

Running Head: ISSUES OF ENGENDERED PARTICIPATION AND THE SENSE OF
BELONGING IN STREET MOBILIZATIONS: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN ATHENS, GREECE

Issues of Engendered Participation and the Sense of Belonging
in Street Mobilizations: Women's Experiences in Athens, Greece

Gender Studies MA

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores women's participation in mixed mobilizations and unravels the reasons which hinder their involvement and sense of belonging in street protests. In this project, a feminist qualitative research with 14 diverse women results in an analysis that uses gender as a lever to interpret their bodily experience. Aiming to contribute to the engendering of the social movement's literature, I investigate how the construction of female identity, the lack of representation in the political sphere, the exclusion within social movements, and the masculine confrontational tradition of street mobilization affect women's engagement, and I examine how their unique positionality in the intersections of gender, race, class, and ability shape their reality in the streets of Athens.

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1. PREFACE

What lies before you is the dissertation "Issues of Engendered Participation and the Sense of Belonging in Street Mobilizations: Women's Experiences in Athens, Greece", the basis of which is a qualitative research that was conducted from June to August. It has been written to fulfill the graduation requirements for the Gender Studies MA of the University of Sussex.

This project aims to broaden the gender research within social movements theory, by placing gender and how it shapes experience in street protests at the center of inquiry. To do so, semi-structured interviews with 14 women were conducted as the main data source to examine the obstacles and barriers that constrain their participation and to reveal what challenges their sense of belonging in the streets.

I would like to thank the University of Sussex's staff for supporting all students in this unprecedentedly difficult period. I also wish to thank my supervisor, Alexandra Lewicki, for her excellent guidance and heartwarming support during this process. A great shoutout to all the participants of this study; I feel indebted for their willingness to share their thoughts and experiences with me. To all my families - the one I have and those I found along the way - thank you, for everything you've given me.

This dissertation is dedicated to all those who find themselves in its narrative.
May our space amplify.

Rosa Vassilatu

Athens, December 2020

2. INTRODUCTION

“PUSSY GOOD - COPS BAD” was the slogan spread with flyers on the 17th of November protest march¹ in 2009. This was an intervention by women to challenge the sexist chant “cops, pussies, you kill kids” that was broadly used by the movement² in demonstrations after the assassination of the 15 years old Alexandros Grigoropoulos by a police officer, an incident which instigated the December of 2008 riots. This intervention, followed by a poster/announcement with the title “Bollocks of a revolt, comrades” was yet another effort of feminist manifestations claiming emancipation and visibility within the movement to fight against the entrenched sexism that underlined it, and make spaces of resistance more inclusive for their feminine composition.

Women’s struggles for empowerment within movements are not new. The emerging literature on gender and social movements has provided rich insight into the exclusion femininities face in their involvement (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013). Furthermore, the end of the 20th century signified a rapid development in research on social movements around the world, with an engagement in street protests as a tool for political and social change. Scholars have researched the willingness to protest, analyzed the repertoires used by protestors, and in only but a few cases, have they examined the demographics that form the body of the protest. Gender, however, and its role in such political processes is often restricted or overlooked, and mostly analyzed in spaces that have explicit agendas on gender issues (Einwohner, 2000). As the body of feminist literature within social movement theory expands, the quest for using gender as an explanatory factor for mobilizations not limited to feminist issues becomes increasingly relevant (Kuumba, 2001; Taylor, 1999).

On the other hand, the highly unstable political reality of the past decade in Europe marked a new era for social movements. The rejection of living conditions during the economic crisis and the great austerity measures, lead collectives to follow prefigurative practices and take direct action by occupying the public space with mass mobilizations (Ishkanian & Glasius, 2017). In Greece alone, more than 45.000 demonstrations were held in the past ten years, with their striking majority taking place in Athens. As Kosyfologou and Papanikolopoulos (2020) mention, even though limited research does exist on the alternative collective action that emerged the years after the riot of 2008, gender is hardly ever the center of inquiry. Their work sheds very important light

¹ The 17th of November protest marches commemorate the historical day of the massive student demonstration in 1973, also known as the Athens’ Polytechnic Uprising against the Greek military junta.

² Used in this dissertation to refer to the broader anticapitalistic movement consisting of individual organizations and collectives

on the "gender of the movement" and the entrenched inequalities that lie within it, however the gendered aspects of participation specifically in protests remain almost non-existent in academic discourse.

The brutal rape and murder of Eleni Topaloudi³ in 2018, along with the lynching of the prominent Queer activist Zak Kostopoulos / Zackie Oh⁴ in the same year, marked a new era of participation in street protests, as identities that were once deprived of visibility in the public sphere openly took to the streets. Moreover, the anti-sexist rhetoric that emerged in the years after 2010, and the women's struggles to amplify their space within the movements, differentiated the terms of direct action and paved the way for such claims to be articulated in the first place. Nevertheless, mixed mobilizations still remain a male-dominated field, with militant and masculine confrontation consisting the fundamental structure of participation. In this context, how do women and femininities experience their involvement in mixed street protests, and what are the excluding practices that need to be overthrown for a stronger and more inclusive movement to develop?

With this research, I wish to contribute to the engendering of the social movement literature; I aim to explore women's participation in mixed mobilizations and unravel the reasons which hinder their involvement and sense of belonging in the streets of Athens. By using gender as a lever to interpret their bodily experience, I will investigate how the construction of female identity and the lack of representation in the political sphere affects their engagement, and I will examine how their exclusion from social movements as well as the masculine confrontational tradition of protest marches shape women's reality in the streets of Athens. Considering the rationale behind this positioning, the questions that this research aims to address are formed as follows:

- What are the parameters that affect women's involvement in street protests in Greece?
- What hinders their engagement and what constrains their sense of belonging in the streets?
- Ultimately, what is the reality of women who participate in mobilizations in Athens, and how do the intersections of gender, race and class inform their bodily experience?

³ Eleni Topaloudi was a student in the island of Rhodes, where she was raped, tortured and thrown into the sea by 2 men. In May, after almost 5 months of trial, the murderers were convicted to a life sentence. This case provoked strong reactions from feminist movements and human rights organizations, and became the subject of discussions about the real dimension of femicide in Greece. It was also the first time that (left-wing) media used broadly the term femicide.

⁴ Zak Kostopoulos / Zackie Oh was a member and activist of the LGBTQI+ and HIV positive communities. After getting trapped inside a jewellery store, he was beaten to death in broad daylight by both the owner and the police that were called on the spot. He died soon after he got into the ambulance. Stigmatization, misinformation and unbridled lies in the media followed the incident, causing the communities' enraged outcry. Trial still pending.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Women's participation in street mobilization seems to be encompassed by the construction of female identity which is traditionally excluded from the political sphere, issues of inclusion in broader social movements, as well as the perception of protest as a masculine and confrontational repertoire, raising questions on the precarity of the vulnerable, engendered body. I will thus draw literature from a broad range of disciplines, to attempt an interpretation of the reasons which hamper women's sense of belonging in the streets.

i. Women & Political Participation

Embarking upon a feminist research on women's political participation, the central and dominant aspect that comes to inform the analysis is the traditional capitalistic division of the social realm into the private and public sphere. This division has decisive consequences on the construction not only of this specific dichotomy but also in the configuration of its elements, as the terms public and private do not name two pre-existing social spheres but constitute cultural categorizations (Fraser, 1995). From the beginning of what we call "western culture", this dichotomous division consolidated the exclusion of women from politics by reproducing essentialist ideologies about gender and nature. The hierarchical relations between men and women, and the simultaneous positioning of the latter in a lower and disadvantaged position is based on the identification of women with their bodies, as carriers of given "physical" characteristics that in turn determine behaviours, roles and positions (Beard, 2017; Beauvoir, 1997). This patriarchal logic helps to legitimize gender-related behaviors, roles and meanings, along with the way gender determines intentional action within spatial and social limitations that define who belongs to and who is excluded from specific spheres (Butler, 2015; Psylla, 2009).

The categorization of the gendered body is based on the same discourse that reproduces the dichotomous conception of gender, in which men and women complement each other as opposite poles (Foucault, 1980). In this context of exclusion, the distinction between female and male characteristics remains predominant and influences daily social practices. As female attributes are evaluated in advance as inferior to those of men, they further reflect the hierarchical structure of gender roles, both interpersonal and social, and consequently economic and political. As a result, the public becomes a masculine domain of work and politics, while the private remains a feminine world of home and family. Political participation is thus normalized for men, whereas women's involvement is considered ineffective and sometimes inappropriate as it

contradicts gender expectations (Einwohner et al., 2000). Along these lines, women are restricted from such spaces, while they are considered the most suitable for raising children and regulating the household, with their role defined as crucial and irreplaceable (Psylla, 2009).

Women's struggles to disrupt this dualistic conception of the world marked the start of the feminist movement, which demanded the right to full citizenship and allowed women to claim space in the public and political sphere. However, until today, political life remains a male-dominated space in the majority of the so-called advanced countries (Roth & Saunders, 2019). Even though women acquired their political rights during the mid-20th century, their active participation in politics remains underrepresented, while legislations aiming to decrease gender inequality in politics have failed to increase opportunities for involvement and reverse women's confinement to the private sphere (Psylla, 2009, p.216). Indeed, in Greece, women's political participation in public life is becoming more visible yet also remains limited and highly contested. Women constitute 51% of the overall population, however this percentage plummets when it comes to being a member of the country's institutional political life. The gender quota law might have passed in 2019, but only 19% of the elected representatives in parliament were women in the last elections (KETHI, 2019), while, in the UN world map of women's participation in ministerial positions, Greece comes 139th in a list of 182 countries.

To explain this disheartening phenomenon, we must consider socio-economic factors, such as the entrenched gender inequalities in the labor market, the deprivation of symbolic (social networking) and material (time and money) resources, adding to the tendency of receiving smaller amounts of funding for their election campaigns. Furthermore, psychological factors consist a major component, as the different ways of socializing and gender stereotypes weigh in lower rates of psychological predisposition to get involved in politics, with a heightened sense of internal and external inefficacy (Kakepaki, 2013). Last but not least, the strict public criticism that elected women receive about their role as wives or mothers and the fact that, in reality, they are the ones that have to almost entirely manage family responsibilities, are among the most documented barriers for women's engagement with institutional political life (Pitsika, 2019). These indicate that, in a patriarchal society with enduring traditions, women's political participation in all its forms is permeated by structural, institutional and representational discrimination, while the removal of previous barriers, such as exclusion from the polls, cannot bridge the gap of previous decades.

ii. Practices of Exclusion in Social Movements

In comparison with the documentation of women's underrepresentation in institutional politics, there are only a few quantitative studies on gender differences in movement participation (Roth & Saunders, 2019). Despite rich insights provided concerning women's movements, less attention had been paid to gender within mixed social movements in the past years. As Einwohner et al. (2000) state, by the end of the 20th century, research on social movements received a tremendous growth, with a plethora of studies specifically focused on women's movements, but with little attention to how gender affects the structures and processes of those that did not have explicit gendered agendas. Concurrently, scholars demonstrated that gender is a fundamental feature of all social movements whether or not they pursue gender-related goals, and stressed the importance of using it as an explanatory factor for movements not limited to feminist issues (Kuumba, 2001; Taylor, 1999). Indeed, in the past years, a significantly growing body of feminist literature has brought together gender and mixed social movements to highlight the multifactorial barriers that impede women's participation in politics (Kouki & Chatzidakis, 2020).

Placing the argument within historical context, questions of women's visibility emerge, along with levels of recognition concerning their participation in politics and political protests throughout dominant historical narratives (Kosmala & Beall, 2019). Although women actively participated in collective struggles of resistance all around the world, the recording of history deliberately and systemically concealed their valuable contribution, targeting to maintain the status quo and reinforce the erasure of collective memory (Yusta, 2016). Despite that, a plethora of women's narratives that emerged in recent years managed to decentralize the one-dimensional and masculine subject of resistance and overturned the perception of the female figure as the defensive mother (Bonfiglioli, 2014; Nnaji, 2014; Pantelidou, 1996; Reynolds, 2000; Richet, 2016). These testimonies subverted the monopoly of men in direct action, attributing previously anonymous actions to women and honoring them for their contributions (Kosmala & Beall, 2019), thus amplifying women's participation in political processes. However, these opportunities came with important challenges. Indeed, the emerging literature on issues of women's inclusion in social movements shows that the fight for emancipation is not only given against exterior forces but also within the presumably safe space of the movement (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013; Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020).

From the alter-globalization protests to the Occupy movements and the mass collective action that emerged after 2010 in Europe, transnational activism and social movements have been addressed by several studies, however gender analysis was rather the exception than the rule. Nevertheless, feminist scholars have drawn attention to the entrenched inequalities and sexist practices that characterized those mixed groups. As Eschle (2018) points out, narratives from members of the Occupy movements in Glasgow, showed internal problems deriving from male privilege and dominating practices, as well as gender hierarchies and a culture of hostility against women that led to openly sexist discourses and sexual harassment. To understand how the participation of women and feminists is marginalized within social movements that are not specifically focused on gender issues, we must also pay attention to the fact that activist discourses do not often include gender claims on the movements' agenda (Kolářová, 2009; Marinoudi, 2017). Indeed, the male bias that underlines social movements often marginalizes women's demands for equality, as class struggles take precedence over gendered demands, and women's rights and justice claims tend to become of secondary importance, if not disregarded completely (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013; Ishkanian & Glasius, 2017).

On the other hand, many organizations do have a "women's agenda" in theory, and put effort into achieving gender parity at both leadership and membership levels. In practice, however, the entrenched mentalities and beliefs of activists about the positions and roles of women prove stronger than their declarations, as male-dominated organisational models and cultures persist. Discriminatory practices and explicit sexist expressions still consider women's skills and points of view as useful but 'complementary' to those of men, which are regarded as necessary and fundamental (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013). Indeed, even though women play an important role in mixed social movements, they are overall underrepresented in the more visible positions of spokesperson or leader, while they are more likely to be found behind the scenes, doing the invisible 'housework' of the movement (Roth & Saunders, 2019, p.573). Such gendered divisions of labor are not surprising or unique in the history of women in mixed progressive social movements (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003), with many scholars highlighting the specific roles and positions that are allocated to members according to their gender (Fonow, 1998; Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020; Mostafa, 2015; Vromen, 2003).

Such strict hierarchies on the importance of skills and action were shifted and reinscribed within the Greek context, when the economic and humanitarian crisis that devastated the country gave room to the emergence of bottom-up collectives majorly consisted

of women, responding to the urgent needs about food, education, healthcare, and housing (Gaitanou, 2017). The re-appropriation and communization of the public space with the principles of social reproduction, an element which strictly belonged to the private sphere, disrupted the traditional dichotomy of the social realm, and challenged beliefs about what constitutes the political practice (Maiguascha, 2011). Gender assumptions that underpinned formal political participation were thus confronted, as the informal, personal, and domestic arenas were (in terms) recognized as sites of political contestation and struggle (Lewicki & O'Toole, 2017, p.155). As Motta et al. (2011) claim, such territorialised struggles extend the terrain of the political to the community and result in the growth of women's social power and autonomy. Even then, however, questioning gender hierarchies remained in many cases an invisible and incomplete process (Kouki & Chatzidakis, 2020).

The principles of direct democracy, horizontality, and equal participation to which many of the above-mentioned social movements aspire to, are deeply connected to and associated with the process-oriented aspects of feminist imperatives (Mohanty, 2003). Nevertheless, they pose important difficulties when it comes to implementation. Movements that experiment on alternative modes of organizing by following the non-hierarchical, participatory, democratic, and inclusive structure they aim to enable externally, often end up reiterating excluding practices internally, and replicate rather than confront entrenched inequalities (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013; Ishkanian & Glasius, 2017; Reinecke, 2018). Gender hierarchies, discriminatory practices and explicit sexist expression, however, permeate participation not only within the more introverted activity of movements, i.e. assemblies, political discourse, decision making, etc but also in demonstrations, marches and protests, as they constitute the most extroverted parts of politics in practice.

iii. Street Protest as Militant thus Masculine Confrontation

Political participation has been the research field of political sciences for many decades. The tectonic changes of the social values' structure in the 1970s exceeded the previous focus on measuring participation solely by the engagement in elections or actions developed by established institutional entities, as new and more unconventional forms of action emerged, with individuals developing alternative political activity in a variety of non-institutional practices (Kakepaki, 2019). At the same time, the flourishing movements of the 1960s marked a new era in the field of social sciences, when the research on why mobilization occurs and the forms under which it manifests brought human rights and identity to the center of attention (Calhoun,

1993). These changes have informed the content of political and social sciences, with several studies focusing on how specific identity features shape political participation (Baldez, 2002; Bassel & Emejulu, 2017; Beasly, 2020; Lewicki & O'Toole, 2017; Massoumi, 2015;), and more specifically the involvement in marches and demonstrations (Baldez, 2002; Jakana & Kanisha, 2015; Jost et al., 2012; Murdie & Peksen, 2015). However, due to the difficulties that come with researching mobilizations per se (Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001), along with the delay of gender accessing the study of social movements, until today, street protests do not constitute an intersectionally examined field (Fisher et al., 2017). Systematic analyses on demographic data and gender differences in protest participation with no explicit gender agendas are still missing.

The new cycle of protest that followed the institutionalized and normalized mobilizations of the past involves more confrontational tactics such as blockades, destruction of public areas, attacks on the property of transnational companies and fighting with the police. These tactics predominate in the mainstream narrative and representation, thus constructing street mobilizations in the collective consciousness as broadly militant battles that evoke a sense of war (Kolářová, 2009). Within the Greek context, with a rich tradition in contention, social movements heavily rely on “noisy” mobilizations embedded at the street level, aiming to enhance visibility and disrupt the normativity of everyday life (Kouki & Chatzidakis, 2020). Even though in the years of the crisis, the Greek movement's repertoires of action focused on addressing urgent needs of social reproduction, the central locus of resistance remained the visible and “noisy” protest. Existing studies show that men and women draw from different banks of cultural knowledge to fashion their participation in demonstrations (Kolářová, 2009), nevertheless the main terms of action are formed by an androcentric approach that has dominated this form of political participation.

Taking into consideration that protest methods are implicitly gendered, as they are subjects to narrow criteria that are easier for men to meet, along with the formation of the “ideal activist” identity that has a central role in the decisions taken concerning modes of action (Craddock, 2019), we can understand how the emphasis on masculine confrontational and violent tactics ends up marginalizing women in mobilizations. Indeed, as Kolářová (2009) showed in her research on the alter-globalization movement, when more space is given to non-violent protest, it becomes more accessible for women. A rare cross-national study of protest activity also supports those claims, as it indicates not only that women are more likely to

participate in non-confrontational activities, but also that men are overrepresented in confrontational ones (Dodson, 2015, cited in Roth & Saunders, 2019). Furthermore, the essentialist understanding of gender in dichotomous terms as polarized and oppositional entities reinforces sexist stereotypes, where fighting is only associated with masculinity, and non-violent, cultural protest symbolizes women's participation. This not only excludes femininities from obtaining central roles or even exercising violence in their terms (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2019; Sasson-Lewy & Rapoport, 2003), but also creates an atmosphere where for women be accepted and considered as equals by their comrades, they renounce their femininity – which means weakness – and adopt masculine performativity (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2019; Marinoudi, 2009);

Last but not least, spatiality and the sense of belonging in the public space constitutes a focal point in feminist thought. The dichotomous spatial division of the public and the private plays a central role in the social construction of gender divisions, as men and women experience a place in dependence to the social composition and the particularities of that specific location (Tselika, 2018; Apostolidou, 2012). As women's relegation to the domestic sphere reinforces the public sphere as a male domain, questions on how urban segregation affects women's participation in street protests need to be taken into account. What space is depends on the person who experiences it and how their experience is subjectively informed by gender, race, class and ability, as well as the cultural context in which this relationship takes place, which is often perceived through power relations (Psylla, 2009). These political induced power relations then define the precarity of specific communities, and determine who has the right to appear in the public sphere (Bassel & Emejulu, 2017; Beasley, 2020; Butler, 2015; Chalkia, 2012). Nevertheless, the streets are not considered to be predetermined fixed areas, but rather in a constant "becoming", registered by performance (Butler, 2011; Vaiou & Hatzimihalis, 2012). Open space, therefore, does not only constitute the "locus" where the engendered body becomes multiply vulnerable (Apostolidou, 2012), but also the place where it's appearance exercises rights and unsettles the power structures that determine the formation of, and the terms of belonging to, the public sphere (Athanasίου, 2014; Butler, 2015).

4. METHODOLOGY

i. Setting the Basis for a Feminist Research

Feminist Epistemology refers to a set of values and principles that deconstructed pre-existing traditions on knowledge creation and rejected unilateral agendas on who has the right to produce it (Anderson, 1995; Ramazanoglu, 1992). The previous positivist, distant and strict mentalities of knowledge production gave way to a multiplicity of research methods that deemed knowledge to be inseparable from the social realm and the partiality of human experience, bringing ethics at the center of reflection (Eichler, 1997; Harding, 1987). Drawing on Marx and Engel's approaches to the privileged insight of the proletariat which carries a liberatory role (Hartsock, 1987), the feminist standpoint theory claims that the personal experiences of women as an oppressed gender construct a more accurate and authentic understanding of the social world (Brooks, 2007). Narratives of lived experiences then not only constitute concrete and valid knowledge claims (Hill Collins, 1991; Nadar, 2014), but personal standpoints can be considered among the most trustworthy of all findings as well (Brooks, 2007; Harding, 2012; hooks, 1989). Since this project aims to explore women's experiences in street mobilizations, I undertook a qualitative research with the conduction of interviews, as this method constitutes an invaluable tool to obtain a deeper understanding of the obstacles and barriers that hamper women's sense of belonging in street protests. Following the values of a feminist research, I placed gender in the center of inquiry to explore how it shapes women's experience, aspiring to bring forth social transformation, and aiming to empower participants through consciousness-raising (Harding, 2012; MacKinnon, 1987).

In this research, the intention was to make women agents of knowledge by providing room for the participants to narrate what they feel comfortable with sharing. The interviewees' viewpoints would bring forth what they feel and find important, and it would provide an insight on how they understand the world they live in, offering thus their understanding of how their reality is constructed (Koertge, 2012). Semi-structured interviews were selected as the most suitable method for data collection, as this would also augment the chances for reflective engagement and prevent me from leading the conversation or assuming rather than listening, thus decreasing the distance between researcher and researched (Hesse-Biber, 2007). The discussion unfolded using a Topic Guide (Appendix iv), which was created with open questions to cover key points needed for the research. Participants were interviewed for only one session

of one hour, the audio recordings were transcribed and sent back for revision, while selected quotes were translated before the stage of data analysis.

ii. Sample and Limitations

The collection of data was based solely on the conduction of semi-structured interviews with 14 self-identifying women who participate in street mobilizations. This number of participants is considered suitable for the extent of this project, providing an in-depth understanding of the topic rather than a mapping of the field on a large scale. As regards of criteria for the selection of participants, a purposive sample was preferred to cover a range of identities that are relevant to the area of this research (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Rejecting the universality of women's experience, I sought to take on an intersectional angle that would provide insight on the personal and situational, showcasing the importance of bringing forth the manifold factors that shape and diversify the bodily experience (Collins, 1987; Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins, 1991; hooks 2000). A mix of gender expression, political belief, ethnicity, ability and class was thus pursued; I also tried to cover a spectrum of the "protester", from the newcomer to the veteran, as well as of their positionality within the Leftish movement. I sought to include women who are also mothers, a range of gender-queer identities, and people with distinctive ethnic characteristics, i.e. color of skin. Last but not least, although I only interviewed adults, I tried to cover a broad range in terms of age, as this would also provide a very interesting insight on how women's presence in street protests has changed over the years.

This oriented selection of participants resulted in a sample constituting of Athenian women from 21 to 63 years young, out of which six were Queer, two were afro-Greeks, one was disabled, there were two communists, three feminists, two women that no longer participate in protests, six autonomous, two extra-parliamentary, one ex far-right, one mother and four women that used to be organized but no longer follow a specific block. These aspects do not reify by no means discriminative categorizations, as they derived from their self-identification in the beginning of the interviews; they were thus chosen as their prominent identity feature for the needs of this project. Even though this sample achieved a broad intersectional angle to investigate both the diversity of the experience according to the unique positionality of each woman, and the common places where bodily experiences meet on the basis of gender, it also posed some limitations and weaknesses. The number of participants from each "identity" is considered quite small to provide in-depth insight on how it affects

experience (Vaismoradi et. al, 2013), while the multiple parameters that specify the unique positionality might obscure the role that gender itself plays on the participation and sense of belonging in the streets of Athens. Furthermore, there is no prior research done in Greece on the demographics of marches to understand what the body of the protest is consisted of and how that changes according to the type of claims, while the inclusion of male participants in this project would possibly provide a clearer view on the role of gender as a social construction through contradistinction.

iii. Data Gathering and Analysis

The recruitment of participants was based on convenient sampling through friends in feminist and political circles. I found participants using oral communication and social media connections. No kind of advertisement other than the word of mouth was used, and no monetary compensation was appointed for participation, as this is mostly used in clinical research and raises important ethical concerns (Dickert, 2013; Wertheimer & Miller, 2008). People who found the research interesting were handed or sent an Information Sheet (Appendix ii) and a Consent Form (Appendix iii) to read, and they were asked to contact me if they wished to move forward with the process. Furthermore, the interviews did not take place at a specific location; the lifting of previous restrictions on social distancing because of COVID-19 allowed for participants to choose a place where they felt more comfortable to engage in a conversation with me (Lykes & Hershberg, 2012). Most of the women decided to meet face to face, apart from two that were out of Athens at the time, and one who preferred the convenience of a videocall. In the case of a participant with vision disability, a call before the meeting was made to read aloud the Information Sheet and discuss any questions, since this was an unexpected addition to the sample and measures had not been taken in advance. The Consent Form was also read aloud while recording, having audio confirmation of full consent before initiating the interview.

The stage of data analysis was also informed and guided by the principles of Feminist Epistemology (Harding, 1991). All data, from transcriptions to analysis, was processed manually instead of using any qualitative software (Abell et al., 2002), since this process enabled me to get a better understanding of the material and become more fluent in both the experience of the interviewees and mine. Drawing from Braun and Clark's (2006) approach on the thematic analysis method, I thoroughly examined the resulting data, I identified reoccurring

topics and used emergent patterns to formulate three main categories (Appendix vii). Coding, however, was not restrictive, in order to capture the polyphony of experiential narratives and avoid the generalization of claims (Atheide et al., 2002); I thus aimed towards showcasing the perspectival partiality of experience as a personal and uniquely lived process. Since this area of inquiry is a rather untraced field, to say that I will hereby provide a trustworthy interpretation of data might be an ambitious statement. I rather attempted a presentation of results by bringing the engendered bodily experience in the center, allowing participants to interpret their reality, as it is constructed by their embodied and situated relationship to the world (Atheide et al., 2002). I thus drew some tools also from the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, as it seeks to understand how particular experiential phenomena have been understood from the perspective of particular people in a particular context (Smith et al., 2009).

iv. Ethical Parameters and Considerations

For the conduction of this research, several steps were taken to ensure participants of this study are freely giving fully informed consent, following the principles of an ethical feminist research (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2007; Koertge, 2012). First, upon oral communication about the study, participants were informed of their free right to reject my invitation, and after providing the Information Sheet and the Consent Form, I made myself available for extra clarifications and questions. Furthermore, before the conduction of the interviews, participants were asked again whether they feel comfortable to continue, and were reminded of their right to withdraw completely. In terms of privacy, all data related to this study were retained and shared in a form that was fully anonymized. The names of the participants were replaced with names of inspirational Feminists and other strong women that were chosen by them, and no confidential information was disclosed. Potential identifiers in the quotes used for the analysis were distorted, and transcriptions were sent back to participants to review for misinterpretation or unintended exposure of identity.

Due to the nature of the study, I was prepared for a discussion on sensitive topics. Since the interrelation of sex, gender, age, class, ethnicity, and political beliefs was to be closely examined with issues of representation, sense of belonging, and exclusion from political participation, I embarked upon the conduction of the interviews with attention to respect, care and reflection, following feminist values to minimize the potential harm and distress in participants (Burgess-Proctor, 2015; Harding, 1987; Hesse-Biber, 2012). I was happy – and

surprised – to see that participants showed no signs of anxiety during the interviews. Even in cases where traumatic events were indeed mentioned, these were not shared as currently distressing memories but only posed as reasons for not participating anymore in violent protests. However, in one case, a participant became emotional due to nostalgia on a touching recollection. This made me feel very uncomfortable since the interviewee was not only older than me, with a very long history in the movement, but also the “mother-figure” of a prominent feminist collective to which I was a member. I used humor as a reflex, which lightened the atmosphere at the time, but made me strongly question my ability to handle a potentially more severe outburst with traumatic parameters.

Feminist scholars have called critical attention to the relationship between knowledge and power (Harding, 1991, 2012; Haraway, 1988), locating the reduction of hierarchy between researcher and the researched as a central pillar in the conduction of a feminist principled research (Hesse-Biber, 2012). To prevent the reproduction and reinforcing of social inequalities, I started this project by recognising my own values and attitudes in relation to the research process, acknowledging the privileges that derive from my positionality as a cis-gender, straight-looking, white and Greek middle-class woman with no disabilities. I was aware of the presumptions I had from my personal involvement with street mobilization and participation in social movements, and I tried not to let those obscure the interview process (Berger, 2015). To increase the sense of participation for the interviewees, I followed rather than lead the discussion in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and reciprocity, while being constantly alert of the power dynamics that form during the interview (Bauman et al., 2002). However, holding a friendly atmosphere and conversable tone sometimes blocked the participants that had a “political capital” smaller than mine from further extending their opinion, or discouraged them from expressing an opinion different from what I had just said. I realised that minimizing the authority of the researcher, while trying to focus on the interviewee’s experience at the same time is a fine line, while reducing the distance between the two is a difficult balance to maintain. Reflection was also central in both the analysis and interpretation of the results, as one’s own perceptions, conceptions, and processes influence and shape the research at all stages (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Last but not least, the presentation of the results require describing and explaining without changing the participants’ meanings (Merrick, 1999), a process that also revealed the inevitable limitations that are posed by indirect transmission, especially in this project where the translation of original transcripts from Greek to English was involved (Crane et al., 2009; Temple & Young, 2004).

Other ethical concerns I had to encounter were that, since the very beginning of this project, I feared that the typicality of an academically framed research would prevent people from participating in principle, as it also goes against my orientation towards a knowledge that derives from below. Indeed, three of the participants felt ambivalent about moving forward after reading the legal restrictions in case I was approached by the police, while a fourth one refused to participate completely. On the other hand, I was also conflicted about choosing to move forward with a purposeful sample, as inclusiveness felt shallow since it was done in terms of trying to fulfill an intersectional palette. Last but not least, my involvement with the movement only dates back a few years, which makes me comprehend myself as a kind of an outsider in this research. As a result, I often felt uncomfortable interviewing women who were more politically advanced or aware than me, so I found myself constantly trying to justify my questions, in order for them not to sound wrong or ignorant. However, as the interviews went by, I gained more confidence about who I am and my frank intentions about this project, while I also acquired a broader perception of diverse opinions. Adapting my questions to be more inclusive and observing how I, myself, was formed and shaped by this project, confirmed bluntly that reflection throughout every stage of the process is an invaluable tool for the conduction of an ethical, feminist research.

5. ANALYSIS

i. The Greek Context

From the years of the resistance to the civil war and the political transition, women in Greece were always present one way or the other in the political spaces of the Left. The massive and “noisy” feminist movement of the 80s renegotiated women's existence in social and political life, with a dynamic presence in printed speech, autonomous groups, archives, and bookstores. However, the legal reforms of the 90s that alleviated some of the targeted demands, absorbed the momentum invested in these processes, and institutionalized the feminist movement. Nevertheless, sporadic autonomous groups that started emerging by the end of the 20th century brought the discussion of gender and sexuality within the political system, setting the basis for the rejection of the leftist legacy of the movement, by centralizing politicization through women's oppression. The transition, however, was neither linear nor without grievances. Tough individual and collective struggles had to be given for the once macho and male-centered culture of those spaces to start losing their dominance, while the frustration by the absence of feminist structures, and the sexism/homophobia of the existing ones, further obstructed inclusion and the positioning of the personal within their political processes (Marinouidi, 2017). As a result, it was not until after 2010 that the discussion on sexist speech and practices entered the movement, opening thus the way for the construction of a more inclusive space.

Moreover, street protests in Greece also constitute a field of great changes in the past years. The student's movement of the '06-'07 and the murder of Alexandros Grigoropoulos in '08, marked a substantial opening in participation, where kids and people took it to the streets regardless of their gender. Furthermore, the economic crisis that devastated the country resulted in massive mobilizations and demonstrations that picked up steam in 2011, when Athens became a symbolic and fundamental locus of confrontation. As Kakepaki (2013) mentions in her research on gender dimensions of the collective and individual action in Athens during the crisis, an unprecedented number of people participated for the first time in street protests, with this number being equal in men and women. However, the percentages changed drastically when contrasted with participation for “then and now”. As she highlights, there is a big difference according to gender when it comes to participation before the crisis. Indeed, the demolition of the welfare state and the precarity of women's place in the working industry intensified their oppression. On the other hand, the mass strikes in the public sector, where

most employees are women, and the already fertile ground for women's claims on inclusion brought tectonic changes in their presence in mixed protests. Last but not least, the overflow of international images of women actively participating in collective struggles pushed for the visibility of femininity and posed as an emblematic way to overthrow the established white-macho-male-dressed-in-total-black body of the streets, along with all its components.

Greece is a country with a rich history of contention. Specifically, given the highly unstable period that followed '08, with more than 45.000 demonstrations taking place in Athens in the past decade (Athens 9.84, 2019), it is surprising how little we know about the demographics of street protests and the collective struggles of that period. Hardly ever have street mobilizations been put under the microscope, let alone examined from a gendered perspective. What will an intersectional qualitative research reveal about women's participation in mixed street protests?

ii. Uncontrolled Violence as the Central Aspect that Constrains Participation

Even though I had no explicit mention of violence in my questions, all participants devoted a rather large part of their answers to how they are affected by the physically confrontational aspect of street protests. When asked to elaborate further, police brutality emerged as their biggest worry; "I know that what you do is irrelevant and that the march doesn't have to be violent for the police to attack. You know for a fact that you can arbitrarily suffer terrible violence". The fear for physical integrity was predominantly present in almost all the participants, "getting arrested is not scary for me; I am afraid of getting beaten cause I don't know what their limits are anymore", along with the acceptance that this is just the way it is; "hm, which okay, I know that this is anticipated in protests". This not only shows that mobilizations seem inseparable from violent confrontation in the collective consciousness (Kolářová, 2009), but also confirms claims that violence is a central reason for women's abstinence from street protests (Roth & Saunders, 2019). Furthermore, fear is intensified when the aspect of gender violence is added to the equation, as police repression is considered an extreme version of male violence, a worst-case scenario for most; "what grossly stresses me out is whether I will suffer any kind of violence, based on my gender". Examples of the past years from girls and women reporting police officers for exercising violence aimed specifically towards their gender and not the fact that they participated in a protest, along with the connotations of such images, play an important role for women's experience; "it certainly involves a much

stronger insecurity, about what is going to happen to me and how I will be able to handle it, because all this unbridled violence is a structured mentality, no longer towards the individual but towards their gender”.

Further along our conversations, the issue of bodily vulnerability and how that interrelates with the gendered body along the lines of street mobilization emerged. As bodies consist a locus of social significance, the reproduction of the female body as a confrontational one becomes almost impossible (Apostolidou, 2012). Especially since protests are quite militaristic and involve physical strength for street fighting with riot police that consists of men, they are driven by an emphasis on confrontational tactics that are seen as male (Kolářová, 2009). The traditional thus precarity of the female body which is seen and medicalized as weak (Ehrenreich & English, 1973), further excludes it from the action. Although some of the participants adopted a gender-blind view, discussing deeper led some to wonder about the social construction of identity; “I feel more vulnerable in a protest. Does this happen because I am weaker as a person and I have been told that I am weaker because I am a woman, so this happens in my mind? Maybe. But generally, I think that the woman's body is weaker”. A robust bodily structure is traditionally considered a male privilege, the participants nevertheless admitted that this applies also to women in many cases. However, gender remains a more important factor in determining participation in violent practices; “we have male friends that are only 50 kilos but, because they are men and are supposed to be more (brutal), they are the ones who throw molotovs”. Furthermore, considering that modes of action are decided by “ideal activists” that pose narrow criteria for participation which are easier for men to meet (Craddock, 2019), we can explain how the monopoly of violence is connected with gendered privileges (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2019). Those that do not fit the bill cannot cope and are thus excluded; “female friends often say they will not go to the protest because they feel it will be more difficult and dangerous for them, whereas male friends will say ok, we will go, get into fighting, do a little bit of our gymnastics and all is good”.

The discouragement by violent tactics does not only involve the precarity of the body but also extends to matters of principle. Indeed, many of the participants do not agree with such tactics, as they do not feel identified within violent practices, which often results in unwillingness to participate. As one interviewee specifically mentions, “I feel that I don't converse at all in such terms. In order not to get into the unpleasant process of confronting this brutal violence in the context of anti-violence, I may prefer not to participate. And that is why it is discouraging”. The refusal of violent tactics, however, is neither universal nor exclusive for women. Although a

reality that constrains participation for most, this phenomenon must be examined outside essentialist perceptions of the biological sex, but rather through the construction of gender, and the characteristics that are inscribed to it (Chodorow, 1978; Rubin, 2020). As an interviewee suggests, "I think that because we are brought up with softer terms in a context less authoritarian, we haven't learned to beat up someone to get something. The streets have these conditions and that discourages us". Respectively, the fact that also men support claims of non-violence and desire care politics, shows that participation is neither purely connected with biological sex or gender, nor exclusively limited to such differentiations. Politicization choices, on the other hand, become central; as she continues, "in other words, for me, the discouragement from violence has more to do with the feminist consciousness, which is mediated through gender, rather than with the very fact that I am a woman. Being a feminist involves my growing up as a woman to a very large extent, but the course was not linear, it was not a given".

Even though some would never participate in violent acts and condemn violence, most of the interviewees supported its use as a response to police brutality. As one specifically said, "we don't like that our comrades get beaten up, but deep inside we are happy that there is someone to guerilla fight within the fucking city". This position is differentiated, however, when the macho attitude of the actors and the violence as a non-necessity is put on the table (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020); "I don't mind at all, do a city guerrilla, I will be very much in favour. However, the macho attitude that circulates the movement and the fact that various patriarchs will take decisions, without those being collective ones or a real need, this has discouraged me a lot". Furthermore, the ideological domination of gender essentialism is overthrown as women can and do participate in violent confrontation (Jakana & Kanisha, 2015); "I think that if we wanted, we could break stuff and cause damages or whatever else happens in protests. Not all women are petite and weak, just as being a petite woman doesn't mean you don't have the strength to break a shop window". However, violent repertoires are approached as another aspect of the dominance of masculinity in politics that reproduces multiple exclusions and the mythology of the powerful, which in turn give a legitimizing background to gender inequality (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020). Additionally, the patriarchal model that ostracises women from the public sphere also excludes them from the possibility to be involved in "illegal" actions (Psylla, 2009). This is reflected in the implicit as well as explicit exclusion of women from violence. As one interviewee mentions, "the very fact that I haven't thrown a molotov has to do with the fact that I am a woman. Even so, I made my first one when I was 15 (laughs) but I never threw it". Indeed, although women are willing and fulfill

the prerequisites needed, they are rarely allowed to do violence; "have we seen many women given the right to be in front? I think not. Even if they have the bodily structure for it, they will not be given the chance, they will not be positioned there", while when they do, they adopt a masculine performance; "there are some in the second row, but they are women who embrace total masculinity, right? As a feminine woman, I would never have the chance, even if I am sure that I would beat up far more cops than half of the men in front".

Apart from the predominant issue of violence, what are the other obstacles and barriers that hamper participation for women, and what are the challenges that obscure their sense of belonging?

iii. Obstacles, Barriers, and Challenges that Obscure the Sense of Belonging

a. Exclusion in Social Movements

Modes of action and the way movements protest inevitably reflect their internal processes. Women's sense of security and belonging in mobilizations is thus deeply connected with their participation and inclusion in social movements; "if I know there will be a clash, I don't feel safe. But if I'm organized, I feel far more security". Subsequently, the multiple barriers women face when involved in mixed political spaces directly affect their participation in protests; "when I was in preparatory processes, I never felt like I had space to speak or to exist. So, in the streets I always felt more vulnerable". Although the movement has become more inclusive in the past years, gender discrimination, entrenched mentalities, and hierarchies are still reiterated internally (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013; Ishkanian & Glasius, 2017; Kouki & Chatzidakis, 2020). As most of the interviewees realized, there is often a big difference between ideals of equality and the reality in mixed collectives (Einwohner et al., 2000; Kolářová, 2009), as gendered divisions of labor still define politics and leadership as a male privilege, while women assume roles that tend to replicate their unpaid caring work (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020; Vromen, 2003); "essentialist beliefs are reproduced in the internal of movements. Even if you, as a woman, decide to join a left or anarchist collective to fight the limits society sets for you, you will be confronted by the fact that Reason is only expressed by masculinities, and in relation to it, you are the otherness, the emotion, the vulnerability, the feminized existence, which is completely devalued". Furthermore, the lack of gender agendas in most political spaces and their marginalization as secondary to unilateral struggles discourages participation and further obscures the sense of belonging (Bhattacharjya et al., 2013; Fisher et al., 2017; Marinoudi,

2017), a fact that was also confirmed by the interviewees; "I felt that issues related to being a queer woman were being displaced by the dominant narratives of collectives. Their agenda did not include gender oppression or female empowerment, nor LGBTQI+ and sexual liberation claims, which for me are at the core of my thinking". Last but not least, the gender violence that exists within mixed political spaces (Eschle, 2018), along with the covering up of such incidents (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020), ostracizes the victims; "there are so many examples of gender violence within the movement, I don't know where to begin. Most times, if not all, such incidents are covered up by the group. There is no safe space for women".

b. A Male-Dominated Space

Returning to the in vivo presence in the streets, even if the terms of action have differentiated the past years by becoming more inclusive, this does not mean that structures are radically changed since gendered subjects are not deconstructed (Marinoudi, 2017). Until now, in mobilizations "masculinity prevails, and it is a space monopolized by men". Indeed, as another interviewee confirms, "protests are male-dominated spaces. I enter the marches and the bodies around me are male, the people who give the pulse and the slogans are men". We cannot know whether the body of mixed protests in Greece is constituted equally by men and women since there are no quantitative researches measuring demographics. However, since demonstrations constitute one of the most extroverted parts of politics in practice, even for intuitive reasons without rationalization, women feel they do not fit. Especially in mobilizations with no gender, peace or child-related claims, participation becomes a practice that goes against the dominant construction of motherhood as the epitome of women's identity (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003); "the system doesn't give us such roles. We are not the ones who must take it to the streets, unless it is a matter of social reproduction, something in the female nature and identity. Going out of this context, this is a role that doesn't belong to us, it's not what we have to do. So, this prevents us right from the start". Furthermore, even if women participate in equal numbers, the patriarchal pattern on the street remains very structural; "through seeing the body of a protest, through the under-representation of women in important roles in a block, you feel that you are not enough to be there, that there is no space for you to freely exist". This does not happen only through personal experience but also extends to images' dissemination in media, which are ideologically charged and play a significant role in influencing the public opinion (Veneti, 2017); "when you see images solely of men or masculinities in protests, this might not prevent you, but it will surely not facilitate or urge participation".

In this context, participation for women is inscribed within specific terms and restrictions, which determine the roles and positions they obtain in street action. A repeating pattern in the interviewees' narratives is the fact that women are not only excluded from violence, but also from key positions and central roles (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020); "I cannot be in the first chain⁵ as a woman because I am not considered militant enough, according to the patriarchal perception and the ritual of conflict. The sticks⁶ cannot be held by women, who will be found far behind, certainly after the 3rd chain, especially if it is a clashing protest". This also happens in a patronizing way, covered by the pretext of protection to the weaker sex; "it's the classic reflex of the macho people who, in order to protect you, will place you further back. Which is also part of the movement's differentiation according to gender for people in protests. It may happen subconsciously or absolutely consciously; it is nevertheless a very classic condition". On the other hand, roles that have to do with organizational aspects and the security of the block are predominantly filled by women. This happens in terms of gendered divisions of labor, reproducing in the public sphere stereotypes of the private, which are deeply embedded in the social fabric (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003). Women thus adopt a maternalistic position (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2019); "maybe because I'm a woman, and this goes for other female comrades as well, I had the role of keeping the block safe. The fact that chains should be made, how to organize the safeguarding, who will hold the bagpipe, what is the plan to leave the protest safely and where will this block go next, phoning lawyers, etc, the whole know-how of care for the block, is a female role, that of a militant woman who will do it anyway".

c. Masculine Performativity

Even though participants claim that the previous stricter exclusion of women from specific positions has somewhat changed in the past years, many of them observe such differentiations in terms of masculinity and femininity; "protests are male-dominated; anyway we look at it, they are the ones with visibility. There is not so much femininity, or at least it is not so visible. Even if women are participating, they won't seem feminine to match the philosophy of that moment". Such parts of the narratives led the way for another very important phenomenon: the performativity of masculinity. As Marinoudi (2017) aptly suggests, women participating in such processes become "gender migrants" in order to be accepted and considered as equals by

⁵ Rows of people marching closely together, forming human chains by using their elbows to push back police blockages

⁶ Pieces of wood that may or not carry the flag of the block. Used by the safeguarding teams along the sides of the march

their comrades. This entails a performativity that pushes away feminine characteristics and transforms the self by embracing male codes and de-sexualizing techniques to carry out the masculine socialization (Marinouidi, 2017). As a participant confirms, "in the assemblies I was feeling very uncomfortable because I was a woman, cause I should not be very sexualized in order to be treated as an equal member, so I was generally very oppressed, making my voice heavier, wearing specific clothes that fit the standards".

Respectively, when it comes to participation in mixed protests, the political culture of which is expressed with an attacking and confrontational masculinity (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020), in order for a woman to claim and "earn" an equal position, she adopts the requested and prevailing performativity that remains a very specific thing until today; "it is more intense, more guarding, more masculine. To have the same respect and recognition from your comrades, you must perform something similar. This is limiting for femininities since participation in protest must entail purely masculine features". This valuation of masculinity assumes and confirms the central role prescribed to it, in shaping the hierarchical ordering of identities that reflects and reproduces social stratification, and determines differential modes of participation in and belonging to the public space (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003). Femininity is thus not only devalued, but its underrepresentation carries connotations which further hinder participation for women who cannot perform in such ways, while obscuring the sense of belonging for those who cannot identify themselves within the body of the protest; "there are girls who do not feel they can be themselves there. Femininity has no place in the established culture of the protest; she feels awkward, discouraged, unwanted. She doesn't see others like her, so she is the other; scared and simply not belonging".

d. Other Excluding Factors

One of the most characteristic examples of exclusion in protests are the slogans that the movement chants, along with the semantics and semiology behind the language used. Apart from the fact that many of them are predominately sexist, the movement continues to use the "generic male⁷" pronoun, ignorant to the power language holds not as a neutral medium or tool which merely describes reality, but as a central pillar in the construction of meanings, establishing the production of one worldview against another (Butler, 2015; Psylla, 2009). Just

⁷ The Greek language has three grammatical genders (he, she, it). The masculine one is considered to be the general, which refers to all people and is broadly used in the everyday life. Feminist movements often critique the sexist connotations of this practice.

like an image, then, slogans play a significant role in representation and thus, inclusion; "most characteristically, the slogans. We must shout for a whole life that we are a (he)worker, it seems like never in my life have I been a (she)worker⁸ (laughs). I don't exist anywhere; I don't exist as a woman in slogans". Furthermore, the heterosexist dynamics the movement uses to emphasize its masculinity in order not to be considered feminine (Kolářová, 2009), reproduce through slogans the social hierarchy of sexes and maintain a space in which authoritarian gender relations are normalized (Chalkia, 2012). As an interviewee observes, "cops - pussies for example, it's full-on macho. Listening to such a slogan, you realize that in the very body of the protest you are the other, exactly because you do not define yourself, but you are defined differently by those who also determine the conditions of the protest".

The words sexism, macho, toxic masculinity, male gaze, and patronizing are used interchangeably along the narratives. It is more than evident that all participants have experienced multiple examples of gender discrimination that make them feel unwelcome and unsafe. This adds to their discouragement and further obscures their sense of belonging; "how many times have we gone to protests and guys flirted heavily with us? This reinforces the fact that I am there as a sexual-erotic subject, and this bothers me because it strips me from my political identity". Their bodily structure or even their very being in the protest becomes a locus where sexist connotations are applied "when you are short for example; for a man they will say oh, look a small kid, but for me, they will say aah, the shortie, what is she looking for at a protest, no place for her". Last but - under no circumstances - least, the fact that protests do not constitute a safe space takes a dark turn when women have to often march alongside their abusers. In such cases, the chronic covering up of rapists, with the blaming and distrust that encircle the victim, especially when they are members of the same collective, mostly results in the displacement not of the abuser but of the survivor (Eschle, 2018). This also highlights the dimension of male's appropriation of collective action (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2020); "there are many protests where we got into fighting between us because space was granted to abusers, rapists, who have been reported as such, but with no result. The victims were the ones who left".

Taking into consideration these axes, how is experience shaped through the prism of intersectionality?

⁸ Differences in the ending of words specify the grammatical gender mentioned. Here, a male and a female worker.

iv. Unique Positionality as the Lever that Informs the Bodily Experience

The feminist theoretical approach followed throughout this research sought to keep an intersectional angle to bring marginalized voices and experiences in the center. This intersectional framework is of paramount importance to inform also my analysis, as the lack of space and visibility for those that do not comply with the constructed white Greek militant male rebel as the ideal activist, affects greatly their presence in the streets. Since he is the type that not only shapes the movements' claims and the collective assertive extroverted action, but also determines the opportunities and restrictions inscribed in dissident bodies, we need to further examine who has the right to appear in the public sphere and elaborate how the unique positionality of actors informs their bodily experience in mobilizations.

Since this research focuses on the experiences women have in mixed mobilizations and social movements with no explicit gender agendas, we should recognize that they constitute a diverse body lacking the preexisting histories and solidarities that derive from shared experiences of oppression, and are thus characterized by weak ties and differentiations in principles (Massoumi, 2015). However, since bodies produce, elaborate, and articulate political ideologies (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003), we must think about how the precarity inscribed to various minorities might operate also as a site of alliance among populations that are deemed disposable (Butler, 2015). This nevertheless presupposes an intersectionally informed ideology that does not reproduce discriminative hierarchies, as the lack of one results inevitably to the exclusion of those whose desires do not fit the standards of the movement (Massoumi, 2015). Indeed, participants often contrasted mixed mobilizations with those of feminist and queer claims, and talked about the sense of safety, belonging and security that intensified in the latter. As Judith Butler suggests (2015), the norms of the heteropatriarchal capitalism are not simply imprinted on bodies, but also produce them, informing the lived modes of embodiment they acquire over time. These modes, however, can become ways to contest norms and develop forms of resistance to break them. Such practices of space amplification within social movements (Motta et al., 2011) were mentioned in many narratives, with visibility becoming a central locus of resistance; "in my ritual, I have added femininity. I wear lipstick before going to a protest, even if I don't wear it at all in general, only because I want to add visibility to femininity". Feminist struggles to destabilize normative ideals of participation involve unsettling power structures through which gender, race, class, sexuality, and nation mutually determine the formation of, and the terms of belonging to, the public sphere (Athanasίου, 2014, p.5). What is

considered a militant representation in the streets thus changes, as marginalized subjects seek terms of participation outside the frame of anti-violence. Their bodies become a vehicle of implicit and explicit struggle simply by existing within a space that is sexualized and gender-segregated (Apostolidou, 2012); "for me, the fact that queer subjectivities took it openly and freely to the streets and managed to break the police blockage without getting physical is also a very militant action. The macho masculine violence should not be the absolute criteria for a victory in the streets".

Judith Butler (2015) theorises the significance of precarity of the bodies that occupy the public space, by using the term as the politically induced condition in which certain communities become differentially exposed to injury and violence, suffering heightened risk for harassment, pathologization, and death. Indeed, minority women in Greece are pathologically present and politically absent, as they experience systematic discrimination and multidimensional inequalities based on their race, class, gender, and legal status. When it comes to participating in street protests, AfroGreek women claim that the color of skin becomes the identity feature that predominantly restrains participation, as the discrimination one receives from the society due to race, obscures the role gender plays in their sense of exclusion; "my color, the fact that I belong to the black race is the main reason that prevents me from participating. When I think about the dangers and whether to join or not, being a woman is rarely put into the equation. Race always comes first". Apart from the maximized vulnerability and sense of insecurity that these communities face due to their chronic exposure to arbitrary state violence (Butler, 2015) and racist targeting by the police, the troubling issue of citizenship plays a defying role as it shapes possibilities and limits options for the articulation of minority actors' political claims (Lewicki & O'Toole, 2017, p.154). Apart from the frequent exclusion from formal politics, the institutionalized precarity, the lack of representation, and the chronic misrecognition and invisibility in the public sphere (Bassel & Emejulu, 2017), black women's experience in mobilizations is also informed by the great challenges and consequences posed by their legal status. As a second-generation⁹ participant explains, "there was always a concern about my presence because I knew that an out of nowhere arrest could lead to resistance against authority, and that, when I was on residence permits in Greece, could jeopardize the possibility of obtaining Greek citizenship". In a hostile political context, the intersectional social justice

⁹ Second generation refers to people who were born and/or raised in the country by migrant parents. Due to the lack of legal provisions, for many years they had to follow a cumbersome process of obtaining residence permits in order to then apply for Greek citizenship.

claims of minority women are often absent and inaudible, while their presence in the streets is rendered either invisible or hypervisible (Bassel & Emejulu, 2017). Performativity, gazes, the enforcement of the position one has to take, the body with the prejudices that it holds, and the overall racism are just some of the issues that unraveled in their narratives; "I don't feel I belong. I feel more like an object to be seen than someone who participates, especially when they make no effort to include me. If shit goes left, I know there will be nobody to protect me". When race becomes an obstacle to having your voice heard, build a life in the country or even having a presence in the public sphere, the sense of belonging is inscribed by multiple restrictions; "a lot of things weigh in to build a connection with your environment, and ownership is of paramount importance; as a community, we don't have a lot of things belonging to us. But if I own a house, I will feel that the street in front of it is my concern, I will have a saying about what happens in it (...) And of course, when you hear for 30 years 'go back to your country'...".

On the other hand, participants with physical disabilities, vision impairment and mental health issues highlight the importance of active inclusion in street protests. When marching relies on ableist norms about who can or cannot be seen in a public space that is not designed as an inclusive one (Beasley, 2020), issues of accessibility and mutual protection are brought to the table; "participation is prevented for me because my loss of vision will make it impossible for me to protect myself. And I cannot rely on someone else to protect me because, when you are trying to save yourself, you will not think about the person next to you". The inclusion of less able people heavily relies on the decisions made by the movements, which entail the repertoires to be followed and the provisions taken to provide safe enough spaces, practices and protection. However, the assumptions and practises that keep people with disabilities from the public space render them invisible also to the movement (Beasley, 2020), and constitute thus a parameter that is rarely taken under consideration. Even in the case of a long-term activist that developed moving difficulties in the past years, the lack of provisions and inclusion discourage her participation; "if the protest is a risky one with no provisions, I prefer not to put anyone in this position. Because I might be vulnerable and have 3 people helping me, but in this way, they become vulnerable as well, you know?". Lastly, I wish to mention anxiety and mental health issues as parameters that not only obscure but completely prevent participation. The prevalence of militant and confrontational forms of action constitute a precarious condition in which people with mental health issues become multiply vulnerable. Such is a case of a participant who used to be very active, but violent acts and uncertainty in protests gave way to fear, and consecutively the decision to never participate again; "after many years of involvement, I started having a lot of

fear for what might happen in the protests. This, along with my panic attacks and increasing agoraphobia, prevented me from participating completely”.

Even though only one of the interviewees was a mother, the obstacle that parenthood poses to participation was mentioned by a number of them. As Vromen (2003) claims, the clear distinction between the private and the public space has been questioned extensively, and these spheres should be seen as dialectically interrelated rather than strictly separated. She explains that the private life of activists plays an important role in their involvement and participation in movements. Parenthood and paid work, then, determine the time and energy one has to get involved in collective work and, as women are considered to be the primal carers, social roles and unequal distribution of family responsibilities negatively affect their participation, while advantaging the involvement of their partners at the same time (Kosyfologou & Papanikolopoulos, 2019; Vromen, 2003). As a result, mothers as women are not only kept in the private space of home by the heteronormative patriarchy but also face extra barriers when it comes to participating in street protests. Having nowhere to leave the kids de facto keeps them from marches, while tagging them along poses important risks; “it is almost forbidden for mothers. In an atmosphere of permanent fear for state repression, it is very difficult to take the child and go to the protest. In order to do so, there must be an organizational provision considering people that might come with their kids. I am 40 years old and I have a lot of friends with small children. They haven't come to any of our marches for the past 2 years”. Moreover, family becomes a strongly discouraging factor also for daughters, as protests are not considered the right place for young females and participation contradicts gender expectations (Einwohner et al., 2000). Especially in a state with strong patriarchal traditions, the family environment becomes the central place where gendered divisions become established; “I was never discouraged by the violence. I was discouraged because I had to lie to my parents. For them it was not okay, it was a mistake, and this prevented me a lot”. When asked whether they think this would happen if they were a boy, all three of the participants that mentioned family as a central inhibitor for participating said no; “I believe there would be a passive resistance but not even close to what I was hearing”.

Gender, race, legal status, ability, mental health and private life thus constitute interlocking factors that not only determine the sense of belonging but also shape the terms of participating in direct political action.

6. CONCLUSION

With this dissertation, I attempted to broaden the gender research within social movements and mobilization theory, by bringing forth the reality of women who participate in mixed street protests in Athens. In order to explore the obstacles that hinder their involvement and the challenges that obscure their sense of belonging, I provided empirical evidence by conducting a qualitative feminist research with 14 women, whose narratives helped me examine how their bodily experience in mobilizations is shaped on the basis of gender.

Drawing literature from a broad range of disciplines, I began by showcasing how the traditional division of private and public sphere and the social construction of female identity, not only exclude women from institutionalized politics, but also hinder their participation in other political spaces. Relying on prior research on the intersection between gender and social movements, I elaborated on the exclusion women face in such spaces due to gender discrimination, entrenched mentalities and hierarchies that are reiterated within. Apart from the lack of gender agendas and their marginalization as secondary to unilateral struggles, women's narratives also showed that the internal processes of mixed political spaces are still permeated by a patriarchal culture that inscribes women's participation within specific terms and restrictions, constraining thus their involvement in equal terms.

Subsequently, I supported the claim that political participation manifests in a multitude of highly gendered ways, where the extrovert action of movements becomes more contested for women. Feminist interventions and critique in male-centered processes, along with the empowerment and amplification of feminist collectives within movements, have challenged gender stereotypes and traditional gender divisions of labor. Nevertheless, narratives confirmed that women are still excluded from leadership roles, central positions, or even doing violence in street protests. Even though significant developments have taken place in the past years, street action remains a male dominated and privileged space, where the patriarchal and confrontational tradition of protest imposes a performativity that must entail purely masculine features, raising thus questions on the precarity of the vulnerable, engendered body. Slogans, macho attitude, toxic masculinity, male gazes and gender violence establish street protests as unsafe spaces, thus obscuring the sense of belonging for their feminine composition.

Ultimately, I used a feminist theoretical approach as an enabling framework in order to provide an intersectional angle on how gender, race, ability, motherhood and the private life of

activists come together to shape their unique positionality that informs their bodily experience in the streets of Athens. The intersectional approach of this dissertation thus constitutes a valuable contribution to the gender research within social movements and mobilization, as it combines interlocking factors to reject the universality of women's experience, and brings marginalized voices in the center. Especially in the context of Greece, considering the political turbulence and contention that prevailed in the country the past decade, along with the new era for activist and militant feminist interventions forming their agenda and articulating their claims within the movement, this research contributes to the documentation of the barriers women still face in their participation, and urges their removal for a more inclusive and thus stronger movement to emerge.

However, this research poses a number of limitations; extensive quantitative studies are still missing in order to understand the demographics of people participating in protests with no explicit gender agendas, while the inclusion of men in this research could provide a clearer insight on the role gender plays in shaping the bodily experience. The addition of feminist/queer protests would also provide a deeper insight on how experience, issues of exclusion and the sense of belonging diversify according to the type of protest, however this was deemed impossible for the extend of this project. Last but not least, gender literature within social movements tends to emphasize the internal reiteration of inequality and often neglects processes of resistance and change (Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003). This research indeed focused on the obstacles women face in their involvement with social movements and street mobilization, but it nevertheless highlighted manifestations of resistance and struggles, confirming that the public sphere is not a predetermined area but a locus of constant becoming, engendered by performance. To use the words of one of the interviewees, "I am a woman and I will protest with my femininity as visible as possible. I might want to wear a dress and you can no longer patronize me for it. If I want to be violent and loot while wearing a dress I can, and I will; I can do everything. I won't go along with the machoness of protests anymore; I am representing myself in that moment, I need to feel like myself".

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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10. APPENDIX

i. Ethics Review

Ethical Review Application (ER/RV91/1) Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou	
Project Title	Engendered Belonging in Street Protests in Greece
Status	Approved
Email	R.Vassilatu@sussex.ac.uk
Phone No.	07712497082
Applicant Status	PG (Taught)
Department	Sociology
Supervisor	Lewicki, Aleksandra E
Project Start Date	20-May-2020
Project End Date	01-Sep-2020
External Funding in place	No
External Collaborators	No
Funder/Project Title	
Name of Funder	
Project Description	<p>With this research, I wish to explore the participation of women in street mobilizations, and understand the reasons which hinder their involvement. Reading around the subject, the participation of women in protests seems to be encompassed with matters of representation and construction of female identity, issues of voice and saying in the political sphere, the question of inclusion and exclusion in movements, as well as the masculinity and violence that traditionally surrounds the form of street protest. What is the reality of women in Greece that participate in demonstrations, and which of these issues do emerge in their experiences? How do they understand their sense of belonging in demonstrations and what constrains their engagement?</p> <p>To answer these questions, I plan on conducting semi-structured interviews with 10-15 self-identifying women, in order to gain a deeper understanding on how gender affects their sense of belonging in the streets of Athens. Since an intersectional approach is invaluable to capture the multiplicity of vulnerability and the diversity of personal experience, I will seek to assemble a heterogenous sample of participants in terms of gender, race, class, age, political beliefs and ability. Each person will take part in a one-hour session, with the possibility of having an extra session upon request. The semi-structured interview will have key points to go over, however the participants will be free to lead the discussion on their embodied experiences.</p>

ii. Information Sheet

ENGENDERED BELONGING IN STREET PROTESTS IN GREECE

This sheet is meant to provide you with all the needed information about the research study you have been invited to participate to. Before you decide whether or not you wish to continue, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully, and do not hesitate to ask for extra clarifications.

ABOUT THE STUDY

This research attempts to explore the reasons which hinder women's participation in street protests in Greece. The involvement of women in demonstrations seems to be encompassed with matters of representation and construction of female identity, issues of voice and saying in the political sphere, the question of inclusion and exclusion in movements, as well as the masculinity and violence that traditionally surrounds the form of street protest. When the division

of the private and public is disrupted, the need for re-appropriation and engenderment of the street emerges. What is the reality of women in Greece that participate in demonstrations, and which of these issues do emerge in their experiences? How do they understand their sense of belonging and what constrains their involvement?

The study will begin on the 15th of May and will run until the 1st of September. It will involve interviews with participants to explore the embodied experience of women who take part in demonstrations, in order to gain a deeper understanding on how gender affects their sense of belonging in the streets.

ABOUT YOUR PARTICIPATION

You have been invited to participate in the study because you self-identify as a woman that has taken part in street protests in Greece. This research will involve up to 15 persons from an intersectional spectrum in terms of gender, race, class, age, and political beliefs.

Participation to this study is entirely voluntary. This means that it is completely up to you to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to participate, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. Even if you decide to take part and sign the form, you will still be free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

The method that will be followed for the data collection process is interviews with participants. This means that you will be asked to be interviewed and audio recorded, for one hour, at a place of your choosing. The interview will be based on some key points/questions, which will help unravel a discussion around the sense of belonging in street protests. Apart from that, you will be sent a transcription of the audio recording, as well as of the research findings, for potential misinterpretations or unintended exposure of identity (e.g. mention of incident that might lead to the identification of a participant). The engagement to this second step is not mandatory, but it is essential that you have the option to do so, if you wish.

ABOUT PERSONAL DATA

All personal data will be kept strictly confidential, as a subject to legal limitations. Confidentiality, privacy and anonymity will be ensured in the collection, storage and publication of research material.

Anonymization procedures will be in place with the use of pseudonyms, and potential identifiers in the narratives/quotes used in the dissertation will be distorted. All sound recordings will be deleted from any other device, and transcriptions, along with any sensitive personal information connected to the pseudonyms, will be kept safe on an external disk, in an offline encrypted folder. The only person that will have access to this information is me, as the main researcher, and I will undertake both the transcriptions and translations of audio material. In view of a potential PhD around the current topic, anonymized data will be kept confidentially for 5 years upon the completion of the study, for future research and analysis. After the completion of this period, all data will be destroyed.

Please note that, if I am approached by the Police in regards of any illegal activity that might be enclosed in the interviews, I am legally obliged to hand out the data of this research.

ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The results of this research will be used for a dissertation at a postgraduate level. There is currently no view of publication of this study, however, if you wish to obtain a copy of the dissertation, it can be sent to you via email after completion.

It is important to note that participants of this study have the right to withdraw their research data. This means that if, at any point of the process, you feel uncomfortable to proceed for any reason, you can and you are prompted to withdraw your data, leading to direct destruction of any records kept with personal info. However, the cut-off point for the withdraw of data will be the 1st of August as a 45 days mark prior to submission of the dissertation. This time limit is being set due to the constrains of the project, in order to be able to substitute needed data for the completion of the research.

FURTHER INFO

I am conducting this research as a student at the University of Sussex, the School of Sociology, Law & Politics, for an MA in Gender Studies, and this study has been approved by the Social Sciences & Arts Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC). Ethical review application number:

The University of Sussex has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE

To take part in the study, you should ask any questions that might arise after reading carefully the information sheet, and sign the consent form provided. You can then contact me to inform me about your decision and set a date, time and place for the conduction of the interview.

Thank you for taking the time to read this.
DATE

* For any further information or questions about the study, you can contact me directly via email or telephone at rosa.vassilatu@gmail.com, +306949597671.

* For any concerns about the way in which the study has be conducted, you can contact the Supervisor of this research, Ms. Aleksandra Lewicki, in the first instance. You can find her via email or telephone at a.lewicki@sussex.ac.uk, +44(0)1273 873346.

iii. Consent Form

Title of Project: Engendered Belonging in Street Protests in Greece

Name of Researcher and School: Rosa Vassilatu | University of Sussex

C-REC Ref no: ER/RV91/1

	Please tick box	
	YES	NO
• I consent to being interviewed 1 or more times by the researcher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I agree to allowing the interview to be audio-recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I agree to making myself available for a further interview should it be required	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that I will be given a transcript of data concerning me for my approval before being included in the write up of the research	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that I have given my approval for the name of my town/community, and/or the nature of my work to be used in the final report of the project and further publications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that in exceptional circumstances e.g. where the health, welfare and safety of myself or others is compromised by information I might disclose, the researcher will be legally required to pass this information onto an appropriate individual or agency	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project, either by the researcher or by any other party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I have read the information sheet, had the opportunity to ask questions and I understand the principles, procedures and possible risks involved	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I consent to the processing of my personal information and data for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) 2016	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I consent to my data being kept safely, anonymized and secured by the researcher for re-use in future research and analysis for 5 years.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

iv. Topic Guide

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Breaking the ice:

- What aspects of your identity do you think are relevant for the conversation we are about to have and need to be stated in terms of self-identification?
- What was the first street protest you ever participated in?
- Do you go to protests alone? Is there a specific block you usually join and why?
- Have you developed specific routines around your participation in demonstrations? Is there a preparation process you usually follow?

Raising issues:

- How do you think the features that you claim as your identity affect your participation in street protests?
- How do you feel when you take part in street protests?
- Is there something that you don't like in demonstrations?
- Do you feel safe in a demonstration? If not, what prevents you from feeling secure?
- Do you feel that you belong in protests / in the streets / in the public sphere? What are the issues that hamper your sense of belonging in street protests?
- Have you ever felt like you do not want to participate again in a street protest? Why?
- Street protests are reported in a specific way following a mainstream narrative that presents demonstrations as a predominantly conflict zone. Does that discourage your participation? In which way?
- In your opinion, what hinders women's participation in street protests?

Closing-releasing tension:

- What role do you think gender plays in street protests?
- What comes to mind when you see women in protests?
- Do you think that more women participate nowadays in street mobilizations? What are the reasons for this, according to your understanding?
- Which is the most unique/dear protest you have participated in? What makes it so special for you?
- Would you like to share with me a snapshot from a street protest you will never forget?

Prompts / diary / cognitive map:

How did the day of the protest start/where did you gathered first/how did you prepare/how was the march at the beginning?

(In case of incidents:)what did the police do/what did women do when men did X/how did you feel at that moment/how did you react/tell me more about it/what did you think after the march/did you discuss this with other women protesters?

v. Transcription in Original Language

Με ποιον τρόπο πιστεύεις ότι τα χαρακτηριστικά της ταυτότητάς σου επηρεάζουν τη συμμετοχή σου;

Ωραία, λοιπόν σε αυτό το σημείο θα κάνω ένα μίνι ιστορικό γενικά για να σου εξηγήσω. Ουσιαστικά, κατεβαίνοντας σε πορείες, μετά από ένα σημείο και μετά από ένα συγκεκριμένο περιστατικό, Φύσας, πρώτη χρονιά, μετά φοβήθηκα γενικά και δεν ξανακατέβηκα ποτέ μέχρι να μπω στην αυτονομία. Τύπου 2 χρόνια που προσπάθησα να κατέβω και με έπιαναν κρίσεις πανικού. Δηλαδή μέχρι τον Φύσσα, που αυτό που μου είχε συμβεί ήταν ότι εντάξει δεν ήξερα καθόλου τους δρόμους κτλ, ήταν πάρα πολύ ρε παιδί μου όλο το κλίμα ξέρω γω πολύ ξαναμμένο, ήταν και οι γονείς μου φαντάσου πχ, είχε πάρα πολύ κόσμο και κάπως με τρομάζει πάρα πολύ το να βλέπω όλους αυτούς τους τύπους, τύπους γιατί συνήθως είναι άντρες, οι οποίοι είναι καυλωμένοι γενικά, οι οποίοι είναι με μπουκάλια ρε παιδί μου και, χωρίς να έχω κάποιο πρόβλημα προφανώς με τα μπουκάλια μακάρι ξέρω γω να πετάμε όλες τέλος πάντων, απλά κάπως με τρομάζει πάρα πολύ γιατί δεν έχω καμία εμπιστοσύνη σε αυτούς τους ανθρώπους, με αποτέλεσμα γενικά να γίνει ένα πέσιμο από μπάτσους και επειδή είμαι 1.58 ξέρω γω και αυτό έχει να κάνει σημασία ας πούμε με τον τρόπο που υπάρχω στο δρόμο γιατί σε σχέση με τους άλλους ξέρω γω πάντα είμαι πιο μικροσκοπική. Και έγινε ένα πέσιμο και κάπως με κατάπτε το πλήθος ουσιαστικά και απλά κάποιος, άντρας μάλλον παρόλα αυτά, με έπιασε από τη northface τσάντα μου, από το χερούλι, και με τράβηξε και μπήκαμε σε ένα σπίτι και ήταν απέξω οι μπάτσοι και μείναμε πάρα πολλές ώρες και είχαμε φάει δακρυγόνα, και από τότε γενικά αγχώθηκα πάρα πολύ, και όποτε έχει τύχει να κατέβω, δηλαδή έχει τύχει να πάω μετά από αυτό σε πορεία στο πολυτεχνείο, αλλά ο τρόπος γενικά που υπήρχα ήταν με ταχυκαρδία με το που έβλεπα ότι πάνε να γίνουν μπάχαλα, ταχυκαρδία και κάπως απέφευγα αλλά ντρεπόμουν κιόλας να το παραδεχτώ, με αποτέλεσμα απλά να αποφεύγω γενικά τον κόσμο που παλιά γενικά είχα τελείως άγνοια κινδύνου, δεν με απασχολούσε γενικά καθόλου, οπότε όταν έβλεπα γενικά τους τύπους αυτούς ξέρω γω τους μαυροφορεμένους, απλά έφευγα, άλλαζα πεζοδρόμιο ή μπορεί και να έφευγα τελείως από την πορεία. Δηλαδή θυμάμαι χαρακτηριστικά σε πορεία πολυτεχνείου που μου έχει συμβεί αυτό ακριβώς που σου λέω. Αυτό. Και μετά όταν μπήκα στην αυτονομία αυτό όλο χαλάρωσε πάρα πολύ αλλά ήταν γενικά και τόσο ρε παιδί μου inclusive ουσιαστικά, ήταν τόσο συγκεκριμένα ας πούμε τα άτομα που υπήρχαν που μας έδιναν ρόλους ας πούμε, και σε γυναίκες προφανώς και ας πούμε δεν υπήρχε αυτό που γενικά μου έφυγε τελείως ο φόβος.

Η συμμετοχή σου επηρεάζεται, από ό,τι μου έχεις πει έως τώρα, από το αίσθημα ανασφάλειας το οποίο πηγάζει από την βία και τη σύγκρουση που ενδεχομένως μπορεί να δημιουργηθεί μέσα σε μία πορεία.

Πιστεύεις ότι είσαι πιο ευάλωτη όντως γυναίκα; Ή μικροσκοπική;

Ναι, προφανώς. Και νομίζω ότι αυτό έχει να κάνει νομίζω με το ότι όταν υπήρχαν στις πολιτικές διαδικασίες πριν γίνει ουσιαστικά η πορεία, πριν υπάρξουμε στο δρόμο, όταν υπήρχα γενικά σε προπαρασκευαστικές ας πούμε διαδικασίες, ποτέ δεν αισθανόμουν ότι με κάποιον τρόπο έχω χώρο εγώ να μιλήσω και να υπάρξω. Οπότε και στο δρόμο αισθανόμουν γενικά πάντα πολύ πιο ευάλωτη.

Άρα πιστεύεις ότι η συμμετοχή στις διαδικασίες πριν την πορεία και η συμμετοχή στην ίδια συνδέονται;

Ναι, για τον ίδιο λόγο γενικά που ξέρεις, θεωρώ ότι οι άντρες του χώρου ανατιμάνε πάρα πολύ τον εαυτό τους μέσα από αυτές τις διαδικασίες και όσο γενικά και αν προσπαθούν να είναι φεμινιστές, στην πραγματικότητα αντλούν υπεραξία γενικά από την ύπαρξή τους στους χώρους με το να υποτιμάνε τις συντρόφισσές τους. Και ακόμη και αν είναι δουλειά που προσπαθούμε ξέρω γω να, μεμονωμένες περιπτώσεις, θεωρώ ότι γενικά... ξέρεις τι, λειτουργεί όπως το καφενείο ρε παιδί μου παλιά όντως οι γυναίκες είναι σε μεγάλο βαθμό αποκλεισμένες σε τέτοιους χώρους. Δηλαδή προφανώς δεν είναι ξέρω γω επιτρεπτό να μας αποκλείουνε πολιτικά και έχουμε μυριστεί γενικά πολύ ξέρω γω και το φεμινισμό ας πούμε για άντρες, αλλά παρόλα αυτά το κάνουνε και δεν μπορώ να πω άθελά τους, το κάνουνε γενικά απλά με την πολύ βάρβαρη παρουσία τους κατά τη γνώμη μου.

Ποια είναι τα συναισθήματα που σου δημιουργούνται όταν συμμετέχεις σε διαδηλώσεις;

Ωραία, σε πράγματα που υπήρχαν γενικά πριν το queer awafulness μου και πριν αρχίσω να κατεβαίνω ας πούμε σε queer πράγματα στο δρόμο, είναι φοβερή ξέρω γω η διαφορά. Γιατί στα πρώτα ήμουνα μετά από ένα σημείο πάρα πολύ φοβισμένη, πάρα πολύ αγχωμένη, πολλές φορές κιόλας κατέβαινα με εκείνον τον γκόμμενα που είχα τότε χωρίς λόγο, πολύ απλά επειδή αισθανόμουν πως αν γίνει κάτι θα με έχει στο νου του, που αυτό ας πούμε ξέρεις, είναι, δηλαδή τώρα ας πούμε, τώρα που με ακούω να το λέω ξέρω γω είναι φάουλ μου ας

πούμε, δεν ξέρω γιατί θεωρούσα με κάποιον τρόπο ξέρω γω ότι ο γερός ο γκόμενός μου θα με προστατεύσει με κάποιον τρόπο αλλά αυτή ήταν η αίσθηση που είχα.

Δεν είναι φάουλ, είναι μια κοινωνική πραγματικότητα είτε μας αρέσει είτε όχι.

Μα, νομίζω ρε ότι κάπως πάντα, και με τις φίλες μου δηλαδή όταν κατεβαίναμε σε αυτά είχαμε στο νου μας να έχουμε, δηλαδή υπήρχε γενικά άτυπα με τους φίλους μας που κατεβαίναμε μαζί αυτή γενικά η διαδρομή ρε παιδί μου ξέρω γω στο μυαλό μας, δηλαδή ότι κάπως έχε στο νου σου που είναι ξέρω γω αυτός ο τύπος ας πούμε που κάπως σας αγαπάει και σας προσέχει ας πούμε και αν γίνει κάτι, και εκείνος έπαιρνε πράγματα από αυτό. Καταλαβαίνεις τι εννοώ;

Ναι αμέ. Ήταν και πιο χωμένος; Ή ήταν μόνο άντρας;

Ναι, ήταν πιο χωμένος επειδή ήταν άντρας, βασικά. Αυτό! Τώρα βασικά σε όλα, δηλαδή θυμάμαι η πρώτη επαφή μου ήταν εντάξει στη μιγάδα προφανώς, στην πρώτη πορεία που είχαμε κάνει, που την είχαμε κάνει μαζί με τις μπεφλώνες και τις brastards, και γενικά ήταν η πρώτη φορά που υπήρξα σε κάτι το οποίο μοιάζει πολύ περισσότερο με γιορτή και έχει πάρα πολύ περηφάνεια και όχι ξέρω γω με συμβατικούς ρε παιδί μου όρους, όπως είναι το pride ενδεχομένως. Ήτανε, αισθανόμουν, βασικά αισθανόμουν και πολύ μεγαλύτερη ασφάλεια γενικά. Ήταν αυτό, η άγρια χαρά του mdma κάπως. Αυτό ένιωθα και ξέρεις, ακόμη και αν εγώ δεν επιλέγω να ντύνομαι αντίστοιχα, μου αρέσει πάρα πολύ να το βλέπω στις φίλες μου και τα φιλενάδια μου ή όταν ας πούμε κατεβαίνω με τον Αντρέα, όταν ο Αντρέας είναι Αθήνα ξέρω γω φόραγε τακούνια και καταλάβαινα ότι δηλαδή έπαιρνα συναισθηματικά πάρα πολλά πράγματα για το γεγονός ότι ο Αντρέας που είναι κουίρ και θέλει να φοράει τακούνια ενδεχομένως και όταν πηγαίνει στο σέλας για καφέ ήτανε από τις φορές γενικά που του επιτρεπότανε όντως να φοράει. Οπότε έπαιρνα από αυτό και έπαιρνα και γενικά καθαρά κιάλας για μένα ας πούμε με την παρουσία μου σε τέτοια πράγματα στο δρόμο. Δηλαδή αυτό ότι μόνο περηφάνεια γενικά για την παρουσία μας στον δημόσιο χώρο, από εκείνο το σημείο και μετά.

Επειδή έχεις υπάρξει τόσο σε πορείες που έχουν ξεκάθαρο έμφυλο πρόσημο, όσο και σε άλλες που το έμφυλο ζήτημα δεν είναι μπροστά, αν συγκρίνεις τα συναισθήματα που σου δημιουργούνται στο ένα και στο άλλο, ποιες διαφορές υπάρχουν;

Από τη μία γενικά, σε αυτά που δεν έχουν χώρο για γυναίκες, queer υποκείμενα και γενικά την κοινότητα είμαι: ταχυκαρδία, άγχος, λίγο καύλα αγχωμένος αλλά ξέρεις, αυτό της αδρεναλίνης αλλά και αυτό νομίζω γενικά με κάπως αρνητικό πρόσημο, για αυτό υπήρξε γενικά και η μετατόπιση η ηλικιακή από τη στιγμή γενικά που κατάλαβα πως ήταν επικίνδυνο ουσιαστικά σταμάτησε να είναι γενικά η αδρεναλίνη καλή και ξέρεις η ταχυκαρδία και ο φόβος. Και από την άλλη γενικά είναι πάρα πολύ υπερηφάνεια και συγκίνηση ενδεχομένως. Δηλαδή πάντα συγκινούμαι, και τώρα συγκινήθηκα.

Υπάρχει κάτι που δεν σου αρέσει στις κινητοποιήσεις;

Οι μπάτσοι (γέλια) και ενδεχομένως πολλές φορές έχω αισθανθεί άβολα με τον κόσμο και επίσης νιώθω, δεν ξέρω αυτό παίζει να είναι φιλοάκυρο γενικά αλλά ας πούμε και σήμερα το ένιωσα, «η χούντα δεν τελείωσε το 73», κάπως γενικά με ενοχλεί αυτό το παλιό, παραδοσιακό ρε παιδί μου ΚΚΕ ξέρω γω και φάση η Αριστερά γενικά, βασικά και η αριστερά με ενοχλεί γιατί είναι πατριωτική ρε παιδί μου δηλαδή εμένα αυτό μου θυμίζει - και πατριαρχική γενικά σίγουρα-. Οπότε γενικά αυτό δεν μαρέσει, δεν μου αρέσει η αριστερά και δεν μου αρέσουν συμβολικά και τα συνθήματα ξέρω γω σε φάση και δεν τα λέω κιάλας, αυτό.

Τι σε εμποδίζει να αισθανθείς ασφάλεια σε πορείες που δεν έχουν έμφυλο πρόσημο;

Εεεε (παύση) καταρχάς πόσες φορές έχουμε πάει σε πορείες που δεν είναι φεμινιστικές ή queer και μας έχουν καυταντίσει τύποι. Πόσες φορές γενικά, άπειρες. Εγώ έχω βγάλει φουλ γκόμενους γενικά από τέτοια πράγματα εντωμεταξύ αλλά με άλλη λογική ρε παιδί μου ξέρεις και πιο μικρούλα. Αυτό λοιπόν μου φαίνεται ότι κάπως ενισχύει το γεγονός ότι εκεί εγώ βρίσκομαι σαν κάποιο σεξουαλικό – ερωτικό υποκείμενο ξέρω γω, κάποιο καυλάκι με adidas ας πούμε, το οποίο ξέρεις, σε αυτό το νυφοπάζαρο τέλος πάντων σίγουρα θα (...) κάτι. Αυτό με ενοχλούσε και στην φάση γιατί ρε παιδί μου αφαιρεί από την πολιτική σου ταυτότητα ξέρω γω σίγουρα. Αυτό, σου είπα και πριν γενικά και οι τύποι που κάνουνε μπάχαλα γιατί δεν τους εμπιστεύομαι ούτε πολιτικά, ενδεχομένως τις περισσότερες φορές γενικά είναι κάγκουρες και τύποι γενικά που είναι φουλ ασεβείς ας πούμε προς εμάς και ομοφοβικοί και караμαλάκες και карачахо. Αυτοί ας πούμε με κάνουν να αισθάνομαι ανασφάλεια. Αυτά πάνω κάτω, αυτά βασικά.

vi. Coding Process

Part One: Initial Markup

Αθλητικά, μικρό τσαντάκι. Κάποτε έφερνα και μάσκα μαζί μου αλλά το έχω σταματήσει αυτό. Αλλά γιατί έχω σταματήσει να πηγαίνω σε πολύ μεγάλες και συγκρουσιακές πορείες. (παύση) Πηγαίνω σε πιο χαλαρές.

Κάποτε είχα μια ρουτίνα, ξέρω γω, το '10 που κατεβαίναμε σε αυτές τις μεγάλες πορείες είχα τα συγκεκριμένα ρούχα που φόραγα σε πορεία, τα μαντήλια που έπαιρνα μαζί μου, το μαλόξ μου, τη μάσκα μου κτλ. Απλά τώρα δεν το κάνω πια.

Με ποιον τρόπο πιστεύεις ότι τα χαρακτηριστικά της ταυτότητάς σου επηρεάζουν τη συμμετοχή σου;

atizoushup
statis & police
@protest

Κοίταξε να δεις, ένας, εεμ, πάντα είχα μια ανησυχία για το τι θα γίνει αν με πιάσουνε. Άμα γίνει μια σύλληψη, όχι μια σύλληψη, μια προσαγωγή. Μπορεί να μην κάνεις τίποτα και να καταλήξεις να είσαι στο ΑΤ. Το οποίο είναι προβληματικό, δηλαδή δεν, πάντα υπήρχε μια ανησυχία για την παρουσία μου γιατί ήξερα ότι μια, από το πουθενά, μια προσαγωγή μπορεί να καταλήξει σε σύλληψη ή αντίσταση κατά της αρχής, και αυτό, όταν ήμουνα με άδειες διαμονής στην Ελλάδα, μπορεί να διακινδύνευε την πιθανότητα του να πάρω ελληνική ιθαγένεια γιατί θα έμεινε στο ποινικό μου μητρώο. Άρα δεν έφτανε το να ξέρω ότι δεν θα κάνω κάτι. (παύση) Εεε, παρόλαυτα, εντέλει δεν με πιάσανε ποτέ για κάτι, δηλαδή μόνο λίγο ξύλο έχω φάει μια φορά. Ε, ούτε ένιωσα ότι με στοχοποίησαν για αυτό, οι αρχές. Βέβαια, σε αντιφασιστικές πορείες τα πράγματα είναι διαφορετικά, και δεν πήγαινα για αυτόν τον λόγο, γιατί ένιωθα ότι είμαι κινούμενος στόχος. Σε αντισυγκεντρώσεις βασικά.

Αντισυγκεντρώσεις, τι εννοείς;

Υπάρχει η γιορτή των Ιμίων που γίνεται κάθε χρόνο και κατά βάση είναι χρυσαυγίτες και οι αντιχρυσουγίτες. Ή άλλες περιπτώσεις που ξέρεις, πάνε να κάνουνε μια εκδήλωση οι οποιοδήποτε και γίνεται αντισυγκέντρωση για να την εμποδίσει. Εκεί πέρα ναι, νιώθω ότι γίνομαι κινούμενος στόχος.

Από την άλλη πλευρά.

Ναι, από την άλλη πλευρά.

Ποια είναι τα συναισθήματα που σου δημιουργούνται όταν συμμετέχεις σε διαδηλώσεις;

Εεε (παύση), γενικά δεν νιώθω άνετα ανάμεσα σε πολύ κόσμο. Πάντα πιστεύω ότι κάτι θα γίνει. Και αυτό μου δημιουργεί μια μόνιμη ανησυχία, δηλαδή δεν είμαι ήρεμη στις διαδηλώσεις. Ακόμη και στις πιο μικρές, χαλαρές, θυμάμαι ήμουνα σε μια στον Πειραιά, για τον Φύσσα που ας πούμε, οκ, όσο ήμασταν στα στενά του Πειραιά και στη Νίκαια ήμουν πιο χαλαρή, όταν φτάσαμε ας πούμε κοντά στα γραφεία της Χρυσής Αυγής που άρχισε να γίνεται λίγο πιο πολύ, να υπάρχει μια ένταση, χωρίς να σημαίνει ότι θα γίνουν μπάχαλα (παύση) και εγώ ένιωθα ρε παιδί μου τους παλμούς μου ότι ένιωθα ότι κάτι θα γίνει τώρα κάτι θα γίνει κάτι θα γίνει. Νομίζω μου έχει μείνει από το Δεκέμβρη του '08 γενικά όλο αυτό (παύση) εεε, που ένιωσα πάρα πολύ εγκλωβισμένη σε κάτι πορείες. Εεε, νομίζω ότι, θυμάμαι δηλαδή χαρακτηριστικά μια πορεία που ένιωθα ότι πνίγομαι, πάει, αυτό είναι.

quote

Επειδή είχε πάρα πολύ κόσμο και είχε πολύ ένταση;

Υπήρχε πάρα πολύς κόσμος, ο οποίος, δεν ξέρω σε ποιο μπλοκ ήμουνα καν, γενικά είχε γίνει ένας χαμός. Και ήμασταν, ξέρω γω, σε κάποιο δρόμο που, στην Σταδίου εκεί που ανεβαίνει που γίνεται λίγο πιο στενή και ήταν η Δευτέρα του Δεκέμβρη, 8 του Δεκέμβρη, τότε που κάηκε το δέντρο. Το '8, δυο μέρες μετά τη δολοφονία. Εεεε, που ναι δεν θυμάμαι, μας την πέρασε από την αστυνομία, ο

συγκεκριμένη] Και είναι πιο πολύ συναισθηματικό σίγουρα και εξαιτίας όλων αυτών που έχει συμβεί και εξαιτίας του γεγονότος ότι δεν είμαι σίγουρη ότι αντιλαμβάνομαι πλήρως το πως έχει μετεξελιχθεί όλο αυτό, γιατί υπάρχει μετεξέλιξη.

Τι πιστεύεις ότι το έχει διαφοροποιήσει τόσο πολύ που σε έχει φέρει σε αυτό το σημείο;

Νομίζω είναι γενικό το φαινόμενο. Έκανα όντως μια συζήτηση τις προάλλες και συζητάγαμε ακριβώς το πως έχει μετεξελιχθεί η κοινωνία και το μέην επιχείρημα ήταν, ο κόσμος έχει κουραστεί ο κόσμος βλέπει μόνο την καθημερινότητά του και δεν μπορεί να δει λίγο παρακάτω, δεν μπορεί να αλλάξει πράγματα δεν μπορεί να ζητήσει πράγματα γιατί πως θα ζήσει με 500 με 400 ευρώ την οικογένειά του. Δεν είμαι σίγουρο ότι το ενστερνίζομαι πλήρως, ωστόσο ναι, υπάρχει φοβερή διαφοροποίηση και είναι κοινωνική, είναι βαθιά κοινωνική. Και νομίζω ότι δεν υπάρχει και διάθεση πλέον για να αλλάξεις πράγματα.

Και όλο αυτό το λες ως άνθρωπος ή ως γυναίκα συγκεκριμένα;

Νομίζω είναι και τα δύο, νομίζω ότι δεν μπορώ να το διαχωρίσω.

Έτσι πιστεύω και εγώ. Και καταλαβαίνω ότι όλα τα ζητήματα εμφυλοποιούνται, ωστόσο ήθελα να επιβεβαιώσω πως έτσι το αισθάνεσαι και εσύ.

[Έχει να κάνει λίγο και με τη διάθεσή σου να δεις το έμφυλο έντονο ή όχι. Για πολλά χρόνια έτεινα να μην προσπαθώ να δω τη διαφορά, να μην προσπαθώ να με διαφοροποιήσω σε σχέση με τους υπόλοιπους.] Οπότε γραμμένο μάλλον μέσα μου είναι πολύ έντονο η μη ύπαρξη έμφυλου, παρότι υπάρχει και παρότι είναι έντονη σε πολλές στιγμές, για να μην ακριβώς γενικεύσω και την περίπτωση μου.

Ποιοι είναι οι λόγοι που εμποδίζουν την αίσθηση του ανήκειν γενικά σε πορείες στο χώρο και τη δημόσια σφαίρα;

[...] Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο έχει διαμορφωθεί ο χώρος πια. Δηλαδή όλο αυτό το πράγμα που δεν με πειράζει καθόλου, κάνε αντάρτικο πόλεως, ίσα ίσα που θα είμαι πάρα πολύ υπέρ, ωστόσο η ματαιία η οποία κυκλοφορεί στο χώρο και το γεγονός ότι διάφοροι πατερούληδες θα αποφασίσουν να πάρουν κεφάλι, χωρίς σε αυτό να είναι μια συλλογική απόφαση ή να είναι μια πραγματική ανάγκη, με έχει αποθαρρύνει πάρα πολύ από το να, εννοώ ότι θα εμπλακώ ενεργά σε πράγματα μόνο αν αποφασίσω ότι αυτά τα πράγματα αξίζουν πάρα πολύ το χώρο και το χρόνο μου, και κατά τα άλλα θα κάνω κάτι αρκετά επιφανειακό και αυτό ισχύει σίγουρα τα τελευταία 3 με 4 χρόνια.] ← quote

Και φυσικά έχει να κάνει με το πιο σώμα έχει δικαίωμα στο δημόσιο χώρο γενικά. Έχουμε δει τα τελευταία χρόνια θανάτους σωμάτων που θεωρούνταν ότι δεν ανήκαν εκεί, δεν πληρούν τα κριτήρια προκειμένου να είναι σεβαστά.

Ναι, ναι, συμφωνώ.

Έχεις αισθανθεί ποτέ ότι δεν θέλεις να ξανασυμμετάσχεις σε διαδηλώσεις;

Κοίτα, το δεν θέλω ξανά δεν μπορώ να απαντήσω θετικά.

Ναι, είναι σαν το «δεν θα ξαναπιώ», αυτήν την αίσθηση αναρωτιέμαι αν έχεις νιώσει ποτέ και γιατί.

Εεε, κοίτα έγινε ξέρω γω στα Δεκεμβριανά, στην πρωινή πορεία, να έχω κατέβει με έναν φίλο και είναι πολύ ok η συνθήκη και ξαφνικά βλέπω κάτι φασιότες να κατεβαίνουν με ρόπαλα. Το αποτέλεσμα τέλος πάντων αυτού ήταν να πλακώνουν με ακραία βία όλους αυτούς τους

Ναι ναι, ακόμα ακόμα. Και νομίζω ότι δύσκολα θα το ξεπεράσω, δηλαδή μπορεί να πάω σε 5-6-7 πορείες και να μην μου έχει ακόμη φύγει από το μυαλό. Δυστυχώς. Γιατί αυτό βλέπω. Νομίζω ότι είμαστε η εξαίρεση στον κανόνα, οι φεμινιστικές υπάρχουν αυτά τα περιστατικά οίγουρα δεν είναι παραμύθια, αφού υπάρχουν εικόνες, βίντεο, το βλέπουμε. Αλλά τελικά νομίζω ότι τις μεγαλύτερες φασαρίες τις κάνουν τα ματ παρά οι διαδηλωτές.

Από τις επιρροές που είχες, ΜΜΕ, οικογένεια κτλ, αιτιό εικόνες σε πορείες, σε έκαναν να πιστεύεις ότι ο κόσμος εκεί ήταν 50-50 άντρες γυναίκες;

Εεε, νομίζω πως όχι. Γενικά έχω την εντύπωση, γενικά όταν μιλάμε για ανθρώπους, το μυαλό μας πάει γενικά σε άντρες. Τώρα, σε πορείες που, έτοι όπως τις έχουν παρουσιάσει τα μίντια, με οπασίματα, ιστορίες, βανδαλισμούς κτλ και εμένα δύσκολα θα πήγαινε το μυαλό μου ότι ο κόσμος ήταν 50-50 γυναίκες, φαντάζομαι ότι υπήρχαν πιο πολύ άντρες. Στερεοτυπικά ίσως, αλλά μπορεί και να πέφτω μέσα δεν ξέρω.

→ quote

Ακόμα και σήμερα οι γυναίκες δεν θεωρούμαστε όντα που μπορεί να ασκήσουν πολιτική. Μας θεωρούν, θεωρούν τις γνώμες μας υποδεέστερες ας πούμε, αυτό αντιλαμβάνομαι.

Πιστεύεις ότι η συμμετοχή ενός ατόμου σε πορεία μπορεί να επηρεαστεί από ενδεχόμενο περιορισμό στην άσκηση πολιτικής;

Πιστεύω πως ναι. Καταρχάς υπάρχουν άνθρωποι που δεν θεωρούν το φεμινισμό πολιτική. Νομίζουν πως είναι ένα έτοι να χαμε να λέγαμε, να περάσουμε την ώρα μας, σαν χόμπι το βλέπουν, σαν διάθεση για αντίδραση, δεν το θεωρούν πολιτικό κίνημα. Ή υπάρχουν αυτοί που θεωρούν ότι ήταν παλιά, εντάξει, μετά οι γυναίκες ψηφίζουν, φοράνε παντελόνια, οπότε τι άλλο να διεκδικήσουν πια. Τώρα ό,τι ήταν σαν δικαίωμα να το αποκτήσουν το αποκτήσαμε, τι άλλο να θέλουμε (γέλια).

Κατά τη γνώμη σου τι άλλο μπορεί να εμποδίζει τη συμμετοχή γυναικών σε διαδηλώσεις;

Νομίζω ότι... [από τα μεγαλύτερα εμπόδια είναι το περιβάλλον τους το οικογενειακό, φαντάζομαι. Γιατί είμαστε και ένας λαός που οι οικογενειακές σχέσεις είναι πολύ στενές, προκειμένου να μην κακοχαρακτηριστούμε από τις οικογένειές μας, από τους φίλους μας, από κάποιον που μπορεί να μας δει στην πορεία και να μην το περιμένει από εμάς, οτιδήποτε, νομίζω ότι είναι ένας ανασταλτικός παράγοντας.] Από εκεί και πέρα μάλλον είναι και αυτό που σου είπα πριν για μένα, δηλαδή ότι [ίσως φοβούνται δηλαδή ότι θα τραυματιστούν, ότι μπορεί να έρθουν σε σύγκρουση με αστυνομικούς κτλ. Και η ιδέα αυτή που πλανιέται ότι εντάξει να διεκδικήσουμε κτλ αλλά ας μην το φτάνουμε στα άκρα ξέρω γω, ότι άμα φτάνουμε να κάνουμε πορείες κτλ, είμαστε και λίγο υστερικές, λίγο τρελές, λίγο εντάξει μέχρι ενός οριομένου οημείου οκ, κάπως έτσι.] Αυτοί κυρίως είναι οι λόγοι.

Τι ρόλο πιστεύεις ότι παίζει το φύλο (στη συμμετοχή) στις πορείες;

Χμ, άσε με να το οκεφτώ λίγο αυτό. Τι να σου πω, πρέπει να είναι πάλι κάτι αντίστοιχο [και οι γυναίκες οι ίδιες θεωρούμε ότι δεν έχουμε δύναμη να ακουστεί η φωνή μας, οπότε δεν μπαίνουμε καν στη διαδικασία μάλλον, και θα εισπράξουμε την αποδοκίμασία των αντρών ίσως, και είμαστε και μαθημένες μεγαλωμένες να είμαστε πιο ήσυχες, πιο ευγενικές, πιο γλυκές, να μην απαιτούμε, να μην διεκδικούμε, οπότε θεωρώ πως είναι και αυτό ένας μεγάλος παράγοντας στο να μην πάνε οι γυναίκες σε πορείες.]

→ quote

Τι έρχεται στο μυαλό όταν βλέπεις γυναίκες σε διαδηλώσεις;

Part Two: Taking Notes

Αποπροέδριοις: Άντρες, γυναίκες, φιλίες, όχι οργανωμένοι (27)
13: Μόδα: διεξοδική
Μόδα: όχι. Με πατέ, ανίμα τον
Ραυές: celebration, gathering, dance
Εμπόρα: Γυναίκες + άντρες + παιδιά ανεξαρτησία και καθήκον, προσηγορικά. Εμπόρα + άντρες, άντρες να εδύνη, γυναίκες να γέμουν. Αλλά + το αυτί στο. Σε κεντρικά κεντρικά για τις γυναίκες.
Ανασφάλεια: Από αβεβαιότητα. Όχι 100% φίλες με πατέριαν εμπόρα. Φίλες σε αλληλεγγύη για τις γυναίκες. Εμπόρα + άντρες.
Πο έρωτα, πο έρωτα, έρωτα με διαφορά + έρωτα + άντρες. Τότες κεντρικά σε σε κεντρικά. Και τις δύο.
Εμπόρα: Θετική, ευγενής, κεντρικά, έρωτα. Έρωτα + άντρες, άντρες, άντρες.
Ανασφάλεια: Βία, σε πατέ να το υποστηρίξω, έρωτα για τον πατέρα.
Εμπόρα + άντρες, κεντρικά, άντρες να πατέρα ναυταρές σε γέμ. πατέρα. Όχι.
Μόδα, έρωτα, κεντρικά + έρωτα.
Ανασφάλεια: Μόδα σε γέμ + queer. Όχι κεντρικά + έρωτα. Είναι σε κεντρικά.
Εμπόρα κεντρικά, άντρες, κεντρικά, άντρες, κεντρικά.
Straight άντρες: άντρες οι πιο κεντρικά, άντρες σε πατέρα.
Ανασφάλεια: Διήγορος κεντρικά + έρωτα, για άντρες κεντρικά, κεντρικά σε κεντρικά.
σε σε κεντρικά. GBT+queer σε σε κεντρικά, 100% !!
Όχι κεντρικά, άντρες + έρωτα. Σε σε κεντρικά σε κεντρικά σε κεντρικά.
κέντρικά κεντρικά) σε σε κεντρικά για τις άντρες κεντρικά.
Ανασφάλεια: "έρωτα κεντρικά" σε κεντρικά. [σε κεντρικά] κεντρικά σε κεντρικά.
Πατέρα: όχι, σε κεντρικά + έρωτα σε κεντρικά με κεντρικά. Έρωτα κεντρικά.
σε σε κεντρικά + έρωτα.
Κεντρικά Αρσενικά: Μεταφορά κεντρικά κεντρικά. Σημειώματα + έρωτα κεντρικά.
Πατέρα κεντρικά με το κεντρικά, κεντρικά κεντρικά. Α κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά.
σε κεντρικά κεντρικά, κεντρικά σε κεντρικά. Σημειώματα, σε κεντρικά, κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά.
Πατέρα κεντρικά. Α κεντρικά.
Βία + κεντρικά: Σε σε κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά.
Τι κεντρικά: Βία, κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά, όχι κεντρικά κεντρικά, κεντρικά κεντρικά.
κέντρικά, κεντρικά. Σε σε κεντρικά κεντρικά, σε κεντρικά με κεντρικά κεντρικά.
Έρωτα: άντρες κεντρικά, σε κεντρικά κεντρικά, κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά.
Κεντρικά: Ναι.
σε κεντρικά κεντρικά: Safety, κεντρικά, κεντρικά, κεντρικά, κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά.
κέντρικά σε κεντρικά κεντρικά κεντρικά.

Part Three: Quote Selection & Reoccurring Topics

KAREN HORNE

αποθαρρύνεται η συμμετοχή μου κυρίως λόγω έλλειψης σωματικής δύναμης επειδή είμαι γυναίκα αφενός και αφετέρου την έλλειψη κάποιων ικανοτήτων λόγω της απώλειας της όρασης που έχω, δεν μπορώ να προστατευθώ το ίδιο εύκολα.

Νιώθω πιο ευάλωτη, πιο αδύναμη να αμυνθώ λόγω σωματικής διάπλασης. Δεν είμαι εύσωμη οπότε είμαι εύκολος στόχος.

τα μέτρα καταστολής πολλές φορές είναι πολύ απειλητικά. Με φοβίζει το ότι δεν μπορώ να αμυνθώ. όχι να ριζώ ξύλο, αλλά να τρέξω να φύγω. Δεν θα μπορέσω. Και όταν προσπαθείς να σώσεις τον εαυτό σου δεν θα σκεφτείς τον άλλον δίπλα που θα προσπαθεί και αυτός να σωθεί, δηλαδή δεν ξέρω αν μπορώ να βασιστώ σε κάποιον άλλον να με προστατέψει, όσο και αν μου λένε ότι θα είμαστε δίπλα σου, μην φοβάσαι.

δεν μου αρέσουν οι ακρότητες. Δηλαδή δεν θέλω να πάω σε μια πορεία που έχει σκοπό να σπάσει, να καταστρέψει, να βανδαλίσει κτλ. Δεν νομίζω ότι θα ακουστούμε περισσότερο έτσι, θα ακουστούμε με την κακή έννοια.

νομίζω ότι αν θέλαμε θα μπορούσαμε και ζημιές να κάνουμε και σιδήποτε μπορεί να γίνει σε μια πορεία. δεν είναι όλες οι γυναίκες μικροκαμωμένες και αδύναμες, όπως μια μικροκαμωμένη γυναίκα δεν σημαίνει ότι δεν έχει τη δύναμη να σπάσει μια βιτρίνα.

Στις φεμινιστικές πορείες δεν φοβάσαι μην σου επιτεθεί κάποιος. νιώθω άνετα, που μας προτρέπουν κιόλας, να φορέσω ό,τι θέλω.

(για την προσβασιμότητα) Είχα επιδιώξει και εγώ προσωπικά να είναι, ώστε να μπορούν να έρθουν και άλλες κοπέλες με αναπηρία. Αλλά γενικά νομίζω ότι πιο πολύ βοήθησε το γεγονός ότι υπήρχε βοήθεια από τα μέλη της πορείας, και όχι τόσο από το χώρο που ξεκίνησε.

Γενικά έχω την εντύπωση, όταν μιλάμε για ανθρώπους, το μυαλό μας πάει σε άντρες. Τώρα, σε πορείες, έτσι όπως τις έχουν παρουσιάσει τα μέσα, με σπασίματα, βανδαλισμούς κτλ και εμένα δύσκολα θα πήγαινε το μυαλό μου ότι ο κόσμος ήταν 50-50 γυναίκες, φαντάζομαι ότι υπήρχαν πιο πολύ άντρες. Στερεοτυπικά ίσως, αλλά μπορεί και να ισχύει. Ακόμα και σήμερα οι γυναίκες δεν θεωρούμαστε όντα που μπορεί να ασκήσουν πολιτική. θεωρούν τις γνώμες μας υποδεέστερες.

από τα μεγαλύτερα εμπόδια είναι το περιβάλλον το οικογενειακό, φαντάζομαι. Γιατί είμαστε και ένας λαός που οι οικογενειακές σχέσεις είναι πολύ στενές, προκειμένου να μην κακοχαρακτηριστούμε από τον όποιο μπορεί να μας δει στην πορεία και να μην το περιμένει από εμάς, σιδήποτε, νομίζω ότι είναι ένας ανασταλτικός παράγοντας. Από εκεί και πέρα ίσως φοβούνται ότι θα τραυματιστούν, ότι μπορεί να έρθουν σε σύγκρουση με αστυνομικούς κτλ. Και η ιδέα αυτή που πλανιέται ότι εντάξει να διεκδικήσουμε κτλ αλλά ας μην το φτάνουμε στα άκρα ξέρω γω, ότι άμα φτάνουμε να κάνουμε πορείες κτλ, είμαστε και λίγο στερικές, λίγο τρελές, λίγο εντάξει μέχρι ενός ορισμένου σημείου οκ,

- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
(VULNER)ABILITY
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
BODILY VULNERABILITY
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
PHYSICAL INTEGRITY
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
AGAINST VIOLENCE
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
VIOLENCE AND ESSENTIALISTIC BELIEFS
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
SAFETY OF FEM. PROTESTS
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
INCLUSION FOR LESS ABLE
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
EXCLUSION FROM PROTESTS & VIOLENCE.
REPRESENTATION
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
FAMILY

Sylvia Rivera

Θεωρώ ότι υπάρχουν συγκεκριμένες πορείες που οι γυναίκες και οι θηλυκότητες ή τα άτομα που φαίνονται ως τέτοια αντιμετωπίζονται όχι με τον καλύτερο τρόπο ή ευγενικό ή προστατευτικό. Βασικά πολλές φορές ίσως επιθετικά και δημιουργούνται και καταστάσεις μέσα σε πορείες που με φέρνουν πολλές φορές σε άβολη θέση. ... Δεν νιώθω ασφαλής, επειδή είμαι γυναίκα δεν νιώθω ασφαλής.

δεν υπάρχει φιλικό κλίμα. Δηλαδή ξέρω πολλές, έχω πολλές φίλες που δεν κατεβαίνουν γιατί φοβούνται. Δεν κατεβαίνουν στο δρόμο ενώ θέλουν και το πιστεύουν. Φοβούνται και για το εσωτερικό της πορείας γιατί πολλές φορές δημιουργούνται επεισόδια στην πορεία από άτομα που συμμετέχουν.

παίζει ρόλο η σωματική διάπλαση με την έννοια ότι αν έρθει ένας νταής πίσω από μια κοπελίτσα η κοπελίτσα θα τρομάξει, αλλά θεωρώ ότι έχει να κάνει με τη ματσίλα και το νταηλικό «α ήρθαμε και θα σας πουλήσουμε μαγκιές και θα παίξουμε ξύλο και θα πετάξουμε πέτρες και θα ριζούμε τα πάντα όλα» είναι αυτή η τοξική συμπεριφορά που όπου και να την πετύχω δεν θα με κάνει να νιώσω άνετα. Είμαι κατά της βίας γενικότερα.

Οι μόνες πορείες στις οποίες αισθάνομαι ασφαλής είναι οι φεμινιστικές και οι λοατκι. Καμιά άλλη να αισθάνομαι 100% ασφαλής ή ότι ανήκω. Κυρίως γιατί συνήθως δεν γίνονται, δεν υπάρχει βιαιότητα ούτε αυτή η ματσίλα. Μπορεί να την δεις, πιο σπάνια και σε πολύ μικρότερο βαθμό. δεν αισθάνομαι ασφαλής όταν η συμπεριφορά των ατόμων γύρω μου είναι πολύ επιθετική.

πλαίσιο της οικογένειας. Δεν θα πας στην πορεία, είναι επικίνδυνο λόγω αναφορών από media και ρεπορτάζ τρομοκρατίας. Αναρωτιόμαστε εάν αυτό θα ακουγόταν σε περίπτωση που δεν είμαστε γυναίκες

Όλη αυτή η βιαιότητα που μπορεί να είναι λεκτική, μπορεί να είναι συμπεριφορική να το πω, να νιώθεις το περιβάλλον γύρω σου ότι δεν είναι φιλικό προς τα εσένα ή φιλικό γενικότερα. Σίγουρα η άσκηση βίας μεταξύ μπάτσων και του σώματος της πορείας.

Για γυναίκες της ηλικίας μου θεωρώ ότι το πιο σημαντικό είναι ότι νιώθεις πως δεν σε λαμβάνουν υπόψιν και ότι δεν μπορείς να συνδιαμορφώσεις πορείες ή να παίζεις συντονιστικό ρόλο σε πορεία.

(Όταν βλέπω γυναίκες σε πορείες) βγαίνει ένα αίσθημα safety και ασφάλειας.

- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
EXCLUSION IN PROTESTS
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
GENDER VIOLENCE AND EXCLUSION
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
AGAINST VIOLENCE, TOXIC MASCULINITY
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
BELONGING IN QUEER & FEM PROTESTS
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
FAMILY
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
GENDER VIOLENCE
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
EXCLUSION. ROLES & POSITIONS
- Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou**
SENSE OF BELONGING

EMMELINE PUNKHURST

χρειάστηκε να εξηγήσω τα δικαιώματά μου και να απαιτήσω ας πούμε ακόμη και σωματικό έλεγχο από γυναίκα. προφανώς το κελί στο οποίο παραμείναμε δεν ήταν χωριστό για γυναίκες άντρες.

είναι πολύ ξεκάθαρο ότι το έμφυλο στις πορείες, ακόμα και από τα συνθήματα «μπάτσοι μουνιά» ας πούμε, που έχει μια ματάκια από πίσω του. Ακούγοντας ένα τέτοιο σύνθημα, αντιλαμβάνεσαι ότι στο ίδιο το σώμα της πορείας εσύ είσαι κάτι διαφορετικό, επειδή ακριβώς δεν ετεροκαθορίζεσαι η ίδια, σε καθορίζουν διαφορετικά αυτοί οι οποίοι ορίζουν και τη συνθήκη είτε αυτό είναι οι απέναντι είτε αυτό είναι και το σώμα της πορείας.

όταν είναι διαφορετική η σωματοδομή σου, το νιώθεις πολύ διαφορετικά και πολύ πιο αγχωτικά. διαφορετικά διαχειρίζονται έναν άντρα στο δικό μου ύψος και διαφορετικά θα διαχειριστούν εμένα. Συνήθως αυτό που θα πουν για τους άντρες είναι α, ένα παιδάκι επειδή είναι κοντός, ενώ σε μένα θα πούνε α την κοντή την τάπα που κατέβηκε και στην πορεία ξέρω για και θέλει νασ,

δηλαδή υπάρχουν και τέτοιου είδους σχόλια, σε φάση ότι βγήκε να βρει γκόμενο στην πορεία – πολύ κλασική συζήτηση του χώρου. Τι ήρθες να κάνεις εδώ, το δεν έχεις πολιτική άποψη, η άποψή σου καθορίζεται καθαρά και μόνο από το γεγονός ότι επιλέγεις ή προσπαθείς να βρεις ερωτικούς συντρόφους από ένα συγκεκριμένο χώρο.

αν το προσέξουμε λίγο στο που αποφασίζουν να κάνουν ντου οι ματάσοι, επιλέγουν να κάνουν σε σημεία όπου βρίσκονται γυναίκες μπροστά, καθαρά και μόνο γιατί αυτή είναι η αντίληψή τους. Δεν το λέω σαν θέσφατο, ότι έτσι αυτό πιστεύω, αυτό βλέπω να γίνεται. Ότι ακόμη και τα πρώτα ψεκάσματα θα γίνουν πολύ πιο χαμηλά, που συνήθως η μέση Ελληνίδα είναι λίγο πιο χαμηλά από τον μέσο Έλληνα και θα συμβεί σίγουρα πολύ πιο κοντά σε σημεία τα οποία είναι κορίτσια, γυναίκες, whatever, γιατί αυτή είναι η αντίληψή τους. Ακόμα και από τους ασυρμάτους εγώ έχω τύχει να ακούσω διπλά το χτυπήστε εκεί που είναι οι γκόμενες. (Διότι εκείνο το σημείο της πορείας θεωρείται πιο αδύναμο).

Είναι τα κλασικά αντανάκλαστα των ματσο του χώρου, ότι για να σε προστατέψω θα σε βάλω πιο πίσω. Το οποίο είναι και αυτό ένα κομμάτι της διαφοροποίησης του χώρου ως προς το φύλο των ανθρώπων οι οποίοι κατεβαίνουν σε πορεία. Το οποίο μπορεί να είναι υποσυνείδητο, μπορεί να είναι απόλυτα συνειδητό, παρόλαυτά μια πολύ κλασική συνθήκη.

Έχουμε δει πολλές τέτοιες να τους δίνεται το δικαίωμα να μπουν μπροστά; Νομίζω ότι όχι. ακόμη και αν σωματικά υπάρχει η ικανότητα ή η δυνατότητα δεν θα τους δοθεί αυτή η ευκαιρία, δεν θα τοποθετηθούν εκεί, δεν τους δίνεται ο χώρος.

δεν με πειράζει καθόλου, κάνε αντάρτικο πόλεως, ίσα ίσα που θα είμαι πάρα πολύ υπέρ- ωστόσο η ματάκια η οποία κυκλοφορεί στο χώρο και το γεγονός ότι διάφοροι πατερούληδες θα αποφασίσουν να πάρουν κεφάλι, χωρίς σε αυτό να είναι μια συλλογική απόφαση ή να είναι μια πραγματική ανάγκη, με έχει αποθαρρύνει πάρα πολύ |

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
GENDER VIOLENCE

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
SLOGANS

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
POSITIONALITY - BODY

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
SEXISM - EXCLUSION

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
GENDER VIOLENCE

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
PRACTISES OF EXCLUSION

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
EXCLUDING ROLES & POSITIONS

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
SUPPORTS VIOLENCE BUT

ALEXANDRA KOLONTAI

το πως κατεβαίνουν οι άντρες είναι πάρα πολύ συγκεκριμένο μέχρι ακόμη και σήμερα. Είναι πιο έντονο, πιο περιφρουρητικό, πιο αρρενωπό, όχι τοξικά όλα αυτά, αλλά υπάρχουν. Αντίστοιχα όχι πάντα, για να μπορείς να επιτελέσεις κάτι αντίστοιχο και να μπορείς να έχεις τον ίδιο σεβασμό, την ίδια τέλος πάντων αναγνώριση από τα συντρόφια σου και να προκαλείς μια εμπιστοσύνη πρέπει να κάνεις κάτι παρόμοιο. (αυτό είναι περιοριστικό) όχι μόνο για τις θηλυκότητες, αλλά και για τις αρρενωπότητες. Από τη στιγμή που το να κατεβαίνεις στο δρόμο πρέπει να έχει αμιγώς αρρενωπά χαρακτηριστικά.

Η δομή του δρόμου, κατά βάση είναι αρκετά αντρική ακόμη, όσο και να λέμε ότι έχουν γίνει βήματα στο κίνημα. Πάει να σπάσει με μπλοκ που θα κάνουν μια παρέμβαση αλλά πολύ μεμονωμένα. Γιατί είναι δομημένα αυτά τα πράγματα χρόνια τώρα για να αλλάξουν έτσι στο δρόμο.

σίγουρα στις φεμινιστικές πορείες επειδή γίνονται όλο και πιο συμπεριληπτικές, είναι πολύ πιο ενδυναμωτικές, νιώθεις πολύ πιο οικεία στο δρόμο, τρομερή αυτοπεποίθηση και μια ωραία σιγουριά που δεν έχει να κάνει με την αλαζονεία που μπορεί να νιώθεις σε μικτή ομάδα και επιτελείς κάποια πράγματα με τον ίδιο τρόπο που τα επιτελούν οι αρρενωπότητες.

αν ξέρω ότι θα γίνει σύγκρουση δεν νιώθω ασφαλής. Όταν είμαι οργανωμένη νιώθω πολύ μεγαλύτερη ασφάλεια. είναι πάρα πολλά πράγματα που θα σε κάνουν να νιώθεις ότι ανήκεις κάπου. Ότι είσαι σε ένα μπλοκ που σου δίνει πράγματα και το στηρίζει. Η εμπειρία χτίζεται και η εμπιστοσύνη σε ένα μπλοκ για μένα χτίζεται από τη στάση του στο δρόμο.

το αίσθημα του ανήκειν εγώ το νιώθω κάποιες φορές μετά και πολύ έντονα στο συνθηματολογικό. αν υπάρχει κοινότητα που σε ελκύει και αν υπάρχει δυναμική, και βρίσκω την εαυτή μου στο ταξικό και μετά υπάρχει χώρος να βρω την εαυτή μου και στο μεταναστευτικό και στο έμφυλο, να δοθεί χώρος από το μπλοκ και την πορεία, εκεί νιώθεις πολύ πιο έντονα το αίσθημα του ανήκειν, χωρίς αυτό να είναι τόσο χωροταξικό, να είναι πιο πολύ πολιτικό και διευρυμένο με την έννοια ότι έχουν κατακτηθεί πράγματα. ... Ότι χωράνε στην ατζέντα. Εκεί νιώθεις ένα αίσθημα ανήκειν.

έλα μωρέ φοβάται, γυναίκα είναι. Και ξέρω από πάρα πολλούς συντρόφους μου άντρες, ιδιαίτερα μικρότεροι πόσο φοβόντουσαν στον δρόμο. Αλλά δεν έχουν το δικαίωμα να το εκφράσουν.

τα πλάνα που μπορεί να δείξει ένα κανάλι θα είναι κατά βάση αντρικά. Ως ένα σημείο μπορεί να έχει μια συνδήλωση ότι η βία παράγεται μόνο από άντρες. Έχει σπάσει αυτό τα τελευταία χρόνια, οχι ριζικά, αλλά υπάρχουν διαφορετικές φηγούρες στο δρόμο. Παρόλαυτά είναι κυρίαρχη ακόμη μια αρρενωπότητα και μονοπωλείται από άντρες.

Από το πως στεκόμαστε στο δρόμο, πως περιφρουρούμε, πως συντονίζουμε, πως ακούγεται η γυναικεία φωνή και πως ακούγεται η αντρική, η συνθηματολογία, οι θεματικές, μέχρι πως οργανώνεται το στιγίποτε το οποίο μπορεί να μην χωράει άλλο κόσμο και μια ασφάλεια η οποία πρέπει να κερδηθεί και πρέπει να υπάρχει με όρους εμπιστοσύνης και όχι με όρους εμπειρίας αλλά εμπειρίας κατά βάση και πολιτικής και αρρενωπής αρκετά.

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou
TOXIC MASCULINE PERFORMATIVITY

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MASCULINE TERMS OF PROTEST

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BELONGING FEM VS OTHER PROTEST

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BELONGING MEMBER VS NOT

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BELONGING AND INCLUSION

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MASCULINITY AND NON EXPRESSION OF FEAR

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MASCULINITY AND VIOLENCE

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EXCLUSION FROM A TO Z

RV Rosa Vassilatu Vasilatou

vii. Themes & Topics

1. Uncontrolled violence as the central aspect that constrains participation

- Police brutality
- Physical integrity and bodily vulnerability
- The gendered body
- Gender violence
- Excluding violent practices
- Supports violence but excluded from it

2. Obstacles, barriers, and challenges that obscure the sense of belonging

- Being a member
- Exclusion in social movements
- Male dominated & macho space
- Roles & positions
- Masculine performativity
- Slogans
- Other excluding practices

3. Unique positionality as the lever that informs the bodily experience

- Other terms & feminist/queer protests
- Race
- (Vulner)Ability
- Private sphere
- Motherhood and family

viii. Quotes' Translation

POLICE BRUTALITY

"I know that what you do is irrelevant and that the march doesn't have to be violent for the police to attack. You know for a fact that, with absolutely no reason, you can arbitrarily suffer terrible violence, or end up in the police station out of nowhere"

"Getting arrested is not scary for me; I am afraid of getting beaten cause I don't know what their limits are anymore, they have no boundaries"

PHYSICAL INTEGRITY & BODILY VULNERABILITY

"It was a very realistic fear for my physical integrity, for my breathing specifically. I couldn't breath. Hm, which okay, I know that is anticipated in protests"

"Okay, I am thinking that my body is more vulnerable in an abuse or an attack, and if I know I am not protected, it will make me not to go somewhere. Not putting my body in danger is for me above everything"

GENDERED BODY

"Female friends often say they will not go to the protest because they feel it will be more difficult and dangerous for them, whereas male friends will basically say ok we will go, get into fighting, do a little bit of our gymnastics and all is good"

"When you are short for example; for a man they will say oh, look a small kid, but for me, they will say aah, the shortie, what is she looking for at a protest, no place for he"

"I feel more vulnerable in a protest. Does this happen because I am weaker as a person and I have been told that I am weaker because I am a woman, so this happens in my mind? Maybe. But generally, I think that the woman's body is weaker"

"We have male friends that are only 50 kilos but, because they are men and are supposed to be more (brutal), they are the ones who throw molotovs"

GENDER VIOLENCE

"It certainly involves a much stronger insecurity, about what is going to happen to me and how I will be able to handle it, because all this unbridled violence is a structured mentality, no longer towards the individual but towards their gender"

"What grossly stresses my out the most is whether I will suffer any kind of violence, based on my gender"

EXCLUDING VIOLENT PRACTISES

"I feel that I don't converse at all in such terms, so in order not to get into the unpleasant process of confronting this brutal violence in the context of anti-violence, I may prefer not to participate in a protest. And that is why it is discouraging"

ISSUES OF ENGENDERED PARTICIPATION AND THE SENSE OF BELONGING IN STREET MOBILIZATIONS: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN ATHENS, GREECE

"I think that because we are brought up with softer terms in a context (pauses) less authoritarian, we haven't learnt to beat up someone in order to get something. The streets have these conditions and that discourages us"

"In other words, for me, the discouragement from violence has more to do with the feminist consciousness, which is mediated through gender, rather than with the very fact that I am a woman. Being a feminist involves my growing up as a woman to a very large extent, but the course was not linear, it was not a given"

SUPPORTS VIOLENCE BUT

"We don't like that our comrades get beaten up, but deep inside we are happy that there is someone to guerilla fight within the fucking city"

"I don't mind at all, do a city guerrilla, I will be very much in favour. However, the macho attitude that is circulating the movement and the fact that various patriarchs will take decisions, without those being collective ones or a real need, this has discouraged me a lot"

"It frightens me to see all those men with the molotovs, of course I have no problem with molotovs, I wish all of us (gender:female) would throw the, I just have no kind of trust for those men. Everything belongs to them. They are the ones who will flirt you intensively, they will look at your ass no matter where you are, the same ones who will sexualize you and protect you at the same time. Power relations for the most part and deeply internal stuff. They are the ones who shout from the back of the room in assemblies and everyone stops to hear them cause their voice has different decibels, industrially constructed decibels. The same ones who will potentially abuse you sexually and then you leave the collective cause no one believes you"

EXCLUSION FROM VIOLENCE

"The very fact that I haven't thrown a molotov has to do with the fact that I am a woman. Even so, I made my first one when I was 15 (laughs). I made it, but I never threw it"

"Have we seen many women given the right to be in front? I think not. Even if they have the bodily structure for it, they will not be given the chance, they will not be positioned there"

"I think that if we wanted, we could break stuff and cause damages or whatever else happens in protests. Not all women are petite and weak, just as being a petite woman doesn't mean you don't have the strength to break a shop window"

"there are some women in the second row, but they are women who embrace a total masculinity, right? As a feminine woman, I would never have the chance to be on the second row, even though I am sure that I would be able to beat up far more cops than half of the men in front"

BEING A MEMBER

"Being a member in autonomous groups this became far easier. Generally speaking, I stopped feeling fear completely"

"If I know there will be a clash, I don't feel safe. But if I'm organized, I feel far more security"

"If I am in the assembly, I feel much more protected. And that means I feel less insecurity"

EXCLUSION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

"When I was in preparatory processes, I never felt like I had space to speak or to exist. So, in the streets I always felt more vulnerable"

"It's far more easier to be included in a collective as a man, they take you more seriously. Multiple barriers are created for women"

"I felt that issues related to being a queer woman were being displaced by the dominant narratives of collectives. Their agenda did not include issues of gender oppression or female empowerment, nor LGBTQI+ and sexual liberation claims, which for me are at the core of my thinking. So, the fact that I'm a woman has slowed down the process of my politicization"

"Essentialist beliefs are reproduced in the internal of movements. Even if you, as a woman, decide to join a left or anarchist collective to fight the limits society sets for you, you will be confronted by the fact that Reason is only expressed by masculinities, and in relation to it, you are the otherness, the emotion, the vulnerability, the feminized existence, which is completely devalued"

"Women participate in these, but when we place our participation as women is when we experience exclusions. As far as we participate as comrades in the same struggle, we might experience unprecedented acceptance and roles and powers, that we are being respected. However, when we do politics and pose claims as women against our male comrades, this is when limitation starts"

"There are so many examples of gender violence within the movement, I don't know where to begin. Most times, if not all, such incidents are covered up by the group. There is no safe space for women"

"The sense of belonging... Well I feel it intensively in the slogans, if there is a community that attracts you, and you find yourself within their class struggle, and there is space for you to find your claims in race and gender, and the block in the street is inclusive, and you feel embraced, this is where you feel like you belong. When issues are included in the agenda"

MALE DOMINATED & MACHO SPACE

"It's a feeling that unfortunately strengthened through my participation, that protests are male-dominated spaces. I enter the marches and the bodies around me are male, the people who give the pulse and the slogans are men. It was somewhat more like wood, raw, alien to the ways I have learnt or would want to politicize myself and participate in mobilizations"

"Through seeing the body of a protest, through the under-representation of women in important roles in a block, you feel that you are not enough to be there, that there is no space for you to freely exist"

"When you see images solely of men or masculinities in protests, this might not prevent you, but it will surely not facilitate or urge participation"

"When we speak about people, the mind goes directly to male. The mainstream narrative of protests, from what you hear and see in the media, with everything that happens like clashes, vandalisms, looting etc, it is extremely difficult even for me to think that the people participating were 50-50 male and female, I imagine there were more men. Stereotypically maybe, but maybe it is also true. Until today, women are not considered equal to do politics"

ISSUES OF ENGENDERED PARTICIPATION AND THE SENSE OF BELONGING IN STREET MOBILIZATIONS: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN ATHENS, GREECE

"The performativity of the streets completely excludes us as women, as femininities, because the way that claims are being done in the streets exclude me by default. And if I was a queer subjectivity? Don't even get me started with that. They are not just excluded, there is absolutely no space for them"

"Images are all male. This has the connotation that violence is only practices by men. Which is no longer true. Not completely, but we see other figures nowadays in the streets. Even so, masculinity prevails, and it is monopolized by men"

"I don't like the black protests, meaning those who lack beauty and glitter, even if they are grief protests, not having pop culture, not being an inclusive space for all. The black macho protests make it very difficult for me and I try to avoid them, except if there is a fight or a struggle I need to give in them, in order for something to change. If a mobilization does not have an intersectional character, I mostly don't go"

"The system doesn't give us such roles. We are not the ones who must take it to the streets, unless it is a matter of social reproduction, something in the female nature and identity. Going out of this context, this is a role that doesn't belong to us, it's not what we have to do. So, this prevents us right from the start, the first and most basic reason is that it constitutes a field in which we have no right to speak and does not correspond to us"

"I don't always feel like I belong. Whatever makes my atmosphere more toxic, either this is masculinity, the heteropatriarchy, macho acts, things than people I know or not do, or male gazes, violence in protests, toxic behaviors of not only men, all this builds a climate that prevents spaces of freedom and care to be made. Usually, such practices hold a misogynistic character. People who try to hinder our sense of belonging; we simply try to reoccupy it"

ROLES & POSITIONS

"It is the classic reflex of the macho people of the movement who, in order to protect you, will place you further back. Which is also part of the differentiation of the movement according to gender for people in protests. It may happen subconsciously or absolutely consciously, but it is nevertheless a very classic condition"

"Not so long ago, women were nowhere to be found, men held the safeguarding position, the bagpipes etc. Even though women participated in processes, they existed internally, they were not in such positions. This has changed in the past years, but not radically"

"Women are always far back. Protests are male dominated; any way we look at it, they are the ones with visibility. There is not so much femininity, or at least it is not so visible. Even if there are women participating, they will not seem feminine in order to match the philosophy of that moment"

"I cannot be in the first chain as a woman because I am not considered militant enough, according to the patriarchal perception and the ritual of conflict. The sticks also cannot be held by women, who will be found far behind, certainly after the 2nd and 3rd chain, especially if it is a clashing protest. This is where our role and position is shown most clearly"

"Maybe because I'm a woman, and this goes for other female comrades as well, I had the role of keeping the block safe. The fact that chains should be made, how to organize the safeguarding, who will hold the bagpipe, what is the plan to leave the protest safely and where will this block go next, phoning lawyers, etc, the whole know-how of care for the block, is a female role, that of a militant woman who will do it anyway"

MASCULINE PERFORMATIVITY

"In the assemblies I was feeling very uncomfortable because I was a woman, cause I should not be very sexualized in order to be treated as an equal member, so I was generally very oppressed, making my voice heavier, wearing specific clothes that fit the standards"

"It is more intense, more guarding, more masculine. In order to have the same respect and recognition from your comrades you must perform something similar. This is limiting for femininities, since participation in protest must entail purely masculine features"

"In order to survive in this atmosphere, we need to obtain a masculine performativity, and not all women are willing to do so – thank god- and there are many who do not know how. They are willing to but do not feel strong enough to do so. Others reject this but a very big part of women, in order to be included, performs masculinity, does not constitute a femininity. And this is something that affects participation greatly"

"There are girls who do not feel they can be themselves there. Femininity has no place in the established culture of the protest; she feels awkward, discouraged, unwanted. She doesn't see others like her, so she is the other; scared and simply not belonging"

OTHER EXCLUDING PRACTISES

"How many times have we gone to protests and guys flirted heavily with us? This reinforces the fact that I am there as a sexual-erotic subject, and this bothers me because it strips me from my political identity"

"You will feel empowered only if you are in the part of the protest that is a safe space. There are many protests where we got into fighting between us because space was granted to abusers, rapists, who have been reported as such, but with no result. The victims were the ones who left"

"And then there are these kinds of comments like, she came to the protest to find a boyfriend, a very classic discussion in the movement. Why did you come here, you have no political thought, you just try to find a sexual partner and adopt his thoughts"

"Come on, she is afraid because she is a woman. Even though I know a lot of male comrades who were scared, but they do not have the right to express it"

SLOGANS

"For me, the most characteristic are the slogans. We must shout for a whole life that we are a (he)worker, it seems like never in my life have I been a (she)worker (laughs). I don't exist anywhere; I don't exist as a woman in slogans"

"It's pretty clear the gender issue in protests, even from slogans; cops - pussies for example, it's full-on macho. Listening to such a slogan, you realize that in the very body of the protest you are the other, exactly because you do not define yourself, but you are defined differently by those who also determine the conditions of the protest"

OTHER TERMS

"In my ritual I have added femininity. I will wear lipstick before going to a protest, even if I don't wear it at all in general, only because I want to add visibility to the femininity"

ISSUES OF ENGENDERED PARTICIPATION AND THE SENSE OF BELONGING IN STREET MOBILIZATIONS: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN ATHENS, GREECE

"There are militant protests that do not have the characteristics of violence, but the movement does not consider them as such. For me, the fact that queer subjectivities took it openly and freely to the streets and managed to break the police blockage without getting physical is also a very militant action. The macho masculine violence should not be the absolute criteria for a victory in the streets"

"I believe that protest are de facto confrontational, and this is the way they should be. But they have to be violent to be confrontational. The queer liberation march, for example. It was full-on confrontational; it just didn't put over subjects in danger. Screaming outside of the parliament "The great Alexander was a lesbian" is a slogan that carries unimaginable confrontation"

"I am a woman and I will protest with my femininity as visible as possible. I might want to wear a dress and you cannot patronize me for it. If I want to be violent and loot while wearing a dress I can, and I will; I can do everything. I will no longer support the blackness of protests; it's not that it bothers me, but I am representing myself in that moment, I need to feel like myself"

"In the feminist protests, because they become more and more inclusive, you feel more empowered, more familiar in the streets, you feel self-confident and a security that doesn't have to do with the arrogance you feel in a mixed group where you have to perform the same way masculinities do"

"The only protests in which I feel safe are the feminist and the queer ones. Mostly because they have no physical violence and rarely have macho attitudes, I feel like I belong

RACE

"There was always a concern about my presence because I knew that an out of nowhere arrest could lead to resistance against authority, and that, when I was on residence permits in Greece, could jeopardize the possibility of obtaining Greek citizenship"

"I don't feel I belong. I feel more like an object to be seen than someone who participates, especially when they make no effort to include me. If shit goes left, I know there will be nobody to protect me. Especially when it comes to photographers... OMG. The very moment I step into a protest I know it, I feel it, this is why they do it. Everyone comes to photograph the black person in the mobilization (sighing) so, so tiring"

"My color, the fact that I belong to the black race is the main reason that prevents me from participating. When I think about the dangers and whether to join or not, being a woman is rarely put into the equation. Race always comes first"

"I have to be alert; I feel no security whatsoever. First of all, the police is there. Since a little girl I have been targeting by them and the police has invaded my everyday life, so their presence... I'm like shit, if something goes left, where is my exit?"

"A lot of things weigh in to build a connection with your environment, and ownership is of paramount importance; as a community we don't have a lot of things belonging to us. But if I own a house, I will feel indeed that the street in front of it is my concern, I will have a saying about what happens in it. Which is a little twisted, if you think about it, you know capitalism and all (laughs). And of course, when you hear for 30 years 'go back to your country'..."

(VULNER)ABILITY

“Participation is prevented for me because my loss of vision will make it impossible for me to protect myself. And I cannot rely on someone else to protect me because, when you are trying to save yourself, you will not think about the person next to you”

“Well, personal health issues and moving difficulties had discouraged me. If the protest is a risky one with no provisions, I prefer not to put anyone in this position. Because I might be vulnerable and have 3 people helping me, but in this way they become vulnerable as well, you know? So, I end up staying at home?”

“After many years of involvement, I started to have a lot of fear for what might happen in the protests. This, along with my panic attacks and my increasing agoraphobia, prevented me from participating completely”

AGE

“Older people think about fewer things. Kids, payments, salaries, vacation. And maybe who are they going to vote for when the time comes. There is nothing else, no urging for change, all of the things we were thinking about when we were younger. So, no urge to participate in a protest. Willingness to participate plummets with age, but not for all”

PRIVATE SPHERE

“I have work in the afternoons – when most of the marches take place – and that means I cannot participate, because I need my job to survive”

“Austerity measures, the demolition of the welfare state, kids' centers closed, no elderly houses anymore, no payed help at home. This means that the family has to provide more apart from making ends meet in a very difficult period. And family, along with care work, predominantly means woman. The unpaid second shift then becomes third and fourth”

FAMILY

“One of the biggest obstacles would be family, I suppose. It is where we grow up, and how. We feel the urge to fulfil our parents demands, as girls we learn not to raise our voices against them usually, we are told to do one thing or not do something else, and we obey. When your family does not support these kinds of practices, it is very difficult to do otherwise”

“I was never discouraged by the violence (in the protests). I was discouraged because I had to lie to my parents. For them this was not okay, it was a mistake, and this prevented me a lot. (If I were a boy) I believe there would be a passive resistance but not even close to what I was hearing”

“Of course, police brutality increases fear a lot, you feel completely insecure. And that might not affect you directly, but it will affect your mother, your father or your family in general, who will prevent you from going”

MOTHERHOOD

“You cannot go to a protest with your kid or leave it alone at the house. And patriarchy keeps the mother at home with the kid, not the father. So, it is almost forbidden for mothers. In an atmosphere of permanent fear for state repression, it is very difficult to take the child and go to the protest. In order to do so, there must be an organizational provision considering people that might come with their kids. I am 40 years old and I have a lot of friends with small children. They haven't come to any of our marches for the past 2 years”