Breastfeeding Shame and the Birth of the Mother

Abstract

In the contemporary moment, breastfeeding discourse of 'breast is best' is central to the practice of early motherhood in Western nations such as Australia, the US and UK. Women in particular must negotiate the positioning of breastfeeding as pivotal to 'good' motherhood and are encouraged to evaluate their own mothering practices against the ideal yardstick of fully successful breastfeeding. For many women this presents no particular issue and their breastfeeding work is happily augmented by the broader identity work it supports. For other women for whom, for a myriad of reasons, breastfeeding is only partially successful or non-existent, the experience of 'second best' 'artificial' feeding practices and conflicted maternal identity emerge.

Drawing on fragments of personal memoir and broader emerging research on the lived experience of 'breastfeeding failure', this paper examines the production of new and distressing bodily and emotional cartographies in the context of the fight to establish breastfeeding. I explore the argument that the strengthening alignment of maternalism and contemporary medical science has produced breastfeeding not just as a practice critical to *mother* hood but as a body project critical to successful *self* hood. In performing 'the natural', in performing their 'choice' of the natural, breastfeeding women access experiences of themselves as disciplined and morally powerful *subjects*. Troublingly, however, these are experiences which rely on the selective naturalisation of breastfeeding access and ease and which produce the figure of the 'Other Mother' who is positioned as either naively or selfishly opting for risky feeding alternatives. As such, the fight to feed becomes a fight for motherhood, into which, in the face of 'low supply' and 'poor attachment', the struggling mother carries a transformative felt-experience of shame.

Key words: breastfeeding failure, felt-experience, maternal identity, shame

Catherine Robinson Cultural Studies Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences University of Technology, Sydney c.robinson@uts.edu.au Following interventions made by the arrival of two children in a long career trajectory spent working on issues of embodiment and displacement in the contexts of homelessness, mental illness, and complex trauma, in 2012 I found myself profoundly changed by motherhood and realising – after the most recent year of maternity leave – that just as one cannot take leave from motherhood, one cannot take leave from research either. As I briefly discuss in this paper, however, it took surprising effort to begin a process of more clearly thinking motherhood and research *together*. This is a necessitated effort, I think, which betrays the troubling dominance of idealised narratives of motherhood, narratives which are my overarching focus here.

More precisely, and as might have been classically foreshadowed from a feminist standpoint perspective, I became overwhelmingly driven in fact by a need to make sense of the stabbing difference between my felt experience of motherhood and idealised narratives of motherhood circulating in Australia, and in the privileged West more generally. Indeed, I felt, echoing Helene Cixous (1976), that making sense of, and *writing* this gap, was not just a matter of intellectual interest, but a fundamental condition of my survival.

Yet predictably perhaps, the first space I took this need into was a clinical one and in the first instance that felt difference between the ideal of motherhood and my lived negotiation of it, was recognised only as postnatal depression. This was to discover that the difference between the ideal and lived *can only* be articulated as one of individual pathology, if it can be articulated at all. My fast engagement in medicated motherhood made further clear to me that the *question itself* about divergent experiences of motherhood is in advance, made already a pathological one.

How fascinating then to find that a whole research career engaging in the felt trauma of homelessness facilitated beautifully an entry into critical motherhood studies and facilitated my engagement with other *non-pathological* languages through which to make sense of the gap between lived and ideal motherhood. So again, the condition for my survival – as it thunderously struck me walking home from work one night – would be to make motherhood itself, *my* motherhood, the subject of research, of *my* research, as indeed, it had always silently been. Given the critical orientation generated through my research career so far, I knew there would of course be other articulations of the lived differences of motherhood that I could access, and I also knew that whatever else there was, *I could always write my own*. How did I not think of this earlier? Perhaps the answer to this lies in part in the unthinkability, the unwritability, of powerfully *naturalised* ideals of motherhood.

From a position of only emerging personal strength and critical capacity but of enormous privilege – in terms of my access to time and knowledge enabled through afforded childcare and tenured university appointment – I started some casting about in this newly encountered research world, sparking up internal and external conversations about how I had 'done' early motherhood and how best-practice early motherhood was written about in international research and policy. I also began thinking through how I might engage a methodological form of what I will be calling 'experimental memoir' – involving memoir work critically engaged with my own bodily experience, medical records, early childhood records, personal diaries I kept about my children for example, and also involving the memory-work of other women generated through in-depth interviews. That is to say that it is through collaborative,

inter-embodied memoir work that I'll be seeking to give further critical form to the felt and lived dimensions of my own early motherhood.

Specifically I began a search for existing literature about the felt-experience of 'failed motherhood' tied to the experience of 'failing' to exclusively breastfeed – the narrative which crystalised my own maternal depression. Whilst there is little work which focuses in detail on women's felt-experiences of breastfeeding struggle (although see for example, Kellehear 2006; Palmer et al 2012; Williamson et al 2012) the rich and multi-disciplinary research on infant feeding and motherhood is usefully critical of the damaging, individualised notion of the 'failure to breastfeed' and examines women's complexly striated freedom to access their own breasts and infants and to exclusively breastfeed. Here as Linda Blum's (1999) anthropological work so sharply demonstrates, the 'choice' to breastfeed is clearly understood as always subject to the different imperatives of diverse embodiments and socioeconomic, cultural, racial and physical locations (see also Bartlett 2005; Carter 1985; Hausman 2003; Law 2000). Broader research also situates women's experiences of breastfeeding failure as centrally resulting from easily fallible, dramatically idealised versions of the naturalness and ease of breastfeeding reproduced in multiple spheres from prenatal birth classes to national and international policy statements on 'breast is best' (Hoddinott et al 2012; Schmied, Sheehan and Barclay 2001; Wall 2001).

I observe that there is little salve to be offered, however, from positing a grief-stricken lack of clarity about what I came to view as my 'failed mothering' as a kind of false consciousness, as though if I could only work to better appreciate the discursive and material conditions of maternal sadness I would subsequently 'cheer up'. Sadness is not simply a matter of

consciousness but of *corporeal consciousness*, a physiological, felt reality not easily reinscribed, and perhaps only most likely reinscribed by the passing of time rather than by social and cultural critique. The hurt takes hold.

Nonetheless, I felt that, I *feel* that, surely, the development of a more *politicised* sense of my self-experience as a failed mother would offer at the very least some way of bounding an experience of failure that flowed uncontrollably into every domain of my life and body, and at the most offer – precisely in that more distanced articulation – a language possibly useful for others too, as a kind of troubling accompaniment to narratives of pathology which I assumed were other women's first port of call also. As such, I imagine my work as contributing to the genre of *feminine écriture* and to the specific project – taken on by only a handful of other academic women (see for example Crossley 2009; Shah 2013) – of publicly troubling 'personal' breastfeeding struggles.

So here I am, 'coming out' as a failed mother, an instance of maternal failure framed, in my case (for of course, there are multiply identified instances of maternal failure), through the failure to exclusively breastfeed – a maternal failure read through the synecdoche of the breastfeeding breast (Nadesan and Sotirin 1998: 229). I'm particularly interested to think about the currently intensified ways in which the mother is born through the breast, and to think about what kind of mother is born in the context of the *failure* to successfully establish breastfeeding.

My core point is that problematically, the kind of mother I became was shrunk down to my questionable production of milk and to the 'poor attachment' of my child to my breast.

Though milk was not the only thing I supplied to my child and physiological attachment was not the only connection I established with my child, it quickly became clear that these nonetheless constituted the key scene of mothering – in terms of sustaining the child's life, in practically living a twenty-hour routine of life with the child, and in successfully reproducing and performing maternal identity, specifically a physically attached and bountiful motherhood (see also, Swanson et al 2012).

Following a traumatic instrumental delivery, I had a boy – as recorded in my hospital notes – who was not interested in feeding for about three days. The so-called 'critical' first feed following delivery never happened. My early experiences of breastfeeding on the postnatal ward included two midwifes grappling with both my breasts trying to position them to invite a good latch from the likewise bracing baby which they were also trying to operate. Failing this, I sat stripped to the waist on a small chair while another midwife squeezed colostrum from my now engorged breasts to feed to my boy on a white plastic spoon. After yet more nipple damage I also recall, as I shuffled the ward with a crying baby, two nightshift midwives stopping to talk to me. And when asked if they might look at the shape of my nipples, I dumbly stood in the hallway and lifted my top so my breasts could be turned up to the fluorescent light. 'Oh', she said, 'They're not *that* flat'. Thus began what turned into a nine month fight to sustain some kind of breastfeeding relationship with my boy.

Following birth, mothers engage with the overwhelmingly new form of the just-born-baby.

As breastfeeding mothers they also encounter and inhabit their *own* newly constituted bodies.

This is often a confronting if both ordinary and extraordinary experience. The materialising of the perinatal breast only through varying elements of its possible dysfunction then is a raw

experience indeed, especially in a context in which it has already been made clear that there are 'no morally liveable options' by which to nourish your baby outside of breastfeeding (Kukla 2006: 177). Specifically, the precarious breast puts the *whole* performance of motherhood at risk – a squeezing, shoving, crying mother and arching, twisting, distressed infant are, simply put, beyond the pale, hard to watch by intimate others in a hospital or lounge room, let alone by a public in more accessible spaces. As I discovered, having a baby in your care is not enough to produce the 'mother-effect'.

What is interesting for me are the ways in which the physical failure of breastfeeding immediately throws into relief how intertwined physiological, socio-cultural and emotional cartographies are. The physical trauma of breastfeeding difficulty by definition should also be immediately understood as a socio-cultural trauma and an emotional trauma in a context of the aggressively marketed message 'breast is best'. Centrally though, while breastfeeding is so resolutely understood and promoted as a vitally layered bodily, socio-cultural and emotional practice in the context of success, practically these dimensions remain unaddressed in the context of *unsuccessful* breastfeeding. Thus women are given all breastfeeding's hopes of emotional wellness, lasting bonds of infant love, celebrated social, cultural and religious status, physical prowess, empowerment and pride, but few tools to negotiate the inverse and devastatingly felt physical, socio-cultural and emotional impacts of divergent experience. Because of the risks exposing ambivalent or damaging experiences are assumed to pose for the broader battle to increase rates of exclusive breastfeeding (Knaak 2006: 414; Maushart 1999: 157; Wall 2001: 599), women are supported only in their fight for milk, if at all, and are left to make the long and conflicted fight for the crumbs of maternal identity on their own.

So again, what is particularly vital to notice here, is that physiological breastfeeding strife is articulated always through the socio-cultural and emotional hopes for breastfeeding. The physiological cartography of breastfeeding failure is immediately always a socio-cultural and emotional one of failure. This melding of physiological, psychological, emotional, social and cultural interiors and exteriors makes possible, for example, the exclamation made by a junior midwife, on observing my boy screaming and arching away from my breast, 'Oh look, he's rejecting you!'. Here the physical failure of nipple attachment and the physiological failure of milk letdown slip so easily into the social and emotional dimensions of failed mother/child bonding. This is a slip which may confirm a mother's secret fear of inadequacy (see also Swanson et al 2012). The rejection of the second best breast becomes a rejection of the second best mother and also perhaps even draws down on wider classed and raced rejections of stigmatised, bottle-feeding mothers in a cultural climate of 'total motherhood' with breastfeeding exclusivity at it's heart (Wolf 2011).

The breastfeeding breast is made readable then precisely *through* it's physiological, socio-cultural and emotional cartographic alignment, but also through it's geographic and temporal placement. In the 1960s for example, the breast was largely rendered unreadable as a breastfeeding breast (and perhaps *more* readable as a sexual breast as the coincidental take off of breast surgery might suggest) – bottle-feeding was at its height as normative practice (McLean 1990: 8). In 2008, in one of the wealthiest areas of Sydney, in an officially accredited 'Baby-Friendly Hospital' promoting breastfeeding only, however, my internal and external breastfeeding physiology was graspable in a wholly new way. Prenatally and perinatally, I was instructed only in the mechanics and routines breastfeeding and while the

tiring physical workload of breastfeeding life was made clear, at no point was it ever suggested that breastfeeding could produce extensive pain or indeed fail as an exclusive practice or that other feeding options existed. Interestingly, it also certainly never occurred to me ask. Centrally, tiredness aside, with my child at my breast I was going to feel overwhelming joy, connection and contentment.

Whilst historians clearly show that infant feeding has always been at the core of the production and management of maternal feeling – whether this has entailed the promotion and normalisation of breastfeeding, bottle-feeding or wet-nursing – my specific breasts were born in a feeding moment constructed through the happy alignment of maternalism ('breast') and contemporary medical science ('best') (Nadesan and Sotirin 1998: 229; Wolf 2011). As Joan Wolf (2011: 66-69) argues, this is a moment specific to neo-liberal risk culture in which breastfeeding is imagined not just as a practice critical to *mother*hood but as a broader public health body project critical to successful *self*hood and responsible citizenship. In performing 'the natural', in performing their healthy 'choice' of the natural, breastfeeding women access powerful experiences of themselves as disciplined, morally responsible *subjects* (see also Murphy 2000).

Troublingly, however, these are experiences which rely on the selective naturalisation of breastfeeding access and ease and which produce the figure of the 'Other Mother' (Michaels 1996) who is accused of opting for artificially fed 'stupid, fat and poisoned' children (Barston 2012: 118) alternatively through an egoism or naivety requiring state-lead intervention. The Other Mother – who is as 'stupid, fat and poisoned' as her children – does important work in supportively evidencing the superiority of the slim breastfeeding body and it's healthy,

adjusted offspring (see also Andrews and Knaak 2013: 105). As such, it is no longer socially and culturally assumed that resorting to artificial feeding will produce guilt. Instead, in the current climate, the failure to exclusively breastfeed is understood, as new research reveals, to cause profound and long-lived *shame* (Taylor and Wallace 2012; see also Labbok 2008; Lakshman et al 2009; Lee 2007).

And therefore, to again repeat a core argument of this paper, working with a map of subjectivity, of selfhood, as dispersed through the body enables the clearer appreciation of how negatively charting physiological flaws in powerfully symbolic body parts necessarily entails powerfully symbolic and damaging *self*-transformation. In the context of breastfeeding failure women suddenly find themselves – in the space of just a few days – with second best breasts, a second-best letdown reflex, second best maternal identities and even second best babies who's health and development is already understood as compromised either through their exposure to continued problematic breastfeeding or risky artificial milk. Unlike the other multiple stigmatising and traumatic bodily events we might more generally experience, however, breastfeeding is burdened with so much joy that it's *hurt* therefore remains unspeakable, belittled and yet totalising.

References

Andrews, T. and S. Knaak (2013) 'Medicalized Mothering: Experiences with Breastfeeding in Canada and Norway', *The Sociological Review* 61: 88-110.

Bartson, S. (2012) *Bottled Up: How the Way We Feed Babies Has Come to Define Motherhood, and Why It Shouldn't*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bartlett, A. (2005) Breastwork: Rethinking Breastfeeding. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Blum, L. M. (1999) At the Breast: Ideologies of Breastfeeding and Motherhood in the Contemporary United States. Boston: Beacon Press.

Carter, P. (1995) Feminism, Breasts and Breast-Feeding. New York: St Martin's Press.

Cixous, H. (1976) 'The Laugh of Medusa', trans. K. Cohen and P. Cohen, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1: 875-893.

Crossley, M. L. (2009) 'Breastfeeding as a Moral Imperative: An Autoethnographic Study', *Feminism and Psychology* 19: 71-87.

Hausman, B. L. (2003) *Mother's Milk: Breastfeeding Controversies in American Culture*, New York: Routledge.

Hoddinott, P., L. C. A. Craig, J. Britten and R. M. McInnes (2012) 'A Serial Qualitative Interview Study of Infant Feeding Experiences: Idealism meets Realism', *BMJ Open* 2: doi: 10.1136/bmjopen-2011-000504.

Kellehear, C. (2006) 'The Physical Challenges of Early Breastfeeding', *Social Science and Medicine* 63: 2727-2738.

Knaak, S. J. (2006) 'The Problem with Breastfeeding Discourse', *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 95: 412-414.

Kukla, R. (2006) 'Ethics and Ideology in Breastfeeding Advocacy Campaigns', *Hypatia* 21: 157-180.

Labbok, M. (2008) 'Exploration of Guilt Among Mothers Who Do Not Breastfeed: The Physician's Role', *Journal of Human Lactation* 24: 80-84.

Law, J. (2000) 'The Politics of Breastfeeding: Assessing Risk, Dividing Labour', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 25: 407-450.

Lee, E. (2007) 'Health, Morality, and Infant Feeding: British mothers' Experiences of Formula Milk Use in the Early Weeks', *Sociology of Health and Illness* 29: 1075-1090.

Maushart, S. (2000) The Mask of Motherhood: How Becoming a Mother Changes Our Lives and Why We Never Talk About It. New York: Penguin.

Maclean, H. (1990) *Women's Experience of Breast Feeding*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Michaels, M. (1996) 'Other Mothers: Toward an Ethic of Postmaternal Practice', *Hypatia* 11: 49-70.

Murphy, E. (2000) 'Risk, Responsibility, and Rhetoric in Infant Feeding', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 29: 291-325.

Nadesan, M. H. and P. Sotirin (1998) 'The Romance and Science of 'Breast is Best': Discursive Contradictions and Contexts of Breast-Feeding Choices', *Text and Performance Quarterly* 18: 217-232.

Palmér, L. and G. Carlsson, M. Mollberg and M. Nyström (2012) 'Severe Breastfeeding Difficulties: Existential Lostness as a Mother – Women's Lived Experiences of Initiating Breastfeeding Under Severe Difficulties', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being* 7: doi: 10.3402/qhw.v7i0.10846.

Schmied, V. A. Sheehan and L. Barclay (2001) 'Contemporary Breast-feeding Policy and Practice: Implications for Midwives', *Midwifery* 17: 44-54.

Shah, D. K. (2013) 'Is Breast Always Best?' A Personal Reflection on the Challenges of Breastfeeding', *Obstetrics and Gynecology* 121: 869-871.

Swanson, V., Nicol, H., McInnes, R., Cheyne, H., Mactier, H and E. Callander (2012) 'Developing Maternal Self-Efficacy for Feeding Pre-term Babies in then Neo-natal Unit', *Qualitative Health Research*, 20: 1-14.

Taylor, E. and L. Wallace (2012) 'For Shame: Feminism, Breastfeeding Advocacy, and Maternal Guilt', *Hypatia* 27: 76-98.

Wall, G. (2001) 'Moral Constructions of Motherhood in Breastfeeding Discourse', *Gender and Society* 15: 592-610.

Williamson, I., D. Leeming, S. Lyttle and S. Johnson (2012) "It Should Be the Most Natural Thing in the World': Exploring First-Time Mothers' Breastfeeding Difficulties in the UK Using Audio-diaries and Interviews', *Maternal and Child Nutrition* 8: 434-447.

Wolf, J. B. (2011) Is Breast Best?: Taking on the Breastfeeding Experts and the New High Stakes of Motherhood, New York: New York University Press.

TASA Conference 2013

Reflections, Intersections and Aspirations 50 years of Australian Sociology

25-28 November 2013 - Monash University Caulfield Campus





www.facebook.com/tasaconference2013









Promoting sociology in Australia Facilitating sociology teaching and research Enhancing the professional development of TASA members 50 Years of Social Inquiry, Engagement and Impact

MEMBERS LOGIN Email Address

Password

UPDATE PROFILE / RENEW MEMBERSHIP

JOIN TASA

SEARCH the TASA website

HOME

ABOUT TASA

ABOUT SOCIOLOGY

EXECUTIVE

EVENTS

MEMBERS

MEMBERSHIP

PUBLICATIONS

STUDENTS

TASA CONFERENCE

THEMATIC GROUPS

CONTACT

OVERVIEW

HOSTING A TASA CONFERENCE

PAST TASA CONFERENCES

TASA CONFERENCE

The 2014 Conference will be held at the University of South Australia, Adelaide

Conference Proceedings

The 2013 Conference Proceedings are now available in the Members' section of TASAweb. Please note that TASA conference proceedings count for DEST points as they are independently peer reviewed, have an ISBN and are available for sale. Members and the public can purchase copies of the 2013 conference proceedings through the <u>TASA Office</u>. The papers will be available on this page in November 2014.

Quick Links

Conference Proceedings

View Abstracts & Full Papers

Keynote Speakers

Plenary Sessions / Workshops

Registration

Programme

Postgraduate Day – November 25

Thematic Groups

Scholarships

Accessibility

Accommodation Social Events

Sponsorship

Venue

Contact Us

© Copyright TASA 2013 ABN 17 398 473 186

Contact TASA | Privacy & Disclaimer | Privacy & Disclaimer | Sitemap | Suggestion Box





Concurrent Session Programs

Co	oncurrent Pap	er Session 1: T	uesday 11am -	12.30pi	m
Teaching Sociology Panel		"Teaching sociolog	y: Reflections on the past,	present and	future"
Chair: Martin Forsey K 3.09 Lecture Theatre			John Germov Gary Wickham Kirsten Harley Peta Cook		
Crime and	Murray Lee,	Alyce McGovern	Rangajeewa Ratnayak	e	Fairleigh Gilmour
Governance Sex, Pornography, Governance and Policy Chair: David	Thomas Crofts Sexting and young people: Intersections and experiences	'Sexting' in the media: Understanding public discourses of Sexting	Julie Rudner Naduni Wickramaarad Sense of safety and plan design policies		Transitions in and out of sex work
McCallum H2.20					
Cultural	Glenda Ballantyne	Wendy Mee		Eileen Tsa	ang
Sociology A The Multiplication of Modernity	Beyond the dichoton Tradition in moderni		contribution to the rogeneous modernity	sociologica	ood and Class: A al study of China's ss youngsters
Chair: Barbara Evers K 2.04					
Cultural	Kim McLeod	Andrew Gilbert	Scott Doidge		Erin Carlisle
Sociology B Methods, Theory And Media	Orientating to assembling: Qualitative inquiry for more-	Crisis, modernity and the emergence of social theory	From Freytag to Mann: and fall of the German bourgeoisie.	The rise	#Politics #Public_Sphere @TV @Social Media: Does the
Chair: Theresa Sauter K 2.05	than-human worlds				mediated public sphere realise a kind of political participation?
K 2.03					
Economic Life Neolibralism:	Nour Dados Raewyn Connell	Jenny Chesters	Adam Stebbing Ben Spies-Butcher		Jean Parker
Economic Life Neolibralism: Australia and the		Neoliberalism and the redistribution			Rudd's Labor stimulus spending
Economic Life Neolibralism: Australia and the World Chair: Jocelyn Pixley	Raewyn Connell Neoliberalism in	Neoliberalism and	Ben Spies-Butcher Housing, tax & neolibera		Rudd's Labor
Economic Life Neolibralism: Australia and the World Chair: Jocelyn Pixley K 2.10 Education	Raewyn Connell Neoliberalism in	Neoliberalism and the redistribution of wealth from core	Ben Spies-Butcher Housing, tax & neolibers growing inequality in A		Rudd's Labor stimulus spending what does it tell us about the Australian state?
Economic Life Neolibralism: Australia and the World Chair: Jocelyn Pixley K 2.10 Education Gender and Education Chair: Julie	Raewyn Connell Neoliberalism in Latin America	Neoliberalism and the redistribution of wealth from core to periphery Barbara Pinity: Gender and A ling leadership: N	Ben Spies-Butcher Housing, tax & neolibers growing inequality in An action in the second sec	ustralia Fiona McI Boys, I actu	Rudd's Labor stimulus spending what does it tell us about the Australian state? Donald ually missed them: irls' understandings

Emotions and Affect	Natalya Goldbold	Deann	a Grant-Smith	Da	nnielle Clark		Roger Patulny
Emotion Management Chair: Jordan McKenzie H 2.37	Emotion work and the naughty patient: Good humour, subversion and non-compliance	of man	cked policy wor aging emotions it and the nment	, sh	iendship as a safe aring emotions ii orkplace		er Emotion management in work, social, family, and physical life – results of a pilot survey
Environment and	Catherine Ayres	Deb A	nderson		IcMahon		Manuel Vallee
Society Climate, Nature and Environment Chair: Zane Ma Rhea H 2.35	Affect, new materialism and conservation: nonhuman agencies in Australian National Parks	expert change dwellin	ng in ainty in	The re	mith ey Lawrence silience of food so in an era of clima		Spraying residential neighborhoods to preserve corporate e profits: The case of New Zealand's Painted Apple Moth Eradication Program
Families,	Sue Malta	Eloise	Zoppos		Hanya Pielich	aty	Andrea Torre
Relationships and Gender A Families, Gender and Relationships Chair: Lucy Nicholas HB.39	'Why go online? Older adults and their reasons for online dating	conten closen	ceptualising Exploring the female footbal family relation and gender		er, t	Transnationalism and the family	
Families, Relationships	Amy Wilson	Yarro	Yarrow Andrew JaneMaree M Clare Tanner			her	Leah Ruppaner
and Gender B Care Work Chair: Kristin Natalier HB.40	Flexible work practices and paid home based child care	Wome	ling the indefen n championing childcare workf	men	Women caring through injury dual burden of caregivers' recovery	the	The impact of cultural expectations and gender on caregivers wellbeing: A multilevel analysis
Health A	Margaret Tiyce		Cecily Maller				tha Clune
Health, Illness and Loss Chair: Lena Rodriguez HB.32	Convalescence, hom travel: Experiences of traumatic loss and lot term travel in contemporary Austr	of ong	Understandin social practice technical) dire promotion?	s: New	(socio-	Healthc of healt	rmer njoribanks are and the institutions h in rural Australia: An s framework
Health B Well-Being and Being Un-Well	Laura Cox		Sophie Lewis Karen Willis			Greg Co	-
Chair: Karen Block HB.36	Life after psychiatric diagnosis: Perceptio practices of recovery	ns and	Living well? E living with me		ces of women breast cancer		mentary medicine for ng in cancer care
Indigenous	Alex Page		Deirdre How	ard-Wa	gner	Daphne	e Habibis
Issues Chair: Theresa Petray H 2.41	Indigenous peoples and the settler-state in twenty-first century Australia: Exploring the duality of agency and the state in Townsville, North Queensland		Closing the Gap in urban Aboriginal disadvantage: Why statistics and a quantitative evidence-based approach alone are limited			conditio	ing Indigeneity through onality: Lessons and ms from historical case

Migration,	Ellie Vasta	Cathrin Berni	nardt	Olga	Oleinikova	Cait	lin Nunn
Ethnicity and Multiculturalism A Generations and Diasporas Chair: Val Colic- Peisker K2.12	The migrant stranger at home: Balancing affinities and differences in the global city	Pride and shan and affect in se generation Ger ethnicity	econd-	Ukrai	tion to	Viet	ceptualizing a mamese Australian ndation Generation
Youth/Migration Joint Session Chair: Margot Ford K2.13	Anita Harris Joshua Roose Self-actualising citizenship amongst young Australian Muslims	Pam Nilan Conducting research with young Muslim people in	Youth in the A Century: Challenges to contemporary youth researc	sian	Jacqueline Laughland-Be Zlatko Skrbis Crossing boundaries: Investigating t attitudes of yo Oueenslanders	he ung	Naomi Priest et al. Friendship, belonging and discrimination: Understandings and experiences of
	Musiinis	Australia and Indonesia	Australia		towards 'boat people'	•	multiculturalism amongst Australian primary school children
Religion Religion and Identity	Alphia Possamai- Inesedy A marriage of convenience? Sex and	Max W religio	Veber and the so		e of An ex x exalta	ation:	ings dinary degree of Durkheim, ace and
Chair: Alphia Possamai-Inesedy K 2.01	post-secularism	u Austra	mans		pente		lism's defeat of
Rural Issues Inequality in the Rural Context Chair: Kellie McNeill H 2.22	Gender relations in the local and global: Agricultural industry restructuring and structural readjustment as diverse social experience in and out of family farming in the Mallee region	David Farrugia John Smythe Tim Harrison Young people in regional Australia: Identity, inequality and social change	Diane Luhrs Daughters of farmers: Issue farm succession		Renowned for risk managem approach to drought: When women's voice the recent National Droug Policy Reform 2013?	its ent e is in	Kellie McNeill Greener pastures? Profiling rural sociology in New Zealand tertiary education
Work and Labour Studies Unions, Skills and Industry Chair: Sheree Gregory K 2.11	Victor Gekara Darryn Snell Employer responses training and skills challenges in a mark based training syster case of the transport logistics industry	to Organi indust capaci n: the	da Coles Fairbrother ising the enterta ry: An analysis o		Peter Trade actor	unio s or vi	on brother ns - development ctims: A case study West Tasmania
Youth Youth Wellbeing A Chair: Julia Coffey H 2.38	Grazyna Zajdow Sarah Maclean 'Those rules are always breached': Making and breaking decisions about drunkenness by young people	'I'd just cut my pain': Seeing so women's self-i	self to kill the	I thinl drink reflec	nsible	Drir 'rac inte gen	eph Borlagdan nking alcohol, doing e', doing gender: The rsections of race/ der and the ondary effects of hol

Concu	rrent Paper S	essio	n 2: Tuesd	ay 1.30pm -	3.0	0pm				
Intersectionality Panel	el "InterSectionAlity: The History and Importance of the Sections of SAANZ/TASA" Fran Collver									
Chair: Fran Collyer K 3.09 Lecture Theatre										
	Sharyn Davies	Ben W	/adham	Matteo Vergani		Simon Outram				
Crime and Governance War, Military, Culture: Comparative Studies Chair: Murray Lee H2.20	Procedural justice and public perceptions of police in Indonesia	relatio	nilitary ns: Fraternity e racial/sexual ct	Radical criminals The case of Brazi Comando Verme	l's	Crime, reality, and mythology in Australian sport				
	Ci C	F.J	J- D- I -	Managa Malana		Domin Foot				
Cultural Sociology A	Sian Supski	Eduar Fuent	do De La e	Marcus Maloney	/	Bernie East				
Cultures of Styles Chair: Brad West K 2.04	From Oslo lunches to kitchen gardens: The role of food campaigns in Melbourne, 1940s to 2000s		odernism: The ogy of a style	Buzz Lightyear: A sketch in cultural sociology		For the love of the venue? Topophilia in the Australian Football League				
	Fabian Cannizo	Mark	Scillio	Sara James		Nicholas Hookway				
Cultural Sociology B Professional Subjectivities Chair: Tim Graham K 2.05	Cultivating the academic self: Approaching our ethics and governance	work f	ning possible futures - vity in career g	Bauman's sensat gatherers and the significance of we today: Three Australian case studies	e	Salvaging self in Bauman's postmodern ethics				
Economic Life	Malcolm Alexander	Lisa A	dkins	Jocelyn Pixley		Supriya Singh				
Finance and the Crisis Chair: Ben Spies-Butcher K 2.10	The Australian mining industry and the mining tax revolt	The wa	do wages do? age form after ancial crisis	Haute finance and impulses against democratic sovereignty		The untold story of mobile money				
Education Higher Education	Greg Stratton Stephen Parker Trevor Gale		sa Sauter Ienman	Toni Schofield Kerreen Reiger		Paddy O'Toole				
Chair: Martin Forsey K 2.06	What does it mean to aspire to higher education? Re- resourcing the concept	Stop measuring and let us get on with our work: Street-level responses to performance measurement in Australian higher education		Killing the goose Assessing the impose of managerialist policy and practicacademic work in Australian universities	pact ce on	The politics of disciplinarity				
Emotions and Affect	Levan Wee		Frederick Bah	nling	Clare	e Southerton				
Emotions, Youth, Generations Chair: Roger Patulny H 2.37	Love you and I mea Exploring the lived meaning of romanti among young Austr	nean it!: Becoming drun red nightlife assem antic love ethnographical		mblages Ret		ne and the nonconscious: inking smartphone habits g an affective framework				

Environment and Society	Jo Goodie Gary Wickham	Stephe	n Derri	ck	Martir	Mulligan		Cecily Maller et al.
Materialism and Politics Chair: Diane Luhrs H 2.35	The government of the environment is still an infant	performativity		tificial lighting and erformativity		sociological framework for climate change adaptation		The great Australian nightmare? The problem of escalating housing aspirations and climate change
Families, Relationships and Gender A	Vivienne Elizabeth Maureen Baker	Sharoi Quah	1	Kristir Natalie Roslyn	er 1	Tomoko Fujita)	Snejezana Bilic
Reconfiguring Families and Partnerships Chair: Kay Cook HB.39	Conditional partnerships or trial marriage? Cohabitation in the 21 st century	Pursui self- fulfillm a divor biogra	ent in	Brearl The sociand emotion dimension of wom choice remark divorce	nal sions nen's to y after	Politics of (in)fertil and the construct of the modern Australia family	ity tion	Challenging feminist perspectives on multicultural/feminist dilemma
Families, Relationships and Gender B Gender and Work Chair: Hayley McKenzie HB.40	Margaret Alston Gender relations and agricultural restructuring: decision-making under uncertainty	The Co Fire Author an "extrer gender organis	untry rity as nely red"	Grazyi Zadjov Marily Poole Of coun didn't v after I g marrie when I to': The import of narr in the absence womer official statisti	v n rse I work got d, only had e annce ative e of n in cs of	Larissa Bamber Claire Homsey Househo gender regimes: What car learn fro census d	old n we m	"Navigating the discursive terrain of household labour, gender and equality": Exploring the practices of Australian egalitarian parents.
Health A Class, Gender, Disability and Other Inequalities	Helen Meekosha Karen Soldactic Kelly Somers		Kirste	paid w			Lena	Rodriguez
Chair: Samantha Clune HB.32	Exploring the intersectionalities between gender, disability and rural	ity	health	iting Aust care maze aper mes	e: Analy:		dime	convenient truth: Class nsions of obesity and ed illness
Health B Public Health and Public Issues	Alan Petersen Clare Tanner Megan Munsie When hopes clash:		Quanti econor	rine Ken fying diso	ease, e: The ri		The v	rirtualisation of the ginal: Does moving online et illegal drug access more
Chair: Bethne Hart HB.36	Patient optimism confronts scientific evidence			mmunica bal healt				ortable?
Indigenous Issues	David Mayeda		Veron	ica Deve	nin		Mara Rona	nea-Tracy Mullane- nki
Chair: Deirdre Howard- Wagner H 2.41	Maori and Pasifika student voices in hi education research	_	indiger interac compa indiger	ent strate nous com it with lar nies. The nous com na Desert I, Chile	munitie rge scale case of munitie	mining four s in the	censi	enizing the national us? A global study of the neration of indigenous les from 1985 to 2010

Migration, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism A Skilled Migration	Val Colic- Peisker		et Westcott Vasquez o	Naduni Wickramaarachci Andrew Butt		Elsa Koleth
Chair: Karen Farquharson K2.12	Middle-class 'Anglos' and 'ethnics': Mutual perception and communication in the field of symbolic power	'I'm much more fun in Spanish': Experiences of skilled migrants to Australia with new friends when using nonnative English language and humour		Social capital and migrants experience in regional Australia		Settler states in the age of transient migration: temporary migration and belonging in Australian and Canada
Migration, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism B Australian/UnAustralian – who is this and what does that mean? Chair: Ellie Vasta	Farida Fozdar No Borders: Australians talking beyond the nation	Is there	Chisari e any value left ralian values?	'I googled unAustralian': Analysis of who is using the term in 2013		Patrick Broman Tahu Kukutai Making sense of the Census: Census classifications of ethnicity in Oceania, 1965-2012
Religion Religion, Gender and Identity Chair: Douglas Ezzy K 2.01	Anna Halafoff Praveena Rajkoba Sakyadhita Internat Gender equity in ultramodern Buddh	tional:	Amelia Johns Michelle Lobo 'It's about freed dominant repre devout Muslim of space of the nat	sentations of women in the	Resol same	wyn Moore ution of tension between sex attraction and ous beliefs
Risk Societies Explorations of Risk Theory and its Application Chair: Alphia Possamai-Inesedy and Jens Zinn K 2.11	Martina Boese Iain Campbell Temporary labour migration and experiences of risk and uncertainty	edge: looking	ch from the cooking inside a g glass of risk ty regulation	Understanding the semantic shift towards risk "A comparison of the volumes 1900 and 2000 of the New Y Times	e d	Alphia Possamai- Inesedy Zombies and Religion: The assumption of secularisation within the risk society thesis
Rural Issues Power Conflict and Inequality in a Rural Context Chair: Josephine Clarke H 2.22	Creating meaningful corporate social responsibility programs for rural Australian mining communities: Reflections and improvements on current practice	Power, policy and activism in remote Australia: A media analysis		Smith John Rafferty ower, policy and tivism in remote ustralia: A media Smith John Rafferty Rural education for sustainability through the Australian		Heather Aslin Lyndal-Joy Thompson Saan Ecker Dog fights? Social tensions in managing wild dogs in Australia
Youth Youth Agency Chair: Paula Geldens H 2.38	David Farrugia Julia Coffey The problem of agency in the sociology of youth: Conceptual problems and normative commitments	A politi youth: theory agency	rance ny Bottrell ical ecology of Toward a of 'structured ' in explaining dentities	Not done and dust Agency and struct in youth participa	ure	Individualisation and post-feminism: Exploring young femininities

Young People and	Jessica	Amy Dobson e	t al.	Kath Albury et al.	Murray Lee et al.
Mediated Sexual Communications - Panel Chair: Danielle Tyson K 3.09 Lecture Theatre	Ringrose et al. Tits and six packs: Exploring the discursive-affective economy of teen's 'sexting' image exchange	Youth, mobile technologies and gender politics: Young people's beliefs about gender and ethical use of communication technologies		I think everybody has a very different perspective over what's "decent": Young people's responses to adult definitions of sexting	Sexting and young people: Perceptions, practices, policy and law
Crime and	Gavin Currie	David McCallu	m	Chris Krogh	Tina Davis
Governance People, Poverty and Crime Chair: Alyce McGovern H2.20	On the crime of being black and poor: A quantitative Investigation into Aboriginal hardship, strain and crime.	Space of assessment/incarceration		Regimes fractalised: 'regimes of living' at macro and micro levels of a research project	Forced labour in the Australian food industry
Cultural Sociology A	Deborah Lupton	Tim Graham Theresa Sauter Google Glass as a technique of self and the revitalisation of the monad		David Collis	Erin Carlisle
Digital Sociology A Chair: Nicholas Hookway K 2.04	Digital sociology: Beyond the digital to the sociological			Of Google, Algorithms, and the rise of the Savant Garde	Questions and answers, or more confusion? Q&A and the problematic practice of public sphere theory
Cultural Sociology B	Gary Wickham	Barbara Evers		Michelle Brady Personalized	Penelope Boyer- Pont Contemporary
State-Public Relations in Cultural Sociology Chair: Nick Osbaldiston K 2.05	Values versus Interests in Legal-Political Government: A clash of cultures	Let's talk about	manners	Planning Programs for Single Parents: Understanding the Changes and Diversity in Political Logics and Actual Practices	political participation and online campaigning: A case study of GetU
Economic Life	Christopher Bak	er	Roksolana Suchow	verska	Henry
The Economic and the Social Chair: Jean Parker K 2.10	More than money transfer and emo supercharge		Jens Zinn Companies governing their stakeholders: the social inclusion of customers and local communities		Paternoster The resources of 'class analysis' in Australia: Toward a redefinition of terms
Education Globalisation, Innovation and Educational Work Across Boundaries Chair: Cynthia Joseph K 2.06		"Globalisation	n, Innovation and Edu Boundaries" – Pa Graham Parr Niranjan Casina Cynthia Josep	dar	terms

Emotions and	s and Jordan McKenzie Catherine Robinson						Hannah McCann Gender as	
Affect Gender, Sexuality and Emotions Chair: Natalya Goldbold H 2.37	Rethinking the Di Between Happine Sadness		Bre- mot		shame a	and the birth of the	assemblage in Queer Femme	
Environment and Society Public and Private Environmental Discourse Chair: Lyndal-Joy Thompson H 2.35	Strengers and Private nomental arse Getting comfortable: The materiality of weather in household Strengers Communicating inconvenient truths: Climate change, emotion and political communication boson		nunicating inconvenient :: Climate change, emotion		1 n (Bruce Tranter Libby Lester Leadership and the construction of environmental concerns in Australia	Vanessa Bowden It's a Lock Out: coal, climate and industry in the Hunter Valley of NSW	
Families and Gender A Fatherhood, Masculinity and	Emily Stevens Twenty-First century dad:	Brendan Churchil Beyond breadwinn	ing:	Judy Rose al. What mak a hands-o	kes !	Vivienne Elizabeth Do fathers support or hinder post-	Rhona Winnington 'A performance of Appearance': Men,	
Subjectivity Chair: Deb Dempsey HB.39	An Exploration of news media discourse and subjectivities of stay- at- home fathers	Attitudes towards male gender roles in the era of the 'new father'		ards dad? oles Fathers' ar		separation maternal employment?	masculinities and appearance medicine	
Families and Gender B	Kristin Natalier	Hayley McKe Kay Cook			e Kay Cook Kristin Natalier		Samone McCurdy	
Family Policies Chair: Sue Malta HB.40	Mapping the gove of separated fami through the lens of support	rnance 'Child support should lies be there to make		ne (Expert testimony: The gendered interpretations of data in Australia's child support reform processes	The development of Australia's statutory Paid Parental Leave policy: A case of contemporary policy reflecting old ideals?		
Health Health, Safety and	Peter Beaver	Rose Leon	tini		1	Marie Manidis	Toni Schofield et al.	
Risk Chair: Claudia Slegers HB.36	Patient safety in New Zealand public hospitals	Perception	nside(rs) and outside(rs): Perceptions of safe and unsafe Irinking among university college residents		ege	Nurses and doctors working and knowing in emergency departments: How disciplinary roles, space, time, declining bodies and other materialities get in the way of safe care	Regulating a citizenship of adult pleasures: The case of university college policy and management related to students alcohol use and harm minimisation	
Indigenous Issues	Zane Ma Rhea	Tim	Hamiltor	ı J	(ulie-A	nn Paredes	Finn Morrow	
Chair: Daphne Habibis H 2.41	Food scarcity, security and sovereignty: Indigenous-settle relations in Austr	Liber Indig r place	er identity cal ideolog genous pe within th calian nat	gy and (ople's s ne b	Challen	g for reconciliation: ging the 'ontological ' of white-settler ng	Searching for the universal in Maori Politics	

Media Politics, Publicity	Gulin Kayhan	Ranmalie Jayashina Joanne Travaglia		Mary Garden	Mitchell Hobbs				
and Social Media Chair: Mark Davis H 2.22	Acting activism in 'Whale Wars': Risk, Celebrity and WUNC displays in Newest Social Movements	Welcomed guest or foreign menace? Discursive constructions of New Zealand immigrants in Australia		menace? Discursive constructions of New Zealand immigrants in		menace? Discursive constructions of New Zealand immigrants in		Australian journalist-blogs: Bear-pits of abuse or Habermasian digital cafes?	The sociology of 'spin': Reflections on the uses, practices and consequences of political communication
Migration, Ethnicity and	Liudmila Kirpitchenko	Melinda Herro	n	Jessica Walton	Peter Gale				
Multiculturalism A Migration and Internationalisation of Education Chair: Margot Ford K2.12	Cultural imagination and study abroad	Fostering antiracism: applying cosmopolitan theory to educational settings		Who is Australian? Children's conceptualisations of cultural identity and everyday experiences of racism	Cosmopolitanism and transformative transnationalism: Gap years, volunteers, and narratives of change				
Migration,	Stephen Castles		Andrea Torre		Jingjing Zhang				
Ethnicity and Multiculturalism B Economy and Migrant Labour	Redrawing the glo			estic work: a European omparative	Transnational support exchange on the internet				
Chair: Alessio Cangiano K2.13									
Open Session	Mark Mallman	Max Travers		Katie Wright	Kerreen Reiger Nicole Curby				
Chair: Raelene Wilding HB.32	It's a bit of conscious work: Working-class university	Understanding everyday bureaucracy: Some aspects of routine administrative work in universities		Public inquiries into childhood maltreatment: Exploring the	Telling stories: Memory, meaning				
	students self- reflexive project			imperative for openness and disclosure in late modernity	and personal life in the Australian Generations project				
Social Stratification	reflexive	Jenny Chesters		imperative for openness and disclosure in late	the Australian Generations				
	reflexive project Xianbi Huang	Does investmen	t in human capital on of a certificate ol qualification pay	imperative for openness and disclosure in late modernity	the Åustralian Generations project				
Stratification Social Stratification Session Chair: Alan Scott	reflexive project Xianbi Huang Mark Western Social networks and subjective wellbeing: From theory to research	Does investmen via the completi level post-school	t in human capital on of a certificate ol qualification pay	imperative for openness and disclosure in late modernity Mom Biswakarma Federalism Discourse in Nepal: Perspective for Dalit	the Australian Generations project Lukasz Czarnecki The clientelism or anti-poverty social policy in Mexico				

Youth	Alison Baker Marcus Diaz	Steve Threadgold	Chivoin Peou
Chair: Brady Robards H 2.38	Painting is freedom? A Critical exploration of graffiti, free spaces and citizenship practice	Figurative methods and affective inequalities: Reflexive 'hipsters' and abject 'Bogans'	Growing up in Cambodian society: Stratification of passages into migrant labour workers and urban graduates