Queer Anarcha-Feminism: an emerging Ideology? The case of *Proyectil Fetal*

by

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Doctoral Thesis

'there is an immediate need, a physical, carnal urgency that anarchism, reviewing its 19th century foundations, rejuvenate itself as a queer counter-hegemonic feminism, which dares explode the roots of domination contained in our hearts.'
(Proyectil Fetal 2007c)

Declaration:

I affirm that this thesis was composed by myself and that neither this thesis nor the original work contained therein have been submitted to this or any other institution for a degree.

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Abstract

This thesis assesses the degree to which the Argentinean activist collective *Proyectil Fetal* can be successfully placed within the context of three intersecting ideological strains: feminism, anarchism and queer activism/theory. Queer anarcha-feminism, the confluence of these three ideologies, is an emerging ideology developed by a number of groups and individuals around the globe. This is in part due to their conviction that anarchists should have something to say about sexuality and gender, and that queer theory and feminism can help define such an up-to-date anarchist politics of sexuality. In addition, some believe that queer theory and feminism should be grounded in the more comprehensive ethical framework provided by the anti-capitalism and anti-Statism of the anarchist ideology, rather than be complicit with capitalism and the State. As such, queer anarchists share queer Marxists' concern with combining queer theory and anti-capitalism.

The overlaps and the tensions between these three ideological currents and *Proyectil Fetal* are closely traced through a deep analysis of the latter's blogs, internet pronouncements and discussions and actions. The core concepts of queer anarcha-feminism are all identified on their blog, and the group's adjacent as well as perimeter queer anarcha-feminist concepts are examined in depth. It is shown how the latter are formed partly in response to the current political climate in Argentina. Finally, the reception of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminist ideas is examined in order to position their queer anarcha-feminism in relation to the political landscape of Argentina.

Through this work, and drawing on Michael Freeden's conceptualisation of ideologies (Freeden 1998), this thesis elaborates the first systematic definition of queer anarcha-feminism.

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1 Queer theory+anarchism: a new connection

There is an immediate need, a physical, carnal urgency that anarchism, reviewing its 19th century foundations, rejuvenate itself as a queer counter-hegemonic feminism, which dares explode the roots of domination contained in our hearts (Proyectil Fetal 2007c)*.*

This thesis assesses the degree to which the Argentinean activist collective *Proyectil Fetal* can be successfully placed within the context of three intersecting ideological strains: feminism, anarchism and queer activism/theory. This introductory chapter is split into three parts. The first part explains how meeting *Proyectil Fetal* inspired this thesis, and provides brief working definitions of anarchism, feminism and queer theory. The second part examines existing links between queer theory and anarchism/anarcha-feminism. This part is split into three sub-sections. It starts by examining existing links in activism, then moves on to conceptualisations of queer anarchism and queer anarcha-feminism. In relation to the latter, it will be argued that the term 'queer' is problematic and confusing in the way it is being used. Finally, queer Marxist literature is examined in order to show how this current of thought, like queer anarchism, seeks to combine anti-capitalist with queer convictions, and can therefore help define such a connection. The final part of this chapter will introduce *Proyectil Fetal*, as well as the context of anarchism, gender and sexuality in Argentina which forms the backdrop of the group's work.

The subject of this thesis came to me while I was on a research trip for a previous project. In January 2008, I participated in an anarchist poetry workshop at the Argentinean Anarchist Federation, the *Federación Libertaria Argentina*, Buenos Aires. As the workshop began, everyone was asked to introduce themselves. When the turn came to a woman around thirty years of age, she introduced herself as *anarquista feminista queer*, a queer anarcha-feminist, and mentioned that she participated in a queer anarcha-feminist group called *Proyectil Fetal* (Fetal Projectile), which ran its

own blog. I was immediately intrigued. I knew the contemporary anarchist movement well, and knew that some anarchists subscribe to feminist views, in a current of thought referred to as anarcha-feminism. But the association between anarcha-feminism and *queer* was new to me. After the workshop had come to a close, I approached the woman for more information, and she gave me a flyer (Figure 1) for a workshop which *Proyectil Fetal* were going to run in early February 2008. On the flyer, the 'd-gender collective *Proyectil Fetal*'[1] announced a 'practical queer anarcha-feminist workshop against the heteronorm and all forms of orthodontics (and orthodoxy)'[2]. This playful workshop title sounded like *queer* referred to queer theory, with its opposition to compulsory heterosexuality. I had never heard of connections made between anarcha-feminism and queer theory, and I was determined to find out more. I decided to attend *Proyectil Fetal*'s workshop, despite the fact that the venue was a punk squat.

I was used to visiting squats, but the anarchist squat and library *La Grieta/Los Libros de la Esquina* in the *La Boca* barrio of Buenos Aires, still made me feel like I did not belong there. I was never punk enough to pass in these places. I did not dress like a punk, I did not wear a crest or dreadlocks, and I had neither tattoos nor piercings. Neither did I know or sleep with the right people. I sat down and waited, as other participants started to arrive. A man with dreadlocks and the puffy eyes of a heavy cannabis smoker pranced barefoot by the entrance of the squat, scanning the street as though anticipating unwelcome guests. A number of different people filed in, many looking like punk squatters, but the man who sat down next to me looked as ill-adapted to the squat environment as me. Later, a couple of young men from the anarchist *Cruz Negra* (*Black Cross*) arrived and guarded the entrance. They are said to be the kinds of anarchists who like to dress up in balaclavas and look for trouble with the police at demonstrations, much like the *Black Block* in Britain. I still wonder today what everyone made of what came next. Leonor Silvestri, which was the name of the woman I had met at the Anarchist Federation, started to speak, taking turns with a woman who I later learned was called Laura Contrera, and the workshop began.

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[1] Colectiva [sic] d-género *Proyectil Fetal.*
[2] Taller Práctico Anarco-feminista Queer. Anti-hetero-norma contra toda Ortodoncia (y ortodoxia).

During their presentation, they circulated medical books which contained photographs of ambiguous genitalia. As true queer theorists, *Proyectil Fetal*'s argument was that genital surgery on babies born with ambiguous genitals is wrong, and that we should resist pressures to conform to norms imposed on our sexuality and gender. The workshop ended with an open discussion.

Over three years have passed since I became aware of *Proyectil Fetal*, and, inspired by the work of this group, I have dedicated these three years to defining queer anarcha-feminism in general, and *Proyectil Fetal*'s in particular. The group, whose two permanent members were Contrera and Silvestri, has published a large number of posts on their blog, and some of the texts they have authored are exceptionally rich sources for researching queer anarcha-feminism. Understanding and defining this paradigm was the core concern of this thesis. I was convinced that *Proyectil Fetal* were at the vanguard of a wider trend when I found evidence that queer theory's influence on anarchism and anarcha-feminism was intensifying across the globe, as discussed below. First, however, for the reader's benefit, anarchism, feminism and queer theory will be briefly introduced. This is done with the proviso that part of Chapter Three is dedicated specifically to elaborating comprehensive definitions of anarchism, feminism and queer theory.

Feminism is a diverse political ideology which opposes patriarchy, that is, the rule of men over women, in public as well as in the private sphere, and instead fights for equality between men and women in both spheres. Feminism has existed as a political ideology since the 19th century and rose up in a 'First Wave' with the rise of the suffragette movement.

Queer Theory is a relatively young set of theories. Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) is one of the classics of queer theory. It was in fact written as a contribution to feminist theory, and only later was attributed the status of one of the founding texts of queer theory. Moya Lloyd has argued that, just like identity politics had become problematic within feminism, as expressed in the so-called 'sex wars' of the late 1970s and 1980s, so (collective) identity started to become a problem in gay and lesbian politics, resulting in a shift in the early-mid 1980s, 'in some quarters, at least', away

from identity politics (Lloyd 2007, 7). According to Lloyd, '[i]n many ways, the trajectory followed by feminism: affirming an identity, questioning the homogenizing tendencies of that identity, recognizing its constructedness and diversity, before endeavouring to capture these in a more fluid ideal – has also been followed, though in diverse fashion, within gay and lesbian politics' (ibid.). She argues that it is here that Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) is pertinent, for it is a central text in the debates on identity that took place in both women's and gay/lesbian movements (ibid., 2). Based on this background in feminism's and gay and lesbian studies' questioning of fixed identities, **queer theory emerged as a set of theories which share the assumption that sexuality is socially constructed and which therefore question all norms relating to sexuality and desire, particularly compulsory heterosexuality**.

Finally, anarchism is a political ideology which started to gain momentum in the 1860s. The term 'anarchism' is derived from the Greek for 'no ruler' (Graham 2005, xi). The essence of the **anarchist ideology is a deep questioning of hierarchies, resulting in an opposition to the State and capitalism**. If a feminist critique centres on the concept of patriarchy, the lynchpin of an anarchist critique is the more general concept of hierarchy. When combined, feminism plus anarchism become anarcha-feminism, a strand of thought which has existed since the late 19th century and which plays an essential part in the genealogy of queer anarcha-feminism, and will therefore be examined in depth in Chapter Three.

As queer theory constitutes a major intervention in contemporary feminist debate, it was to be expected that contemporary anarcha-feminism would also begin to draw on queer theory. In any case, the association between queer theory and anarchism was certainly not counter-intuitive. In addition, if we simplify queer theory as a theory which questions normative discourses surrounding sex, gender and sexuality, then alliances with this type of thought with anarchism can be identified prior to the 1990s. Just as anarchists began to propagate feminist ideas before employing the term 'feminist', so some of the core ideas that are today propagated by queer theory had an influence on a small number of anarchists well before the term 'queer theory' had even been invented. In his prison memoirs published in 1912, the anarchist Alexander

Berkman displayed attitudes towards same-sex desire which defied the homophobic norm at his time (Kissack 2008, Alexander 2011). On the whole, however, it is important not to overestimate the influence of such discourses within the anarchist movement at large, as 'anarchism historically has tended to reify categories of maleness and femaleness and has rarely considered homosexuality as a legitimate form of expression alongside heterosexuality' (Heckert, Cleminson 2011, 15).

In the following, activist groups and authors that have combined queer theory and anarchism, or queer theory and anarcha-feminism, or that can be drawn upon when doing so, will be discussed. The relevance of postanarchism and queer Marxism will also be considered in this matter. Throughout this chapter, I call the hybrid between queer theory, feminism and anarchism 'queer anarcha-feminism'.

Anarcha-queer activism

As I began to look for contemporary links between queer theory and anarchism, I encountered evidence that the UK's anarcho-communist *Anarchist Federation* has published an article on its homepage arguing that queer theory and anarcho-communism would benefit from being allies: '[i]f gender and sexuality is a social construction then, we as anarchist-communists can offer an explanation as to why this is so, who seeks to benefit from the gender binary and provide a radical critique of rigid sexuality' (Anarchist Federation 2009). Queer theory and anarcha-queer activism is also discussed from an anarchist perspective on the popular anarcho-communist forum *Libcom*, where the thread 'I've a bone to pick with Queer Anarchist politics' consists of 230 posts (Libcom 2010). I further discovered that Scottish anarcha-feminists had also begun to incorporate queer theory's lessons into their ideology. Indeed, over the last few years, the queer conviction that sexuality is socially constructed and should not be made to fit the oppositional binary homo/heterosexual, seems to have spread within anarchist circles in the UK and beyond, as the existence of anarcha-queer blogs from various countries suggests. Not only is there *Proyectil Fetal* in Buenos Aires, but also *Ek-Fyles* (*Beyond gender/queer*) in Greece, whose name plays with the double signification of 'fyles', meaning both gender and queer (Ek-fyles 2008). Further specifically anarcha-queer groups include

the Toronto-based *Limp Fist* (Limp Fist c2006) and the *Anti-capitalist Ass Pirates* of Montreal (Anti-capitalist Ass Pirates c2004). *Ek-Fyles*'s blog contains links to various queer, internationalist and anti-capitalist initiatives, including *Queeruption*[3]. *Queeruption* and the *Pink Panthers* play a vital part in the genealogy of queer anarchism. *Queeruption* is a 'free, do-it-yourself radical queer gathering that has been hosted in as diverse places as Rome, Tel-Aviv, and New York City', and is frequently co-organised by anarchists (Shannon 2009, 67). The *Pink Panthers* of Quebec called themselves a 'radical queer movement' (Les Panthères Roses 2009), and on their rich website they recommended the text 'Envisioning an anarchist alternative to queer political co-optation' from the US anarchist magazine *Onward*, followed by a link to the *Queeruption* website www.Queeruption.com (Thomson 2001). The *Pink Panthers*' website also cites an image from the *Queeruption* website which they call 'the statue of sexual liberty' (Queeruption 2009), showing an anarchised version of New York Statue of Liberty, wearing a dildo strapped to its hips and back, a bomb in one hand and a flag in the other. The flag combines the symbols of anarchism (the circled A, and the colour black) with the biological symbols of male and female grouped in such a way as to suggest male-male and female-female desire. Since the image is in black and white, it is impossible to tell whether the second colour used in the flag is red (making it black/red – the colours of anarcho-communism), or pink, for feminism and gay liberation. The statue's face is covered up, making it impossible to identify its gender. The bomb in this guerilla-statue's hand suggests that its aim is to explode the binary construction of gender.

There are thus various anarchist groups around the world which incorporate queer theory into their writing and mode of operation, whether it be as a central or marginal theme, with or without explicit reference to 'queer theory'. Deric Shannon has drawn attention to emerging activist alliances between queer theory and anarchism:

> '[a]narchist engagements with queer theory are, in many cases, still being formulated. But workshops on anarchism and queer theory are staples of anti-authoritarian gatherings (for example, the National Conference of Organized Resistance in Washington, D.C. in 2008

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[3] On *Queeruption* from an anarchist/queer perspective, see Alexander 2011, 35, Brown 2011, 200ff.

featured seven panels of critical concern for queer politics). Further, many anarchist networks and collectives are beginning to form a distinctly *queer* anarchism. (Shannon 2009, 67)

This supports my argument that we are witnessing an increasing amount of connections between queer theory and anarchism. Other authors have similarly emphasised the activist alliance between 'queer politics' and anarchism that can be found in *Queeruption* (Heckert 2005, Brown 2007), and groups such as the *Aids Coalition to Unleash Power*, '*ACT UP*' (Heckert 2005, Shepard 2010b). Laura Portwood-Stacer even argues that, in contemporary North America, 'queer critique is typical among self-identified anarchists' (Portwood-Stacer 2010, 479). She maintains that within the North American anarchist movement 'there is an active attempt to establish what anarchist sexuality ought to look like' (ibid., 487). Neal Ritchie, who has written about his anarcha-queer youth group in Asheville, North Carolina, argues that '"[q]ueer" particularly resonates with young folks who are frustrated with the increasingly assimilationist politics, attitudes, and identities of many gay and lesbian organizations', and that '[m]uch of contemporary queer youth's tactics, organizational structures, and overall goals have been heavily influenced by anarchism' (Ritchie 2008, 261). Examining a sexual politics that is influenced by both queer theory and anarchism, Ritchie stresses the influence of global social justice movements and their 'tactical, organizational, and philosophical inspiration' for queer youth, as well as the resulting 'truly global nature of the networks in which cotemporary radical queer youth often find themselves' (Ritchie 2008, 273). All decisions within Ritchie's activist group are 'made collectively by consensus' (Ritchie 2008, 268), in line with anarchist politics. Conversely, he emphasises the influence of queer theory on anarchists in his community. Similarly to my own experience of queer theory's influence on some anarcha-feminists in Scotland, Ritchie relates: 'I've seen the anarchists in our community become more queer in their outlooks, their self-representation, and even their own sexualities' (ibid.).[4]

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[4] Anarcha-queer activism in its various guises is not always entirely unproblematic. For one, anarcha-queer groups tend to be ephemeral, due to reasons explored in Chapter Four. Ritchie's description of his anarcha-queer youth movement in Asheville, NC, makes his movement appear limited, as it appears to be a subculture , and the reader is left to wonder just how sustainable his movement is (Ritchie 2008). In addition to these limitations, it is important to note the hidden hierarchies and the disciplining

Despite the links between queer theory and anarchism/anarcha-feminism in activism which have been examined here, and despite the intuitive association of anarcha-feminism with queer theory, anarcha-queer *theory* has not yet been developed to a significant extent. In the following, it will be argued that scholarly approaches dealing with queer anarchism and queer anarcha-feminism so far lack a strong conceptual basis, as queer anarchism or queer anarcha-feminism is not defined in depth in any of these texts.

Conceptualisations of queer anarcha-feminism and their limitations

With the recent publication of a collection on anarchism and sexuality (Heckert, Cleminson 2011), scholars' and practitioners' interest in linking the ideas of feminism, queer theory and anarchism is becoming ever more apparent. In particular, the collection testifies to an increasing influence of queer theory on anarchist views on sexuality. Both anarchism and queer theory are diverse theories in themselves, which means that the first caveat to bear in mind is that there can never be just one queer anarcha-feminism, but that there will be various queer anarcha-feminisms. Furthermore, some anarchists combine queer theory, feminism and anarchism, while other anarchists draw on queer theory without travelling through feminism. *Proyectil Fetal* combine the three, and my thesis will accordingly focus on defining queer anarcha-feminism. However, because there is still so little literature on queer

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of dissent within social movements, which Lara Montesinos and Karen Tucker have drawn attention to (Montesinos, Tucker 2012). Similarly to Montesinos and Tucker, other authors have drawn attention to disciplining mechanisms within social movements (Duggan 2002, Conway 2004), which reinforces the notion that social movements aren't necessarily radical. Montesinos and Tucker's work highlights that even so-called 'radical social movements' can be riddled with problematic disciplining mechanisms. This also makes Brown's assessment of radical queer movements appear overly optimistic when he argues that, 'for sure, universal discourses such as autonomy and dignity are articulated by these movements, but there is no desire for them to be applied in universal or hegemonic ways – the ideas and inspiration may spread across multi-scalar and transnational networks of affinity, but what they mean in practice is left to the imagination of activists in each locality' (Brown 2007, 204). Just because there is no official leader in an affinity group, does not mean that there is no hierarchy. This is exemplified by criticisms of 'ACT UP as a social milieu in which some people were "in" and others were "out"' (Cvetkovich 2003, 174). '[T]here were hierarchies within ACT UP about who was cool and who got to cruise who and who got to do what' (Marion Banzhaf, cited in Cvetkovich 2003, 175). Similarly, Jo Freeman has critiqued informal hierarchies in affinity groups (Freeman 2002 [1972]). Brown's earliest assessments of radical queer activism (Brown 2007), with particular reference to *Queeruption* gatherings, then, can appear to be overly celebratory. In addition, *Queeruption* themselves have broached the issue of 'the reproduction of oppressive sexual norms within radical communities' (Queeruption 6 2004). All in all, such hierarchies must be acknowledged and examined, and the above-mentioned work on disciplining dissent within social movements represents an important step in that direction.

anarchism and queer anarcha-feminism, I have chosen to consider both currents of thought for the purpose of this chapter, in order to show how queer theory and anarchism/anarcha-feminism are mutually informing.

'Queer' – a confusing term

Jamie Heckert has used the term 'queer anarchy' (Heckert 2005, 54); Deric Shannon and Abbey Willis speak of 'queering anarchism' (Shannon, Willis, 2010, 433); Portwood-Stacer employs the term anarchaqueer (Portwood-Stacer 2010, 486f.); Jenny Alexander uses the term anarcho-queer (Alexander 2011, 26, 34, 38f.); and Sandra Jeppesen speaks of 'queer anarchist' (Jeppesen 2010, 463). The use of the term 'queer', however, is frequently problematic.

Sometimes, authors speak of 'queer theory', whilst also using the term 'queer politics', without defining these terms, and without defining the differences between them. In addition, 'radical queer activism', 'queer anarchist action' or similar expressions are sometimes used interchangeably with the term 'queer politics'. Jamie Heckert, one of the forerunners of queer anarchism, uses the term 'queer' in various ways without clearly distinguishing between its different uses, as the following passage from his work illustrates:

> **[q]ueer anarchist action** is not limited to Europe, North America and Australia/New Zealand. British **anarcho-queer** spoof paper, The Pink Pauper, reports other examples (Anonymous, 2004). In Israel, Black Laundry challenges the leftist status quo which argues that the occupation is the primary political issue, and challenges all forms of hierarchy. In Buenos Aires, an **anti-capitalist radical queer** group have created a social centre and support a variety of non-hierarchical events. Mujeres Creando ('Women Creating'), an anarcha-feminist group in Bolivia, includes challenging homophobia as a crucial part of its revolutionary politics. These examples, from ACT UP to Mujeres Creando, demonstrate an ongoing, though not inherent, relationship between anarchism and **queer politics**. (added emphasis, Heckert 2005, 57)

It is not clear what exactly Heckert means by 'queer anarchist action', 'anarcho-queer', and 'anti-capitalist radical queer', or to what extent *Black Laundry* fits into this list. Nor is it clear what the groups mentioned in this list have in common. Heckert claims that they illustrate an 'ongoing, though not inherent, relationship between anarchism and queer politics'. Again, however, what exactly falls under 'queer politics' remains

undefined. To what extent, for example, can it incorporate gay identity politics? What tension is there within these groups between identity politics and the tenets of queer theory? And how do the different currents of anarchism complicate the mix? While it is impossible to draw a clear distinction between what constitutes theory and practice, it is not a good idea to use the terms 'queer theory', 'queer politics' or simply 'queer' interchangeably. Benjamin Shepard, another author interested in combining queer theory and anarchism, uses the term 'queer politics' in order to designate a politics informed by queer theory, although he does not clarify either whether queer theory must be the exclusive, or even the main theoretical influence in order for a politics to qualify as 'queer' (Shepard 2010a, 515f.).

According to Heckert, there are good reasons for avoiding the term 'queer' altogether. He prefers not to apply the label 'queer anarchism' to his own research (Heckert 2005, 81) because of common associations with the term 'queer' in Anglophone countries: 'the word queer brings with it associations of (gendered and sexualised) transgression and, more specifically, homosexuality. Thus, at the same time as it provides a radical critique of identity politics, queer anarchism may maintain some of identity politics' limitations' (ibid., 248). While conceding that there may be scope in a '(more) explicitly anarchist queer theory' (ibid., 248), Heckert avoids the term in his own writing because of these reservations. In my thesis, however, the terms 'queer anarchism' and 'queer anarcha-feminism' will be used in order to be explicit about the three theories which are being combined.

Whether it is in the academy or among activists, the context of the use of the term 'queer' is significantly different in an English-speaking context than it is in a non-English-speaking context. This is due to the fact that 'queer' is a pejorative English term for 'homosexuals', whereas in Spanish the term does not exist. It only became part of the Spanish language with its introduction as 'queer theory' through translations of authors such as Judith Butler and Judith Halberstam into Spanish – a very different context which removes all provocation from the term. *Proyectil Fetal*'s use of the term 'queer' needs to be considered in the context of its unburdened use in Spanish. Calling themselves 'anarquista queer', then, is possible without the

hesitations associated with the use of the term 'anarcha-queer' in English. On the other hand, this means that the term 'queer theory' in Spanish is as elitist as it is in the English-speaking academy.

While various authors deal with queer anarchism in its various guises, no-one has to date conceptualised queer anarchism, or queer anarcha-feminism in depth. One of the earliest efforts to combine queer theory with anarchism is Heckert's. He argues that queer theory's potential as a political practice remains unclear to many, and that anarchism can help make the radical potential of queer theory become clearer and helps address the key criticisms made of queer theory (Heckert 2005, 35ff.). According to Heckert, queer theory has been criticised for neglecting issues of gender; its homocentricity; its promotion of 'individualistic sexual transgression which is consistent with capitalism'; and, finally, its over-emphasis on 'textual deconstruction and a cultural politics of knowledge', with a converse lack of 'institutional … and material engagement' (Heckert 2005, 49). Queering anarchism helps him address these criticisms because anarchism provides a more comprehensive ethical framework which explicitly opposes all forms of oppression. Similarly to queer Marxism, a strand of thought which will be examined below, queer anarchism can prevent sexuality from taking an isolated, primordial role neglecting capitalist and gender oppression, with which it is entwined. Due to his reservations about the term 'queer', Heckert avoids theorising an explicitly queer anarchism or queer anarcha-feminism and instead seeks to draw out the elements within anarchist thought which he believes already contain these queer and feminist ideas. He argues that theorising anarchism as an ethics of relationships effectively queers anarchism:

> [e]mphasising an ethics of relationships as the core of anarchist criticisms and ideals encourages a more explicit turn to queer and feminist politics and to issues of the "private" sphere, including "personal" relationships, sexuality and emotions. A relational understanding of anarchism, then, must break down the divisions of public/private, individual/collective, autonomous/relational, hetero/homo, justice/care and other binaries that sustain the State apparatus and state-forms (ibid. 249).

Heckert's idea of an anarchism which is queered by defining it as an ethics of relationships rests on a weak conceptual basis, however, as his definition of anarchism

is too impressionistic. While the history of anarchist thought spans over two centuries, his account of anarchism comprises under two pages within his book-length thesis, which is not enough to do justice to this complex political philosophy and ideology and provides an insufficient basis for redefining it (Heckert 2005, 51f.). Overall, Heckert's queered anarchism lacks a conceptual foundation which systematically defines and combines the concepts of both anarchism and queer theory. As will become apparent, none of the other authors considered in this chapter have sought to combine queer theory and anarchism based on a systematic definition of this hybrid ideology or theory and its components. My thesis seeks to fill this conceptual gap. In order to do this, Chapter Three will consider the concepts which make up anarchism, feminism and queer theory in depth in order to define a possible connection between the three in a systematic manner.

Portwood-Stacer sees it as 'ideologically consistent for anarchists to take up queers' resistance to the established hierarchical valuation of sexual identities and practices', as 'dominant sexual mores and institutions create hierarchies in which people are coerced into having and expressing a limited range of sexual desires and interpersonal arrangements' (ibid., 480). In other words, because anarchists oppose all hierarchies, opposing hierarchies related to sexuality is consistent with their political programme. Queer theory can provide such a ready-made critique of hierarchies relating to sexuality. Conversely, Heckert implies that queer theory is most effective when integrated into a wider politics of anti-hierarchy, as provided by anarchism: '[i]n order for queer politics to successfully disrupt the hetero/homo division, it must also disrupt all the hierarchical binaries with which it is intertwined. These hierarchies must be challenged in *all* relationships, not only sexual ones' (emphasis in original, Heckert 2005, 58).

Portwood-Stacer does not have the same reservations about an explicitly queer anarchist theory as Heckert does, and she uses and develops the term without hesitation. Referring to Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (Butler 1990), she argues that anarchists inspired by queer theory attempt to '"make trouble" … for the discourse of normative sexuality, and the relations of power it supports, by proliferating instances

in which the normal categories of identity and desire do not seem to apply'
(Portwood-Stacer 2010, 485). She even supports the strategic use of what she calls
'queer anarchonormativity' – the strategic definition of anarchist norms for sexuality,
which has 'political value, then, insofar as it serves to proliferate and make legible
forms of sexuality that are informed by anarchist ethics' (ibid., 491). However, she also
stresses the danger of 'queer' becoming a new norm (ibid., 489), a question which will
be addressed in Chapter Four. Overall, however, it is important to note that
Portwood-Stacer's queer anarchism, like Heckert's, is based on an insufficient
conceptual basis which once again illustrates the need for a thorough development of
queer anarcha-feminist thought.

Shepard combines queer 'issues and actions' with anarchism because he believes that
queer theory needs to reconnect with its activist roots, and that a connection with the
more activist-oriented anarchism can further this goal (Shepard 2010a, 515). He
argues that '[w]hile there are any number of queer activists involved in direct action[5]
and anarchist(ic) movements, many theorists seem to have walked away from the
practices, writings, or questions involved with the activism which long once [sic]
fueled queer theory' (Shepard 2010a, 515). He draws attention to themes connecting
anarchism and 'queer issues and actions' in order to make queer theorists aware of
what a radical queer activism could look like. Heckert similarly argues that anarchism
and queer theory share historical linkages (Heckert 2005, 49). Shepard identifies a
shared queer-anarchist 'critique of the normative assumptions about the world',
particularly those promoted by religious institutions and governments (ibid, 516).
Instead, he argues, both currents of thought 'support free will and choice, favoring the
consent of those involved' (ibid.). In addition, he identifies a shared basic scepticism
towards the State, a shared politics of freedom, defined as 'collective self-
determination, mutual aid, a rejection of patriarchy, and space to make choices about
one's life' (ibid.). These areas of overlap are hazy and could apply to any (albeit
sceptical) supporters of a democratic welfare state. This vagueness is due to the fact
that the anarchist opposition to the State is not shared by all queer theorists and

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[5] Direct action is a tactics which does not ask the state for anything, but ignores it and even combats it
(as in protest marches, which recognise the state's authority and asks it to change its policy).

activists. In addition, Shepard himself concedes that anti-capitalism, another pillar of anarchism, is not shared by all queer theorists and activists (ibid.). This gives a first glimpse of two conditions which need to be met when combining queer theory and anarchism: a queer anarchism can only ever be anti-statist and anti-capitalist. This condition is not recognised to any significant extent in Heckert's work, for example, as his definition of anarchism is too basic and does not sufficiently take into account the fact that anti-capitalism lies at the very heart of anarchism (Heckert 2005).

In this sub-section, it has been argued that existing accounts of queer anarchism rest on a weak conceptual basis. Heckert's idea of queering anarchism by conceptualising it as an 'ethics of relationships' was described as not sufficiently aware of anarchism's core anti-capitalism, and overall based on a vastly insufficient conceptualisation of anarchism. Both Heckert and Portwood-Stacer see it as consistent for anarchism to incorporate queer theory, as anarchism defies hierarchies generally, and queer theory questions hierarchies in the realm of the sexual specifically. Again, however, neither assessment was based on thorough conceptual definitions of anarchism or queer theory. Both Heckert and Shepard have drawn attention to the perceived lack of political engagement of queer theory, and have suggested that linking queer theory and anarchism can help remedy this. Shepard has argued that anarchism which has stayed close to its activist roots can help ground a queer theory which has largely neglected its activist roots. Shepard's argument was based on four areas of overlap between 'anarchist and queer issues and actions', which, although vague, make it possible to extrapolate anti-capitalism and anti-statism as core conditions which must be met when combining queer theory and anarchism into a new ideology. Overall, queer theory has emerged as uncommitted to broader social and economic justice. Combining queer theory with anarchism makes queer theory committed to the broader ethical framework provided by anarchism, which includes anti-capitalism and anti-statism. In the following, queer Marxism's and queer anarchism's shared concern with combining queer theory and anti-capitalism will be examined in order to show why and how such a connection is both possible and necessary from these theorists' point of view.

Combining anti-capitalism and queer theory: queer Marxism and queer anarchism

On our way to understanding how anarchism/anarcha-feminism and queer theory can be combined, our paths cross with those of queer Marxism, as Marxists share anarchists' concept of anti-capitalism. This common dedication to anti-capitalism can be traced back to the time when Marxists and anarchists were still united under the banner of socialism, before splitting into two factions in 1872[6].

Marxist queer theorist Donald Morton has emphasised the need for a clear class politics in queer theory, and has equated true radicalism with an explicit commitment to class politics (Morton 1996). Similarly, Rosemary Hennessy cautions that it is necessary to avoid neglecting class when considering questions of sexuality (Hennessy 2000). Class determines our access to resources such as food, housing, healthcare and education, and to positions of power in politics. Morton's, like Hennessy's insistence on taking into account class is based on their materialist analysis of history and society. According to Hennessy, 'the history of sexual identity ... has been fundamentally, though never simply, affected by several aspects of capitalism: wage labor, commodity production and consumption' (Hennessy 2000, 4).

Similarly to queer Marxism, queer anarchism builds on anti-capitalist convictions. Ritchie draws attention to the importance of anti-capitalism within anarcha-queer ideology. He argues that 'radical queer' groups such as *Queer Fist* of New York use the term 'queer' in a way that 'deepens and broadens the word so that it doesn't just mean homo- or bisexual' (Ritchie 2008, 264). Instead, queer comes to 'refer to that which is gender-bending, disruptive of power, carnivalesque, or sexually anti-normative' (ibid.)[7], and 'is for many youth increasingly tied to the principles which find their root in antiauthoritarian and anticapitalist struggle within the postmodern world' (Ritchie 2008, 264). Despite the fact that he shares an anti-capitalist concept with queer Marxists, Ritchie's queer anarchism places no emphasis on the class struggle, whereas the class struggle is essential in Morton's and Hennessy's queer Marxism.

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[6] On the split of the International Workingmen's Association, see also Chapter Three.
[7] Various recent studies have drawn attention to the carnivalesque nature of (the role of play in) contemporary queer activist culture (Brown 2007, Shepard 2010b, Ritchie 2008).

Brown, whose queer autonomous Marxism and investigation of anarcha-queer groups such as *Queeruption* is situated somewhat at the margins between queer Marxism and queer anarchism, redefines 'queer' as an ideology that is opposed to the capitalist 'separating of people from their own doing'. He bases this theory on a reading of Heckert combined with a Marxist theory of alienation based on Holloway's Zapatismo[8] (Brown 2007, 197). Similarly to Hennessy, Morton and Ritchie, he thus explicitly links queer theory to economic concerns through anti-capitalism. Brown purports that the 'queer activists' he investigates 'oppose and contest the complacent politics of mainstream gay politicians who actively work to win gay people's compliance to a depoliticised culture based on domesticity and privatised consumption' (Brown 2007, 196f.). Such a position greatly resembles Marxist analyses of the economic basis of sexual oppression. For example, Nicola Field has argued that

> [w]e cannot hope to bring about real change for gay people whilst the system which causes gay oppression remains in place [...]
>
> All "lesbian and gay issues" are rooted in the politics of class struggle. When ambitious, bourgeois "community leaders" seek to divorce these issues from wider social and political concerns the lesbian and gay movement becomes atrophied. Being able to rework and reassess the reformist gay rights programme in the context of defending working class interests is a vital step in breaking away from the frustrations and divisions of identity politics [...] Do we just want the same poverty traps and institutions? Seeking assimilation into what is perceived as "straight privilege" has led many gay activists to confuse *equal rights* with *equal oppression*. (Original emphasis, Nicola Field, Over the Rainbow, no year, inReynolds 2003, 34)

It has become apparent that the border between Marxist and anarchist queer theory is porous, and that it is helpful to conceptualise these as mutually informing theories when considering their linking of queer theory with anti-capitalism. Indeed, Brown's work, which incorporates a mix of Marxist and anarchist analyses of queer issues, is an example of an alliance between Marxist and anarchist queer theory. However, the anti-capitalism of the Marxist and anarchist queer theorists examined here differs in its emphasis on class, as the former insist on it, whereas the latter see it as one among many forms of oppression. Shannon argues that class should not be considered the

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[8] Holloway 2002.

most important root of domination, and he instead advocates an intersectional approach which does not fix strategic priorities:

> discussions of THE root of domination or which fight should be prioritized are becoming passé within radicalism in general and anarchism in particular. A contemporary anarcha-feminism would avoid this prioritizing of struggles and recognize the deep connections between all forms of domination. Thus, political work would not be denounced for not focusing on the "right" issues (provided, of course, that they targeted domination in its many forms), and attempts would be made to include an intersectional approach to our activist praxis. (Shannon 2009, 69)

Jeppesen similarly argues that 'intersectionality is considered crucial within queer anarchist culture' (Jeppesen 2010, 474). While this may be the case for queer anarchism and will be discussed further in Chapter Three, some anarchists (and indeed Marxists) do see class as the most important axis of domination, more important than oppression due to sexuality or gender (see also, Heckert 2005, 58). In Chapter Five, it will be shown how *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarchism clashes with precisely such a conception of revolution, as they argue that

> What Marxists have called the "principal enemy or issue" does not exist, [despite the fact that this is] a view which, sadly, is held by a number of self-proclaimed anarchists. Strategic priorities and immediate emergencies are not the same independently of time, nor are they something that can be compressed to "the primordial". (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008)

Overall, both queer Marxism and queer anarchism are theoretically underdeveloped and too many texts, particularly Hennessy's and Ritchie's, do not go far beyond stating as the truth what instead they should demonstrate. Paul Reynolds, too, has drawn attention to the embryonic state of Marxist critiques of sexual rights discourses, but sees scope in a further development thereof (Reynolds 2003, 34f.). Finally, it is important not to overemphasise the link between queer anarchism and queer Marxism: while they share anti-capitalist convictions, the two ideologies differ greatly with respect to their attitudes towards class, as discussed above, as well as with respect to their attitudes towards the State. Anarchists are decidedly anti-statist, whereas Marxists' core convictions enable them to call for a taking over of the State by the proletariat and the formation of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Proyectil Fetal

Having reviewed existing literature combining queer theory, feminism and anarchism as well as queer Marxism's and queer anarchism's concern with combining queer theory and anti-capitalism, let us now return to the group which inspired this research project: *Proyectil Fetal*. In order to appreciate the radical nature of their queer anarcha-feminist project, it is useful to begin by considering the situation of women and sexual minorities in Argentina.

Women and sexual minorities in Argentina

A milestone in Argentinean women's history is the 1926 reform of the Civil Code which 'freed married women from the tutelage of their husbands in economic activities, education, and choice of profession. Additionally, it made it possible for women to act on their own behalf in legal affairs' (Barrancos 2006, 129). Despite repeated attempts to pass a divorce law since a divorce bill presented to Congress by Representative Juan Ballestra failed in 1888, divorce did not become legal in Argentina until 1987 (ibid.).

Eva 'Evita' Perón, Juan Perón's second wife, 'between the election of Perón as president in 1946 and her death in 1952, was responsible for profound advances in the promotion of women's political rights and in the design and implementation of public policies that benefited women' (Bauer and Tremblay 2011, 111). Barrancos argues that soaring unemployment in the 1990s saw a deterioration of the situation of poor women, because they cannot access birth control (Barrancos 2006, 127). In Argentina, abortion remains illegal. Barrancos further argues that the present era has not 'given way to a greater open-mindedness that would eradicate homophobia and encourage the acceptance of performative[9] differences of sexuality' (ibid.). On the other hand, Argentina has since become a forerunner in the legalisation of gay marriage. Since 15 July 2010, Argentina is one of only a dozen countries worldwide

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[9] Performativity is, in the words of Tamsin Spargo, a 'term derived from the British philosopher J.L. Austin's speech act theory, in which certain utterances of ceremony perform an action and exercise a binding power. Examples include legal sentencing and the marriage ceremony. The concept was adapted by Judith Butler to describe the way in which gender is produced as an effect of a regulatory regime that requires the ritualized repetition of particular forms of behaviour' (Spargo 1999, 74f.).

(and the only country in Latin America) where gay marriage with full spousal rights, responsibilities and protection is legal.

The *Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres* (National Women's Conference) which celebrated its 25th anniversary in 2010, is an important date in the diary for thousands of feminists each year, and the campaign for free, legal and safe abortion is an important part of this conference, as explored in Chapter Four. The feminist movement is diverse in its goals and strategies. The lack of abortion rights, ongoing lack of acceptance of different expressions of sexuality, widespread machismo and homophobia in Argentina form the backdrop of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminist project and, along with prostitution, are reflected in the subject matter of their articles, as explored in Chapters Four and Five.

Proyectil Fetal was a group of activists/theorists who blogged between 30 October 2007 and 22 February 2010. They state that their first experience as a group was at the 22nd Argentinean National Women's Conference held on 13-15 October 2007 in Córdoba, Argentina, and their first blog post is their report of this event (Proyectil Fetal 2007f). Their last activity was their 'Posthumous presentation of *Proyectil Fetal* in Leeds'[10] at a conference to which Richard Cleminson and I had invited them. The reasons why the group was formed will be explored in Chapter Four, and their position in the political landscape of Argentina will be examined in Chapter Five. The group's permanent members were Laura Contrera and Leonor Silvestri, but others contributed to selected texts and activities, and the goal was to be a group which would change shape constantly, as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

The group's name, *Proyectil Fetal* means Fetal Projectile. Thus, literally, it is a foetus which is being thrown or projected forth in order to hit something. I have asked Contrera to explain this name, and she responded in the following way:

> [a]s far as the name "Fetal Projectile" is concerned, I would prefer not to assume the task of explaining it. May the poetic and political resonance of these words remain in the hands of those who wish to interpret it. In my case, "projectile" cannot be dissociated from my beloved poet Vladimir Maiakovski or Nietzsche, who philosophised with a hammer. And "foetal" evokes

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[10] 'Presentación póstuma de *Proyectil Fetal* en Leeds' (Proyectil Fetal 2010).

the struggle for legal, safe and free abortion as well as the idea of something which is undefined, or unfinished.[11]

The importance of the struggle for legal abortion in the genesis of *Proyectil Fetal* will be examined in Chapter Four. In accordance with its goal of being a polymorphous group, Contrera explains that 'more than once *Proyectil Fetal* has mocked the limited identity entailed by a name, de-forming it and turning it into something fun, as in the case of "faecal", "feudal", "projectual", etc.'[12] She adds that, 'even though *Proyectil Fetal* was unable to transcend personal vanities as fully as it was hoping to, I would like to honour this collective commitment which once called on me and others, going beyond the unilateral interpretation of something as random as a name.[13]

In the following, Laura Contrera's and Leonor Silvestri's biographies, as written by themselves[14], will be reproduced in order to give the reader an idea of who was behind the code name *Proyectil Fetal*:

> **Laura Contrera** (1977) has worked for the Law Chamber of Buenos Aires Province, Argentina, since 2000 and teaches labour law at the Universidad Nacional de la Matanza, in Buenos Aires Province. She is a member of *Proyectil Fetal*, an anarchist gender affinity group[15]; a member of the board of editors of Periférica Magazine (antimilitarist, feminist, queer anarchist magazine); and publisher of Pido Perdón, a fanzine on child abuse (www.pidoperdonzine.blogspot.com). She holds a B.A. in Philosphy, with a major in Social Philosphy, and is currently studying for a Law degree. She is the author of the chapter on "The History of the Argentine Workers'

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[11] '[e]n cuanto al nombre "*Proyectil Fetal*", preferiría no tomarme la atribución de explicarlo. Que quede la resonancia poética y política de tales palabras a cargo de quien quiera interpretarlas. En mi caso, "proyectil" va indisociablemente de la mano de mi querido poeta Vladimir Maiakovski o del Nietzsche que filosofaba a martillazos. Y el fetal evoca tanto las luchas por el aborto legal, seguro y gratuito como la idea de lo informe y lo inacabado'. Personal communication, 5 September 2011.

[12] 'PF se ha burlado en más de una ocasión de las limitaciones identitarias que puede conllevar un nombre, deformándolo, di-viertiéndolo, como "fecal", "feudal", "proyectual", etc.'

[13] [s]i bien PF no pudo cumplir acabadamente con su aspiración de trascender las vanidades personales, quiero honrar esa apuesta colectiva que alguna vez me convocó a mí y a otrxs [sic] no interpretando unilateralmente algo tan azaroso como un nombre'.

[14] I have corrected a number of errors of English as well as spelling mistakes in their text. Similarly, throughout this thesis, all online excerpts have been spell-checked in order to make them easier to read, and punctuation and capitalization have in some cases been added for the same reasons. In other cases, original punctuation, spelling and lack of capitalisation were left unchanged because it was felt that this helped convey a more authentic picture of some of these online texts.

[15] On affinity, see Chapter Four. Briefly, an affinity group is a group of people which come together to work on a common project, and then dissolve when they no longer wish to work together. This ephemeral nature of the affinity group is not seen as a negative factor, but it is seen as an expression of our constantly-evolving identities.

Movement" for the book *Workers' Collective Rights. Guilds and Unions* (Prometeo Libros & Universidad Nacional de La Matanza, 2008.). She has published several articles on Anarchism and Feminism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Leonor Silvestri (1976) is a poet, translator and journalist. She has published poetry books across Latin America (most of them bilingual in Spanish and English and self-translated), and her poems have been included in several poetry anthologies in Argentina and abroad. She is the author of *Catulo, Poemas: Una introducción crítica* (Santiago Arcos. 2005), which is in fact her never-finished PhD thesis; and editor of the 12 volume series of popular studies in classical literature for Santiago Arcos Editores/Traductores. As a journalist, she was part of the team of SOY, the first LGBT supplement of a mass media newspaper in Argentina (Página 12) since its beginning. She has a BA in Classical Literature from the University of Buenos Aires. She is currently a member of the research project at Universidad de Buenos Aires on "Sexual rights and offences" 423/08-09 Ubacyt, where she is researching counter hegemonic sexualities. She studied creative writing in English with the Irish poet Kevin Higgings at the Galway Arts Centre, in 2007, and has lived in Ireland. Her book of translations of Women Contemporary Irish Poets is forthcoming, supported by a Translation Grant from the Irish Literature Exchange. She is the author of a chapter on queer-feminism and anarchist activism published in *Polimorfias and Identities-TransAmerica* (Centro Cultural Ricardo Rojas & Centro Cultural de España en Buenos Aires. 2009). She has travelled all around Central America giving talks on anarchist activism and sexuality, work she started in Buenos Aires several years ago for LGBT organizations, and has lectured at the following institutions: Fundación Rimas (Honduras), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, Mujeres en las Artes (Honduras), and in the Argentinean CC Ricardo Rojas, Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, Sociedad Argentina de Sexualidad Humana, ATEM, UCES, Federación Libertaria Argentina, among others. She is a queer anarchist and a practitioner of sadomasochistic perversions; a member of the anarchism and gender affinity group *Proyectil Fetal*, and of the board of editors of Periférica Magazine; of the (public) secret society that is the anarcopervertist international (www.anarcopervertismo.blogspot.com); as well as of the sodomite international (www.la-internacional-sodomita.blogspot.com). She is currently working on her new blog on male and non-male masculinities (www.mascunilidad-es.blogspot.com); on her performance *Transgenerity, how to become ... Trans*; and on a play on Medea, Clytemnestra and Antigone.[16]

As will become apparent through Chapters Four and Five, Contrera's background in philosophy and law, as well as Silvestri's background in Classics becomes apparent on

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[16] These biographies were sent as per request for the conference Anarchism and Sexuality in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries, University of Leeds, 19-20 February 2010, which was organized by Richard Cleminson and myself.

their blog, as they shape the language used as well as the subject matter. In the following, final section of this chapter, the history and contemporary forms of Argentinean anarchism will be introduced in order to be able to situate *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism within this context – a goal which will be further pursued in Chapter Five.

Anarchism in Argentina

Historians generally agree that '[a]narchist ideas were introduced into Latin America by European immigrants during the 1860's. The anti-authoritarian International [Workingmen's Association] generated significant support in several Latin American countries, and anarchists helped organise some of the first trade unions. The two largest Latin American anarchist movements were in Argentina and Brazil' (Graham 2005, 319). Historians have argued that, since its exportation to Argentina, anarchism grew through its union engagement, coming to a heyday in the first two decades of the 20th century, and then dying off. Pablo M. Pérez, Juan Manuel Heredia and Hernán Villasenin (2006), however, in an introduction to the cultural work of anarchism in Buenos Aires, advocate a continuous historiography of Argentinean anarchism by stressing the importance of recognising the diversity of anarchism throughout its development in Argentina, and in particular the steady cultural work of anarchism. According to the authors, historiographers of Argentine anarchism have tended to focus on its syndicalist element, as represented by the FORA, which indeed became weaker in the 1930s, but does not reflect anarchism in its full diversity (Pérez, Heredia et al. 2006, 107ff., for a detailed continuous historiography, see Pérez 2002). Similarly, Juan Suriano's work illustrates the significance of 'cultural' anarchism from the late 19th century onwards (Suriano 2001). Indeed, as Pérez argues, the basis from which Argentinean anarchism grew was diverse from the outset: 'the Argentinean anarchist movement, which emerged in the second half of the 19th century, grew steadily for various decades. The creation of 'Cultural circles', 'Libraries', 'Philo-dramatic groups[17]', 'Schools' and the Workers' Federation make it the expression of vast sections of the

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[17] Lay theatre groups.

popular and working classes'[18] (Pérez 2002). After the anarchist dominance within the workers' movement had ended, in 1935, the *Federación Anarco-Comunista Argentina* (FACA, since 1955 named *Federación Libertaria Argentina*, FLA), and the *José Ingenieros* Public Library were formed (Pérez 2002, 14,17; Francomano, López 2008), which supports Pérez, Heredia and Villasenin's argument for a historiography recognizing the continuous anarchist cultural work carried out in independent anarchist libraries, archives and publishing, such as the FACA's (FLA's) *Editorial Reconstruir*, which has been publishing libertarian pamphlets and books since 1946 (Pérez 2002, 15). Independent archives of anarchist newspapers exist in many places, invigorated through the anarchist practice of donating and bequeathing personal collections of anarchist texts to anarchist archives and libraries.

Similarly, there are good arguments for a continuous historiography of Argentinean revolutionary syndicalism, which, although reduced tremendously in numbers, still continues to operate to this date, not only in long-standing organisations such as the Regional Workers' Federation of Argentina, the *Federación Obrera Regional Argentina* (FORA), but also finds expression in anarchist networks formed over the last decade, such as the *Red Libertaria*. In the early 20th century, the FORA had the support of thousands of workers, and later dramatically lost its influence (Pérez 2002, 1ff.). Yet, like the FLA, it continues to operate, 'albeit both are now reduced to minority organisations'[19] (Pérez 2002, 18). Daniel Barret contends that:

> the old Federación Obrera Regional Argentina, from its current, limited possibilities, has, for the umpteenth time, begun the Sisyphus climb. It has managed to re-establish four Societies of Resistance – in Buenos Aires, Morón, Bahía Blanca and Mendoza-, making a strong effort to monitor the workplace struggles of today's Argentina. It has also tried to organise a gastronomic union with a clear anarcho-syndicalist bent in Buenos Aires, yet up to now it is

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[18] [e]l movimiento anarquista argentino, nacido en la segunda mitad del SXIX, fue creciendo incesantemente durante varias décadas. La formación de "Círculos culturales", "Bibliotecas", "Compañías Filodramáticas", "Escuelas" y la Federación Obrera lo convierten en la expresión de amplios sectores obreros y populares.

[19] [a]unque para ambos sólo quedaba reservado un lugar de minorías.

impossible to tell what is happening with it, except that there is reliable evidence to prove that it was functioning until very recently.[20] (Barrett 2007)

In conclusion, anarchism in Argentina was diverse from the outset. Subsequently, revolutionary syndicalism predominated, as support within the workers' movement rose exponentially, and, after revolutionary syndicalism lost its popular base, it still continued its work, but at the same time, organisations with less of a syndicalist focus, such as the FLA and anarchist libraries and archives, emerged (ibid.). In addition, there has been the ongoing anarcha-feminist strand, as discussed below, alongside a multitude of other anarchist tendencies. This leaves Argentinean anarchism with a diverse set of strategies throughout its history and to this date (Pérez 2002: 17f.). Contemporary Argentinean anarchism sports new strategies, including mutual contributions between more traditional groups specifically organising as anarchists (big-A anarchism) and the alterglobalisation movement (small-a anarchism[21]), and, in particular in the course of the structural transformations after the economic crash of 2001, a rise in anarcho-punk squats which function as social and cultural centres.[22]

Over the last decades, the now ailing Osvaldo Bayer has been the most prolific anarchist in the country, with his famous work on the bloody repression of the anarchist rebellion in the Argentinean region of Patagonia in the 1920s (Bayer 1974-1978). Based on his work, the film *La Patagonia Rebelde* (Olivera 1974) appeared while the author lived in exile from Jorge Rafaél Videla's dictatorship. During the dictatorship (1976-1981), low-key anarchist activity in Buenos Aires continued. The FLA remained open, albeit under a different name, *Ateneo Amigos de la Ciencia* (Federación Libertaria Argentina c2011). Clandestine action continued despite brutal state repression. Since re-democratization in 1981, anarchists in Argentina have been

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[20] la vieja Federación Obrera Regional Argentina, desde sus modestas posibilidades actuales, reemprendió por enésima vez el ascenso de Sísifo. Consiguió recrear cuatro Sociedades de Resistencia - en Capital, Morón, Bahía Blanca y Mendoza- y denota un esfuerzo importante de seguimiento de los conflictos laborales de la Argentina de nuestros días. Se sabe también de un intento de organización de un sindicato gastronómico de clara orientación anarco-sindicalista en Buenos Aires pero nada podemos decir del mismo en este momento, aunque sí certificar su existencia fehaciente hasta muy poco tiempo atrás.

[21] The distinction between big-A and small-a anarchism has been introduced by David Graeber and Andrej Grubacic (Graeber, Grubacic, 2004).

[22] Field notes, January 2008.

able to step out of the shadows, but, as will become apparent in the following, it was the economic crisis of 2001 which gave rise to a rejuvenated anarchist movement, resulting in the strongest boost the movement had seen in decades (Barrett 2007).

When Argentina's economy collapsed in 2001, the news spread across the world, showing images of masses of people storming banks and supermarkets, building roadblocks and bringing four consecutive governments to their knees within only two weeks. The crisis triggered a number of societal transformations, which, I suggest, in turn marked the nature of anarchism in the country. Argentineans were furious at the government for what they saw as criminally corrupt mismanagement of the country's economy, and as their savings were frozen in the banks, they feared losing them due to ravaging inflation. Simultaneously, large sectors of society lost their jobs. It was in this context that Argentineans began to build alternatives to traditional forms of economic production, decision-making and policy implementation. Two alternative structures that stand out due to their lasting influence on the economic and political situation were workers' and community self-management. I will look at these in turn. Thousands of businesses went bankrupt as a consequence of the economic crisis, leaving warehouses and other premises empty, some of which were subsequently squatted and used as housing. Other workplaces were recuperated and continued to be run cooperatively by former employees, albeit under continuous threat of forceful eviction, due to their defiance of the laws protecting private property. Popular neighbourhood assemblies were also set up, often in these same premises. Masses of people began to congregate in these assemblies, where they decided and carried out matters of local concern themselves, rather than relying on party politicians (Sitrin 2006). These transformations have now been largely reversed. As the economy recovered, people began losing interest in participating in the assemblies, and were quite happy to delegate decision-making to congress; other assemblies were shut down by force by the State apparatus due to their infringement on private property, and now there are virtually none left. Nonetheless, as I suggest, even though these structures that were so widespread in society, particularly in the city of Buenos Aires, have been dismantled in the aftermath of 2001, they have had a lasting impact on Argentinean anarchism. Often, before the assemblies were dissolved, among the last

participants left were anarchists;[23] anarchists also continue to collaborate with those few cooperatively run businesses that are still in place. Anarchists are enthusiastic about these structures because both popular neighbourhood assemblies and cooperatively-run businesses are usually marked by 'horizontalism' (in Spanish, 'horizontalidad', see Sitrin 2006), a consensus-based approach to decision-making, which many anarchists see as prefigurative for building a non-hierarchical, anarchist society. This can explain why some anarchists are trying to reinvigorate these structures that were so widespread in the immediate aftermath of 2001. Two examples are the *Sociedad de Fomento* and the *Casa de Convivencia Anarquista* of Banfield, a suburb of Buenos Aires. Anarchists also currently support the squatting of land in the Buenos Aires suburb Ingeniero Budge by thousands of families. There is also a notable rise in community garden projects, driven by anarchists and alterglobalisationists.[24] Examples are the *Huerta Orgázmica* ('Orgazmic [sic!] Garden', with links to the commune *La Sala*), the garden of the anarcho-punk[25] social centre *Tucuy Paj* (from Quechua, 'For All'), and the community garden of Banfield. It seems fair to say, as Daniel Barrett has argued in his monumental map of Latin American anarchism, that the impulse Argentinean anarchism received in 2001 is the strongest impulse since the heyday of Argentinean anarchism in the early 20th century (Barret c2007). It has also become apparent that the anarchist movement of Buenos Aires is not made up of one unified group, but it is made up of a diverse set of groups and activities, some of whose interests and perspectives coincide, and others differ. The

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[23] I have undertaken three field trips to Buenos Aires between 2006 and 2008 participating in and observing the anarchist community there. The following account of the influence of the economic crisis on the anarchist movement is based on my participant observation in Buenos Aires in the *Federación Libertaria Argentina* (Argentinean Anarchist Federation), the anarcho-punk squat *Tucuy Paj* and the *Casa de Convivencia Anarquista*, unless otherwise indicated. My predominant participant observation in these particular anarchist spaces invariably shaped my field of vision. As far as the many other anarchist groups and individuals in the city are concerned, I rely on Daniel Barrett's map of Argentinean anarchism (see Barrett 2007), as well as my archive of some of these groups' paper and online publications.

[24] To distinguish anarchists from alterglobalisationists, the latter may or may not identify with any particular ideology or may even belong to a leftist party, while anarchists are opposed to party politics, and in calling themselves anarchists clearly identify themselves with the anarchist ideology. This often implicit distinction however, does not impede collaboration between anarchists and alterglobalisationists.

[25] Anarcho-punk is, to put it crudely, a synthesis between anarchist and punk philosophy, which results in a particular counter-cultural, do-it-yourself lifestyle. For a recent study of anarcho-punk, see Nicholas 2005, 2007.

crisis has provided an impulse for the creation of squats and squatted community centres, often influenced by anarcho-punks, which has permanently marked the nature of anarchism in Argentina. Within anarchist circles, there is also, to this date, an increased readiness to form workers' and consumers' cooperatives. *La Sala* (selling cleaning products), *Tucuy Paj* (a consumers' cooperative) and *La Gomera* (a printing cooperative) are examples of anarchist cooperatives that have been working for years, although not uninterrupted by internal disputes. All in all, 2001 has been a catalyst for an increased and diversified anarchist movement in Argentina.

Finally, Argentina has a history of anarcha-feminism. Goldman's counterpart in Argentina was the Uruguayan-born agitator Virginia Bolten, like Goldman a popular public speaker, who went on a lecturing tour through Argentina in 1902 (Finet 2006, 136). In Buenos Aires, a group of women published *La Voz de la Mujer* (*Woman's Voice*) in 1896-1897, one of the first periodicals written for and by women (Finet 2009, 15). Maxine Molyneux explains the context of this activity:

> [b]y the 1880s there had emerged within the European Anarchist movement a distinctive feminist current, represented by writers such as "Soledad Gustavo" (Teresa Mañe) and Teresa Claramunt, just as within the movement in North America these ideas were developed by Voltairine de Cleyre, Emma Goldman, and others. Some of these writers were already being published in Argentina in the 1880s, and in the Anarchist press critiques of the family appeared together with editorials supporting "feminism," by then a term in current usage. The main impulse for anarchist feminism came from Spanish activists, but Italian exiles like Malatesta and Pietro Gori gave support to feminist ideas in their journals and articles. (Molyneux 1986)

Importantly, the rise of anarchism and women's activism within anarchism in Argentina must be understood in the context of Argentina as a destination for a vast diaspora of Italian, Spanish and other European immigrant workers from 1880 to 1914 (Finet 2006, 124). Anyone planning to migrate to Latin America was most likely to first arrive at Buenos Aires harbour, and many stayed in the capital. Hélène Finet maintains that, around 1890, immigrant workers in Argentina were faced with extremely long working days of between 12 and 14 hours, as the length of the working day was not regulated (Finet 2006, 124). She goes on to argue that in turn-of-the-century Argentina, 'anarchist feminist propaganda ... is inseparable from a growing awareness

of the mechanisms of economic and social exploitation of Argentinean women with immigrant origins. It materializes these working women's expectations within a vast project for a libertarian society'[26] (Finet 2006, 138).

Today, there is a variety of anarcha-feminist activity in Argentina, even though anarcha-feminism is not, and has never been a mass movement. In 2002, Women of the *Organización Socialista Libertaria* (Libertarian-Socialist Organisation) published an anarcha-feminist manifesto on *Indymedia Argentina* (Organización Socialista Libertaria 2002). Women at the Argentinean anarchist federation (FLA) have organised workshops for women, during which they experimented with cross-dressing.[27] The FLA's periodical, *El Libertario*, makes frequent reference to feminism and anarcha-feminism. Examples are Mabel Bellucci's article on the history of anarcha-feminism in Argentina (Bellucci 2006), as well as an article on the 21st National Women's Conference (Eugenia 2007). Furthermore, the periodical published an article by *Proyectil Fetal* on queer anarcha-feminism (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008), as well as a note advertising a talk/debate on sexism and anarcha-feminism (Kolectivo Anarkopunk 2005). Finally, as will become apparent in Chapters Four and Five, *Proyectil Fetal*'s own blog bears witness to a variety of feminist and anarcha-feminist activities taking place throughout the country.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed existing connections between queer theory and anarchism/anarcha-feminism. While not all queer theorists are anarchists, of course, and not all anarchists are queer theorists, I have argued that we are witnessing the emergence of a specifically queer anarchist activism. As shown, Portwood-Stacer, Heckert, Brown, Shepard, Shannon, and Ritchie have all drawn attention to contemporary activist alliances between queer theory and anarchism in a variety of anarcha-queer groups. Some have argued that the two share historical linkages (Heckert 2005, 49) and form a multi-facetted contemporary alliance which, some

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[26] My translation of '[l]a propagande féministe anarchiste … est indissociable du processus de prise de conscience des mécanismes de l'exploitation économique et sociale des femmes argentines issues de l'immigration. Elle matérialise les attentes de ces ouvrières dans un vaste projet de société libertaire'.
[27] Field notes, January 2008.

believe, has the power to defy neoliberalism and homonormativity[28] (Brown 2009). When reviewing existing accounts of queer anarchism, the term 'queer' has been identified as prone to conceptual imprecision, and as having less 'negative baggage' in its use as an exclusively scholarly term in Spanish, than it does in English. Queer anarchism is a new, still rather hazy paradigm, with often unclear definitions of terms, and a plethora of possible associations between queer theory and anarchism, as both theories are diverse in themselves. In a first approximation of the ideology, it was argued that queer anarchism needs to be anti-statist as well as anti-capitalist. Regarding the latter, I have maintained that queer Marxists share queer anarchists' anti-capitalism, as both combine a critique of compulsory heterosexuality as well as other norms relating to sexuality with a critique of capitalism.

Finally, *Proyectil Fetal* was introduced in connection with a brief summary of the history of women and sexual minorities in Argentina, as well an overview of the history of anarchism and its contemporary forms in Argentina. In the next chapter, I consider the methods which were used in this thesis in order to define queer anarcha-feminism generally, and *Proyectil Fetal*'s in particular. Chapter Three is dedicated to defining queer anarcha-feminism. Chapter Four uses this as a methodological foundation for an in-depth critical study of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology. Chapter Five considers *Proyectil Fetal*'s position within the Argentinean Left. And finally, I conclude with my thoughts on queer anarcha-feminism.

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[28] The critique of capitalism from a queer perspective has led to the invention of the concept of 'homonormativity', a term coined by Lisa Duggan to support her criticism of a particular current within contemporary gay politics which she considers to be highly complicit with neoliberalism (Duggan 2002). 'Homonormativity' is a reference to 'heteronormativity', a concept of queer theory which is used to describe the fact that heterosexuality is enforced as the norm. While in an earlier article he still applied the term *homonormativity* in an unqualified manner (Brown 2007, 196), Brown worries in his later work that the term *homonormativity* has been applied too generally (Brown 2009, 12).

Figure 1: *Proyectil Fetal*'s invitation to a 'practical queer anarcha-feminist workshop', made in punk, do-it-yourself style (cutting and pasting mixed with handwriting).

2 Studying a blog as a medium of ideology

This chapter deals with the methods used in defining queer anarcha-feminism in general and in the particular case of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology. As set out in the previous chapter, the core aim of this research project was to make sense of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism. As shown in the following, in order to do so, a model of queer anarcha-feminism was elaborated, which was then compared to *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology. This chapter will examine, firstly, the rationale for choosing *Proyectil Fetal* as a subject of research, as well as how data was accessed and selected. Subsequently, the methods used for eliciting the group's ideology will be discussed. It will be shown how the study of ideologies used in this thesis helps its central goal of defining queer anarcha-feminism in general, and *Proyectil Fetal*'s in particular, and illuminates its central questions about the particular forms of anarchism, feminism and queer theory that enable a merging between the three. A Grounded Theory approach will be introduced as a way of avoiding the forcing of data when studying *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology. Finally, as it was considered significant that *Proyectil Fetal* disseminated their ideology through a blog, and the nature of blogging posed particular research challenges, it will be explored how the study of blog theory as well as of textual ethnography has led to an analysis of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog as an interactive medium, and has helped show how the group's queer anarcha-feminism emerges in part through dialogue and as a reaction to a variety of voices in the social and political landscape of Buenos Aires and in cyberspace.

Why *Proyectil Fetal*?

Proyectil Fetal's blog and related activities have spear-headed the development of a complex ideological hybrid: queer anarcha-feminism. In the group's output, three grand ideologies converge: anarchism, feminism and queer theory, and, by extension, poststructuralist theory. *Proyectil Fetal* are amongst the first to explicitly combine the three, and they have done so in a series of theoretical texts, actions, performances, talks, and a variety of other activities. This has given their ideology a remarkable depth deserving of systematic analysis. Their work is conveniently referenced and/or

featured on their blog proyectilfetal.blogspot.com, which made this blog an excellent starting point for research on their output. Such references include links to articles published on *Indymedia Argentina*, among other outlets, where they are in many cases followed by readers' comments, which enable an analysis of the reception of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideas. Overall, my analysis focuses on *Proyectil Fetal*'s online activities, epitomised in but not restricted to their blog, as reactions to their work are mostly available on other domains. The group were also active beyond cyberspace. Some of these offline activities, such as workshops held by the group, have been excluded from analysis due to a lack of access to records of these activities. Other offline activities such as an interview by a zine[29] editor and an article published in a periodical were made available online and could therefore be analysed. Overall, it is important to note that the possibilities of ascertaining Proyectil Fetal's relationship with the Argentinean Left, as well as with the anarchist and LGBTQ movement in particular, were limited. As will become apparent in Chapter Five, my analysis was restricted to uncovering the –frequently indistinct- traces of interaction found online.

Proyectil Fetal's work features prominently in search engine results for *feminismo anarco queer* (anarco/anarcha[30]-queer feminism) and *anarquismo feminista queer* (queer anarcha-feminism), as explored in Chapter Five. I will suggest that the reason for this prominence lies in the fact that bloggers cite each other and thereby improve each others' search engine ranking. Going through the 'friends/members' list on the *Proyectil Fetal* blog further helped identify similar sources and thereby contextualise their work. *Proyectil Fetal*'s work is publically available online, and there are enough online sources such as other blogs by Silvestri and Contrera as well as discussion of their work in online forums to enable a contextualised reading of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog. While academic literature dealing with their work was not identified, all of the above factors made *Proyectil Fetal* a topical and manageable case study allowing an exploration of queer anarcha-feminist ideology in this group's work. From the beginning of the research process, *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog and related material were monitored and saved to form a database in a systematic manner.

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[29] Zines are do-it-yourself publications usually influenced by a punk philosophy.
[30] In Spanish, a femininsed form of 'anarco' is not in use when collated with 'feminismo' or 'queer'.

I chose early on to make the group aware of my research on their work, and sent Silvestri my draft of a first article discussing some of *Proyectil Fetal*'s work.[31] This enabled me to receive valuable feedback from her and to improve the draft. I also invited both Silvestri and Contrera to a conference I co-organised on the topic of *Anarchism and Sexuality in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries* (2010),[32] enabling public interaction with the group which provided additional insight into the group's nature. By this point, Contrera and Silvestri had decided to dissolve the group. As the group was created in October 2007 and dissolved in February 2010, it was possible to use these dates as start and end dates, meaning that the group's full literary output during the time of their existence, as available online, could be analysed. Although the key reason for the dissolution of *Proyectil Fetal* appears to have been the end of affinity between Contrera and Silvestri, it is possible that the fact that I was researching the blog had an impact on blog activity. Tara Chittenden cautions in relation to analyses of teenage fashion bloggers, that 'there are several … examples where teens have, through journalists' accounts, drawn negative reaction which has made them quit their blog temporarily or permanently' (Chittenden 2010, 509). In a paper Silvestri and Contrera presented at the 2010 conference, *Proyectil Fetal* announced the end of their activity as a group. In a comment reproduced from *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog with the addition of a slur directed at myself, Silvestri remarked on her own blog: '[a]nd personally me I think it's a good moment to pass away if my affinity group has become an object of study for some silly girl to get a scholarship. I wanna speak a language the academy cannot understand' (Silvestri 2010c, Silvestri 2010a). Laura Contrera, on the other hand, welcomed my research and kindly offered assistance if I had any questions regarding its content, an offer which I happily took up. I have sent her advanced drafts of Chapters Four and Five of this thesis, on which she commented, and I have also been able to ask her various questions relating to *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts. Contrera's thoughtful comments have been included in my analysis on a number of occasions.

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[31] This was a first draft submitted to *Sexualities*, where it was subsequently published as Windpassinger 2010.
[32] University of Leeds, 19-20 February 2010.

Silvestri's eventual hostility towards my research project brought it home to me that I ought to have approached my research of this blog with more care, by taking into account from the outset the risk of influencing the content or activity on the blog. A possible way to avoid influencing the blog's content would have been to disguise the fact that I was studying *Proyectil Fetal*'s work by never communicating this to *Proyectil Fetal* and by replacing their name with a pseudonym in my first publication about the group. On the other hand, I had considered it important to give the authors credit for their work. In any case, it was now too late to make amends, and all I can do now is to recognise possible interference of my work with *Proyectil Fetal*'s.

In sum, a focus on *Proyectil Fetal*'s work was justified by the quality and quantity of the group's output, as well as its accessibility. *Proyectil Fetal* was selected as the focus of this thesis due to the group's original queer anarcha-feminism, and the goal of this thesis has been to explore this ideology. I have had to recognise my potential interference with the group's work, and I have been able to draw on both Silvestri and Contrera at various points during the research process to improve my analysis of their work. In the following, it will be shown how the study of political ideologies helped define queer anarcha-feminism, and why an ideological framework was chosen over a political philosophy approach.

Studying political ideologies

Queer anarcha-feminism in general, and *Proyectil Fetal*'s in particular, can be viewed as a political philosophy or a political ideology, which are both part of the discipline of political theory. The term 'political philosophy' tends to be associated with famous individual thinkers, whereas ideologies are attributed to the masses, and considered to be of lower status. As Michael Freeden argues, '[t]raditionally, the exploration of political thought has been organized around the persons who have best expressed coherent political thinking, around the main overarching themes with which it has been concerned, around the formulation of philosophically valid political utterances' (Freeden 1998, 1). He argues that political philosophy and ideologies are very similar in their make-up, despite the fact that ideologies are attributed a lower status:

Theorising *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism as an ideology, rather than a philosophy, promised to provide an adequate tool for defining the group's political thought. Their texts have a highly polemic quality and frequently seek to invoke emotions such as solidarity, fraternity and hostility towards others. Freeden conceptualises all of these as characteristics of ideologies (Freeden 2003, 69f.). It was therefore deemed adequate to theorise queer anarcha-feminism as an ideology from the outset of this project. Freeden has elaborated an interpretative framework through which to comprehend ideologies' concrete manifestations, which has proven to be an exceptionally useful tool in developing a systematic model of queer anarcha-feminism, as shown below.

The concept of 'ideology' has been the subject of a considerable amount of research in the field of political theory (for example, Freeden 1998, O'Sullivan 1989, Parekh 1982). While certain critics have argued that we live in a post-ideological era (Curran 2006), others insist that political ideologies continue to shape the contemporary world. Barbara Goodwin contends that, at present, the term *ideology* is often used pejoratively, yet 'all coherent political doctrines are ideological, as is our use of political ideas themselves: if this is accepted, the pejorative connotations of the term must be laid aside' (Goodwin 2007, 17). Goodwin explains that the literal meaning of *ideology* is 'the science of ideas', but the concept was transformed in the early nineteenth century, when 'it came to mean an abstract, visionary or speculative way of thinking' (ibid., 18). Based on an extensive review of existing literature on the concept of ideology, Malcolm B. Hamilton offers a synthetic definition of ideology which aims to be purely descriptive and empirically applicable (Hamilton 1987, 19, 38). Such a definition, he argues, must avoid implying anything about ideology's causes or effects (ibid., 19). His resulting definition is the following:

An ideology is a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating a particular pattern of social relationships and arrangements, and/or

aimed at justifying a particular pattern of conduct, which its proponents seek to promote, realise, pursue or maintain. (ibid., 38)

Among today's scholars dealing with ideologies, few show a great concern for developing the concept of ideology per se.[33] Their studies contain, at best, a rehearsal of what are considered the main ideas on ideologies, before focusing on an in-depth discussion of various political ideologies, a selection which usually includes liberalism, nationalism, conservatism, socialism, Marxism and feminism. Karl Marx is usually named as the first influential thinker on ideology, followed by Karl Mannheim. Today, Freeden is one of the few scholars specifically dedicated to the study and development of ideology as a concept. His concern is neither to examine the history nor the function of ideologies, but to seek an answer to the question 'what are the implications and the insights of a particular set of political views, in terms of the conceptual connections it forms? Which universe of meaning –deliberate as well as unintentional- is constructed by its conceptual configurations?' (Freeden 1998, 3). As argued in the following, Freeden's conceptualisation of political ideologies was found to be particularly useful for articulating a queer anarcha-feminism due to his concern with the make-up of political ideologies and his attempt at conceptualising ideology in such a way that the concept can be practically applied. Indeed, Freeden claims that the only test of his framework, aside from its intellectual appeal, is its utility of perspective (Freeden 1998, 4).

Defining queer anarcha-feminism based on Michael Freeden's ideological framework

Freeden's innovative conceptualisation of political ideologies provided a method that allowed me to conceptualise a combination of various ideologies. More so than other contemporary authors, Freeden has considered in depth what the building blocks of an ideology are. This mechanical view is useful for those intending to build new ideologies from a variety of ideologies, as is the case in my project of articulating a queer anarcha-feminism. For Freeden, a political ideology is made up of three building

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[33] An example is Andrew Heywood who emphasises that his definition of ideology is 'neither original nor novel' (Heywood 2003, 12).

blocks: core, adjacent and perimeter concepts (Freeden 2003, 62). Before examining

these three in turn, let us consider Freeden's definition of a political ideology:

A political ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs, opinions, and values that

> (1) exhibit a recurring pattern
> (2) are held by significant groups
> (3) compete over providing and controlling plans for public policy
> (4) do so with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements
> and processes of a political community
> (Freeden 2003, 32).

This definition strongly resembles Hamilton's synthetic-descriptive definition in its

idea of ideology as a pattern, 'held by significant groups' (Freeden) or 'collectively

held' (Hamilton). Only Freeden's third point about ideologies involved in competition

arguably resembles Hamilton's reference to ideologies being promoted, while

Hamilton's idea of ideologies containing alleged facts finds no reflection in Freeden's.

Freeden's fourth point again resembles Hamilton's. Under this definition, both

anarchism and feminism are identified as political ideologies, and, as argued in

Chapter Three, queer theory can also be conceptualised as a political ideology.

Freeden's insistence that political ideologies must be held by significant groups does

make the project of defining a queer anarcha-feminist ideology potentially

problematic, however. If by 'significant groups', Freeden is referring to thousands of

people, then queer anarcha-feminism, despite being the product of three ideologies,

may not yet qualify as a political ideology. In fact, to an extent, the same is true for an

ideology based on queer theory, as explored in Chapter Three. I will proceed to define

a queer anarcha-feminist ideology nonetheless, while bearing in mind these

limitations: my definition of a queer anarcha-feminist ideology will not be an ideology

which is held by thousands of people. Instead, what I do in Chapter Three is defining

such an *imagined* ideology on the basis of its three constituent parts: an ideology

based on queer theory, anarchism and feminism.

Within Freeden's framework, the core concepts within any ideology are the (small)

number of common concepts shared by everyone ascribing to an ideology. Freeden's

requirement for core concepts is that they must be decontested, because, for

example, 'liberty' or 'power' as core concepts can mean a variety of things, unless

specified. Following this framework, I have sought to identify core concepts shared by all anarchists through a cross-reading of existing literature containing definitions of anarchism. The same procedure was followed for establishing possible core concepts of feminism and queer theory.

Adjacent concepts 'flesh out the core' and 'restrict its capacity for multiple interpretations and pull it in a more defined direction' (Freeden 2003, 62). By way of example, Freeden argues that within anarchism, there are two very different sets of adjacent concepts attached to the core, resulting in two extremely different strands within anarchist thought. One form, social anarchism, according to Freeden, has an allegiance with socialism, whereas the other, individualist anarchism, has an allegiance with libertarianism (Freeden 1998, 312). This, he argues, opens up the question whether it would not make more sense to view these two different forms of anarchism as forms of socialism and libertarianism, respectively. However, Freeden's framework also allows us to make a convincing case for social and individualist anarchism as strands within an anarchism that is split in its adjacent concepts, as will be done in Chapter Three.

Surrounding core and adjacent concepts are perimeter concepts, which are 'more specific and detailed. Most are still significant to the central meanings carried by the ideology, though some may be marginal' (Freeden 1998, 62). By way of illustration, Freeden provides the example of liberalism, for which 'a significant perimeter concept might be opposition to censorship, while an increasingly marginal one might be the right to inherit social status' (ibid.). Most of perimeter concepts 'are situated on the perimeter of an ideology, between thought and action. That is the point where concepts lose their abstraction ('liberty') and are interwoven with the concrete practices sanctioned or condemned by an ideology ('free entry for refugees into a country')' (ibid.). Finally, Freeden argues that perimeter concepts are 'historically context-bound and therefore more open to change within the broader framework set by the core concepts' and that, occasionally, 'changes at the periphery may work through back to the core: the equal rights of women, marginal to 19th-century liberalism, have become central to the core liberal concepts of individuality and

human rationality' (ibid.). Freeden concludes that '[i]deological morphology is neither fixed nor shapeless; it is fluid' (ibid.).

In order to define a queer anarcha-feminism, Freeden's framework was applied in the following way. In a first step, core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of anarchism, feminism and an ideology based on queer theory were defined. In a next step, this allowed me to combine these concepts into one queer anarcha-feminist ideology. In order to do this, the various concepts of all three ideologies were combined and overlapping concepts were identified. As will be shown, this led to the decontestation of an adjacent feminist and queer concept through one of the core anarchist concepts.

While, within Freeden's framework, all ideologies contain core, adjacent and perimeter concepts, Freeden offers a distinction between 'thick' and 'thin' ideologies which is useful when trying to combine anarchism, feminism and queer theory. For Freeden, 'thick' ideologies are 'catch-all receptacles' that offer an all-inclusive agenda, while 'thin' ideologies lack these characteristics (Freeden 2003, 98). While anarchism's status as a thick ideology is largely uncontested, Freeden categorises feminism as an example of a thin ideology. He argues that the morphology of feminism in itself is 'insufficiently comprehensive to carry a general ideological programme in direct competition with the major ideological families' (Freeden 1998, 525), which can explain why feminism is often found attached to other political ideologies, such as in Marxist feminism, liberal feminism, or indeed anarcha-feminism. Queer theory, like feminism, is arguably a single-issue ideology, as the former focuses on questioning norms relating to sexuality, and the latter advocates women's liberation. It can therefore be assumed that queer theory, like feminism, falls under Freeden's category of a thin ideology. This means that anarchism emerges as the only potential thick ideology in this triad. As will become apparent in Chapter Three, the relative thickness of the anarchist ideology with regard to both feminism and the queer ideology makes it the main frame of the hybrid ideology, with additional core, adjacent and perimeter concepts added by feminism and queer theory.

Within Freeden's theory of ideologies, the concepts within an ideology 'intersect with each other at multiple points of contact' (Freeden 1998, 63). As explored in Chapter

Three, this is also true for queer anarcha-feminism: there is a long history of overlaps between anarchism and feminism in the ideological hybrid called anarcha-feminism; both queer theory and feminism overlap significantly; and so do queer theory and anarchism, bridged, as will be argued, by poststructuralist or postmodern anarchism (postanarchism). Some readers may wonder whether queer anarcha-feminism constitutes a significant break from anarchism. Some of the discussions surrounding postanarchism can shed light on this issue. Based on Freeden's approach to ideologies, Benjamin Franks has argued that, if understood as a political ideology, postanarchism can be conceptualised as a variant of anarchism (Franks 2007), rather than a break from it:

> [t]he clusters of concepts (and their structures) that characterise the main strands of postanarchism are indicative of it being part of the wider ideological family of anarchism, rather than representing a substantive break, in the same way that environmental anarchism (also known as 'green anarchism') is not a surpassing of anarchism, but a re-ordering and re-emphasizing of certain principles (and deemphasizing of others) as a result of wider cultural changes. (Franks 2007, 128)

Similarly, due to its intact anarchist core, queer anarcha-feminism remains anarchist rather than representing a break from anarchism.

On a final note, similarly to Freeden, Teun A. van Dijk argues it is useful to distinguish between core and peripheral beliefs within an ideology. He argues that,

> by limiting ideologies to fundamental beliefs, we allow variations or changes of less fundamental beliefs within the 'same' ideology—much in the same way as personal and regional variants exist of the 'same' language. Instead of 'foundational' beliefs, we may also speak of 'core' beliefs, whatever theoretical metaphor is more useful. In the latter case, more specific attitudes based on such core ideological beliefs need to be described as more peripheral. (van Dijk 2006)

In contrast to Freeden's conceptualisation of ideologies, van Dijk's does not contain adjacent concepts. However, Freeden's category of adjacent concepts has emerged as a particularly useful tool when trying to make sense of the two distinct forms of social and individualist anarchism. Indeed, some see these two forms as divided by an 'unbridgeable chasm' (Franks 2007, 128), a problematic which will be further explored

in the next chapter. Overall, distinguishing between core, adjacent and perimeter concepts within an ideology has emerged as a useful tool when considering possible combinations of a number of ideologies, as in queer anarcha-feminism, and it has greatly facilitated a structured analysis of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism, as shown in the following.

Studying *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology

My primary concern in studying *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog was to elicit their ideology. In the following, it will be shown how a Grounded Theory approach was used in order to avoid the forcing of data, as Freeden's conceptual model for the study of ideologies was used to structure my subsequent analysis of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology.

A variety of theoretical approaches for analysing *Proyectil Fetal*'s work were considered at the outset. Various sociological and linguistic methods seemed relevant to this study, as the group's work was considered an interactional document: blog posts with a specific content addressed to a specific type of audience in a medium with its specific rules and conventions of interaction, coupled with the availability of readers' comments. My analysis sought to eschew a reading that took the prevalence of queer anarcha-feminism in *Proyectil Fetal*'s work for granted. I found valuable inspiration for this in Grounded Theory's insistence on avoiding pressing empirical findings into a procrustean bed of theory. Anselm L. Strauss and Juliet M. Corbin define Grounded Theory as

> theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another. A researcher does not begin a project with a preconceived theory in mind (unless his or her purpose is to elaborate and extend existing theory). Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data. Theory derived from data is more likely to resemble the "reality" than is theory derived by putting together a series of concepts based on experience or solely through speculation (how one thinks things ought to work). Grounded theories, because they are drawn from data, are likely to offer insight, enhance understanding, and provide a meaningful guide to action. (Strauss, Corbin 1998, 12)

In order to avoid the forcing of data, Udo Kelle suggests applying different theories as well as 'common sense' knowledge to the same text, bearing in mind that one may be missing crucial aspects with just one type of reading of a text (Kelle 2005, 15f.). My analysis largely follows this advice, as the subject was approached from two different angles, resulting in an analysis of the group's ideology on the one hand, and an analysis of the blog as an ethnographic document on the other. This does not mean, however, that I have not applied a particular lens by framing this study in a particular way, resulting in an inevitably partial account of the sources at hand.

Overall, following the general framework of Grounded Theory, *Proyectil Fetal*'s work was at once regarded as the source of theory, whilst also applying theoretical concepts to the analysis of the group's texts. Neither my own articulation of queer anarcha-feminism, nor *Proyectil Fetal*'s, should be viewed as representatives of *the* queer anarcha-feminism, as such a singular ideology does not exist, but rather as a group with its own specific, innovative queer anarcha-feminism. Due to the conviction that the forcing of data should be avoided, the first engagement with *Proyectil Fetal*'s work aimed to ascertain that the development of this paradigm is indeed central to the group's work. Only once this was corroborated was their work put in relation to the queer anarcha-feminism previously articulated on the basis of Freeden's framework. While such an approach avoided forcing the data into a procrustean bed of theory at the outset, in a second step the queer anarcha-feminism elaborated based on Freeden's work was used in order to draw further conclusions about the data. At the same time, *Proyectil Fetal*'s work was used to test my definition of queer anarcha-feminism, and thus informed my theoretical framework.

In a first step, all blog posts were read in chronological order. Through this reading, it emerged that some posts were texts by *Proyectil Fetal*, and others were by other authors. In this first reading, it also became clear that a small number of key texts authored by *Proyectil Fetal* were particularly rich in discussions of queer anarcha-feminism's core and adjacent concepts, while the bulk of texts, which were generally not written by the group, focused on very specific political issues. Applying Freeden's framework for the study of ideologies, the latter were identified as expressions of the

group's various perimeter concepts: the concrete engagements with policy, laws, day-to-day politics and social issues. The group's most salient perimeter concepts strongly related to contemporary Argentinean society, its laws and politics. This was to be expected according to Freeden's model, since perimeter concepts constitute the concrete engagements with topical issues.

Once this basic selection was achieved, the theory-rich texts authored by *Proyectil Fetal* were used as the basis for my analysis of the core and adjacent concepts of the group's ideology, while some of the most salient perimeter concepts could be filtered from the large number of other posts. It was found that *Proyectil Fetal* subscribe to what I had defined as five core queer anarcha-feminist concepts, and adjacent concept of communal individuality. This allowed me to conclude not only that my own model of queer anarcha-feminism was useful, but also that *Proyectil Fetal* do indeed subscribe to a form of queer anarcha-feminism. On the one hand, this approach was intended to be a test of the paradigm I had elaborated. On the other, it was also intended as a test of *Proyectil Fetal*'s paradigm. In sum, this work of comparing and contrasting my own model of queer anarcha-feminism with *Proyectil Fetal*'s led to conclusions about the coherence of both, as examined in Chapter Four.

Studying blogs

It was felt that the fact that this ideology was articulated on a *blog* was significant, and provided particular challenges. Blogs are online, self-publishing formats in which posts are published with but a single mouse-click. While this means that there is no interference of a publisher, it also means that posts are seldom proof-read, and can be rambling and chaotic. Most of *Proyectil Fetal*'s 84 blog posts are not academic essays or newspaper articles, but mostly opinion pieces written by themselves or others, which can be rambling, much like occurs naturally when people are in conversation. In many cases, posts are products of discussions both on- and offline, and access to these discussions would greatly facilitate an understanding of them. In instances where it was difficult to deduce the underlying discussions and conflicts for sure, I was glad to be able to consult Contrera. In addition to the difficulties described so far, often within the same paragraph of a blog post, one subject leads on to a completely different one

without any form of logical deduction. This effect is reinforced by *Proyectil Fetal*'s mantra that the group has no specific goal (Proyectil Fetal 2009a) and that the group is constantly changing and mutating (Engler 2008, Proyectil Fetal 2008a). Overall, the conversational quality of the blog was challenging, but also provided a unique opportunity to situate the group in relation to the people who communicated with them.

Many blogs, including *Proyectil Fetal*'s, enable readers to comment or email the authors of the blog. Bloggers also refer to each other and post on each other's blogs; posting on somebody else's blog is a convenient way of advertising one's own blog. *Proyectil Fetal* have published their key posts not only on their own blog, but they have also published them on other forums, particularly on *Indymedia Argentina*, where their posts received more comments than on their own blog. They have also made and posted a video on *Youtube*, where it was viewed 3196 times (14 April 2011) and received five pages of comments. The availability of comments, as well as other traces of interaction were too good a source to miss, as it allowed situating *Proyectil Fetal* in relation to other groups and individuals. In fact, as has already been mentioned, a number of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog posts are direct reactions to discussions with other groups both on- and off-line, making it important to examine this context of the production of their texts. Overall, it became clear that viewing the blog and related activities as ethnographic documents could be fruitful.

Proyectil Fetal's blog as an ethnographic document

Blog theory is still in its infancy. Existing literature dealing with possible ways of analysing blogs points in two main directions, studying the blog either as a genre, or as a medium. As the next section will show, genre analysis was of limited use in this study, while viewing the blog as a medium has provided valuable insights into *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog and allowed situating the group in relation to the radical landscape of Buenos Aires and beyond. Further, it will be shown how questions from textual ethnography facilitated this analysis.

Blogs are used to various ends and various blogging genres have been theorised, in particular with respect to US-American blogs (Serfaty 2004, Pole 2009). Susan C.

Herring et al. have theorised the blog as a genre, focussing on blogs' similarities with other digital and non-digital genres: 'blogs, rather than having a single source, are in fact a hybrid of existing genres' (Herring, Scheidt et al. 2004, 10). Viewing *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog as a genre, however, proved to be a dead end for my study for two reasons: firstly, it did not sufficiently reflect my goal of analysing *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology. In other words, in this study, it is of minor interest which genre *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog are a part of, and instead it is paramount to uncover the queer anarcha-feminist paradigm of this specific blog. Secondly, an attempt to produce a comprehensive analysis of the content of blog posts failed due to the incoherence of argument of these self-edited documents. It therefore emerged as a much more coherent approach to analyse the content of the blog in terms of its queer anarcha-feminist ideology on the one hand –an analysis which was given structure through the use of Freeden's core, adjacent and perimeter concepts- and as an interactional, ethnographic document on the other.

Danah boyd argues that, due to blogs' incoherence in style and content, it is misleading to view the blog as a genre. She instead proposes conceptualising the blog as a medium: '[i]t is not the conventions or content types that define blogs, but the framework in which people can express themselves' (boyd 2006, 33). Boyd insists that

> [a] study of blogs must draw from the practice of blogging, not simply analyze the output. By reconceptualizing blogs as a medium and bi-product of practice, it becomes possible to understand the diverse intentions that produce diverse output and analyze blogs even when the output itself is inconsistent in terms of style and content. (boyd 2006, 4)

When viewing the blog as a medium, the questions regarding the consumption and production of texts provided in Martyn Hammersley's and Paul Atkinson's framework for textual ethnography served as guidelines for enquiry:

> How are documents written? How are they read? Who writes them? Who reads them? For what purposes? On what occasions? With what outcomes? What is recorded? What is omitted? What is taken for granted? What does the writer seem to take for granted about the reader(s)? What do readers need to know in order to make sense of them? (Hammersley, Atkinson 1995, 173).

The question of how *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts are read is explored in a section examining readers' comments, where *Proyectil Fetal*'s affinities as well as frictions with other individuals and groups emerge. The question of what *Proyectil Fetal* take for granted about their readers is answered in a section discussing what knowledge their readers need to possess in order to be able to understand their texts, which also leads to discussions of the group's at time elitist language, which in turn relates to the question of how the blog is written. The question of what is recorded and omitted is dealt with in a section dealing with *Proyectil Fetal*'s censorship of comments on the one hand, and the publication of other people's material on their blog, on the other. The latter also provides an answer to the question of who has authored the various texts on the blog, apart from *Proyectil Fetal* themselves.

As Hammersley and Atkinson stress, their set of textual-ethnographic questions can be expanded, and 'the exploration of such questions would lead the ethnographer inexorably towards a systematic examination of each and every aspect of everyday life in the setting in question' (Hammersley, Atkinson 1995, 173f.). In the case of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog, this set of questions is usefully supplemented by a consideration of what it means to publish on a blog, a question which is explored in depth in Chapter Five. All in all, ethnographic textual analysis provided a set of questions that have been explored in order to make inferences regarding the production and consumption of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog.

Overall, viewing the blog as a medium has proven much more useful than genre analysis for this study, as it provides a framework for considering *Proyectil Fetal*'s place in the radical landscape of contemporary Buenos Aires and beyond, through an analysis of the spaces, groups, individuals and activities *Proyectil Fetal* engage with and in. Particular attention has been paid to the comments the group's texts have received, in particular on *Indymedia Argentina*, but also on *Youtube* and on the blog itself. Theorisations of the blog as a medium, as well as Hammersley's and Atkinson's set of ethnographic textual questions (Hammersley 1995, 173) guided an exploration of the production and consumption of *Proyectil Fetal*'s work. The latter included an analysis of readers' reactions to *Proyectil Fetal*'s work, which in turn led to conclusions

about the group's relation to other anarchists, feminists, to gay rights politics as well as to Marxists and the political landscape more generally in Buenos Aires and beyond. This engagement with the text focuses on the reactions to *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts in order to establish the main differences between *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology and other branches of socialism, feminism, and gay rights advocates. A highly desirable side-product of this exercise was that it helped define the contours of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism more clearly.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the methods used in order to deal with this thesis' research questions relating to the definition of queer anarcha-feminism, as well as a comprehensive study of this phenomenon in the case of *Proyectil Fetal*. It has been shown how Freeden's approach to the study of ideologies helps form a systematic view of what a queer anarcha-feminist ideology could look like, and provides the tools for a systematic analysis of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism. In relation to the latter, it was shown how a Grounded Theory approach was used in order to allow the nature of the text to shape the parameters of research, rather than trying to make *Proyectil Fetal*'s work fit a rigid purpose at all cost. Finally, a reading was introduced based on blog theory and ethnographic textual analysis, which provided a basis for understanding the particular use made of the medium by *Proyectil Fetal*. This final reading focussed on issues of production and consumption of the group's work. Overall, it was shown how these different readings of *Proyectil Fetal*'s work helped produce a study of the group's queer anarcha-feminism in the context of the radical landscape of Buenos Aires and beyond, both on- and off-line. The next chapter is dedicated to defining queer anarcha-feminism using Freeden's framework for the study of ideologies.

3 Defining a queer anarcha-feminism

The aim of this chapter is to define a queer anarcha-feminism based on Freeden's framework for the study of ideologies. As previously outlined, Freeden conceptualises ideologies as made up of core, adjacent and perimeter concepts. In this chapter, the ideological make-up of anarchism, feminism and queer theory will be considered by applying these three categories to all three ideologies in turn, and subsequently combining them to define core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of a queer anarcha-feminism. In order to facilitate this process of combining the three ideologies, existing overlaps between the three ideologies will be examined in order to develop a clearer idea of how a queer anarcha-feminism might be defined. In this context, particular attention will be paid to anarcha-feminism; the overlap between queer theory and feminism; and postanarchism as the 'missing link' between anarchism and queer theory.

Anarchism

In this section, it will be argued that anarchism throughout its history is made up of a core opposition to the State and capitalism, a split adjacent concept of freedom, as well as a large number of perimeter concepts such as prefiguration and direct action.

The word 'anarchism' is derived from the word 'anarchy'. As anarchist agitator Errico Malatesta explained, '[a]narchy is a word that comes from the Greek, and signifies, strictly speaking, "without government": the state of a people without any constituted authority' (Malatesta 1942 [1907], 1). Although scholars, notably Robert Graham, have identified a host of texts going as far back as 300 CE as containing anarchist ideas, anarchism as a systematic political philosophy is generally regarded to be a much more recent phenomenon (Graham 2005, xi) which began in the late 18th century. Before discussing its philosophical origins, however, it is important to note that anarchism has never only been a political philosophy, but an ideology and an ethics of action, often inspired by the thought and propaganda of anarchist agitators, resulting in vast workers' and popular movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, be it in Spain, Italy, Argentina, or the Ukraine. This is the period often referred to as

'classical anarchism'. Anarchism first emerged as a movement in the 1860s (Woodcock 1970, 39), and a key event in this emergence was the feud between Mikhail Bakunin and Karl Marx, which, in 1872, resulted in the split of the First International, or International Workingmen's Association (Marshall 2008, 301). This split marked the division of socialism into anarchism on the one hand, and Marxism on the other.

Anarchist revolutions took place in the Ukraine (1918-21) and Spain (1936-39) (Graham 2005, 304, 477, 482). While the influence of anarchism ebbed off after these major events, the anarchist movement re-emerged, albeit in a different form, in the 1960s. According to George Woodcock, the anarchism of the 1960s emerged out of two principal roots: the civil rights movement of the USA of the mid-1950s; and the campaign for nuclear disarmament of the 1960s (Woodcock 1970, 45f.). This 'second Wave' of anarchism was less oriented towards the working-class than the first Wave, and instead was mainly driven by 'the privileged who have seen the futility of affluence as a goal' (Woodcock 1970, 51). Woodcock argues that, in the 1960s,

> in mood, in its insistence on spontaneity, on theoretical flexibility, on simplicity of living, on love and anger as complementary and necessary components of social as well as individual action, anarchism had a special appeal to a generation that rejected the impersonality of massive institutions and the pragmatic calculations of political parties. (Woodcock 1970, 52)

Anarchism's global historical significance has been stressed by the Anarchist Studies Network:

> over the last two decades, academics have slowly begun to rediscover the historical significance of anarchism, which, as Benedict Anderson recently had to remind his fellow historians, was for a time "the main vehicle of global opposition to industrial capitalism, autocracy, latifundism, and imperialism." Scholars have started to study the influence of anarchism on early Korean and Filipino national liberation struggles, movements for birth control from Barcelona to Boston, Latin American labor history, Jewish immigrant life, the development of modern sociology and geography, the French Resistance, debates over eugenics and Social Darwinism, modern art and Modern Schools, avant-garde film and popular music, revolutions from Mexico to China to Russia itself. (Anarchist Studies Network c2008)

In the following, core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of an anarchist ideology will be defined.

Core anarchist concepts of anti-Statism and anti-capitalism

The following sub-sections examine anarchism as a political philosophy with a variety of sub-currents, but it also examines texts from anarchist pamphlets and other types of propaganda in order to define core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of an anarchist ideology.[34] The story of philosophical anarchism is sometimes considered to begin in 1793 with the publication of William Godwin's *Enquiry concerning Political Justice and its influence on General Virtue and Happiness* (Pessin, Pucciarelli 1997, 5), in which Godwin argued that government is inherently bad and a hindrance to progress, as 'institutions calculated to give perpetuity to any particular mode of thinking, or condition of existence, are pernicious' (Godwin 1946 [1798], xxvi). He also offered a critique of social inequality, maintaining that '[s]oundness of understanding is connected with simplicity of manners, and leisure for intellectual cultivation: consequently, a distribution of property extremely unequal, is adverse to the most desirable state of man' (Godwin 1946 [1798], xxvii). He argued that, '[b]y perpetuating and aggravating inequality of property, [government] fosters many injurious passions, and excites men to the practice of robbery and fraud' and concluded that '[g]overnment was intended to suppress injustice, but its effect has been to embody and perpetuate it' (Godwin 1946 [1798]). Godwin believed that, '[g]overnment was intended to suppress injustice, but it offers new occasions and temptations for the commission of it. By concentrating the force of the community, it gives occassion [sic] to wild projects of calamity, to oppression, despotism, war, and conquest' (Godwin 1946 [1798]). Overall, he therefore opposed government and economic and social inequality. Both of these ideas were to become foundational to anarchist thought, as two anarchist core concepts began to crystallise: anti-Statism and anti-capitalism.

Rather than supporting government, God or a monarch as the ultimate authority, Godwin elevated the individual to the role of ultimate authority: '[t]here is but one power to which I can yield a heart-felt obedience, the decision of my own understanding, the dictate of my own conscience' (Godwin cited in Woodcock 1970, 30). Godwin, the forbear of philosophical anarchism, has been retrospectively

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[34] On the differences and similarities between political philosophy and ideology, see Chapter Two and (Freeden 1998, 1).

classified as an anarcho-individualist by some, and as an anarcho-communist by others. This is only one among many examples of difficult questions of sub-classification within anarchist thought, which has been split into anarcho-individualism, anarcho-communism, anarcho-syndicalism, anarcha-feminism and anarcho-collectivism, to name but a few. These problems of classification have been amply illustrated by Ruth Kinna (Kinna 2005, 20). Kinna argues that Godwin's concern for social and economic equality can justify his inclusion in the anarcho-communist canon, which Rudolf Rocker has done, whereas Godwin's focus on the individual as the ultimate authority can support George Woodcock's and Nicholas Walter's claim that he was an anarcho-individualist (Kinna 2005, 20).

Individualist anarchism finds its chief proponents in Max Stirner and Benjamin Tucker. Stirner called for a society of egotists. His ideal egotist only associates herself with others out of egoism. Stirner was a strong advocate of independent thinking, a mind subjecting its assumptions to its own constant criticism. This excluded the possibility of subjecting oneself to any form of collective will:

> [a]ssociation ... is not sacred. It does not impose itself as a spiritual power superior to my spirit. I have no wish to become a slave to my maxims, but would rather subject them to my ongoing criticism. I afford them no citizenship rights within myself. Much less do I wish to commit my entire future to the association, to "sell my soul," as the Devil would have it, and as is truly the case when the State or any other spiritual authority is involved. I am and will always remain, with regard to myself, more than the State, than the Church, than God, etc., and thus, infinitely more than the association also. (Stirner 2005 [1843], 24)

His advocacy of independent critical thinking led Stirner to oppose 'not love, but sanctified love, not thought but sanctified thought, not socialists, but sanctified socialists' (Stirner 1999 [1842], 35). He opposed unitary conceptions of 'man', emphasising instead people's individuality (Stirner 1999 [1842], 37f., Stirner 2007, 251). His work concentrates authority in the individual, opposing State hierarchy and authority, the authority of the Party, Church, God, as well as any homogenising concept of 'humanity' or 'the people'. In his *The Ego and His Own*, everything revolves around the "I", the Ego, vigorously establishing the Self as the ultimate authority. Based on this, Stirner encouraged workers to 'rely only on themselves and not take

into account the State' (Stirner 2007, 259). 'Egotistical practice consists of considering everyone else neither as proprietors nor as beggars nor workers, but to see them as part of your wealth, as objects which can serve you. In this way, you will pay nothing to those who own (proprietors), nothing to those who work, you will only give to those in need' (Stirner 2007, 269f.). On this basis, Stirner imagines a world in which exploited workers univocally deny to sell their labour for a pittance, and instead force their employers to pay them much more, until proprietors' and workers' wealth is levelled out (Stirner 2007, 275). As these lines show, it would be wrong to construe Stirner as an egotist who has no regard at all for social justice. They indicate an underlying, if barely visible concern for economic equality.

Some of the most well-known writers and agitators of 'classical' anarchism are Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Peter Kropotkin, Mikhail Bakunin and Errico Malatesta. As will be shown, their concern for economic equality takes centre-stage and is therefore much more prominent than in Stirner's work. Proudhon was the first person to describe himself as an anarchist in 1840 (Graham 2005, xii). The author of the famous dictum 'Property is Theft' opposed the distribution of property of his times, arguing that 'misery and the proletariat are the fatal consequence of the present constitution of property' (Proudhon 1999 [1848], 81). Instead, he proposed to 'organise the solidarity of the workers among themselves' in a mutualist arrangement which, he believed, would eventually lead to them attracting all capital: 'they would become the masters of everything through the successive adhesion of the producers and the liquidation of property (Proudhon 1999 [1848], 82f.). Apart from his anti-capitalist mutualism, Proudhon came to condemn the State:

> the recipe for revolution can no longer be through direct legislation, nor direct government, nor a simplified government; it is: no government.
> Neither monarchy, nor aristocracy, nor even democracy, as the latter term would imply some kind of simplified government, acting in the name of the people, and calling itself the people. No authority, no government, even a popular one: Revolution has arrived. (Proudhon 1999 [1851], 94)

Overall, Proudhon therefore came to see the 'abolition of the State as a necessary accompaniment to any reform of the economic order' (Edwards, Fraser 1969, 23). As

illustrated in the following, variations on this basic theme of anti-capitalism coupled with anti-Statism are found again and again in the works of the 'classical' anarchists.

In 1938, Rudolf Rocker defined anarchism as a

> definite intellectual current in the life of our time, whose adherents advocate the abolition of economic monopolies and of all political and social coercive institutions within society. In place of the present capitalistic economic order Anarchists would have a free association of all productive forces based upon co-operative labour, which would have as its sole purpose the satisfying of the necessary requirements of every member of society, and would no longer have in view the special interest of privileged minorities within the social union. In place of the present state-organizations with their lifeless machinery of political and bureaucratic institutions Anarchists desire a federation of free communities which shall be bound to one another by their common economic and social interests and shall arrange their affairs by mutual agreement and free contract. (Rocker 1989 [1938], 9f.)

Kropotkin, too, left no doubt that anarchism must be anti-capitalist, although he favoured communism over other forms of anti-capitalism. He saw anti-capitalism as the pursuit of equality: 'Anarchy leads to Communism, and Communism leads to Anarchy, both alike being expressions of the predominant tendency in modern societies, the pursuit of equality' (Kropotkin 1990 [1892], 29). Kropotkin was a believer in mutual aid as one of the chief factors of human evolution. He argued that society is based on

> the conscience –be it only at the stage of an instinct- of human solidarity. It is the unconscious recognition of the force that is borrowed by each man from the practice of mutual aid; of the close dependency of every one's happiness upon the happiness of all; and of the sense of justice, or equity, which brings the individual to consider the rights of every other individual as equal to his own. (Kropotkin 1989 [1902], xli f.)

The idea of solidarity also plays an important role in Malatesta's writings on anarchism. Malatesta shares Kropotkin's advocacy of anarchist communism. He believed that solidarity, rather than competition, is the basic organising principle of a society in its natural state (Malatesta 1942 [1907], 11). He argued that we are made to believe that government is the natural, healthy order of things, when really all it does is cripple the proletariat while serving the interests of the middle-class:

> [w]hen this opinion is changed, and the public convinced that government is not necessary, but extremely harmful, the word anarchy, precisely because it signifies without government, will become equal to saying Natural order, harmony of the needs and interests of all, complete liberty with complete solidarity. (Malatesta 1942 [1907], 2)

Like other 'classical' anarchists, Malatesta's philosophy is based on his anti-capitalist convictions. He situates himself within the socialist tradition, as an anarchist communist (Malatesta 189?, 25). He argues that 'the very first thing to do is to take away property from the middle-class; without that the world will never mend' (Malatesta 189?, 7). He appeals to the proletariat by saying: 'in tearing [gentlefolks' property] away from them, we are snatching from them also our own bodies on which they are feeding' (Malatesta 189?, 15). He argues that property needs to be put in common hands (Malatesta 189?, 9), because the competitive rules of capitalism inevitably lead to the poverty of the masses (Malatesta 189?, 17) and are inherently unfair. He illustrates this with the following tale:

> A man spends a few pounds on an uncultivated bit of marshy ground, puts some men there to work and gives them scarcely enough to live on, whilst he stays quietly in town and does nothing. A few years after, the bit of waste land is a garden, with a hundred times its original value. The sons of the proprietor will inherit this fortune and say they are enjoying the fruits of their father's labour; whilst the sons of the men who really toiled and suffered there will continue to toil and suffer. (Malatesta 189?, 5)

His egalitarian principles also led Malatesta to object to the law of inheritance: '[i]f you work and I am a lazy dog, it is right enough I should be punished for my laziness; but this is no reason that my sons, who may be honest working men, should be worked to death and famished to keep your sons in idleness and plenty (Malatesta 189?, 5).

Malatesta's ideas about the State resemble Bakunin's, who maintained that 'the State continues ... more and more to hinder individual liberty in the name of the lie which it calls "public good", even though quite obviously it represents exclusively the interests of the dominant class' (Bakunin 1977 [1910], 83). This led Bakunin to argue that '[i]t is obvious that freedom will not be restored to humanity, and that the true interests of society –whether of groups, of local organizations or of all the individuals who

compose society- will find true satisfaction only when there are no more States' (ibid., 81). Bakunin argued that there is a 'State morality entirely different, or rather wholly opposed to, the private morality of men' (Bakunin 1992, 42). He suggested that, unless mitigated by religious dogma, private morality is based on 'nothing but human respect, respect for human dignity and for the right and freedom of every human individual' (ibid.). State morality, on the other hand, elevates the State to the supreme goal: '[v]irtue consists of serving its power and grandeur, by all means possible and impossible, even contrary to all human laws and to the good of humanity' (Bakunin 1992, 43). He therefore maintained that

> [w]e are passionate opponents both of the State and of every State. For so long as there exist States, there will be no humanity; and so long **as** there exist States, war and its horrible crimes and inevitable consequences, the destruction and general misery of the peoples, will never cease. So long as there are States, the masses of the people will be *de facto* slaves even in the most democratic republics, for they will work not with a view to their own happiness and wealth, but for the power and wealth of the State. (original emphasis, Bakunin 1992, 43f.)

Bakunin went on to claim that the State is not the realization of the common good as often proclaimed, but instead, it is 'nothing but the guarantor of all exploitation, to the profit of a small number of prosperous and privileged persons and to the loss of the popular masses' (Bakunin 1992, 44). Bakunin emphasised that the French Revolution benefited the middle classes, but not the working classes, as it ignored 'the economic bases of society which have been the eternal source and chief cause of all political and social injustices, all past and present religious absurdities' (Bakunin 1992, 45). Overall, Bakunin's anarchist programme is therefore clearly anti-Statist as well as anti-capitalist.

It has become apparent that two core principles laid down in 'classical' anarchism are anti-capitalism, and an opposition to the State. It has been argued that these principles run through the various anarchist schools. In terms of anarchist schools, George Woodcock has offered the distinction between individualists such as Godwin and Stirner; Proudhon's mutualism; collectivism; anarcho-communism; anarcho-syndicalism; and, finally, Tolstoyanism and pacifist anarchism (Woodcock 1970, 17f.). With the exception of anarcho-syndicalism, these categories seem to have been taken

from Kropotkin's systematisation of anarchism in 1905 (Kinna 2005, 17). Anti-capitalism finds expression in Proudhon's mutualism, Bakunin's collectivism, and Kropotkin's and Malatesta's communism. With regard to anarchism's second core principle, Malatesta explains very concisely what anarchists mean by 'opposition to the State':

> Anarchists, and we among them, have made use, and still generally make use of the word State, meaning thereby all that collection of institutions, political, legislative, judicial, military, financial, etc., by means of which the management of their own affairs, the guidance of their personal conduct and the care of ensuring their own safety are taken from the people and confided to certain individuals … Then such expressions as Abolition of the State, or Society without the State, agree perfectly with the conception which Anarchists wish to express of the destruction of every political institution, based upon harmony of interests, and the voluntary contribution of all to the satisfaction of social needs. (Malatesta 1942 [1907], 3)

However, Malatesta draws attention to the fact that the term 'State' has various popular meanings such as, 'the state of things', or as a synonym to society, which mean that an opposition to the State may seem a contradiction in terms. He therefore suggests using the term 'opposition to government' in order to avoid being misunderstood. Importantly, he emphasises that anarchists are opposed to *all* forms of government, even decentralised ones (Malatesta 1942 [1907], 3f.). Finally, it is worth noting that the meaning of the term 'State' has changed considerably since Malatesta's time. Anarchists of his time attacked a state that did very little in terms of social welfare provisions, for example. Today, anarchists still attack the State despite these improvements. **They oppose the "State" as a set of structures of domination and subordination.**

What I have defined as 'classical' anarchism's two basic principles continue to define anarchism to the present day. In Martha Ackelsberg's recent definition, '[a]narchism aims to abolish hierarchy and structured relations of domination and subordination in society' (Ackelsberg 2005, 37f.). Eco-anarchist Murray Bookchin, for decades an influential voice in the anarchist movement, argued that '[w]e have to eliminate the State which plays such a destructive role today not only in coercing people but in mobilizing the economy in the exploitation of resources' (Bookchin 1979, 91). He

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further argued that '[w]e have to eliminate property; we have to start using the earth as though it were a garden to satisfy human needs, material needs, instead of satisfying class interests' and summarized:

> [t]he anarchist vision of a decentralized, propertyless, Stateless, communistic society, in which men will live not only in harmony with each other but in harmony with nature, are no longer really dreams. They have become preconditions, necessities for the survival of man on this planet (Bookchin 1979, 91).

To Bookchin, anarcho-communism is the only way to avoid ecological collapse (Bookchin 1979, 89f.). He proposes that '[w]e have to decentralize our cities now. This is an old and traditional anarchist demand and it was always seen as a dream. For the first time historically it has become not simply a dream but a necessity for human survival' (Bookchin 1979, 91). By way of a final, recent example, Benjamin Franks suggests that anarchism is not only defined by its opposition to the State, but also by 'a rejection of capitalism, and an egalitarian concern for the interests and freedoms of others, usually viewed in the phrase "that until all are free then no one is free"' (Franks 2007, 129). Overall, it has become apparent that anarchists in past and present desire a society of equals, and that the realisation of such a society is proposed through what I have defined as two core ideological principles: opposition to the State and anti-capitalism. Franks's conception of freedom as tied up with the aim of equality, is one of two differing adjacent conceptions of freedom found in anarchism, as will be argued in the next section.

A split adjacent anarchist concept of freedom

With anarchist core concepts now defined as anti-Statism and anti-capitalism, the next step following Freeden's model of ideologies is to consider anarchism's adjacent concepts. It is important to note that within Freeden's model, '[p]olitical concepts overlap and reinforce each other; it might be far neater if each were to occupy a distinct space, but such conceptual utopias are not the stuff of which normal human thinking is made' (Freeden 1998, 67). Within this logic, not only will anarchism's core concepts overlap, but these will also overlap with its adjacent and perimeter concepts. Freeden further emphasises that adjacent concepts are absolutely vital to the

formation of an ideology, as the core alone is insufficient to constitute an ideology (Freeden 1998, 78). Freeden proposes that adjacent concepts can be logically or culturally defined. Defining and at times overriding logical adjacency, cultural adjacency 'refers to specific historical and socio-geographical phenomena that encourage the association of different political concepts, and which either operate within broader logically inter-linked categories or override such logical linkage' (Freeden 1998, 72).

Two adjacent anarchist concepts can be identified, reflecting the split between social and individualist anarchists. Kinna traces this split to different conceptions of liberty, cautioning that anarchists 'have different ideas about what it means to be free and are divided about whether communitarianism or libertarianism offers the best conditions for the realization of liberty' (Kinna 2005, 81). As seen above, Franks presents a vision of freedom as tied up with egalitarian goals. This conception of freedom falls under the communitarian interpretation of freedom, common to social anarchists. As its name suggests, communitarianism puts its concern for an egalitarian community first, stressing mutual responsibilities, equal access to political participation, and decision-making through informed community discussion. Communitarianism thereby presents itself as an alternative to individualism and authoritarianism (Tam 1998, 7). Central to this conception is that the individual is only free when everyone else is free, defining freedom through a focus on community.

Libertarianism, on the other hand, defines freedom through a focus on the individual and the individual's entitlement to self-ownership. Stirner's uncompromising defence of the Ego as the individual's one and only master is an expression of a libertarian conception of freedom. Freedom is thereby de-contested as autonomy. Kropotkin's belief in mutual aid, on the other hand, led him to conceptualise liberty as altruistic, as individual freedom is dependent on everyone else's freedom (Kinna 2005, 76). While an egalitarian concern for freedom is a defining principle of communitarianism, libertarianism does not by contrast have to be individualistic. As has been shown, for example, Stirner does express a concern for equality. *Left-Libertarians* generally demand individual right to self-ownership *and* that 'natural resources are owned in

some egalitarian manner' in one breath (Vallentyne, Steiner 2000, 1). Libertarianism was once used as a synonym for anarchism, and this is still the case in its French (*libertaire*) and Spanish equivalents (*libertaria/libertario*). However, in the English-speaking context, under Ronald Reagan's and Margaret Thatcher's ideology of 'rolling back the state', libertarianism increasingly came to be identified with right-wing libertarianism, an individualistic, right-wing, free-market ideology, and has therefore become a problematic term for anarchists (Kinna 2005, 25).

Historically, the divide between (left-)libertarian and communitarian-leaning anarchists is reflected in the divide between individualist and social anarchists, with social anarchism far more widespread than individualist anarchism. Daniel Guérin situates the individualist Stirner as an outsider, a 'solitary insurrectionist, a nobody's boy' (Guérin 1999 Vol. I), although he is by far not the only representative of individualist anarchism. There is no doubt, however, that social anarchism is historically the most widespread form of anarchism, with various sub-groups such as anarcho-communists, -collectivists, –mutualists and –syndicalists, as identified above. Due to this divergence of ideas, it is impossible to locate 'freedom' as a core concept of anarchism within Freeden's framework, but instead, the diverging ideas about freedom can be located in two split adjacent concepts of anarchism reflecting the split between social and individualist anarchists.

However, it is important not to overstate the 'split' between social and individual anarchism. As Peter Marshall emphasises, social and individualist anarchists often work together, albeit with different emphases:

> Individualists see the danger of obligatory cooperation and are worried that a collectivist society will lead to the tyranny of the group. On the other hand, the social anarchists are concerned that a society of individualists might become atomistic and that the spirit of competition could destroy mutual aid and general solidarity. Such differences do not prevent both wings from coming together in the notion of communal individuality, which attempts to achieve a maximum degree of personal freedom without destroying the community. (Marshall 2008, 6)

This overlap can be expressed as overlapping concepts, one of the key features of Freeden's model of ideologies.

Anarchist perimeter concepts

Having proposed two core and two adjacent concepts of anarchism, we are now left to consider the perimeter concepts of anarchism. Within Freeden's framework, perimeter concepts are characterised by their disputed nature. This means that not all anarchists will agree on all perimeter concepts, and in fact some of those perimeter concepts may be diametrically opposed to others. Meanwhile, Freeden contends that perimeter concepts are far from marginal. Instead, they are vital for ideologies, as they constitute an ideology's engagement with current affairs, thereby ensuring their continuing relevance to the political world (Freeden 1998, 79). In other words, '[t]he perimeter reflects the fact that adjacent concepts are located in historical, geographical, and cultural contexts' (Freeden 1998, 79). One example of a perimeter anarchist concept is the principle of prefiguration, which is frequently named as an important principle in anarchist organising.[35] Prefiguration refers to the anarchist conviction that means must be consistent with ends. So, since anarchists aspire to the abolition of a stratified society, hierarchical forms of organisation are, at least nominally,[36] taboo. The reasoning behind this is that hierarchical structures will inevitably seek to maintain themselves, and will not wither away, as the genesis of the Soviet state now seems to confirm. This means that anarchism is an ideology against leaders.

Another perimeter concept of anarchism is a basic conception of human nature defined by solidarity and respect for each others' freedom. Woodcock argues that, historically, anarchists share the assumption that 'man naturally contains within him all the attributes which make him capable of living in freedom and social concord. They may not believe that man is naturally good, but they believe very fervently that man is naturally social' (Woodcock 1970, 20). Finally, some other perimeter concepts

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[35] On prefiguration as a key element of anarchist politics, see Graeber and Grubacic (2004), Rose (4 April 2006), Gordon (2007), and, specifically in relation to anarchism and sexuality, see Greenway (1997). For prefiguration in relation to queer autonomous spaces and anarcha-queer practices, see Brown (2009).
[36] On the disjunction between this theoretical ideal and its practice, see Freeman (2002 [1972]).

of anarchism are enthusiasm for grass-roots organisation, at the workplace and elsewhere, and decentralisation.

Overall, we are therefore left with a selection of concepts making up one possible definition of anarchism. Anarchism's two core concepts have been defined as anti-capitalism and opposition to the State as a set of structures of domination and subordination, while it has been argued that the ideology possesses two adjacent, diverging concepts of freedom. One is inspired by socialism, and the other by libertarianism, resulting in social anarchism on the one hand, and individualist anarchism on the other. We are now equipped with two core and two possible adjacent principles making up anarchism, and a number of perimeter concepts have been listed. In the following, I shall consider feminism and queer theory's core, adjacent and perimeter concepts.

Feminism

June Hannam defines feminism as

> a set of ideas that recognize in an explicit way that women are subordinate to men and seek to address imbalances of power between the sexes. Central to feminism is the view that women's condition is socially constructed, and therefore open to change. At its heart is the belief that women's voices should be heard – that they should represent themselves, put forward their own view of the world and achieve autonomy in their lives. (Hannam 2007, 3f.)

Bell hooks defines feminism as the struggle to end sexist oppression: '[s]imply put, feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression ... Practically, it is a definition which implies that all sexist thinking and action is the problem, whether those who perpetuate it are female or male, child or adult' (hooks 2000, 1). While the term 'feminism' was coined in 1895, feminist activity, like anarchist activity, has its roots long before that time (Jenainati, Groves 2007, 20). Christine de Pizan's criticism of misogyny in *The City of Ladies*, published in 1404, is cited as an example of early feminism (Walters 2005, 19). Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* is considered to be one of the founding texts of feminism. In it, she exposes women's 'slavish dependence' and argues that, for women 'the first object of laudable ambition is to obtain a character as a human

being' (Wollstonecraft 1985 [1792], 82). This is based on her belief that '[i]f she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue' (Wollstonecraft 1985 [1792], 86):

> [m]y own sex, I hope, will excuse me if I treat them like rational creatures, instead of flattering their *fascinating* graces, and viewing them as if they were in a state of perpetual childhood, unable to stand alone ... I wish to persuade women to endeavour to acquire strength, both of mind and body, and to convince them that the soft phrases, susceptibility of heart, delicacy of sentiment, and refinement of taste, are almost synonymous with epithets of weakness. (original emphasis Wollstonecraft 1985 [1792], 81f.)

Seen before the backdrop of the recent French Revolution and radical threat to the aristocracy in England, as 'a woman and a radical who took egalitarian reform principles of her age and applied them, for the first time in the long annals of literature about women, to her own sex' (Miriam Brody Kramnick, in Wollstonecraft 1985 [1792], 24f.), Wollstonecraft enquired: '[w]ho made man the exclusive judge, if woman partake with him of the gift of reason?' (Wollstonecraft 1985 [1792], 87). As Miriam Brody Kramnick argues, '[b]efore Wollstonecraft, ... there was no single minded criticism of the social and economic system which created a double standard of excellence for male and female and relegated women to an inferior status' (Miriam Brody Kramnick, in Wollstonecraft 1985 [1792], 29). In addition, Wollstonecraft's pioneering work distinguishing between the public and the private spheres (Held 2006, 49ff.) later formed the basis for feminists' insistence that the personal is political, as discussed below.

In the second half of the 19th century, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor endorsed Wollstonecraft's ideas. Mill argued that

> the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes –the legal subordination of one sex to the other- is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other. (Mill 1992 [1869], 219)

Western feminism is often divided into different 'waves'. The first Wave is considered to be the heightened feminist activity in the second half of the 19th century, which, in

Britain and America,[37] achieved women's access to higher education, women's control over their financial earnings and inherited property, as well as a change in law allowing women access to their children after divorce. It also promoted women's suffrage (Jenainati, Groves 2007, 21f.). The term 'second Wave' was coined by Marsha Lear to describe the increase in feminist activity in the US and Europe from the late 1960s onwards (Jenainati, Groves 2007, 86). One of the key texts forming the basis of the Second Wave was Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, published in 1949 (ibid.). De Beauvoir argued that men act as sovereign subjects whereas woman is socialised as 'an inessential creature ... incapable of sensing the absolute at the heart of her subjectivity,' capable only of defining herself through her relationship to man (de Beauvoir 1972 [1949], 653). Within present-day feminism, Judith Squires identifies three different approaches to subjectivity: determinism, constructionism and deconstructionism (Squires 2000, 77). Determinism contends that women are naturally different from men and that her feminine qualities are to be celebrated. Constructionists believe that gender is constructed, creating the fundamental distinction between (biological) sex and (socially acquired) gender. Finally, deconstructionists argue that the distinction between sex and gender is insufficient, because sex is in itself a construction, and the binary construction of sex (man-woman) is untenable (ibid.). It is argued that the distinction between male and female sex exclusively serves purposes of reproductive sexuality –and thus by definition heterosexuality, and is otherwise utterly arbitrary, such as a distinction between people with blue or brown eyes. Furthermore, this criticism of the sex binary is based on the medical reality that some people are born fitting neither of these categories, as well as the poignant question of what defines sex – hormones, chromosomes, organs...? Butler's deconstructionist contribution to feminist theory, *Gender Trouble* (Butler 1990), is now considered one of the founding texts of queer theory. Her intervention will be considered along those of other queer theorists in the 'queer theory' section of this chapter.

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[37] Francesca Miller argues that the First/Second Wave periodization does not easily translate into the Latin American context, as the First Wave is generally associated with securing women's suffrage prior to World War II, which in most Latin American countries was not achieved until the 1970s, a period associated with Second Wave feminism in the UK and USA (Miller 1991).

Three core feminist concepts

Ideologies change over time, as they need to continuously make themselves relevant to changing political and social landscapes. On the other hand, it is only possible to establish something as an ideology if it displays some degree of diachronic stability (Freeden 1998, 52). Diana Coole argues that feminism's key goal has remained the same over the last two centuries: 'feminists' primary aim has remained one of abolishing discrimination or exclusion on the basis of gender' (Coole 2001, 154). Two additional key concepts of feminism can be identified. The first is the conviction that the personal is political (Squires 2000, 52f., Grant 1993, 41). Second, feminists assert that women's experience of the world is profoundly different from men's, emphasising the key importance of the categories 'woman' and gender (Grant 1993, 41). Overall, feminism can be condensed into three core concepts: firstly, the conviction that women are at a disadvantage in a gendered system of power relations ("patriarchy"), which therefore needs to be overturned. This entails, secondly, the idea that woman and gender are political categories. The third core feminist concept within this definition of feminism is the conviction that the personal is political.

What I have called "gendered system of power relations" is generally decontested as "patriarchy", which means that power is gendered, within a hierarchical system in which men dominate women. Patriarchy, which is widely considered to be one of the key concepts of feminism, in Adrienne Rich's terms, stands for

> the power of the fathers: a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men –by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male. It does not necessarily imply that woman has no power, or that all women in a given culture may not have certain powers. (Rich 1977, 57)

On the other hand, Judith Butler is highly critical of the concept of patriarchy, as she argues that '[t]he very notion of "patriarchy" has threatened to become a universalizing concept that overrides or reduces distinct articulations of gender asymmetry in different cultural contexts' (Butler 1999), a concern shared by Judith M. Bennett, who speaks of 'many patriarchies' (Bennett 2006, 58). Nonetheless, Bennett insists that '"[p]atriarchy" is not a concept confined to the West nor used only there,

while conceding that '[t]he differences that have fractured the category "women" in the past ... still fracture it today (for example, those based on race, class, marital status, sexual orientation, and world religion)' (Bennett 2006, 57). Overall, patriarchy is widely considered a key feature of feminist thought, and will therefore be included as one of the three core concepts of my definition of feminism.

An adjacent feminist concept of equality

Freeden argues that feminism's core concepts are 'significantly affected by a single adjacent concept. That concept is equality, narrowly failing to attain core status because of polysemic interpretations within feminism itself' (Freeden 1998, 508). For one, this is due to the definition of equality as equality between "men" and "women" by some feminists, while others would reject these categories and base their definition of equality on a more fluid conception of sex. A second distinction is possible between liberal and Marxist feminism, with liberal feminists defining equality as equal legal treatment, while Marxist feminists decontest equality as economic and social (Freeden 1998, 509). It can be argued that, similarly to Marxist feminists, anarcha-feminists decontest equality as economic and social, due to anarchism's core concept of anti-capitalism. This will be discussed in more depth in the final section of this chapter, where queer, feminist and anarchist ideologies will be merged.

Feminist perimeter concepts

Finally, perimeter concepts of feminism are those relating to the 'social *practices* expressing male-female relationships, with a strong emphasis on those harmful to women' (original emphasis, Freeden 1998, 521). Examples are anti-pornography campaigns – although not all feminists oppose pornography, as discussed below; abortion rights campaigns; rape and sex traffic awareness campaigns; lobbying to fight unequal pay; raising awareness to help level out unequal distribution of child care between men and women.[38]

In the next section, the third and final compound ideology, queer theory, will be examined.

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[38] For an important contribution to the latter, see Maushart (2002). For a recent survey of gender imbalance in various domains in Britain, see Banyard (2010).

Queer Theory

The term 'Queer theory' was coined by Teresa de Lauretis in her collection *Queer Theory: lesbian and gay sexualities* (De Lauretis 1991). It was based on the defiant re-appropriation of the term 'queer' by the gay community: '[a]round 1990 queer emerged into public consciousness. It was a term that challenged the normalizing mechanisms of state power to name its sexual subjects: male or female, married or single, heterosexual or homosexual, natural or perverse' (Eng, Halberstam et al. 2005, 1). Queer theory is a theory of gender, sex and sexuality which emerged in the early 1990s, through the influential work of scholars such as Judith Butler. While queer theory has become a strong current of research, it is difficult to define an ideology based on queer theory. The shape of this ideology remains insufficiently defined despite the fact that there is recent evidence to suggest that queer theory is indeed being used as an ideology by groups such as *Proyectil Fetal*, members of the British Anarchist Federation, *Libcom* forum members and a variety of groups across the globe, as explored in Chapter One. Evidence suggests that queer *theory* is a defining factor in *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology, which makes it necessary to define an ideology on the basis of queer theory for the purpose of this study. My study of *Proyectil Fetal*'s use of an ideology that is based on queer theory will therefore be an important contribution to circumscribing a specific type of "queer ideology". In preparation of this study, I will now attempt a tentative definition of queer theory's core, adjacent and perimeter concepts.

It can be argued that queer theory was born from an alliance of gay and lesbian studies with feminism and poststructuralism. Judith Butler wrote queer theory's seminal text *Gender Trouble* (1990) as a contribution to feminist theory.[39] Yet, she argued that at the heart of feminist theory lay a problematic binary notion of gender (male/female). Indeed, for Butler, sex is a constructed category, which distinguishes her from those feminists who take sex as biologically given. Drawing on Monique Wittig, Butler argues that

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[39] My discussion of Butler's work follows Moya Lloyd's distinction between three key concerns of her work: sex as constructed; heteronormativity; performativity (Lloyd 2007, 47f.).

the category of sex is neither invariant nor natural, but is a specifically political use of the category of nature, that serves the purposes of reproductive sexuality. In other words, there is no reason to divide up human bodies into male and female sexes except that such a division suits the economic needs of heterosexuality. Hence, for Wittig, there is no distinction between sex and gender; the category of "sex" is itself a *gendered* category, fully politically invested, naturalized but not natural'. (original emphasis, Butler 1999, 143)

Arguments such as these destabilised feminist identity politics, which relied on stable notions of sex: if sex was a constructed category, then what sense did it make to fight for "women's" liberation? The issue was further complicated by black feminists who argued that the women's movement did not adequately represent their identities which were seen as fractured by race. Equally, class came to be seen as a factor shaping people's identities *in conjunction with*, rather than independently of, sex.[40] David L. Eng argues that,

[g]iven its commitment to interrogating the social processes that not only produced and recognized but also normalized and sustained identity, the political promise of the term [queer] resided specifically in its broad critique of multiple social antagonisms, including race, gender, class, nationality, and religion, in addition to sexuality. (Eng, Halberstam et al. 2005, 1)

Based on her concept of sex as a constructed category, Butler is concerned with what is commonly referred to as "heteronormativity": heterosexuality as the norm imposed on the individual through a plethora of mechanisms. Heteronormativity, a key term for queer theory, is defined by Stevi Jackson as a term which 'has become widely used as a shorthand for the numerous ways in which heterosexual privilege is woven into the fabric of social life, pervasively and insidiously ordering everyday existence' (Jackson 2006, 108).[41] The heterosexual norm is not only enforced through state legislation such as legislation on marriage, tax reductions for married couples and adoption rights for heterosexual couples only, but also through religious practices, the advertising industry, the media, art, peer pressure, education and various other

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[40] While Butler rejected identity politics in her original edition of *Gender Trouble*, she conceded the possibility of strategic identity politics in her introduction to the 1999 edition of the book (Butler 1999).
[41] NB: Stevi Jackson criticises the term heteronormativity as insufficient: '[heteronormativity is] often used as if it were synonymous with institutionalized heterosexuality. But *as* an institution heterosexuality, while exclusionary, also governs the lives of those *included* within its boundaries in ways that cannot be explained by heteronormativity alone (original emphasis, Jackson 2006, 108).

channels. The concept of heteronormativity has obvious value for gay and lesbian studies, but it is also a useful concept for feminists questioning the socialisation of babies into girls and boys within what Butler calls the "heterosexual matrix".

Finally, Butler not only questions "sex", but also makes important conceptual contributions to "gender", which she defines as "performative". By "performativity," Butler means that 'a gendered identity is produced through specific bodily gestures, practices, declarations, actions and movements' (Lloyd 2007, 47f.), which again bears particular relevance to feminism. Butler's argument is based on her reading of Simone de Beauvoir's distinction between sex and gender:

> Beauvoir's theory implied seemingly radical consequences, ones which she herself did not entertain. For instance, if sex and gender are radically distinct, then it does not follow that to be a given sex is to become a given gender, in other words, "woman" need not be the cultural construction of the female body, and "man" need not interpret male bodies. This radical formulation of the sex/gender distinction suggest that sexed bodies can be the occasion for a number of different genders, and further, that gender itself need not be restricted to the usual two. (Butler 1999, 142f.)

Queer theorist Judith Halberstam, too, argues for conceptualising multiple genders: 'the human potential for incredibly precise classifications has been demonstrated in multiple arenas; why then do we settle for a paucity of classifications when it comes to gender?' (Halberstam 1998, 27). She suggests that

> a system of gender preference would allow for gender neutrality until such a time when the child or young adult announces his or her or its gender. Even if we could not let go of a binary gender system, there are still ways to make gender optional – people could come out as a gender in the way they come out as a sexuality. The point here is that there are many ways to depathologize gender variance and to account for the multiple genders that we already produce and sustain. Finally, "thirdness" merely balances the binary system and, furthermore, tends to homogenize many different gender variations under the banner of "other". (Halberstam 1998, 27f.)

Halberstam is thereby opposing "easy" solutions to the insufficiency of the binary construction of gender, such as the use of the term "transgender". Butler argues that 'gender ought not to be conceived as a sum or a substantial thing or a static cultural

marker, but rather as an incessant and repeated action of some sort' (Butler 1999, 143). On the basis of these arguments, Butler advances her theory of performativity:

> [i]n what sense, then, is gender an act? As in other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is repeated. This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation. ... There are temporal and collective dimensions to these actions, and their public character is not inconsequential.

> the abiding gendered self will then be shown to be structured by repeated acts that seek to approximate the ideal of a substantial ground of identity, but which, in their occasional *dis*continuity, reveal the temporal and contingent groundlessness of this "ground". The possibilities of gender transformations are to be found precisely in the arbitrary relations between such acts, in the possibility of a failure to repeat, a de-formity, or a parodic repetition that exposes the phantasmatic effect of abiding identity as a politically tenuous construction. (original emhasis, Butler 1999, 178f.)

Butler's three concerns of sex as a construction, heteronormativity and performativity bring us one step closer to defining queer theory's core, adjacent and perimeter concepts. Queer Theory emerges as a theory which seeks to destabilise and de-normalise received categories of gender, sex and desire, as stabilised by state legislation on marital rights and responsibilities, among other things named. It seeks to open up space for any kinds of identities which fall outside of the normalised categories of heterosexual, stable, monogamous relationships, clear-cut male or female identities: gay and lesbian identities, bisexuality, hermaphrodism, trans- and intersexuality, non-monogamy, bondage, domination, sadism and masochism (BDSM), and however else people wish to identify in terms of their sex, gender and sexuality at any given point in time (if they wish to identify in this way at all).[42] Finally, these sexual

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[42] NB: Paedophilia and the idea of consent remain highly contentious topics for queer theorists. Progressive queer theorists must distinguish between paedophilic desire and paedophilic sexual acts, and consider the question of what constitutes a sexual act and what constitutes a 'minor'. Most importantly, they face the difficult question of what constitutes harmful sexual contact. In addition, as a general rule, any form of non-consensual sexual relations are categorically rejected (this therefore includes rape). The idea of consent also plays an important role with respect to BDSM, as scholars and practitioners of BDSM tend to highlight the need for consent in these types of practices. The use of safe-words during BDSM role/sex play serves the purpose of ensuring sexual relations remain consensual. Overall, however, the idea of consent remains contentious, as it is difficult to ascribe the ability to consent to a child or to people with particular types of disability.

and gender identities are seen as fractured by class, race, religion and other types of identity. As Annamarie Jagose summarises,

> [o]nce the term "queer" was, at best, slang for homosexual, at worst, a term of homophobic abuse. In recent years "queer" has come to be used differently, sometimes as an umbrella term for a coalition of culturally marginal sexual self-identifications and at other times to describe a nascent theoretical model which has developed out of more traditional lesbian and gay studies... Queer theory's debunking of stable sexes, genders and sexualities develops out of a specifically lesbian and gay reworking of the post-structuralist figuring of identity as a constellation of multiple and unstable positions. (Jagose 1996, 1f.)

> Broadly speaking, queer describes those gestures or analytical models which dramatise incoherencies in the allegedly stable relations between chromosomal sex, gender and sexual desire. Resisting that model of stability –which claims heterosexuality as its origin, when it is more properly its effect – queer focuses on mismatches between sex, gender and desire. Institutionally, queer has been associated most prominently with lesbian and gay subjects, but its analytic framework also includes such topics as cross-dressing, hermaphrodism, gender ambiguity and gender-corrective surgery... Demonstrating the impossibility of any 'natural' sexuality, it calls into question even such apparently unproblematic terms as 'man' and 'woman'. (Jagose 1996, 3)

Queer theory in general terms can therefore be seen as a challenge to heteronormativity and other normative discourses related to sex, gender and sexual desire. Due to the widespread consensus on this concept, it is possible to define it as queer theory's core concept. Factors such as race, nationality and class are seen as intertwined with sexuality and gender, a concept which is referred to with the term intersectionality. However, queer theorists disagree how different types of domination should be weighted. It is impossible to boil this disagreement down to a manageable number of schools of thought, which is why I suggest that this concept is most conveniently located at the perimeter of queer theory, rather than at the core or adjacent level.

It can be argued that queer theory's adjacent concept is equality, as queer theorists, much like feminists, disagree on what they mean by equality. Unlike some feminists, queer theorists are unable to base their conception of equality on an essentialist notion of sex, as their core concept forbids this. However, queer theorists will differ

for example in terms of liberal or anarchist/Marxist definitions of equality. An example of an anarchist-leaning conception of equality can be found in the mission statement of the *Institute for Queer Theory*. Its founder Antke Engel defines the institute's goals in the following way:

> The Institute for Queer Theory aims at denaturalizing and deprivileging the sex/gender binary and heterosexuality. In accordance with queer approaches it furthermore seeks to challenge normalizations, hierarchies, and relations of domination and violence in all areas of culture and society. It strives to develop forms of acknowledging difference without fixing categories or norms, which in turn are criticized for affirming processes of exclusion or coercive inclusion. Therefore, in a more specific sense, the Institute for Queer Theory fosters the heterogeneity of gendered, sexed and sexual ways of existence, while in a wider sense it proposes the socio-political perspective of a controversial and agonistic pluralism. (Engel c2010)

Engel's definition bears a surprising resemblance to Ackelsberg's definition of anarchism from a feminist perspective, as she, too, emphasises opposition to all forms of domination in society, as explored below (Ackelsberg 2005, 37f.). However, an opposition to all forms of domination is not a part of all texts classed as queer theory, as Jagose's and Eng's definitions show. This means that equality is a contested concept overall, most accurately located as an adjacent concept of queer theory. As in feminism, queer theory's adjacent concept is contested, as some will define it as legal equality, and others as economic and social equality.

The definitions of central tenets of queer theory explored in this section have shown that queer theory in general terms can be seen as a challenge to heteronormativity and other normative discourses related to sex, gender and sexual desire (core concept), with an adjacent, polysemic notion of equality. Perimeter concepts include Butler's concept of performativity, as well as intersectionality. In the following section, existing links between anarchism, feminism and queer theory will be explored in preparation for defining the core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of a queer anarcha-feminism.

Feminism and queer theory – a false dichotomy?

Coole maintains that feminism is an ideology which is 'unusually self-critical in reflecting on its own foundations and values since it must constantly elicit, criticize

and deconstruct unexpurgated patriarchal or phallocentric assumptions there' (Coole 2001, 155). At the same time, she argues, 'feminism has been atypically open to the influence of changing intellectual paradigms,' particularly to liberalism, socialism and Marxism, and, to a lesser extent, anarchism. She also emphasises the influence of what she calls 'fashionable methodologies' such as 'existentialist phenomenology, structuralism, post-structuralism, deconstruction, empiricism, critical realism and analytical philosophy' (ibid.). As Coole indicates, overlaps already exist between feminism and anarchism as well as between feminism and poststructuralism. The latter has, through gay and lesbian studies, resulted in the creation of a new theory called 'Queer Theory'. The recently published collections on anarchism in conjunction with sexuality testify to the numerous links between feminist, queer and anarchist thought and action (Heckert, Cleminson 2011, Heckert 2010b). The intimate connection between feminist and 'queer' thought can be expressed as overlapping perimeter concepts within a queer anarcha-feminist ideology. Weed contends that feminism and queer theory are deeply connected:

> When feminism meets queer theory, no introductions seem necessary. Both academic feminism and queer theory are connected, however directly or indirectly, to political movements outside the academy, in some cases to overlapping movements. Both are interdisciplinary modes of inquiry; both constitute themselves in critical relation to a set of hegemonic social and cultural formations. Indeed, the two are connected not only by commonalities but by affiliations. Queer theory, like lesbian and gay studies, has acknowledged its intellectual debts to feminist theory and women's studies, just as feminist theory has recognized the influence of queer theory. For many in the academy, feminism and queer theory are most easily understood as two branches of the same family tree of knowledge and politics, just as in most bookstores they are most easily found on shelves located side by side or back to back. (Weed 1997, vii)

In a similar vein, Butler argues that lesbian and gay studies versus feminism is a false dichotomy:

> '[w]here would the feminist traditions in favor of enhancing sexual freedom fit in such a scheme, much less those that analyze the interrelation of gender and sexuality? ... Perhaps the restriction of feminism to gender, construed as biological binary, is nothing other than a prescribed restriction of feminist practice to terms illegible to feminist criticism performed in

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the service of augmenting claims made by lesbian and gay studies for methodological autonomy? (Butler 1997, 5)

When considering the implications of combining queer theory, feminism and anarchism, therefore, it is useful to be aware of the existing overlaps between feminism and gay and lesbian studies as well as queer theory despite the fact that these overlaps may be concealed by those seeking to establish queer theory as the monopoly of lesbian and gay studies.

Anarcha-feminisms

In our exploration of the conceptual implications of combining anarchism, feminism and queer theory, another stepping stone lies in the existence of anarcha-feminism, alternatively known as anarcho-feminism or anarchist feminism, whose origins can be traced back to the time of first-wave feminism. Anarcha-feminism is a cross-over between anarchism and feminism which first emerged in the late 19th century, and peaked in waves which are roughly synchronous to what has been described as the first and second waves of feminism. While the suffragettes of the first Wave fought for the right to vote, anarcha-feminists saw the fight for women's suffrage as misguided and complicit with the status quo, and instead battled to abolish the State and capitalism. Early anarcha-feminist Emma Goldman fought for women's self-determination and access to birth control as well as free love, as love was no longer to be sanctioned by the State or Church through the institution of marriage, but solely by the individuals involved. Her concern with women's liberation, which would today be called feminist, was part of her wider anti-capitalist and anti-Statist anarchist programme, making her one of the first anarcha-feminists. In the 1970s, after the contraceptive pill became widely available, an era of sexual liberation ensued, and a second wave of anarcha-feminist activity emerged demanding women's equal opportunities in the workplace, as well as women's social and political equality. Like their first-wave ancestors, these feminists had to fight to convince their male anarchist comrades that the 'woman question' mattered. Finally, around 1990, queer theory entered the scene, emerging out of a confluence of the increasingly vibrant gay and lesbian studies with poststructuralist and feminist ideas. Since then, queer theory has

left its mark on feminism, anarchism and anarcha-feminism, as will be discussed below.

Emma Goldman fought hard to convince her comrades of the need to incorporate feminist ideas into anarchism. When she came to Paris to do propaganda work in 1900, some French anarchist groups decided to exclude the material she had brought on sex from their conferences (Goldman 1988 [1931], 271). She recounts a conversation with Kropotkin, who provoked her with the following comment regarding the anarchist paper *Free Society*: 'The paper is doing splendid work … but it would do more if it would not waste so much space discussing sex' (ibid., 253). Goldman retorted: '[a]ll right, dear comrade, when I have reached your age, the sex question may no longer be of importance to me. But it is *now*, and it is a tremendous factor for thousands, millions even, of young people." Peter [Kropoktin] stopped short, an amused smile lighting up his kindly face. "Fancy, I didn't think of that," he replied. "Perhaps you are right, after all"' (original emphasis, ibid.). On the whole, however, Goldman affirmed that, in her own ranks, she was very much alone with her feminist concerns (ibid., 225). Goldman is now considered one of the chief figures of first-wave anarcha-feminism.

Let us now examine the appearance of core, adjacent and perimeter concepts in authors combining anarchism and feminism. Martha Ackelsberg, a scholar concerned with anarchism and the struggle for the emancipation of women, defines anarchism as opposition to all forms of domination:

> [a]narchism aims to abolish hierarchy and structured relations of domination and
> subordination in society. It also aims to create a society based on equality, mutuality, and
> reciprocity in which each person is valued and respected as an individual. This social vision is
> combined with a theory of social change that insists that means must be consistent with ends,
> that people cannot be directed into a future society but must create it themselves, thereby
> recognizing their own abilities and capacities. In both its vision of the ideal society and its
> theory of how that society must be achieved, anarchism has much to offer contemporary
> feminists. The anarchist analysis of relations of domination provides a fruitful model for
> understanding the situation of women in society and for relating women's condition to that of
> other oppressed groups. A theory of social change that insists on the unity of means and ends

and on the strengths of the oppressed provides a striking contrast to many existing theories –
and most existing practice- of social revolutionary movements. (Ackelsberg 2005, 37f.)

Ackelsberg foregrounds anarchism as an ideology which is opposed to hierarchy and structured relations of domination and subordination. What I have suggested as a possible anarchist core concept of opposition to the State fits into this definition. It can be argued that the link between opposing the State and fighting for women's equality is not immediately clear, whereas fighting domination and subordination are terms recognisable to feminists as part of their vocabulary when describing women's oppression and it therefore makes sense for Ackelsberg to employ these terms.

Within Ackelsberg's account of anarchism from a feminist perspective, the aim of equality is equally foregrounded. Equality is, again, a familiar term for feminists, and, as I have argued, can be defined as an adjacent concept of feminism. Ackelsberg's insistence on mutuality *and* respecting each person as an individual locates her adjacent concept of freedom in between the ones proposed by social and individualist anarchism, resulting in what could be referred to as communal individuality. Overall, within her definition, feminism becomes a logical extension of anarchism's concern with eradicating oppression. The promotion of consistency between means and ends, or as others have termed it, prefiguration, as well as empowering the oppressed rather than deciding for them, become key ways to realise feminist goals. In emphasising prefiguration, Ackelsberg has selected what can be defined as a common anarchist perimeter concept for strategy. All in all, feminist concerns are integrated into anarchism's wider project for social change. Opposition to the State –which I have defined as a possible core anarchist concept- is termed as an opposition to all forms of domination and subordination. A communal individuality stance –which, I have suggested, is a possible adjacent anarchist concept- is adopted. Equality is championed, and I have argued that this can be defined as an adjacent feminist concept. Finally, specific strategies, which can be described as perimeter concepts, are selected for promoting anarcha-feminist goals.

Anarcha-feminist Peggy Kornegger, too, supports a concept of communal individuality by emphasising anarchism's 'belief in both individuality and collectivity' (Kornegger

2002 [1975], 22). She formulates anarchism's core opposition to the State as opposition to 'authority, hierarchy, government', arguing that this is a major point of difference between anarchists and socialists who advocate a strong worker-controlled State which will eventually wither away. This line of argument is not surprising coming from a self-avowed radical feminist, since it is reflective of radical feminism's genesis as opposition to those Marxists within the women's liberation movement who argued that the economic question was more important than the woman question, that 'male supremacy was … a mere phenomenon of capitalism', and that 'socialist revolution would bring about women's liberation' (Echols 1989, 3).[43] Kornegger's emphasis on an anarchist opposition to authority, hierarchy and government further reflects radical feminism's genesis as criticism of liberal feminism for 'pursuing formal equality within a racist, class-stratified system, and for refusing to acknowledge that woman's inequality in the public domain was related to their subordination in the family' (Echols 1989, 3). Kornegger argues that anarchism and radical feminism are natural allies: '[t]he radical feminist perspective is almost pure anarchism. The basic theory postulates the nuclear family as the basis for all authoritarian systems. The lesson the child learns, from father to teacher to boss to God, is to OBEY the great anonymous voice of Authority' (Kornegger 2002 [1975], 26). She further names male hierarchical thought patterns as targets of radical feminism, as these hierarchical thought patterns 'in which rationality dominates sensuality, mind dominates intuition, and persistent splits and polarities (active/passive, child/adult, sane/insane, work/play, spontaneity/organisation) alienate us from the mind-body experience as a Whole [sic] and from the Continuum of human experience' (Kornegger 2002 [1975], 26). Finally, she constructs radical feminism as opposition to 'the male domineering attitude' that views everyone and everything, including nature, as objects. Women, she argues, are instead 'trying to develop a consciousness of "Other" in all areas. We see subject-to-subject relationships as not only desirable but necessary' (ibid.).

Kornegger argues that a worker-controlled State as proposed by some socialists would never wither away, and that this is why anarchists emphasise the need for consistency

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[43] As discussed in Chapter One in relation to queer Marxism, not all Marxists would agree with such a position.

of means and ends: '[t]o separate the process from the goals of revolution is to ensure the perpetuation of oppressive structure and style' (Kornegger 2002 [1975], 22). In sum, like Ackelsberg, she advocates communal individuality and prefiguration. She adds what can be read as a third perimeter anarchist principle regarding strategy, emphasising the necessity for both spontaneity and organisation in order to realise anarchist goals, which is also coherent with her radical feminist opposition to the spontaneity-organisation dichotomy. Finally, Kornegger argues that anarchism's three major principles as she defines them are based on her conception of *communist* anarchism. In stating this, she is more specific about her preference of economic model than Ackelsberg. All in all, this brief comparison of Ackelsberg's and Kornegger's anarcha-feminisms has shown that the latter distinguishes herself from the former through an emphasis on radical feminist values and anarcho-communism as the desired economic form, while both authors reference what can be understood as an anarchist perimeter concept of prefiguration, adjacent concept of communal individuality, and core opposition to all forms of domination or hierarchy.

As has become apparent, considerable overlap between feminism and anarchism can be found in their respective strategies. As Coole emphasizes, feminists since the 1970s in particular are choosing anti-hierarchical ways of organising as a prefigurative tool (Coole 2001, 170). This way of organising is staple in anarchism. *Proyectil Fetal* describe themselves as an affinity group. The concept of the affinity group is one deeply rooted in anarchist philosophy, traceable to Gustav Landauer (Day 2004), and a common way for anarchists to organise.[44] An affinity group is based on friendship and sees itself as a revolutionary cell which can promote change in society. Kinna sums up the concept of the affinity group as groups which 'bring activists together on the basis of friendship in small, fluid autonomous groups to ferment revolution in the wider population. Membership might be very small, and meetings informal' (Kinna 2005, 130). This atomistic form of organisation is also important in second-wave feminism and its small consciousness-raising groups (Dark Star Collective 2002, 27). Diana Coole argued in 2001 that there is no readily recognisable contemporary feminist

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[44] Richard Day argues that we are experiencing a shift from hegemony to affinity as defining factors for a 'new' way of doing politics, which he uses to describe the newest social movements (ibid).

movement, as there is little collective feminist action, but that this can be seen as a necessary symptom of a feminism conscious of the limits of identity politics. She argues that feminists today instead 'forge shifting alliances where mutual interests emerge (and disintegrate)' (Coole 2001, 156). The affinity group as a small, fluid revolutionary cell appears to be a form of organisation apt for such a present-day feminism.[45] However, there is recent evidence to suggest that feminism is in fact re-emerging as a movement, as "woman" remains recognisable as a category of oppression and again manages to create a sense of group identity. By way of example, the left-leaning *Feminism in London* conference, first held in 2008, attracted steeply rising numbers, with around 1000 participants at its third conference held in 2010. The conference attracted women of all ages, with about one third of women in their twenties and thirties, suggesting that a new wave of feminism is in the making. Collective feminist actions such as *Reclaim the Night* in London attracted around 2000 marchers in 2008 (MacKay 2009), which further suggests that the movement is re-emerging.[46] Finally, the vivid anti-capitalist and anti-racist spirit of the *Feminism in London* conference suggests that it can be seen as part of the global anti-capitalist movement which arose powerfully in Seattle in 1999. Geoffrey Pleyers argues that new feminist networks are deeply involved in the alter-globalisation movement, combating patriarchy, capitalism and racism (Pleyers 2010, 95). Importantly, this movement is nourished by anarchist ideas (see for example, Pleyers 2010, 77, 94, 186).

In this and previous sections, a number of possible core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of feminism have been identified through a discussion of some of feminism's historical roots and contemporary forms. Subsequently, feminism's attachments to a variety of other ideologies and in particular its intimate connection to queer theory were highlighted. Finally, feminism's links with anarchism were discussed through exploring Ackelsberg's and Kornegger's conceptions of anarcha-feminism, as well as

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[45] Some anarchists criticise this form of (feminist and anarchist) organisation as inherently elitist akin to the Leninist vanguard (Kinna 2005, 131).

[46] *Reclaim the Night* is a march first organized in the 1970s (MacKay 2009) to draw attention to shocking statistics of rape and lack of legal persecution of rapists, and the way in which women are frequently restricted in their movement due to fear of rape, which means that they are afraid to walk the streets at night.

activist links. In the course of this discussion, the small affinity group was named as a common organisational tool for both feminists and anarchists. It was suggested that neither contemporary feminism nor anarchism is exclusively about arguably atomistic or even elitist action through affinity groups, but that there is evidence to suggest that both are re-emerging as part of the alter-globalisation movement. In the following, links between queer theory and anarchism will be explored based on the hypothesis that postanarchism is a useful theoretical 'stepping stone' in this endeavour.

The postanarchist influence on queer anarchism

As discussed in Chapter One, despite the frequent association of anarcha-feminism with queer theory, anarcho-queer *theory* has not yet been developed to a significant extent. As argued in the following, poststructuralist anarchism can help bridge this theoretical gap. Postanarchism is an important point of reference in a variety of recent writings on anarchism and sexuality, and particularly combinations of queer theory with anarchism (Heckert, Cleminson 2011, Portwood-Stacer 2010, Eckert 2011, Call 2011, Shannon, Willis 2010, Windpassinger 2010).[47] As Shannon and Willis state, an 'aspect of the larger project of queering anarchism would be applying some of the insights of post-structuralist political theory to anarchism, as it undergirds much of the queer political project' (Shannon, Willis 2010, 436). Queer theory at its inception was based on the experience of the gay and lesbian movement as well as poststructuralist insights and its chief proponent, Michel Foucault, who argued that homosexuality, and by extension, sexuality, are constructed categories (Butler 1999, ix, Spargo 1999, 17). Judith Butler drew on, critiqued and expanded on Foucault's work. As Shannon and Willis maintain,

> post-structuralist political thought allows us to show how knowledge and power function
> alongside each other. Queer theory has borrowed heavily from Foucault in this endeavour,
> especially his work on sexuality, to show how discourses of knowledge are created, produce
> identities and docile bodies and, in some cases, reinscribe the very identities that oppress us.
> Further, post-structuralism criticizes knowledge claims that suggest a reaching of 'The Truth'.
> This has manifested itself as criticisms of the grand narratives through which past theorists
> have tried to explain an incredibly complex human history in some unified fashion as well as

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[47] Both Portwood-Stacer and Heckert draw on Butler, whereas Lena Eckert also discusses Preciado's work, which is an equally important reference for *Proyectil Fetal*.

criticism of claims at having 'The Solution' to the complex relations of ruling we have come to live with. (Shannon, Willis 2010, 437)

Due to the importance of poststructuralism in the genesis of both queer theory and postanarchism, postanarchism is an important point of reference for those linking queer and anarchist ideologies. *Proyectil Fetal* consider along poststructuralist lines that we have internalized what Deleuze and Guattari would refer to as 'state-forms', as argued in Chapter Four; in other words, that domination is contained in the very way we feel and think, and must be targeted there, in order 'to explode the very basis of the domination that resides within our hearts … All that are oppressed need to be free, of others and of themselves' (Proyectil Fetal 2008a). Following this logic, *Proyectil Fetal* have reached the conclusion that 'without a profound self-emancipation from all the economic interests that are naturalized in our bodies, products of the society of control, even if the State were abolished, oppression and practices of domination will persist' (ibid.). This reflects a poststructuralist vision of power which scholars have found useful to draw upon when considering questions of sexuality from an anarchist perspective (Heckert 2005, Cleminson 2008).

Postanarchism, alternatively or even simultaneously referring to postmodern or poststructuralist anarchism is an established strand of anarchist theory (May 1994, Newman 2001, Call 2002, Newman 2010), yet, as will become apparent, it is not an entirely unproblematic theoretical construct. Due to the strong critique of "classical" anarchism found in the work of one of the founding fathers of postanarchism, Lewis Call, some readers may infer that postanarchism represents a radical departure from anarchism, rather than a strand of anarchist thought.[48] On the other hand, as previously outlined, Franks has argued based on an application of Freeden's conception of ideology, that postanarchism is to be regarded as a strand within

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[48] Cleminson argues that anti-essentialism is rooted in classical anarchism but that, 'at its heart, there was a tension between the Modern and that which is radically decentralising and anti-essentialist, which focuses on *becoming*, the process of social and personal maturation, and which recognises that one does not know what future human beings will be like once they are "freed" from capitalism, taking a utopian path which fixes neither ontological nor epistemological horizons' ['obra en su seno una tensión entre lo moderno y lo radicalmente descentralizador y antiesencialista, que pone su atención en el *becoming*, el proceso de maduración social y personal, y que reconoce que no se sabe cómo serán los futuros seres humanos una vez "liberados" del capitalismo, siguiendo una línea utópica que no fija horizontes ni ontológicos ni epistemológicos] (original emphasis, Cleminson 2008, 17).

anarchism, rather than a radical departure from it. Furthermore, in Call's work, the use of the term 'anarchism of the postmodern kind' leaves no doubt that Call's intention is to create a strand within anarchist thought, rather than a departure from it. Similarly, Newman insists that '[postanarchism] does not have the sovereign ambition of supplanting anarchism with a newer name. On the contrary, postanarchism is a celebration and revisitation of this most heretical form of radical (anti)politics' (Newman 2010, 181).

Call defines postanarchism in the following way: '[a]n anarchism of the postmodern kind would certainly include the traditional critiques of capital and the State, but would also go well beyond these conventional critiques to develop a political theory which is appropriate to the postmodern condition' (Call 2002, 22). In a definition of 'the postmodern commons,' Call underlines the commonalities between postmodernists and poststructuralists, arguing that

> postmodernists generally share a certain incredulity towards metanarratives, a suspicious attitude towards the unified and rational self characteristic of much post-Enlightenment philosophy, and a powerfully critical stance towards any and all forms of power (including those produced by the state and by capital, but also those produced in families, hospitals, in psychiatric offices, and so on). Broadly construed in this way, postmodernists typically also possess a strong interest in semiotic theory, or at least a critical awareness of the ways in which language can produce, reproduce, and transmit power. I shall therefore make the somewhat controversial claim that what has been called poststructuralism may be construed as a variety of postmodern thinking. (Call 2002, 13f.)

Based on this postmodern condition which absorbs poststructuralism, Call's definition of postmodern anarchism contains three principles. The first, and possibly most controversial, is the *anarchy of the subject*:

> against the suspiciously unified subject of classical anarchism, postmodern anarchism declares, beginning with Nietzsche, an *anarchy of the subject*. The postmodern subject is and must remain multiple, dispersed, and (as Deleuze would have it) schizophrenic. This anarchy of the subject encourages the preservation and cultivation of difference and Otherness within the postmodern project. By insisting that all subjectivities must be strictly provisional, and by encouraging the development of multiple strands of subjectivity within a single "person," this anarchy of the subject precludes the possibility of a totalitarian subjectivity such as that of the

> Leninist vanguard. To ensure that this anarchy of the subject will have the status of a permanent revolution, Nietzschean philosophy offers a corresponding anarchy of becoming. A postmodern anarchist in the Nietzschean mode must engage in a perpetual project of self-overcoming. By constantly reradicalizing the subject, by constantly immersing the "self" in the river of becoming, the Nietzschean anarchist evades the possibility that her subjectivity will recrystallize in a totalizing fashion. (original emhasis, Call 2002, 22)

Call's emphasis on self-overcoming is reminiscent of Stirner's defence of individual, ever-evolving judgement as the highest authority. Call's postanarchist position is highly relevant to *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology, as the group repeatedly emphasise that 'subjectivity is a process of constant becoming'[49] (Proyectil Fetal 2009g). Similarly, Jenny Alexander speaks of the anarcha-queer project as 'radicalising approaches to sexuality within culture as an always-becoming project' (Alexander 2011, 34). *Proyectil Fetal* describe themselves as influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche and the father of poststructuralism, Michel Foucault (Engler 2008). Silvestri fetishizes Nietzsche and dedicates an entire section of her personal blog to tributes to his work (Silvestri c2009, Silvestri 2010b).

Call's insinuation that classical anarchism as a whole put forward a unitary subject, however, is highly problematic. Call's reading is based on a handful of prolific male writers. How does a figure such as the anarchist Emma Goldman fit into this picture? She was a contemporary of Peter Kropotkin, one of the "classical anarchists" cited by Call. Yet, she challenged his argument that anarchist should not waste time discussing sex, and was a big fan of Nietzsche's (Goldman 1988 [1931]). Early anarcha-feminists such as Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre, Louise Michel and Virginia Bolten show that "classical" anarchism was by no means exclusively about a unitary subject of 'the worker,' but that classical anarchists battled on numerous fronts, including sex as a factor of oppression. Based on these discrepancies, Franks has argued that postanarchists largely base their argumentation on a misrepresentation of "classical" anarchism (Franks 2007, 133f.), and the distinction between "classical" and "post"-anarchism has indeed emerged as problematic.

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[49] La subjetividad es un proceso en constante devenir.

Franks further criticises a number of postanarchists including Call for their concept of the 'nomadic agent of change', whom he sees as elitist: 'nomadic identities prioritize specific practices, namely those methods more suited to economically independent individuals. Not everyone is capable of drifting; there are those who are physically, socially, or economically restrained or have responsibilities to particular locales or to more vulnerable others' (Franks 2007, 138). Paraphrasing Rosi Braidotti's criticism of the Deleuzian nomad, Franks argues that 'this fleeting, fleeing "radical identity" assumes an equivalence between classes, genders and (dis)abilities that is little different to the gender-, race-, class and (dis)ability blind- abstract agent of liberalism'(Franks 2007, 138f.). Finally, Franks implies that postanarchists promoting this nomadic agent of change promote egotistic rebellion rather than social action, having no concern for the interests and freedom of others (Franks 2007, 139). Newman reacts to Franks' critique arguing that 'postanarchism does not amount to moral nihilism or ethical subjectivism. Not even Stirner's philosophy of egoism … precludes ethics, and indeed allows for certain forms of social solidarity, which is implicit in his notion of the "the union of egoists"' (Newman 2008, 103).

Call argues that 'Foucault's broad concept of power enables an equally broad concept of resistance, one which … includes not only traditional revolutionary activity, but student rebellion, prisoner's revolts, and gay or lesbian revolutions' (Call 2002, 22). Based on this, Call's second principle of postanarchism again bears relevance to *Proyectil Fetal*'s paradigm. It is the principle of an opposition to power in its atomised forms:

> against the classical anarchist's obsession with capital and the state –or perhaps we should say "in addition to" the concern with economic and state power- postmodern anarchism offers a much broader and more nuanced understanding of power. This is the case especially, of course, in the works of Foucault. Eschewing a simplistic top-down model of power, Foucault insists that power is "capillary," i.e., that it is always already present in any social relation. (Call 2002, 22)

Again, this postanarchist position, Franks would argue, is based on a misrepresentation of "classical" anarchism. Anarchists such as Emma Goldman showed a concern for a range of manifestations of domination, such as domination

found in children's education and in the family, which led to anarchists pioneering the free school movement as well as contraception campaigns. E. Armand, a chief proponent of free love and anti-monogamy, is a prime example of "classical" anarchist concern with power in its various guises. As Richard Sonn suggests, 'Armand was intent on demonstrating that society could be transformed more thoroughly by revolutionizing private relations than by overthrowing public institutions. Get rid of monogamy and patriarchy, of jealousy and possessiveness, he argued, and other superstructures of authority would collapse' (Sonn 2010, 17). Similarly, in Argentina, anarchist agitators such as Virginia Bolten and Juana Rouco Buela and the group surrounding the first anarcha-feminist paper, *La Voz de la Mujer* (1896-1897), fought against sexism, for free love and against the institution of marriage (Finet 2006, 123ff., Molyneux 1986).

Proyectil Fetal display a very similar conception of power to Call's:

> the barricades are multiple, because the forms of subjugation and domination are multiple … What Marxists have called the "principal enemy or issue" does not exist, [despite the fact that this is] a view which, sadly, is held by a number of self-proclaimed anarchists. Strategic priorities and immediate emergencies are not the same independently of time, nor are they something that can be compressed to "the primordial". (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008)

Proyectil Fetal's simplistic representation of Marxism in this statement is matched by problematic conceptions of Marxism in a variety of postanarchist writers, including Sandra Jeppesen (Jeppesen 2004), Bob Black (Black 1985) and Call himself, who argues that '[p]ostmodern anarchism begins with this premise: a Marxist or classical-anarchist "radical" position which insists upon the primacy of economics and class analysis lacks meaningful revolutionary potential'(Call 2002, 21). As Franks contends,

> Marx's account of capitalism is one which views it as neither a total system nor the sole determinant of social conflict. Indeed, the very (anti-)politics of the most bitter critics and rejectionists of 'Marxism', such as Jeppesen and Black, are actually consistent with Marx. A genuinely liberatory struggle against the imposition of work, and the category of 'worker' that it creates, requires those subject to that domination to take the lead (all else would be paternalism) in overthrowing the economic conditions that require work, namely—in the

common era—capitalism. In other words, 'the emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself'. (Franks 2007, 137)

In addition to critiquing some postanarchists' representation of Marxism and classical anarchism, Franks lodges the major criticism that some postanarchists, 'by rejecting class as the sole determinant … erroneously ignore its influence altogether' (Franks 2007, 136).

Call's third and final principle of postanarchism lies in symbolic subversion (Call 2002, 23). This principle, he argues, was inaugurated by the Situationist International, 'a collection of vehemently anti-Stalinist artists and philosophers who were perhaps the first practitioners of postmodern anarchism', who, in May 1968 'took to the streets of Paris and carried out a revolution of the symbol, a revolution of posters and graffiti, slogan and counterslogan, gesture and antigesture' (Call 2002, 23).

This section has discussed Call's three principles of postanarchism as well as the problems associated with postanarchism, with particular reference to Franks' critique of postanarchism. Franks criticises a variety of postanarchists for misrepresenting classical anarchism and Marxism and identifies an apparent blindness to economic, racial, sexual and (dis)ability inequalities in some postanarchisms, accompanied by a promotion of elitism and egoism. As shown, Newman argues that Franks' allegations of egoism are based on a misreading of postanarchism and Stirner's work. Whether one agrees that it is a useful paradigm in itself or not, it has become apparent that postanarchism is an important point of reference, not only for *Proyectil Fetal*, but also for others who have combined queer theory and anarchism.

Conclusion: queer anarcha-feminist core, adjacent and perimeter concepts

After considering possible core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of the polysemic anarchisms, feminisms and queer theories, as well as existing links between the three, the moment has now come when they can be condensed to a possible selection of core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of a "queer anarcha-feminism". It has been shown that such an ideology can be constituted firstly through what I have defined as core anarchist principles of anti-capitalism and opposition to the State as a set of

structures of domination and subordination. This core is surrounded by its adjacent concepts of freedom, which find expression in social anarchism on the one hand, and individualist anarchism on the other. Finally, these core and adjacent concepts are surrounded by perimeter anarchist concepts. Now, the core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of feminism and queer theory can be merged with this basic structure. Three core feminist concepts have been identified as the conviction that the personal is political; the defence of "woman" and gender as political categories; and opposition to patriarchy. When merging these with anarchism's core concepts, it can be argued that anarchism can subsume feminism's opposition to patriarchy, as patriarchy can be seen as a system of domination and subordination. Under this conceptualisation of the two ideologies, the remaining core concepts of anarcha-feminism are thus, in short: anti-capitalism; 'anti-Statism'; 'woman' and gender as political categories; and 'the personal is political'.

An anarchist core concept of anti-capitalism decontests an adjacent feminist concept of equality, defining it as economic and social equality. This adjacent concept is joined by split individualist and social anarchist adjacent concepts. Under this lens, anarcha-feminism can be either individualist or social, or a mixture of both.

Finally, an ideology based on queer theory can be mapped onto anarcha-feminism. Considering the core and adjacent concepts of queer theory defined in this chapter, we can now conclude that a queer anarcha-feminism can be defined by a core made up of the anarcha-feminist core concepts named, with the addition of queer theory's core concept of questioning normative discourses surrounding sex, gender and sexuality. Anarchism's adjacent concept of freedom remains in place, whereas queer theory's adjacent concept of equality, like feminism's, is decontested by anarchism's core concept of anti-capitalism. This means that, similarly, when subsumed in a queer anarcha-feminist ideology, anarchism's core concept of anti-capitalism decontests queer theory's concept of equality as social and economic equality.

Surrounding these core and adjacent concepts, we find anarchist, feminist and queer perimeter concepts, such as intersectionality, performativity, pro-choice attitudes and

prefiguration. As shown, these overlap at times, for example in the use of the affinity group by both anarchists and feminists.

If we meet someone who defines themselves as a queer anarcha-feminist, we would expect their concern with anarchist, feminist and queer perimeter concepts to be rather prominent. This is due to the nature of perimeter concepts as an ideology's highly visible engagement with day-to-day politics. It is important to recall that within Freeden's framework, perimeter concepts by no means have to be marginal but rather exist at the periphery between thought and action, therefore constituting the concrete, most visible manifestations of a given ideology, often in the form of concrete policy points (Freeden 2003, 62). As far as queer anarcha-feminism is concerned, therefore, this means that on the whole it would be defined by a highly visible concern with perimeter anarchist, feminist and queer issues. These perimeter concepts can be justified in a variety of ways, calling on the core and adjacent concepts of anarchism, feminism and/or queer theory. Let me illustrate this with a perimeter concept which rejects pornography. For example, it can be argued that women can be compelled to work in the porn industry because they cannot otherwise earn enough to support themselves and their dependants in an inherently unjust capitalist system. Such an argument would be based on the core concept of anti-capitalism, and adjacent concept of equality as economic equality. Various other justifications of anti-pornography are imaginable. It can be argued that pornography depicts women as sexual objects (adjacent concept of social equality), which is a symptom of patriarchy (core concept). Of course, other feminists argue that pornography is not necessarily bad, attacking anti-porn feminists as puritanical agents of a State which undermines creative sexual exploration (adjacent concept of freedom) (Assiter, Carol 1993). Therefore, queer anarcha-feminism can never be a monolith, as many differing and even contrasting queer anarcha-feminisms can be imagined.

Overall, the attempt to link queer theory, feminism and anarchism has been facilitated by the strong ties already in existence between the three. It has been argued that queer theory and feminism are strongly associated with each other, and that

anarchism and feminism share a common history in the form of anarcha-feminism. It has been argued that the link between queer theory and anarchism is strongly influenced by postanarchism. As shown, *Proyectil Fetal* share important theoretical overlaps with postanarchism. In the following, *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology will be analysed in order to determine whether anything in their work confirms or contradicts their adherence to the queer anarcha-feminist core, adjacent and perimeter concepts identified. This will enable conclusions to be drawn with regard to the validity of my model of queer anarcha-feminism, as well as to the validity of their claim that the group's work is queer anarcha-feminist.

4 *Proyectil Fetal* as queer anarcha-feminist ideologists (2007-2010)

We don't want to be many, we want to be unclassifiable[50]

(Proyectil Fetal 2008a)

In this chapter, it will be argued that *Proyectil Fetal* subscribe to queer anarcha-feminism's core, adjacent and perimeter concepts. The model of queer anarcha-feminism elaborated in the previous chapter (Figure 2) will be applied in order to develop a systematic reading of *Proyectil Fetal*'s specific use of the ideology. The chapter therefore falls into three parts, in turn exploring the core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism. While this structure is adhered to overall, overlaps between these sections are inevitable and indeed desirable. Perimeter concepts flesh out the core, and it is precisely an exploration of this relationship between perimeter and core concepts which allows us to gain a fuller understanding of the inner workings of queer anarcha-feminism.

The first section details *Proyectil Fetal*'s adjacent concept of freedom, which, it will be argued, is a form of communal individualism based on a revolutionary subject defined as a Nietzschean nomad. This provides the backdrop for the subsequent examination of *Proyectil Fetal*'s engagement with the core concepts of queer anarcha-feminism. It will be argued that *Proyectil Fetal* are anti-Statists who campaign for resistance to all forms of domination and subordination, including opposition to patriarchy. They are equally anti-capitalists, opposing economic and social inequalities. They use woman and gender as political categories, argue that the personal is political and oppose heteronormativity and question normative discourses surrounding sex, gender and sexuality.

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[50] No queremos ser muchxs, queremos ser inclasificables.

The third section provides an overview of perimeter concepts identified on *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog. A number of the group's perimeter concepts will be examined more closely, showing how they relate to core as well as adjacent concepts of this ideology, and providing insight into the medical, legal, social and political context in Argentina which forms the backdrop of the group's activities. For example, *Proyectil Fetal* will be found engaging with laws relating to abortion and gay marriage, and the group oppose violence against women and non-normative gender expressions, particularly transvestism. On the whole it will be shown that the group take part in activities and debates which transcend the Argentinean context. Examples are prominent perimeter concepts on their blog which include affinity group organising and direct action, as well as the contention, based on Beatriz Preciado's theoretical work, that desires and gender can be reprogrammed (Preciado 2002).

As previously outlined, the first task in my study of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog was to ascertain whether the development of queer anarcha-feminism really is central to the group's work. It quickly became clear that this is indeed the case, as the first blog post is a first exploration of this ideology, which is then reiterated and developed throughout the blog. Blog posts fall into two main categories: while all are posted by *Proyectil Fetal*, some of them are authored by the members of the group themselves, and others are texts authored by people they have an affinity with and which have simply been re-posted by *Proyectil Fetal*, sometimes with an added comment, sometimes not. While all posts allow conclusions regarding *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology, for reasons of manageability and focus, this chapter is centred on texts authored by *Proyectil Fetal*. In some posts, *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology emerges 'in the negative', through their criticism of other types of anarchism, feminism and mainstream gay politics. These traces of interaction on the blog will be hinted at here, as no coherent account of the group's genesis is conceivable without doing so. They will, however, not be given due attention until the next chapter, which deals specifically with the blog as part of a social network.

Adjacent queer anarcha-feminist concept: communal individuality and the Nietzschean nomad

This section deals with *Proyectil Fetal*'s adjacent concept of communal individuality. It will be argued that *Proyectil Fetal*'s revolutionary subject is a Nietzschean nomad theorised as ever-becoming and ever-mutating. The group argue that the postmodern condition means that forms of organisation such as the prominent anarchist trade unions of the early 20th century are not a viable option for the 21st century. Instead, they advocate the creation of affinity groups (perimeter concept) as an example of an organisation consistent with nomadic subjecthood.

As outlined in the previous chapter, one of the key elements of May's postanarchism is the dispersed, multiple, Nietzschean always-becoming subject, based on a suspicion towards the unitary and rational subject which is described as the basis of most post-Enlightenment theory (Call 2002, 13f., 22). All of these elements can be identified in *Proyectil Fetal*'s work, as they are, in their own words, 'undermining the power of Enlightenment rationality'[51] (Proyectil Fetal 2007j), and insistently define their revolutionary subject as 'constantly becoming'[52] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c, Engler 2008, Proyectil Fetal 2008a). This stands in contrast to identity-based movements such as struggles based on a unitary sexual, gender or class identity:

> To postulate today that only workers can 'free humanity' not only reminds us of the Marxist conception of the worker as the only 'subject of revolution', but also, and what is even worse, condemns us to wait all our lives, while trying to organise workers' identity and consciousness into unions, in a world where unions and identities have become atomised to the point of disappearing, where the labour force has no position of authority, nor a place where to get together; where those who are workers aspire not to work anymore, and they do not recognise themselves in their work, because work does not generate identity; where most of the work is independent, precarious, comes from elsewhere; where there are hardly any factories left like those that activists and militants of the FORA, USA or UGT[53] used to know;

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[51] Socavando el poder de la razón iluminista.
[52] En constante devenir.
[53] FORA: *Federación Obrera Regional Argentina*, regional Argentinean workers' federation, founded in 1901, controlled by anarchists throughout a lot of its history. The FORA exists to this day, but its heyday was in the early 20th century. USA: *Unión Sindical Argentina*, a revolutionary syndicalist union which split from the FORA in 1922; UGT: *Unión Gremial* [sic] *de Trabajadores*, a socialist union that split from the FORA in 1902 (Suriano 2001, 16, 25, 35f.).

and, above all, where 53 % of our country's population lives in poverty, with sporadic or informal employment, or no skill to offer. Our humble opinion is that anarchism needs to urgently consider the current structures of domination, with their own characteristics, which are very different from those found in the first decades of the 20th century. The frequently cited Malatesta, claimed – already in 1907!- that 'the working class movement is for me only a means, yet it is the best means at our disposal.' Needless of mediums, we can assert that his words would be different in 2007.[54] (Proyectil Fetal 2007m)

Based on the philosophical assumption that 'subjectivity is a process of constant becoming'[55] (Proyectil Fetal 2009g) and that subjectivities have become atomised, *Proyectil Fetal* believe it to be impossible to organise the 'working class' on the basis of a unitary identity. Chapter Five will show how their insistence on this is a response to a number of anarchists and other socialists who insist on focussing on workers' struggle. *Proyectil Fetal* argue that anarchism today requires modes of organisation that differ greatly from the ones that dominated in the first decades of the 20th century, when (anarchist-dominated) trade unions were strong. Equally, in *Proyectil Fetal*'s worldview, 'gender expressions are multiple and cannot be reduced to a single logic or category'[56] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). While *Proyectil Fetal* concede that identities can be used strategically (Proyectil Fetal 2007h), they see identity-based projects as largely doomed, and instead 'propose atomised, ... plural and mixed barricades which, through bodily, genital, sexually dissident, non-hegemonic

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[54] Postular hoy que sólo los trabajadores podrán "liberar a la humanidad", no sólo recuerda al postulado del marxismo de los trabajadores como único "sujeto de la revolución", sino que, pero [peor?] aún, nos condenará a esperar una vida tratando de organizar a la identidad y conciencia trabajadora por gremios, en un mundo donde los gremios y las identidades se han atomizado hasta desaparecer, donde los trabajos no tiene[n] lugar de regencia, ni lugar donde agruparse, donde quienes son trabajadores aspiran a no trabajar más, y no se reconocen en su labor, porque el trabajo no genera identidad, donde la mayoría del trabajo es independiente, precarizado, desde otros lugares, donde ya casi no quedan fábricas como las conocidas por activistas y militantes de la FORA o de la USA o de la UGT, y principalmente donde el 53 % de la población de nuestro país vive en la pobreza, con trabajos esporádicos, informales, o sin ningún oficio. Humildemente, creemos que el anarquismo tiene la urgente tarea de pensar las estructuras de dominación actuales, con sus modalidades propias, que son muy distintas a las de las primeras décadas del siglo XX. El tan citado Malatesta decía -¡en 1907!- que "el movimiento obrero es sólo para mí un medio, pero el mejor de los medios de los que disponemos." Sin necesidad de médiums, podemos afirmar que otras serían sus palabras en el 2007.
[55] La subjetividad es un proceso en constante devenir.
[56] expresiones de género, son múltiples, e irreductibles a única lógica y categoría.

shrewdness and practice, seek to entirely subvert, and subsequently destroy, the heteronormative, capitalist, totalitarian system'[57] (Proyectil Fetal 2008a).

At first sight, the concept of the ever-becoming subject seems to forbid any form of collective organisation, but instead appears to lead to atomised, individualised practices. This apparent individualism is epitomised in *Proyectil Fetal*'s dictum: '[w]e do not want to be many, we want to be unclassifiable'[58] (Proyectil Fetal 2008a). The focus on individual action is further reinforced by the group's belief in individual agency: 'my spontaneity shows me that individual passion lights the flame'[59] (Proyectil Fetal 2007u). However, *Proyectil Fetal* concede that 'we will only burn through others,'[60] which implies that individual agency is limited, and that the anarcha-queer cause is strengthened through association (Proyectil Fetal 2007u).

A type of association favoured by the group is the affinity group, which is suggested as a form of organisation which is consistent with fluid subjectivities. In this context, it is worth mentioning that *Proyectil Fetal*'s frequently end posts with the slogan 'Affinity, initiative, organisation.'[61] In *Proyectil Fetal*'s opinion, the affinity group is a more apt way of organising for 21st-century anarchism than through anarchist unions.[62] *Proyectil Fetal* define their idea of affinity in the context of what they call their 'collective individualism' and which could also be termed communal individualism:

> collective individualities can connect with other collective individualities in affinity groups, or small circles, which, rather than being simply an ideological agreement or programme, dogma or canon, implies a fluid exchange of all of these elements, as well as collective individuality.
>
> We organise horizontally in affinity groups, which brings us together in trust and mutual knowledge in order to act in an anarchist way. Authoritarian structures, on the other hand, are

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[57] Planteamos barricadas atomizadas, … plurales y surtidas que tiendan, mediante astucias corporales, genitales, sexuales disidentes, no hegemónicas y sus prácticas, a la subversión total y posterior destrucción del sistema heteronormativo, capitalista, totalitario.

[58] 'No queremos ser muchxs, queremos ser inclasificables'. The use of 'x' in 'muchxs' serves to de-gender the term 'many', which in Spanish is either feminine or masculine (muchos or muchas).

[59] mi espontaneidad me demuestra que la pasión individual enciende la mecha.

[60] 'sólo a través de l*s demás arderemos'. Similarly to the example in footnote 58, here, the gendered 'los/las' is de-gendered, in this case by the use of 'l*s'. As will become apparent, *Proyectil Fetal* frequently use either '*' or 'x' in order to achieve this.

[61] Afinidad, iniciativa, organización.

[62] Silvestri later used the terms 'manada de lobos' (pack of wolves) and amicitia (Latin for 'friendship') as forms of anarchist organising apt for the 21st century.

created in the (evidently fictitious) form of a modern contract which presupposes free individuals in an "abstract equality" in which a form of domination is exercised which cannot be anything less than hierarchical and authoritarian. Affinity, as I have argued, is not a contract, but rather a relationship which is built, connected and disconnected freely, and which fosters the development of the potential of those who are part of it. Affinity is another way of relating to each other, different to the one we were taught; it is a form which *Proyectil Fetal* has found so as to live today the way we would like to live tomorrow.[63] (Proyectil Fetal 2007l)

Proyectil Fetal therefore clearly subscribe to a perimeter concept of affinity-group organising, which is seen as an alternative to authoritarian structures, and is based on an adjacent concept of communal or 'collective individuality'. Other alternatives to authoritarian structures are not discussed on the blog. The Toronto-based queer anarcha-feminist group Limp Fist similarly emphasise the fluidity of their political programme. Their mission statement comprises no more than three sentences with a humorous twist at the end: '[t]he mission statement is perpetually under construction. We are fluid. Not joining this group is fucking counter-revolutionary' (Limp Fist c2006).

Proyectil Fetal pre-empt criticism of their individualism by stating that '[t]hose who think they insult us when calling us individualists are maintaining Christian prejudices. Individuals are always collective' (Proyectil Fetal 2007l). They argue that personality is what was taken from us when we were born[64] and that, 'from when we are children, we are being taught how to be normal and how to live together in society, as a way of constantly lowering our heads and subordinating ourselves to various institutions which we will inhabit in the course of our lives' (Proyectil Fetal 2007l). They argue that political parties are examples of such institutions. Because they are hierarchical

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[63] Individualidades colectivas pueden articularse con otras individualidades colectivas en grupos de afinidad, o círculos íntimos, que más que simplemente un acuerdo ideológico o programa, dogma o canon, implica un intercambio fluido de todos esos elementos más la individualidad colectiva. Nosotrxs nos organizamos horizontalmente en grupos de afinidad, lo cual nos acerca l*s unos a las otrxs en una confianza y conocimiento mutuo para accionar libertariamente. Las estructuras autoritarias, en cambio, se conforman bajo la forma (ficticia, claro está) de un contrato moderno que presupone individuos libres en una "abstracta igualdad" jerárquica y autoritaria. La afinidad, ya lo dije, no es un contrato, sino una relación que se construye, se articula y desarticula a voluntad, y que predispone al desarrollo de las potencialidades de quienes la integran. Afinidad es otra forma de vincularnos, distinta de la que nos enseñaron a ser, y una de las formas que *Proyectil Fetal* encuentra para vivir hoy como nos gustaría vivir mañana.

[64] Aquello que nos quitaron al nacer: la personalidad.

structures, they cannot be used to undermine the 'capitalist patriarchal heteronormative'[65] system, as 'the tools of the master cannot be used to dismantle the master's house.'[66] In stating this, *Proyectil Fetal* insist on the coherence of means and ends, one of the most widespread perimeter concepts of anarchism. They further oppose political parties because

> there are many historical examples which have shown how this form of organisation inevitably leads to bureaucratisation and the resulting appeasement of more subtle, singular opinions and voices, particularly those of women, let alone other gender expressions, if they are actually able to live in these spaces of militancy (or "limitancy"?) at all.'[67] (Proyectil Fetal 2007l)

Therefore, not only is *Proyectil Fetal*'s affinity group defined in contrast to identity-based struggles of all kinds, but it is also an alternative to party politics.

In proposing the affinity group as a non-hierarchical, non-identity-based way of coming together as collective individuals, *Proyectil Fetal* are nonetheless aware of potential problems of this form of organisation. Referring to an article by Jo Freeman (Freeman 2002 [1972]), *Proyectil Fetal* alert readers to what the article's author calls the 'Tyranny of Structurelessness' (Proyectil Fetal 2007l), which is staple reading for contemporary anarcha-feminists. Although *Proyectil Fetal* do not elaborate on the content of the article, readers familiar with the text will be reminded of Freeman's critique of hidden hierarchies underlying the women's movement in the 1970s precisely due to their refusal to adopt an explicit structure. *Proyectil Fetal* stress that it is important to be aware of this problematic in day-to-day anarchist activities (Proyectil Fetal 2007l). Overall, while the group suggest the affinity group as a form of anarchist organisation apt for the 21st century, to an extent they do so with a critical mind, consistent with the group's claim that their ideas, and the group itself, are in a constant state of mutation and becoming.

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[65] Sistema capitalista patriarcal heteronormativo.

[66] 'las herramientas del amo no ayudarán a desmantelar la casa del amo'. *Proyectil Fetal* state that they draw on the 'black lesbian Feminist poet Audre Lorde' for this.

[67] Hay abundantes ejemplos históricos probados que muestran cómo esa forma organizativa conlleva necesariamente a la burocratización y su consecuente aplacamiento de las opiniones y voces más sutiles, y singulares, especialmente de las mujeres, y ni que hablar de otras expresiones de género, si es que realmente pueden habitar dichos espacios de militancia (¿o limitancia?).

Proyectil Fetal's communal individualism is based on their postanarchist[68] conception of the State. Like all anarchists, the group oppose the State and its institutions. They would not engage in party politics because they see parties as hierarchical institutions which validate the State, and are therefore inappropriate means for revolutionary struggle. Instead, they advocate affinity groups and direct action as means consistent with anarchist ends. The creation of such alternative practices enables *Proyectil Fetal* to target the State in its many, subtle forms, because, as postanarchists, they see power in terms of the micro-political processes which keep the State in place.

For *Proyectil Fetal*, the State comes in various forms. An example is science, which they see in Foucauldian fashion as an 'ideological apparatus of symbolic or concrete oppression disciplining and controlling us' (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). Another state-form targeted by *Proyectil Fetal* is the proverbial policeman in the head/heart, as '[t]he transformation of the entire system in which we live, is not possible without individual transformation, without internally criticizing everything we have previously learned in it'[69] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). 'All who are oppressed must be free, of others **and of themselves**'[70] (added emphasis, Proyectil Fetal 2007c). Proyectil assert that '[o]ur barricade, our insertion in the struggle is life, every tiny instant of it, even within ourselves: every manifestation of power, be it conscious or hidden, that may subject us to identitarian models, including that of the "good anarchist"'[71] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). This is consistent with the group's insistence that we must all have the right to make mistakes and change (Proyectil Fetal 2007c).

Proyectil Fetal's concern with freeing the body of normalising regimes can arguably be found in Deleuze's and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*, which Michel Foucault describes as driven by the question: 'How do we rid our speech and our acts, our hearts and our pleasures, of fascism?' (Foucault in Deleuze, Guattari 2004 [1972], xv). This concern

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[68] While *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideas are clearly postanarchist, they do not use this term.
[69] La transformación de todo el sistema en el que vivimos no es sin transformación individual, sin crítica interna a todo lo previamente aprendido.
[70] Tod*s l*s oprimid*s deben ser libres, de otr*s y de sí mism*s.
[71] Nuestra barricada, nuestra inserción de lucha es la vida, cada pequeño instante, inclusive dentro de nosotr*s: toda manifestación del poder, conciente o velada, que nos sujete a los modelos identitarios, incluso al del "buen anarquista".

also finds expression in Preciado's concept of 'reprogrammation of desire'[72], eagerly taken up by *Proyectil Fetal*, who cite Preciado as a major influence on their work (Engler 2008): [73]

> based on these struggles which we describe, new identities, pleasures, bodies and practices of freedom will emerge, because sexuality can be seen as a possibility for artistic creation, resistant to the heterosexual body and heteronormativity, which answers to the division of bodily work where each organ is univocally defined through its reproductive function of the system.[74] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008)

This complex system of power relations contains a myriad of possibilities for struggle (ibid.) and domination needs to be targeted at each instant:

> The barricades of the struggle are multiple, plural, and not restricted to a single location. Every neuralgic point where domination manifests itself and where it is being fought against, needs a body which calls out "ANARKY,"[75] not as it should be, namely as faith, but rather as an irreverent howl[76] and action which is constantly becoming and mutating, which questions all hierarchy, all imposed order, all authority. All bodies rubbing up against each other like cats. Against sexual binaries and the sex/gender pair, the logic of which produces inequalities and division of labour and tasks...[77] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c)

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[72] 'Reprogramación del deseo'.

[73] The Basque philosopher Beatriz Preciado is a highly influential queer theorist in the Spanish-speaking world. The members of *Proyectil Fetal* were familiar with both Butler's and Preciado's work while the group existed, as Contrera published a blog for a collective reading of *Testo Yonqui*, one of Preciado's monographs (Contrera 2008); Silvestri has personally interviewed Preciado and Butler (Silvestri 2009b).

[74] A partir de estas luchas que describimos surgirán identidades, placeres, cuerpos, nuevos, prácticas de libertad, porque la sexualidad puede ser una posibilidad de creación artística, resistente al cuerpo heterosexual y la heteronormatividad, que responde a la división del trabajo de la carne donde cada órgano es definido, unívocamente, por su función reproductora del sistema.

[75] In this example, the use of the K in 'Anarkía' modifies the standardised spelling of the word, which is another indication of *Proyectil Fetal*'s attempt at appropriating and modifying anarchism. The use of K is not only a common way of abbreviating the 'qu' sound in Spanish-language text and instant messaging, but is also a signifier of punk counter-culture, as punks use the K in order to aesthetically distinguish themselves from mainstream culture.

[76] Later in her work, Silvestri calls herself part of a pack of wolves (la manada de lobos), which develops this imagery. The image of cats scrubbing against each other which follows in this post develops the animal imagery.

[77] Las barricadas de lucha son múltiples, plurales, atópicas, y cada punto neurálgico donde se manifiesta la dominación y donde se luche en su contra necesita un cuerpo que grite "ANARKÍA", no como debe ser, como fe, sino como irrespetuoso alarido y acción en constante devenir y mutación, que cuestione toda jerarquía, todo orden impuesto, toda autoridad. Todos los cuerpos refregados unos contra todos, cual gatos. Ni binarismo sexual, ni binomio sexo/género, de cuyas lógicas se desprenden las inequidades, las desigualdades, la división del trabajo y sus tareas. Ni ciencia ni ningún otro aparato

Foucault summarizes *Anti-Oedipus* as a call to 'free political action from all unitary and totalizing paranoia', to 'develop action, thought, and desires by proliferation, juxtaposition, and disjunction, and not by subdivision and pyramidal hierarchization', to 'prefer what is positive and multiple, difference over uniformity, flows over unities, mobile arrangements over systems. Believe that what is productive is not sedentary but nomadic' (Foucault in Deleuze, Guattari 2004 [1972], xv). It can be argued that *Proyectil Fetal*'s 'queer-despicable feminist barricade full of passion, folly and fluids, arises with this objective'[78] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c), as the group argue that

> there is an immediate need, a physical, carnal urgency that anarchism, reviewing its 19th century foundations, rejuvenate itself as a queer counter-hegemonic feminism, which dares explode the roots of domination contained in our hearts which are formatted according to this logic, with a harsh rejection of all dogmatism, all dogmatism.[79] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c)

Laurence Davis, an analyst of Ursula Le Guin's utopian science fiction, describes Le Guin's work in strikingly similar terms: 'in stark contrast to the dogmatic, destructive, mechanically impersonal, yang-heavy revolutions of old, [Le Guin] provides us with an imaginative vision of a patient, constructive, organic and open-ended form of revolutionary practice ultimately rooted in a transformation of the individual spirit' (Davis 2011). *Proyectil Fetal* again suggest the affinity group as a way of achieving this goal of revolutionising our hearts: '[w]e are calling all who are different, anomalous, the counter-hegemonic genitals which have suffered the appropriation of their bodies, the despicable ones, to unite in anarchy, affinity, and organisation'[80] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). In this call for gender and sexual outcasts to unite in anarchist affinity groups, *Proyectil Fetal*'s emphasis on mutation and *becoming* becomes apparent, and it is later replicated in various posts. It is in line with queer theory's opposition to fixing and policing sexual identities. Similarly, in his writings heavily inspired by queer theory

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ideológico de represión simbólico o concreto que nos discipline y controle. Y ante todo, el derecho a cambiar a modificarnos a equivocarnos.

[78] esta barricada queer-abyecta feminista llena de pasión locura y fluidos se levanta con ese objetivo.

[79] [Por eso] la necesidad inmediata, la urgencia física, carnal, de que el anarquismo, revisando sus cimientos decimonónicos, se rejuvenezca en un feminismo puto contra hegemónico, que se atreva a hacer estallar las bases mismas de la dominación contenida en nuestros corazones, formateados bajo esa lógica, con un crudo rechazo a todo dogmatismo, a todo dogmatismo.

[80] Llamamos a l*s divers*s, anómal*s, los genitales contra hegemónicos que han sufrido en la carne la apropiación de sus cuerpos, l*s abyect*s, a unirse en anarquía, afinidad, y organización.

and anarchism, Heckert speaks of an 'always becoming-revolution [sic]' (Heckert, Cleminson 2011, 15), and '[c]ommunity as a vibrant network of relationships, of relating to each other as ... fellow beings who are always becoming' (Heckert 2010a, 200f.).

Both Heckert's and *Proyectil Fetal*'s thought is based on Deleuze's conception of nomadism. *Proyectil Fetal* speak of 'nomadic sexualities'[81] (Proyectil Fetal 2007f), and Heckert defines (sexual) nomadism as 'creativity which refuses to be constrained; it continually escapes, overflows, undermines, transgresses and subverts. It is the queer fecundity of life itself that changes, connects, evolves in ways that cannot be predicted' (Heckert 2011, 202). The group itself can be interpreted as such a nomadic entity. In an article in *Página/12*, Verónica Engler describes *Proyectil Fetal* as 'the product of a constant becoming, like a contingency which mutates in accordance with the configuration the group takes on with every instant'[82] (Engler 2008). This defines *Proyectil Fetal* as a non-essential, ever-changing concept, and implies that it is supposed to be something larger than the affinity between Contrera and Silvestri, who remain anonymous in Engler's article and on *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog. *Proyectil Fetal* is said to be all about the group, not about individuals: 'there are no individualities, the contingent group predominates at all times. "Our individual transcendence manifests itself elsewhere"'[83] (Engler 2008). The group is cited as saying that '*Proyectil Fetal* belongs to no-one, and we hope that it will continue to exist without us, because it is a weapon for the questioning of everything'[84] (Engler 2008). Its nomadism therefore defines *Proyectil Fetal* not in terms of a fixed group identity, but instead as a radical toolkit free for everyone to use and modify. This is consistent with *Proyectil Fetal*'s goal to disrupt fixed identities, rather than to create a coherent, identity-based movement, which they see as an inherently flawed project. As the group put it, 'we

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[81] Sexualidades nómades.

[82] El producto de un devenir constante, como una contingencia que muta de acuerdo con la configuración particular que asume el grupo en cada momento.

[83] No hay individualidades, es el grupo contingente lo que prima en cada instante. "Nuestra transcendencia personal está puesta en otro lado".

[84] *Proyectil Fetal* no es de nadie, y esperemos que siga siendo sin nosotras, porque es un arma de cuestionamiento de todo.

don't want to be many; we want to be unclassifiable'[85] (Proyectil Fetal 2008a).
Nonetheless, in hindsight, Contrera expresses regret that the hopes expressed in the
interview with Engler did not materialise,[86] as the group did not continue to exist
without Contrera and Silvestri. She also expresses 'regret that only two
names/subjectivities stayed connected to the ups and downs of this group from
beginning to end, even as other individualities passed through and left their mark.'[87]

The five core queer anarcha-feminist concepts

Having identified *Proyectil Fetal*'s adjacent concept of freedom as communal
individuality based on a nomadic revolutionary subject, this section deals with the
core concepts of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism. In order to develop this
analysis, a small number of key blog posts have been considered in depth. The
ideology is spelled out most vigorously at the outset of the blog when the group
presents itself (Proyectil Fetal 2007f, Proyectil Fetal 2007h, Proyectil Fetal 2007l,
Proyectil Fetal 2007g), and is reiterated in later posts (Proyectil Fetal 2008h),
particularly in an article the group wrote for the periodical of the specifist[88] Anarchist
Federation of Argentina, the *Federación Libertaria Argentina* (Proyectil Fetal summer
2007/2008). Of particular interest are also two interviews with *Proyectil Fetal*, one
conducted for a supplement to one of Argentina's main newspapers, *Página/12*
(Engler 2008), and another conducted by the editor of *Lastamosdando zine* (Proyectil
Fetal 2009a). Finally, *Proyectil Fetal* have published 15 theses defining their queer
anarcha-feminism (Proyectil Fetal 2008a). Based on these sources, it will be argued
that *Proyectil Fetal* subscribe to all core concepts of queer anarcha-feminism
identified in the previous chapter. These were: anti-Statism as resistance to all forms
of domination and subordination, including opposition to patriarchy, which has been
interpreted as a form of domination and subordination; anti-capitalism as opposition
to economic and social inequalities; woman and gender as political categories; a

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[85] No queremos ser muchxs, queremos ser inclasificables.
[86] Personal communication, 5 September 2011.
[87]' Lamento el hecho de que sólo dos nombres/subjetividades permanecen desde el origen y hasta el
final vinculados a las vicisitudes de la colectiva , incluso cuando otras individualidades pasaron y dejaron
su huella.' Personal communication, 5 September 2011.
[88] 'Specifist' refers to the federation's identity as a 'mother organisation' which welcomes all currents of
anarchism (Federación Libertaria Argentina c2011).

rejection of liberalism's distinction between the public and the private sphere, and instead a broad understanding of politics to include all social relationships, epitomised in the slogan 'the personal is political'; and, finally, an opposition to heteronormativity and a questioning of all normative discourses surrounding sex, gender and sexuality.

Proyectil Fetal's ideology is laid out in the first ever post made by the group. The post is a report on the 22nd Argentinean *Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres* (National Women's Conference) held on 13-15 October 2007 in Córdoba, Argentina. The group inaugurate their blog by presenting themselves: 'we are *Proyectil Fetal*, a non-essentialist, anarcho-feminist d-gender collective[89] in the making which came to the conference in order to make the experiment of carrying our ideas onto a territory with which we had no affinity whatsoever'[90] (Proyectil Fetal 2007f). With this statement, the reader is told clearly that *Proyectil Fetal* are anarchists as well as feminists of a particular kind, namely non-essentialists. With the use of 'd-genero', the group specify that they are anti-essentialist with respect to gender, which they seek to undo. There is no accent on the é as standardised spelling of the word 'gender' in Spanish would require, which indicates that there may be more to this word, as it could also be read as 'degenero', which means 'I degenerate'. Even though this is counter-syntactical here, in light of later posts, this gives a first glimpse that *Proyectil Fetal* have no problem calling themselves degenerates, and in fact reclaim the term much like the term 'queer' has been reclaimed by parts of the English-speaking gay and lesbian movement. As will become apparent, *Proyectil Fetal* continue this theme in later posts, calling for an anarchism which is abject, poofter, and *sudaka*,[91] a pejorative term used to describe Latin Americans. In an interview, they summarise their work as a group in similar terms: '*Proyectil Fetal* is a young, *degenerate* anarchist affinity group which is constantly being reformulated, which mainly dedicates itself to generating texts which

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[89] Rather than using the "correct" Spanish word for collective, *colectivo*, *Proyectil Fetal* have changed the gender of the term to the feminine form and replaced it by *colectiva*.

[90] [s]omos *Proyectil Fetal*, una colectiva en conformación anarco-feminista d-genero [sic] no esencialista, que se acercó al encuentro, para hacer una experiencia de llevar nuestras ideas en un terreno no del todo afín.

[91] Sudaca is the standardised way of spelling this word; like many (anarchist) punks, *Proyectil Fetal* frequently replace 'c' or 'qu' with a 'k'. All three produce the same sound, but only the 'k' is a potential marker of punk identity. NB: shortening 'qu' by replacing it with a 'k' is also widely used by the text/instant messaging generation, and it does not carry punk connotations in this context.

cross anarchist with feminist and ultimately *abject* theories and practice'[92] (added emphasis, Proyectil Fetal 2009a).

Returning to *Proyectil Fetal*'s first post, it appears paradoxical that the group should state that they had no affinity with a feminist conference, considering that they define themselves as feminists in the same breath. However, the National Argentinean Women's Conference, which has been running for 25 years, has a reputation of attracting women representing the Catholic Church's anti-abortion dogma who hijack pro-choice workshops, which regularly leads to violent clashes, including the expulsion of anti-abortionists from these workshops (Tessa 2010). The struggle to legalise abortion is extremely prominent at these conferences, as abortion is still illegal in Argentina due to a strong Catholic lobby. This helps explain why *Proyectil Fetal* anticipated disagreements with other participants at the conference. Anti-abortionists also put up posters of bloody foetuses and other images seeking to deter women from aborting, around the main roads leading to the conference venue (ibid.). *Proyectil Fetal*'s name -Fetal Projectile- acquires particular significance in this context. In addition, their posts show that they are decidedly pro-choice, a perimeter concept of their queer anarcha-feminism, and that at least one of the members of the group has had an abortion before (Pèsol negre June 2008).

Proyectil Fetal describe the conference as dominated by three main groups, including the Catholic women's anti-abortion lobby, women from the *Partido Comunista Revolucionario de la Argentina* (Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina), with their 'bureaucratic-Stalinist methods,'[93] and, third, what *Proyectil Fetal* call '"women's wings"[94] of the Trotskyist left-wing parties with their authoritarian practices' (Proyectil Fetal 2007f). In a later article, *Proyectil Fetal* mock these calling them 'authoritarian party organisations which, like sanitary towels and precisely in order to prevent any leakage and in order to allure followers, promote their "female wings," always

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[92] *Proyectil Fetal* es un joven grupo de afinidad anarquista degenerado en constante reformulación, que mayormente, pero no exclusivamente, se dedica a (de) generar textos que crucen las teorías y prácticas anarquistas con las feministas y, últimamente, o abyectas.
[93] con sus métodos burocrático-estalinista [sic].
[94] alas femeninas.

assigning them considerably less importance than "THE GREAT STRUGGLE"'[95] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). This conflict between *Proyectil Fetal* and the authoritarian Left will be considered in more depth below. From the outset, *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology therefore emerges through friction with Catholic anti-abortionists, as well as particular forms of the Left: Trotskyism and the Stalinism of the Revolutionary Communist Party, as well as the feminisms attached to these. In an interview, the group indicate that *Proyectil Fetal* was, among other things, formed due to this friction:

> [a]s good old [Jorge Luis] Borges would say, we weren't united by love, but by horror. The horror of the left-wing parties, mild-mannered feminism, the police chasing after us in Córdoba (thanks to the capitalist feminists who put them on to us[96]) – Proyectil was born running through the streets of Córdoba ... We were also united by the need to find that which we then referred to as "girls who can talk about anarchism" (without parroting or being prompted, and based on well-founded arguments), not as academic discourse does, which exhumes dead bodies and words, but as anarchist girls here, now, out in the street.[97] (Proyectil Fetal 2009a)

Despite the presence of hostile groups, *Proyectil Fetal* report that they were surprised to find that they did feel an affinity with a number of people in a particular workshop they attended during the conference, which dealt with the subject of Women and Identities. They state that they became a part of this workshop by accident, arrived completely unprepared, and were surprised to find that their 'anarcha-feminist perspective, without party affiliations and electoral agendas, naturally shaped the workshop and their reception exceeded [*Proyectil Fetal*'s] expectations, to the point that, almost instantaneously, contact was made among a variety of akin women who

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[95] organizaciones partidistas autoritarias que, cual toallitas para la menstruación, justamente para evitar desbordes y captar adeptas, fomentan sus "alas femeninas", pero siempre colocándolas un par de escalones por debajo de "La GRAN LUCHA".

[96] As a *Youtube* video and discussion indicates, Leonor Silvestri was reported to the police for physically aggressing Silvia Palumbo, a member of the lesbian drummer group *Lesbianbanda*, and threatening her with death, at the XXII Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres in Cordoba on 14 October 2007 (Videodenunciamos 2007). It is likely that this is the incident referred to here.

[97] Como diría el viejo Borges, no nos unió el amor, sino el espanto. El espanto de los partidos políticos de izquierda, el feminismo pacato, la policía que nos corrió en Córdoba (gracias al feminismo capitalista que nos la tiró encima) –Proyectil nació corriendo por las calles de Córdoba...También nos unió la necesidad de encontrar lo que en su momento definíamos como "chicas que puedan hablar de anarquismo" (sin repetir y sin soplar y con fundamentos), no como lo hace el discurso de la academia que se pone a exhumar cuerpo y letra muerta, sino chicas anarquistas, acá, ahora, en la calle.

found they had experiences, backgrounds and ideas in common'[98] (Proyectil Fetal 2007f). In a later interview, the group indicate that this spontaneous mode of practice is typical for them: '[w]e never set ourselves any goals, because we don't believe in having any kind of (maximalist or minimalist) programme, and we always organise ourselves around initiatives we share affinity with. We even work with people who do not call themselves anarchists, but who have practices which tend toward it'[99] (Proyectil Fetal 2009a). *Proyectil Fetal* draw the following conclusions, reached 'together [with other participants] but not unanimously'[100] (original emphasis, Proyectil Fetal 2007f) at the conference workshop they attended:

> To completely change the system we live in.
> Self-reflection, introspection and internal critique of everything we have previously learned in it. Freedom of speech, identity and gender, sex and expression of gender. Collective Education and Upbringing of any baby born of a womb and redistribution of private property in order to arrive at this end. Abolition of heteronormativity and its direct functional consequences on the patriarchal system. Nomadic sexualities. Freedom of the children[101] towards their progenitors, who will no longer be the owners of their children. With the concept of "woman" being one of the pillars of capitalism and of patriarchy, it needs to be invested with new meaning. Anarchist education with a non-essentialist feminist focus as an art of living. ... [D]estruction of patriarchal structures, among them and particularly the state: source of all oppression and inequality, no matter its ideology. Empowerment of women: to stop victimizing ourselves in order to realise that we are active accomplices to the system which subjects us all, and in this way, be able to reverse our oppression. Change in our hands and minds as a form of direct action in the present moment. To be able to realise the fight of others[102] who are different from us. Collectivization of knowledge. Collective teaching of any kind of knowledge. Non-obligatory maternity.

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[98] Perspectiva anarco-feminista, extra partidaria, y sin ningún programa político electoral, pregnaron naturalmente y el recibimiento supero nuestras expectativas, al punto de, casi instantáneamente, contactar diferentes mujeres afines con diferentes experiencias, procedencias, e ideas.

[99] Nunca nos propusimos nada, ya que no creemos en tener programa de mínima ni de máxima, y siempre nos organizamos en torno a iniciativas afines, incluso con gente que no se llama a sí misma ni se reivindica anarquista, pero que tiene prácticas que tienden a eso.

[100] Conjuntamente, pero no por unanimidad.

[101] Here, children is written as 'lxs hijxs', rather than the 'grammatically correct' 'los hijos' (masculine/plural) or 'las hijas' (feminine/plural), in order to de-gender the term. Similar examples can be found in footnotes 58, 60 and 70, among many others.

[102] Again, a term which would be gendered in Spanish is de-gendered, as 'other' is expressed as 'otrxs', rather than 'otros' or 'otras', while the following 'us' is in fact gendered as female: 'nosotras'.

> Democratization of the concept of "woman" through the concept of "women," of "identities"
> instead of "identity". Opening up this kind of gathering to any radical and alternative
> expression of gender, which is not heteronormative[103]. (Proyectil Fetal 2007f)

In *Proyectil Fetal*'s first blog post, therefore, the group's ideology emerges clearly as a combination of anarchist, feminist and queer thinking, featuring opposition to the State, capitalism, patriarchy and heteronormativity. *Proyectil Fetal* call for the destruction of patriarchal structures, and in particular of the 'State, the source of all oppression and inequality, no matter its ideology'[104] (ibid.). The anarchist core concept of anti-capitalism is affirmed through the call to redistribute private property. In this excerpt, *Proyectil Fetal* further encourage direct action, a strategy frequently used by anarchists, and a perimeter concept of the anarchist ideology. It is a concept which is consistent with the core anarchist opposition to the State: rather than asking the State to improve the situation of women through its various channels, improvement of women's situation is sought through more direct means. The anarchist opposition to party politics is due to the same reason, and is shared by *Proyectil Fetal*, as shown below.

As previously outlined, one of the core feminist concepts in queer anarcha-feminism is the contention that 'woman' and gender are political categories. *Proyectil Fetal* clearly subscribe to this core concept in the excerpt above, arguing that, 'since the concept of "woman" constitutes one of the pillars of capitalism and patriarchy, the concept needs

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[103] Cambiar todo el sistema en el que vivimos por completo.
Autoreflexión, introspección y crítica interna de todo lo previamente aprendido en él. Libertad de palabra, identidad de género, sexo y expresión de género. Educación y Crianza colectiva de cualquier cría nacida de un vientre y redistribución de la propiedad privada para lograr tales fines. Abolición de la heteronorma y sus consecuencias directas funcionales al sistema patriarcal. Sexualidades nómades. Libertad de lxs hijxs frente a sus progenitores, que ya no serán dueñxs de sus crías. Siendo el concepto "mujer" uno de los pilares del capitalismo y del patriarcado, resemantización de tal concepto. Educación libertaria con enfoque feminista no esencialista como arte de vivir. … [D]estrucción de las estructuras del patriarcado, entre ellas, y en especial, el estado, fuente de toda opresión y desigualdad, sin importar su signo ideológico. Empoderamiento de las mujeres: Salirse del lugar de víctimas para reconocernos cómplices activas del sistema que nos somete a todxs y de ese modo poder cambiar el signo de nuestra opresión. El cambio en nuestras manos y mentes como acción directa realizable hoy. Poder hacer carne la lucha de otrxs diferentes a nosotras. Colectivización de los saberes. Instrucción colectiva de todo tipo de saber. Maternidad no obligatoria.
Democratización del concepto "mujer" por el de "mujeres", "identidad" por "identidades".
Apertura de este tipo de encuentro a toda expresión de género radical y alternativa, no heternomativa.
[104] el estado, fuente de toda opresión y desigualdad, sin importar su signo ideológico.

to be invested with new meaning'[105] (ibid.). The group share queer theory's core anti-essentialism, believing that gender is malleable and not determined by biology. This leads the group to campaign here as well as in later posts for the inclusion of anyone who is woman-identified in the women's movement, no matter what their genitals or chromosomes may be. *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anti-essentialism is further reinforced through the insistence that identities are fluid, with a particular focus on the concept of nomadic sexualities, which is the idea that sexualities are not fixed, but fluid. The (sexual) nomad is *Proyectil Fetal*'s revolutionary subject, which in turn provides the basis for the group's adjacent concept of freedom, as shown above.

Many of the ideas expressed in this first blog post have a long history. Examples include the anarchist perimeter concepts of collectivising knowledge, teaching and upbringing. Attitudes towards children, education and the family (including obligatory maternity) were similarly challenged by anarchists such as Emma Goldman and E. Armand in the late 19th century, as well as in the anti-authoritarian and feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Goldman herself practised a form of free love, which meant that she did not get married, and lived in open relationships. She also decided not to have children, in order to be able to fully dedicate herself to the anarchist cause (Goldman 1988 [1931], 153). The abolition of the family, collective upbringing of children as well as polyamory,[106] all perimeter concepts of anarchism, have been promoted and practiced by anarchists in a variety of utopian communities, including Colonia La Cecilia in late-19th century Brazil, a case which received considerable attention from Argentinean anarchists at the time (Finet 2006, 132). *Proyectil Fetal* are aware of this historical experiment (Proyectil Fetal 2010). The history of Argentinean anarcha-feminism will be examined in more depth in Chapter Five.

Unprecedented elements in *Proyectil Fetal*'s feminist anarchism are chiefly due to the integration of queer theory into their ideology, which, as shown, leads them to

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[105] Siendo el concepto "mujer" uno de los pilares del capitalismo y del patriarcado, resemantización de tal concepto.
[106] Polyamory is the practice of sustaining multiple caring relationships at the same time, with all partners being aware of this arrangement.

question the unitary conception of 'woman' which forms the basis of some feminisms. Challenging heteronormativity as well as essentialism, the group instead seek to foster society's acceptance of any expression of gender and sexuality 'which is not heteronormative' (Proyectil Fetal 2007f). While *Proyectil Fetal* impose no other limits on the freedom of expressions of gender and sexuality, anarchism's resistance to all forms of domination means that these expressions must not be coercive, and sexual relations must be based on mutual consent. Queer convictions lead *Proyectil Fetal* to actively encourage the participation of 'non-hegemonic gender expressions,'[107] such as 'transvestites, trans identities, intersex people, and any dissident body which practices the subversion of heteronormativity'[108] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008) and to combat homophobia (Proyectil Fetal 2008g). On her other blogs, Silvestri explores sodomy (Silvestri et al. 2009) as well as practices relating to bondage, domination, sadism and masochism (Silvestri 2009a) as alternative forms of queer anarcha-feminist practice, which will be explored in context at the end of this chapter.

Overall, this first blog post represents a first consolidation of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism, as it expresses most of the core concepts as well as a number of perimeter concepts of this ideology. On 3 December 2007, the group publish a post which further cements their ideology under the title 'Dare-air-air an Abject Queer Anarcha-Feminism'[109] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). The title is a reference to the successful song "Atrévete te te" by the Puerto Rican reggaeton group *Calle 13*. In this post, *Proyectil Fetal* deepen their discussion of their feminist convictions, in particular their understanding of patriarchy, as well as providing further insight into their queer theory and poststructuralism, with a strong focus on deconstructing the binary conceptions of gender (man/woman) and sexuality (hetero/homo). They begin the post by stating:

> Considering some of the responses we have received for our *Proyectil Fetal* initiative, it is necessary to express more emphatically what our libertarian, Latin American, *sudaka*, insolent, queer and inconvenient anarchist feminism is, in order for us to think of new anarchist

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[107] expresiones de género no hegemónicas.
[108] las travestis, las identidades trans, las personas intersex, y todo aquel cuerpo disidente que practique la subversión de la heternormatividad asignada.
[109] Atrévete te te te a un Anarco Feminismo Queer Abyecto.

practices, modes and ideas together, which aren't a century behind with respect to what is happening today in the streets of those who are excluded and counter-hegemonically anomalous.[110] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c)

Proyectil Fetal argue that they are choosing to call themselves feminists, 'not without internal and external discussion and debate, due to the tough answers and questions this term still triggers among those supposed allies in the struggle'[111] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). It is unclear which supposed allies they are referring to, although previous and later posts indicate that they have a number of frenemies on the Left (Trotskyists, Stalinists, anarchist platformists) who consider the 'woman question' to be of minor importance and a distraction from more important issues. Their relationship to these groups will be further discussed in the next chapter. *Proyectil Fetal* indicate that they seek to 'fight through a discursive initiative, aka a projectile, the myth of "the" univocal, essential feminism'[112] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). Here, *Proyectil Fetal* equate a 'projectile' with a 'discursive initiative', indicating that their use of the term projectile is figurative for a war on reigning discursive regimes. An example of such a Foucauldian discursive regime is the discourse of medicine, which 'produces particular practices, knowledges and power relations' (Spargo 1999, 73). *Proyectil Fetal* attack the reigning discourse of medicine and biology, in particular with respect to sex and gender, as they are seen as 'institutions which, above many others, control, normalise and eliminate "what is not appropriate" in its ambiguous sense: what is not "adequate, correct, proper"'[113] (Proyectil Fetal 2007j, Proyectil Fetal 2008i). The group argue that 'it is no longer a question of demanding a quota within the system of representation as a way of changing it, but of changing the entire framework of

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[110] Teniendo en cuenta algunas de las respuestas recibidas por nuestra iniciativa *Proyectil Fetal*, es menester expresar más enfáticamente qué es nuestro feminismo anarquista, libertario, latinoamericano, sudaka, conchudo, queer e inconveniente para que junt*s pensemos en prácticas, modos e ideas, libertarias, cuyo reloj no atrase por lo menos un siglo con respecto a lo que está pasando hoy en las calles de l*s excluid*s y l*s anómal*s contra-hegemónicos.

[111] No sin discusión y debate interno y externo, llamarse feministas, por las duras respuestas y los interpelantes cuestionamientos que este término aun suscita entre l*s supuest*s aliad*s de lucha.

[112] Combatir con una iniciativa de discurso, aka un proyectil, el mito de "el feminismo", único, esencial…

[113] la medicina y la biología, instituciones que, por encima de muchas otras, controla [sic], normativizan y eliminan "lo que no es apropiado" en su sentido anfibológico: lo que no es "adecuado, correcto, propio".

visibility'[114] (Proyectil Fetal 2007h). In other words, *Proyectil Fetal* are not interested in supporting women's quotas in businesses and traditional representational politics, but instead seek to help dismantle the binary construction of gender and sexuality, in order to create space for non-normative gender and sexual expressions.

With reference to the institutions of patriarchy, capitalism and the State, the group argue that 'the fact that we cannot yet eradicate all of these historical institutions does not mean that we cannot at least try to place our counter-hegemonic bodies and practices against it'[115] (Proyectil Fetal 2008n). Importantly, the group argue that it is a fallacy that by destroying one of these institutions all hierarchies would disappear, since 'power circulates, it isn't simply embodied in one place where it can be dethroned'[116] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). *Proyectil Fetal* consider that 'without a profound self-emancipation from all the economic interests that are naturalised in our bodies, products of a society of control, even if the State were to be abolished, oppression and practices of domination against certain types of rebellious women and divergent gender expressions would persist,'[117] and they argue that turn-of-the century anarchist Emma Goldman already drew attention to this (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). In an article published in *El Libertario*, the press organ of the *Federación Libertaria Argentina*, *Proyectil Fetal* further affirm that patriarchy may continue to exist even when States disappear (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008).

Proyectil Fetal provide the following definition of patriarchy: 'patriarchy, a political system which subjugates women and any non-hegemonic gender expression, is not a new phenomenon produced by capitalism, albeit showing solidarity with it, and which even continues to exist without the State'[118] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). The

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[114] ya no se trata de exigir el cupo en la cuota de representación dentro del sistema como modo de cambiarlo, sino de cambiar el marco todo de la visibilidad.

[115] el hecho de que no podamos todavía dar por tierra con todas aquellas instituciones históricas, no significa que no podamos al menos intentar oponerle nuestros cuerpos, nuestras prácticas contra-hegemónicas.

[116] el poder circula, no está tan simplemente encarnado en un único lugar al que se puede destronar.

[117] sin una profunda auto-emancipación de todos los presupuestos naturalizados en nuestros cuerpos, productos de la sociedad de control, aún si el estado fuera abolido, la opresión y las prácticas de dominación contra cierto tipo de mujeres rebeldes y las expresiones de género divergentes persistirían.

[118] el patriarcado, orden político que sojuzga a las mujeres y todas las expresiones de género no hegemónicas , no es un fenómeno nuevo producido por el capitalismo, aunque sea solidario con éste, y que incluso persiste sin estado.

group speak of a 'hegemony which is clearly patriarchal and which pressurizes, hinders and eliminates diversity, heterogeneity, anything divergent to any expression of gender, animals, plants, the environment, albeit to varying degrees of priority[119] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c).[120] 'Patriarchy does not function through creed; like the State, in which we can decide not to believe, yet it will oppress us. Patriarchy does not need us to believe in it, it needs our bodies and minds'[121] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). In *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism therefore, feminist opposition to patriarchy is paired with anarchist opposition to the State, and the poststructuralist or "queer" conviction that bodies are filled with meaning through discourse. *Proyectil Fetal* argue that 'patriarchy is not men, just as men are not only those equipped with a penis. In the same way, there are women who are as patriarchal as or even more patriarchal than the most patriarchal man'[122] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). In *Proyectil Fetal*'s notion of patriarchy, patriarchy is expressed in concrete attitudes such as machismo and sexism, maintained through women as much as through men. This is based on the queer conviction that 'just as what is female is not the property, nor the exclusivity of what society, through identity cards, medicine and other institutions, calls "woman", such is the case with that which is male'[123] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). Therefore, 'patriarchy, whose tangible attitude is called sexism/machismo, is not the property, nor the exclusivity of what the State calls "guy"'[124] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). Importantly, patriarchy shows solidarity with capitalism, but is independent of it: 'this is why patriarchy existed before capitalism'[125] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). In addition,

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[119] Hegemonía claramente patriarcal, que presiona, obnubila ya elimina la diversidad, la heterogeneidad, lo divergente de todas las expresiones de género, animales, plantas, medioambiente, aunque en diferentes grados de prioridad.

[120] This eco-feminist bent is not further developed on the blog, but Silvestri writes about her veganism on her personal blog (Silvestri 2009b), and some of the punk bands referred to by *Proyectil Fetal* advocate veganism/vegetarianism.

[121] El patriarcado no funciona por creencias; como el estado, podemos no creer en él, sin embargo nos oprime lo mismo. El patriarcado no necesita nuestra creencia, necesita nuestros cuerpos y nuestros cerebros'.

[122] El patriarcado no es los varones, como tampoco varones sólo son aquellos dotados de pene. Asimismo existen mujeres tanto o más patriarcales que el más patriarcal.

[123] Así como lo femenino no es ni propio, ni exclusivo, ni privativo de lo que la sociedad a través del DNI, la medicina y otras instituciones denomina "mujer", lo mismo ocurre con lo masculino.

[124] el patriarcado, cuya actitud tangible se denomina sexismo/machismo, no es ni propio, ni exclusivo, ni privativo de aquello denominado por el estado "varón".

[125] Patriarcado, solidario con el capitalismo, pero independiente de él (por eso ha habido patriarcado antes del capitalismo).

Proyectil Fetal imply that patriarchy pre-dates the State: 'in antiquity when the State did not even exist, for example in the Cretian-Mycenic culture, 25 centuries before christ [sic], ... there was already oppression and exclusion of non-hegemonic gender expressions'[126] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). *Proyectil Fetal* go one step further by drawing attention to gender oppression in anarchist history: 'in the few but significant historical anti-statist experiences (French Commune, Spanish Civil War) there was also oppression of divergent gender expressions'[127] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). The importance of integrating queer theory's and feminist insights regarding sex into anarchism is further underlined in a quote attributed to the Spanish punk-rock band *La Polla Records* (*Cock Records*) which precedes the article: '[f]ull of social theory, you were missing something. I took/fucked it, coming from behind, it was the sex of your revolution'[128] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c)[129]. *Proyectil Fetal* emphasise that sources such as punk lyrics have equal value to them as the thought and practice of Goldman, Bakunin and Armand: 'at the same height as all of this theoretical thought and/or "militancy" are music, bands, their lyrics, songs, poetry, particular films which have kept us from dying along the way and which have made us what we are'[130] (Proyectil Fetal 2009a).

Feminism and queer theory are linked, as 'feminisms, like gender expressions, are multiple, and cannot be reduced to one single logic and category'[131] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). *Proyectil Fetal* then distinguish themselves from the most prominent types of feminism that exist in Buenos Aires: '*Proyectil Fetal* wish not to present themselves in the same way as the local feminists who usually receive the most media attention and visibility (because they have been promoted by [the State, Church, and patriarchy]

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[126] En la antigüedad cuando no había siquiera aun estado, por ejemplo la cultura creto-micénica, 25 siglos antes de cristo [sic], … también había opresión y exclusión de las expresiones de género no hegemónicas.

[127] En las pocas pero nutridas experiencias históricas anti-estado (comuna de Paris, guerra civil española) también hubo opresión de expresiones de género divergentes.

[128] Lleno de teoría social, te faltaba algo. Lo cogí yo, que iba detrás, era el sexo de tu revolución.

[129] The title of *Proyectil Fetal*'s first article in the anarchist periodical *El Libertario* recalls this: 'The sex of your revolutions'.

[130] a la misma altura que todo este pensamiento teórico y/o "militante" se encuentra la música, las bandas, sus letras, sus canciones, la poesía, ciertas películas, que nos han permitido no morirnos por el camino y que han hecho de nosotrxs en parte lo que somos.

[131] Los feminismos, como las expresiones de género, son múltiples, e irreducibles a única lógica y categoría.

precisely to make feminism appear senseless)[132] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c). Feminism is defined in the plural:

> Feminisms are not the opposite of machismo. Feminisms are not attitudes that are opposed to men, in order to segregate them and make them suffer. Feminisms –many of them- seek the emancipation of men, but not at the expense of the bodies of the excluded and abnormal. Feminisms are ideologies, and as such not all of them are counter-hegemonic. Feminisms don't end. Feminisms surpass themselves, they become, and the State is unfortunately not their only real enemy.[133] (Proyectil Fetal 2007c)

Proyectil Fetal are therefore yet again drawing attention to the fact that there are various kinds of feminism. As shown in Chapter Three, feminists can be pro-State. Or, as *Proyectil Fetal* have claimed, some feminists exclude trans-persons from their movements, or are unsupportive of homosexuality.[134] Because of their crossing of feminism with queer theory and anarchism, however, *Proyectil Fetal* not only subscribe to anarchism's core opposition to the State and feminism's core opposition to patriarchy, but also to queer theory's core concept of opposition to heteronormativity and questioning of all normative discourses surrounding sex, gender and sexuality. However, *Proyectil Fetal* fail to add the caveat that normativity is necessary in so far as a queer anarcha-feminist must oppose non-consensual sexual relations due to anarchism's core opposition to domination.

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[132] *Proyectil Fetal* desea no presentarse como lo hacen las feministas locales que más prensa y visibilidad suelen tener (porque son habilitadas por los poderes antes mencionados justamente para hacer ver al feminismo como un sin sentido).

[133] Los feminismos no son lo opuesto del machismo, los feminismos no son actitudes contrarias a los varones, para segregarlos y hacerlos padecer; los feminismos, muchos de ellos, quieren la emancipación de los varones, pero no a costa de los cuerpos de los exluid*s y anómal*s. Los feminismos son ideologías, y como tales no todos son contra-hegemónicos. Los feminismos no terminan. Los feminismos se superan, devienen y el estado no es, desgraciadamente, el único enemigo verdadero.

[134] Here, *Proyectil Fetal* appear to draw inspiration from Pat Califia, who scrutinises feminists who exclude transsexuals from their spaces. *Proyectil Fetal* cite Califia: '[a] movement which began stating that biology isn't destiny is now throwing transsexuals in the garbage and celebrating woman's "natural" connection with the earth and all living beings. ... The only sexual perverts this movement supports are lesbian mothers, and I suspect that this is due to the current propaganda that women are a nurturing and healing force which will save the world from destructive masculine energy' ['Un movimiento que comenzó diciendo que la biología no es destino ahora tira a la basura a transexuales y celebra la conexión "natural" de las mujeres con la tierra y las cosas vivas. … Lxs únicxs pervertidxs sexuales que este movimiento apoya son las madres lesbianas, y sospecho que lo hace debido a la propaganda actual que sostiene que las mujeres comprenden una fuerza nutricia y sanadora que salvará al mundo de la energía masculina destructiva'] (Califia, cited in Proyectil Fetal 2008j).

As pointed out in the previous chapter, one of second-wave feminism's key contentions is that the personal is political. This core concept of queer anarcha-feminism is echoed on *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog (Proyectil Fetal 2007g). They argue that '[l]ife has the potential of being much more than "bread, shelter, land, partner, procreation"'[135] (Proyectil Fetal 2007g), and appear to believe that it is possible to 'fuck our way to freedom', or at least show great appreciation of Preciado's concept of reprogramming desires, as shown below.

Queer theorists' opposition to the woman/man binary and other binaries is reflected in *Proyectil Fetal*'s insistence on the 'abolition of dichotomous thought (dogs vs. cats, beatles vs. Stones [sic], white vs. black) which includes the sexual binary (man/woman, female/male)'[136] (Proyectil Fetal 2007h). They argue that 'the sexual binary (man/woman) is an ideological apparatus of the State which, as a social construct, produces a fiction seeking to falsify economic, political and ideological differences as facts of nature, thus perpetuating them'[137] (Proyectil Fetal 2008h). The authors insist that 'THERE ARE NOT ONLY TWO SEXES, as they have made us believe. There are many more. And the other sexes which are not being recognised by the current binary logic are being oppressed more than many women of certain hegemonic social classes'[138] (original emphasis, Proyectil Fetal 2007g). In the language used by the group, Preciado's influence is apparent. Preciado writes: 'there are not two sexes, but a multiplicity of genetic, hormonal, chromosomal, genital, sexual and sensual configurations. Outside of all normative cultural fictions, there is no truth on gender, on masculinity or femininity'[139] (Preciado 2008, 178). The unitary category 'woman' is further dismantled through an awareness of class, which is emphasised throughout

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[135] La vida tiene el potencial para ser mucho más que "pan, techo, tierra, pareja, procreación."

[136] abolición del pensamiento dicotómico (perros vs. gatos, beatles vs stones, blanco vs. negro) que incluye el binarismo sexual (varón/mujer femenino/masculino).

[137] el binarismo sexual (varón/mujer) es un aparato ideológico del Estado que, como construcción social, produce una ficción cuyo objetivo es falsificar diferencias económicas, políticas, ideológicas como hechos naturales, y de ese modo, perpetuarlas.

[138] NO HAY SOLO DOS SEXOS, como nos han hecho creer. Hay muchos más. Y los otros sexos no reconocidos por la lógica binaria actual están más oprimidos que muchas mujeres de ciertas clases sociales hegemónicas.

[139] No hay dos sexos, sino una multiplicidad de configuraciones genéticas, hormonales, cromosómicas, genitales, sexuales y sensuales. No hay verdad del género, de lo masculino y de lo femenino, fuera del conjunto de ficciones culturales normativas.

the blog: ('[o]ur bodies are at the crossroads of diverse variables of exploitation and oppression, which show solidarity with each other (class, gender, sex, race, geographies, regions, etc.)'[140] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). In addition, the group advise cultural relativism and postcolonial sensitivity: '[b]e conscious of the fallacies of humanist political models which are based on "justice", "freedom" and "equality", which ignore cultural differences, history of colonisation, oppression and the true and objective capacities of the bodies carrying out the struggle'[141] (Proyectil Fetal 2007h). On this basis, the group advise to '[t]hink of clitoral circumcision not as an example of exotic barbarism, but as a part of the devices belonging to the network of the regulation of women's bodies in the globalisation of gender and sexuality, as well as of the bodies of transvestites, intersex and trans people[142] (Proyectil Fetal 2007h).

This section has dealt with the core concepts of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism. It has become apparent that the group subscribe to all the core concepts developed in the generic queer anarcha-feminism of the previous chapter. *Proyectil Fetal* oppose capitalism and all forms of hierarchy, including the State as a system of domination and subordination, as well as patriarchy. Patriarchy is defined as complicit with, yet independent of the State, and would not disappear if the State were abolished. 'Woman' is defined as a political category which must be invested with new meaning; *Proyectil Fetal* see the unitary conception of 'woman' as one of the pillars of capitalism and patriarchy, and therefore seek to undo it. This, however, does not mean that the concept of 'woman' is useless to *Proyectil Fetal*: as the next section will show, *Proyectil Fetal* do believe that identities can be used strategically. The group further subscribe to the feminist concept that the personal is political. And, as queer theorists, they oppose heteronormativity and question all normative discourses surrounding sex, gender and sexuality. A number of perimeter concepts of the group's

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[140] nuestros cuerpos están transidos por diversas variables de explotación y opresión, solidarias entre ellas (clase, género, sexo, raza, geografías, regiones, etc.).
[141] Ser concientes [sic] del riesgo de modelos políticos humanistas basados en "justicia", "libertad" e "igualdad" que ignoran las diferencias culturales, las historias de colonización, o las opresiones e incluso las capacidades reales y objetivas de los cuerpos que llevan adelante la lucha.
[142] Pensar la escisión del clítoris no como ejemplo de barbarismo exótico sino como parte … de los dispositivos de la red de regulación del cuerpo de las mujeres en la globalización del género y la sexualidad, como así también de los cuerpos de personas travestis, intersex y trans.

queer anarcha-feminism have also been identified and related to these five core concepts. These include direct action, affinity group organising, opposition to party politics, to the nuclear family and to a range of normalising medical practices. The final section of this chapter will provide space for an in-depth analysis of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminist perimeter concepts.

Queer anarcha-feminist perimeter concepts

In relation to core and adjacent concepts of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism, a number of perimeter concepts have already been examined in some depth: affinity group organising, direct action and *Proyectil Fetal*'s opposition to political parties. Further perimeter concepts which have been mentioned include the coherence of means and ends, opposition to marriage and the nuclear family, and instead a promotion of polyamory and collective upbringing of children. *Proyectil Fetal* further oppose normalising regimes relating to the body, such as genital mutilation as well as sex-change operations in babies born with ambiguous sexual organs. In this section, three of the most prominent of the group's perimeter concepts will be discussed in relation to the group's adjacent and/or core concepts. Firstly, before considering *Proyectil Fetal*'s intriguing opposition to gay marriage and the group's response to Preciado's call to reprogramme our desires, the most prominent perimeter concept on the blog will be examined, namely the opposition to particular forms of violence.

Opposing violence against women and hate crime

The most prominent perimeter concept of the group's queer anarcha-feminism is an opposition to violence against women, children, and transvestites. Many posts are dedicated to this specific theme of violence. This focus is particularly strong in the first months of the group's existence, indicating that this issue was at the forefront of the group's concerns. This in turn suggests that this concern was a major driving force behind *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism. Violence against women is expressed in terms of rape, female circumcision, domestic violence (Proyectil Fetal 2007p), medical practices such as the routine overuse of caesareans and episiotomy, and violence of the law which forbids abortion and the resulting death of many women through illegal abortions (Proyectil Fetal 2007g). *Proyectil Fetal* provide what they call

'global' statistics and numbers with regard to some of these instances of violence (unfortunately not referenced, so difficult to verify), making the overall claim that women suffer more under patriarchy than men: 'many of these [problems] are exclusive to women, and others are only shared by non-hegemonic gender expressions (transvestites, transgender, intersex)'[143] (Proyectil Fetal 2007g). By campaigning for the inclusion of trans-identities in the feminist movement, *Proyectil Fetal* are clearly distinguishing themselves from essentialist feminists. Overall, *Proyectil Fetal* argue that 'anarchism does not have to agree with all feminisms. But its vitality depends on it being able to have feminist practices today' (Proyectil Fetal 2007g). To *Proyectil Fetal*, these feminist practices must not exclude trans-identified persons.

Proyectil Fetal oppose violence in the form of rape in a post dedicated to the Argentinean teenager Romina Tejerina, who in 2003 killed her newborn baby, which was conceived when she was raped. Tejerina is now serving a 14-year prison sentence for the act. Her case has been followed closely by feminists in the country, as it reopened public debate concerning the lack of abortion rights in Argentina, as well as the cultural as well as structural impediments to denouncing rapists. A post (Proyectil Fetal 2007e) entitled 'Sexualities, this Saturday, you can't miss it!', invites readers to a workshop on 'Sexualities and Contraception. Their myths, our rights', organised by the popular assembly *Asamblea de Vecinxs en la Plaza (San Cristóbal y Balvanera)*, on the occasion of the International day of Non-violence against women (25 November).[144] The text is accompanied by a photograph of stencil art depicting a person with breasts with a slogan between her spread legs which reads: No means No, again reflecting *Proyectil Fetal*'s concern with rape as a form of violence against women.

Proyectil Fetal oppose violence against *children* in a post entitled 'Only numbers?', which deals with the insufficiency of statistics in conveying the experience of abuse and rape of children (Proyectil Fetal 2007t). It is a text *Proyectil Fetal* have found on an

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[143] Muchos de [éstos problemas] exclusivos de las mujeres, y otros sólo compartidos por expresiones de género no hegemónicas (travestis, transgéneros, intersexuales).
[144] This assembly is probably a remnant of the popular assemblies mushrooming across Buenos Aires in the course of the crash of the economy in 2001. On these popular assemblies, see Sitrin 2006.

online *Fotolog*, and copied from there, as the text previously appears on 'veomenosmenosmal's fotolog (Veomenosmenosmal 2007), and *Proyectil Fetal* reference this source at the bottom of the post. For all *Proyectil Fetal* knew, these numbers could have been made up, yet they decided to copy and paste them onto their own blog. This makes the use of these statistics controversial, although the overall argument of the text is not affected, as the text states: '[t]he problem with these statistics is that they do not show the anal fissures, the scars on torsos, the smell of semen in the mouths of children, vaginal pain due to penetration with instruments, and, least of all, annihilation of the soul'. *Proyectil Fetal* accompany the text with a picture of a door with a sign indicating the pastoral advice service of Montevideo. If the intended meaning of the juxtaposition remains unclear in this post, viewing the source where the text was previously read by *Proyectil Fetal* indicates that it implies criticism of the abuse of children by Catholic priests (Veomenosmenosmal 2007).

Finally, the group oppose violence against trans-identified persons. In one of their posts, transvestite 'Mauro' writes about the question whether transvestites should be allowed to teach in a classroom and the treatment of the question in the media by so-called 'experts' in such a way that Mauro would not be surprised if next they treated the topic of whether Jews should be allowed to be teachers (Proyectil Fetal 2007s). This post is the second under the label 'buddies'. Posting an article written by a transvestite, rather than just writing about transvestism themselves may reflect *Proyectil Fetal*'s desire not to speak for people who can speak for themselves. The group later post an interview conducted with a transvestite who was the victim of a severe hate crime (Sacayán 2008).

Importantly, *Proyectil Fetal*'s opposition to violence is tied up with an opposition to the State. They criticise particular feminists for their stance on existing Argentinean laws on human trafficking, arguing that they are asking for modifications of the law which are not compatible with the very bases of the law, and so seem to be unable to decide whether they want State intervention or not. In this post, Contrera's expertise in law shines in all its brilliance:

> [t]here is a double paradox faced by these feminists who, full of good intentions, want to free women who are victims of human trafficking: on the one hand, they ask the State and its powers (in this case, the judiciary and legislative powers) to create a law which isn't a law (that is to say, a set of behavioural norms which does not presuppose the aforementioned fictions: consent and age); and at the same time, to knock down the constitutional guarantee that everyone is considered innocent until the opposite is proven, confusing it with the reversion of the onus of proof. Whether we like it or not, this is how the law created by modern states works. Therefore, among other things and consequently, we don't like modern states and their laws.[145] (Proyectil Fetal 2008j)

Elsewhere, *Proyectil Fetal* complement this argument with a discussion of the paradox of State discourse on *individual autonomy* on the one hand, and the incapacity of individuals in need of help to express this need, on the other (Proyectil Fetal 2007d). The argument is that, by requiring that an individual actually express the desire to be assisted, the State is conveniently finding an excuse not to help, since it does not recognise that people living in terrible conditions have often lost the capacity to express their need for help. The example used to illustrate this point is the case of the homeless 'Mariela', a 26-year old who looks like she is 40, worn out by destitution, repeated rape, alcohol as well as a husband whose fist has disfigured her face over the years (Proyectil Fetal 2007d).

The nuclear family, gay marriage and its alternatives

Overall, *Proyectil Fetal* therefore show a deep-reaching concern about violence, particularly violence directed at women and non-hegemonic gender and sexual expressions, as well as children. This concern is, in turn, tied up with an anarchist opposition to the State. A second perimeter concept of the group's queer anarcha-feminism which will be considered here is *Proyectil Fetal*'s argument that the campaign for gay marriage rights is inherently flawed due to the 'violence immanent in conjugal and family relations, which are also reinforced by civil partnership laws and

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[145] La paradoja a la que se enfrentan las feministas que, con toda su buena intención, quieren liberar a las mujeres víctimas de las redes de prostitución es doble: por un lado, pedirle al estado y a sus poderes (en este caso, el judicial y legislativo) que cree una ley que no sea una ley (es decir, un set de normas de comportamiento que no presuponga las ficciones antes mencionadas: consentimiento y edades); y al mismo tiempo, dar por tierra con la garantía constitucional de que toda persona es considerada inocente hasta que se demuestre lo contrario, confundiéndola con la inversión de la carga de la prueba. Nos guste o no, así se maneja la ley creada por los estados modernos. Por eso, entre otras muchas cosas, casualmente, no nos gustan los estados modernos ni sus leyes.

rights for gays and lesbians'[146](Proyectil Fetal 2007h). *Proyectil Fetal* express dislike for the institution of marriage, and by extension, gay marriage. In a video they have posted on *Youtube* and referenced on their blog, Silvestri and Contrera enact a dysfunctional lesbian couple who are having a major argument (Proyectil Fetal 2008l). This video was posted on the occasion of Gay Pride, entitled: 'No gay pride whatsoever. Rare burning rage. Happy Stonewall!!'.[147] Contrera[148] with her long hair plays the role of stay-at-home mum, no longer sexually desirable to Silvestri, who enacts the short-haired, high-powered breadwinner who is uninterested in their children and has taken a lover. The argument starts with Silvestri accusing Contrera of overspending on a handbag. Contrera defends herself, stating that Silvestri had given her the green light to do so. Silvestri replies that she asked her at the wrong moment, implying that as a boss in a multinational company with 200 employees under her, she was too occupied with more important things when her wife called. She then goes on to accuse her of spending all of her time doing nothing but shopping for clothes and going to the gym, unlike herself who does actually work. Contrera retorts that she does do many things, for example bring up their three children. Silvestri attacks again, stating that Contrera was the one who wanted to experience motherhood, not her, and that she had to pay for the artificial insemination, as for everything else. When asked, sarcastically, whether she did not want children, Silvestri replies that she was not the one who wanted to be normal, while Contrera wanted the house, the Labrador, holidays in the luxurious holiday destination Punta del Este and a 4x4 car, and Silvestri again provided all those things. Here, we find a pointed critique of the consumerist Argentinean bourgeois nuclear family, with the proverbial desperate housewife who busies herself trying to stay attractive for her husband while managing the household (staff) and the upbringing of their children, while her husband works outside the household and takes a lover, resenting his wife for spending his money. Replacing the husband with the butch wife does not change much in this patriarchal, gendered division of labour which *Proyectil Fetal* critique so fervently. Silvestri's

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[146] la violencia inmanente a las relaciones conyugales y familiares, reforzadas incluso por las leyes de unión civil y derechos para gays y lesbianas.
[147] ¡Ningún orgullo gay! Rara rabia ardiente. ¡¡Feliz Stonewall!!
[148] No names are used in the clip. For reasons of clarity, the actresses' names will be used.

comment that she was not the one wanting to be normal is reflective of *Proyectil Fetal*'s criticism of gay marriage as a turn away from the potential radicalism of queerness: not being normal, not needing to form a (bourgeois) nuclear family with all its status symbols and economic arrangements.

Contrera then asks, provocatively, whether Silvestri did not want to start a family so her mum and dad would accept her, at which point Silvestri changes the subject, saying, 'look at your mum, look at her well, because except for your silicone breasts which *I* paid for as well, you resemble her more and more each day, fat as you are'[149] (1'16-1'21). Contrera replies that she is glad to resemble her mother, who loves her, at least, and warned her things would be this way. Contrera asks sarcastically who prepares Silvestri's meal when she gets home at night, and prepares her laundry for the next day. Silvestri retorts that it's the housekeeper, who *she* pays for, as for everything else, since she is the only one who works. Contrera replies that the bloody, ignorant, poor and dark-skinned[150] housekeeper needs Contrera for directives, because she could never choose the right clothes to put out for Silvestri for the next morning, to which Silvestri provocatively replies that Contrera was the one who chose her. She adds, viciously, that the housekeeper dresses better than Contrera and that she ought to take inspiration from her. Contrera then suspects that Silvestri is sleeping with the housekeeper, to which Silvestri reacts by saying that she would not go looking for affection elsewhere if she received a *little* affection at home. She implies that Contrera is not able to provide this affection because she is too preoccupied with her looks. Contrera then accuses Silvestri of having ruined her life, exclaiming: 'three children!', which prompts Silvestri to threaten to leave her, saying she is sick of her and her three brats.

The clip ends with Silvestri and Contrera holding up pieces of paper with the hand-written message: 'Is this what you were referring to when you asked for equal rights?

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[149] Mirála bien a tu vieja, porque excepto las tetas de silicona que *yo* también te pagué, cada día te parecés más a tu mamá, así de gorda estás.
[150] Esa pobre negra infeliz de mierda.

Equal to who? To the <u>hegemonic</u> heterosexual <u>model</u>?'[151] and 'No gay pride at all. Rare burning <u>anarko queer</u> rage. Never normal'[152] (original emphasis, Proyectil Fetal 2008l). The group believe that there is a potential inherent in being queer, which is the potential to break up gender and sexual norms. They see the move to legalise gay marriage as a move in the opposite direction, as a way of normalising a particular aspect of being queer, of "selling out" to the patriarchal capitalist norm of the nuclear family with its rigid labour division between the homemaker and the breadwinner, and its hypocritical monogamy.

One of *Proyectil Fetal*'s favourite theorists, Beatriz Preciado, similarly sees marriage as obsolete and an institution which she would like to see abolished (Amela 2008). Preciado

> decrees the abolition of the nuclear family as a cell of production, of reproduction and
> consumption. Couple-based sexual practices (with a man and a woman) are determined by the
> reproductive and economic goals of the heterocentric system. The subversion of the
> qualitative (hetero) and quantitative (two) sexual normalisation of physical relations is
> systematically realised through the practices of counter-sexual inversion,[153] individual practices
> and making available counter-sexual images and texts (counter-pornographic culture).[154]
> (Preciado 2003, 30)

Breanne Fahs maintains that '[c]urrent battles over same-sex marriage ... stand greatly at odds with central tenants [sic!] of anarchist sex radicals, who advocate dismantling marriage as an institution, citing its tendencies to legalize gender disparities and impose the State's will onto the private lives of individuals' (Fahs 2010, 454). Finally,

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[151] ¿A esto te referías cuando pedías iguales derechos ? ¿Iguales a quién? ¿Al <u>modelo hegemónico</u> heterosexual?

[152] <u>Ningún orgullo gay</u>. ¡Rara rabia ardiente <u>anarko queer</u>! Jamás normales.

[153] Here, Preciado alludes to her statement elsewhere that 'the inversion and exchange of roles must be done in such a way as to prevent the countersexual contract from turning into asymmetric and naturalised relations of power' [Die Umkehrbarkeit und die Veränderung der Rollen müssen so gestaltet sein, dass der kontrasexuelle Vertrag niemals in asymmetrische und naturalisierende Machtbeziehungen mündet]. (Preciado 2003, 27)

[154] verordnet die Abschaffung der Kernfamilie als Zelle der Produktion, der Reproduktion und des Konsums. Die Praktiken paarförmiger Sexualität (mit einem Mann und einer Frau) sind durch die reproduktiven und ökonomischen Ziele des heterozentristischen Systems bestimmt. Die Subversion der qualitativen (hetero) und quantitativen (zwei) sexuallen Normalisierung körperlicher Beziehungen wird durch die Praktiken der kontrasexuellen Inversion systematisch realisiert, durch individuelle Praktiken udn freie Verbreitung kontrasexueller Bilder und Texte (kontrapornographische Kultur).

queer anarchist opposition to gay marriage can be understood as a rejection of state-sanctioned normality. According to Sandra Jeppesen, the 'desire for certain behaviours to be categorized as "normal" is denounced in a queer anarchist world-making project that considers all consensual, non-coerced intimacies and sexualities legitimate, challenging homonormativity[155] via anti-oppression politics' (Jeppesen 2010, 473).

But what should replace the monogamous, state-sanctioned couple? While Fahs explores asexuality as a revolutionary tool, *Proyectil Fetal*, Shannon and Willis suggest polyamory as a radical alternative. Portwood-Stacer defines polyamory as 'the most common term used by contemporary anarchists to describe their non-monogamous relationship structures. Polyamory is practiced differently by different people, but it generally amounts to a mutual understanding of sexual non-exclusivity between partners' (Portwood-Stacer 2010, 484). According to Portwood-Stacer, 'anarchists see polyamory as individual practice *and* social critique,' treating bodies, their 'sexual identities and practices as sites of resistance' (ibid., 485). Portwood-Stacer argues that, by resisting in this way, they 'will incline or facilitate other people to make similar transgressions' (ibid.). She likens this to 'the anarchist tradition of "propaganda by the deed", which is the use of highly visible action that simultaneously produces a material result and inspires mass revolt' (ibid.).

Polyamory does not come without its problems however – none of which are recognised by *Proyectil Fetal*. Portwood-Stacer sees polyamory as a norm which some anarchists force themselves to implement in their own lives, or feel pressured to participate in despite being uncomfortable with them, all for the sake of conserving their credibility as an anarchist (ibid., 489f.). While acknowledging polyamory's benefits, Portwood-Stacer strongly opposes compulsory polyamory as well as any attempt to create a compulsory anarchist sexuality, which she sees as incompatible with the anarchist opposition to hierarchy, and as opposed to the queer project, which, she maintains, is 'about dismantling those power relations that would make any form of sexuality compulsory, not about the reproduction of coercion in new

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[155] On homonormativity, see footnote 28.

directions' (ibid., 490). Finally, she draws attention to the danger of taking 'critiques of sexual moralism … as a license to flout community standards of mutual respect and to objectify the bodies of others' (ibid., 490). And she therefore cautions that it would be erroneous to see 'the adoption of counter-hegemonic identity labels as sufficient to actually counter hegemony'. Jenny Alexander draws attention to the hyper-sexualisation of anarcho-queer cultures, warning that 'elevations of polymorphous and polyamorous sexual activity to the status of a necessary continuous performance of the revolution' risk being based on 'a sexualised imperative to consume and to market ourselves as sexual commodities' (Alexander 2011, 35). She warns that 'anarcho-queer identity, foundationally grounded in sexual activity, is, in some ways, a mirror of a mainstream in which sexual performance and consumption becomes the "truth" of identity' (ibid., 38). None of these potential problems with polyamory are recognised by *Proyectil Fetal*.

Finally, there is a danger that queer becomes a new norm, in the form of polyamory, or any other type of compulsory sexuality. This is a danger which is recognised by Portwood-Stacer and *Proyectil Fetal*. As Portwood-Stacer argues, '"queer" in itself can become a new norm, an identity which one needs to conform to in order to be seen as an authentic anarchist (ibid., 489). *Proyectil Fetal* have stated in an interview that

> [i]n theory, queer is in constant discord with what is normal and the norm; it is a difference which does not try or want to become assimilated or tolerated. The problem with queer is that if it becomes normal, respectable and merely another option, even a brand name in the cultural and music industry, then it has become useless.[156] (Proyectil Fetal 2009a)

Because of this, *Proyectil Fetal* find it important to stay critically alert where the concept queer is concerned. They state that, after a year of working with the concept 'queer', they find themselves 'in the middle of a process of critiquing and creatively destructing this idea, as Bakunin would say, in pursuit of something which is even

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[156] En teoría, lo queer está en perpetua discordancia con lo normal y la norma, es una diferencia que no pretende ni quiere ser asimilada ni tolerada. El problema con lo queer es que si se vuelve normal, respetable y meramente una opción más, incluso en epíteto que acompaña a nombre de producto de la industria cultural musical, entonces ya no sirve.

sharper'[157] (ibid). A stable queer anarcha-feminist identity is therefore not only undesirable, but also contrary to queer theory's core opposition to stable identities.

Sexual Luddism

Proyectil Fetal's use of images of and texts by transvestites on their blog can be seen as part of their Preciado-inspired counter-sexual practice. To the group, the '"queer" place in the social sphere occupied by transvestites is an invaluable inspiration for social struggle, "they show all we are interested in. Transvestites today catalyse change, even without being aware of it"'[158] (Engler 2008). Preciado's concept of counter-sexuality is 'indirectly based on Foucault, for whom the most effective form of resistance to the disciplining production of sexuality was not the struggle against prohibition ... but *counter-productivity*'[159] (original emphasis, Preciado 2003, 11). Preciado's concept of counter-sexuality is further based on Butler's idea of performativity, which she paraphrases in the following way:

> [s]exual identity is not an instinctive expression of a prediscursive truth of the flesh, it is an effect of the reinscription of gender-practices onto the body. This platform of repetition and reiteration is both the locus of a forced formation of heterosexual subjects, and the place where any potential subversion can take place.[160] (Preciado 2003, 15)

Since disbanding *Proyectil Fetal*, Silvestri has been seeking to redefine sexuality through her performances of *porno terrorismo* (porn terrorism) and *luddismo sexual* (sexual luddism), both examples of attempts to create counter-practices. The idea of sexual luddism is an adaptation of the anti-technological Luddite movement which started in Nottingham in 1811 and which is an important reference point in anarchist history. Luddites destroyed a total of 1100 machines in factories in order to counter-

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[157] 'en pleno proceso de crítica y destrucción creativa, como diría Bakunin, de esta idea en pos de algo aun más filoso'.

[158] lugar de "rareza" que ocupan socialmente las y los travestis es para PF una invalorable fuente de inspiración para la lucha social, "ponen en evidencia todo lo que a nosotras nos interesa. Las travestis son hoy dinamizadoras de cambio, incluso sin saber que lo son".

[159] 'leitet sich indirekt von Foucault ab, für den die wirksamste Form des Widerstands gegen die disziplinierende Produktion der Sexualität nicht der Kampf gegen das Verbot ist ... sondern die **Kontra-Produktivität**.

[160] Sexuelle Identität ist kein instinktiver Ausruck einer vordiskursiven Wahrheit des Fleisches, sie ist Effekt der Wiedereinschreibung der Gelschlechtspraktiken in den Körper. Dies Plattform der Repetition und Reiteration ist gleichermaßen der Ort einer Zwangsformierung des heterosexuellen Subjekts sowie der Raum, in dem jede poetnzielle Subversion stattfindet.

act the effects of the Industrial Revolution on small businesses. In Argentina recently, Christian Ferrer has made anarchists aware of this movement, and two passages from his description of the movement (Ferrer 2006, 82f. and 91f.) are cited on the *Ludditas sexuales* (Sexual luddites) radio programme, which Silvestri and Contrera co-created together with two collaborators (Ludditas Sexuales 2009). At the time, Contrera started referring to herself as punk luddita (luddite punk) on her personal blog (Contrera c2009). Ferrer's interpretation of the events which started in 1811 is that Luddites were opposing the technical violence of the factory which concentrated capital in the hands of the few while robbing workers of their livelihoods. As "sexual Luddites", Contrera, Silvestri et al. are opposing their own practices to the distribution of power found under patriarchy, by attacking violence exerted on bodies by technologies of sexual normalisation. Overall, counter-productivity is a major focus of *Proyectil Fetal*'s work and, if anything, it became more intense as the blog progressed, and has continued since the blog fell silent. In the last blog post made by the group, this concern with counter-practices is epitomised in a final battle-cry: 'PF is dead, long live King Ludd!' (Proyectil Fetal 2010), making reference to King Ludd, one of the pseudonyms used by Luddite activists. Other counter-practices promoted by Preciado include drag king workshops (Preciado 2008, 264f.) and a glorification of BDSM (Bondage, domination, sadism and masochism), as well as the anus as a locus of pleasure (Preciado 2003, 18f., 25). The latter two are supposed to help disentangle sexuality from reproduction, thereby constituting counter-sexual practices. Silvestri's interest in BDSM, the anus and drag is exemplified in her display of pictures of herself and others wearing strap-on dildos before the backdrop of somebody else's exposed bottom, and juxtaposed with a picture of a dilated anus (Silvestri, Sokolov 2009); Silvestri in bondage gear (Fernández October 2010) and images of hard-core bondage (Silvestri et al. 2009, Silvestri, Sokolov 2009); also Silvestri in drag. All of these types of activity ran parallel to the *Proyectil Fetal* project, and continue to exist beyond it through Silvestri's key involvement in projects such as the blog *Internacional Sodomita* (Sodomites' International) with its slogan *Sodomites of the world, unite!* (Silvestri et al. 2009). Inspired by, and citing from, Preciado, the blog focuses on the perceived radical potential of the anus.

Closely related to Preciado's insistence on counter-sexual practices is the author's idea that desires can be (re)programmed (*la programación del deseo*). Preciado suggests the above named counter-sexual practices as ways of doing precisely this. As an *Proyectil Fetal*'s interviewer pointedly puts it, *Proyectil Fetal* 'promote sexual promiscuity as a way of programming desire'[161] (Engler 2008).

> Programming desire, an idea taken from Preciado, implies "denaturalising particular practices which are taken for granted" ... "If I was told, or always believed, that I liked people who have certain characteristics and that I would like to engage in particular practices with them in order to achieve pleasure, why can I not try out something else? ... "With different corporealities"... why can I not like transvestites as an object of desire? This conscious programming is achieved through dismantling certain cultural constructions such as "romantic love", so as to allow for sexual relations which are not reproductivist: "sadomasochist practices and group masturbation", ... but: "we are not fighting for sexual liberation, but for the programming of desire ".[162] (Engler 2008)

Proyectil Fetal do not make clear why they are making the distinction between sexual liberation and programming of desire, and why they are fighting for the latter, and not for the former, as the two do not appear to be mutually exclusive. I have asked Contrera to clarify this point and she explained that, from her point of view, it is a conceptual distinction made by Foucault (Fomet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1984). Foucault argues that the idea of sexual liberation is important, but can also imply that there are natural and unnatural forms of sexuality. The reprogrammation of desire, as *Proyectil Fetal* define it above, seeks to denaturalise certain sexual practices, because 'desire, contrary to what Butler thinks, is not something unconscious, but it is rather culturally constructed'[163] (Engler 2008).

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[161] Promueven la promiscuidad sexual como forma de programar el deseo.
[162] 'La programación del deseo, una idea tomada de Preciado, implica "desnaturalizar determinadas prácticas que se toman por obvias" ... "Si me dijeron, o siempre creí, que me gustaban las personas de determinadas características y con ellas querría tener determinadas prácticas para alcanzar placer, ¿por qué no puedo probar otra cosa?" ... "Con corporalidades diferentes" ... ¿por qué no me pueden gustar las travestis como objeto de deseo?". Esta programación a conciencia estaría dada por la acción de desmontar ciertas construcciones culturales, el "amor romántico" por ejemplo, para dar lugar a relaciones sexuales básicamente no reproductivistas: "prácticas sadomasoquistas o masturbación en grupo", ... pero ... "Nosotras no estamos abogando por la liberación sexual, sino por la programación del deseo ..."'. This is taken from an interview with *Proyectil Fetal*, which is why the text contains citations from members of the group.
[163] El deseo, a diferencia de lo que cree Butler, no es algo inconsciente, sino construido culturalmente.

The reprogrammation of desires, with its focus on BDSM, anal sex and sexual promiscuity, however, calls for the same caveats as the ones which were discussed in the previous section with respect to polyamory. Simply adopting the label sado-masochist, for example, is not radical, and BDSM practice in itself is not inherently radical, or ethical, either. On the other hand, some anarchists see ethical BDSM as a way of role-playing which can destabilise fixed hierarchies (see for example, Heckert 2005, 56ff.). The factors which must be in place for BDSM to be radical and ethical are not discussed by *Proyectil Fetal*. Finally, it is important to note that neither BDSM nor promiscuity, nor indeed being sexual should be elevated to a new norm or become compulsory.[164]

In this section, three perimeter concepts of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism have been considered. Firstly, the group's opposition to violence against women, children and non-hegemonic gender expressions was laid out. Then, the group's critique of the perceived inherent violence of conjugal relations was examined in relation to their opposition to gay marriage. Finally, *Proyectil Fetal*'s perimeter concept of Preciado-inspired countersexual practices and the reprogramming of gender and desire was laid out.

Conclusion

It has been argued that *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog is a vehicle for their queer anarcha-feminism, which, although defined as fluid and constantly becoming, contains a number of identifiable core, adjacent and perimeter concepts. It has been shown that all core queer anarcha-feminist concepts previously elaborated using Freeden's model for the study of ideologies can also be identified on their blog. The group's adjacent concept of freedom was identified as communal individuality based on a nomadic revolutionary subject. A major influence on the group's ideology in this respect is postmodernism and poststructuralism, expressed, among other things, through the conviction that identity is in constant flux. Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze have been identified as major influences on *Proyectil Fetal* in this respect. It has been shown that *Proyectil Fetal*'s thought is further influenced by queer theorists Beatriz

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[164] for a discussion of asexuality as a radical anarchist tool, see (Fahs 2010).

Preciado and Judith Butler, and by the anarcha-feminist Emma Goldman, as well as one of Goldman's idols, Friedrich Nietzsche. Finally, a number of perimeter concepts of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism have been identified, including, prominently, an opposition to violence against women bound up with the core anarchist opposition to the State, opposition to (gay) marriage as well as a Preciado-inspired promotion of counter-sexual practices and reprogramming of desires.

Overall, the model of queer anarcha-feminism previously elaborated proves to be a useful tool for understanding *Proyectil Fetal*'s paradigm. *Proyectil Fetal* display extensive knowledge of anarchist, feminist and queer theory. Despite *Proyectil Fetal*'s frequent use of academic jargon, an analyst of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideas must bear in mind that the group's posts were not written in order to contribute to academic debate, but to propagate an ideology. In other words, *Proyectil Fetal*'s priority is not to rigorously justify or reference ideas, but to propagate them. While the group's posts may provoke readers' visceral agreement due to their passionate and provocative style, it is very difficult for a researcher to systematically analyse the ideas underlying the often chaotic posts. As a researcher interested in the systematising their ideology, my difficult task was to create a coherent narrative out of a series of elliptic blog posts. Filtering the blog content through my model of queer anarcha-feminism based on Freeden proved useful in this respect. In the next chapter, viewing the blog as a medium will allow further conclusions to be drawn from *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog, in particular with respect to the reception of the group's ideas among the political Left in and beyond Buenos Aires.

core: 1. anti-Statism as resistance to all
forms of domination and subordination
(includes anti-patriarchy) 2. anti-capitalism
as opposition to economic and social
inequalities 3. woman and gender as
political categories 4. the personal is
political 5. opposition to heteronormativity
and questioning of all normative discourses
surrounding sex, gender and sexuality

Split adjacent concept of freedom:
individualist and/or social anarchism.
Social and economic equality.

Perimeter concepts: for example,
prefiguration; grass-roots organising;
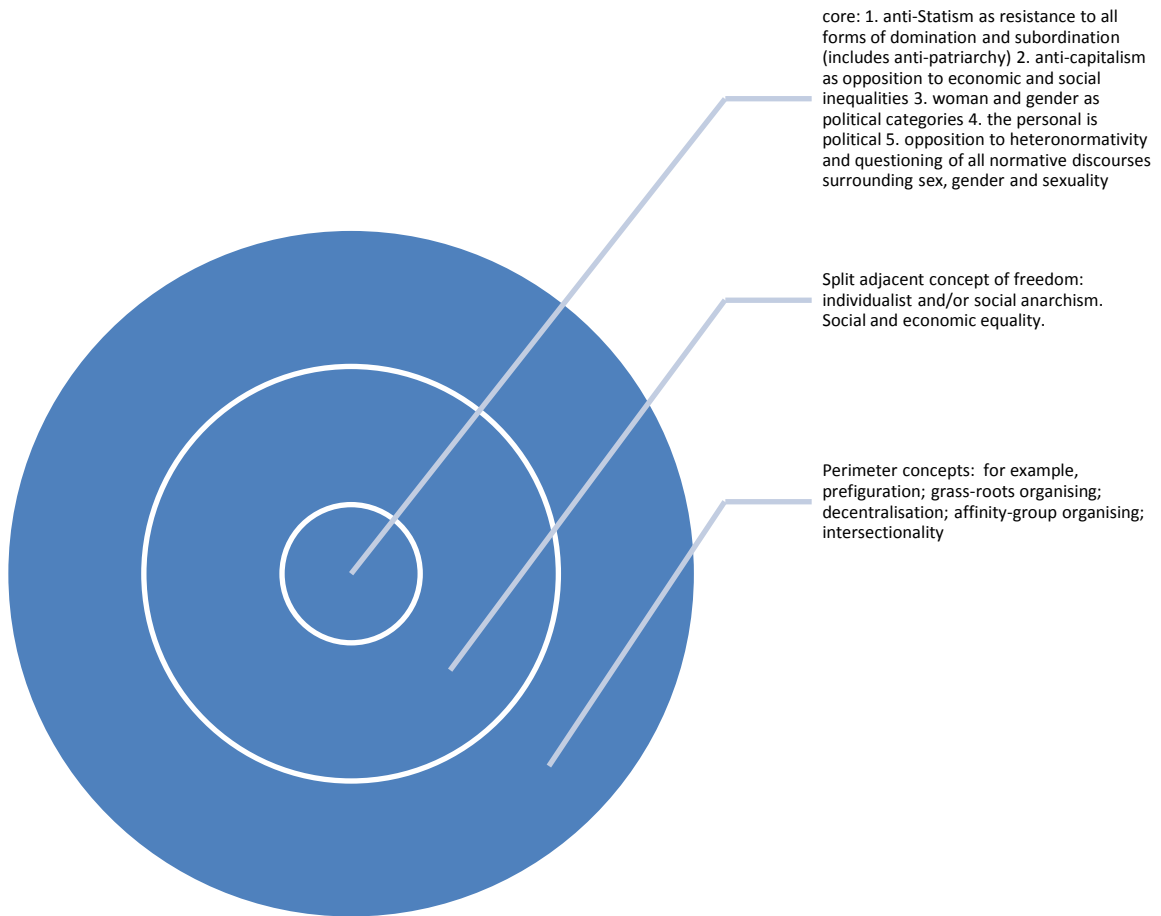decentralisation; affinity-group organising;
intersectionality

Figure 2: core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of queer anarcha-feminism.

5 *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism as part of a mosaic of conversations on *Web 2.0*

This chapter is dedicated to examining *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog as an ethnographic document which provides rich data with respect to the group's online as well as offline social network and can tell a lot about their motivations behind posts, their alliances and disagreements with others, as well as the way in which the group's ideology fits into the political landscape in Argentina. The chapter is organised in the following way: the first section considers evidence of interaction between *Proyectil Fetal* and other groups and individuals, as well as the on- and offline spaces and types of activities in which such interaction takes place. This will show that the group's on-and offline activities are inextricably linked, and how *Proyectil Fetal* effectively live up to their slogan 'affinity, initiative, organisation'. In a second section, blogs and other web services used by *Proyectil Fetal* will be described as parts of *Web 2.0*, a more interactive type of Web. It will be argued that *Web 2.0* services thrive on user interaction, and that the group have made a wise decision in making use of these services, as it has enabled them to spread their message widely through an online social network. However, in a third section, it will be maintained that *Proyectil Fetal* also hinder interaction with other users, as the group's problematic policy with regard to user comments will be analysed. Finally, a fourth section will discuss a series of online exchanges between *Proyectil Fetal* and class-struggle anarchists, in order to show how and why their *Fetal Projectile* sends ripples through parts of the Argentinean Left.

The analysis on the whole will be guided by questions from textual ethnography, as the blog is viewed as an ethnographic document testifying to interaction between groups and individuals. Useful questions which can guide a comprehensive ethnographic textual analysis have been summed up by Martyn Hammersley et al.:

> How are documents written? How are they read? Who writes them? Who reads them? For
> what purposes? On what occasions? With what outcomes? What is recorded? What is
> omitted? What is taken for granted? What does the writer seem to take for granted about the

reader(s)? What do readers need to know in order to make sense of them? (Hammersley, Atkinson 1995, 173).

Proyectil Fetal's activities and spaces

Based on evidence found on their blog, *Proyectil Fetal* engaged in a vast range of activities in a variety of locations. They took part in activities such as performances, poetry readings, workshops, talks, anarcho-queer tea parties, and debates (Proyectil Fetal 2007c, Proyectil Fetal 2008g, Proyectil Fetal 2007i, Proyectil Fetal 2008q, Proyectil Fetal 2008b). They put on alternative film screenings; they produced a zine called *El Látigo de Emma*, which translates as *Emma [Goldman's] whip* (Proyectil Fetal 2009c, Proyectil Fetal 2009d, Proyectil Fetal 2009e) as well as a special zine which assembles some of their original work for a commune in Paraguay (Proyectil Fetal 2009b); they painted radical stencils and gave interviews (both with journalists in Buenos Aires and Catalonia) (Engler 2008, Pèsol negre June 2008); they have produced a *Youtube* video (Proyectil Fetal 2008l); they published articles on the grassroots media site *Indymedia Argentina*[165] and in radical periodicals and magazines, both in Argentina and abroad and mostly online; they advertised their work through a mailing list and are in touch with other queer activists, feminists and anarchists in countries such as Uruguay (María Eva 2007), Chile and Paraguay (Proyectil Fetal 2009f).

Overall, *Proyectil Fetal*'s activities take place in spaces of various kinds, both on- and offline. Offline-spaces include the town square Plaza Monserrat (Proyectil Fetal 2007i) and Plaza de México y Jujuy (Proyectil Fetal 2007w) in Buenos Aires; various anarcho-punk squats in Buenos Aires (Proyectil Fetal 2008e, Proyectil Fetal 2008r) and Asunción, Paraguay (Proyectil Fetal 2009h); a counter-culture café and the Independent Book Fair of Buenos Aires (Feria del Libro Independiente - FLIA) (Proyectil Fetal 2008p); an Indie fair and Arts Space in Buenos Aires (Proyectil Fetal 2007u); the National Women's conference in Argentina's second-biggest city, Córdoba (Proyectil Fetal 2007f); three anarchist libraries in Buenos Aires: the *José Ingenieros* (Proyectil

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[165] *Indymedia* is a global news forum where anyone wishing to publish a news story can instantly do so after creating a (free) account. *Indymedia* offers specific sites dedicated to hundreds of regions in the world, including Argentina. *Indymedia* define their purpose in the following: '*Indymedia* is a collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage. *Indymedia* is a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of truth' (Indymedia 2010).

Fetal 2007n), the *Federación Libertaria Argentina* (Proyectil Fetal 2008q), and *Los Libros de la Esquina* (Proyectil Fetal 2008r). One of the events they advertise takes place at the headquarters of the legendary anarchist union *FORA* (*Federación Obrera Regional Argentina*) in La Boca, Buenos Aires (Proyectil Fetal 2008d). The latter is a talk by the editorial group *Periférica* of Paraguay, who collaborated with *Proyectil Fetal* in organising an anarcha-queer week in Asunción (Proyectil Fetal 2009h), and *Proyectil Fetal* participate as international editors and authors in their magazine (Proyectil Fetal 2008c, 3f.). As shown, many venues are in inner-city Buenos Aires, as this is where *Proyectil Fetal* are based, but *Proyectil Fetal* also travel large distances to the La Tablada suburb on the outskirts of Greater Buenos Aires (Proyectil Fetal 2008e), or to La Plata, the capital of the Province of Buenos Aires (Proyectil Fetal 2007o), and even to Córdoba and Asunción, the capital of Paraguay (Proyectil Fetal 2009h), as well as to Chile. Finally, they also came to an academic/activist conference in Leeds, to which Richard Cleminson and I had invited them (Proyectil Fetal 2010). The texts presented during these various activities were simultaneously made available on the blog in the form of new blog posts.

Online spaces *Proyectil Fetal* engage in include most prominently *Indymedia Argentina*; blogs by other, mostly Argentinean radical groups on *Blogger* as well as *Fotolog*; and *Youtube*. Some of *Proyectil Fetal*'s online spaces also have offline forms, such as most of the periodicals and magazines which have interviewed *Proyectil Fetal*, or for which the group have written articles. Being online enables them to considerably widen their scope. Radical groups and individuals engaging with *Proyectil Fetal* similarly use *Blogger*, *Facebook*, *Fotolog* and *Indymedia*. Overall, *Proyectil Fetal* emerge as part of a network of radical groups and individuals who operate online, but may also know each other in real life.

While, in Latin America, access to the internet is still the lowest in the world, it is continually on the rise. In January 2007, compared to North America, Europe and Asia, Latin America was the world's region with the lowest percentage of internet connectivity: 15 per cent of the region's population, or 85 million (Finquelievich, Prince 2007, 22). In December 2006, there were 13 million, or 34 per cent of

Argentineans accessing the internet at least twice a week (ibid., 30f.). Of these, 50 per cent belonged to the higher social strata, and 50 per cent belonged to the middle and lower classes (ibid., 37). Finquelievich and Prince argue that the level of education of Argentinean internet users is continually declining, with 35 per cent not having continued beyond secondary education (Finquelievich, Prince 2007, 37). In 2005, most Argentineans connected from home (59.3 per cent, see Finquelievich and Finquelievich 2007, 7), followed by a third of internet users gaining access to the internet through cyber cafés, in particular economically weaker groups, people from Argentina's *interior* (that is, anyone not living in Buenos Aires), women and adolescents (Finquelievich, Prince 2007, 89). Finquelievich and Prince claim that cybercafés play an essential part in enabling those on a low income to access the internet, due to low hourly cost and high connection speed (ibid.).

Proyectil Fetal's texts are, with one exception, written in *Rioplatense* (River Plate) Spanish, which is spoken in the region surrounding the River Plate region, and in *Lunfardo*, a dialect of Spanish spoken in Buenos Aires. The online comments their texts receive are equally in Spanish, and often also in the dialects used by *Proyectil Fetal*. This reflects the region in which *Proyectil Fetal* operate and the network of people they engage with offline. However, *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog's potential readership not only includes Argentina's internet users, but also Latin America's overall 89 million internet users, Spain's 25 million internet users and indeed the Spanish-speaking world as a whole. *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog is located at a dot.com domain, which means that the visitor of the blog does not know at first that the site is maintained by two Argentinean women. A search for 'feminismo anarco queer' (anarco/anarcha-queer feminism) on *Yahoo Spain* yields examples of *Proyectil Fetal*'s work as its first two results[166]. It is therefore likely that Spanish internet users searching for these key words would come across *Proyectil Fetal*'s site. This adds the estimated 25 million Spanish internet users (2008) to *Proyectil Fetal*'s potential readership (The World Bank 2010). A search on *Yahoo Argentina* yields three top-three *Proyectil Fetal* results, making it even more likely for Argentineans to explore the group's work upon

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[166] All *Yahoo* searches are dated 11 May 2010.

searching for these key words. The search for the same keywords on all of *Yahoo*'s other domains in Latin America, that is, Venezuela, Mexico, Peru, Chile and Colombia, equally put *Proyectil Fetal* in first place. On Yahoo.com, the same search in Spanish yields *Proyectil Fetal* in places one and two. A search for *anarquismo feminista queer* (queer feminist anarchism) on *Yahoo Spain* and *Argentina* equally triggers results that prominently feature *Proyectil Fetal*'s work. All in all, these figures indicate that *Proyectil Fetal* have a potential readership spanning the Spanish-speaking world across the globe – although it will be cautioned that the group's potential readership is frequently reduced to a small number of highly educated people due to its use of jargon. The group's prominence in search results may be due to the fact that they blog, instead of producing a website. Why blogs are so powerful will be explored below.

"Affinity, initiative, organisation"

As shown in the previous chapter and as will become increasingly apparent below, *Proyectil Fetal* engage with a variety of groups and individuals, either forging alliances or disagreeing with them. Groups they disagree with include: Catholic anti-abortionists and feminists from the Revolutionary Communist Party PCR/JCR, as argued in the previous chapter (Proyectil Fetal 2007f); an artist who dismisses them as a 'bunch of poofters'[167] (Proyectil Fetal 2007v); the Marxist author of an article about anarchist free love (López Rodríguez January/ February 2008, Proyectil Fetal 2007x); and anarchist platformists of the group *Red Libertaria* (Proyectil Fetal 2007n). Some of these disagreements and slurs will be explored in more detail below. *Proyectil Fetal* express *affinity* by posting work by rape crisis activists in Cinco Saltos in the Río Negro province of Argentina (Proyectil Fetal 2007q); *Gays sin Fronteras* (*Gays without Borders*), an association of Salvadorian gays and transvestites (Proyectil Fetal 2008i, Proyectil Fetal, Engler 2008); a group interested in developing anarchist philosophy (Proyectil Fetal, Grupo Al Filo de la Anarquía 2008); a group of transvestite documentary and magazine makers (Proyectil Fetal 2008f), and many others.

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[167] Manga de putos.

The first post was created on 30 October 2007. The first post on *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog is very important because it gives an indication of why the blog was created and what audience it targets. Its title 'Crónica Libertaria del Encuentro XXII Nacional de Mujeres en Córdoba' (Anarchist Report on the 22nd National Women's Conference in Córdoba) indicates that it is an article about this important Argentinean women's conference in 2007 (Proyectil Fetal 2007f). [168] *Proyectil Fetal* finish their first post giving an indication as to why, and for who, the blog was created. They write that, now that they have returned to their home city of Buenos Aires, their intention is

> to make contact and exchange experiences with many of the women who participated in the conference, avoiding the tendency which we saw so obviously at the conference, of bureaucratizing ourselves and wasting time with foul language, rather than starting to engage in direct actions of all kinds.[169] (ibid.)

Proyectil Fetal address the reader, emphasising that they are 'interested in getting in touch with you and debating all together, since we are currently in the midst of forming an anarchist network which understands that the so-called 'gender question' is not just another issue or a minor issue on the agenda, but the condition *sine qua non* for a radical change of everything'[170] (ibid.).

As will become apparent when considering the following blog posts, there is a substantial amount of evidence of interaction between *Proyectil Fetal* and other groups and individuals both on- and offline, most of who share their interest in anarchism, queer theory or feminism. While it is difficult to tell how far *Proyectil Fetal* did indeed pursue their goal of staying in touch with women from the conference, research into their blog and posts from their blog on other sites shows that they have engaged in discussions and projects of various kinds (in particular, at workshops) with other anarchists, feminists and people interested in sexuality. Only days after creating

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[168] This conference attracts thousands of women every year. *Página/12* reports that the 2010 conference attracted over 25 000 participants (Tessa 2010).

[169] Vueltas a nuestra ciudad, Buenos Aires, estamos intentando hacer contacto e intercambiar experiencias con muchas de las mujeres que participaron en el encuentro y evitando la tendencia, que vimos patente en el encuentro, a burocratizarnos y perder tiempo en burdas articulaciones en vez de pasar a las acciones directas de todo tipo.

[170] Nos interesa contactarnos con vos y debatir en conjunto, ya que estamos en plena conformación de una red anarquista que entienda que la llamada "cuestión de género" no es un punto más o uno menor de una agenda, sino la condición sine qua non para el cambio radical de todo.

the blog, the group post an invitation to an 'anarcha-queer tea' at an Indie fair (Proyectil Fetal 2007u). The title of the invitation, 'Any sensitive child, listen up,'[171] is a variation on the title of a punk rock album by *Fun People* entitled *Toda Niño Sensible Sabrá De Qué Estamos Hablando* (Fun People 1997), an influence apparent in various others of *Proyectil Fetal*'s posts, along with snippets from lyrics by *Morissey*, *The Smiths*, *La Polla records*, and *Manos de Filipi*. It is not surprising that *Fun People* should have an influence on the group, seeing that they campaigned for women's, gay and animal rights. The invitation is addressed to those who feel alone with their concerns within the movements they participate in, who feel 'alone in the masses of the political party, lost in the lack of committed positions within the movement,'[172] who 'have even wished, at some point, that they had never been born, faced with the indifference of those who they believed, logically and affectively, on their side'[173] (Proyectil Fetal 2007u). In one of the first posts on the blog, *Proyectil Fetal* therefore indicate that they are seeking like-minded people, people who 'try to be part of something which is being formed, without dogmas, without a canon,'[174] and whose 'identity is constantly becoming, a new world is beating in my heart, I am alive.'[175] 'I do not privilege my voice, cancelling out others, I present my own voice in order to begin to live in accordance with my ideals, which are always subject to constant introspection and revision'[176] (ibid.). This again shows that the blog has been created not just to propagate ideas, but to find community among like-minded people who are willing to continuously question (themselves) and evolve.

On 6 January 2008, *Proyectil Fetal*'s dedication to initiative, organisation and affinity takes further shape, as the group advertise a 'Regional Conference of Anarkist Women'[177] with the slogan 'no god, no husband, no master, no political party,'[178]

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[171] 'Toda niño y niña sensible entender'. Here, *Proyectil Fetal* have interfered with the gender of 'any', which would commonly be expressed in its masculine form here (todo), and have replaced it with the feminine 'toda'.

[172] sola en la masa del partido, perdida en la falta de posiciones comprometidas del movimiento.

[173] incluso alguna vez [he] deseado no haber nacido ante la indiferencia de quienes creía, por lógica y afecto, estaban a mi lado.

[174] [i]ntento ser parte de algo que está en formación, sin dogmas, sin canon.

[175] [m]i identidad está en constante devenir, un mundo nuevo palpita en mi corazón, estoy viva.

[176] [n]o prestigio mi voz tapando otras, presento la propia para comenzar ya mismo a vivir en consecuencia con mis ideales, siempre sujetos a constante introspección y revisión.

[177] Encuentro Regional de Mujeres Anarkistas (Proyectil Fetal 2008e).

which rhymes in Spanish (Proyectil Fetal 2008e). This is a variation on the slogan 'No Gods, No Masters,' which originated in the French Blanquist movement and subsequently became popular with anarchists in the late 19th century, for example Peter Kropotkin in 1885 (Guérin 1999, 5f.). The slogan was also taken up and modified by the anarchist women editing *La Voz de la Mujer*, who, in 1896, used the slogan: 'No God, No Master, No Husband'[179] and count as the first milestone in Argentinean anarcha-feminist activity (Finet 2009). *Proyectil Fetal* organised the conference together with 'the anarchist women of Tucuy Paj'[180] and it was to be held at this squat (Proyectil Fetal 2008e). *Tucuy Paj*, which is Quechua for '*For Everyone*', is a squatted factory which ceased production during the economic crisis which cumulated in the crash of the Argentinean economy in 2001. The factory was subsequently gutted of its machines and squatted by activists from the unemployed movement and anarchist punks, who tried to set the place up as a social centre and public library.[181] In the advertisement, *Proyectil Fetal* and *Tucuy Paj* define themselves as 'NON-essentialist, there is no medical exam'[182] and invite any 'body which identifies itself with the women's cause and counter-hegemonic gender expressions (transvestite, trans and intersex comrades); anybody who defines themselves as anti-patriarchal and faces the specific struggle of oppressed women as anarchists'[183] (ibid.). The goal of the conference was to foster affinity and organisation, as the groups state that they 'hope that you can also come to organise with us. We need you, shoulder to shoulder,'[184] and 'this is a conference which seeks to bring and group together old and young generations of anarchist women in order to confront shared objectives of struggle and actions based on our gender identity and anarkism'[185] (ibid.). The advertisement ends

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[178] Sin dios, sin marido, sin patrón y sin partido.

[179] Ni dios, ni patrón, ni marido.

[180] Las mujeres anarkistas de Tucuy Paj.

[181] Field notes, January 2008.

[182] Somos feministas NO-esencialistas, no hay revisación médica.

[183] cuerpo que se identifique con la causa de las mujeres y de las expresiones de género contra-hegemónicas (compañeras travestis, trans, e intersex), se reivindique antipatriarcal y encare la lucha específica de las mujeres oprimidas como anarquista.

[184] Esperamos que puedas también venir vos a organizar con nosotras. Te necesitamos hombro con hombro.

[185] Este es un encuentro que espera poder acercar y agrupar a viejas y jóvenes generaciones de mujeres anarkistas para encarar objetivos de lucha y acciones comunes a nuestra identidad de género y a nuestro anarquismo.

with a call to action: 'For the destruction of patriarchy, parasitical mini-State in our hearts!'[186] (ibid.). This implies that we have interiorised patriarchal values to the point where they influence our emotions. Details of the conference programme are advertised on 4 February 2008. It is made clear that there will be childcare facilities. With the workshop, as well as the advertisement for the regional conference of anarchist women, the blog again testifies to interaction and *Proyectil Fetal*'s willingness to interact with others.

On 10 January 2008, *Proyectil Fetal* advertise their workshop 'against hetero norm against all orthodoxies,'[187] a 'practical queer anarcho-feminist workshop'[188] (Proyectil Fetal 2008r). This workshop is advertised in the form of another punk DIY flyer (ibid.). I attended this workshop, which took place in a squat in La Boca, Buenos Aires. As stated in the flyer advertising the event, the workshop sought to counteract orthodoxies related to sexuality. The workshop mainly consisted of Silvestri and Contrera speaking about the norms relating to sexuality and passing around books with images of genitalia – micro-penises and hermaphrodism. The presentation was followed by a discussion. In the audience were anarchists, feminists and queer activists of various descriptions, and it also included members of *Tucuy Paj*, the squat which was to host the regional conference of anarchist women together with *Proyectil Fetal* later in February.[189] On the bottom of the flyer advertising the 'workshop against hetero norm,' *Proyectil Fetal* had included the slogan: 'initiative, affinity, organisation'[190] (Proyectil Fetal 2008r). This slogan, which is repeated in various forms throughout the blog, illustrates *Proyectil Fetal*'s approach as activists who seek to initiate actions, for example by organising such workshops, and who seek to foster organisation among people who share an affinity.

In November 2007, *Proyectil Fetal* inaugurate the new label, 'buddies,'[191] which contains work by people who communicate with them. The first text with this label is

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[186] ¡Para destruir al patriarcado, mini-estado parasito dentro de nuestros corazones!
[187] Anti-hetero-norma contra toda ortodoxia.
[188] Taller práctico Anarco-feminista Queer.
[189] Field notes, February 2008.
[190] Iniciativa, afinidad, organización.
[191] Cumpas.

an email they received containing a text written by 'María Eva,' which appeared in a Uruguayan anarchist paper in April 2001 (María Eva 2007). The author regrets the lack of discussion of women's issues within contemporary anarchism, arguing that 'this macho, patriarchal and phallocentric culture' is hard to tackle and that 'this enemy is not outside, but within ourselves'[192] (ibid.). She argues that 'anarcha-feminism struggles to eliminate the most salient hierarchical differentiations within the general structure of domination: patriarchy and capitalism,'[193] and that women should be the ones spearheading this struggle. The author describes anarcha-feminism as a struggle to effect change 'at a micro-social level (of interpersonal relationships)'[194] in order to effect change at a macro-social level, 'from everyday life to the big institutions.'[195] Micro-social change 'begins in everyday life and ... the nuclear family is the basic institution of a verticalist and hierarchical society'[196] (ibid.). She draws attention to what she considers to be the Golden Age of anarcha-feminism around 1900, with 'publications which circulated between Europe and America'[197] in those days (ibid.). In Buenos Aires, a group of women published *La Voz de la Mujer* (*Woman's Voice*, 1896-1897), one of the first periodicals written for and by women (Finet 2009, 15). Maxine Molyneux's explains the context of this activity:

> [b]y the 1880s there had emerged within the European Anarchist movement a distinctive feminist current, represented by writers such as "Soledad Gustavo" (Teresa Mañe) and Teresa Claramunt, just as within the movement in North America these ideas were developed by Voltairine de Cleyre, Emma Goldman, and others. Some of these writers were already being published in Argentina in the 1880s, and in the Anarchist press critiques of the family appeared together with editorials supporting "feminism," by then a term in current usage. The main impulse for anarchist feminism came from Spanish activists, but Italian exiles like Malatesta and Pietro Gori gave support to feminist ideas in their journals and articles. (Molyneux 1986,123)

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[192] 'esta cultura machista, patriarcal y falocéntrica', 'este enemigo no está afuera sino dentro de nosotr@s mism@s'. Here, the choice between nosotros (masculine) and nosotras (feminine) is being avoided by replacing the o/a with the '@' sign. See also footnote 206.

[193] El anarcofeminismo lucha para eliminar una de las diferenciaciones jerárquicas más importantes dentro de la estructura general de dominio, el patriarcado y el capitalismo.

[194] A nivel micro social (de las relaciones interpersonales).

[195] Desde la vida cotidiana hasta las grandes instituciones, [desde lo micro hasta lo macro].

[196] Comienza en la vida cotidiana y ... la familia nuclear es la institución básica de la sociedad verticalista y jerárquica.

[197] Publicaciones que circulaban entre Europa y América.

Emma Goldman's counterpart in Argentina was the Uruguayan-born agitator Virginia Bolten, like Goldman a popular public speaker, who went on a lecturing tour through Argentina in 1902 (Finet 2006, 136). Importantly, the rise of anarchism and women's activism within anarchism in Argentina must be understood in the context of Argentina as a destination for a vast diaspora of Italian, Spanish and other European immigrant workers from 1880 to 1914 (Finet 2006, 124). Anyone planning to migrate to Latin America was most likely to first arrive at Buenos Aires harbour, and many stayed in the capital. According to Hélène Finet, around 1890, immigrant workers in Argentina were faced with extremely long working days of between 12 and 14 hours, as the length of the work day was not regulated (Finet 2006, 124). She goes on to argue that in turn-of-the-century Argentina, 'anarchist feminist propaganda ... is inseparable from a growing awareness of the mechanisms of economic and social exploitation of Argentinean women with immigrant origins. It materializes these working women's expectations within a vast project for a libertarian society' (Finet 2006, 138).[198]

María Eva's post on anarcha-feminism says a lot about *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideological leanings and we can presume that they agree with the gist of it. And indeed, later in November, *Proyectil Fetal* post an article on their blog which is authored by themselves, and which deals with anarcha-feminism and its continuing relevance (Proyectil Fetal 2007b). They also post another email they received from someone supporting the idea that anarchism has to be feminist (Chika Migraña 2007). Silvestri has posted the article on first-wave anarcha-feminism on her personal blog, where it received four responses. The first comment is a supportive comment by Laura Contrera, who states: 'they are already coming after us with their Trotsky-meter, anarko-meter, and let's not even talk about feminism! thankfully some new friends come, and some old ones stay! Go Proyectil, go proyectual, hasta la victoria secret' (Contrera 2007).[199] This shows that the group feels scrutinised and that they may not

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[198]My translation of '[l]a propagande féministe anarchiste … est indissociable du processus de prise de conscience des mécanismes de l'exploitation économique et sociale des femmes argentine issues de l'immigration. Elle matérialise les attentes de ces ouvrières dans un vaste projet de société libertaire'.
[199] ya nos corrieron con el troskómetro, el anarkómetro,y ni hablar del feminismo! menos mal q algunxs amigxs nuevxs llegan y otrxs viejxs nos quedan!

have been accepted by a number of feminists and anarchists and, less surprisingly, Trotskyists. Some of these frictions will be explored further below. The second comment is by a group which calls itself Revolutionary Gay Peronism (PGR), who state that the PGR support gender as well as gay liberation, followed by an emphatic 'We've had enough of homophobic hegemony! Long live Perón, in his Sunday dress, sitting on Juan! (?) Long live Evita, the most autonomous of all whores, the most slutty of the autonomous!'[200] (Peronismo Gay Revolucionario 2007). The final comment is critical of *Proyectil Fetal*'s opposition to marriage: 'Without a god, without a boss, that's alright... but without a husband?... please let me be happy...'[201] (Anonymous, in Silvestri 2007), to which Silvestri replies that no one is going to stop her if having a husband is what makes her happy, 'however, in that case, your happiness is a little limited, in our eyes'[202] (Silvestri 2007).

In this section, it has been argued that *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog is usefully understood as part of *Web 2.0*, as their blog is part of a mosaic of linkers and interactions between their blog and other blogs, interactive sites such as *Youtube*, *Fotolog*, *Indymedia*, and that this online interaction also shows evidence of offline-interaction between groups and individuals. Some of the web content which involves *Proyectil Fetal* is spurred by real-life meetings between the group and others, while events where they do meet are often previously advertised through *Web 2.0*'s social media, as the group show a strong willingness to interact in offline activities which are advertised online. Evidence of *Proyectil Fetal*'s work online, as well as their interaction with other groups, can therefore be usefully understood as part of *Web 2.0* as a rhizome of interaction across

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vamos proyectil,
vamos proyectual,
hasta la victoria secret'. 'Hasta la victoria secret' is an ironic deformation of Ché Guevara's famous saying 'Hasta la Victoria siempre' (Until victory, always), which has been merged with Victoria Secret, the lingerie chain.

[200] '¡Basta de hegemonía homofóbica! ¡Viva Perón vestido de Domingo y sentado en Juan! ¡Viva Evita la más autónoma de todas las putas, la más puta de todas las autónomas!' – The sentence about Juan Domingo Perón, Argentinean president married to Eva (Evita) Duarte de Perón, is a play on the president's name (Domingo = Sunday). Calling Eva Perón a slut is provocative in a country which has idealised and sanctified her since her death.

[201] Ni dios, ni jefe, está bien… pero tampoco marido?... por favor, dejenme [sic] ser feliz…

[202] Pero tu felicidad, entonces, si [sic], nos parece un poco acotada.

on- and offline activities. The centrality of user interaction for blogging will be examined in the following.

Blogging as a powerful Web 2.0 tool

Dave Winer defines blogs as a

> hierarchy of text, images, media objects and data, arranged chronologically,[203] that can be viewed in an HTML browser... The center of the hierarchy ... is a sequence of weblog "posts" ... that forms the index of the weblog, that link to all the content in sequence... A weblog post has three basic attributes: title, link and description, all of which are optional. (Winer 2003)

Meg Hourihan[204] names the following characteristics of blog posts: 'a date header, a time stamp, and a permalink. Oftentimes the author's name appears beneath each post as well... If commenting is enabled (giving the reader a form to respond to a specific post) a link to comment will also appear' (Hourihan 2002). On *Proyectil Fetal'*s blog, posts feature all of the characteristics Hourihan and Winer have identified. The significance of the comment function and *Proyectil Fetal*'s engagement with comments will be discussed below.

Blogs have existed since the 1990s, and since then, the number of blogs has grown exponentially (Technorati 2009). Early blogging still required knowledge of html codes, but since, blogging services such as *Blogger* offer free 'push-button publishing'-blogging services (Blogger c2011) which require no knowledge of html codes whatsoever, as the user simply inputs information into templates. Rebecca Blood argues that these user-friendly blogging templates have 'made us all publishers,' with the consequence that 'to anyone with an Internet connection, the Web is now a two-way medium' (Blood 2002, x). Winer considers blogs to be 'unique in that only a weblog gives you a publication where your ideas can stand alone without interference', as the blogger can publish, or 'blog', without interference from an editor (Winer 2003), although arguably the same is true for any do-it-yourself (DIY)-

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[203] NB: it is more appropriate to speak of **reverse**-chronologically.
[204] Hourihan is the co-founder of Pyralabs, who created the *Blogger* service now owned by *Google* and used by *Proyectil Fetal*.

publication, such as zines[205]. Overall, blogs are part of a more participatory web, now commonly referred to as Web 2.0. What this means will be examined in the following.

Blogs, *Facebook*, *Youtube* and *Fotolog* are seen as part of *Web 2.0* (O'Reilly 2005, 3). *Web 2.0* in turn is part of Tim O'Reilly's conceptualisation of a new type of World Wide Web that emerged from the dot.com collapse in 2001. According to O'Reilly, the businesses that survived this collapse largely share characteristics that distinguish them from the businesses that didn't survive, and that mark them as the forerunners of a new generation of the Web, which he terms *Web 2.0* (O'Reilly 2005, 1). This new type of World Wide Web is dominated by web services that capitalise on developing and providing tools for user *participation* rather than simply for content publication, such as blogs, *Facebook*, *Myspace, Youtube*, among many others (O'Reilly 2005, 2). As O'Reilly argues, one of the key characteristics distinguishing *Web 2.0* from *Web 1.0* is shared by blogs: they owe their success to their harnessing of collective intelligence (O'Reilly 2005, 3). Because bloggers interact and link to each other, and linkers are what search engines utilise in order to determine the popularity and relevance of a site, search engines amplify the influence of blogs:

> because search engines use link structure to help predict useful pages, bloggers, as the most prolific and timely linkers, have a disproportionate role in shaping search engine results. Second, because the blogging community is so highly self-referential, bloggers paying attention to other bloggers magnifies their visibility and power. The "echo chamber" that critics decry is also an amplifier (O'Reilly 2005, 3).

Within this echo chamber, *Proyectil Fetal* reproduce other people's work, and the group's own work is posted by other users of *Web 2.0*, thus spreading each other's message. A good example of this distribution mechanism is a comment *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog received:

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[205] *Proyectil Fetal* have produced four editions of a zine which is available online (Proyectil Fetal 2009c). However, blogs are undoubtedly the quicker publishing tool of the two, as zines are lovingly made by hand-cutting letters and words out of newspapers and other publications, reassembling them with glue and adding hand-written messages and images. The result is then photocopied and can be reproduced as many times as one wishes (which, unlike blogs, involves a material investment) or, as is now increasingly the case, scanned and freely made available through an online zine library.

> Hi, your page is really good, I have been reading some of your articles on *Indymedia*, and here on the blog, and I would like to edit a few of them, I hope you don't mind if I copy them
>
> we have a site as well, if you want to visit it it's on http://www.autogestionyrevolucion.tk
> i hope you like it.
>
> libertarian greetings![206] (Espasmosirreales, in Proyectil Fetal 2008f)

Similarly, in another instance, a commentator suggests getting in touch with a specific group in Madrid who might be able to distribute *Proyectil Fetal*'s work in Madrid (La quimera rosa in Proyectil Fetal, Grupo Al Filo de la Anarquía 2008).

In addition to their blog, *Proyectil Fetal* used *Fotolog* accounts in order to engage with other groups. While their main *Fotolog* account was deactivated before research could be conducted, their comments on other *Fotolog* pages remain available for analysis (see for example, Veomenosmenosmal 2007). Similarly, the group possesses a *Youtube* account, from which it posted one video, which, by 14 June 2011, has been viewed 3250 times (Proyectil Fetal 2008l). Between the number of times their online zines have been read (3437 on 14 June 2011), the number of viewings of their *Youtube* video, as well as their blog readership itself (1191 page views on 8 June 2011), the group's online work has been accessed at least 7878 times (14 June 2011). While I am responsible for hundreds of page views, particularly of the blog, this number still means that their overall readership was in the thousands. In addition, a large number of the posts on this blog were also posted on Contrera's and Silvestri's other blogs, as well as on *Indymedia*, where they received a considerable number of comments. Considering, in addition, the common practice of bloggers re-posting each other's posts, the overall readership of the group's work is probably in the 10,000s. A significant percentage of the group's blog is made up of texts copied from elsewhere. *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog can be seen a part of a mosaic, as it spreads other people's message, and its own message is being spread on other blogs and by other people, both on- and offline, which expands their overall readership. Overall, their message

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[206] Hola , está re buena la página, estuve leyendo algunos artículos que están en *Indymedia*, y aquí en el blog , me gustaron algunos para editar , espero que no les moleste si los saco
nosotr@s también tenemos una página para que la visiten ! http://www.autogestionyrevolucion.tk
espero que os guste. saludos libertarios!

has been successfully amplified by their use of *Web 2.0*, and it emerges as a wise choice for *Proyectil Fetal* to use the blog as a medium to propagate their ideas, since blogs seem to be particularly good at spreading the word and their high ranking in search engine results seems to confirm this. Reaching a similarly large readership without using the Web, and particularly free *Web 2.0* resources, would have been hard without considerable material investment.

The potential influence of blogs makes them a direct competitor to the mainstream media. Dan Gillmor has argued that there is a 'shift in how we make and consume the news', as grassroots journalists are 'dismantling Big Media's monopoly on the news, transforming it from a lecture to a conversation' (Gillmor 2005). Drawing on Gillmor's conceptualisation of this new type of journalism, O'Reilly explains why blogs are increasingly seen as competitors to the mainstream media:

> While mainstream media may see individual blogs as competitors, what is really unnerving is that the competition is with the blogosphere as a whole. This is not just a competition between sites, but a competition between business models. The world of *Web 2.0* is also the world of what Dan Gillmor calls "<u>we, the media</u>," a world in which "the former audience", not a few people in a back room, decides what's important. (original emphasis O'Reilly 2005, 3).

As a consequence, bloggers are increasingly acknowledged by politicians as well as the mainstream media. According to Antoinette Pole, in the US, both politicians and mainstream media have integrated them into campaign coverage since 2004, 'thereby legitimizing the role of political bloggers' (Pole 2009, 1). Political bloggers have also been credited with unseating US Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott in 2002 (ibid.). Gil de Zúñiga et al. stress that 'blog communities present avenues for individuals to be part of traditional political participation activities while also providing new online opportunities for the exchange of political perspectives and mobilization into action' (Gil de Zúñiga, Veenstra et al. 2010, 37).

Stephen Coleman, however, argues that blogging 'was once regarded as counter-culture [and] has now shown it has the potential to become institutionalised', as it is being used by party politicians and businesses of all kinds (Coleman 2004, 23). Even still, blogs are seen as made up of voices which 'could provide information and

perspectives that were not readily available in the mainstream media thus offering a more colourful, textured representation of political views and ideas' (Coleman 2004, 24). Rebecca Blood, danah boyd and the blogging-service *Blogger* compare the blog to a soapbox (boyd 2006, 14, Blogger c2011). According to Blood, 'for many people, a weblog is a soapbox from which to proclaim their views, potentially influencing many more people than they can in their everyday lives' (Blood 2002, x). *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog with its clearly political content can be understood as such a political soapbox.

Not only do Latin Americans have a proportionally more limited access to the internet, as shown above, but there are concerns over 'cyberimperialism' among Latin American critics who accuse the internet of being yet another vehicle for US-American cultural imperialism, as the internet is largely based on US-American technology and practices[207] (Taylor, Pitman 2007, 7). In reaction to such concerns, critics issue a call for Latin Americans to reclaim the internet and create their own forms of cultural and political participation on the internet (ibid.). This raises the question whether *Proyectil Fetal*'s use of the blog buys into or differs significantly from the ways blogs are typically used in the US. In other words, one may ask whether *Proyectil Fetal*'s use of the blog represents a particular Latin American appropriation of blogging. While an answer to this highly topical question lies well beyond the scope of this thesis, *Proyectil Fetal* have made a potentially problematic choice of using one of the world's most popular, US-American domains to host their blog. *Blogger*, the service used by *Proyectil Fetal*, is an exceptionally popular US American blogging service, owned by *Google* since 2003 (Gillmor 2003). It may seem surprising that an anarchist group should subscribe to this service, since *Google* has attracted serious criticism from anarchist collectives. Anarchist culture jammers[208] *Adbusters* criticise *Google* for representing 'the most radical reordering of information to benefit advertisers the world has ever known' (White 2010). On the other hand, it is free, easy and quick to subscribe to *Blogger* and equally free, easy and quick to create well-formatted blog

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[207] It is important to note that this cultural imperialism not only affects Latin America but any country which is not the USA.

[208] The practice of culture jamming involves making visual changes to the logos, advertising images and slogans of a company in order to express criticism of the brand and its policy. A famous example is the logo of petrol company *Shell* stained by overflowing crude oil, or transformed into a skull, depicting *Shell* as a lethal environmental hazard.

posts using their service. There were approximately 26 million *Blogger* users in September 2007, making it the world's 16th most popular domain (Meattle 2007).

In the following, *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog will be considered as part of *Web 2.0*. Starting at a macro level, the layout of the blog will be examined, as well as evidence of user interaction in this 'skeleton' of the blog (Figure 1). Discussion will then progress to a micro analysis of user interaction found in particular posts.

colectiva libertaria d-género proyectil fetal

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lunes 22 de febrero de 2010

Presentacion Postuma de Proyectil Fetal en Leeds

Articulo postumo en ingles para congreso de Sexualidades y Anarquismo en Leeds-
PF is dead long live King Ludd

Proyectil Fetal
www.proyectilfetal.blogspot.com
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correcciones: Helena Torres & Dariush Sakolov

Para mis versos escritos tan temprano,
Que ni yo sabía que era poeta,
Brotados como gotas de la fuente,
Como chispas de cohetes
Como pequeños diablos irrumpiendo
En el templo, donde rige el sueño y el incienso;
Para mis versos sobre la juventud y la muerte,
Para mis no leídos versos
Dispersos, llenos de polvo, en librerías
Donde nadie los compra, ni los compraba...
Para mis versos, como para nobles vinos,
Su turno llegará
Marina Tsvietaieva

Estimo a aquel que aprueba la conjuración y no conjura; pero no siento nada más que desprecio por esos que no sólo no quieren hacer nada sino que se complacen en criticar y maldecir a aquellos que hacen.

El amor, el amor libre, exige aquello que otras formas de amor no pueden comprender. Y nosotros dos, rebeldes divinos (jamás nadie podrá llegar a nuestras cumbres), tenemos derecho a desagotar el pantano de la moral corriente y cultivar allí el inmenso jardín donde mariposas y abejas puedan satisfacer su sed de placer, de trabajo y de amor.
Severino Di Giovanni

Los hombres de mi vida han tenido tres características:
fueron inteligentes, anarquistas y muy guapos
América Scarfó

Argentina, 1931: the last of the Argentinian anarchists of action died with

proyectil lee y escribe
15 tesis
abyectxs
america libre
Armario para bajar
Autonomia Fecal Barrial
Cabezas de Tormenta
El amor libre
El eje del mal es heterosexual
El giro Queer
el sexo de tus revoluciones
    (publicado en el Libertario Nª66-
    2008)
El Teje
feminismo anarco queer
feminismo anarko queer este verano
Fuimos a una charla de la Red
    Libertaria
La ley, tu ley
La tragedia de la emancipacion de la
    mujer
Latigo de Emma 1
Latigo de Emma 2
Latigo de Emma 3
Latigo de Emma Paraguay
Latigo en mano
Ningun Orgullo Gay
no mas mártires
Patricia Troncoso Tierra y Libertad
Periferica, baja desde España
Perversas y Basqas
Si no puedo bailar
sin plataformas ni taco aguja
Sujeta
Yo no me quiero casar y ud?

etiquetas
agendate (22)
con amigxs así... (1)
correo de lectorxs (1)
Cumpas (12)
Emma (5)
Fotos No (4)
Luddismo (1)
proyectiles (23)
RABIA (9)

archivo del blog
▼ 2010 (3)
  ▼ febrero (3)
    Presentacion Postuma de
      Proyectil Fetal en Leeds
    Ultima presentacion con vida de
      Proyectil Fetal
    Proyectil Luddita
► 2009 (8)
► 2008 (47)
► 2007 (26)

datos personales
**Colectiva Libertaria D-Género
Proyectil Fetal**
Ver todo mi perfil

Figure 3 Screenshot of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog at http://proyectilfetal.blogspot.com.

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The anatomy of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog

The first blog entry is dated 30 October 2007, and the last is dated 22 February 2010. The blog contains a header, a main text field, as well as a menu on the right hand-side of the main text field. The header announces the blog's name: 'colectiva libertaria d-género *Proyectil Fetal*' (libertarian d-gender collective[209] *Proyectil Fetal*). The main text field contains the latest blog post. The menu contains four headings followed by a list of links. The first heading is 'proyectil lee y escribe' (proyectil reads and writes), followed by 30 links to blog posts and other sites, indicating that some of these posts are written by *Proyectil Fetal*, and others are links leading to reading recommended by the group. This again testifies to the user interaction so typical of *Web 2.0*. The second menu heading is 'etiquetas' (labels), followed by nine labels. The labels 'agendate' (mark your diaries) and 'proyectiles' (projectiles) are the lables which are most in use, attracting 22 and 23 posts respectively, while the third most popular label, 'Cumpas' (Buddies) attracts twelve posts. All three again testify to the blog being part of *Web 2.0*, with a strong focus on user interaction: 'buddies' are people who interact with *Proyectil Fetal*; 'mark your agendas' contains posts and flyers which invite readers to events where they can meet *Proyectil Fetal* in the flesh; and 'projectiles' are theoretical texts written by the group which often make reference to debates with others both on- and offline.

The third heading in the menu is 'blog archive' divided into 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010. There were 26 entries in October-December 2007, 47 in the whole of 2008, 8 in 2009 and 3 entries in 2010, when blogging ceased in March, suggesting a high level of blogging activity at the start of the blog's existence, which thereafter continuously decreased. On 4 April 2008, *Proyectil Fetal* announce that they are updating their blog less frequently now because they are active in the streets:

> *Proyectil Fetal* has no peace and is not on holiday either, if we are becoming slower in the
> virtual domain, this is because we are accelerating on the streets, there is a renewed risk of the
> days of surreptitious poofter action in dark alleys... careful, you may be taking part in one of

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[209] Rather than using the "correct" Spanish word for collective, *colectivo*, *Proyectil Fetal* have changed the gender of the term to the feminine form and replaced it by *colectiva*.

Proyectil Fetal's actions without realising it, don't say we didn't warn you...[210] (Proyectil Fetal 2008k)

The last heading in the menu is 'personal data'. The personal data heading is followed by the group's name, 'Colectiva Libertaria D-Género *Proyectil Fetal*' and a link to 'see all of my profile'. This links to a generic page showing user data and statistics. This personal data page contains information about the blogger's industry and location, which are featured as 'Agriculture' and 'Afghanistan', suggesting that *Proyectil Fetal* simply selected the first choice on the alphabetical list. Furthermore, the personal data page contains the category 'My Blogs' and each blog's 'Team Members'. It displays two blogs: 'Colectiva Libertaria D-Género *Proyectil Fetal*' and 'leyendo testo yonki' (reading testo junkie). The first is not associated with team members, even though we know that *Proyectil Fetal* is a project co-run by two people. 'Reading testo yonki', on the other hand, is linked to a list of five team members, suggesting that it is a reading group blog dealing with Beatriz Preciado's influential monograph on queer theory, *Testo Junkie* (Preciado 2008). This again testifies to user interaction so typical of *Web 2.0*. As argued in the previous chapter, Preciado is indeed a major influence on *Proyectil Fetal*'s work. Finally, *Proyectil Fetal*'s personal data page contains statistics, which show that the blog was first registered in October 2007, as well as the number of page views the blog has attracted.

Limits to readers' engagement

One of the things that make blogs so powerful is their capitalisation on user interaction so typical for *Web 2.0*. User interaction is fostered through various elements in blogs. Very important among them is the 'comment' function; links to other blogs – often made in list-form in a sidebar of the blog, referred to as *blogroll*; and provision of an email address to which comments can be sent. Hourihan argues that blogs 'can be characterized by their conversational tone and unlike a more formal essay or speech, a blog post is often an opening to a discussion, rather than a full-

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[210] *Proyectil Fetal* no tiene ni paz ni se toma vacaciones, si se enlentece en la virtualidad es porque toma carrera en las calles, otra vez el riesgo de los días de la acción puta y subrepticia en callejones oscuros…cuidado, quizá estás asistiendo a una acción de Proyectil y no te enteraste, no digas que no te avisamos…

fledged argument already arrived at' (Hourihan 2002). Hourihan, who is a blogger herself, points out that

> because it's a weblog, formatted reverse-chronologically and time-stamped, a reader can expect it will be updated regularly. By placing our email addresses on our sites, or including features to allow readers to comment directly on a specific post, we allow our readers to join the conversation. Emails are often rapidly incorporated back into the site's content, creating a nearly real-time communication channel between the blog's primary author (its creator) and its secondary authors (the readers who email and comment). (Hourihan 2002)

Hourihan's description of blogging closely matches what the reader finds on *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog, as the group reproduce emails they received, and it is possible to comment on posts. However, it is important to note what Herring et al. call blogs' 'assymetrical communication rights – the author retains ultimate control over the blog's content' (Herring, Scheidt et al. 2004, 10). Herring et al. argue that 'by enabling readers to post comments, blog-software makes web pages truly interactive, even if that interactive potential has yet to be fully exploited' (Herring, Scheidt et al. 2004, 11), as 'blog authors, journalists and scholars alike exaggerate the extent to which blogs are interlinked, interactive, and oriented towards external events, and under-estimate the importance of blogs as individualistic, intimate forms of self-expression' (Herring, Scheidt et al. 2004, 1). In relation to *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog, it is certainly important to recognise the limits on interaction placed by the group, as explored in the following.

Authors usually have the choice to edit the 'comment' function. On *Blogger*, the service used by *Proyectil Fetal*, bloggers can choose to restrict who can comment - 'Registered Users'; 'Users with Google Accounts'; or 'Only members of this blog'. *Proyectil Fetal* have chosen the fourth and widest option offered by *Blogger*: 'Anyone', including anonymous commentators. Anyone can therefore leave a comment. However, the group have chosen to moderate comments. This means that, only once the group have approved a comment will this comment become visible on the blog. On *Blogger*, this is the default option, so it is possible that *Proyectil Fetal* never thought about changing it. They could have instead chosen to let comments become

visible online without their prior approval, and deleted any undesired comments after that, if need be.

The group also receive comments via email, which *Proyectil Fetal* frequently convert into blog posts. This means that, while comments cannot be freely posted on the blog, it is possible to either make a comment and await moderation, or to email the group, who may reply, or incorporate such emails into the content of the blog. *Proyectil Fetal* therefore maintain firm control over deciding which comments get published on their blog. Moderating allows them to censor any spam, insulting comments made under the protection of anonymity, or inconvenient comments, and to generally avoid work-intensive engagement with comments. It also enables them to control the focus of the blog and to frame the debate. Viviane Serfaty argues that interaction on blogs 'may be said to function as hubs towards the formation of micro-communities based on elective affinities and sometimes, though not necessarily, on geographic proximity' (Serfaty 2004, 58)[211]. It is possible that negative, insulting or spam comments have been edited out of the blog in order to create such a community, as well as to avoid work-intensive engagement with critical readers. While this would appear problematic, it would also be an understandable move. It is not unusual for a blog to be created with a specific purpose in mind, such as the goal of spreading queer feminist anarchist ideas, and discussing such ideas among like-minded people.

Proyectil Fetal have broadened the scope of their blog by posting one video on *Youtube*, which can be reached through a link on their blog (Proyectil Fetal 2008l), as well as by re-posting some of their original texts on *Indymedia Argentina*, the Argentinean outlet of the grassroots media giant. In doing so, *Proyectil Fetal* are further taking advantage of the networking nature of the internet. Both *Indymedia* and *Youtube* are, after all, prime examples of *Web 2.0* because they capitalise on user interaction. On both *Youtube* and *Indymedia Argentina*, the group's work is met with heated discussions as well as slurs between supporters and critics of their work. *Proyectil Fetal*'s engagement with these comments is limited, however. On *Indymedia*

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[211] Similarly, according to Taylor and Pitman, 'the Internet problematises notions of geographical fixity and specificity' (Taylor, Pitman 2007, 10).

Argentina, *Proyectil Fetal* refuse to participate in public discussion of their work. In a post in the middle of a debate on one of their texts, they ostensibly refuse to enter into a public dialogue, posting a single comment under their name, in which they claim that they use the medium of *Indymedia Argentina* purely as a means of broadcasting their ideas, rather than for dialogue:

> Proyectil uses this medium in order to broadcast some things it does, it doesn't participate in the entertainment of Trotskyists with or without party, anarchists with official credentials, feminists bored with their campaigns or their company, any resentful types, failed spies and any other authoritarian types who have time and the desire to meddle in forums and to bullshit. Our positions, constantly under construction, are available at http://proyectilfetal.blogspot.com. Serious criticism, insurmountable and substantiated disagreements, in-depth discussions, ancestral spells and invitations to parties or other activities, all to our email address proyectilfetal@gmail.com.[212] (Proyectil Fetal 2008m)

Proyectil Fetal provide their email address, which means that private discussion may ensue, while public discussion with *Proyectil Fetal* is rendered impossible. Their email address is also available on their blog. While it is possible that *Proyectil Fetal* partake in the public discussions on *Indymedia*, sneakily taking their own side by using pseudonyms, the group ostensibly reject any kind of public discussion in the one post they sign with their group's name. With the one comment posted under their name, they establish a binary opposition between valuable comments and comments that only merit ridicule, and posit themselves as the only judges of which category applies, ridiculing all dissident voices on the *Indymedia* thread. It is understandable that *Proyectil Fetal* would be put off by any insulting comments on their article and comments which are based on a selective and incorrect reading of their work. It is also time-consuming to engage in online discussion, and crossed wires and hostility are more frequent than in offline interactions. Critics, however, can interpret their refusal to publicly engage with differing opinions, displayed both on *Indymedia Argentina* and

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[212] *Proyectil utiliza este medio para difundir algunas de las cosas que hace, no participa del entretenimiento de troskxs con o sin partido, anarquistas con credenciales oficiales, feministas aburridas de sus campañas o de sus compañías, resentidxs varixs, servicios fallidos y demás especies autoritarias que tienen tiempo y ganas de intervenir en foros para bardear. nuestras posiciones, en constante devenir, están a disposición en http://proyectilfetal.blogspot.com. críticas serias, disenciones insalvables y fundamentadas, discusiones a fondo, maleficios anecestrales [sic] e invitaciones para fiestas o acciones varias, todo al mail proyectilfetal@gmail.com.*

their blog itself, as arrogance. It is worth noting that *Proyectil Fetal*'s policy with regard to the comments on their *Youtube* video is different: here, the group do engage in discussion. Below, some of the more heated debates involving *Proyectil Fetal* will be examined, in order to show how the group's ideology emerges through friction with the Left in Buenos Aires. First, however, the knowledge *Proyectil Fetal* expect of their readers will be examined, as well as the knowledge displayed by their readers.

Proyectil Fetal frequently use academic terminology and display specialist knowledge, but overall, their texts are pitched to different audiences. While some of their articles are written in jargon-heavy or even obfuscating style, their *Youtube* video is a prime example of a more down-to-earth text. Some of their commentators use jargon, and others criticise the use of jargon. While many of their readers appear to be university-educated, not all do. *Proyectil Fetal* command a wide range of vocabulary and styles, which is in part due to Silvestri's background as a poet. Contrera's grounding in Law leads to an article which discusses the intricacies of an Argentinean human trafficking law from an expert point of view, while Silvestri's training as a classicist leads to a slight over-use of Latin expressions and etymology which appear to be designed to impress the reader, much as would be the case in academic writing. In addition, the group's texts frequently operate on extremely abstract levels and are full of jargon pertaining to poststructuralism, anarchism, Marxism, queer theory, feminism as well as a range of other philosophies. Only a small minority of internet users have sufficient knowledge to recognise and understand these diverse political, theoretical and historical references. Comprehension is further made difficult by a lack of structure and signposting in texts, and by the use of paradox as well as the juxtaposition of arguments which are often left unresolved and are not logically connected in any obvious manner. The combination of all of these factors makes some of the group's texts obfuscating[213].

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[213] An extreme example is a 3200-word piece entitled 'Beyond all Obscurity: undermining the power of illuminist rationality'[213] (Proyectil Fetal 2007j).

With blogs being an ultra-quick publishing tool, bloggers are easily tempted to publish texts before they are ready for publication, without sufficient editing, when they are still rambling and chaotic. *Proyectil Fetal*, however, do not appear to see this as a problem. Many of their articles target an elite audience, and the use of jargon by commentators also shows that the readers of these texts share a similar educational background, in addition to specialist anarchist and Marxist knowledge, as has become apparent in the discussions surrounding dogmatism, postmodernism, and the death of Marxist positivism (for an example in a different context, see Chika Migraña 2007). On the other hand, many comments do not give a clear indication of the commentator's level of education, and it is important to note that some of *Proyectil Fetal*'s work is less abstract, particularly their *Youtube* video (Proyectil Fetal 2008l). Here, one of the commentators states that she liked and forwarded the video, after stating: 'I write badly and I read badly. It's because I've not gone to university'[214] ('StaCarolina', in Proyectil Fetal 2008l). Overall, *Proyectil Fetal* have pitched different texts to different audiences, and they receive comments from people of various levels of education. While anyone can comment, not all readers will be able to understand all texts, particularly the more abstract and chaotic ones, and not all readers will have the confidence to engage with those texts which are presented in prestigious, abstract language and style. And even if they do comment, there is still the possibility that their comments will simply be censored, because *Proyectil Fetal* have chosen to moderate comments their blog receives, as shown above. And, finally, as has been shown, the group have refused to discuss ideas in public on online domains. Overall, the group have therefore set a series of barriers hindering public engagement where they could have encouraged and enabled it, and their power to frame the argument and subject focus on their blog has become apparent.

Readership: of Friends and Enemies

This section will trace *Proyectil Fetal*'s key disagreements with other parts of the Argentinean Left, particularly Marxists and platformists, but also other groups who they consider to be part of the authoritarian Left, including Trotskyists.

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[214] Así que leo mal y escribo mal. Me pasa por no haber sido universitaria.

A clash with Trotskyists

One such disagreement is with Trotskyists. On their blog, *Proyectil Fetal* make reference to a key event in the history of Trotskyist-anarchist conflict: the Kronstadt rebellion against the Bolshevik regime. In March 1921, Leon Trotsky had a rebellion by sailors, many of whom were anarchists, squashed, and thousands of them were killed or wounded in the process. In a post entitled '90 years after the revolution, we are Kronstadt sailors'[215], *Proyectil Fetal* identify with the sailors and publish two excerpts from Leon Trotsky's account of the repression of the Kronstadt rebellion, in which he depicts anarchists and other groups as counter-revolutionary and deserving of the violent repression by the Bolsheviks, for which he assumes full responsibility (Proyectil Fetal 2007a). He depicts the Bolsheviks as the 'only current which is genuinely revolutionary'[216], while anarchists 'have lost their programme and principles'[217] and must perish (ibid). *Proyectil Fetal* introduce these excerpts with a short commentary calling 'Leon' a 'repressor and assassin'[218], as well as a quote by Brandon Teena, the American transgender person raped and assassinated in a hate crime in 1993 (ibid). They thereby establish a link between the repression and assassination of anarchists and of sexual deviants.

In their commentary, *Proyectil Fetal* elicit the reason why they are making this post: '[d]edicated to "one of the PTS who signs an email to us saying "you will get the same treatment as the Kronstadt lot"'.[219] The Socialist Worker's Party, Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas (PTS) are a part of the Trotskyite fraction of the Fourth International Workingmen's association (Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas 2010). The Brandon Teena quote reads: '[w]e always fear those who speak of "truth", "essence", "the genuine"'[220] (ibid). *Proyectil Fetal* can be seen to imply that the PTS are threatening them, defining Trotskyism as the only true social radicalism, while Brandon Teena's statement is transposed onto this context, implying that there is a parallelism between the fear caused in Teena by those seeking to impose essential

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[215] A 90 años de la revolución somos marineros de Kronstadt.
[216] la única corriente genuinamente revolucionaria.
[217] perdieron su programa y sus principios.
[218] represor y asesino.
[219] Dedicado a "uno del PTS" que nos firma diciendo que "como en Kronstadt les va a pasar".
[220] Siempre temámosle a quien habla de "la verdad", "la esencia", "lo genuino".

identities and truths, and the PTS's dogmatic socialism, with which they threaten *Proyectil Fetal* as anarchists. This post is the only one under the label 'with friends like these...', implying that the PTS's association with socialism makes them appear to be friends, but their dogmatic vanguardism, as well as their violent hostility towards anarchists, make them enemies.

Clashing with platformists

In November 2007, the blog provides evidence that *Proyectil Fetal* are engaging in debate with a platformist group, the *Red Libertaria* of Buenos Aires (Red Libertaria de Buenos Aires c2008). In order to be able to appreciate the ideological disagreements which give rise to this argument, it is necessary to consider the characteristics and genesis of platformism. Platformism is part of the anarcho-communist tradition and focuses largely on organising the working class, and assisting in their struggle against their bosses. Here, a crucial difference compared to *Proyectil Fetal*'s paradigm becomes apparent. As previously shown, the group sees the concept of the working class as outdated and useless in the contemporary anarchist struggle. Platformists, on the other hand, seek to incite the revolution at the workplace. They believe that the most effective way of organising the working class is through a General Union of Anarchists characterised by theoretical and tactical unity (Shantz 2010, 31). This strategic focus is due to platformism's origins in the Russian Revolution. Platformism

> emerged following the Russian Revolution through the efforts of a group of Russian and Ukrainian anarchists in exile, including figures such as the former peasant militia leader Nestor Makhno and Ida Mett, who sought to analyze why the anarchists had fared so badly during the revolution in comparison with the Bolsheviks. Their conclusion was that despite their vastly better social and political analysis the anarchists lacked effective organizations. Drawing upon their first-hand experiences during the Russian Revolution, the Paris-based Dielo Trouda argued that anarchists had failed largely because of their lack of organization, which kept them from developing a serious challenge to the efforts of the Bolshevik's... In order that anarchists not make the same mistake in future generations, the Dielo Trouda (Workers' Cause) group wrote a position paper, "The Organizational Platform for a General Union of Anarchists," in which they laid out some points that might serve as a guide in developing effective revolutionary organizations. Their suggestion, lest anarchists suffer a similar fate in future social struggles, was that anarchists form a "General Union of Anarchists" which would provide

a space for the development of "theoretical and tactical unity" among anarchists and focus their activities on class struggle and radicalization of labor unions. (Shantz 2010, 31)

Proyectil Fetal's disagreements with the platformist *Red Libertaria*'s focus on the working-class and popular struggle first becomes apparent in their post entitled 'Observations of a talk on Simón Radowitzky. In order not to repeat the errors of the past'[221] (Proyectil Fetal 2007n). It is a reaction to a talk *Proyectil Fetal* attended at the Buenos Aires anarchist library *José Ingenieros*. The talk was organised by the *Red Libertaria*. *Proyectil Fetal*'s commentary on the talk is cryptic, particularly to those who did not attend the talk, but also to those who do not have a firm grounding in the history of the Argentinean anarchist movement, and anarcho-syndicalism in particular. Names are dropped without explanation – *La Protesta*, the newspaper of the anarchist union FORA; Diego Abad de Santillán, who was *La Protesta*'s editor, Severino di Giovanni, and so on. Furthermore, it may be due to the nature of the blog as a quick, push-button publishing system, that *Proyectil Fetal* did not think their comment through as thoroughly as they might have in a text published in a newspaper, for instance, nor paid as much attention to structuring it clearly.

The talk marked what its organisers decided should be the 'Day of Popular Justice'[222] and its topic was Simón Radowitzky (ibid). Radowitzky assassinated police chief Ramón Falcón who was held responsible for the killing of anarchist protesters in Buenos Aires in May 1909 (Suriano 2001, 282). *Proyectil Fetal* argue that the talk presented Radowitzky in a 'quasi or pseudo-mystical' light, as a '"son of the people who did not fall from the sky, a product of the people, in whose name he sacrificed himself" or as a "young man who gathered the love of the people and carried out an action because of and for the masses"'[223] (Proyectil Fetal 2007n). *Proyectil Fetal* take issue with a justification of Radowitzky's act as an expression of popular will. They argue that 'the people' is a problematic term to use, as it is an ill-defined concept ('are the masses the whole of the people? Are the people one class?[224]), and because, arguably, 'the

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[221] Observaciones a la Charla sobre Simón Radowitzky - Para no cometer los errores del pasado.
[222] Día de la Justicia Popular.
[223] "Hijo del pueblo, que no cayó del cielo, producto del pueblo, en nombre de quien se sacrifica" o como "joven que recoge el amor popular y lleva acabo [sic] una acción por y para las masas."
[224] ¿Es la masa todo el pueblo? ¿Es el pueblo la clase?

people' have also supported military dictatorships and other forms of government. *Proyectil Fetal* take their point further by arguing that it is problematic to suggest that all we are is a 'product of history, formed by "popular will"'[225] (ibid). They thereby display a profound mistrust of an idealised popular or working class, which provides the background for their stronger focus on the *individual*'s role in the revolution.

Proyectil Fetal posted their comment on the Radowitzky talk on *Indymedia Argentina*, where it received seven, mostly supportive comments, which provide a glimpse of the ideological disagreements between class-struggle anarchists (that is, anarchists who focus on the class struggle as a means of bringing about anarchy) and those who see class as an insufficient basis for political action. One of the commentators argues that platformist anarchists have a very narrow vision of revolution as necessarily carried out through class-struggle, tarring anyone opposing this view as bourgeois and dangerously individualist (ibid). This evaluation will become an important tool to understanding attacks on *Proyectil Fetal* as bourgeois and individualist on the one hand, as well as *Proyectil Fetal*'s vociferous opposition to Marxism and class-struggle anarchism on the other, which will be discussed below. The author continues to argue that 'the working class is the class which has produced the smallest number of revolutions'[226], and 'therefore one thing is reality, another is theory, one is what IT IS and one is how IT SHOULD BE according to the little book'[227] (ibid). Overall, the commentator believes that the platformist strategies of discipline, organisation and class struggle are worse than the supposed threat of anarchist individualism. The commentator begins and concludes with a comment supporting *Proyectil Fetal*'s article, calling it 'an excellent article that departs from the stereotypes which certain sectors which call themselves anarchists wish to impose as the only valid ones, but who belong to the heritage of the authoritarian Left'[228] (ibid). This can be read as a critique of the *Red Libertaria*'s platformism, which a number of commentators

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[225] Sólo producción histórica, esculpidos por "la voluntad popular."
[226] La clase obrera es la clase que menos revoluciones produjo.
[227] Entonces una cosa es la realidad, y otra la teoría, una lo que ES y otra diferente como DEBERÍA SER según el librito.
[228] Un excelente artículo, que rompe con esos estereotipos que ciertos sectores que se autodenominan anarquistas quieren imponer como únicos válidos, pero que pertenecen al acervo de la izquierda autoritaria.

associate with the authoritarian Left, rather than with anarchism (see for example, 'Censista' and 'Andrea' in Censista et al. 2006). They conclude that *Proyectil Fetal*'s text is valuable, because 'these types of desecrated points of view are necessary in order to get something valuable out of these debates, which are generally organised to resemble a semi-religious act or a patriotic school event (with anarchist terminology and iconography)'[229] ('un anarco' in Censista et al. 2006).

The next commentator also celebrates *Proyectil Fetal*'s article and is highly critical of the *Red Libertaria*, describing them as having a predisposition towards classical pseudo-revolutionary party-politics, as they 'religiously try to recompose a movement with Marxist qualities'[230] ('Someone who was not at the talk', in Proyectil Fetal 2007m). Playing on the double meaning of 'red', network and net, they conclude with the mocking remark: 'enough of the RED [Libertaria]. The only nets that exist are those of the harbour in Mar del Plata' (ibid). Another commentator equally makes fun of the *Red Libertaria*, saying 'These people from the Red [Libertaria] want to found the Day of Popular Justice. They are so Peronist, they will want it to be a public holiday'[231] ('Someone', in Proyectil Fetal 2007m). Overall, five of seven commentators are critical of the platformist group and it has been shown that such criticism is expressed through mocking remarks of their dedication to being organised, and outright slurs. In other instances, *Proyectil Fetal* receive similarly undiscerning and insulting comments via the internet, as commentators feel protected by their anonymity to comment on *Proyectil Fetal*'s perceived individualism in this way. Both the *Red Libertaria* and *Proyectil Fetal* are regularly accused of not being 'real' anarchists, as the former is said to be too hierarchically structured and obsessed with class, and the latter is considered to be too individualistic, bourgeois and disregarding class altogether. The two groups thereby illustrate a fault line within the Argentinean Left, and within Argentinean anarchism in particular.

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[229] Es necesario este tipo de visiones desacralizadas para poder sacar algo bueno de estos debates, generalmente organizados como un acto semireligioso o como un acto escolar patriótico (con terminología e iconografía libertaria).
[230] Pretenden religiosamente recomponer un movimiento con cualidades marxistas' 'predisposición de los partidos clásicos [p]seudorevolucionarios.'
[231] Estos de la Red quieren fundar el Día de la Justicia Popular. Tan peronistas que son van a querer que sea un feriado.

Overall, the comments on *Proyectil Fetal*'s article on the Radowitzky talk are made in formal Spanish, at times using academic jargon, suggesting that the readership of this article on *Indymedia* is university educated or equivalent. A number of commentators cite classical anarchists and anarchist assassins of the past, which means that they have certain knowledge of the history of anarchism. The last commentator takes issue with the name-dropping displayed in the article and its comments, stating that 'to cite authors and refer to anarchist personas, to buy the T-shirt with the circled A[232] in Bond Street,[233] to organise talks and marches, to create an anarchist ritual and liturgy does not make you an anarchist. All you are doing is constructing a stage setting in order to transform yourself into what you believe is anarchism [sic], and you continue being what you are: an authoritarian'[234] ('Trapo Negro', in Proyectil Fetal 2007m). This author's criticism appears to target *Red Libertaria* specifically, as they are known for typically being well-versed in the history of anarchism, to organise talks and marches, yet can also be read as criticism of *Proyectil Fetal*'s article.

Three days after the post on the Radowitzky talk, *Proyectil Fetal* make a post with the following title: '*Proyectil Fetal* which is the opposite of rectification. Response to *Red Libertaria*'[235] (Proyectil Fetal 2007r). It is a reply to the *Red Libertaria*, with whom *Proyectil Fetal* seem to have had a discussion via email since their publication of their critique of the Radowitzky talk. It is an attempt to end this discussion, as it ends in the words 'as far as we are concerned, this email exchange has come to an end'[236] (ibid). The post shows that the exchange was rather heated, as it talks of a 'futile email exchange and crossed wires' and *Proyectil Fetal*'s desire for 'healthier and more anarchist forms of agreeing and disagreeing'[237] (ibid). Indicating that the *Red*

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[232] The circled A – an A in an O, is a symbol of anarchism and stands for **A**narchy is **O**rder.

[233] Bond Street Gallery on Avenida Santa Fé, Buenos Aires, has long been a hub for punks and other marginal youth cultures, as the shopping centre contains numerous tatoo and piercing parlours, alternative and fetish clothes shops, underground music shops, and many more.

[234] Citar autores y referir personalidades anarquistas, comprarse la remera con la (A) en la Bond Street, organizar charlas y marchas, crear ritual y liturgia anarquistas no te hace anarquista. Sólo estás armando una escenografía para convertirte en lo que crees es anarquismo, y sigues siendo lo que eres un/a autoritario/a.

[235] *Proyectil Fetal* que es lo opuesto de la rectificación. Contestación a *Red Libertaria*.

[236] Damos por concluido el intercambio de mail por nuestra parte.

[237] Fútil intercambio de mails y ecusaciones [sic] cruzadas'; 'formas más sanas y libertarias de estar en acuerdo y desacuerdo.'

Libertaria have accused *Proyectil Fetal* of dividing the anarchist movement and of being dogmatic, they begin with the following words:

> Comrades: as a collective which is constantly in a process of formation and becoming, we are not being divisive. We are acting –and responding- with our material and symbolic production, which is published in various places. Once again, we invite you to turn to these. They are made seriously and with passion, they are not the product of any kind of dogma, but rather they stem from experience, practice and critique.[238] (ibid)

They go on to argue that, as already written in the email by the person they emailed their comments to, they have nothing to rectify. It becomes apparent that the *Red Libertaria* saw *Proyectil Fetal*'s comments at the talk as well as online as an insult and accusation. *Proyectil Fetal* argue that they are perfectly capable of making and supporting a point without having to take recourse to simple accusations. They state that

> in the email which you sent us you mentioned the discussion we had in the doorway of José Ingenieros:[239] if there is one thing you should have taken away from that, it is that none of us has a problem backing up their affirmations and taking responsibility for them. If we wanted to call you Trotskyists, Mensheviks or young Left-Hegelians, we would do so with a well-founded argument, and we wouldn't think twice about writing it or shouting it in your faces.[240] (ibid)

On this basis, they argue that their comments cannot be called 'insulting', because they are argued properly. The post is again written quite quickly and in a slightly chaotic manner, and it remains unclear whether *Proyectil Fetal* did actually call the *Red Libertaria* these names. They do, nonetheless, emphasise that they do not wish to divide the anarchist movement and finish expressing their 'fraternal but energetic desire'[241] for a 'healthier' and more public discussion. They specify that by 'healthy',

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[238] compañerxs: como colectiva en conformación y constante devenir que somos, no alimentamos conventillos ajenos. actuamos -y respondemos- con nuestra producción material y simbólica, q está publicada en diversos sitios . una vez más, lxs invitamos a acudir a ellos. están elaborados con seriedad y apasionamiento, no son fruto de dogma alguno, sino de experiencia, práctica y crítica.

[239] An anarchist library in Buenos Aires.

[240] en el mail q[ue] nos mandaron hacen mención a la discusión q[ue] mantuvimos en la puerta de la josé ingenieros: si algo les debe haber quedado claro a uds [=ustedes] es que ningunx de nosotrxs tiene problemas en sostener sus afirmaciones y hacerse cargo de ellas. si quisiéramos calificarlos de trotskistas, mencheviques o de jóvenes hegelianos de izquierda, lo haríamos con fundamento y no nos temblaría el pulso en escribirlo o gritárselos en la cara.

[241] Fraternal pero energético deseo.

they do not mean respect or courtesy, but imply that thoroughly argued critique is healthy (ibid).

In a post on 10 December 2007 entitled 'No more saints', *Proyectil Fetal* return to the debate which started surrounding Radowitzky as a son of the people (or not) (Proyectil Fetal 2007k). *Proyectil Fetal* indicate that this debate has recently been very prominent in forums, and their first footnote can be read as a wink to the almost exclusively male membership of the *Red Libertaria*:

> [a]s I have –sadly!- found that many male comrades do not make the effort of reading the texts which I am writing with such passion and effort, this time I am not spending twice as long looking up references, as I have done in the past. Those who are interested can look at the texts of the authors which have been cited and look up the quotes all by yourselves. They are there, all you need to do is read them[242]. (ibid)

The subtitle of the post indicates the core content of the post: 'No more saints. Anarchy does not canonize anyone. *Proyectil Fetal*'s thoughts are like flying stones'[243] (ibid). *Proyectil Fetal* express this idea most emphatically at the end of the article:

> people still insist on the past errors of dogmatism, of divisionism and of sectarianism. Mythical figures are enthroned, people are excommunicated or absolved depending on dogma, the anarcho-meter is used to measure the proximity or distance with respect to a moving project which has been congealed in one acronym or in two names or in three canonical texts.[244] (ibid)

Anarchism is therefore conceptualised as an evolving ideology and movement, and readers are discouraged from over-focussing on the past. This is also reflected in a quote from punk band *Fun People* preceding the post: 'I am not going to look back looking for a splendour which no longer exists. The future is going to be better' (ibid). *Proyectil Fetal* emphasise that they are

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[242] Como he comprobado -¡tristemente!- que muchos compañeros varones no se toman el trabajo de leer los textos que con tanta pasión y esfuerzo escribo, esta vez me ahorro el doble trabajo de buscar las citas como he hecho otras veces. Al que le interese, [que] vaya a los textos de los autores citados y busque las citas solito. Están ahí, hay que leerlas nomás.

[243] No más sant*s. La anarquía no canoniza a nadie. *Proyectil Fetal* tiene pensamientos como pedradas.

[244] se insiste en los errores del dogmatismo, divisionismo y sectarismo del pasado, se instalan figuras míticas, se excomulga y se absuelve según el dogma de cada cual, se mide con el anarcómetro la cercanía o la lejanía respecto de un proyecto en movimiento al que se ha congelado en una sigla o en dos nombres o en tres textos canónicos.

not interested in entering into useless polemics about particular historical events. Many will be more erudite than me, others will know more exclusive facts or will rely on more first-hand sources. *Proyectil Fetal*, once again, bravely throws the first stone, puts up with the stones that come flying back and carries on throwing rubble. If Nietzsche philosophised with a hammer, *Proyectil Fetal* has thoughts like flying stones'[245]. (ibid)

Overall, through their heated debates with the platformist *Red Libertaria*, a rift within Argentinean anarchism has been identified, and *Proyectil Fetal*'s philosophy has emerged as an anarchism which is lived in the here and now, rather than in the past or the future. An anarchism which is defined in the following way: 'I am going to live today in the way I want people to live in the future'[246] (ibid).

Proyectil Fetal's anti-Marxism

As has become apparent, *Proyectil Fetal* set up their ideology of *becoming* in opposition to class-struggle anarchism and platformism in a public dispute with the *Red Libertaria*. In the following, some of their texts will be examined in order to pinpoint their rejection of Marxism, based on similar reasons to their critique of platformism. The first text to be analysed is *Proyectil Fetal*'s critique of a Marxist text on the anarchist conception of free love by Rosana López Rodríguez. López's text was first published on *Indymedia Argentina* on 24 December 2007 (López Rodríguez 2007). *Proyectil Fetal* replied on 27 December 2007 (Proyectil Fetal 2007x). Both texts are subsequently published elsewhere: *Proyectil*'s on their blog (Proyectil Fetal 2007x); and López's in the 'cultural periodical for the unemployed movement'[247] called *El Aromo* (López Rodríguez January/ February 2008). *Proyectil Fetal* mock the periodical's name with the use of the title 'A Smell of Mothballs: a certain Marxism thinks it has something to say about (free) love'[248] (Proyectil Fetal 2007x). Naphthalene, an aromatic chemical used in mothballs, is used as a symbol for what *Proyectil Fetal* see

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[245] No es de mi interés entrar en polémicas inútiles sobre hechos históricos puntuales de los que se ha pretendido sacar determinadas lecciones históricas. Muchxs me aventajarán en erudición, otrxs en datos exclusivos o en fuentes de primerísimo mano. *Proyectil Fetal*, una vez más, arroja valientemente la primera piedra, aguanta las que vienen y sigue cascoteando. Si Nietzsche filosofaba a martillazos, *Proyectil Fetal* tiene pensamientos como pedradas.

[246] Hoy voy a vivir como quiero que se viva en el futuro.

[247] Periódico cultural piquetero. The unemployed movement of the 'piqueteros' was one of the major movements formed in response to the 2001 collapse of the Argentinean economy.

[248] Aroma a naftalina: cierto marxismo nos viene a hablar de amor (libre).

as a 'most rancid form of Marxism'[249] (ibid). They attack not the author of the group (unknown to them at the time their reply was written, as her name does not appear on the *Indymedia* post), but the periodical's editorial group *Razón y Revolución*, who define themselves as Marxist Socialists (Razón y Revolución c2011). *Proyectil Fetal* criticise the group's text as misrepresenting anarchist proposals of free love as utopian and naïve (Proyectil Fetal 2007x). First of all, they argue that this is based on the misconception that anarchism is one dogma. They argue that this misrepresentation is due to *Razón y Revolución* viewing the world through tainted glasses which only allow them to view everything in terms of needing to fall into a dogma, and being part of dialectic materialism: 'everything which falls outside of this logic and dares to claim an identity in its own right and which does not content itself with being derivative ... becomes neatly classified as naïve and utopian, which is always counterrevolutionary'[250](ibid). If they were to take these proverbial glasses off, it is argued, they 'might just learn something about how [the world] works. And about how to disassemble it' (ibid).[251] Here, *Proyectil Fetal*'s conviction that there is no such thing as primary and secondary revolutionary goals becomes apparent, as they argue that the woman question is not subordinate to the question of class: 'for a certain type of Marxism, the woman question and feminism are derivative questions, secondary to the principal question, which is class struggle' (ibid).[252] *Proyectil Fetal* argue that 'decades of feminisms and activism of all kinds (postfeminisms, queer theory, postcolonial theory, trans- and intersex-studies, etc.) are avoided by the magic realism of *Razón y Revolución*, who do not have time to study or to live, because they are either involved in making reforms or in instigating the revolution (?)' (ibid).[253]

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[249] El más ráncio Marxismo.

[250] Todo lo que caiga fuera de esta lógica y ose reclamar entidad propia y no se conforme con ser cuestión derivada (pasible de "reformas parciales", … entra, lisa y llanamente, en el campo de lo ingenuo, utópico, que es siempre contrarrevolucionario.

[251] Quizá aprenderían algo sobre su funcionamiento. Y sobre cómo desarmarlo.

[252] Para cierto marxismo, la cuestión de la mujer y el feminismo resulta cuestión derivada, secundaria respecto de la principal, que es la lucha de clases.

[253] Décadas de feminismos y activismos de toda índole (postfeminismos, teoría queer, teoría postcolonial, estudios trans, intersex, etc.) son obviados por el realismo mágico de R y R, que no tiene tiempo para estudiar, ni vivir, porque está haciendo las reformas o la revolución (¿?).

Proyectil Fetal's opposition to Marxism is further articulated in an article they publish soon after in *El Libertario*, the press organ of the Argentinean anarchist federation, *Federación Libertaria Argentina* (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008). The article, entitled 'The Sex of your Revolutions,'[254] starts with an attack on Marxism:

> [i]f there is one thing we have learned from the death of the hegemony of positivism (i.e., the Marxist conception -historically proven to be wrong- that "revolution" is brought about scientifically, in the same way through different time periods), it is that the barricades are multiple, because the forms of subjugation and domination are multiple[255] (ibid)

Proyectil Fetal again set up anarchism in opposition to Marxism: '[n]o, anarchism does not have one singular subject of revolution, nor one struggle which is derived from this subject'[256] (ibid). The group argue that

> What Marxism has called the "principal enemy or issue" does not exist, a view which, sadly, is held by a number of self-proclaimed anarchists. Strategic priorities and immediate emergencies are not the same independently of time, nor are they something that can be encompassed by "the primordial."[257] (ibid)

As one critic writes on *Indymedia*, *Proyectil Fetal*'s text 'starts off declaring as the truth what instead it should demonstrate. You want me to discuss a text like this? A text which, after 8 words, lightly and nonchalantly "declares the death of Marxism"'[258] (P. 2008b). He contends that the text is 'full of anti-Marxist and petit-bourgeois prejudice'[259], 'extremely reactionary and anti-proletarian'[260]. Another commentator

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[254] El Sexo de tus Revoluciones.

[255] Si algo hemos aprendido de la muerte de la hegemonía del positivismo, (es decir, la concepción marxista – históricamente probada incorrecta- de que "la revolución" se lleva adelante científicamente, de la misma forma a través de los tiempos), es que las barricadas son múltiples, porque múltiples son las formas de sujeción y dominación.

[256] No, el anarquismo no tiene un sólo sujeto de la revolución, ni una sola lucha que se derive de este sujeto.

[257] No existe lo que el marxismo [sic] ha sabido llamar "enemigo o cuestión principal", frase que tiene, tristemente, cabida entre más de una individualidad que se considera a si misma libertaria y/o anarquista. Las prioridades estratégicas, las emergencias inmediatas no son atemporalmente siempre las mismas, ni algo que pueda ser comprimido a "lo primordial".

[258] comienza declarando como verdadero lo que en realidad debería demostrar, ¿Un texto así querés que me ponga a discutir? Un texto que a las 8 palabras "declara la muerte del marxismo" con una liviandad pasamante [sic]?

[259] Minado de prejuicios antimarxistas y pequeñoburgueses.

[260] Tan pero tan reaccionario y antiobrero.

reads the texts as misguided, whimsical, containing 'stupidities proposed by bored snobs,'[261] all of which has 'nothing to do with the anarchist struggle'[262] ((A) 2008).

The group's postmodernism is further mocked as ludic and seen as a sign of naiveté, as "Martín P." claims that he almost feels ashamed that he 'used to share these ideas and even thought they were revolutionary or profound.'[263] He is therefore glad he got over his postmodern phase when he was 24 years old (P. 2008b). After other commentators turn to the idea of dogmatism, as *The Sex of your Revolutions* contains a repeated insistence on anti-dogmatism, he adds that 'postmodernist ideas are a dogma, too'[264] (P. 2008a). *Proyectil Fetal*'s expression of anti-dogmatism in this article is particularly revealing, because they are rejecting any kind of 'platform, dogma, or canon'[265] (Proyectil Fetal summer 2007/2008), and thereby it can be understood to associate platformism with dogmatism. By extension, their claim that some anarchists adhere to Marxism's flawed conception of a unified revolutionary subject, may be seen to target platformists, including the *Red Libertaria*, specifically.

On another web forum, and in response to the group's advertisement for a regional conference of anarchist women, the group's perceived lack of engagement with working-class issues is also criticised, and their project is again rejected as 'postmodern':

> are [*Proyectil Fetal*] unaware of current affairs? One comrade of MST[266] Neuquén
> assassinated, two workers killed in Acindar, one in Río Santiago Shipyard... the police are
> torturing and imprisoning comrades from the Casino, etc etc. ... What of [*Proyectil Fetal*'s
> proposal] can be of interest to anarchist comrades involved in the struggle/ what of this can be
> of interest to those exploited by Capital and the State, in order to support their struggle for
> freedom as a class and as a society? ... To be honest, from the onset, I was not at all interested
> in this postmodern proposal. Anarchist greetings. [267] (Anónimo [Anonymous] 2008)

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[261] [q]ue plantean chetas aburridas.
[262] no tiene nada que ver con la lucha anarquista.
[263] compartía esas ideas y que encima me parecían revolucionarias o profundas.
[264] Las ideas posmodernistas también son un dogma.
[265] Plataforma, dogma o canon.
[266] Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers' Movement).
[267] che, ¿la coyuntura les pasa por al lado a estas compañeras? Un compañero del MST Neuquén asesinado, dos obreros muertos en Acindar, uno en Astillero Río Santiago… la gendarmería tortura y

The MST, which is referred to here, is a 'Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist' alliance (Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores 2010), which operates very much under a class-struggle optics. This comment bears a striking resemblance to James Petras's notes on protest movements in the Argentinean provinces in the late 1990s:

> [t]he revolt of the provinces is waiting to be adequately theorised by one of the many intellectuals from Buenos Aires, who, on the other hand, are well-versed in the latest nuances of the Postmodern discourse, which is in turn symptomatic of their own provincialism. This is yet another example of cultural alienation and political dissociation.[268] (Petras 2000, 58)

There is clearly a clash between those (platformist) anarchists, Marxists, Trotskyists and Leninists who focus on organising the working class, and *Proyectil Fetal*'s focus on sexuality and gender within a postmodern worldview, which can be explained by competing perimeter concepts within anarchism, as explored in the previous chapter. Writing about a conflict between his queer anarchism and a particular class-struggle anarchists, Shannon, recounts a similar experience to *Proyectil Fetal*'s:

> many of the criticisms we have gotten from (a rather loud minority of) comrades regarding queering our political project are focused around class struggle being THE instrument to bring about radical social change. Under this economistic … view, the struggle between workers and bosses and the replacement of capitalism with socialism will somehow magically bring about an end to environmental destruction and patriarchy. It will likewise end confining notions of gender or 'sexual identity' and hierarchies made out of those notions. As well, libertarian socialism will somehow ensure that 'disabled' people will be treated as if they are every bit a worthwhile human being as the 'able-bodied' and it will end racism and white supremacy'. (Shannon, Willis 2010, 437)

Overall it has become apparent that *Proyectil Fetal*'s disagreement with platformist anarchism is an important part of their genesis, and the way they express their ideology can be seen as a response to (anticipated) critique from groups within the

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encarcela a los compañeros del Casino, etc. etc… ¿Qué de esto les puede interesar a las compañeras anarquistas en lucha/qué de esto, les puede interesar a las explotadas del Capital y del Estado, para afianzar y reivindicarse libres como clase y como sociedad? … La verdad no me interesó desde el vamos esta propuesta, post moderna. Saludos anarquistas'.

[268] [l]a revuelta de las provincias sigue a la espera de ser adecuadamente teorizada por alguno de los numerosos intelectuales bonaerenses, que por otra parte están bien versados en los últimos matices del discurso postmoderno, lo cual es síntoma de su propio provincianismo. Este es un ejemplo más de alienación cultural y disociación política.

Argentinean Left who privilege the class struggle. In this context, Marxism is depicted in an extremely simplistic manner which does not do justice to the variation within this ideological tendency. This is a core feature of *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts, which are designed to be more polemical than analytical. Overall, viewing the blog as a medium has allowed further conclusions to be drawn from *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog, in particular with respect to the reception of the group's ideas among the political Left in and beyond Buenos Aires, as well as the rifts which exist within the Argentinean Left.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog as part of a mosaic of conversations taking place on *Web 2.0*. It has used online sources to uncover traces of interaction between the group and other groups and individuals in particular spaces both on- and off-line, which enabled a deeper understanding of the genesis of the group's ideology. It has been argued that the group have set up a series of barriers which hinder public discussion of their work. The limitations of *Proyectil Fetal*'s engagement with commentators have been discussed in relation to their problematic reaction to and ability to censor readers' comments. Despite their problematic stance on public discussion of their work, I have maintained that the blog bears evidence that *Proyectil Fetal* engage in discussion with others offline and work together with others on diverse projects. They live up to their slogan 'initiative, affinity, organisation', as their online work indicates that they do indeed take the initiative, seek affinity with other queer anarcha-feminists, and organise with others for particular projects. It has become apparent that, starting with their very first blog post, *Proyectil Fetal* display a desire to connect with like-minded people, and their blog testifies to their participation in manifold joint activities with other groups and individuals.

By examining which individuals and groups, spaces and activities *Proyectil Fetal* engage in and with, the scene was set for an understanding of *Proyectil Fetal*'s place within the Argentinean Left, their affinities as well as disagreements. While the previous chapter has shown how *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer feminist anarchism is defined ideologically in opposition to the State, capitalism, patriarchy as well as in opposition to particular forms of feminism and gay politics, this chapter has shown how the

group's ideology is defined through friction with particular types of Left-wing politics, particularly class-struggle socialism and platformism. This conflict has been found to be an important motivation behind a number of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog posts, and was seen as foundational to their ideology. It has been shown how class-struggle socialists brushed the group's work aside as ludic caprices of bored, rich, arrogant women who have no concern for workers' problems, and cannot be considered anarchists. Their work is criticised for being postmodern, as well as for its polemic attacks on Marxism. As other commentators launched a counter-attack, a significant fault line within the Argentinean Left became apparent. Overall, this chapter has provided insight into *Proyectil Fetal*'s anticipated readership, and allowed conclusions regarding the group's readership in terms of their regional origins, ideological leanings, theoretical knowledge of various theories and ideologies, and their ability to engage with *Proyectil Fetal*'s theoretically dense texts.

6 Conclusion

This thesis has examined to what extent *Proyectil Fetal* can be placed within the context of three intersecting fields of ideas: anarchism, feminism and queer theory. Today, this intersection is evident in growing anarcha-queer, or queer anarcha-feminist activity within radical movements across the globe. This thesis has elaborated the first systematic and in-depth conceptual definition of queer anarcha-feminism and contributes significantly to the creation and consolidation of this paradigm. Through this, a possible anarchist politics of sexuality was defined. Conversely, queer theory was grounded in the more comprehensive ethical framework provided by anarchism and a possible queer politics dedicated to anti-capitalism and anti-Statism has emerged. This study has defined queer anarcha-feminism in general and *Proyectil Fetal*'s in particular. It has thereby contributed significantly to filling the conceptual gaps which have so far marred this budding field of enquiry. This was achieved through three steps. First, a possible form of queer anarcha-feminism was systematically built using the conceptual categories proposed by Michael Freeden's model for the study of ideologies. Second, the genealogy paving the way for this ideology was determined. Finally, the resulting definition was tested on *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts. This was designed to be a test of my definition of queer anarcha-feminism on the one hand, and a test to see whether *Proyectil Fetal* really did use and develop a queer anarcha-feminism. Finally, *Proyectil Fetal*'s position within the Argentinean Left was defined in order to situate the group's queer anarcha-feminism in the context within which it emerged.

This thesis is dedicated to the study of 'queer anarcha-feminism', a new, emerging paradigm. It takes as its point of departure the Argentinean 'anarchist de-gender collective *Proyectil Fetal*', which defined itself as queer anarcha-feminist and ran a blog on this basis between October 2007 and February 2010. *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts were deemed exceptionally rich and original enough to justify focussing on their work as a major point of reference in this study. A preliminary study of the group's output indicated that *Proyectil Fetal* subscribed to and developed a 'queer anarcha-feminism'

(Proyectil Fetal 2007c), an amalgam of anarchist, feminist and queer theory. I have argued that their hybrid ideology is symptomatic of a wider trend, as a number of groups and individuals around the globe were beginning to integrate the ideas of queer theory into their anarchism or anarcha-feminism. Three years after I have met *Proyectil Fetal*, there is evidence that queer theory's influence on anarchism and anarcha-feminism is intensifying. After reviewing existing literature which makes connections between anarchism, feminism and queer theory, it was concluded that this area of study and ideological production is budding but frequently marred by conceptual imprecision. It was argued that, overall, in the literature, there is a lack of clear definitions of what kind of anarchism, feminism and queer theory are used when merging the three branches of thought, or even just two of the three. In this context, the term 'queer' was identified as particularly prone to conceptual imprecision.

Chapter Three was dedicated to defining queer anarcha-feminism based on Freeden's model of political ideologies. For the purposes of this thesis, Freeden's framework for the study of ideologies was deemed most adequate for two reasons. Firstly, theorising *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism as an *ideology* promised to provide an adequate tool for defining the group's political thought. Their texts have a highly polemic quality and frequently invoke emotions such as solidarity, fraternity and hostility towards others. As shown, Freeden conceptualises all of these as characteristics of ideologies, rather than of a political philosophy. As was shown in Chapter Five, *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog can be categorised as a political 'soapbox'. This again implied ideological rather than philosophical activity, making a further case for using an ideological framework. It was therefore deemed adequate to theorise queer anarcha-feminism as an ideology from the outset of the study. This would then narrow and strengthen the focus of the thesis on the whole. Yet it is important to note that the lines between political philosophy and ideology are by no means clear cut, as Freeden himself points out (Freeden 1998, 1). As has become apparent, *Proyectil Fetal*'s own texts are on many occasions highly philosophical, particularly when discussing poststructuralist and queer ideas and their bearing on anarchism.

The second reason for choosing Freeden's framework was that his theorisation of the morphology of ideologies was considered the most evolved and systematic in the field. His model of ideologies appeared systematic through his distinction between three different types of concepts which make up an ideology: core, adjacent and perimeter concepts. The excellent practical applicability of Freeden's core, adjacent and perimeter concepts will be discussed below in relation to my study of anarchism, queer theory and feminism as well as queer anarcha-feminism. In addition to an ideology's internal three-layer structure, Freeden's distinction between 'thick' and 'thin' ideologies was found to be useful. Freeden's concept of 'thin' ideologies was applied to describe feminism as well as queer theory. It was argued that, as thin ideologies, both feminism and queer theory lack a comprehensive political programme, which is why they tend to attach themselves to other, 'thicker' ideologies. For example, queer theory's core challenge to heteronormativity and other normative discourses related to sex, gender and sexual desire can be attached to a liberal, Marxist, nationalist or indeed anarchist programme. I have argued that the same is the case for feminism, but not for anarchism, which was deemed the 'thick' ideology in the triad.

In Chapter Three, in a first step towards an ideological definition of queer anarcha-feminism, core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of anarchist, feminist and queer (theory's) ideology were defined. Then, the three sets of concepts were combined with each other, which involved considering how the different concepts of the three ideologies overlapped, contradicted or defined one another more clearly, leading to a synthesis between the three which was larger than its sum. The final product was a description of queer anarcha-feminist core, adjacent and perimeter concepts. Through this work, queer anarcha-feminism was more clearly defined. It was argued that queer anarcha-feminism can be constituted firstly through the core anarchist principles of anti-capitalism and opposition to the State as a set of structures of domination and subordination. This core is surrounded by the anarchist adjacent concepts of social and individualist anarchism, as well as a plethora of perimeter anarchist concepts too large to number. Then, the core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of feminism and queer theory were merged with this basic structure. Feminism's three core concepts

had been identified as the conviction that the personal is political; the defence of 'woman' and gender as political categories; and the conviction that we are living in a patriarchal system. When merging these with anarchism's core concepts, it was argued that anarchism can subsume feminism's opposition to patriarchy, as patriarchy can be seen as a system of domination and subordination. The remaining core concepts of anarcha-feminism were thus defined as anti-capitalism; 'anti-Statism'; 'woman' and gender as political categories; and 'the personal is political'.

With regard to anarcha-feminism's adjacent concepts, it has been shown that anarchism's core concept of anti-capitalism decontests feminism's polysemic adjacent concept of equality as economic and social equality. Anarchism's split adjacent concept means that anarcha-feminism can be either individualist or social, or a mixture of both. Finally, an ideology based on queer theory was mapped onto anarcha-feminism. Considering the core and adjacent concepts of queer theory, I was able to conclude that a queer anarcha-feminism is defined by a core made up of the anarcha-feminist core concepts named, with the addition of queer theory's core challenge to heteronormativity and other normative discourses related to sex, gender and sexual desire. Anarchism's adjacent concept of freedom remains in place, whereas queer theory's adjacent, polysemic concept of equality, like feminism's, is decontested by anarchism's core concept of anti-capitalism. Finally, surrounding queer anarcha-feminism's core and adjacent concepts, we find a large number of anarchist, feminist and queer perimeter concepts, which can contradict each other. As shown, these can overlap at times, for example in the use of the affinity group by both anarchists and feminists. My graphic model of queer anarcha-feminism can be found in Figure Two.

Overall, Freeden's framework made it possible to identify core concepts of anarchism, feminism and queer theory, upon which all those who adhere to these ideas would agree. The category of the adjacent concept made it possible to account for seeming incoherences between social and individualist anarchists, as this difference was explained through a split adjacent anarchist concept. Finally, the use of 'perimeter' concepts further provided a way of accounting for differences and contradictions between different forms of the same ideology. This made it possible to explain why

anarchists have diverging strategic priorities. Some anarchists push for organisation in trade unions, whereas others, including *Proyectil Fetal*, focus more on organisation in small affinity groups; some focus on the antifascist struggle, and others on the defence of asylum seekers, or anti-G8 activism. In this context, it was argued that queer anarcha-feminists can be expected to focus on issues related to gender and sexuality, which will find expression in a plethora of perimeter concepts dealing with such issues.

The work carried out in this thesis will be of interest to anyone interested in the conceptual implications of combining anarchism, feminism and queer theory, or indeed of combining anarchism and feminism, or anarchism and queer theory. Of the three ideologies, queer theory constituted the biggest challenge. This was because, as by far the youngest of the three, it is still far from consolidated. In trying to define its core, adjacent and perimeter concepts, my study contributed significantly to defining a 'queer ideology' based on queer theory. This thesis therefore represents important conceptual work facilitating a definition of anarcha-feminism , queer anarchism or queer feminism: it would only be a small step from the work of this thesis to arrive at conceptual definitions of the three. Finally, the use made of Freeden's framework contributed to illustrating the applicability of his framework and showed that it enables the user to systematically describe ideologies and combinations of ideologies.

The last part of Chapter Three was dedicated to examining existing overlaps between queer theory and feminism, feminism and anarchism, and has argued that postanarchism helps bridge queer theory and anarchism. It has become apparent that queer theory and feminism share intimate links, and that anarchism and feminism share a common history in the form of anarcha-feminism. It has been argued that, due to the strong association between feminism and queer theory, and feminism and anarchism, a link between the three is intuitive. Finally, it was argued that the link between queer theory and anarchism has been facilitated by an amalgam of poststructuralist/postmodern and anarchist theory, which has become known as 'postanarchism', a set of theories which emerged in the 1990s and has become consolidated in the 2000s. It was argued that postanarchism constitutes a useful

theoretical bridge facilitating the link between queer theory and anarchism, because queer theory not only sprang from lesbian and gay studies/activism and feminism, but also from a poststructuralist perspective. We could therefore speak of a new offshoot of anarchism under the influence of the 'cultural turn', which sprouted both postanarchism, and, later, queer anarchism and queer anarcha-feminism. Tracing the history of thought leading up to the confluence of queer theory, feminism and anarchism, as well as identifying postanarchism as a bridging ideology helping to link queer theory and anarchism constitutes an important theoretical contribution of this thesis. My subsequent discussion of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism has shown that *Proyectil Fetal* do indeed share important theoretical overlaps with postanarchism, and so do other authors dealing with both queer theory and anarchism, which overall supports my idea of using postanarchism as a bridging ideology for defining queer anarcha-feminism.

This project therefore began by attempting to develop a systematic understanding of queer anarcha-feminism. Freeden's model for the study of ideologies was successfully applied in order to achieve this. His theory of core, adjacent and perimeter concepts of an ideology was applied in order to define anarchist, feminist and queer core, adjacent and perimeter concepts. These three separate models were then combined, leading to a systematic model of queer anarcha-feminism. After work on this first major part of the thesis was concluded, the second part of the thesis dealt with *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology. In Chapter Four, I have argued that *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog is a vehicle for their queer anarcha-feminism, which, although defined as fluid and constantly becoming, contains a number of identifiable core, adjacent and perimeter queer anarcha-feminist concepts. It has been shown that all core queer anarcha-feminist concepts previously elaborated using Freeden's model for the study of ideologies can be identified on their blog. *Proyectil Fetal* are against capitalism and all forms of hierarchy, including the State as a system of domination and subordination, as well as patriarchy. Patriarchy is defined as complicit with, yet independent of, the State and would not disappear if the State were abolished. 'Woman' is defined as a political category which has some strategic value but which must be invested with new meaning; *Proyectil Fetal* see the unitary conception of 'woman' as one of the

pillars of capitalism and patriarchy, and therefore seek to undo it. The group further subscribe to the feminist concept that the personal is political. And, as queer theorists, they oppose heteronormativity and question all normative discourses surrounding sex, gender and sexuality.

The group's adjacent concept of freedom was identified as communal individuality based on a nomadic revolutionary subject. A major influence on the group's ideology in this respect is postmodernism and poststructuralism, expressed, among other things, through the conviction that identity is in constant flux. Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze have been identified as major references for *Proyectil Fetal* in this respect. Queer theorists Beatriz Preciado and Judith Butler, anarcha-feminist Emma Goldman, and Friedrich Nietzsche were identified as further, prominent influences on the group. Finally, a number of perimeter concepts of *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer feminist anarchism have been identified, including, prominently, an opposition to violence against women bound up with the core anarchist opposition to the State, opposition to (gay) marriage, advocating legal, safe and free abortion as well as a Preciado-inspired promotion of counter-sexual practices and reprogramming of desires.

Viewing queer anarcha-feminism as an ideology has been a key to dissecting *Proyectil Fetal*'s work. *Proyectil Fetal* display extensive knowledge of anarchism, feminism and queer theory. Using the category of 'ideology' proved an appropriate tool in describing the group's paradigm. Despite *Proyectil Fetal*'s frequent use of academic discourse, an analyst of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideas must bear in mind that the group's posts were not written in order to contribute to academic debate, but to propagate an ideology. In other words, *Proyectil Fetal*'s priority is not to rigorously justify or reference ideas, but to propagate them. While the group's posts may provoke readers' visceral agreement due to their passionate and provocative style, it is very difficult for a researcher to systematically analyse the ideas underlying the at times chaotic posts. While acknowledging this as a typical feature of ideologies, as a researcher interested in systematising their original ideology, my difficult task was to create a coherent narrative out of a series of elliptic blog posts. Filtering the blog content through Freeden's model for the study of ideologies proved invaluable in this respect.

Overall, theorising queer anarcha-feminism as an ideology proved useful, as it not only provided a clear model of the paradigm in Chapter Three, but it also proved to be an appropriate tool for analysing *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideas. This leads me to conclude that theorising queer anarcha-feminism as an ideology was an appropriate choice which enabled me to create a model of an imagined queer anarcha-feminism, and to analyse *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideology. Through applying Freeden's model for the study of ideologies, our understanding of queer anarcha-feminist ideology was greatly improved, as it provided the key to a systematic analysis of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideas.

After the first two major parts of this thesis, which defined an imagined queer anarcha-feminism, and *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism, the third and final part examined *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog as an ethnographic document. In order to do this, in a first step, the nature of blogging was considered, as well as the specific features found on *Blogger*, the blogging service used by *Proyectil Fetal*. Such an approach made it possible to become attentive to the various elements available to the blogger, and to subsequently assess *Proyectil Fetal*'s use of these elements. Among other things, this involved considering their use of the function which enables the blogger to censor comments received by their blog, as well as other ways in which the group control and restrict readers' engagement.

Considering the specific character of blogging further helped explain how readers' emails to *Proyectil Fetal* had become rapidly incorporated back into the content of the blog, as the group posted various of these in the form of blog posts. I argued that, despite their use of comment moderation, as well as their refusal to engage in public debate on *Indymedia Argentina* in one instance, overall the group live up to their slogan 'initiative, affinity, organisation', as their online work indicates that they do indeed take the initiative, seek affinity with other queer anarcha-feminists, and organise with others for particular on- and offline projects from the outset, and thereby use their blog as well as other *Web 2.0* platforms for establishing links with other groups and individuals. Indeed, it has become apparent that, starting with their very first blog post, *Proyectil Fetal* display a desire to connect with like-minded people.

Overall, I have argued that blogs are a part of *Web 2.0*. *Web 2.0* was defined as a more interactive type of World Wide Web, which moves away from *Web 1.0*'s focus on content publication. Blogs are an excellent example of *Web 2.0*, as they capitalise on user interaction. It was argued that blogs achieve a high ranking in search engine results because they link to each other, and such links are used by search engines to determine the popularity of a site. The way such linking happens was illustrated with examples from *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog, where readers posted comments stating that they liked *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts and would like to distribute them, supplemented by a link to their own work. Based on this linking mechanism as well as the number of page views the group's different web outlets have attracted, I argued that *Proyectil Fetal* have made a wise choice in disseminating their ideology through a blog, as well as through other *Web 2.0*-outlets such as *Youtube* and *Indymedia Argentina*, as this has allowed them to quickly reach well over 7000 readers and potential collaborators all over the world without any substantial financial investment.

Considering the various voices engaging with *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts in various *Web 2.0* outlets, particularly on *Indymedia Argentina* discussions, in comments on the group's *Youtube* video, as well as in comments submitted to the blog, provided insight into the readership of *Proyectil Fetal*'s texts in terms of their regional origins, ideological leanings, theoretical knowledge of various theories and ideologies, and their ability to engage with *Proyectil Fetal*'s theoretically dense texts. I established that many readers use Argentinean Spanish, and suggested that many are a part of the vibrant political Left in Argentina and particularly Buenos Aires, with its diverse landscape of ultra-leftist social movements which have emerged since 2001. Various readers were found to be using academic jargon, leading me to conclude that they were university-educated, while others did not use such jargon, and one commentator pointed out specifically that she was not academically trained, yet still found *Proyectil Fetal*'s work stimulating and that she planned to distribute it. This particular commentator reacted to the group's *Youtube* video, which did not use academic jargon. I used this as an example to argue that the group have pitched different texts to different audiences, which enabled them to spread their ideas among different social groups.

By examining which individuals and groups, spaces and activities *Proyectil Fetal* engage in and with, the scene was set for an understanding of *Proyectil Fetal*'s place within the Argentinean Left, their affinities as well as disagreements. While the previous chapter had shown how *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism is defined ideologically in opposition to the State, capitalism, patriarchy as well as in opposition to particular forms of feminism and gay politics which are complicit with capitalism and the State, this chapter showed how the group's ideology is defined through friction with particular types of Left-wing politics, particularly class-struggle socialism and platformism in Buenos Aires. This conflict was found to be an important motivation behind a variety of *Proyectil Fetal*'s original texts, and was therefore seen as an important motivation for the way their queer anarcha-feminism is articulated. It has been shown how class-struggle socialists brushed the group's work aside as ludic, caprices of bored, rich, snobbish women who have no concern for workers' problems, and cannot be considered anarchists. Their work is criticised for being postmodern, as well as for its polemic attacks on Marxism. It was argued that the group's fervent critique of Marxism and particular forms of anarchism and socialism on the one hand, and their ardent defence of poststructuralist and postmodern ideas on the other, can be explained in relation to this (anticipated) critique and ongoing debate with parts of the Argentinean Left. In this respect, the blog provided evidence that some of these debates originate offline, at workshops or talks attended or organised by *Proyectil Fetal*, and are then carried on in online forums and blogs. It was argued that disregarding the ethnographic quality of the blog would have meant missing central aspects of *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog which can tell us a lot about their motivations behind particular blog posts, their alliances and disagreements with others, and, most importantly, the genesis of their queer anarcha-feminism. All in all, viewing the blog as an ethnographic document allowed conclusions to be drawn with respect to the anticipated readership of the group's texts, the reception of the group's ideas among the political Left in and beyond Buenos Aires, the ideological fault lines defining this conflict, as well as with respect to the way *Proyectil Fetal*'s queer anarcha-feminism emerges through interaction with others both on- and offline.

In sum, this thesis has made the following original contributions to scholarship: it has traced the genealogy of queer anarcha-feminism, systematically defined this ideology using Michael Freeden's framework for the study of ideologies, and examined *Proyectil Fetal*'s particular use of queer anarcha-feminism. In doing so, a possible anarchist politics of sexuality was defined. Conversely, queer theory was grounded in the more comprehensive ethical framework provided by anarchism and a possible queer politics has emerged. Finally, using *Proyectil Fetal*'s blog as an ethnographic document, the specific nature of blogs was examined. This allowed inferences regarding the reception of *Proyectil Fetal*'s ideas among the Left in Buenos Aires and beyond, the diversity of their audience as well as the ways in which their queer anarcha-feminism is a product of alliances and disagreements with particular groups and individuals.

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