CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture

ISSN 1481-4374

Purdue University Press ©Purdue University



Volume 22 | (2020) Issue 2

Article 10

10 Theses on Feminist Economics (or the antagonism between the strike and finance)

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Recommended Citation

Cavallero, Luci; and Gago, Verónica. "10 Theses on Feminist Economics (or the antagonism between the strike and finance)." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 22.2 (2020): https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.3845

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CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture

ISSN 1481-4374 http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb Purdue University Press @Purdue University

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Volume 22 Issue 2 (June 2020) Article 10
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"10 Theses on Feminist Economics
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http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol22/iss2/10

Contents of *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* **22.2** (2020)

Special Issue *The Politics of Social Reproduction.* Ed. Kelly Gawel and Cinzia Arruzza http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol22/iss2/

Abstract: In their article, "10 Theses on Feminist Economics (or the antagonism between the strike and finance)," Luci Cavallero and Verónica Gago are interested in a feminist economics that is able to redefine, based on the bodies and territories in conflict, labor and exploitation, communal and feminized modes of doing and resisting, and popular innovation in moments of crisis. They write from the position of having formed part of the organizing for the feminist strike that, since 2016, has driven what they characterize as a massive, radical, and transnational movement. They root the theses that they synthesize here in that dynamic of the strike, in order to elaborate an expanded and radical perspective on the "economy" as a critique of political economy and to continue weaving together conversations and exchanges. Starting from there, they trace its connection with the logics of exploitation and extraction that characterize capital valorization today.

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Luci CAVALLERO and Verónica GAGO

Translated by Liz Mason-Deese

10 Theses on Feminist Economics (or the antagonism between the strike and finance)

"Let the Chicago Boys tremble. Long live the feminist movement" (graffiti in front of the Catholic University of Chile, 2018)

We are interested in a feminist economics that, taking its lead from bodies and territories in struggle, is able to redefine labor and exploitation, communal and feminized modes of doing and resisting, and popular innovation in moments of crisis. We are writing on the basis of our experience of participation in the organization of the feminist strike that, since 2016, has given impulse to what we characterize as a massive, radical, and transnational movement. We root the theses summarized here in the dynamic of that strike, in order to elaborate an expanded and radical perspective on the "economy" as a critique of political economy and to continue weaving together conversations and exchanges. We start from the premise that conceptual power [potencia] is linked to the movement's strength, opening up concrete disputes based on the strike as a long-term political process. This produces a point of view that is simultaneously based on resistance to expropriation, insubordination to work, and financial disobedience.

The international strikes of women, lesbians, trans persons, and travestis¹ allows for debating and making visible in a feminist register a map of the heterogeneity of labor. Diverse feminisms have put forth a method of struggle that lives up to the challenge of the current composition of what we call territories and bodies in struggle, starting from struggles against neo-extractivist dispossession and from migrant, precarious, neighborhood, domestic, community work. That movement also produced elements for understanding waged labor, as well as the dynamic of labor unions, in a new way.

The feminist strike has also taken seriously another question: how does one go on strike and carry out sabotage against finance insofar as it expresses the hegemonic form of command of contemporary capital? Adding the financial dimension allows us to map the flows of debt and circuits of exploitation in their most dynamic, versatile, and apparently "invisible" forms. Understanding how debt extracts value from domestic economies, from non-waged economies, from economies historically considered non-productive, enables understanding financial apparatuses as *true mechanisms of colonization of the reproduction of life*. Starting from there, we can trace its connection with the logics of exploitation and extraction that characterize capital valorization today.

Thesis 1. Exploitation and difference

Feminist economics allows us to understand the specific forms of the exploitation of women and feminized bodies in a capitalist society. Therefore, and in order to do so, it *expands* the very notion of the economy, including everything from the sexual division of labor to modes of oppressing desire. The first objective is to be able to perceive, conceptualize, and measure a *differential* in the exploitation of women, lesbians, trans persons, and travestis. It is about something much more extensive than accounting for the activities carried out by women and feminized bodies. And this is due to the second objective of feminist economics – which is a critique of political economy and not a demand for quotas in a competitive neoliberal world: disobeying, subverting, and transforming the capitalist, colonial, and patriarchal order. It is in this context that the question of the *differential* of *exploitation* must be situated today. And the point of departure for this question is the *concrete site* of the beginning of that differential: reproduction.

Feminist economics does not focus its analysis on how the accumulation of capital is organized, but rather, on how the reproduction of collective life is organized and guaranteed. Thus, the dynamic of social reproduction is shown as capital's primary condition of possibility, which capital, however, makes invisible, devalues, and exploits. The question that feminist economics then illuminates is *why hiding reproduction* is the key for processes of *valorization in capitalist terms*.

The work of Silvia Federici (Federici 11) establishes fundamental coordinates based on a re-reading of Marx and a political experience from the 1970s centered around women's struggle against domestic

Women, lesbians, trans persons, and travestis are political identities that have become the agreed upon nomenclature for naming the subjects of the feminist strike in organizing assemblies. – Trans.

labor, that is, rejecting its obligatory and unwaged character. Also in the 1970s, Angela Davis (Davis 224) debated the universality of the figure of the "housewife:" those women enclosed in their homes only accounted for the status of some women, while universalizing a model of femininity. Black women's experience in the labor market, as Davis describes, continues to be a reflection of the servile character that domestic labor has taken on after women were dispossessed of their characterization as "expert workers" during the colonial era, in an economy that was based in the household but not reduced to it. In Latin America, there are numerous contributions that highlight the colonial character of what is historically associated with a reading of reproduction. To only cite one reference: in *Bircholas. Women's Work: Capitalist Exploitation or Colonial Oppression among Aymara Migrants in La Paz and El Alto,* the Bolivian sociologist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui makes key contributions for thinking about the coloniality of the back-and-forth between reproduction and production. We also want to point out that in Latin America, this perspective has a special sensibility for connecting with the economy that exploits the borders between legality and illegality, especially through women's bodies: the *maquiladora* is one of the favored and pioneering scenes of this analysis (Monárrez 30).

These perspectives are once again being brought to the discussion today in a field of debates that has become strategic for the expansion and internationalization of feminist struggles. Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar (Gutiérrez Aguilar 34) focuses on the reproduction of life through "struggles for the common." Federica Giardini and Anna Simone (Giardini and Simone 5) conceptualize a "paradigm of reproduction" as that which allows for jointly analyzing "domination and exploitation." Precarias a la Deriva Collective has long been at the forefront of these debates, and now, prolonging these reflections, Cristina Vega and Marta Malo (Vega et al. 32) interrogate the concept of reproduction in relation to global care chains. Cinzia Arruzza, Tithi Bhattacharya, and Nancy Fraser in their Feminist Manifiesto for the 99% argue that it is in struggles taking place in the field of reproduction that the key elements for resisting capitalism in its contemporary form can be found. These are some of the "entryways" into a debate that has diverse genealogies, but that share a concern for political intervention and proximity to social movements. Here we want to discuss some elements that bring the concept of reproduction into tension, starting from questions opened by the feminist strike.

Thesis 2. The crisis as origin: reproduction beyond the domestic

We want to propose a concept of reproduction that emerges through the politicization of reproductive tasks which are de-confined from the home because of the crisis. What this means is that these labors are spread out over an expanded social terrain and achieve new social prestige, embodied in feminized forms of leadership that refuse to be recognized in monetary terms or in terms of territorial authority.

This leads us to a brief genealogy. In the Argentine crisis that exploded in 2001, it was women who carried out a foundational gesture: when confronted with the devastation caused by unemployment, they took charge of creating spaces for the reproduction of life in, and in collective and communitarian forms. The devastation was especially felt among men, whose numbers as "heads of household" declined; alcoholism and depression were recurring images for many of those suddenly evicted from their jobs. The formation of movements of the unemployed implied, in this sense, two decisive things. ² On one hand, the *politicization* of reproductive tasks that were extended to the neighborhood, breaking through the barriers of domestic confinement. It was this work of reproduction that was capable of building the infrastructure necessary for the blockades, spatially displacing the picket from the factory gate to the routes of communication. On the other, these movements demonstrated the political nature of these tasks by producing a community value (a production of value based on the spheres of the reproduction of life) capable of organizing resources, experiences, and demands which refused the condemnation of the unemployed to the categorization of "exclusion." With this gesture they challenged, in practice, the reproduction of the home understood as the "private" sphere and inaugurated the territory as a new social factory.

The social reproduction of life appears to resolve and replace, while also critiquing, the plundering of public infrastructure. Today it is popular economies that are building common infrastructure for providing services which are called 'basic' even though they are not: from health care to urbanization, from electricity to education, from security to food.

Markedly different forms of managing and negotiating the decline of the "male breadwinner" emerge between these popular economies, characterized by feminized participation. Feminized leadership in

² The unemployed workers' movements emerged across Argentina starting in the mid 1990s and became known for their tactic of blockading major roads, highways, and bridges to demand jobs and unemployment benefits – Trans.

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popular economies promotes new sources of "social prestige" concerning this reproductive work, which take on the challenge of making other principles of authority operational in the territories.

Thesis 3. From the wage to the subsidy: the crisis of the patriarchy of the wage

In this politicization of social reproduction understood as domestic de-confinement, we must point to a fundamental sequence: the passage from the wage to the subsidy.

In Argentina, the massification of social benefit packages was carried out as a governmental attempt to "respond" to the crisis, at the same time as their conquest was determined by the force of social movements that were able to negotiate the corresponding work requirement.³ This does not mean that the wage ceases to exist, but rather that an ever-greater number of people need to obtain prosperity without assuming the wage as their principle income. And it is this reality, which emerged with the crisis, that is "stabilized" with popular economies, systematizing the new passage to proletarian microeconomies (Gago 98). These economies are composed of cartoneros (informal trash pickers) and sewing workers, market vendors and care workers, cooks and community health practitioners, cleaners and small agrarian producers. Their material fabric opens horizons where the popular and the communitarian emerge as political dynamics that exceed the state but do not underestimate its power.

In this sense, popular economies are a privileged lens for viewing the crisis of the patriarchy of the wage. This does not mean the end of the patriarchy, of course, but does entail the decomposition of a specific form of structuring the patriarchy.

The passage from the wage to the subsidy expresses a massive reality after the neoliberal politics of the 90s. The market-oriented reform policies had the effect of the systematic loss of waged jobs and generalized precarization. This_accounts for the destructuring of masculine authority that is produced by the loss of the wage as an "objective measure" of men's power within and outside of the home (it being precisely what marks that spatial-temporal border), resulting in the decline of the figure of the male breadwinner. When the patriarchal figure structuring relations of subordination within the family enters into crisis, its attempts to confirm and maintain its relevance leads to forms of violence "without measure," especially within the home. From here is born the intrinsic relationship between so-called "domestic" violence (with the increase in femicides as its most extreme expression) and the restructuring of forms of exploitation (Gago 105).

Today the wage is not guaranteed as a means of reproduction for the majority of people. For this reason, the collapse of the wage forms an objective measure of male authority and sexist violence becomes "excessive," "beyond measure," in the home: masculinities are no longer contained by the value that the wage provides them and therefore they need to affirm their authority in other ways. The crisis of unemployment, precarization, and increasingly harsh conditions of exploitation make it so that domestic violence structures the patriarchal domination that was previously mediated and measured by the wage (even if domestic violence was always a legitimate latent element for "internal" disciplining), as Federici (2018) synthetizes with the concept of "the patriarchy of the wage".

Thesis 4. The feminist strike: practical intersection between popular economies and feminist economics

Popular economies as reproductive and productive fabrics express an accumulation of struggles that opened the imagination of the feminist strike. In its linkage to the genealogy of the piquetes, the feminist strike in Argentina managed to deploy, problematize, and value a multiplicity of tasks based on a map of labor in a feminist register.

With the dynamic organization of the feminist strikes, two processes occur in popular economies. On the one hand, the politicization of reproductive spheres beyond the household functions as a concrete space to analyze the *expansion* of the tasks that the strike *valorizes*. On the other hand, the feminist perspective on these tasks demonstrates the set of patriarchal and colonial mandates that *naturalize* them and, therefore, that enable logics of exploitation and extraction to act over them. The feminist strike launches a reading based on defying the inscription of reproductive tasks into family terms, challenging the constant moral supplement imposed by social subsidies, it provides an intersection between feminist economics and the popular economy that radicalizes both experiences.

Targeted social assistance also reinforces a hierarchy of merit in relation to women's obligation according to their roles in the patriarchal family: having children, taking care of them, educating them,

³ The first of these programs, the Unemployed Heads of Household program was implemented in 2002 and eventually provided two million families with a minimal guaranteed monthly income in exchange for a 20 hour/week work requirement. – Trans.

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vaccinating them. This shows the clear importance of the dynamic that we have been pointing to of the *politicization of reproduction* that makes those tasks spill over outside of the enclosure-form of the heternormative family model.

Thus, through the political process of the strike, feminism takes responsibility for the problem of redefining exploitation and value extraction and, therefore, of redefining the notion of class itself. Feminisms, through the strike, challenge the borders of what is defined as labor and, therefore, the working class, opening it back up to new experiences and demonstrating its historically exclusionary meaning. But it also allows for thinking that there is something beyond the "patriarchy of the wage" and its heteronormative rule. And even more: it broadens feminist experiences, taking them to spaces, generations, and bodies that were not recognized there before.

It does so by demonstrating the heterogeneity of non-recognized tasks that produce value, challenging the hierarchies and division that the wage creates between workers and the unemployed, and by disobeying the invisibilization and moralization of feminized bodies that construct domestic territory beyond the home.

Thesis 5. Reproduction in relation to processes of dispossession

Social reproduction that spills over onto popular and community territories appears to be correcting and replacing public infrastructure, while also critiquing its dispossession. Today popular economies construct common infrastructure for the provision of services that are called basic although they are not: from health care to urbanization, from electricity to education, from security to food. The feminist strike challenges the way in which conservatives have taken advantage of this displacement of the domestic to the social fabric of the territory.

Popular economies as a reproductive and productive fabric connected to the feminist strike question the concrete forms of the precarization of existence on all planes and demonstrate the level of dispossession in urban and suburban territories, which is the reality that drives and enables new forms of exploitation and value extraction. But they also challenge the philanthropic and moralizing attempt to codify those tasks in terms of servility, naturalization, and biology. Thus, on the one hand, they make visible a concrete conflict that emerges over dispossession and foregrounds those women who carry out the community work that produces value. This is the key point for thinking about the "spatiality" of reproduction and its relation to production. On the other hand, they warn of and denounce moralist capitalizing of this same reproductive crisis. Here a fundamental element emerges: the bases of convergence between neoliberalism and conservativism. Or, in Judith Butler's (mimeo text) words, churches function as the "moral complement and rationality for dispossession."

Thesis 6. Finance colonizes the reproduction of life

Today the very act of living "produces" debt. Here an "inverted" image appears of the productivity of our labor power, of our vital power [potencia], and the politicization (valorization) of reproductive tasks. The feminist strike that shouts "we want ourselves alive, free, and without debt!" was able to debate finance in terms of conflict and, therefore, of the self-defense of our autonomy. In this register, it is necessary to make visible the massive indebtedness that landed in feminized popular economies as an everyday "counter-revolution."

Finance invades increasingly more non-financial spheres. Various authors have noted the financialization of daily life (Martin 15); the financialization of social rights (Crouch 20), and financialization as a motor of "expulsions" (Sassen 148). We are particularly interested in how finance invades territories of social reproduction, forming part of an "expanded extractivism" (Gago and Mezzadra 5).

In Latin America, what finance reads and attempts to capture is the dynamic of subjects connected to the structuring of new forms of labor, entrepreneurship, and self-management that arise in the popular and impoverished sectors in parallel to their condemnation as surplus populations. Finance lands in subaltern territories and ignores the political categories that speak of the excluded, the marginal, or superfluous populations to categorize and "include" those very people who had been left out of the waged world and the "formal market." Finance recognizes and exploits a non-waged productive fabric, which is highly feminized, in which the forms of contracting are varied and include the informal wage and state subsidies. The relation between inclusion, money, and peripheral neighborhoods promotes a rhetoric that is the opposite of austerity and manages to unify inclusion and exploitation under financial apparatuses, launching a new imaginary of "development."

Today we see how finance has constituted a capillary network capable of, on one the hand, providing private and very expensive financing to resolve problems of everyday life, resulting from austerity and inflation; and, on the other hand, structuring the temporality of an obedience to the future, blaming and

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individualizing responsibility for the dispossession that has emptied territories of infrastructure (from health care to water, including food provision).

It is not a coincidence that following the strike dynamic, one of the main governmental proposals has been to strengthen women's "financial inclusion" so that we all believe that we can be entrepreneurs if we manage to go into debt (even more!). Here we see how idea of "financial inclusion," especially when targeted toward women who are understood as "natural" entrepreneurs, seeks to cover up and hide "financial exploitation." The "farce" of inclusion through finance means imposing the idea that becoming an entrepreneur of one's self is the ideal that we all aspire to and that the banks support. The entrepreneur is the complementary figure of the victim. These are the two positions proposed as subjectivation by a pink washing neoliberalism. The feminist response is a rejection: we are neither victims nor entrepreneurs.

Thesis 7. Against financial extractivism, a feminist reading of debt

A feminist reading of debt means taking debt out of the closet. De-confining it, de-privatizing it, and giving it a body, a voice, a territory; and, from there, investigating the modes of disobedience that are being experimented with. Taking debt out of the closet is a political move against guilt, against the abstraction of domination that finance seeks to exercise, and against the morality of the good payers use to create the propaganda of feminized bodies as the favored responsible subjects of financial obedience.

The feminist economics that we are interested in approaches finance as a form of war against our autonomy. A feminist reading of debt also involves detecting how debt is linked to different forms of violence against feminized bodies. The structure of mass indebtedness that, at least in our country, has been going on for more than a decade, is what gives us clues for understanding how they attempt to shape the current crisis: as individual responsibility, as an increase in so-called "domestic" violence, as increasing precarization of existence, as an opportunity for neo-extractive intensification. In particular, as we have emphasized, an everyday "counter-revolution" strengthens itself against financial extractivism, as exercised through debt, and directed in particular toward feminized popular economies. Value is extracted from the same plane of social reproduction in which the feminist revolution has unfolded with force, where it exhibits contempt to the bonds of submission and obedience, defying sexist violence and the domestic as a sphere of reclusion (Cavallero and Gago 2019).

Therefore, it is not only about affirming "the factory of the indebted man" that Maurizio Lazzarato (2012) speaks of. It seems decisive to be able to affirm that there is not one subjectivity of indebtedness that could be universalized nor a debtor-creditor relation that could go beyond its concrete situations and in particular those of sexual, gender, racalized, and geographic difference, precisely because debt does not homogenize those differences, but rather exploits them. Feminist economics understands the way in which the apparatus of debt lands in diverse territories, economies, bodies, and conflicts to be a central, not a secondary, feature.

Debt functions by structuring the compulsion to accept any type of job so as to be able to pay off the obligation to the future. In this sense, it drives precarization from "within." Debt initiates the exploitation of creativity at any cost: it does not matter what type of work one does, what matters is paying off the debt. The precarious, informal, and even illegal dynamic of jobs (or forms of income) is revealed to be increasingly discontinuous while debt functions as a stable *continuum* that exploits this multiplicity. This temporal gap also serves a function: debt becomes a mechanism of coercion to accept any working conditions, due to the fact that the financial obligation ends up "commanding" labor in the present. Debt, then, mobilizes a molecular diffusion of that obligation that, although oriented to the future, conditions the here and now, which it imprints with greater speed and violence. Debt functions and spills over into territories as a compulsive mechanism for submission to precarization (conditions, times, and violences of labor), morally reinforced as an economy of obedience.

Thesis 8. The counter-offensive as an economy of obedience: debt and the family

The ecclesiastic advance along with the economic counter-offensive consists of recentering the family in reproduction, in supporting obedience in exchange for resources, in the criminalization of feminist networks to confront hunger, and in the fascist reaction in the face of the destructuring of families as a norm and a desire. These counter-offensives seek to unify the debtor morality with the family morality against the feminist force in the territories.

There can be no debt without an economy of obedience that sustains it. We want to emphasize that debt is also a differential moralization about the lives and desires of women and feminized bodies. What happens when workers' morality is not produced in the factory and through the disciplinary habits tied to repetitive mechanical work? How does debt function as an apparatus of moralization that replaces

Luci Cavallero and Verónica Gago, "10 Theses on Feminist Economics page 7 of 9 (or the antagonism between the strike and finance) (CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture 22.2 (2020): https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol22/iss2/10 Special Issue The Politics of Social Reproduction. Ed. Kelly Gawel and Cinzia Arruzza

factory discipline? How does moralization operate over a flexible, precarious, and, from a certain point of view, undisciplined labor force? What does debt as an economy of obedience have to do with the crisis of the cis-heteropatriarchal family?

Melinda Cooper dismantles the widespread idea that neoliberalism is an amoral or even antinormative regime, showing the affinity between the promotion of the cis-heterosexual family as the basic unit of social life and the reification of the traditional role of women in that structure, with the need for women to take on increasingly more tasks for the reproduction of life in the face of the privatization of public services. We do not think it is a coincidence that they want to impose financial education in schools at the same time as they reject the implementation of comprehensive sexual education programs, which translates into budget cuts, their outsourcing to religious NGOs and restriction to a norm of prevention. The crusade #ConMisHijosNoTeMetas (Don't mess with my children, which was carried out in Argentina and several other countries in the region under the combative call of a war against "gender ideology") attempts a remoralization of young people, which they meanwhile seek to complement with an early "financial education." Families and finance together form a machine as moral apparatuses in reproduction. The religious counter-offensive targeting the feminist tide is therefore simultaneously an economic counter-offensive. Finance and religion structure economies of obedience that complement one another. We read in this scene the body of young people as a battlefield over which the frontiers of capital valorization seek to expand, converting youth into workers who are obedient to precarization, debt, and the nuclear family (even if imploded and violent).

Thesis 9. #AllWomenAreWorkers

Feminist economics demonstrates that we cannot delegate to capital – through the tool of the wage – the recognition of who counts as workers. That is why, in the feminist strike, we said #AllWomenAreWorkers. Now, this enunciation does not operate as a blanket that covers everything and homogenizes it into an abstract class identity, rather, it functions because it reveals the multiplicity of what is meant by work from a feminist point of view, with all of its hierarchies and all of its struggles.

The class dimension, when understood in relation to difference, is not a device for returning to class as the privileged key for comprehending conflict (as a flexibilization of the notion of class itself that ultimately merely ends up placing it in the center again). It is something more radical *because* it emerges from the feminisms of the peripheries: the question of class can no longer be abstracted from the colonial, racist, and patriarchal dimension without being revealed as a category that conceals hierarchies. Moreover, in this way, we put another idea of productivity into play: being productive is not determined by whether or not we are exploited under the wage form. Rather, there is a different reasoning: the form of exploitation organized by the wage invisibilizes, disciplines, and creates hierarchies between other forms of exploitation.

As Kathi Weeks argues, if in the 1970s, the feminist reading of labor focused on the tasks of reproduction, today this archive serves for thinking in broader terms about a *general feminization of labor* and it gives us clues for a radical imaginary of refusal to its subordination. The feminist perspective that arises from understanding unpaid, poorly paid, unrecognized, hyper-exploited work today produces the most powerful keys for understanding the world of work in general. Therefore, the perspective of feminist economics manages to visualize, based on its singularity, *the totality of forms of exploitation*: because it knows how to connect them, how a differential of exploitation is produced, and how value is produced by the political hierarchies that organize the waged and non-waged world of work.

Furthermore, the perspective of feminist economics is able to produce a general understanding today because it knows how to read, through its historical *partial* position of devalued subjects, how the idea of *normal* work has imploded. Of course that normal work, which was presented as the hegemonic image of waged, masculine, formal employment, persists as an imaginary or even as an ideal. But as it becomes scarce, that ideal can function in a reactionary way: those who obtain that type of employment are limited to perceiving themselves as the privileged in danger, who need to defend themselves against the tide of precarious, unemployed, migrants, and informal workers. Much of current union politics is also forced to act as if it were "defending privileges" and, therefore, in a reactionary register in regard to the situation of a general crisis and the multiplication of labor in particular.

Thesis 10. The feminist wage vs. the moralization of subsidies

The task of feminist economics is to debate under which forms and in which experiences social reproduction can be developed in non-extractive and non-exploitative terms. With this we go beyond opposing reproduction and production (as if they were antithetical terms that one could move between), to think about reorganizing their relation. In opposition to the neoliberal crisis of social reproduction and

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the paternalistic responses that moralize the life of women and feminized bodies, the feminist movement proposes a strategic debate: the feminist wage that is no longer domestic nor seeks to be universal.

Feminism grows within diverse organizations (unions, schools, community experiences, migrant, Indigenous, and Afro collectives, etc.) and therefore it is present in today's most defiant struggles and it is in these struggles that non-fascist diagnoses of the crisis of social reproduction are produced.

There is a fundamental tension within popular economies: the move between the *family* orientation that the state imposes on subsidies (through the work requirement that use the family "obligation" as a reinsurance) and their use as part of an overflowing of the domestic confinement of reproductive tasks that has taken place, largely driven by the crisis and now radicalized by the feminist strike. Today this tension is intensified by the ecclesiastic and economic counter-offensive: churches concentrate the management of resources under the form of "assistance" that, on the one hand, refers to the withdrawal of the state and, on the other, is carried out as a policy in accordance with the state. Furthermore, many of the resources available to the Catholic Church today in our country come from the most recent taking on of external debt from the International Monetary Fund.

During these months in Argentina, women have started taking their pots to the street again (as they did in the roadblocks before and after the crisis of 2001): once again a communitarian know-how emerges, the capacity for collectivizing what one has, and foregrounding the defense of life as a politics of women against mass impoverishment. Taking the pots to the streets is also a way of politicizing the domestic as the feminist movement has long been doing: removing it from enclosure, from confinement, and from solitude, turning the domestic into an open space on the street. That is how the crisis of reproduction is politicized.

The power [potencia] of the *current feminist diagnosis* of the map of labor lies in making a *non-fascist reading* of the end of a certain paradigm of inclusion through waged labor (and its respective "patriarchy of the wage") and deploying other images of what we call labor and other formulas for its common organization, recognition, and remuneration.

This is a key point that is being discussed today in many organizations: the management of public resources under the form of the subsidy or social wage as a tool that the feminist movement is disputing based on its own logic. In other words, rendering visible how it is women, lesbians, trans people, and travestis who are concretely taking responsibility in the territories for a state of emergency in the face of sexist violence and dispossessions. This is work being done by the *promotoras de género*⁴ in the territories, as well as networks of care and self-management, those who work in the health clinics and soup kitchens, who carry out self-defense courses and accompany, in a "de-professionalized" but consistent way, those who suffer violence. Fighting for their economic recognition without patriarchal mediations so as to guarantee their autonomy and increase their strength is the key to the feminist wage as a tool against the financial colonization of social reproduction.

Today, it is the feminist movement, more than any other form of leftist politics, that raises disputes precisely about subjectivity: that is, about modes of disobedience, contempt, and the rejection of current forms of violence, intimately connected with exploitation and the extraction of value. Through the process of organizing the international feminist strike we have pushed this point, which is also strategic: visibilizing and connecting the non-recognized dynamics of work, rejecting the hierarchy between the productive and the reproductive, and constructing a shared horizon of struggle that reformulates the very notions of body, conflict, and territory.

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⁴ Community health workers with a gender perspective who work on the neighborhood level to accompany people facing issues related to gender-based violence and to carry out educational programming geared toward reducing gendered violence. – Trans.

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