

Participation and Feminism: Are they complete opposites? Inventing spaces as a feminist alternative

Natalia Meléndez Fuentes

MSc. Building and Urban Design in Development
B.A. International Relations, B.A. Translation and Interpreting

Liberation rests on the construction of the
consciousness, the imaginative apprehension,
of oppression, and so of possibility.
– Donna Haraway, 2016

Introduction: Participation, or the abidance by patriarchy

Our present times are witnessing—after much fighting for it— how females and other non-masculine individuals are increasingly invited to participate in spaces, systems and structures. The implications of most of these invitations, however, often go unchallenged. Nonetheless, when offered a seat at the table, a fake belief develops by which we feel more accepted. Whereas, in fact, we might be partaking in structures that perpetuate the undermining, subjugating and fragmenting of all that is non-masculine. Thereby, I argue that participation in already-existing, patriarchal structures opposes feminism, by isolating non-masculinities from one another— spinning as if they were satellites around the interests of patriarchy.

The progressive granting of citizen rights to women, the LGBTTTTIQA community, and many discriminated groups that has taken place in the last 100 years, could not have been achieved without these groups' fight to participate in what were exclusionary masculine structures. The rights acquired though, have only been endorsed for some millions of non-masculine individuals in concentrated geographies. Thus, they are still far from being universal. Having this in mind, one could argue that feminism has reached an impasse, where the fight has been fragmented into countless factions. Divisions whereby we criticize one another, labeling each other as 'good' or 'bad feminist'—as if those designations were not completely oxymoronic in themselves. Against this backdrop, could one argue that the fundamental problem is feminism's insistence in partaking in patriarchal spaces, conceived within the exclusion of non-masculinities?

A way out of this impasse could be the feminist invention of its own spaces, according to its own terms. Nonetheless, this project brings about many questions: How to reach the roots of oppression and objectivization not to reproduce them again? How can we deconstruct within ourselves the structural exclusion that has been in place for centuries? How do we make sure that these feminist, invented mechanisms include, without subordinating: male, female, the LGBTTTTIQA community, and any socially-undermined group? Most definitely, feminist invented spaces could not yield new discriminatory patterns and hegemonizing centers—for this would contradict what feminism inherently represents.

Thereby, the purpose of this article is to elucidate how participation might go against the pillars of feminism, and, by extension, how the participation of non-masculinities in such systems perpetuates their own oppression. To be constructive in my critique, I propose a feminist alternative to participation: the invention of feminist spaces. This will be illustrated by the analysis of the Chilean performance "Un Violador en Tu Camino", which has united the feminist cause through invented spaces. And with this, it has contributed to the deconstruction of ingrained detrimental practices, as well as of our misogynistic approach to one another (Long Chu, 2019: 11).

Space, power and knowledge: How is participation oppressive of females?

By analyzing the spatial, power and knowledge discourses of participation, one inevitably collides with the foundations of feminism. Given that power and knowledge are intimately related (Foucault, 1980: 52), when participants— Independently of sex or gender—accept the invitation to participate under patriarchy, they produce certain knowledges and reproduce certain power relations. Indeed, the spaces, power dynamics and knowledges that sustain participation under patriarchy, keep women and the non-masculine surveilled, objectified and commodified.

Scholar Andrea Cornwall's timeline of the evolution of participation since the 1960s (Cornwall, 2006: 65-78) makes evident that, across time and places, participation has been applied as if it was a universal concept. According to her timeline, participation has exerted control over community processes through the commodification of difference and the homogenization of communities. In this line, it has been made dependent on normative ideals, as if difference did not exist; and it has been used as a technology of governmentality—perpetuating hegemonic power structures (*Ibid.*: 79). Thereby, I argue that the spatial, power and knowledge discourses of participation have deceived us into “the empty ritual of participation”, leading us to think that, by partaking, we acquire “the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process” (Arnstein, 1969: 216). Participation has thus perpetuated the oppression of non-masculinities by curtailing their resistance.

Based on the postulates of Global Southern theorists, universal concepts tend to be Eurocentric (Escobar, 2004: 217; Mignolo, 2005: 11) and, hence: patriarchal, hegemonic, and with no accounts of gender, age or ethnicity. From this critical stance, participation has a gender, a sex, a race, and a socio-economic class (Fung & Wright, 2003: 26-34; Pateman, 1970; Young, 1989). This exclusionary nature notwithstanding, the participatory discourse boasts about inclusivity, empowerment, agency, and local knowledge. When it comes to empowerment, for instance, scholars Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari exhort us to go beyond the superficial aesthetics, to question for what purpose are people being empowered, as “this empowerment [might be] therefore tantamount, in Foucauldian terms, to subjection” (Cooke & Kothari, 2001: 169). Thus, when participation is detached from the challenging of systems of oppression, it becomes an empty term (Miraftab, 2004: 5).

All of that stated, Cooke and Kothari's designation of ‘participation as tyranny’ (2001: 4) is accurate to designate a system that essentially oppresses non-masculinities. Aside from yet-limited cases, most participatory processes do not really examine the terms under which they are to take place—as do tokenistic information-sharing and consultation processes (Arnstein, 1969; Cooke & Kothari, 2001: 103). Moreover, the agendas imposed through participation tend to obey patriarchal structures, which may overlook the potential connections between inclusion and subordination (*Ibid.*: 9).

An illustrative case of how participation can play against feminism, is female partaking in social media platforms. Within the digital context, women seem to be the agent of their own participation. Tarnished by a liberalist and individualistic façade, the way in which many participate follows patriarchal ideals of female objectification. Echoing Foucault (1982: 782), the norms of the system are so embedded that oppressed subjects behave against their own interest. According to new media theorist Laura Portwood-Stacer (2014), as feminists, we must be able to “constantly hold a goal of questioning and challenging the costs of inclusion, exclusion, and resistance”. Thus, social media raises new questions about women's agency and responsibility, since these are platforms that “ostensibly empower women to operate the technologies that objectify and surveil them” (Dubrofsky & Wood, 2015: 93).

Feminism: How is it emancipatory?

My definition of ‘feminism’ agrees with philosopher Nancy Hartsock (1981: 35) in that it is a lens to view the world; a mode of analysis, rather than an ideology against the oppression of non-masculinities. This, however, does not mean that feminism is apolitical. Rather, its nature of relational self-definition makes it a political experience of connection with others, nature, the mind, and the body (*Ibid.*: 246). Through an ethics of care (Robinson, 2011), I believe that feminism is a periscope through which to spot patriarchal oppression. Far from adopting a messianic attitude, feminism is about positionality (Haraway, 1990): by recognizing our own subjectivity, feminism offers a wide terrain for questioning, deconstructing and acting.

Within this context, Hartsock (1983: 295) coined the insightful concept of ‘abstract masculinity’ to illustrate the workings of both underlying and apparent patriarchies. For her, ‘abstract masculinity’ is a form of life based on the construction of the self *in contrast to* a threatening other—setting the masculine apart and above the non-masculine. Rooted in connecting rather than in alienating, feminism appears useful to expose the hierarchical and mutually-exclusive dualities upon which patriarchy is built (Winant, 1987: 137). Thus, by springboarding individuals to self-define themselves *in relation to* each other, the feminist standpoint exposes a world of estranged, perverse and oppressive social relations (Hartsock, 1998: 246). It is on the basis of this relational ontology that feminism can constitute spaces where power emanates from connection, rather than domination.

Thereby, how can feminism help us overcome our phallogocentric society? At the intersection between capitalism and patriarchy, one identifies how the conflicts of distribution confronted by women the world over, are not being solved by merely granting access (Narayanaswamy, 2016: 2170). Instead, the much-needed redistribution requires a more radical approach. That is, going deep down into the workings of the global system to challenge the roots of oppression: what is produced and reproduced, how, by whom, and by whom not (León, 2003: 619). This should encompass feminist changes at all scales, intersections and realities (*Ibid.*: 621). Remaining at the surface or at sectoral dimensions—that is, contented with participation—is not even a temporary fix.

Concepts such as spatial theorist Henri Lefebvre’s conceptual triad—perceived, conceived and lived space— (Lefebvre, 1974: 48) push us to question for whom are spaces produced, by whom, and how. In *The production of space* (1974), Lefebvre establishes that space influences and reproduces social relationships. Therefore, the spaces that people create or partake in, in turn shape them (Lefebvre, 1974: 68). According to Lefebvre’s triad, one can discern that spatial practices (as participation), representations of space (as in Rancière’s aesthetics), and socially-produced physical and mental constructs (as are patriarchal narratives), together constitute a whole that oppresses non-masculinities. To escape this, feminism needs to create its own spaces, as liberated as possible from everything perceived, conceived and lived before.

So as to liberate ourselves from the workings of patriarchy, Foucault shows us “how the intersection of space, knowledge, and power can be both oppressive and enabling” (Bret *et al.*: 2010: 60). This window of opportunity constitutes the foundation of feminist invented spaces. For, if space and knowledge are produced socially (Foucault, 1980: 52; Lefebvre, 1973: 59), and power is created by collective action (Latour 1986: 276), then feminism can use this to its advantage; inventing new spaces in which knowledge and power dynamics are emancipatory of oppression.

Inventing feminist spaces via “Un Violador en tu Camino”

Coined by Miraftab (2004), ‘invented spaces’ are those which are claimed by collective action to challenge the status quo. Predominant forms of participation only account for non-masculine groups—such as women, the LGBTTTIQA community or Indigenous Peoples—by extending them invitations to participate. Because of this, what feminism needs is to invent its own spaces on its own terms. These inventions, as exemplified by the performance “Un Violador en Tu Camino”, would catalyze oppression-free spaces, relationships and, eventually, structures.

Performed by thousands of women across the world, “Un Violador en tu Camino” was first danced and shouted in front of Chile’s *Segunda Comisaría de Carabineros* [Police Station No.2] in Valparaíso, on November 18, 2019. For over a year, the Lastesis collective¹ had been preparing the song for a play about rape, but the context of national social protests gave a better framing for their feminist invented space. The International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (November 25) witnessed a second performance—this time by over 2000 women—in front of the Court of Justice Palace of Santiago, Chile. This time, its main purpose was to generate further performances of the song. Indeed, in no time, it became viral via social media. At the time of this writing, “Un Violador en tu Camino” has been performed in over 100 cities,

¹ Lastesis is a Chilean collective not older than a year, founded by four women from the performing arts field: Dafne Valdés, Paula Cometa, Sibila Sotomayor y Lea Cáceres.

and translated into 26 languages², including Spanish sign language (see Appendix for a taster), thus inventing a new global feminist space.

The author of this article, a female, went to the London performance on December 7, 2019. Over 300 women gathered at 12:00 PM at Potters Field Park to invent that feminist space created in Chile, yet new for us. We rehearsed three times before its final recording for social media. What is crucial about the performance is that its radicalness—in lyrics, choreography, inter-generationalism, and transnationalism—has travelled far and strong, carving up a physical and mental space that did not exist before. Moreover, the magic of the performance does not stop with the powerful atmosphere of women singing in unison against patriarchy, but reaches to its aftermath: conversations at lunch tables, friend meetings, social media between the masculine and non-masculine, questioning patriarchy, its behaviors and manifestations.

Moreover, “Un Violador en Tu Camino” follows the essence of feminism by uniting rather than dividing. In this vein, most feminist factions seem to have come together under this chant; their different interpretations and perspectives triangulating (Rose, 1997) and enriching the space. This coalescing spirit notwithstanding, men were not invited; for Lastesis believe that women “needed a space to talk about what we could not talk with men being there”. Nonetheless, they encourage men, “to create their own spaces to deconstruct masculinity” (Lastesis, 2019).

By means of the political power of art and performance, “Un Violador en Tu Camino” brings visibility to the oppressive character of patriarchy. Through both its lyrics and choreography, it vocally denounces Chile’s sexual and police abuses, masculine-biased judicial structures, immunity for rape, and the systemic subjugation of non-masculinity. Additionally, it set a feminist tone to the socio-political protests currently taking place across Latin America, but also accompanies feminist demonstrations in places as far away from its origins as India or Mozambique—reflecting the universality of its cause. Most of the performances were recorded in front of important city landmarks and institutions, as if confronting the hearts of patriarchy. What is more, “Un Violador en Tu Camino” was able to draw attention “to the relationship of personal experiences [sexual abuse, harassment, discrimination; oppression] to structural inequalities” (Baer, 2016: 29). In particular, it puts the spotlight on the vulnerability to which female bodies are exposed in public spaces, thus establishing collective feminist politics. This way, the condemnations expressed through its multiple and multilingual performances, have been extrapolated to decry against global patriarchal oppression.

The viral broadcasting of the performance through social media points out to the interface between online and offline spaces as valuable dimensions for feminist protests (Baer, 2016: 22). Despite social media being a platform emerging from patriarchy, its broadcasting of the feminist performance re-invents its traditional uses and norms, responsibly contributing to the feminist cause. Bringing forward Rancière (Boano & Kelling, 2013: 43), the feminist aesthetics conveyed by spaces such as “Un Violador en Tu Camino”, carve out new perceptions that raise awareness about the oppressions of patriarchy—which affect us all, not only women or non-masculinities. In this manner, “Un Violador en Tu Camino” politically invents a feminist global space through the digital world, dodging its usual functions of surveillance and (self-)monitoring (Baer, 2016: 24).

Interrupting Rancière’s “partition of the sensible” (Boano & Kelling, 2013: 46), the thousands of women who have invented feminist spaces via this performance are “making a collective claim to exist as political subjects” (*Ibid.*) Done through “theatrical and spectacular dramatization” (*Ibid.*), they invent: creating something that did not exist before. Thus, the performance’s accusatory lyrics and choreography create a space freed from the patriarchal norms that bound reality. It is that space which radically questions our social interactions, by “reconfigur[ing] the identities, relations, and arrangements through which positions and arguments make sense” (Ruez, 2012: 1129).

By mixing the aforementioned Lefebvrian perceived spaces with Rancière’s aesthetics, we learn that our perception of the world is affected by what we see continuously (Boano & Kelling, 2013: 43). Thus, both concepts alert us of the importance to attend to what we create through participation, how we participate, for what purpose, who is included or excluded, and which are the implications of the perceptions that participation breeds on people. Moreover, Lefebvre emphasizes the power of resistance embodied by spaces of representation, where invention and imagination can thrive (Rendell, 2018). It is then, in performance through

² The author has counted up to 93 performances in different cities, with the lyrics translated into 26 languages through Twitter search, which makes these figures non exhaustive.

aesthetics, that one can find an invaluable bastion for challenging domination—which in turn links to Lefebvre’s argument that the body can be the site of resistance within power in space (Lefebvre, 1974: 49).

According to post-structuralist philosopher Judith Butler (2015: 2), “for politics to take place, the body must appear”. This finds its rationale in the fact that “the body has its invariably public dimension; constituted as a social phenomenon in the public sphere; my body is and is not mine” (*Ibid.*, 21). Furthermore, given that “the body is that which can occupy the norm in myriad ways, exceed the norm, rework the norm, and expose realities to which we thought we were confined as open to transformation” (*Ibid.*: 217), body performances such as “Un Violador en Tu Camino” work physical and mental logics to critique assumed norms and invent spaces for new possibilities. Through the body, negated identities reassert themselves through space.

The aftermath of invented feminist spaces

It is only through invented spaces, such as “Un Violador en Tu Camino”, that we will break the current feminist impasse, moving towards connectedness. Borrowing from participation theory (Gaventa, 2006), when feminism decides to create its own spaces, it radically seizes power. As Paulo Freire (1970: 29) put forward, emancipation can happen, but only when people own their participation and decision-making processes, free of oppressive and dehumanizing structures. Through ‘feminist critical spatial practice’ (Rendell, 2011: 24), these feminist invented spaces resist the dominant social order; challenging and reconstructing present practices, and radically approaching our desired futures.

What is more, feminist invented spaces can be interpreted as the materialization of activist Bell Hooks’ metaphor of “observing from the margin”. Indeed, the margin might be the only chance to clearly see structures of oppression and so resist and challenge them (Hooks, 1989: 20). A further useful concept coined by Hooks is ‘politics of location’, *i.e.*, where one places him or herself as feminist in spaces, discourses, and positions should be carefully thought out (*Ibid.*: 15). Together with Donna Haraway’s ‘positionality’ (1990), the politics of location are a guide into “inventing spaces of radical openness” (Hooks 1989: 19). From the feminist margin, a political location and positionality; one can “see how all knowledge is situated, how certain perspectives are excluded from the current knowledge regime, and how multiple true objectivities are possible” (D’Ignazio & Klein, 2017).

Concepts such as Jane Rendell’s ‘feminist critical spatial practice’ (2018) or Nancy Fraser’s ‘subaltern counterpublics’ (1990: 67) inspire resistances *vis-à-vis* the dominant social order. Both feminists encourage resistance by emphasizing the power of the process over the result: “building the network itself becomes the activity that creates resilience to spatial oppression” (Rendell, 2018). Through feminist critical spatial practice (Rendell, 2011: 24), these feminist invented spaces aim to challenge and reconstruct present practices, and to radically approach our desired futures.

Additionally, at the heart of invented spaces lies a rejection of consensus making. In full agreement with political scientist Chantal Mouffe, “a culture based on consensus rather than on conflict merely produces multiplications and rarely new knowledge” (Miessen & Mouffe, 2008). And, new knowledge is precisely what we need to break historically-embedded power structures. By radically challenging the roots of patriarchy, feminist invented spaces would foster conflict; thus, undoing the ‘innocence’ of participation (Miessen, 2010: 94). As a result, it is through creating spaces to express the disagreements between feminism and patriarchy, that dissensus can yield more equitable structures (*Ibid.*).

In inventing these spaces, one must attend not to aspire to universality when creating new spaces; not to claim a false, impossible impartiality; not to occlude differences, subalternity or dissent; and not to neglect the obstacles to inclusiveness by always keeping in mind intersectionality (Fraser, 2003: 87) In line with these, feminist invented spaces allow for the expression of emotions and needs, employing straightforward language clear to all (Stetson, 2007). The delicate challenge of these our invented spaces will be to earn the respect of masculinities and integrate them. This complete opposition to how patriarchy was built, might be our most effective method for seizing power to our cause. If our spaces constitute matriarchies, then we are no different; and we all lose again—as we are losing now. In order not to perpetuate discrimination, these spaces must constantly challenge, question and reflect upon their own reason of existence and their mechanisms (Haraway, 1990: 579).

Conclusion

Are feminism and participation then, inherently opposites? By participating in certain structures, we say “yes” to the social fragmentation that hems non-masculinities in; abiding by gender norms that eternalize masculine supremacy; and substantially isolating all that is non-masculine. By participating, we are voluntarily doing the “divide and conquer” for the patriarchal system itself. From this standpoint, I have analyzed how the way in which most participation processes operate intrinsically undermine feminism.

As an alternative, feminist, invented spaces are positioned outside—in Hook’s margin— and from there offer resistance, observation, challenging, deconstruction, and connection. Feminist, invented spaces, such as those created by “Un Violador en Tu Camino”, intend to spare women from oppression and exposure to contradictory social role demands. These invented spaces are not about agreeing in definitive and fixed cosmologies. Rather, they are about subscribing to a timely set of structural aspects with more and more women, creating linkages (Lagarde, 2006: 126). Nonetheless, once these spaces are built, we must never lose sight of the implications of our challenging of value systems, knowledge and power; reflectively, critically and radically making sure that the transformations we advocate for are not to the detriment of society.

Appendix: Catalogue of feminist invented spaces. Distinctive performances of “Un Violador en Tu Camino”.

This Appendix gives a taster of some of the most particular performances of “Un Violador en Tu Camino”, as well as the multilingual character it has acquired the world over. The author of this article has identified performances in 26 languages—including Spanish sign language—, though it is very likely to be more. By being reproduced in different contexts and geographies, the song is over and over re-invented, recreating the feminist space yielded by Lastesis in Chile, yet adapted to the local circumstances of the place, so as to make a more meaningful denunciation.

Location	Particularity (if applicable)	Language	Link to video performance
Santiago, Chile	In front of the La Moneda Palace, the seat of the president of the Republic of Chile, in the midst of the socio-political protests and national strike taking place the country over.	Spanish	https://twitter.com/aneich/status/1204857090923208707
Santiago, Chile	One of the first translations of the song was to Mapudungún, in acknowledgement of the arduous and long-dating fight of the Mapuche nation in Chile.	Mapudungun	https://twitter.com/Silviahache/status/1203387681683718144
Antofagasta, Chile	At the historical Antofagasta pier, known for the times of saltpeter extraction, that set the foundations for the neoliberalist model established in Chile. A second version was performed in the sea, with women on top of surf boards and in neoprene suits.	Spanish	https://twitter.com/diarioafta/status/1207790159716061185 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLrSUFsBWEo&feature=embed_title
Mexico D.F., Mexico	At the capital’s Zócalo, over 2000 women performing the song.	Spanish	https://twitter.com/lopezdoriga/status/1200600672313303040
Juchitán, Oaxaca, México	Performed by Zapotec females of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. A woman is killed every 48 hours	Spanish	https://twitter.com/LuisGallegosMx/status/12

Participation and Feminism: Are they complete opposites?

	in Oaxaca.		05281201659039745
Puyo, Ecuadorian Amazon	Women of different Indigenous nationalities, from the Antisuyu Warmikuna School (CONFENIAE, Confederation of Indigenous Nations from the Ecuadorian Amazon), gather to perform “Un Violador en tu Camino” in Spanish, Kichwa, Shuar, Waorani, Achuar and Shiwiar.	Spanish first, then followed by Kichwa, Shuar, Waorani, Achuar and Shiwiar.	https://twitter.com/ApawkiCastro/status/1205920870553788416
Cusco, Perú	In front of the historical Plaza de Armas.	Quechua	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZZDCm3bmqs
Barranquilla, Colombia	This performance is special in itself for re-inventing the song by performing it to the rhythm of drums; women dressed in the typical <i>pollera</i> dress.	Spanish	https://twitter.com/nxthxchxs/status/1207785239113850881
San Juan, Puerto Rico	In front of the country’s Capitol.	Spanish	https://twitter.com/YArroyoPizarro/status/1200544778657681410
Washington D.C., United States	With the symbolic U.S. Lincoln Memorial as its background.	Spanish	https://twitter.com/frederickbills/status/1206650024878325762
Madrid, Spain	In Sol, at the point of Madrid known as “Km 0”, the origin of all the radial roads at the national level. The symbolism of this performance, therefore, is to reach the core of the country’s institutions and, by extension, system.	Spanish	https://twitter.com/chilenosnmadrid/status/1200554478497345541
Tarragona, Spain	Lyrics translated into Catalanian.	Catalonian	https://www.ccma.cat/tv3/alacarta/programa/el-violador-ets-tu-en-catala-a-tarragona/video/5983346/
Navarra, Spain	Lyrics translated into Euskera.	Euskera	https://navarra.elespanol.com/video/navarra1/bera-bidasoa-euskera-violador-chile-cancion/20191211120057301790.html
Santiago de Compostela, Spain	Translation of the lyrics translated into Galician. Performance was conducted in front of St. James Cathedral, one of the most important centers of the Catholic faith.	Galician	https://twitter.com/MacuGimeno/status/1204765801565343746
Natal, Brazil	Rhythm and percussion appropriated to better match the culture.	Portuguese	https://twitter.com/MidiaNINJA/status/1206341956416294913
Fortaleza, Brazil	The lyrics added certain lines to adapt better to the national context.	Portuguese	https://twitter.com/MidiaNINJA/status/1207

Participation and Feminism: Are they complete opposites?

			105687878287362
Beira, Mozambique	Example of the performance taking place in Africa. Further proof of the transcendence and systematic need of the movement, lyrics and space invented.	Portuguese	https://twitter.com/KenaLorenziniL/status/1204745039336882177
Lamu, Kenya	Performed on International Women’s Day, women dressed in purple followed their performance with a manifestation towards the city center and a discussion about the origins of March 8 th (Afrikable, 2020).	Swahili	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rs0BKfLbqZw
Athens, Greece	Performed in the Syntagma Square, at the feet of the Hellenic Parliament. The Greek version asked participants not to wear political affiliation markers during the performance, in order to transcend ideology and better unite against patriarchal oppression. After the performance, women started to cite the names of those who had recently died of femicide in the country; with the crowd responding “heret!” to each name (CLG, 2019).	Spanish and Greek	https://es.euronews.com/2019/12/22/atenas-se-suma-al-himno-viral-contra-los-abusos-sexuales
Rome, Italy	Performed in Piazza Cavour, in front of the Italian Palace of Justice.	Italian	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03Hqp7duA_Y&list=RDiRuiaIX79JU&index=9
Perugia, Italy	The performance is completely re-invented. It is a silent reinterpretation whereby red paint; a drum and a cooking pot are its main protagonists. At the end, the drum and the cooking pot are played in unison.	Silent	https://twitter.com/pamorales29/status/1206655906194309122
Geneva, Switzerland	Women use the performance to protest against the visit of Erdogan to Geneva. The Turkish president had given the order to arrest any woman who performs the song in Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir (Publimetro, 2019). In addition to this, the performance also cries against the mutilation that the all-female militia YPJ (Women's Protection Units) —actively fighting in Northern Syria—are suffering at the hands of the Turkish army in Rojava. The performance took place in front of the	Spanish and French	https://twitter.com/isatrapa/status/1207010853675044864
Gdańsk, Poland	Performance accompanied by the Samba Samba Rhythms of Resistance Trójmiasto (the Polish branch of the Rhythms of Resistance activist, anticapitalist and transnational network, that uses samba for political action).	Polish	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3doxDrex4zY
Bucarest, Romania	The lyrics were translated into Romani language to draw attention of the double discrimination against Roma women in particular, who are discriminated on the basis of sex as well as race, both from society and the authorities (The	Romani	https://en.baricada.org/the-rapist-is-you/

Participation and Feminism: Are they complete opposites?

	Barricade, 2020).		
Frankfurt, Germany	Lyrics translated into German and performed in front to Frankfurt's Opera House. This has special relevance because, according to German Feminist Party leader Margot Müller, one of the main factors hindering feminist cooperation and ideas and practices exchange in the country are the language barriers (DW, 2019). The multilingual echo that the Lastesis song has had might then be setting the tone of a new era.	German	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YZhGVnjimUY
Ankara, Turkey	Inside the Turkish parliament, performed by the MP women, in protest against the head of the Chamber having ordered the arrest of 6 civilian women who performed "Un Violador en tu Camino" on the streets of Ankara.	Turkish	https://twitter.com/ColdPressNewsMx/status/1207449185093480448
Tétouan, Morocco	After the one-year sentence was pronounced against journalist Hajar Raissouni and her fiancée for having aborted and maintained an extramarital relationship, local feminist movements pushed for absolution until conceded by King Mohamed VI. The feminist collective that emerged after this needed a hymn, and adopted the Lastesis song, with some adaptations to emphasize women's freedom to decide over their own bodies (Barranco, 2020).	Arabic	https://www.eldiario.es/desalambre/colectivo-feminista-Marruecos-insultos-amenazas_0_990751140.html
Tunis, Tunisia	The performance took place in front of the Kasbah, the national government headquarters.	Arabic	https://twitter.com/SuperwomanrojaB/status/1206165676924325889
New Delhi, India	The translation into Hindi adds to the song's revindication list the characteristic female oppression experienced in the Indian context. This video performance took place in the center of New Delhi, in protest against the 23-year-old woman who was burned alive as she was entering the courthouse to testify against her rapist. The performance was also conducted in honor to the 26-year-old woman who, a week before, had been gang raped and subsequently assassinated.	Hindi	https://twitter.com/laluisarivera/status/1203677798369517568
Kolkata, India	The performance was made as part of a series of protests against Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to the city. As told by one of the participants, the aim was "to highlight the patriarchal violence that Modi's idea of a Hindi Rashtra represents" (Daniyal, 2020)	Bengali	https://scroll.in/video/949602/the-rapist-is-you-feminists-sing-bengali-version-of-chilean-piece-to-protest-modis-kolkata-visit
Dhaka, Bangladesh	In front of Bangladesh National Museum, next to Dhaka University, over a thousand women performed the song in protest of the rape of a university student. The performance did not	Bangla	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nsvR6ENA5K0&feature=youtu.be

	appear in national TV, but went viral on social media (Vida, 2020).		
Karachi, Pakistan	The Pakistani feminist movement AuratMarch2020 performed the song exhorting people to join them on March 8, 2020, to march in the interest of economic, reproductive, environmental, legal and city rights for women (Vida, 2020).	Urdu	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuVwD3fRCew&feature=emb_title
Manhattan, NY, United States	The performance took place outside the courthouse where film director Harvey Weinstein was being tried. After that, the performers continued the chant in direction towards Hotel Trump. They repeated the action there.	English	https://twitter.com/emmaladyrose/status/1215679934821228544 https://twitter.com/LaurenAratani/status/1215681362772054019
Online	The performance was translated into sign Spanish language by youtuber Carolina Ros Gil.	Spanish Sign language	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MA2-o3uQzU4

Bibliography

- [1]. Afrikable (2020). Así vivimos el 8M2020 en Lamu. *Afrikable: Cooperación para el Desarrollo en África*. Retrieved from: <https://www.afrikable.org/asi-vivimos-el-8m2020-en-lamu/>
- [2]. Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, vol. 35, no. 4, Julio. 1969, pp. 216-224.
- [3]. Baer, H. (2016). Redoing feminism: digital activism, body politics, and neoliberalism. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16:1, 17-34. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2015.1093070
- [4]. Barranco, F. (January, 2020). "Un violador en mi camino" llega a Marruecos entre insultos por exigir la despenalización del aborto. *El Diario*. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/desalambre/colectivo-feminista-Marruecos-insultos-amenazas_0_990751140.html
- [5]. Boano, C. and Kelling, E. (2013) Towards an Architecture of Dissensus: Participatory Urbanism in South-East Asia. *Footprint* 7(2), pp. 41-62.
- [6]. Brannelly, T. (2018). An ethics of care research manifesto. *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 2(3), 367-378. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/10.1332/239788218X15351944886756>
- [7]. Bret, B., Gervais-Lambony, P., Hancock, C., & Landy, F. (2010). *Justice et injustices spatiales*. Paris: Presses universitaires de Paris Nanterre.
- [8]. Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.
- [9]. Butler, J. (2015). Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street. In *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvjghvt2
- [10]. D'Ignazio, C. & Klein, L. F. (2017) Feminist Data Visualization. Retrieved from <https://bookbook.pubpub.org/data-feminism>
- [11]. Dubrofsky, R. E., & Wood, M. M. (2015). Gender, Race, and Authenticity: Celebrity Women Tweeting for the Gaze. In Dubrofsky, R., & Magnet, S. (Eds). *Feminist surveillance studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- [12]. CLG, Con La Gente Noticias (December, 2019). Retrieved: <https://conlagentenoticias.com/un-violador-en-tu-camino-se-escucho-en-las-calles-de-grecia/>
- [13]. Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (eds.) (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?* London: Zed Books.
- [14]. Daniyal, S. (January, 2020). The rapist is you': Feminists sing Bengali version of Chilean piece to protest Modi's Kolkata visit. *Scroll.in*. Retrieved from: <https://scroll.in/video/949602/the-rapist-is-you-feminists-sing-bengali-version-of-chilean-piece-to-protest-modis-kolkata-visit>
- [15]. DW, Deutsche Welle (2019). "Un violador en tu camino": ¿por qué resuena en Alemania el grito feminista chileno? *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved from: <https://www.dw.com/es/un-violador-en-tu-camino-por-qu%C3%A9-resuena-en-alemania-el-grito-feminista-chileno/a-51511786>

- [16]. Escobar, A. (2004). Beyond the Third World: imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements. *Third World Quarterly*, 25(1), 207-230.
- [17]. Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge; Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- [18]. Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 777-795. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343197>
- [19]. Fraser, N. & Honneth, A. (2003). *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange*. Londres: Verso.
- [20]. Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26: 56-80. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.2307/466240>.
- [21]. Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York ; London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- [22]. Fung, A., & Wright E. (2003). *Deepening democracy: Institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance*. London: Verso.
- [23]. Gaventa, J. (2006). Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis. *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), 23-33. doi:10.1111/j.1759-5436.2006.tb00320.x
- [24]. Haraway, D. J. (2016) Manifestly Haraway. *Posthumanities*, 37.
- [25]. Haraway, D. J. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575-599.
- [26]. Hartsock, N. (1981). Fundamental Feminism: Prospect and Perspective. In Bunch, C. (ed.) *Building Feminist Theory*, 32-34. New York: Longman.
- [27]. Hartsock, N. C.M. (1983). The feminist standpoint: Developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism. In Harding, S., & Hintikka, M. (eds.) *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, methodology, and philosophy of science*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- [28]. Hartsock, N. (1998). *The feminist standpoint revisited and other essays (Feminist theory and politics)*. Boulder, Colorado; Oxford: Westview Press.
- [29]. Hooks, B. (1989). Choosing the margin as a space of radical openness. *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, (36), 15-23.
- [30]. Lagarde, M. (2006). Pactos entre mujeres y sororidad. *Aportes para el debate*. 123-135. Retrieved from <http://www.asociacionag.org.ar/pdfaportes/25/09.pdf>.
- [31]. Lastesis. (2019, December 15). Por qué no dejan que hombres participen en la performance "Un Violador en Tu Camino". Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/gasparalvarez/status/1206359186180911104>.
- [32]. Lefebvre, H. (1973). *Espace et politique*. Paris: Anthropos.
- [33]. Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The Production of Space*. Hoboken, NY: Blackwell Publishing. P.68-292.
- [34]. Latour, B. (1986). The power of association. In Law, J. (Ed.), *Power, action belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- [35]. León T. M. (2003). FSM: Espacio para la construcción de feminismos. *Revista Estudios Feministas*, 11(2), 616-622.
- [36]. Long Chu, A. (2019). *Females*. London: Verso Books.
- [37]. Miessen, M. & Mouffe, C. (2008). Violating Consensus: Markus Miessen interviews Chantal Mouffe. In Ballesteros, M. (Ed.) *Verb Crisis*. Barcelona: ACTAR. pp. 168-180.
- [38]. Miessen, M. (2010). *The nightmare of participation: [Crossbench praxis as a mode of criticality]*. Berlin: Sternberg Press.
- [39]. Mignolo, W. D. (2005). *The idea of Latin America*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- [40]. Miraftab, F. (2004). Invented and invited spaces of participation: Neoliberal citizenship and feminists' expanded notion of politics. *Wagadu: Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies*. <http://web.cortland.edu/wagadu/>
- [41]. Miraftab, F. (2018), "Insurgent Practices and Decolonization of Future(s)". In Gunder, M., Madanipour A., Watson, V. (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Planning Theory*. pp. 276-288.
- [42]. Narayanaswamy, L. (2016) Whose feminism counts? Gender(ed) knowledge and professionalisation in development. *Third World Quarterly*, 37:12, 2156-2175. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2016.1173511
- [43]. Pateman, C. (1970). *Participation and democratic theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511720444>
- [44]. Portwood-Stacer, L. (2014) Feminism and Participation: A Complicated Relationship. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 1(1:3), 298-300, DOI: 10.1080/14791420.2014.926246
- [45]. Publimetro (December, 2019). 2 años de cárcel por cantar 'Un violador en tu camino' en Turquía. *Publimetro Perú*. Retrieved from: <https://publimetro.pe/actualidad/internacional/hasta-2-anos-de-carcel-por-cantar-un-violador-en-tu-camino-en-turquia-video-noticia/>

- [46]. Rendell (2018) Only Resist: A Feminist Approach to Critical Spatial Practice. *The Architectural Review* 243(1449): 8.
- [47]. Robinson, F. (2011). *The Ethics of Care a Feminist Approach to Human Security*. Philadelphia: Temple UP. Global Ethics and Politics.
- [48]. Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: Positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), 305-320.
- [49]. Ruez, D. (2012). "Partitioning the Sensible" at Park 51: Rancière, Islamophobia, and Common Politics. *Antipode* Vol. 45 No. 5 2012 ISSN 0066-4812, pp 1128–1147. doi: 10.1111/anti.12004
- [50]. Stetson, S. (2007). Oil Politics and Indigenous Resistance in the Peruvian Amazon: The Rhetoric of Modernity Against the Reality of Coloniality. *Journal of Environment & Development*, 21(1) 76–97. doi: 10.1177/1070496511433425
- [51]. The Barricade (March, 2020). Feminism Romania: The rapist is YOU / O violatori san TU. *The Barricade*. Retrieved from: <https://en.baricada.org/the-rapist-is-you/>
- [52]. Vida, M. (February, 2020). Bengali, Pakistani, and Amazon indigenous women perform 'The rapist is you' song. *Global Voices*. Retrieved from: <https://es.scribd.com/article/445927965/Bengali-Pakistani-And-Amazon-Indigenous-Women-Perform-The-Rapist-Is-You-Song>
- [53]. Winant, T. (1987). The Feminist Standpoint: A Matter of Language. *Hypatia*, 2(1), 123-148. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/3809863
- [54]. Young, I. M. (1989) Polity and group difference. *Ethics*, 99(2): 250-274. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1086/293065>