

Between Coalitions, Articulations and Diffractions: Toward a Feminist Pedagogy*

[English Version]

Entre coaliciones, articulaciones y difracciones: hacia una pedagogía
feminista

Entre coalizões, articulações e difrações: Em direção a uma pedagogia
feminista

Received June 08, 2021. Accepted November 29, 2021.

Victoria Martínez**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1700-2825>

Argentina

Mariana Alvarado***

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5562-1697>

Argentina

› To cite this article:

Martínez, Victoria; Alvarado,

Mariana (2022). Between

Coalitions, Articulations and

Diffractions: toward a Feminist

Pedagogy.

Ánfora, 29(52). 16-42.

<https://doi.org/10.30854/anfv29.n52.2022.825>

Universidad Autónoma de

Manizales. L-ISSN 0121-6538.

E-ISSN 2248-6941. CC BY-NC-

SA 4.0

Abstract

Objective: this paper seeks to account for the path experienced from certain epistemic-methodological key elements, and from certain practices located in/ from the southern feminisms. It takes as a starting point actions of protests against cis men as an enclave for the analysis of their testimonies accounting for the multiple space-times that were specified during the investigation. It seeks to provide materiality to an epistemology of coalitions in which the translation, the fictionalized narrative and thinking in conversation, one together with the other, were central devices. **Methodology:** as the axis of this

* This research is part of the dialogues shared during 2021 based on common points in work plans in the framework of the preparation and presentation of a Multi-year Research Project (PIP-CONICET, 2021) on "Practices, knowledge, territories: Articulations between academia and activism."

** Graduated in Sociology with a Ph.D. in Social Sciences. Gender Study Research Institute of the University of Buenos Aires/CONICET. Email: m.viqui.martinez@gmail.com

*** Philosophy professor. Ph.D. in Philosophy. CONICET. Email: unodeloscuartos@gmail.com

methodology, the fictional narratives, based on testimonies, resulting conversations, discussions, debates, and coalitions, and diffracted a collective elaboration of materials that enable thinking of pedagogical strategies in a feminist element. Some of the inquiries that emerge and are plotted in this writing refer to: what has been the methodological renewal of southern feminisms? What epistemological tensions, conflicts, emergences, blindness and deafness make southern feminisms visible? To what extent does the displacement of subject-object to subject-subjectxs foster other forms of knowledge production? What risks are confronted if new masculinities are included as informants to think about protests? What are the variations that the fictional narrative enables? Why does its productive power drive from representation to diffraction? At what point does one assume a pedagogy of desire as a creative anchor? Why would this pedagogy overflow the known channels of all possible pedagogy? Would diffractions make an epistemology of coalitions possible?

Results: in the framework of this itinerary, a feminist pedagogy develops based on an epistemology of location, positioning and articulations.

Keywords: Southern feminisms; Feminist methodologies; Epistemology of coalitions; Feminist pedagogies; Fictional narratives.

Resumen

Objetivo: este escrito busca dar cuenta del camino experimentado desde ciertas claves epistémico-metodológicas, y a partir de ciertas prácticas situadas en/desde los feminismos del Sur. Toma como punto de partida acciones de escrache hacia varones cis como enclave del análisis de sus testimonios para dar cuenta de los múltiples espacio-tiempos que fuimos precisando durante la investigación, a fin de dar materialidad a una epistemología de las coaliciones; en la que la traducción, la narrativa ficcionada y el pensar en conversación una junta a les otros, resultaron los dispositivos centrales.

Metodología: como eje de esta metodología, las narrativas ficcionadas, a partir de testimonios propiciaron conversaciones, discusiones, debates, coaliciones y difractaron una elaboración colectiva de materiales que habilita a pensar estrategias pedagógicas en clave feminista. Algunas de las preguntas de indagación que atraviesan y se traman en este escrito refieren a: ¿cuál ha sido la renovación metodológica que propician los feminismos del sur?, ¿qué tensiones, conflictos, emergencias, cegueras y sorderas epistemológicas visibilizan los feminismos del sur?, ¿en qué medida el desplazamiento sujeto-objeto a sujeta-sujetxs propicia otras formas de producción de conocimiento?, ¿cuáles riesgos corremos si incluimos a nuevas masculinidades como informantes para pensar los escraches?, ¿cuáles son las variaciones que habilita la narrativa ficcionada?, ¿por qué su potencia productiva nos corre de la representación a la difracción?, ¿en

qué momento asumimos una pedagogía del deseo como anclaje creativo?, ¿por qué esa pedagogía desbordaría los canales conocidos de toda pedagogía posible?, ¿cómo esas difracciones posibilitarían una epistemología de las coaliciones? **Resultados:** en el marco de este itinerario devino una pedagogía feminista sustentada en una epistemología de la localización, del posicionamiento y de las articulaciones.

Palabras-clave: Feminismos del sur; Metodologías feministas; Epistemología de las coaliciones; Pedagogías feministas; Narrativas ficcionadas.

Resumo

Objetivo: este trabalho procura dar conta do caminho experimentado a partir de certas chaves epistêmico-metodológicas, e de certas práticas situadas desde os feminismos do Sul. O ponto de partida para a análise de seus testemunhos é tomar como enclave as ações de escravidão contra os homens cis, a fim de dar conta dos múltiplos espaços de tempo que especificamos durante a pesquisa, a fim de dar materialidade a uma epistemologia de coalizões, na qual a tradução, a narrativa ficcionalizada e o pensamento em conversa com os outros foram os dispositivos centrais. **Metodologia:** como eixo desta metodologia, as narrativas ficcionadas, baseadas em testemunhos, encorajaram conversas, discussões, debates, coalizões e difundiram uma elaboração coletiva de materiais que nos permite pensar em estratégias pedagógicas de caráter feminista. Algumas das questões de indagação que se colocam e se tecem neste documento referem-se a: qual renovação metodológica tem sido trazida pelos feminismos do sul?, que tensões, conflitos, emergências, cegueira e pontos cegos epistemológicos os feminismos do sul tornam visíveis?, até que ponto o sujeito-objeto a sujeito-sujeito muda de assunto traz outras formas de produção de conhecimento?, e até que ponto o sujeito-objeto a sujeito muda de assunto traz outras formas de produção de conhecimento?, que riscos corremos se incluirmos novas masculinidades como informantes para pensar sobre os escraches?, quais são as variações possibilitadas pela narrativa ficcionada?, por que seu poder produtivo nos move da representação para a difração?, em que ponto assumimos uma pedagogia do desejo como ancoragem criativa?, por que uma tal pedagogia transbordaria os canais conhecidos de qualquer possível pedagogia?, como tais difrações permitiriam uma epistemologia de coalizões? **Resultados:** no âmbito deste itinerário, uma pedagogia feminista baseada numa epistemologia de localização, posicionamento e articulações evoluiu.

Palavras-chave: Feminismos do Sul; Metodologias feministas; Epistemologia das coalizões; Pedagogias feministas; Narrativas ficcionalizadas.

Introduction

In this precarious beginning, the collective convenes for the act of unentangling oneself from the other. The procedure summons the meeting between those who take the voice and those who are listening in an epistemology of coalitions.

In this allied beginning, one allows oneself to disbelieve, in terms of bell hooks (1992/1984), and to inhabit disagreement, in terms of Catalina Trebisacce (2018), to propitiate spaces/times of productive discomfort. One does not intend to discover what one supposes or demonstrate what is anticipated; in any case, the authors hope to enable emergences in that which is articulated to configure a situated point of view, in context, local-global in/from the relativity of privileges. And, in tune with Trebisacce, reviewing the '*fráxitos*'¹ in which contemporary feminisms² are modulated to embrace or detach, to meet or miss, to celebrate or grieve, to lose oneself or survive, but, in any case, betting on a politics of coalitions (Haraway, 1995) that allows to wishing for other possible worlds and making other lives lovable.

The names of feminism allude, elude, delude in their power, with their flashes, resonances and reverberations, but also from their appropriations and modes of

1. The term "fráxitos" is proposed by Brad Epps in his paper "Los 'fráxitos' de la disidencia sexual en la época de la globalización neoliberal" (2018). In this paper, the author analyzes the current trends of LGBTIQ activism from an interpretative sign of the minority, alternative, and dissident desire crisis. This crisis is not a cause of an established Western world arrangement that condemns, persecutes and annuls such desire, but rather endorses, protects, and assimilates it. Within a contradictory scenario of valuation, criticism, and reflection, the author remarks that the project's success on civil vindication has generated a "homonormativity" whose main values are monogamy, marriage and family, individualism, competitiveness, economic profit, psychophysical well-being, and bodily attractiveness. Meaning, values associated with a success concept of neoliberal capitalism. According to Epps, this process is seen and experienced by a whole group of people as a total or partial failure. Thus, in his article, he proposes "fraxito" as a neologism to designate a synthesis of "failure" and "success," take up questions already raised by other activists and critics of the movement ("How can the deconstructive impulse retain its critical energy before its own success?"), and capture what happens in the "in between" of failure and success that is an always mutably reversible, conjunctural, and situated scenario.

2. Specifically to the limited time since the enactment of Law 26150 on Comprehensive Sex Education (CSE), the curricular guidelines for comprehensive sex education (2008), Law 26618 on Equal Marriage (2010), the Law 26904 Incorporation into the penal code of grooming as a crime against sexual integrity, Law 27234 on the Prevention and Eradication of Gender Violence, Ni Una Menos June 3, 2015 (Not one less), the First Strike of Women in Argentina (October 19, 2016) (Gago, 2021), the treatment of the IVP Law (Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy) in 2018 (Argentina.gob.ar, sf), the debate in the National Congress around the IVP, a project prepared by the National Campaign for the Right to Abortion, Legal, Safe and Free (2006) (REDAAS, 2019), approved in the Chambers of Deputies on December 14, June and rejected in Senators (August 8, 2018), the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy Law approved in December 2020.

circulation, and by those who read, repeat and found them; for the open debates, the sustained controversies and the pendular enjoyments; even there, when it has been depoliticized, commodified, mediated, in its emergencies, its overflows and rampages, from its specific forms of resilience and brotherhood. (Alvarado, Fischetti, 2018, 89)

Astride uncertain feminisms (Luongo, n.d.) and rhapsodic feminisms (flores, 2015), one articulates oneself without certainties, without anticipations, without a previous scheme, between fluid borders, the academy wandering toward an altering epistemology that takes the fictional story as methodical; to speak again, neither about the others nor for them, but even against oneself (flores, 2019), performing from the body what remains to be said in writing. As she says:

Microfeminisms that do not seek to prescribe new models of behavior or digitize what practices to prohibit, or what behaviors to challenge, or what fantasies to ban, or what forms of fornicating to legitimize, or what anatomically fit subjects to authorize for the fight. They are rhapsodic feminisms, of tense and interrogative coexistence of many languages and bodies — without aspirations of coherence — which with their practices constitute an opening of possibilities to disturb one's own life and re-think emancipatory practices. (flores, 2019, 1)

One is concerned about the place where desire and new meanings regarding ties survive in times of disenchantment, misunderstandings and disagreements; particularly in sexual-affective relationships and friendships between peers. “The patriarchy is falling” (are being thrown away) and the urgent and necessary shocks drive one to think and feel everything again. Can one, in this state of affairs, move toward new policies of ties and new pedagogies of desire toward an ironic and creative feminism that, in the words of Val flores, does not retreat into denunciation, but instead, deploys a radical political imagination?

Along with the concern for desire, and for learning to say it, there is also an urgent desire for justice and reparation for the wounds in one's body and memories. Could it be that from feminisms one enables new possibilities of justice?

From the audibility of testimonies of hetero cis male demonstrators³ one stammers fictional stories or, fictionalizes narratives; that is, one names experiences of strangeness whose materiality has been liquefied in/by the patriarchal structure. This political gesture against the grain of what could immediately be weighed assumes the performative power of testimony, as it

3. The testimonies from which the fictional narratives were produced are from men who were found guilty on social networks, without criminal complaints, in contexts of relationships among peers (circles of friendship and sexual-affective relationships).

bursts in and interrupts certain alliances and complicities to subvert the implicit agreement and manage the disagreement in the epistemological articulation and the political coalition, to ruminate what is socially enabled, even by and for oneself. A discursive production that is not representation but diffraction of meanings that stress and dispute spaces/times of listening, audibility, interpretation and (re)appropriation. Urgent fictional narratives to say what could not be said, to hear what could not be heard, a procedure of dismantling and unentangling.

Methodological Considerations

Fictionalize How to Write against Oneself

One writes against oneself configuring fictional narratives listening to the voices of men. One writes against oneself with the dizzying sensation of escaping from the security of the I, the me, the you, the us; dislocated from the certainties built from the academy and life. Listening, analysis, dialogue and writing knotted in an epistemology of articulation that is mirrored in a methodology that tests new forms. The path has already been walked by some, who narrate the following (flores, 2009, 2).

The openness of listening to these voices is a strange experience. There are no certainties about “what to do?” in the face of contradictions revealed by the unveiling of pain. One surrenders to the shelter of the collective embrace that one knew how to achieve #yositcreo, #nonoscallamosmas, #mirácomonosponemos, in the face of denial, distrust, the doubts cast on a woman when she raises her voice to say that she has stopped consenting to an approach. Although one does not consider the pain of those who denounce sexist violence to be the same as those who are presumed to have participated in aggravating acts such as abuse, harassment, rape, configuring crimes against sexual integrity. Nor does one write from the legal field, that is why one does not seek to make moral judgments about culprits, victims-victimizers, convictions or punishments. One opens of listening, makes one’s gaze more complex and modulates questions before the overflow that implies taking charge of some wounds, damages and desires at stake through a writing that modulates, interrupts and diffracts from the story.

The authors maintain that feminist theory questions positivist methodological strategies, heirs to Western and patriarchal theories (Harding, 1998; Haraway, 1995). One returns to this interpellation to think of methodologies that broaden the horizon of what can be said, what can be listened to and the ways to access it; as well as the relationships between the subjects involved in the research process. Hence, in what has been traveled during this investigation, desires of other epistemologies, methodologies, and pedagogies are knotted, traversed by the gestures of listening, reading, conversing and the collective proposition as an emergent.

The authors assume in line with Sandra Harding (1987) that epistemology is a theory of knowledge that comes to justify who can be the subject/s of knowledge, as well as which tests are subjected to certain beliefs to legitimize themselves as knowledge.

The methodology refers to the theory and analysis of the procedures followed by the investigation. Data collection techniques such as listening to certain informants or observing the behavior of such people refer to the method, that is, to the way of proceeding. It is in this framework that some questions configure research problems that cross and operate throughout this document: what has been the methodological renewal that southern feminisms promote? What epistemological tensions, conflicts, emergences, blindness and deafness make southern feminisms visible? To what extent does the displacement of subject-object to subject-subjects foster other forms of knowledge production? The listening or the materials with which one chooses to deal with in the investigation could (dis)locate one as allies of the patriarchy? What risks does one run if one includes new masculinities as informants to think about demonstrations? Inhabit a space for conversation between cis women? and lesbians would place one in symmetrical positions when thinking about sexist violence? Who is affected immediately and during the research process? To what extent does the authors' position as researchers within the framework of this inquiry manage renewed uses of the techniques traditionally known by the social sciences? How does one record these conditions and what place do they occupy in the article? Enable silences, absences, elusions, allusions from the translation? what are the variations that the fictional narrative enables? Why does its productive power take one from representation to diffraction? At what moment does one assume a pedagogy of desire as a creative anchor? Why would this pedagogy overflow the known channels of all possible pedagogy? How would these diffractions make an epistemology of coalitions possible?

The presence of fictional procedures in the social sciences proposes divergent ways of building knowledge (flores, 2009) by involving invention, analogy, creativity and, therefore, critical and questioning thinking. Postclassical

narratology allows understanding that writers and readers are immersed in stereotyped plots of meaning in which there is a certain stability about what can be told, and a certain tolerance about what can be heard. This could well configure epistemological deafness that enables emergences of divergent meaning or even apathy to intervene immediately. In this sense, questioned by stories that resist being explained, the gesture that translates into fiction allows returning to certain accounting testimonies, investigating the possibilities of narration, telling them again, in another way and opening their audibility (Klein, 2017).

Consider, together with Chandra Mohanty (2020), that there are connections between consciousness, identity, and writing. The authors affirm that the narratives written by individual subjects, although they refer to contexts and are intersected by race, sexuality, social class, and gender, are important to examining the development of political consciousness. Mohanty particularly refers to the writing of Third World women's narratives as a possibility for the formation of a politicized consciousness and identity:

Writing often becomes the context through which new political identities are forged. It becomes a space for fighting and contesting reality itself. If the everyday world is not transparent and its power relations—its organizations and institutional frames of reference—work to hide and make invisible power hierarchies (Smith, 1987), it becomes imperative that one rethink, remember, and use lived relationships as a knowledge base. Writing (discursive production) is an opportunity to produce this knowledge and consciousness. (2020, pp. 119-120)

Although the narratives with which the authors have worked correspond to cis male subjects, with relative privileges in the social structure, the authors consider that the potential of these narratives is put into play when they are read by others.

After all, it's not just about recording our individual history of struggle or awareness; what is significant are the different ways in which these stories are recorded, the way we read and receive them, and the ways we use to spread these imaginary records. (Mohanty, 2020, p. 119)

The authors established some steps around audibility/legibility that enabled the translation of testimony to fictional narratives. A first step was to contact men who were willing to give testimony. After the consultation, a date and time for the online meeting was agreed upon. This instance implied

listening from an exercise of audibility to capture what one could not or did not want to “empathize” with.

The authors previously organized a guide of open-ended questions, sensitive to the emergence of the story and in no way behavioral. This guide was mainly aimed at asking the following questions: how would you describe what happened, what happened to family, friendship, work, sexual and emotional ties after what happened?, why the events that were triggered collapsed in that situation?, how did you feel?, what happened with what happened to you?, could it have happened in a different way?, what other resolution could it have had?, how could it have been resolved? In the consultation, as well as in the formulation of the questions, the authors tried not to use the term “demonstrator” or “demonstrated”; it seemed relevant only to identify if these terms appeared, if they recognized themselves there, if any of the actions could be labeled as such by them. The authors were also interested in identifying if any other terms appeared, such as: shame, guilt, innocence, reparation, damage, re-linking, victim, desire, consent, jealousy.

From these testimonies, from the fluctuations of the story, from what was heard and what became audible, the authors translated two fictionalized narratives. Each of the testimonies, by its own particularities, referred to new questions that encouraged one to think about how to notice their disruptive power in others. From these questions the authors take elements for fictionalization: what voices, what faces, what bodies appear in this story?, how are affective and sex-love bonds managed?, what does it mean to take care?, how to take care of oneself?, how to inhabit the (hetero)sexual erotic if not from experience?, what does it mean to remove the body from behaviors rooted in the dynamics of the sex-gender system?, how to (dis)assemble the power matrix that sustains the sexual division?, what are the ways of encountering the sexual division? What does it mean to remove the body from the behaviors rooted in the dynamics of the sex-gender system? how to (dis)assemble the matrix of power that sustains the sexual division? what are the forms of consensual encounters? can the “no” be seen, heard, felt, perceived? What does it mean that “no” is “no”?, how did one learn to say “no”?, how is non-consent made audible?, what are the skills one would have to develop to be able to hear a “no”?, what is the enemy then?, why should one understand the difference between the male and the idea of the violent male?, what are the distances between “the abuser” and “someone who engages in abusive behavior”?, why would it be imperative and urgent to assume that distance and inhabit it?, what are the distances between “the abuser” and “someone who engages in abusive behavior”?, why would it be imperative and urgent to assume that distance and inhabit it?

Perhaps this is precisely where an ethical/epistemic positioning comes into play: if the abusive or violent is a condition of certain practices, if it is the qualification of an act that could be modified, there is the possibility of transformation from the deconstruction of patriarchal practices as sexist, misogynist, homo-lesbo-phobic; but what happens if the person is qualified and not the acts? What liberating, emancipating experiences could be shared to accompany the demands of the younger generations submerged in heteropatriarchal, adultcentric logics?, at what point does one move all?, is it right there where sorority is played?, how does one trench?, what have been the modulations that entrench one?, what is the feminist artillery to build trenches? Some experiences allow pointing out the technology of demonstration:

- Show the face of the victimizer.
- State first and last name of the offender.
- Publish the victim's testimony.
- Name the situation (harassment, bullying, abuse, rape).
- Getting organized.
- Inhabiting horizontal and empathetic political practices.
- Discuss ways to make visible.
- Weave networks of love and care for the victim.
- Protect the woman who consents the demonstration.
- Strengthening solidarity.
- Create times and spaces for accompaniment.
- To sustain the visibility of the demonstration for a certain period of time.
- Promote the empowerment of the victim as a victim.
- Eluding patriarchal justice.
- Inhabit healing practices.
- Recover the voice.

This point does not allow for delays in its processing in order to think and act in at least three directions: spaces/times for reflection, inclusion and (re) linking strategies. The authors understood that now they could place themselves in the first line of inquiry. From there they consider specific strategies to think about the power of fictionalized narratives with some people.

The authors shared fictionalized narratives with cis heterosexual males. The authors sought an intentional and biased sample: men who, according to their discourses, perceive themselves as deconstructed or in the process of deconstruction. The sample was made up of a group of men between 30 and 45 years of age, professionals in areas related to the social sciences, art and

design, who were close, either because they were colleagues or because of ties of friendship. The authors use virtual media: electronic forms that allow free-form, anonymous responses, and e-mails.

The shared form invited the subjects to read the fictionalized narratives, to reflect on them and to create a new narrative in which they could imagine possible alternative outcomes. With this gesture, the authors make some assumptions. On the one hand, just by compartmentalizing the fictionalized narrative and, assuming they had read it, something began to operate as it would with those who read the narratives. On the other hand, the authors tried to interrupt their subjectivities and to manage the enablement for an exchange; understanding that, in times of deep disagreements, it is necessary to build bridges to sustain one in conversation.

In general, the response to the first exercise proposed via an anonymous form was silence. When some of them were asked, personally via WhatsApp, they confirmed the receipt; but, after their confirmation, silence appeared again. The authors then generated a second proposal that involved an individualized approach via email and telephone call with greater accuracies. Of the 20 males to whom the exercise was sent, six responses were obtained.

The authors perceived this initial silence, and the few responses received afterward, as certain discomfort, and even hostility in thinking about the subject. The authors also suspect that the invitation to think about similar situations and to take care of the new outcomes to inhabit the links could have generated not only uncertainty but also a defensive attitude for having been questioned by the authors, women, feminists, academics, and researchers. In any case, the answers obtained allow a first approach to how they were able to configure ways of dealing with this type of experience and to make visible what proposals for inclusion and reintegration they imagine.

Escraches (Demonstrations): from the Sons to the Daughters

As a positive action of resistance, the demonstration is a direct action of organized collectives against the inaction of other institutions. A protest strategy that not only denounces a specific practice but also those who engage in it and their accomplices. In the networks it has been used to denounce sexual aggressors against women, lesbians, and transgender people.

The term *escrache* (demonstration) has been used since the 1990s in Argentina by *H.I.J.O.S.* and *HIJAS por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio (HIJOS)*. It is “a novel political tool of denunciation and proposal for action” (Bravo, 2012) to point out and make visible those involved in the

violation of human rights during the Argentine military dictatorship translated into the slogan that demands “If there is no justice, there is *escrache*.” A form of protest that in Argentina has a history; linked to the forced disappearance of people and to one of the most horrifying forms of violence, which is that which has been conceived, systematized, and implemented by the State, what one knows as State terrorism and which, in Argentina, took place between 1966 and 1973, and 1976 and 1983 with the civil-military dictatorships.

In an attempt to break with oblivion and silence, the demonstration points to an individual who enjoyed privileges: anonymity, freedoms and citizen rights under the protection of impunity sustained at the behest of parliamentary laws passed during the government of Raúl Alfonsín-Ley de Punto Final (1987) and Obediencia debida (1987) (Universidad Nacional de Rosario, 2013) — and, the pardons granted by President Carlos S. Menem in 1989 and 1990. The demonstration entails the denunciation of impunity and complicity of democratic justice, as well as achieving social condemnation, a divergent justice based on collective awareness against the repressors.

Within the framework of feminist struggles and based on the agreements reached at the *Escraches* Workshop, which took place at the 34th National Women’s Meeting, held in the city of La Plata in 2019, the following is being executed

as an instrument that does not have a pre-established mold and that can be adapted to the formats of each situation. Displaying photos of the violent person, name (or function/position in an institution) with a brief account of the violent acts he commits, is usually the most frequent alternative. The *escrache* as a method is implemented with the aim of exposing and discomfort to “violent males” who hold patriarchal power, often with a psychopathic personality structure, and where in turn the lack or failure of the Judiciary is expressed. (Lastra, González, 2019, p. 2)

From some feminist activisms, demonstration is then considered as a type of non-institutional denunciation, which weaves a genealogy with the aforementioned *HIJOS* demonstrations, and also with specifically feminist demonstrations during the year 2000. As Florencia Maffeo (2020) explains, an example of these are those organized by the “Colectiva Feminista La Revuelta” of Neuquén, between 2006 and 2011, when they accompanied victims of gender-based violence through the “Socorro Violeta” assistance device. Such accompaniment consisted of artistic interventions and dissemination of the cases during trials or in city courts after discriminatory sentences were handed down.

At present, this tool has been used to a large extent as a result of the emergence of *las pibas* in feminist militancy. As Valeria Fernández Hasan (2020) explains, demonstration is one of the emerging topics of the feminist political agenda, together with the issue of abuse complaints, positions around inclusive language, cyberactivism, the participation of actresses or show business figures in the feminist struggle, narratives on affectivities, the discussion for a plurinational movement and women's strikes. Given this generational imprint, the demonstrations take on new characteristics that must do, above all, with the prominence of social networks. Some of the voices that are woven into the conversations between activism and academia affirm that beyond the discussions about the effectiveness of demonstration, what has occurred is the breaking of the pact of silence and the family stories that cover the sexual violence lived with (Fernández-Hasan, 2020, p. 9).

The feminist artillery, which is configured as demonstration in social networks, contains, sustains and cares for the victim as victim, and marginalizes, isolates, separates and expels the victimizer as victimizer. In some cases, by promoting the spectacularization before the public opinion, from magazine cover tongues "for today's woman" in a thanatocratic show that displays a puritanism for heterosexual eroticism that smells of panic and spite:

In the networks, liminal space between the intimate and the public-political where today the meanings of politics are largely cooked and political subjects are constructed (feminism, the lgbttiq movement, etc.), the technology of the demonstration allows a place for the expansion of this new political subjectivity; recreating, simultaneously, a proto-judicial scenario (composed of victim, victimizers and virtual court) and a mass media scenario), of hyper-exposure/spectacularization (with the well-known regime of proper names, sensationalist data, etc.), but tailored to a new political subjectivity), but at the size of a click. (Trebisacce, 2018, p. 189)

Between 2017 and 2018, novel forms in the use of this tool emerged from the demonstration of adolescents in high schools, mainly in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, who started making visible the situations of harassment and sexual abuse among classmates through social networks in the format of anonymous complaints, as well as virtual complaints from the #nonoscallamosmas movement. As Guadalupe Janick explains, one is witnessing a new articulation in the modes of feminist activism that links different generations in unprecedented ways, as well as the spaces of political activity between the street and the digital (Janick, 2020, p. 50). In this sense, Alejandra Zani and Lucía Cholakian analyze that "the emergence of demonstration is a fleeting point in

the crossroads between the advance of women's struggle and the growth of social networks" and state that one of its characteristics is that they enable new discursivities, expanding the margin of what can be said (Zani, Cholakian, 2017).

For Diana Maffia (2020), the centrality of networks in everyday life and in forms of militancy within feminism has benefits and risks. The positive aspect is the fact that one can become strong and say something that was not channeled institutionally: for example, about violence protocols in secondary schools. On the side of risks, Maffia mentions the non-existence/violation of the principle of innocence, which is considered an achievement of democracy, since it protects one from the arbitrariness of penalties. It also mentions the importance of avoiding lynching. Within this context, the philosopher wonders about what the modalities of punishment could be in accordance with feminist ideas of justice.

It should be clarified that Maffia refers to damages committed between adolescents, peers, and not to femicides or rapes. Maffia proposes thinking about the possible reparations, and main considerations of listening and understanding what the possibilities are from the feelings of victims. In the process of thinking about new ways of denunciation and reparation, the authors mention some obstacles: lack of institutional protocols, difficulties on the part of adults in exercising authority in a democratic way, and language hedging in relation to violence and emotions. On the latter, the authors also warn that at present there is a certain impoverishment of language with respect to what affects one, desire, or makes one bad: "emotions have no name." Therefore, it is difficult to express the desire, as well as non-consent of desire of the other (Maffia, 2020).

On the other hand, some analyses affirm that the particularity of threatening in secondary schools is that, over time, they were transformed into collective actions of care and pedagogy, with reflection groups, discussions on consent in sexual relations and alcohol abuse at parties, and other tools that were bringing new debates to the classrooms (Faur, 2019; Maffeo, 2020).

Closer to one type of social/moral lynching could lead to ostracism or exile. It could be considered an act of terrorism, even a symbolic dismemberment that would foster justice by one's own hand carried out by virtue of social anger promoted by slowness or ineffectiveness of complaints or exposures that would require greater fluidity in their treatment by police, prosecutors and/or judges (Maffia, 2020).

In the dialogue between Dora Barrancos and Marisol Ambrosetti for the magazine *Anfibia*, Barrancos assumes:

It is one thing to demonstrate against genocide because there is impunity, but other things related to gender parities have to be well weighed. We cannot

terrorize, there is something that does not sympathize with feminism and that is punishment. Punishment is the patriarchal matrix. (Ambrosetti, n.d.)

Ambrosetti asks for extensions on threatening and punishment as a patriarchal matrix. Barrancos states:

Who has historically been the great challenger, the subjugator, the one who always used excessive punishment? Patriarchy, dear! Punishment is a patriarchal invention. We the feminists cannot do the same thing, we cannot take revenge, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. (Ambrosetti, n.d.)

However, it is not a thing of eliminating all punitive act, because:

How not having a punitive conduct to a femicide or rape, it is clear that it is a must to the due process of course. What I am saying is that there must be proportional sanction formulas to the denounced damage, and that these formulas must be functional and mainly pedagogical. (Ambrosetti, n.d.)

This process is also explained by Nicolás Cuello and Lucas Disalvo (2020) to relate the culture of threat and the culture of cancellation with the institutionalization of a new type of political language that is part of an internalized punitive vocabulary to practice autonomous forms of “justice.” And although they see in a positive way the process of socialization of critical tools to throw forms of inequality in social ties, they consider problematic the unrestricted the popularization and the amplified use of these tools outside their collective contexts of emergency, in a general framework in which everything happens in screens, *likes* and emojis. Thus, punishment becomes a cultural system, a desire for surveillance, control and sanction that lead one to reproduce the microeconomies of domination and punishment on a scale of the intimate, and close other forms of conflict sustained in reparation, conciliation, and transformation. They warn that anti-punishment also deserves some reflections:

Anti-punishment a question of how to receive criticism, how to listen to pain, how to substantialize the conflict, how to proceed from who we are, from what we have been, from the desire to move, to change, how to produce that change and how to make that change an accessible experience. There are not many certainties on that path. But there is no way to do this by forbidding ourselves from difference or conflict. There is no way to do this by demanding a perfection that only exists in deceptive reflection of our screens. (Cuello, Disalvo, 2020)

So far, the authors agree with some theorists to clear the threaten as a positive action of resistance, as a method of divergent justice, as a non-institutionalized public denunciation, as a method of justice from down, as an antisystemic collective practice; but also as a contemporary modality of expressing of eager, lynching, ostracism, separatism or justice by one's own hand. To stress scales of damage or typifications of pain that would enable modalities of punishment promote the punishment/anti-punishment debate that leaves little space to visualize (from the victims) forms of reparation, re-linking, reparation, depatriarchalization.

Results

What the New Masculinities Relate

Each form had an invitation, a fictional narrative and two questions: What happened to you when you read the narrative? Which another outcome can you imagine?

Among negative responses to answer the form, one assumes that the reasons reported are careful due to bonds held: friendship, share of diverse production spaces linked to art, activism or militancy, or being tied to practices of inquiry common to social and human sciences as a researchers. One focuses on one of four reasons, the one that describes their mood during the isolation time due to Covid-19:

I am in a profound and deep denial of any kind of virtual thing. Last year I felt well, but this year, it has been hard ... the classes, the meetings, the research group, the seminars, everything generates a huge rejection, whatsapp, emails ... I am dealing with that. I fulfill my tasks and try to turn it around to renew the desire. While all this is happening, I take refuge in the mountains a lot. I spend a lot of time in the mountains, in the valleys (where there is no signal or excuses) and I see how the days go by ... I started therapy and renovated the furniture ... life is a whatsapp vomit. (Anonymous⁴, personal communication via email, April 2021)

4. We have referred as "Anonymous" to the people who participated in the research according to agreement to hide their identities.

Among the answers to the first question, only one refers to textuality and warns of the use of inclusive language:

Singers and everyone (I made a micro-pause when I read singers and everyone in the text), mostly because I perceived it as a disruption with another management other than: fire/guys. Despite that point, the reading was very fluent from beginning to end. Words like: feminazi, male, patriarchy did not stop my reading at the time. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Two responses warn that the narrative puts the reader in a position to empathize with the threatened:

I find it interesting that it is written from the point of view of the threatened man, but I am uncomfortable that the character does not take charge of anything (he does not know what happened, he does not know what “dense” means, he does not ask enough, he does not know what to say to the girlfriend, etc.). The character who tells is almost like a victim of the situation, not the one who lived what happened the night before, but of what came after “nobody asked me,” “I had to go to therapy,” “I’m not well.” (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Only one aims to give voice to those who do not speak and, to make them speak, questions them:

Why did Juan, their common friend, do nothing at the time? What happened to her at that time that made her stay and not to leave? What are the social ties and context of the person who writes the narrative in first person so that they have not modified their way of thinking from their adolescence until now? (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

At least two participants identify collateral causes:

It is weird that little by little he shows himself as someone very sensitive, who perceives the light of the moon but not what he did a few hours before, beyond drunkenness. There is another issue that bothers and that is that reasons always arise to explain contested actions. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

I lived a similar event to the one narrated and it takes me back to that moment. Everything happened very quickly, there were girls taking cocaine in the men's bathroom. When I came in, they looked at me defiantly so I decided not to look at them and pretend they were not there. Those same girls hit the kid. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, March 2021)

Only one refers to a similar event and vividly recounts it:

A few years ago, we organized a festival of bands. I think 14 bands played, they came from Chile, Buenos Aires, even a band that moves a lot of people closed the event. When the 8th or 9th band was playing, it started raining heavily just when a punk band of girls was playing, the sound player told me that they could not continue because it was a very big safety risk for everyone, when he told them what the problem was and that they had to wait, they started to insult me because the previous band (also formed by female members) played the last song when it started to rain, I explained that they had to wait for it to stop, but on the other side, one of the girls had to go to work and they wanted to play and between insults they told me that I did not really want them to express themselves, that I was a son of patriarchy (...) I describe the situation to put in context that feeling when reading the narrative because it took me to that place, the first thing I relived was anger, sadness, anxiety, and loneliness, they are talking alone. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, March 2021)

Only one answer questions the threaten: "Is the form of threat a real and long-term solution or does it only generate an explosion product of weariness that disappears socially with the latest news?" (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Only one comes from the event that names the narrative and anticipates from the first response another world to come: "Are we ready to love freely?" (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021).

In relation to the possibility of imagining other outcomes that enables the second question, one of the answers assumes that given the narrative there is no possibility of different outcomes:

I think that if Rocío was so determined by any context to impose her truth and if the child is the embodiment of her idea ... there is not too much to do, polarization and mainly fanaticism are deterministic, and I thought the story is quite closed in that way. Revolutions are like this, in angles, there are almost no curves. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Other answers state that it is only possible to imagine another outcome if one chose to fictionalize it again “from further back in time for not reaching this breaking point.” But the answer does not reflect that novelty. In this way, one of the answers remarks at the bond of friendship and finds there a possibility: “It could be that if they are or have been friends, they talk about it within the group or among people directly involved, before making an assembly in a square, although this depends on what has happened” (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021).

Finally, a radically and evolutionary alternative is placed in other ways of inhabiting affective-sexual relationships:

When the three of them were in bed, I thought that they would recognize each other as others in relation to their past and, they would enjoy among the three of them as another way of physically and emotionally bonding. A pleasurable affective-sexual relationship among people who love, listen and respect each other. (Anonymous, personal communication, April 2021)

What Is Talked about between Cis Women and Lesbians

At this point in the research, it became imperative to broaden the fictionalized narrative circulations. The authors had not finished resonating with the diffractions that became audible from the men’s subjectivities answers in the forms; then consultation was urgent. There was a need for listening to build new futures that contained everyone, creating confusion, discomfort, uncertainties, destabilizations, insecurities audible right there where desire, love, eroticism, sexualities, and genders dwell.

Cis heterosexual and lesbian women were invited to think in conversation, one together with the other. The proposal was to meet in a face-to-face space/time; although the context of isolation for COVID-19 implied reduced time conversations no longer than two hours. The call was informal, limited, and via email. In confidence, among ourselves, again, friends, companions in militancy and/or activism, engaged in inquiries with an equal implication.

There were six at the first meeting. The authors started the session with a description of the positions that one’s sexed, gendered, racialized body occupied in the intersectionality of age and class. Self-perceived in a here and now that dug into the positions of subjects that one already knew how to name as lesbians,

queer, *okupas*, cis hetero women between 30 and 45 years old, with different steady labor paths in the academy and, outside the institutions as well, from the social and human sciences, social work, art, design, graphics, languages, and teaching. The authors (dis)agreed almost in the immediacy of narrating experiences that at first, seemed dispersed although all anchored in the situations of violence caused by the cis-hetero-patriarchal system: *machista*, sexist, misogynist violence that has been generated in daily practices, have gone through at various times, has been suffered as daughters of patriarchy at home, in the family, in divorce, in the faculty, in bed, in the street, as students, as teachers, as scholarship holders, as researchers, as moms, as militants; as well as, among friends, in affective-sexual relationships, and, even, with colleagues with whom one still has chosen to work. Every time that the relationships involve oneself, they place one in positions of submission, exploitation, domination, subjugation and victimization.

In a second meeting, the authors proposed the reading/listening of fictionalized narratives. The collective listening immediately caused an intense exchange because each one felt somehow challenged. Opinions were shared that became a point of view: violence against women is a product of the hetero-cis-patriarchal capitalist system. Talking about violence implies reviewing naturalized and normalized social constructions that also recreate and are held in brotherhoods faithful to the mandate of masculinity. A feminist justice as an alternative to the patriarchal one requires memory practices and processes to move away from the recreation of violence situations and aid for context intervention.

Toward the end of the meeting, the returns encouraged wanting collective learning spaces and assuming that thinking in conversation allowed denominating conflicts and embracing each other in uncertainty and insecurities, as well as (forming) the collective. The dynamics arising from the meeting led to agreeing on a concrete proposal to move toward something like a “manual” for groups that are or have been linked to a kind of macho violence with the *escrache* strategy to tell us what we are (not): we noticed that those of us who unentangled at the meeting had not been participants in any *escrache*. So, where to speak from, who to speak for, who to tell?

The momentum led to a subsequent meeting. This time they were women who had participated in demonstrations in a framework of militant collectives. Several topics emerged from this conversation without the need to exhaust them: what are the relationships among masculinities, sensibilities, and power? What are the privileges that are affected, and which cis hetero males would not be willing to renounce? What are the relational implications for the hetero cis male who occupies the position of the breeder, possessor, provider, and public? What happens with the blocking or cancellation of the subjects. What

are the implications of going that far? What are the consequences for when one demonstrates a cis hetero male who carries his cis heterosexual privileges? What are the ways to alert regarding the presumption of dangerousness? Can one expect that the desire to intervene collectively against themselves emerges from them? Can one expect them to agree on concrete interventions that disarticulate practices that cause violence against women?

The conversation led to deeper issues about (inter)subjectivities that go beyond this situation's exploratory stage, but that deserved to be raised. If no one wants to be a victim, how is the victim/victimizer polarity disarmed? Once again, the issue of understanding each other through a network is back to stay and makes one reflect for a while. What does one do as someone's friend or relative who has caused harm? How to avoid getting to that point? And if not, how to act afterward? Where and when does violence start? Are there perceptible beginnings? How does one disarm daily violence? Is it necessary to try to draw attention to men's violence against women or is it time for men to take ownership of the problem? Despite the immeasurability, the power of the conversation encouraged the authors to think about these issues that are deep inside the social fabric, but that come to fruition.

Thinking in conversation is a way of taking charge not only of what is bearable, but also of what is lovable and expected. What does it mean to consent? When does one consent, before, after, and during? What is it to perceive the other? How do we inhabit the desire of the other? How does one repair the damage if there was no consent? How does one act from the point of care? But also, how does one intervene as a network when violence appears in close relationships? How does one (not) perceive that someone who is close because of a family, friendship or work relationship is experiencing/exercising violence? How does one (not) intervene?

The authors then thought of starting by naming, to typify this daily violence from their own experiences. They assume that it is in the house where the political is managed in order to collectively domesticate politics and thus resume a new conversation in the following encounter from this situated violence.

During the third meeting, the authors began by talking about what it is important: putting words to violence. They talk about what one carries to compartmentalize among oneself* and about what cannot be measured because it is not lived (due to class, ethnic, age conditions) And going further, the authors moved from the place of victim to narrate against oneself: when did one exert violence oneself? How and when was it realized? How was one forced to be witnesses in situations of violence? How has the demonstration been against us? To what extent have feminisms made putting patriarchal violence exercised by cis and lesbian women and men's violence against women on the same level

possible? How to deal with the polarity that enables political lesbianism as the only way out? Would it be desirable that male violence ceases to be perceived as an anti-male issue? And, if it is not desirable, what are the desirable masculinities as partners in struggle? Are partners still needed? Would there be a way without partners? What would be the system that one would be willing to overthrow together? These drafts made it possible to produce a writing “We are all *escrachables?*” (2021), unpublished and of restricted circulation, whose authorship the authors attribute to the collective Les P.A.N.I.K (Porta Activismo Nomada Integral Kolectivo).

Concluding Remarks

What We Were able to Do Together

The authors were able to think in conversation, embrace each other in the word, take care of each other when listening, take care of each other in the plot, manage the productive discomforts, ruminate on the unentangling process, process the *fráxitos*, propitiate the dismantling, write collectively to disobey, interrupt, and dislocate; (dis)agree between the search and the finding during those processes of tracing what was left unsaid and what did not end up being named in the academy/activism frontier.

The authors enter into the practice of storytelling in order to (self)narrate. This process was modified from questioning. They resume the possibility of a pedagogy of questioning, which investigates in a feminist key, fostering coalitions with creative anchors. They reviewed some close practices. They stopped to question each other. They assumed that these questions radicalize the problem a lot, therefore they threaded them together in a brief unpublished manuscript that was processed with the intention of building positions and coalitions: “The slogan overwhelms: when we made silence although #yanonoscallamosmas, what was not said?, What does this absence of words shout? What pains does this silence keep? How to name what is not said? What marks do not communicate? What silence can be traced back? What complicities, among whom, with what practices? What does the harangue of others harangue in us? Is it good for me that others speak because I cannot? The collective cry takes one, carries me and moves me. Let other people be the ones who are being stigmatized because the spotlight is running, because I’m running the spotlight. #yotecreohermana until my people fell. Yes, it is possible, we are children of the patriarchy. Yes, it

is problematic, it is a *pijazo*, a club, in your face. Yes, it can happen: my brother, my uncle, my old man, my girlfriend, my *chongue*, it happens... my friend, my colleague, my partner, the girl next door too. And you and me? Inhabiting contradiction, diving into contradiction, assuming ourselves as *escrachable*. *Escrachable* me? Shall we check ourselves?" (Les P.A.N.I.K., 2021).

The starting point arises from the dislocations that opened up the fictionalized narratives from the testimonies of hetero cis-males that, as has been mentioned, were shared in the forms of men in the process of depatriarchalization. The power of these two narratives becomes visible in the drifts of experiences embodied by cis and lesbian women. All explored coalitions involve versions of many possible experiences and subject positions. Some of the shared fictionalized narratives were elaborated from the point of view that each one could have used to name a precarious and possible experience that could have been lived by any. This practice of experience-narrative-fiction translation took shape in a creative collective production based on design, activism and the use of networks as formats to insist that although for some people it is possible to (re)produce knowledge in an objective, neutral and homogeneous way, there are other epistemological positions anchored in affections, dislocations and nonconformities that enable and demand to put the body to what is thought; because the body is there, every time one is in relation with each other.

This feminist pedagogy to which the authors have tried to make room in the process described herein and that could unfold in the different times/spaces that were enabled for/with/among many, is sustained from an epistemology of localization, positioning and articulation that comes from the methodological renewal that the feminisms of the south favor. Making the locus visible for enunciation implies saying from where one speaks: a body marked in the intersectionality sex/gender, class, race, sexualities, ages and all the conceptualizations embodied in the partiality, precariousness and vulnerability of one's experiences; of each experience and of what between everyone, one together with the other can be named in the conditions in which one's voices have been heard. Making room for pretensions, needs, urgencies, desires encourage a collectively felt knowledge, limited, partial, relative, situated and audible in fictionalized narratives that now, dislocate what could not be foreseen.

The productive power of fictionalized narratives favors the shift from the representation to the diffraction of modern western patriarchal rationality to a narrative rationality embodied in individual and collective embodied bodies. These (auto)biographically testify from the experiences, what could have been, what was or what would be possible by moving away from the ambition for calculation, universalization, abstraction, and neutrality and, at the same time, subverting what modernity has dichotomized and hierarchized: logical-creative, biological-cultural, natural-historical, body-mind, reason-emotion, thought-experience. Then, a feminist epistemology for listening in order to narrate relative positions that is situated, contextualized and (dis)agreeing in articulations and diffracting in coalitions.

References

- Alvarado, M. (2021). Quehaceres teóricos en los des(a)nudos feministas que ligan academia y activismos. *Nossos feminismos americanos e descoloniais: escritos anfíbios entre militancias e academia*, 1(3), 25-40. <https://revistas.ufob.edu.br/index.php/revistasul-sul/article/view/812>
- Alvarado, M; Fischetti, N. (2018). Feminismos del sur: alusiones, elusiones, ilusiones. *Pleyade. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 22, 87-105.
- Alvarado, M.; Fernández Hasan, V; Fischetti, N. (2019). Epistemologías feministas: conversaciones (in)interrumpidas. In M. Alvarado (Coord.), *Feminismos del Sur* (pp.17-40). Prometeo.
- Ambrosetti, M. (n/d). Al macho lo escracho. *La Comuna Ediciones*. <https://www.lacomunaediciones.laplata.gob.ar/contenido/al-macho-lo-escracho-de-marisol-ambrosetti>
- Argentina.gob.ar. (n/d). *Interrupción voluntaria del embarazo*. <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/justicia/derechofacil/leysimple/interrupcion-voluntaria-del-embarazo>
- Bravo, N. (2012). H.I.J.O.S. en Argentina. La emergencia de prácticas y discursos en la lucha por la memoria, la verdad y la justicia. *Sociología*, 27(76), 231-248.

- Cuello, N.; Di Salvo, L. (2020). El virus de la cancelación. *Revista Anfibia*. <http://revistaanfibia.com/ensayo/virus-la-cancelacion/>
- Epps, B. (2018). Los «fráxitos» de la disidencia sexual en la época de la globalización neoliberal. *Mora*, 143-152. <http://revistascientificas.filo.uba.ar/index.php/mora/article/view/6310/5597>
- Faur, E. (2019). Del escrache a la pedagogía del deseo. *Revista Anfibia*. <http://revistaanfibia.com/autor/eleonor-faur/>
- Fernández-Hasan, V. (2020). Activismo y academia: la conversación feminista. *Estudios de Filosofía Práctica e Historia de las Ideas*, 22, 1-13.
- flores, v. (2009). Escribir contra sí misma: una micro-tecnología de subjetivación política. *Escritos Heréticos*. https://escritoshereticos.blogspot.com/2010/05/escribir-contra-si-misma-una_28.html?view=flipcard
- flores, v. (2015). “*Con los excrementos de la luz. Interrogantes para una insurgencia sexopolítica disidente*” [Presentation at the Panel on State Legislations and Sexual Dissidence].
- flores, v. (Marzo, 2019). *Desafíos y provocaciones: el presente de los feminismos* [Conference]. Comisión de Género del Colegio de Profesionales de Servicio Social, Neuquén.
- Gago, V. (October 22, 2021). El primer paro a Macri se lo hicieron las mujeres. *Página 12*. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/375726-el-primer-paro-a-macri-se-lo-hicieron-las-mujeres>
- Haraway, D. (1995). *Ciencia, cyborgs y mujeres. La reinvencción de la naturaleza*. Cátedra.
- Harding, S. (1987). ¿Existe un método feminista? In S. Harding (Ed.), *Feminism and Methodology*. Indianapolis. Indiana University Pres.
- Harding, S. (1998). ¿Existe un método feminista? In E. Bartra (Comp.), *Debates en torno a una metodología feminista* (pp. 9-34). Universidad Autónoma de Xochimilco.

- hooks, b. (1992 [1984]). El poder de descreer. Cambiando las perspectivas sobre el poder. In S. Chejter (Comp.), *El sexo natural del estado. Mujeres: alternativa para la década de los 90* (pp.161- 172). Editorial Altamira.
- Janick, G. (2020). Feminismo y punitivismo. Análisis del surgimiento de funas a varones en Argentina. *Revista Némesis*, 16, 49-59. <https://www.aacademica.org/guadalupejancik/3>
- Klein, I. (2017). ¿Qué vuelve “narrable” a un relato? Narratividad y ficción. In I., Klein (Comp.), *Escritura y creatividad en comunicación* (pp. 17-26). Universidad de Buenos Aires.
- Lastra, S.; González, M. (2019). Escraches feministas: acuerdos y tensiones en torno a una práctica. [Working paper of Observatorio Enseñanza Derecho. Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales. Universidad Nacional de La Plata].
- LesP.A.N.I.K. (2021). *Todxs somos escrachables. ¿Tod*s somos escrachables?*. Unpublished .
- Ley 26.150 de 2006-2009. Por la cual se garantiza la educación sexual integral de todos los niños, niñas y adolescentes. October 4, 2006.
- Ley 26.618 de 2010. Por la cual se aprueba el matrimonio igualitario. July, 2010.
- Ley 26.904 de 2013. Por la cual se incorpora la figura de Grooming o ciberacoso sexual. December 11, 2013.
- Ley 27.234 de 2015. Por la cual se establece educar con igualdad para la prevención y erradicación de violencia de género. November 26, 2015.
- Ley 27.610 de 2020. Por la cual se establece el derecho al aborto. December 30, 2020.
- Luongo, Gilda. (n/d) “Desplazamientos: escrituras/diferencia sexual/memoria/política” (Unpublished manuscript).
- Maffeo, F. (2020). Violencia patriarcal y procesos de juridificación. Preguntas y reflexiones sobre las denuncias en situaciones de violencia y el activismo

feminista. *Revista Electrónica. Instituto de Investigaciones Ambrosio L. Gioja*, 24, 69-89.

Maffía, D. (2020) *Visibilización de las violencias y sus efectos en los vínculos*. In *Nerdearla* [Video]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4p1Os11cTc0,a D>.

Manifiestos. (June 3, 2015). *3 de junio de 2015*. Ni una menos. <http://niunamenos.org.ar/manifiestos/3-de-junio-2015/>

Mohanty, Ch. (2020). *Feminismo sin fronteras: descolonizar la teoría, practicar la solidaridad*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios de Género.

Programa Nacional de Educación Sexual Integral. *Lineamientos curriculares para la educación sexual integral* [PDF File]. https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/lineamientos_0.pdf

Proyecto de Investigación Plurianual (PIP) (2021-2023) “Prácticas, saberes, territorios. Articuciones entre academia y activismos”, CONICET.

REDAAS. (2019). *De la clandestinidad al congreso: un análisis del debate legislativo sobre la ley de interrupción voluntaria del embarazo en Argentina* [PDF File]. <http://www.ela.org.ar/a2/objetos/adjunto.cfm?aplicacion=APP187&cnl=15&topc=49&codcontenido=4077&codcampo=20>

Trebisacce, C. (2018). Habitar el desacuerdo. Notas para una apología de la precariedad política. *Debate*, 185-190.

Universidad Nacional de Rosario. (September 20, 2013). *10 años de la nulidad de las leyes de obediencia debida y punto final*. Universidad Nacional de Rosario. <https://www.unr.edu.ar/noticia/6866/10-anos-de-la-nulidad-de-las-leyes-de-obediencia-debida-y-punto-final#:~:text=La%20Ley%20de%20Punto%20Final,de%20personas%20durante%20la%20dictadura>.

Zani, A.; Cholakian Herrera, L. (2017). Argentina: retórica del escrache. *Nodal*. <https://www.nodal.am/2017/10/retorica-del-escrache-alejandra-m-zani-lucia-cholakian-herrera/>