

trying to point out that the full revolutionary potential of Lacan's and Adorno's work has never been appreciated since critics insist too heavily on the conservative strain. While she does a fine job of doing so in her analysis of the subject-in-outline, it is important that her point of departure not be tinged with utopian overtones, for even the most renegade among us bear the traces of the reigning culture. Resisting power always comes from within.

Leeb is a fine writer whose prose is clear and crisp. Her carefully crafted insights demonstrate that deep thought indeed speaks directly to real-world political concerns. With *Power and Feminist Agency in Capitalism*, she thus offers a welcome contribution not only to feminist psychoanalytic and critical theories, but to the larger question of praxis as it seeks to resist and indeed dismantle capitalism's far-reaching reign.

## Theorizing Feminist Political Subjectivity: A Reply to Caputi and Narach

**Claudia Leeb**

Washington State University

I would like to start out by thanking Larie Naranch and Mary Caputi for their inspiring and thought-provoking comments, which helped me to think both about the content and further implications of it. Before responding to their comments, I would like to briefly outline the main themes of the book. My book finds inspiration from Marx's famous thesis eleven in critiquing capitalism—that "philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the important thing, however, is to change it." This thesis raises four interrelated questions that all pertain to rethinking the idea of political subjectivity. First, *when* can we change the world? This question implies rethinking the subject's relation to capitalist power structures to figure out when subjects can change the world despite their being subjected to power. Second, *who* is engaged in changing the world? This question requires us to rethink the idea of the political subject as the agent who engages in transformative acts. Third, *how* can we change the world? This question implies a rethinking of the relationship between theory and practice. Fourth, *what* leads to, or spurs on, social change? This question necessitates a rethinking of the concept of suffering, in particular the suffering capitalism has brought onto the world, as either impeding or leading to social change.

My book brings German (Karl Marx and Theodor W. Adorno) and French (Jacques Lacan) thought into conversation to answer these questions of socio-political change, and thereby develops the idea of the political subject-in-outline. The limit concepts of the real, coined by Lacan, and non-identity,

coined by Adorno, are central in such an enterprise. In the first part of the book, in chapter two, I show that political theories that suggest that the political subject emerges in the moment of subjection to power make it difficult (if not impossible) to envision transformative agency. Instead, my book coins the idea of the “moment of the limit,” which explains those moments *when* power fails to completely subject the working classes, women, racial and sexual minorities, and the political subject, so that transformative agency can emerge. In chapter three, the book challenges contemporary political theories that theorize the subject as “constantly shifting” or suggest that we must do away with the idea of the subject altogether, to counter the subject’s inherently exclusionary character, because without a subject (or with one that constantly shifts) there is no effective agent of change. Instead, it develops the idea of the political subject-in-outline to theorize the *who* of sociopolitical change, which has a certain coherence (the subject) necessary to effect change, and the permanent openness (the outline) necessary to counter the subject’s exclusionary character. In chapter four, the book explains that theory and practice are equally important tools of *how* people can change the world. It furthermore suggests that we must employ the language of theorizing as an ongoing, open-ended process to counter the tendencies of closure in political theories. Finally, in chapter five, I introduce a rethought concept of suffering to theorize *what* spurs on social change, without imprisoning sufferers in victim identities—and so challenge contemporary thinkers who want to get rid of the concept of suffering in contemporary political theorizing. The second part of the book applies the idea of the political-subject-in-outline to concrete examples—the feminist political subject and the working-class woman as a political subjects. In chapter six, I expose the problems inherent in Butler’s theorizing of political subjectivity and explain why my idea of the feminist subject-in-outline offers solutions to such problems. In chapters seven and eight, I expose the ways in which Marx and Adorno engage in identity thinking in their writings on the working-class woman, and explain the ways in which the working-class woman rebels against such thinking.

In her comments, Naranch points out that my book, particularly in part two, clarifies the ways in which the political subject-in-outline translates into political action through the figure of the working-class woman. Referring to the example of the ways in which the working-class girl’s subjectivity is produced as a pathology by the passing-by nun in Sandra Cisneros’s *The House on Mango Street*, Naranch would like me to clarify how the individual figure of the working-class girl can turn into a collective figure of working-class women’s resistance. In her words, “(h)ow does individual pain become translated into political critique? How does the working class girl become resituated through her pain?”

To answer this important question, let us return to the scene where a nun passes by the working-class girl's house: "Where do you live? She asked. There, I said pointing up to the third floor. You live *there*? There. I had to look to where she pointed—the third floor, the paint peeling, wooden bars Papa had nailed on the windows so we wouldn't fall out. You live *there*? The way she said it made me feel like *nothing*."<sup>3</sup> In my book, in chapter two, I explain that when the nun disapprovingly points at the girl's house, and expresses her surprise that anybody could live in such a house, she reduces the girl to the signifier "working-class girl," which means in liberal capitalist ideology that the girl's class position, expressed in the house she lives, is the result of personal failure for which her parents and by extension she herself is responsible.

Although the nun reduces the girl to the signifier "working-class girl," which generates a petrified pain in the working-class girl, this at the same time allows the girl from now on to speak or function as a subject. However, the subject that is generated in the moment of subjection to the signifier is not a rebellious subject, as Foucauldians or Butlerians would argue. Rather, it is a subordinated subject, here the subordination to and acceptance of the liberal capitalist ideology as it is implied in the signifier "working-class girl," which generates the girl's desire to leave the working class and become bourgeois herself, expressed in her desire to live in a "real house." Nonetheless, the girl is never completely subordinated to liberal capitalist ideology, because of what I call *the moment of the limit* in power.

In this brief moment, to which the moment of the real and non-identity allude, we encounter a hole in the whole of liberal capitalist ideology of personal failure and success, which exposes that the socio-symbolic domain with its signifiers is not all-powerful and cannot fully subordinate the working-class girl. Here the girl can emerge as a *political* subject with the capacity to radically resignify what it means to be working-class and a girl, and with that transform power structures. In chapter five, I further clarify the ways in which the moment of non-identity and the real is connected to the physical moment of suffering and pain, which explains in more detail *what* makes the subordinated rebel.

The nun's disapprovingly pointing at the girl's working-class house, and the expression of her surprise that anybody could live in such a house, created the senseless suffering and pain in the working-class girl that made her feel like nothing. However, the moment of non-identity and the real, insofar as they refer to a physical moment of pain and suffering in the girl, they tell the girl that, as Adorno would put it, "suffering ought not to be, that things *should be different*."<sup>4</sup> In this physical moment of pain, the working-class girl stops trying to escape the working class and becoming bourgeois herself. Instead

she organizes the gendered, raced, and sexed working class as a *collective* political subject-in-outline to create a different society where the exploitation of the working class and the suffering it creates ceases to exist.

Here it is important to note that although the physical moment of suffering and pain is the most subjective experience, it is not something that is merely subjective. Rather it is connected to the objective domain of power. As Adorno puts it, “the need to lend a voice to suffering is a condition of all truth. For suffering is objectivity that weighs upon the subject; its most subjective experience, its expression, is objectively conveyed.”<sup>5</sup> The suffering that the gendered, raced, and sexed working classes experience in their daily lives weighs upon them, because it is the result of objective power structures in capitalism that justify and cover over capitalist exploitation with the liberal ideology of “personal failure,” that makes individual subjects responsible for their class position.

As such, individual suffering and pain is not a purely private and personal pain one is feeling, when it is the result of objective power structures, but also a public pain that the working classes can collectively rally around. Insofar as objective oppression is felt as painful for numerous working-class subjects, in the moment of the limit, the pain of senseless suffering translates into reflection about the wrongness of the current state of affairs, which makes them aware that their class position is not their personal failure but the result of objective power structures that have an interest to keep them in their subordinated position. The awareness brought on by the moment of the limit can then generate transformative *collective* political agency, and underlines that the body (suffering) at the same time needs the mind (in critical reflection) for suffering to be effective in transforming the existing inhuman conditions in capitalist societies.

Naranch further suggests that a rethought concept of the proletariat as “precariat” is more helpful than keeping the idea of the proletariat, as this concept allows us to pay attention to gender among other structures of power. Here Naranch invites me to say more about how a class analysis attentive to gender should keep the category of the proletariat even in a revised form. As I discuss in chapter four, David Harvey replaces the concept of the proletariat with that of the precariat to draw our attention to the fact that “the important and ever-expanding labor market and sustaining urban life is increasingly done by insecure, often part-time and disorganized low-paid labor,” which is largely performed by vulnerable, immigrant, minority women.<sup>6</sup> Harvey’s idea of the precariat is important, as it brings forward the ways the urban labor force is raced and gendered, which is eradicated in Marx’s traditional conception of the proletariat.

However, I disagree with Harvey’s and Naranch’s suggestion to replace the concept of the proletariat with that of the precariat. The concept of the

proletariat more so than the concept of the precariat implies a radical political imaginary, which is necessary for workers beyond national boundaries and those that sympathize with their struggles to unite and fight against the neoliberal capitalist order. Furthermore, the concept of the proletariat, unlike the new concept of the precariat, refers to a long history of working-class organizing and revolutionary agency of exploited workers, hence its radical political imaginary, which we need to bring back to fight the excesses of global capital. Also, replacing the concept of the proletariat with the precariat might have the unfortunate side effect of pitting the traditional proletariat against the precariat, which is problematic at times when there is an urgency that workers of the world unite.

However, reintroducing the term proletariat does not mean that we necessarily need to also evoke its exclusionary character, and that we cannot rethink this term to counter its problematic aspects as we find it in the traditional conception. In my book I rethink the term in the context of my idea of the political subject-in-outline. I call the revolutionary agent the proletariat-in-outline. The proletariat-in-outline has a certain coherence (the proletariat) necessary to make revolutionary agency on an international scale a possibility. At the same time, it accepts its remaining an outline and with that its permanent openness, which opens up the space for the precariat—mostly immigrant and minority women—to enter the political collectivity and become part of the revolutionary subject without being subsumed by it, which gains with such entry the necessary strength to overthrow capitalism. Furthermore, Naranch suggests that we need to replace the concept of the proletariat with the concept of the precariat, “to think about a more fluid worker in the time of neoliberalism.” As I will further elaborate in my discussion of Caputi’s insistence on the idea of the “fluid subject” below, the idea of the “fluid worker,” instead of allowing us to fight against the ills of neoliberal capitalism, is firmly entrenched in its workings.

Naranch also invites me to say more about why the suffering experienced by working-class women in the United States did not turn into working-class solidarity and rebellion, but instead into the support of Trump. This important question is not one which I address in the book, since it was written before the election, but I do address this in my more recent article.<sup>7</sup> In this article I show that people in the United States are not just confronted with frustrating economic conditions (which one also finds in other nations), but a liberal capitalist ideology that makes people feel personally responsible for not doing better. In such a scenario people frequently cannot live up to their ego ideal—the internalized standards of liberal capitalist society, that is economic success—which generates narcissistically wounded egos that feel devalued, and which Trump exploited for his electoral success.

People who voted for Trump have replaced their ego ideal with him, which allowed them to get rid of the frustrations of their own self and feel “great again.” Furthermore, people supported him because, as their ego-ideal replacement, he allowed, like in a festival, a more permanent release from the pressures of the ego ideal. Finally, Trump was their chosen candidate, because he lifted moral restrictions of being openly racist, sexist, and classist. Although Trump successfully manipulated conditions of suffering created by liberal capitalist society for his electoral success, which led to a certain breakdown in thinking, the hope remains that the moments of non-identity and the real generate the *feeling* that things are wrong and that things should be different—that one is still living in poverty and exploited and can barely survive. In this moment of suffering and pain one gains the insight that Trump stands for the neo-liberal capitalist order and does everything to further undermine one’s existence.

Naranch, referring to my chapter on Marx and the working-class woman, suggests that we need a reworking of feminist social imaginary and politics to theorize sexist power across class divisions, rather than pitting working class women against bourgeois women. I agree with her on that. The aim of this chapter was not to pit the working-class woman against the bourgeois woman, as Naranch seems to suggest. Rather, in part two of my book, I expose the ways in which Adorno and Marx have problematic imaginations of the working-class woman, which counter their otherwise radical imaginary. In relation to Marx, I show that although his core philosophical project was to challenge hierarchical oppositions, and although he was rather critical of the grim situation of bourgeois women, when taking a closer look at his writing on the working-class woman, he reinforces hierarchical oppositions, and we find her positioned at what constitutes the negative side of hierarchical oppositions.

In relation to Adorno, I show that although he attacked identity thinking, which is a thinking that does away with the moment of non-identity, he reinforces identity thinking in his writings on the working-class woman, who appears in the three figurations of the phallic, the castrating, and the castrated woman. That thinkers whose core philosophical project was to challenge hierarchical oppositions (Marx) and identity thinking (Adorno) managed to reinforce hierarchical opposition and identity thinking brings us back to the challenges the idea of the subject-in-outline poses in practice, insofar as accepting to remain a subject-with-holes generates desires and fears, the desire for wholeness and the fear that such wholeness is impossible, which implicate Marx and Adorno in the very same form of thinking they challenge in their philosophical projects. For the theory and practice of a political subject-in-outline to be able to move within the tension of permanent openness

and a certain coherence, we must successfully deal with the fears and desires that an embrace of the moment of the limit (the real and non-identity) incites.

Finally, Naranch wonders what another chapter would look like that shows the successes of working-class women's organizing, which would allow me to introduce a utopian moment of such organizing. Although I believe that utopian thinking needs to have a space in contemporary political theorizing, as a critical feminist theorist I am rather hesitant to provide a utopia of working-class women's resistance. Utopias are often prone to eradicate contradictions and dissonance and as such counter the idea of the political subject-in-outline that leaves contradictions intact and considers dissonance the critical space for theorizing. However, the moment of non-identity and the real, which refer to the physical moment of suffering, allows one a glimpse into a different world, where one is no longer subjected to that suffering, which helps to motivate collective organizing to get rid of domination and exploitation. I have alluded to such possibilities by bringing in collective organizing and rebellion of the raced and gendered working-class in my book. In my recent work, I allude to such a brief moment of non-identity in the United States, where people continue to suffer despite false promises that it will be alleviated, which allows us to envision a scenario where people will start to withdraw their support from Trump.<sup>8</sup>

Here I would like to turn to the questions raised by Caputi. She suggests that I "unpack, qualify and localize" the concept of capitalism to counter an understanding of it that is ahistorical and static, or unchanging over time, which would run counter to my concept of the political subject-in-outline. At one point she further says: "Just as the subject's self-understanding should never succumb to identity thinking which accords too much authority to the Other as currently constituted, neither should the Other—here capitalism, the neo-liberal order—be conceived as an ahistorical, static entity whose expression is unchanging over time" and that "capitalism itself is as prone to variegation as is the thinking subject." I fully agree with Caputi on this point. It seems that Caputi is here applying my theoretical framework of the subject-in-outline to rethink the concept of capitalism itself, rather than rejecting my theoretical framework. Insofar as she is drawing out a further implication of my theorizing, I would like to thank her for showing how the concept of capitalism should be itself rethought in the light of my theoretical framework.

I agree with her point that there are local and specific varieties of capitalism that are at work in different parts of the world, as this would need to inform the practice of resistance in those contexts. For example, in my discussion of the proletariat-in-outline (in chapter 4), I point at the changing nature of capitalism, by exposing the changing nature of who is exploited by capitalism, which is nowadays in Western capitalist societies more and more immigrant and

feminized labor, which by extension shows how capitalism itself changes. However, applying the idea of the subject-in-outline to such a vast project would need more discussion, and it was beyond the bounds of my book to discuss all the varieties of capitalism. The main aim in this book is to bring back the critique of capitalism into feminist political theory, so that feminist theorizing does not merely aim at the inclusion of women, as well as sexual and racial minorities, into capitalist structures, which leaves such structures and the suffering they cause intact. Furthermore, the aim of my book is to bring back the specific suffering caused by capitalism—alienation, exploitation, and isolation—which are concepts that are largely eschewed in contemporary political and feminist theory with its focus on exposing the suffering caused by a gendered, raced, and sexed exclusion from capitalist structures, which ends up contributing to depoliticize the suffering caused by capitalism.

Also, I show that hierarchical oppositions, in particular the mind–body opposition, play a core role in justifying and covering over the suffering capitalism causes. The signifiers “working classes” and “woman” as well as racial and sexual minorities are, mostly unconsciously, linked to what constitutes the negative side of hierarchical oppositions (the despised body, nature, material labor, and the object), which is used to justify and cover over the division of labor and exploitation along class, gender, race and sexual lines. For feminist political theory to fight the ills of capitalism, it must pursue several things in tandem. First, it must expose hierarchical oppositions and make conscious the ways they are unconsciously gendered, classed, raced, and sexed. Second, it must delink groups of people from oppositions to counter the reinforcement of subordination and domination along class, gender, race, and sexual lines. Third, it must establish a mediated relation between oppositions (the subject/object, theory/practice and mind/body), which I aimed at with developing the idea of the political subject-in-outline.

Here it is important to note that the result of the left’s failure to deliver a rigorous critique on capitalism, to which political and feminist theorists also contributed with their eschewal of Marxist thought and their main concern with inclusion/exclusion into capitalist structures, instead of challenging such structures, was seized upon by the Far Right in the United States. By delivering a false critique of capitalism that makes raced Others, mostly immigrants from Mexico and the Middle East, responsible for the suffering caused by capitalism, the Far Right managed to shore up its electoral successes. Caputi’s suggestion that my critique of capitalism is “too orthodox Marxist” seems to be counter-productive in times when we need a rigorous critique of capitalism to counter the rise of the Far Right, insofar as such a suggestion has often been used by (feminist) political theorists to delegitimize Marxist thought and with that to silence any critique of capitalism.

In her second question, Caputi suggests that I need to clarify “why *fluidity* proves disempowering while non-identity and the real offer ballast and thus traction to political actors.” Here she wants me to clarify why I think that the fluid subject does not have agency, and why the subject-in-outline in contrast is needed to act. According to her, Derrida in his *Specters of Marx* and those thinkers that draw on deconstruction show us that the fluid subject can lead to socio-political change.

To begin with I would like to clarify that in my book I did not invoke Derrida’s idea of the subject as the paradigmatic example of the fluid subject of postmodernity, although he is often evoked as such. In a current project of mine, I bring Derrida and Adorno in conversation to rethink political subjectivity and to show that the political subject Derrida invokes in the *Specters of Marx*, the New International, does not lead to any radical socio-political transformations, but leaves the neo-liberal capitalist order intact. In a conversation with Elisabeth Roudinesco, Derrida admitted that he has a “rather dim hope” that the New International leads to any revolution.<sup>9</sup> However, the problem of the status of the political subject in Derrida’s work does not preclude finding central concepts, such as the concept of *différance* and the event, which parallel the concept of non-identity, and which allow us to rethink subjectivity along the lines of the political subject-in-outline.

My target of the “fluid subjects” are feminist thinkers who draw on postmodernism, in particular Derrida’s deconstruction, to theorize political subjectivity, such as Nancy Fraser. In her work on the politics of recognition she characterizes the political subject as “destabilized, fluid,” and ever-shifting networks, that are “freely elaborated and swiftly deconstructed.”<sup>10</sup> Already Marx showed us that a fluid subject is the hallmark of liberal capitalism with its “everlasting uncertainty,” and where “all that is solid melts into air,”<sup>11</sup> which finds its fullest expression in neo-liberal capitalism with its flexible networks and the ideal of the self-fashioning subject. In a recent article, I show that Fraser’s conceptualization of the fluid subject implicates her theorizing in what she calls the “spirit of neoliberal capitalism” rather than providing us with a radical imaginary that allows us to transform neoliberal capitalism.<sup>12</sup> To transform power structures, feminists need a clear break with the idea of the fluid subject, and instead turn their attention to the political subject-in-outline, which is necessary to counter the idea of a whole or centered subject, without promoting the highly problematic notion of a fluid subject.

In connection with her queries on my conceptualization of political subjectivity, Caputi also would like me to clarify why I think that postmodernism’s fluid subject advocates wholeness. In my book I do not suggest that the postmodern subject advocates wholeness. Rather, its insistence on fluidity aims at the opposite. However, I suggest that when the idea of the fluid or “constantly shifting subject” is applied in practice, as in social movements,

such a subject generates anxieties and the desire for wholeness, which leads to a scenario where such movements are not in a position to embrace the moment of the limit in their political subjectivity and remain a political subject-in-outline, but instead opt for wholeness, which leads to an exclusionary political subject that is not in a position to transform the status quo.

In her last question Caputi seems to suggest that the subject-in-outline operates from a problematic vantage point outside power structures. However, at a certain point she also suggests another reading of what I am up to: "It may well be that Leeb is simply trying to point out that the full revolutionary potential of Lacan's and Adorno's work has never been appreciated since critics have insisted too heavily on the conservative strain." In my book, I do not assume a privileged vantage point of the political subject-in-outline outside power structures. As I show in chapter 2, the Lacanian real as well as the Adornian non-identical are not something that exists outside the signifier and the symbolic order. Rather, the real and non-identity allows us to level a critique on power, because they point at the hole within the signifier and the symbolic domain itself. The idea of the political subject-in-outline is then based on Adorno's notion of *immanent critique*. Whereas "transcendent critique" critiques from the outside and based on its own principles, immanent critique proceeds via internal contradictions from the inside, which underlines the ways in which the political subject-in-outline does not assume some privileged vantage point.<sup>13</sup> I therefore agree with Caputi's suggestion that my book counters conservative readings of Lacan and Adorno and foregrounds the revolutionary potential of these thinkers for political and feminist theorizing.

Caputi also seems to disagree with my reading of Butler. According to her, Butler's work provides a resource for feminist political theorizing because she shows us that the reiteration of norms always reinforces and at the same time undermines them. In chapter six, I argue that Butler ends up with a closed conception of power because of two problems in her theoretical framework. First, she rejects limit concepts (such as the real and non-identity) and, second, because she holds on (albeit ambivalently) to the language of recognition. Butler does not assume or start out with the idea that power is whole. However, her rejection of limit concepts leads to such a result. Since for her there is not a moment of the limit in power, where power fails to fully subordinate us, for Butler agency is reduced to a subversive repetition of norms. However, I show in my discussion of her standard example, that the repetition of gender norms by the drag queen or king does not so much lead to any resistance to, let alone transformation of, power, but rather leads to the reinforcement of gender norms, which is evident in the often painful procedures that drag kings and queens undergo to become "real" men or women.

Furthermore, Butler holds on to Hegelian desire, according to which human desire is essentially a desire for recognition, which makes it difficult if not impossible to envision sociopolitical change in her theoretical framework. Since for Butler we must be recognized by a dominating Other to secure our existence, the moment of becoming a subject is for her *always* bound up with capitulation to one's subordination—which she calls a “sorry bind” that we can only escape through “critical desubjectivation,” or getting rid of the subject altogether, which I consider as a dead end for feminist transformative politics. One does not need to go the route of desubjectivation, however, if one avoids the “sorry bind” that Butler gets herself into. In my book I argue that subject formation does not necessarily imply a capitulation to subordination, if we employ limit concepts in our theorizing and make a clear break with the language of recognition. The moment of the limit, the moment of the real or non-identity, points at the holes or gaps in the Other, the symbolic domain and its signifiers (or oppressive social categories). In this moment the Other does not recognize or misrecognize me, but calls any wholeness of my identity into question. It makes me question who I am, and thus allows the political subject who questions and transforms all pre-determined social categories to emerge.

## Notes

1. See Cornelius Castoriadis, *Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy: Essays in Political Philosophy*, ed. David Ames Curtis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 21.
2. Guy Standing, *The Precariat: A New and Dangerous Class* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).
3. Sandra Cisnero, “The House on Mango Street,” in *Calling Home: Working-Class Women's Writings*, ed. J. Zandy (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 68–69, my emphasis.
4. Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E. B. Ashton (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1981), 203, my emphasis.
5. *Ibid.*, 17–18.
6. David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2013), xiv.
7. Claudia Leeb, “A Festival for Frustrated Egos: The Rise of Trump from an Early Frankfurt School Critical Theory Perspective,” in *Trump and Political Philosophy: Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Civic Virtue*, ed. Angel Jaramillo and Sable Marc (Palgrave Macmillan, in press).
8. Claudia Leeb, “A Festival for Frustrated Egos: The Rise of Trump from an Early Frankfurt School Critical Theory Perspective,” in *Trump and Political Philosophy: Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Civic Virtue*, ed. Angel Jaramillo and Sable Marc (Palgrave Macmillan, in press).

9. Jacques Derrida and Elisabeth Roudinesco, *For What Tomorrow: A Dialogue*, trans. Jeff Fort (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 94.
10. Nancy Fraser, "From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age," *New Left Review* 212, no. 83 (1995): 89–90.
11. Karl Marx, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1972), 469–500, 476.
12. Claudia Leeb, "Radical or Neoliberal Political Imaginary? Nancy Fraser Revisited," in *The Sage Handbook of Frankfurt School Critical Theory*, ed. Werner Bonefeld, Beverley Best, and Chris O'Kane (New York: Sage, in press).
13. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, 5.

### Author Biographies

**Laurie E. Naranch** is an associate professor of political science and director of the program in women's, gender, and sexuality studies at Siena College. Her work is in the fields of feminist political theory, popular culture, and democratic theory. She is currently writing about the work of Adriana Cavarero.

**Mary Caputi** is a professor of political theory at California State University, Long Beach. She publishes in various areas of contemporary theory, with special emphasis on feminism and critical theory. Her current project is on the challenges of the Slow Food movement in the United States. She also edits *Politics & Gender*.

**Claudia Leeb** is an assistant professor of political theory in the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs at Washington State University. She is the author of *The Politics of Repressed Guilt* and *Working-Class Women in Elite Academia*.