debt-financed, while social infrastructure of health, education and welfare cannot be. As a result, governments find it harder to borrow to support social sectors, despite such investment paying dividends in both human capital and productivity. The authors argue that “investment in physical infrastructure cannot be presented as the only form of investment that would stimulate employment and economic activity” (p. 32). To add weight to this assertion, the paper directly compares the net positive results of investment in public infrastructure versus social infrastructure (pp. 25-28). It shows that investment in health, education and care results in increased employment of people in the sector, increased employment (of women) further up the supply chain, and increased demand caused by increasing incomes.

18. Pearson, R. (2019). A Feminist Analysis of Neoliberalism and Austerity Policies in the UK. *Soundings*, 71(2), 28-39.

Pearson argues that neoliberal austerity privatises profits from social care and socialises losses by drawing on women’s extra care labour. Alternatively, the concept of ‘social infrastructure’ offers a feminist path to promote economic growth, livelihoods and wellbeing.

Pearson first notes that cuts in government spending have been in childcare, affordable housing, social and elder care. Women, who tend to have the largest responsibility for these activities, pay for these cuts with extra care labour, with the greatest damage done to women from lower socio-economic groups (p. 30). The withdrawal of social welfare and tax benefits from those families with more than two children is, likewise, a regressive cut. Health and education cuts have negative flow-on effects on the health, wealth and educational outcomes for the next generation of Britons from lower socio-economic groups. The final part of the article describes a feminist alternative to austerity: investment in social infrastructure: “skilled and trained teachers, health and social care workers, and in schools, hospitals, clinics and day centres” (p. 33). Because of the economic benefits it delivers, government spending on social infrastructure ought to be redefined as investment, not consumption. Pearson argues spending in these areas delivers benefits to the economy over the short-term (increased women’s labour force participation), medium-term (improved childhood development outcomes) and long-term (greater wealth, productivity, and tax base) (p. 37).

19. Pearson, R., & Elson, D. (2015). Transcending the Impact of the Financial Crisis in the United Kingdom: Towards Plan F: A Feminist Economic Strategy. *Feminist Review* 109(1), 8-30.

Drawing on findings made by the UK Women’s Budget Group, Pearson and Elson lay out the terrain of the contemporary UK economy in three parts: the financial sphere (retail and investment banking, hedge funds, regulations, treasury and finance ministries); the productive sphere (where goods and services are produced for sale, and where “good jobs” are declining); and the reproductive sphere (areas that supply services concerned with the daily and inter-generational reproduction of human beings) (p. 9-10). The first part of the article performs a gender analysis of changes to each of these spheres since the introduction of austerity policies in the UK in 2010. In the financial sphere, the government has shifted the tax burden towards women, while reductions in spending have cut vital services and welfare support to the most vulnerable, especially women (p. 13-14). Likewise, the gender wage gap in parts of the productive sphere has increased, and women’s dependence on men, food banks, and predatory credit has increased (p. 19). Pearson and Elson name this as a “deteriorating reproductive bargain”; that is, responsibility for the provision of access to resources and services for the reproduction of people throughout their life course has shifted from a collective responsibility shared between people and the state, to individual women (p. 21). The authors note that the demands of the productive economy (for mobile, flexible, and full-time labour) and the reproductive economy (for childcare and elder care) frequently clash with the bodies of adult women of working age (p. 23).

The final part of the article outlines how investment in social infrastructure is the feminist alternative – Plan F. Investment, for example, in the supply of good quality childcare, rather than pushing up costs through subsidies, is one key aspect of social infrastructure (p. 22).

20. Seguino, S. (2019) “Macroeconomic Policy Tools to Finance Gender Equality.” *Development Policy Review* 37 (4):504-525.

The article focuses on the macroeconomic policy space of government spending, taxation, and monetary policy, and makes an argument for the use of macroeconomic tools to expand the provision of social infrastructure. The author highlights countercyclical economic spending, full employment policies, gender-sensitive agricultural investments, reducing consumption taxes, and increasing overall rates of taxation especially on capital and financial transactions, as tools to expand social infrastructure.

Seguino argues for the reform of International Monetary Fund rules on limits on spending and public debt relative to GDP. Namely, spending on social infrastructure (health and education) is an investment with measurable returns, and should not be classified as consumption. Social infrastructure comprises “fundamental social, intellectual, and emotional skills, and health of individuals” that allows societies and economies to function. However, social infrastructure as an asset is not publicly owned via the state like physical infrastructure; rather, “social infrastructure is embodied in people and is enhanced via social spending by governments” (p. 507).

Investments in health, education, childcare and care have positive spill over effects with positive effects on economic productivity (p. 508). These positive effects include: increased incomes and inflows into the economy and tax systems, reduced loss of women’s labour from the labour market; decreased fertility and increased childhood education leading to a better-quality labour supply (p. 509). In one important example, the author highlights how public investment can achieve full employment. Full employment of men and women is seen as crucial to prevent backlash by men against women’s labour force participation (which “equalizes down” men’s pay and conditions) (Elson, 2000). Seguino describes how employment guarantee programmes (aimed at generating full employment) can reduce gender conflict over scarce jobs in crises or times of low employment, citing examples from Argentina and India (p. 510).

21. Seguino, S., & Were, M. (2014). *Gender, Development and Economic Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Journal of African Economies* 23(1): 18-61.

The authors of this piece argue that public investment in ‘social infrastructure’ could remedy low rates of per capita GDP growth in countries in the Sub-Saharan region. Social infrastructure, for Seguino and Were, is a term relevant to macroeconomics in that it encompasses a ‘human development’ approach to infrastructure investment. Social infrastructure comprises investment in human capabilities, livelihoods, and agency, such as education, health, and the care economy. The authors first survey extant literature on gender and economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa over the short run, showing the positive effects of women’s increasing education on food production and reduced reliance on food imports (p. 27). Investments in physical infrastructure such as water, sanitation, fuel, and transport reduce women’s unpaid labour burdens, and deliver other gender-positive externalities. They then turn to gender-sensitive government spending in education and employment over the long run. Seguino and Were apply a heterodox economics framework. Raising women’s wages under such a framework is not viewed as an economic cost (as in neoclassical economic modelling), but as increasing productivity. That is because women’s higher wages are spent on children’s wellbeing, and generally increase the circulation of money in the economy

(p. 30). Extrapolating from work showing that closing the gender gap in education of girls and boys raises GDP, the authors argue that social infrastructure provides a “stream of benefits” for financial and human development, increasing women’s employment through greater funding to social sectors, and lessening women’s time and work burdens caring for children and elders by improving care infrastructure (p. 48).

22. Strumskyte, S., & OECD. (2019). Issues Note: Gender Equality and Sustainable Infrastructure: OECD Council on SDGs: Side-Event.

This “Issues Note” from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) outlines how gender sensitive infrastructure contributes to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, and requires an integration of several goals on gender and infrastructure. The goals that infrastructure addresses are Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 on gender equality; SDG 6 on water and sanitation; SDG 7 on sustainable energy; SDG 9 on industry, innovation and infrastructure; SDG 11 on sustainable cities and communities; SDG 13 on climate action; SDG 14 on life below water and SDG 15 on life on land.

The report notes that policymakers assume women are beneficiaries of hard (physical) infrastructure but that uncontrolled development or sprawl has a disproportionately negative impact on women. Also, women have specific physical infrastructure needs that are not always considered by planners and policy makers. Conversely, women are the “more important users” of soft infrastructure (social infrastructure) such as education, health, childcare and social services.

The Note concludes that physical and social infrastructure thus need to be designed using a gender lens. The report focuses its gender lens on physical rather than social infrastructure, in a lacuna common to much policy in this area.

CASE STUDY: SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE & GENDER MAINSTREAMING: THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IN SRI LANKA

One emerging issue of social infrastructure concerns loose definitions of what comprises ‘social infrastructure’ and misappropriation of the term. The report “Gender Mainstreaming Case Study: Sri Lanka: North East Coastal Community Development Project and Tsunami-Affected Areas Rebuilding Project” highlights problems with the incorrect use of the term “social infrastructure” by practitioners (Asian Development Bank, 2015). Of the two case studies of gender-sensitive post-conflict rebuilding highlighted in their short report, one (the Tsunami-Affected Areas Rebuilding Project) apparently focused on restoring social infrastructure. Social infrastructure was defined as legal assistance, governance, coastal management, road rehabilitation, and microfinance. However, in this report, only the microfinance component was analysed, and seems to have comprised the main gender component of the project. In the scheme, interest rates were around 24 per cent per annum, and conflict and displacement meant that many people did not repay the loan. It is difficult to say what benefit the project brought to key areas of social infrastructure such as childcare, eldercare, education, or health. The implications of leaving out education, health, childcare and elder care on gender and development are stark, as this kind of social infrastructure will be of most benefit in alleviating women’s time poverty and increasing positive intergenerational development outcomes.

5. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

We define both the case studies in this pilot research ([link here](#)) (present-day Sri Lanka and Myanmar) as 'conflict-affected'. There are a range of descriptors that could have been used instead: 'war-affected', 'post-war', 'post-conflict', 'post-war transition', 'peace'. However, defining political conflict through periodisation can contribute to the categorisation of these spheres of activity as functionally, as well as temporally, distinct (Richards, 2005). We take as our starting point the political economy scholarship that employs a "feminist curiosity" (Enloe, 2004, 2007) in the analysis of armed conflict and its associated violence.

Feminist research identifies gendered continuities between war and 'post-war'; the contradictions inherent in the use of the term 'peace' to describe the post-war process, which often involves a "gendered backlash" (Meintjes, Pillay, & Turshen, 2002; Pankhurst, 2003); the ways in which this backlash is often structured through political and economic institutions and practices of war-making and 'peace-making' (Jennings & Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2009; True, 2012) and the extent to which public, or productive, spheres and 'private', or household/reproductive spheres, are connected (Cockburn, 1998; Tickner, 1992). Gendered ideologies – militarism (Enloe, 1989; Reardon, 1985) and nationalism (Cockburn, 1998; Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 1993) - operate through and shape war and post-war; gender norms are instrumentalised to serve the nationalist political projects that legitimise armed conflict (Coomaraswamy & Perera-Rajasingham, 2009; De Alwis, 2002; Maunaguru, 1995; Satkunanathan, 2012).

Conflict, and the violence associated with it, consists of much more than the outbreak of military/large-scale violence. Wartime violence and violence during times of 'peacebuilding', post-war or ceasefire are mutually constituted (Flint & Kirsch, 2011). Peace is always peace on someone's terms and is therefore a deeply political process. The 'peace architectures' in both Sri Lanka (where a 'victor's peace' prevails) and Myanmar (undergoing protracted conflict / ceasefire processes) are especially illustrative of these realities. Violence, which is always gendered, can be understood as operating across spatial and temporal continuums (Cockburn, 2004), deeply embedded in social and economic structures, and legitimised by culture (Galtung 1996 in Al-Ali & Pratt, 2009). This means that seemingly distinct manifestations of violence – armed conflict on the battlefield; everyday sexual harassment in the community; violence against women in the home – are in fact connected to one another, as the texts below discuss. The gendered dimensions of these environments are therefore conceptually, empirically and normatively essential to understanding conflict (Sjoberg, 2009). Bringing together analyses of conflict and violence with research into social reproduction involves exploring the presence, absence and quality of peace processes and the impact of these conflict-related political settlements on women's lives, as well as the everyday lived experiences of conflict-related violence (Elias & Rai, 2015).

CORE LITERATURE

23. Al-Ali, N., and Pratt, N., eds. (2009). *Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives*. London: Zed Books.

This edited book offers a critical examination of the relationship between gender relations and transnationalism in the context of war, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction. Although regionally specific, it has a relevance that goes far beyond the Middle East. It explores how actions of various local and transnational groups interact to shape the experiences of women in conflict-affected environments, the possibilities for their participation in peace and reconstruction processes, and the prospects for longer-term peace and security. The book, based on entirely original empirical research, brings together scholars in the fields of feminist international relations, feminist political economy, anthropology, sociology and history, as well as Middle East studies. Particularly valuable chapters for us are those by Peterson (Chapter 1, analysing the gender, including social reproductive, dimensions of informal post-war economies), Mojab (Chapter 3, arguing that post-war reconstruction is about “assembling the spoils of war”) and Richter-Devroe (Chapter 5, exploring the tensions between international non-governmental organisations’ ‘conflict resolution’ approaches and women’s activism and resistance via nationalism).

24. Elias, J. and Rai, S. (2015) ‘The Everyday Gendered Political Economy of Violence’, in Special Issue ‘Critical Perspectives on Gender and Politics’, *Politics and Gender* 11, 406-438.

This article is part of a special issue examining how to rebuild bridges between two strands of feminist political scholarship: conflict/security studies (FSS) and international political economy (FPE). FPE, the focus of this article, has concentrated on the gendered nature of global production, labour and economic crises and tended to avoid questions of violence. In their essay, Elias and Rai propose that FPE scholarship can incorporate attention to gendered forms and practices of violence by foregrounding everyday experiences of the political economy. The ‘everyday’ is not merely a descriptive term but is conceptualised as “an actual material setting” (Scheper-Hughes 1992, in Elias and Rai 2015, p.425). Investigating the everyday, through people’s lived experiences, can generate rich data that top-down theories of capitalist structural violence cannot and that can be connected to broader political economy structures. The article outlines three interrelated aspects of gendered violence in the global political economy, which manifest in the everyday. The first is violence within feminised global zones of work, such as sexual harassment in factories, to secure workplace discipline. The second is violence arising from the everyday act of going to work outside the home, for example, through sexual assault on overcrowded public transport. The third is the relationship between women’s subordination in the household and different forms of violence, for example, through a backlash within the household or local community, stemming from perceptions that women are stepping out of place. The authors call for a broadening of the notion of violence, to include not just physical attack but also the bodily impacts of inadequate access to healthcare or nutrition, that is, the social reproductive impacts of violence. They also call attention to social reproductive work within the household and categorise the non-recognition of this domestic labour as psychological violence. The widening of the lens and analysis of violence to include the sphere of social reproduction draws on Rai, Hoskyns, and Thomas’s (2007) concept of ‘depletion’ (see “Depletion”, above), which is a materialist feminist interpretation of everyday systemic violence. The authors seek to demonstrate “the strong and clear links between social reproduction, the everyday political economy and issues of violence against women” (p.428).

25. Giles, W. and Hyndman, J. (eds) (2004) *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*. Berkeley: University of California Press

This multi-disciplinary collection is the work of feminist researchers from the Women in Conflict Zones Network (WICZNET), who analyse the politics of gender relations at specific sites of violence. The book starts from the position that conflict-related, militarised violence (especially in contemporary conflicts, which now widely incorporate civilians) cannot be isolated from other expressions of violence. It therefore forges connections between sites of gendered violence that extend across spaces and times of 'war' and 'peace'. The book considers intersecting dimensions of contemporary violent conflict: not only their gendered nature but also the ways they are racialised and shaped by nationalisms and economic processes of globalisation. It focuses on four analytical domains and their imbrications with gender relations: ethnic nationalism; violence and women's rights; citizenship; and women's empowerment in war.

The book provides rich empirical material throughout, as well as demonstrating and developing feminist conceptual tools to analyse the processes and experiences of conflict and violence. Chapters 2, 4, 7 and 10 are of especial value to us. In Chapter 2, Cockburn analyses the 'continuum of violence' from an explicitly gendered perspective: the chapter connects the gendered violence of everyday life to the structural violence of economic systems (where inequalities exist both between and within nations and also manifest through patriarchal relations); it links the violence of militarised societies with the gendered ideologies that underpin them; and connects all these to the armed conflict of open warfare. The gendered continuum of violence shows that there is 'no abrupt cutoff line between war and postwar' (p.39). In Chapter 4, through a case study of Sudan, Macklin connects the dots between (neo-colonial) global capital investment from the North, armed conflict in the South and the gendered implications of these contemporary configurations of power. The analysis enables readers to consider how 'secure' militarised security and corporate security look, through a gendered human security lens. In Chapter 7, Preston and Wong bring a spatial (geographical) perspective to analysis of gender and conflict, using case studies in Ghana. The chapter explores how the continuum of violence stretches from domestic violence within the household to armed conflict within nations, tracing how economic hardship and patriarchal societal structures interact with armed conflict to subordinate women in distinct ways in different regions of Ghana. In Chapter 10, De Alwis looks at gendered articulations of 'home' in a case study of Muslim internally displaced persons in the North Western Province of Sri Lanka. The book ends by considering future directions for feminist conflict-related research and politics.

26. Meger, S. (2015). *Towards a Feminist Political Economy of Wartime Sexual Violence: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo*. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 17 (3), pp. 416 – 434.

This journal article offers a persuasive structural analysis of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in the conflict in the eastern regions of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Meger argues that the SGBV that is a prominent feature of this conflict is a manifestation of international political economy processes of accumulation by dispossession (as theorised by geographer David Harvey). Wartime SGBV, she argues, reconstitutes gender identity and gender relations at three interconnected levels: international-structural, political-cultural, and individual-interpersonal.

At the structural level, Meger argues that the conflict in DRC is tied to a desire to continue the plunder of the country that has happened since colonialism. The current, neoliberal capitalist international order perpetuates resource exploitation and drives the creation of transnational trade networks, simultaneously incentivising the formation of militia groups to enable participation in resource exploitation and encouraging the maintenance of crisis conditions to enable resource exploitation. These structural conditions connect to SGBV as a form of political violence and as individual-level violence. As a form of political violence, the perpetuation of SGBV by combatants serves to maintain a generalised state of disorder and terror, under the cloak of which armed groups can pursue their economic agendas. In DRC, sexual violence, like all forms of violence, has become one of the primary means by which actors can undermine government structures and open the door to predatory practices that enrich

militia and their networks by providing factions with access to valuable commodities. As a form of interpersonal, individually motivated violence, conflict-related sexual violence serves to reconstitute masculine identity. In places such as eastern DRC, men find traditional privileges eroded by changes in the global economy and may seek alternatives, such as joining the military or militia groups, to contest their marginalisation and restore dominance in the gender hierarchy. For soldiers, rape is a way of reasserting their masculinity, based on the norm of the sexually potent male fighter; one of the most readily available means for a man to retrieve the power 'owed' to him under patriarchy is by exercising his male sex privilege of accessing women's bodies for personal fulfilment. Therefore, SGBV in conflict-affected eastern DRC, according to the article, has become a low-cost means by which its perpetrators challenge hegemonic political economy structures that subordinate and marginalise certain groups of men. At the same time, it is a means to access and benefit from those same structures without fear of reprisal. Rather than violence committed by individual, disenfranchised men against individual women, it is an effective mechanism in the process of ongoing primitive accumulation because of the multiple ways it (re)constitutes men's masculinity and serves the interests of structures of neoliberal capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism.

27. Scheper-Hughes, N., and Bourgois, P. (eds.) (2004) *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

This volume brings together an extensive collection of anthropologically informed readings that explore social, literary and philosophical theories of violence. Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) organise the chapters to constantly juxtapose the routine violence of everyday life ("terror as usual") with the explosions of violence often regarded as extraordinary or pathological (to name a few, the Rwandan genocide, the Holocaust, state violence/dirty wars, and organised criminal violence). In doing so, contributors raise questions about the relations and continuities between seemingly different forms of violence; and between social inequalities and individual and collective pathologies of power (p. 5). They offer up some key words and terms to serve as a "map" through the anthology, notably the core concept of a "continuum of violence". Bourgois' chapter (56) on post-Cold War El Salvador sets out how continuums operate across 'war' and 'peace', encompassing overlapping modes of direct political, structural, symbolic, and everyday violence, all of which have inevitably gendered dimensions. The collection houses some of the most profound modern texts on violence, including work by Fanon, Arendt, and Levi. Particularly relevant to this annotated bibliography, though, are chapters by Scheper-Hughes (20) on state violence in north-east Brazil as the country 'transitioned' to democracy in the 1980s; Green (21) on the socialisation of terror in Guatemala, and Farmer (34) on structural violence.

28. True, J. (2012). *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

This book uses a feminist political economy framework to provide a theoretical and empirical analysis of increasing global violence against women (VAW). Cross-national evidence, in the form of testimonials, statistics and NGO reports, sets out the prevalence and depth of the issue and supports the political choice to centre women's experiences in the analysis. True argues that long-term structural change that tackles entrenched material gender inequalities (for example, in land rights, housing and employment) is needed to prevent VAW, in contrast to policy approaches that would seek to ameliorate it. Increasing VAW is discussed in relation to articulations of masculinity and the loss of material male privilege that accompany contemporary processes of globalisation; development and global institutions of economic governance; ecological displacement; and armed conflict. The latter, explored across two chapters, is especially valuable for the linkages it draws between different forms of conflict-related violence. It is argued that the imperative to tackle the mass sexual violence committed in war and post-war has led to a very focused lens being trained on this, to the exclusion of other aspects of gendered war and post-war violence; and recommendations are made on the need for meaningful inclusion of women in processes of economic reconstruction.

CASE STUDY: CONFLICT AND GENDERED VIOLENCE IN GUATEMALA

In conflict-affected Guatemala, the signing of Peace Accords in the 1980s opened the doors to a mode of economic development that created new forms of economic exploitation with very real links to everyday physical violence. McNeish and Rivera (2009) argue that such structural violence is not inert but actively violent in its own right; and is connected to the immanent and systemic violence of capitalism. The economic crises and associated social disintegration that came with liberal democratisation severely impacted the social reproductive sphere and women's labour within it, especially the work of poor women, or *pobladoras* (Blacklock & Crosby, 2004, p. 53). The nation's history shapes 'post-war' and present-day violence. The civil war, in which over 200,000 people were killed, started with a US-backed coup of the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz. Large scale, brutal repression by military dictatorships followed in the 1960s. After the return to civilian rule in the 1980s, though, political violence sharply increased. This was partly because the shadow groups and criminal organisations that continued to exist (and still do) were linked to wartime arrangements for political loyalty and counterinsurgency. Meanwhile, the tactics of violence employed and still seen today (for example, kidnap, rape, bodily dismemberment) mirror the terror tactics used by military rulers during the war. The civil war officially ended in 1996 but these types of violence have become part of the everyday (McNeish & Rivera, 2009, pp. 297-298). The extreme physical and everyday violence against women extends into the household, where misogynistic and femicidal violence is normalised (Mercier, 2020).

6. THE REGENERATIVE STATE

The concept of a regenerative state builds on existing theories and associated policy principles on the role and potential of the state in conflict-affected environments, while standing separate from both ‘liberal peacebuilding’ and ‘hybridity’ approaches. Our research on the regenerative state, while engaging with the many critiques, considers the possibility of reimagining the state and contributing to progressively transforming it, especially through the lens of social reproduction. We posit that the moment of potential transition that arises in the immediate aftermath of war might present an opportunity for a truly regenerative state to start to redress gendered inequalities through provision of social infrastructure, therefore reducing depletion through social reproduction (Rai et al., 2014; Rai, True, & Tanyag, 2020). These are critical, yet ever-neglected, conditions for an inclusive and sustainable peace settlement.

There are empirical and conceptual challenges in situating the regenerative state. First, historical analysis documents how activities of state-making, war-making and extraction overlap (Tilly, 1985). The developmental states that emerged through anti-imperialist/anti-colonial struggles in the Global South, too, have taken forms that advance elite political interests, driving capitalist accumulation and violent dispossession (Chatterjee, 1994). Second, feminist analysis documents how the gendered social relations that constitute multiple contemporary state forms – welfare, (neo)liberal, postcolonial – serve to buttress continuing patriarchal relations of production and reproduction (Rai et al., 2020). Multiple processes of state formation were nonetheless constituted via a division of productive and reproductive labour that had systemic implications for the perpetuation of women’s material insecurities (Federici, 2004; Peterson, 1992b). States today continue to deploy oppressive gendered political responses to shape labour markets (Rai, 2020).

The capacity of the state to shape violence extends to gender violence. The state “shapes the rules, disciplines participants, and provides infrastructure and backup” (and is often the agent of multiple forms of gendered violence) (Peterson, 2003, p. 45). It derives power through nationalist ideologies encompassing gender norms that render women’s lives and bodies particularly vulnerable to forms of violence and violent exclusion (Enloe, 1989). However, women’s rights can become a bargaining chip between social forces, with states sometimes supporting forms of gender equality (Goetz & Jenkins, 2016; Hudson, Bowen, & Nielsen, 2016; Moghadam, 2004). In a ‘transitory’ period such as the aftermath of war, or ceasefire, these norms typically realign according to the dominant political settlement (Kelly, 2000, p. 51), at the same time as (gendered) arrangements of the end of the war become institutionalised in the political and economic order.

Meanwhile, conflict research over the past three decades has critiqued ‘liberal peacebuilding’ imposed by interventional actors where the state is assumed to be fragile or ‘failed’ (Cramer, 2006; Duncanson, 2016; Helman & Ratner, 1992; Rai, 2020). However, there are cases of endogenous peacebuilding: reconstruction managed by national elites, such as in Sri Lanka and Myanmar, through state structures bolstered by conflict (de Oliveira, 2011). These empirical realities inform enduring conceptual questions about what the state is. Within the Marxist and neo-Marxist literature, it is understood, fundamentally, as a mediator of capitalist social relations - although the nature of this mediation, especially in the neoliberal era, is contested (Harvey, 2005; Jessop, 2004, 1990; Meiksins Wood, 1995). Within these analytic parameters, the question of whether social relations of power can ever truly be subverted through the state looms large.

Feminist theorists expose nuances within the state that challenge such unequivocal understandings. States can “simultaneously be progressive and regressive, authoritarian and enabling” (Cooper, 2020, p. 7). These complexities are especially apparent when examining the relationship between the state and the gendered household (Rai, 2020). This is especially apparent in conflict-affected environments. The state, an agent of extreme gendered violence and dispossession, might at the same time provide protection (social welfare, services) and certain forms of immediate economic security that are of disproportionate value to women undertaking most of society’s social reproductive labour. Further, state policy is, for those living within its boundaries, a crucial arena of contestation for gender justice (Hozic & True, 2016). Such gendered realities demand, at the very least, an exploration of these potentially regenerative contours of the state, in order to keep the struggle for radical feminist transformation alive (Rai, 2020).

CORE LITERATURE

29. Newman, J. and J. Clarke, (2014). “States of Imagination”. *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 57 (1): 153-169.

The article recontextualises the way we think of the state and argues for its continuing importance for the left. The state is characterised as a contradictory site of contestation and compromise rather than a monolithic entity; as the authors note, many of the problems we ask the state to address are the consequences of its own actions (p. 156). The authors believe that the possibility of remaking the state lies partly in our residual, affective attachments to collectivity and solidarity in insecure times. Drawing on a range of newspaper headlines from the UK, they re-read the state in the context of our affective relationships with it and responses to its changing role. They propose that our continuing attachment to the state could connect to a nascent and more transformative politics. Both imaginative and material resources are crucial for such a remaking, which, they advocate, is not about moving to a different ‘type’ of state but rather, remaking the state as a “dialogic” entity. Inspiration is drawn from examples in the Global South where goods are brought into public, municipal, or cooperative ownership. A “dialogic state”, the authors propose, is necessarily a dispersed (decentralised) state, even though centralisation is simultaneously required to guarantee citizens’ rights. It is characterised by three aspects that together create a public, participatory culture: public governance, public discourse, and public dialogue.

30. Parashar, S., Ticker, J.A. and True, J. (2018). *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

This edited volume reconnects to debates raised by V.S Peterson’s influential text on “Gendered States” (1992a), which investigates the way gender shapes international relations and the construction of the sovereign state system. The book revisits this question in the contemporary context of a more globalised and securitised world. It engages with three broad questions: 1) whether the ‘gendered state’ can be said to be generic or whether some are more gendered than others; and if so, what the implications and outcomes of this are; 2) what the ongoing theoretical significance of the gendered state in international relations’ scholarship is; 3) what distinctions are to be drawn between postcolonial and metropolitan states. Although oriented towards the field of international relations, the book, which begins with a preface by Peterson and is divided into four parts, is made up of multidisciplinary contributions from International Relations, Postcolonial Studies and Development Studies. In addition to the theoretical positioning of Part 1, particularly relevant chapters for feminists working on social reproduction are case studies from conflict-affected Indonesia (Chapter 9, Lee-Koo) and Sri Lanka (Chapter 6, Gunawardana).

31. Rai, S.M., J. True and M. Tanyag (2020) "From Depletion to Regeneration Addressing Structural and Physical Violence in Post-Conflict Economies". *Social Politics* (4): 561-585.

This paper argues that the context of violence exacerbates the gendered process of depletion through social reproduction as women labour to meet household and community needs. This, in turn, heightens women's vulnerabilities to violence in conflict-affected environments and curtails their capacity for involvement in recovery and peacebuilding processes. The authors put forward the concept of a 'regenerative state' as a potential vehicle to address and reverse depletion through social reproduction and end gendered violence. While cautioning against utopianism, they consider the state to be a legitimate arena for feminist struggle and propose that the 'post-war moment' might provide an opportunity to being about and institutionalise gender-progressive change. The paper outlines three core elements of a regenerative state. First, it should recognise the value of social reproductive work and, therefore, support the rebuilding of social infrastructure (see above) as part of post-war recovery efforts, rather than physical infrastructure alone. Second, a regenerative state should adopt and enable a politics of "dialogic, deliberative and participative conversation" (p. 575). This means that it should support civil and wider society across conflict lines, to mobilise and participate in processes of gender-progressive economic reform. Meaningful participation requires a greater representation of women in political institutions dealing with conflict transition, because land rights, access to justice and redistributive policies are all crucial to reverse the depletion of social reproduction and end gender-based violence. Meaningful participation can also only occur if there is a redistribution of household and community social reproductive labour, so women are not undertaking multiple shifts of work in their households and communities and in post-conflict institutions. The third core element of a regenerative state is its incorporation of accountability mechanisms, which should include mandatory gender and human rights-based indicators as part of the monitoring and evaluation of all post-conflict programmes. The authors posit that such mechanisms could help mobilise a feminist politics that engages with and challenges the state to create policies that consider the interdependence of productive and social reproductive economic spheres. Such policies might include greater social expenditure on care sectors and stronger regulation of the labour market to support workers with caring responsibilities. The authors propose that international governance regimes, such as the UN Sustainable Development Goals framework, have the potential to support a regenerative state in developing these policies but are currently hindered by the emphasis they place on GDP growth as development.

32. Cooper, D., Dhawan, N., & Newman, J. (2020). *Reimagining the State: Theoretical Challenges and Transformative Possibilities*. Abingdon: Routledge.

What value does the state have for the pursuit of progressive politics? How might it need to be reimagined to deliver transformative change? The book engages with these questions attentive to the (neoliberal) capitalist, gendered, and racist influences that shape states, but nonetheless considers and makes arguments for how states might be radically reread and reclaimed. To this end, Part 1 (of four) explicitly sets out the political work required for reimagination. The multidisciplinary contributions draw on postcolonial, poststructuralist, feminist, queer, Marxist, and anarchist thinking and, in addition to considering the politics of this project, are concerned with the task of 're-reading' states, the practical possibilities of prefiguring state practices, and the challenges of reimagination. Of most relevance to this bibliography are the theoretical and political considerations of Part 1, especially the Chapter 2 by Rai, who addresses the task with respect to the gendered state and articulates four reasons why it is imperative, despite the pitfalls, to reimagine. Do Mar Castro Varela's and Herman's chapters (5 and 6 respectively) are noteworthy as they offer thought-provoking re-readings of the (conflict-affected) state of Israel. Finally, and considering the conceptual overview above, Clarke (Ch 11) considers how, and whether, the state's coercive powers can be reimagined.

33. Seoighe, N. (2017). *War, Denial and Nation-Building in Sri Lanka: After the End*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

This book examines and analyses Sri Lanka's post-war nation-building project, from a criminological perspective and through a postcolonial and constructivist lens. Beginning with the final months leading up to the brutal end of the war and focusing on memory, interpretation, and propaganda since then, Seoighe considers how narratives of the conflict and discourses of violence were (re)constructed and owned by the state. Seoighe maintains that the ethno-nationalist state stands responsible for state crime and genocide denial and crafts this strong argument using data gathered from extensive interviews with activists, academics, politicians, state representatives and international agency staff, and observational fieldwork carried out in Sri Lanka in 2012. The conflict and 'post-war moment' - "the End" and beyond - are conceptualised as temporalities and spaces when existing violent dimensions of the state were discursively re-constructed and embedded, and landscapes were redrawn to erase non-majoritarian realities. The analysis speaks to questions about state-making as the creation of historically situated communities that include some but actively exclude and marginalise others. As such, it provides much food for thought about the (conflict) state as a vehicle for inclusive and progressive regeneration.

34. Woods, K (2011). 'Ceasefire Capitalism: Military-Private Partnerships, Resource Concessions and Military-State Building in the Burma-China Borderlands'. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38 (4): 747-70.

This paper investigates and analyses state-building in Burma/Myanmar during ceasefire periods since the 1990s. Woods shows state-building is both a (geo)-political and an economic process. In Burma/Myanmar, it has involved a post-war military state appropriating global finance and commodity markets, (trans-) national businesspeople, and ethnic business and political elites to solidify *de jure* sovereignty into *de facto* territorial control of the Burma-China borderlands. Woods describes this (violent, abusive) state-driven process of accumulation as a form of "ceasefire capitalism", in the sense that peace settlements with ethno-nationalist groups have opened up an opportunity for state expansion via new economic projects and new forms of accumulation at the margins of the state. Ceasefire capitalism has disproportionately benefited elites at the centre and excluded those on the periphery. The paper explores how both political motivations and economic imperatives shape state practices and dynamics. It therefore speaks to questions about the likely regenerative potential of the state in a 'post war'/'post-conflict' moment.

CASE STUDY: ILLIBERAL PEACEBUILDING IN SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka is one of a growing number of contemporary cases of 'illiberal peacebuilding', that is, post-war reconstruction managed by national elites in defiance of 'liberal' peace precepts. The civil war was reflective of and intensified Sinhala-Tamil ethnic divisions. However, the postcolonial state's motivations and actions can be understood as shaped by class (and caste) interests as well as organised along racialised lines (Sivanandan, 1984). In the contemporary post-war process, this elite political settlement influences the potential for a 'regenerative state', which raises the question: for whom will the state support regeneration? Examination of post-war dialogic and participative conversations and the state's record of action on conflict-related accountability to date provides important clues. The National Action Plan (2012) to implement findings of the Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission (2011) and the Office on Missing Persons (a permanent state institution operationalised in 2018 to look into war-related disappearances) have been criticised by civil society, victim-survivor groups and international observers for their failure to provide justice for the families of forcibly disappeared and missing persons. Thus, real justice and accountability is absent. Yet, war-affected women, feminist activists and civil society have consistently engaged with the state through these mechanisms and used them as platforms, however flawed, to call for transformative and gendered justice (De Mel, 2013). This is significant and speaks to the fact that 'reimagining the state' is an ongoing and dynamic process. On matters of gender justice, the state ostensibly acknowledges the issue of women's double burden of paid work and unpaid social reproductive labour (Government of Sri Lanka, 2018, p. 84). However, there are contradictions between superficial commitment to gender equality and the continuing state endorsement of domestic violence (marital rape is legal), sexual violence (for example, sexual violence against men is not recognised), gendered injustice (homosexuality is illegal) and economic reliance on feminised migration and remittance flows (Davies & True, 2017). Moreover, the state's refusal to address political demands - for answers about missing family members, for an end to militarisation and for the restoration of land rights - contribute to women's depletion and vulnerability to gendered violence. Thus, on the one hand, women citizens' ongoing engagement with the state and insistence on holding it to account point to the transformative potential of a regenerative state and to women's aspirations to achieve this (Fonseka & Shultz, 2018). On the other hand, the majoritarian, patrimonial and militarised nature of the Sri Lankan state, its endorsement and perpetuation of gender violence and its decades-long commitment to neoliberal economic reform simultaneously illustrate the limitations of this institution to bring about meaningful and gender-just regeneration.

7. METHODOLOGY

This section of the annotated bibliography surveys two methods relevant to the use of the Feminist Everyday Observation Tool (Rai & True, 2020) in conflict-affected areas: time use surveys and ethnography.

Quantitative time use surveys—counting the number of hours or minutes spent on specific tasks over a day, a week or longer—were pioneered in the 1920s, but only systematically developed in the 1960s (Ironmonger, 1999). They only became widespread in the 1990s. Time use surveys can take a variety of forms: self-reported structured questionnaires, self-reported time use diaries, and observations (or shadowing). Time use can be reported for a single day or more, it can take samples at more than one point, or it can seek to map changing time use over the life course (UN Women, 2016).

Time use is of interest to researchers working on the gender division of labour, time poverty, child development, women's economic empowerment, income generation, and labour market participation. Time use studies are especially useful to assess unpaid labour (of women in particular) that is otherwise unmeasured through Gross National Product. Moreover, time use surveys can be used in conjunction with household expenditure surveys to estimate household accounts (inputs and outputs) (Ironmonger, 1999). Such surveys show that when both paid and unpaid labour are considered, women typically work more hours than men (UN Women, 2016).

An area of difficulty in implementing time use surveys occurs with multitasking and definitions of care: trying to measure primary child care (when activities directly involve children) and secondary child care (when an adult is responsible for a child in their care (Drago & Stewart, 2010). Despite these constraints, easier large-scale studies of time use make it an attractive method for feminist researchers. For instance, time use studies not only demonstrate the labour gap between men and women, but can also be used to demonstrate the efficacy of improving physical infrastructure (Fontana & Natali, 2008). Time use also has great potential as a transformative research method when used as part of a mixed methods design (Jagoe et al., 2020; Rai & True, 2020).

Ethnography consists of qualitative practice, in which the researcher is the primary tool for collecting data, and which aims to understand human behaviour, relationships and groups. Data are gathered through methods involving direct human interaction, such as participant observation, face-to-face interviews and audiovisual recordings (Schensul & LeCompte, 2012). Because data collection is contingent upon the presence and skill of the researcher, rapport-building is crucial to the process (Maddon, 2017). It takes time to establish rapport with participants and research contacts, which is one of the reasons why ethnography involves long-term fieldwork, consisting of 12–18 months. However, in today's research environment (and outside the discipline of anthropology) this is rarely feasible. An ethnographic approach is appropriate for studies where research variables consist of complex social phenomena (for example, the relationship between 'the conflict environment' and 'depletion through social reproduction'). Ethnographic methods are particularly well-suited for the context of a complex and dynamic post-war environment. Reconstruction and recovery are not only about the rebuilding of systems and institutions but also about the everyday aspects, or "the micro-spaces in which a human way of life is re-established" (Theidon, 2001, p. 33).

As the researcher is situated within the research environment, their positioning (characteristics, behaviours, beliefs) becomes significant and must be reflected upon as part of the data analysis (reflexivity). Moreover, the direct and close contact with participants that is part of the ethnographic process raises ethical questions and imposes responsibilities on researchers. There are additional ethical implications of undertaking work in politically sensitive environments.

CORE LITERATURE

35. Andrews, M. (2020) Quality indicators in narrative research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*.

Andrews provides a framework for assessing quality in narrative research and provides a checklist of ten indicators for this purpose. There is a lack of consensus about what constitutes narrative research and therefore no clear protocol on how to do it. To address the first point on consensus, Andrews details three core features of narrative research. First, it is undertaken with the belief in the importance of the story, which is seen as a rich resource for understanding people and the world. Stories tell us what life looks like from a person's own perspective and are therefore "imbued with a truth that is real to them" (p.3). Second, narrative research generates 'messy' data, making protocol difficult. In an interview, meaning is co-constructed and negotiated between speaker and listener; people answer the questions they understand have been asked and interviewers' responses are partly built on what they understand their respondent has told them. Third, in narrative research, attention is paid to 'temporal framing', that is, how time shapes the nature of a story. The paper takes two different temporal framings (by then-President George Bush and political scientist Chalmers Johnson) of the September 11th attacks on the US World Trade Center in 2001 to illustrate this point. The example demonstrates that where a story begins and ends are central aspects of the story itself, and shows how stories are told for a purpose and can be used strategically.

The paper reflects that narrative research is not well-suited to those looking for 'definitive' answers; in fact, it can very much challenge our basic understanding of how we come to know the world. Andrews argues, however, that this 'messiness' makes the method entirely appropriate for its purpose, human beings trying to understand other human beings, because this itself is not a straightforward task (p. 11). With this context in mind, the paper provides a (non exhaustive) checklist of ten indicators of quality narrative research. These include the truthfulness and trustworthiness of the research: the pursuit of truth (even though it will not necessarily be objective or verifiable) must drive scholarship, and research interpretations must be plausible, that is, supported with additional evidence. Other indicators relate to the power dynamics that permeate research: these comprise attention to ethics, to the researcher's own position (reflexivity) and to the accessibility of research findings. Finally, good quality narrative research must be appropriately contextualised. Researchers must not only listen to the stories that they hear but also ask why these are the stories that have emerged and reflect on what remains untold. Narrative researchers should be aware of the limitations of analysing a person's story in one particular 'freeze frame' moment; they should seek to draw connections between micro and macro-level accounts of events; and they should remember, in their analysis, that interlocutors tell stories for 'an audience' and therefore, narratives have their own purpose.

36. Cronin-Furman, K. and Lake, M. (2018) Ethics Abroad: Fieldwork in Fragile and Violent Contexts. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51(3): 607-614.

Conflict contexts pose particular ethical risks. Researchers from the global north can often engage in conduct in these contexts that would not be permitted in their home countries but that enables them to advance their careers. This article offers two sets of guidelines – for researchers and for the academe – to foster more responsible and ethical research practices. The authors examine different interactions and relationships through which researchers engage in exploitative practices. Research subjects in conflict-affected environments are often highly vulnerable populations, such as victims/survivors of sexual violence. In the global north, immediate and unregulated access to these groups and individuals would not be allowed and any access would need to be strongly justified. However, this is often not the case in fragile and violent settings and so participants there are far more exposed to issues such as re-traumatisation or breaches of medical confidentiality. In fragile locations, people may be more inclined to share private stories because they believe it will lead to their getting more support; yet, academic research frequently fails to deliver local benefits, as is noted with an example from eastern DRC (p. 609). At the same time,

however, researchers are more likely to be rewarded for innovation and bravery having carried out research in volatile field sites, despite their lack of experience and training in interactions with vulnerable people.

Relationships with local partners have their own power dynamics. For example, local organisations may disregard ethical risks in exchange for the benefits of affiliating with a global north university. Therefore, the authors argue that taking this approach does not absolve scholars of their own ethical obligations. Meanwhile, local research assistants and 'fixers' are often paid extremely low wages for the crucial work they do and their contribution to the intellectual product is barely, if at all, recognised. These ethical issues are heightened in socio-economically fragile locations, where affiliating with foreigners (non-government organisations, as well as researchers) may be perceived as the only option for exit or above-subsistence living.

The authors acknowledge that research in conflict settings is extremely valuable to social science but argue strongly for alleviating and combatting extractive and exploitative dynamics. The first set of guidelines they provide is for scholars embarking on field research. The second is for the wider social science community, including conference attendees, grant evaluators, peer reviewers, dissertation committees and readers. The article argues that all researchers should critically weigh up the value of any piece of research in relation to the potential harms inflicted.

37. Folbre, N., & Yoon, J. (2007). What is Child Care? Lessons from Time-Use Surveys of Major English-Speaking Countries. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 5(3): 223-248.

This article looks at the definitions and survey design of four large 'n' time use surveys in Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. The time use surveys comprised diaries filled out by one household member on one given day ("survey day"). Respondents were part of a representative sample of national populations. Folbre and Yoon raise several important points relevant to the design and implementation of large-scale time use surveys of care work. First, greater conceptual clarity and precise phrasing of survey questions are needed on the question of childcare as a primary activity (all of the attention is given to it) or a secondary activity (the child is in the care of the respondent, but there is no explicit childcare activity). How researchers word this question ("minding", "child is in my care", "child is in the same room", "the activity was for my child") makes a great deal of difference to the categorisation and analysis of time use (p. 225). The gender implications are stark, with men more often engaged in secondary or supervisory childcare, and women more responsible for primary childcare. Folbre and Yoon suggest greater precision, using for instance, categories of care such as development childcare, physical care, low-intensity care, and managerial care (p. 227). Another shortcoming of typical time use surveys (in terms of gender analysis) is that only one adult in the household is surveyed, rather than two, which would allow closer examination of gender dynamics (p. 238). Overall, results show that caring for more children increases the time spent caring for children. In addition, the greater number of hours women spend in paid work means fewer hours devoted to secondary childcare (supervision). Employed women still protect high intensity primary care time.

38. Hedström, J. (2019). Confusion, Seduction, Failure: Emotions as Reflexive Knowledge in Conflict Settings. *International Studies Review*, 21: 662-677.

Hedström argues that academic knowledge practices are informed by the affective aspects of the (violent) context in which fieldwork happens. A range of emotions alter knowledge production: fear constrains choices of sites; interview questions, and resilience in the field, congruence and empathy make the interviewer push the interview a certain way; failure, and guilt in the face of interlocutors' trauma, impinge on the interview process (p. 672). Hedström notes how confusion and boredom can make the researcher feel unprofessional, and unable to produce 'scientific' or impartial knowledge. However, the lesson of this very instructive article lies in how emotions (conceived of as both material and socially constructed) offer a way to better understand and produce a more complete account of conflict-affected communities. Experiencing a range of emotions in the field opens ways to

understand the gaps and silences that are always present in conflicts. Moreover, transparency and reflexivity about the emotional aspects of fieldwork knowledge production makes the abstraction and disciplinary constraints that shape the final written product more visible, and thus more rigorous (p. 669).

39. Jagoe, K., Rossanese, M., Charron, D., Rouse, J., Waweru, F., Waruguru, M., Delapena, S., Piedrahita, R., Livingston, K., Ipe, J. (2020). *Sharing The Burden: Shifts in Family Time Use, Agency and Gender Dynamics After Introduction of New Cookstoves in Rural Kenya. Energy Research and Social Science, 64.*

This study demonstrates the varied ways time use studies can provide important insights into social reproduction. It is an applied piece of research, seeking to test whether a more efficient cook stove reduces time spent collecting firewood, cooking and overall drudgery. To measure nuanced effects on time poverty, it develops a sequential, mixed method study of 55 households in Kenya over 18 weeks, measuring the effects of the introduction of a new cook stove. Quantitative data on household stove use and perceived drudgery—pre and post stove dissemination – were collected in a quantitative survey on self-reported time use, and via sensor-based stove use monitoring. These quantitative data were interpreted using qualitative methods, chiefly post-intervention focus group discussions using photo elicitation. Structured kitchen observations and participatory rural appraisals were done but the data were not used. Photo elicitation comprised 10 study participants being asked to take photos on the theme of stove use.

This paper is a useful demonstration of how mixed methods time use can be an effective way to investigate social reproduction. Efficient cookstoves are an intervention aimed at the individual but the method has potential to evaluate the effects of new social infrastructure provision on time poverty. As such, it shows how mixed method time use surveys can measure progress against Sustainable Development Goal 5 (Gender Equality) on domestic work.

40. Rai, S. M., and True, J. (2020). *Feminist Everyday Observatory Tool. University of Warwick Press, WICID Methods Lab: Toolkit Series.*

In this paper, Rai and True introduce the Feminist Everyday Observatory Tool (FEOT), a new methodological toolkit for researchers studying labour and time-use, social reproduction, and the everyday. The FEOT, building on feminist and interpretive-qualitative approaches to research, is a mixed method analysis of time-use with sensitivity to contexts of the participants. It expands the study of time-use through a three-step observation methodology that also takes into consideration the impacts of space and violence. The latter is especially important for studies in conflict-affected environments. The method brings together shadowing, a research technique from organisational research, and ethnographic time-use data gathering and analysis. The steps are: 1) a pre-observation questionnaire; 2) an observation day; 3) a post-observation, ideally narrative, interview. The initial questionnaire gathers key demographic information about the participant and her household through a half hour meeting. For the observation day, the researcher shadows the participant, to understand how she uses her time and what her everyday work involves. The researcher documents the participant's time-use activities every 15 minutes for (ideally) 12 -16 hours and notes observations about the context and modalities of time-use. Photos might be taken throughout the day by the researcher, with the informed consent of the participant. In the post-observation interview (1.5-2 hours), which is carried out as soon as possible after the observation, the participant answers questions about significant aspects of the observation day, and about the wider environment. The FEOT allows researchers to understand not only what participants do (through the observational time-use survey) but also – through the interview - what they feel about what they do, as well as whether they feel they and their work are valued by their families and communities. The methodological approach supports a comprehensive understanding and value of work, inside and outside the home and across productive-social reproductive boundaries. As well as outlining the method, Rai and True consider the challenges and advantages that the FEOT poses for researchers, using data from pilot studies trialling it in India, Ukraine, Myanmar and Sri Lanka.

CASE STUDY: PILOTING NEW FEMINIST METHODS IN SRI LANKA & MYANMAR

The Feminist Everyday Observatory Tool (FEOT) (Rai and True 2020, above) was piloted, in 2019-20, in a comparative research study carried out with conflict-affected populations in Sri Lanka and Myanmar from 2019-20 (Johnston & Lingham, 2020). The study was part of the Monash-Warwick Alliance research project, 'Inclusive Economies and Enduring Peace: The Transformative Role of Social Reproduction' (2019-20). The core method was completed with nineteen research participants in nineteen households across six sites (three differentially conflict-affected locations in each country).

Researchers found several advantages of using the FEOT. The three-step method provided a well-defined research process but was also flexible. So, if circumstances changed and a full day of observation was not possible, some missing time use data could still be collected in the post-observation interview. The FEOT also enabled triangulation of findings across different forms of data. For example, changes to social reproduction over time and across different periods of conflict could be discussed in some depth in the post-observation interview because researchers could refer to activities documented in the time-use diary and ask participants to recall specific variations. The observational time use diary was found to yield especially rich data, such as the extent to which women carry out multiple forms of social reproductive work at any one time, and the everyday impacts of depletion because of this work. For participants themselves, the post-observation interview could provide space to reflect on the magnitude of their everyday social reproductive work. The method's recognition of the importance of the everyday and of dimensions of space, time and violence was also found to resonate with participants' lived experiences.

The FEOT did present some limitations, especially in the most conflict-affected contexts. The method is time and resource intensive for research teams and can feel intrusive for participants. In the most conflict-affected sites, observation was harder to carry out as it presented security risks for participants and researchers. In these environments, researchers needed to operate with a high degree of flexibility and ethical sensitivity and remain especially attentive to volatile circumstances, both within and outside households.

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Monash Gender, Peace & Security Centre is a research centre focused on issues of gender, peace and security. Our vision is to build globally-recognised, gender-inclusive research evidence to deliver peace and security globally. We seek to use our research to inform scholarly debate, policy development and implementation, and public understanding about the gendered nature of insecurity and the search for peace. In addition to research with international, government and industry partners, community-engagement with civil society, and academic publications, Monash GPS academics engage in undergraduate and graduate teaching, executive education and PhD supervision.

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