

# ***The economic and social crisis has fractured the European space in different areas:***

- ◆ northern countries still have relatively flourishing economies and a good welfare state
- ◆ southern countries are impoverished and blamed for their own condition because of their laziness and lack of self government.

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# ***WE ARE PIGS!***

**Portugal**

**Italy**

**Greece**

**Spain**

## ***Citizenship: mainstream strategies***

The assimilationist LGBT movement in Italy as well as in Netherlands has built its agenda around claims of **equal rights, marriage** and inclusion in **citizenship** of LGBT people

## ***Citizenship: mainstream strategies***

- ◆ ‘sexual democracies’ and their tendency toward an inclusion of the LGBTIQ subjects through racism (see: Gay imperialism)
- ◆ Inclusion of “sexual minorities” is the standard for measuring the degree of “civilization” and legitimize racist politics and border management

# ***Crisis of mainstream strategies***

- ◆ we started to increasingly feel the social impact of the debt **crisis** in our lives (*and you?*)
- ◆ the systems of **representative democracies** were replaced by technical governments imposed by the European institutions
- ◆ the assimilationist drives of the LGBT movement grounded in such representative schemes were completely **ineffective**.
- ◆ There's **no lobbying to do** with such lack of national sovereignty

# *Economic crisis or changes in capitalism?*

Global transition toward financial capitalism

- ◆ imposing its governance on nation-states
- ◆ shifting onto populations and bodies the blackmail of public and private debt and that of temp jobs

The mainstream LGBT movement completely failed to grasp these dynamics.

## *Why do “we” want marriage (?)*

- ◆ The extension of marriage has been considered the tool to access citizenship (civil and social rights)
- ◆ Welfare in Italy has traditionally been designed for nuclear families.
- ◆ Symbolic reasons: our affections are equal

**BUT...**

## *“we” want marriage, but:*

- ◆ Politics of austerity are dramatically reducing the welfare extension and its (already low) standards
- ◆ What about the patriarchal implications of the institution of marriage?
- ◆ Homonormative implications: role of “new families” in social control and in economics



## *“we” want marriage, but... how would you pay for the party?*

- ◆ We converged on wider fights against austerity politics and for **unconditioned minimal wage**
- ◆ We ask for recognition of our multiple and non monogamic affective relations: other intimacies – not just polyamory!
- ◆ Other intimacies connect queer affections and the redefinition of a citizenship not based on the national state and the family

## *Who is “we”?*

Gay white middle class Italian men?

- ◆ In the last years the Italian LGBT movement shifted to transversal and apolitical drives claiming to be decontextualized from antiracist and anti-imperialist movement
- ◆ **we** denounced that these claims were implicitly or explicitly building a white, nationalist and classist declination, and therefore were dangerously connected with imperial goals (see: Leslie Feinberg)

# *Economic crisis or changes in capitalism?*

- ◆ Since the '80 we've been discussing about “becoming woman of work” (see Deleuze-Guattari)
- ◆ Becoming nomadic of capitalism (see-Braidotti)

## *“becoming woman” of work*

Characteristics that were traditionally attached to women, are now required from every worker and put at work.

What's at work when we work? What is produced?

Affections (even queer affections), linguistic and relational attitudes, the ability to “take care”.

Subjectivity is at the center of production

# ***Nomadic capitalism***

# *Sex work*

- ◆ Every kind of work has a sexual element
  - ◆ What do we do to combat whorephobia...?\*
- Sex workers are workers  
Every worker is also a slut
- ◆ Sex workers are paid for something that other workers give for free.

\*quoting yesterday's workshop by Sex Worker Open University

☰ ***...Things we don't even think we should be paid for:***

- ◆ smile, be nice to your boss, be nice to your customers, dress nicely, put lipstick on, network, be condescending, show attachment to your job, pretend to have an orgasm when your company is successful

# *Diversity management*

Policies of companies for the inclusion of minorities: if you feel accepted you work harder...

- ◆ “Inclusion” of LGBTIQ identity in the process of production
- ◆ Increased exploitation of LGBTIQ workers
- ◆ Pinkwashing of companies that need to present themselves as “gay friendly”



# *Queer politics*

- ◆ how queer politics can be transnational and connected with issues of class and race going beyond the claim for equal rights?
- ◆ how can we build alliances between queer movement and groups in southern, northern and eastern Europe including native and migrants already in Europe or attempting to reach Europe?

# *Queer politics*

- ◆ We need a European/global perspective: the dynamics we described are not “national”
- ◆ We need a queer/nomadic attitude to fight the nomadic attitude of present day capitalism
- ◆ Asking for money, not for work!

# *Queer politics*

- ◆ Deeper awareness of the connection between affections/identity/labour: **queer struggle is class struggle!**
  - ◆ Intersectional perspective
  - ◆ Searching for a queer attitude in organizing social movements  
(see: spanish experience; queering occupy; gender strike; unpaid care work strike)
- .....

## *Tools we found useful*

- ◆ Starting from your needs and experiences
- ◆ Contextualizing: see privileges and differences *at work/in* context
- ◆ Identifying a common ground for action
- ◆ Sharing different experiences can be productive and can be empowering (yesterday we focused on the negative side and difficulties)
- ◆ Inquiry – self-inquiry. Think about different forms of action.

## ***Privileges and differences at work:***

Lesbians, gays, straight women and men (or identified as such), cis and transgender people have been members of our group.

To get all these different people doing queer/transfeminism activism together it is important that everyone acknowledges his/her privileges not in general, but *in each specific situation and topic* the collective finds itself dealing with.

It is important to understand how differences and privileges *work* case by case, not only acknowledge that they exist in general.

# *Differences can be empowering*

Examples:

Sex workers' experience enlightens women's experience and workers' experience. (This is not to **appropriate** sex workers' experience but to realize that there is in a way a **continuum** between their and other groups' experiences)

Comparing gay men's experiences of masculinity to those of lesbians and straight women proved very useful for both.

FtM and MtF and cis gender women with breast cancer may exchange knowledge and try to resignify the social experience of having/not havign boobs... (? just a project in progress in our self-organized "consultoria")