not society/association (Geselschaft) what constitutes an effect of the decision.

Another Otherness or Intersectionalism: Anarchafeminists' Experience

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My paper discusses the questions of intersectionality on the basis of anarchafeminists' experiences in Poland. Anarchafeminist ideas as located at the junction of feminism and anarchism hardly ever satisfy those who have chosen one of the ideologies. In Polish society feminists and anarchists are usually constructed as Others. Anarchafeminists combine the ideas of both the groups and consequentially, become aliens not only in society, but also inside feminist and anarchist movements. Addressing various forms of oppression, anarchafeminism seems to be a form of intersectionalism, which some anarchists and feminists may regard as a dissolution of their movement goals. Historically, anarchists used to claim universalism and accused feminists of particularism, as well as reductionism. Feminists, on the other hand, often regard anarchafeminists as unrealistic.

Anarchafemnism was developed by women active in anarchist movement. Although the term was coined in the 1960s, Emma Goldman and Voltarine de Clayre – anarchists working in the 19th century – are considered the founding mothers of anarchafeminism. They were concerned with women's inferior position in society and addressed its various aspects such as the institution of marriage, reproductive rights, women's work. Many male anarchist ideologues criticized discrimination of females in society, but they believed that anarchist revolution will emancipate every individual, regardless of sex. Therefore, Kropotkin was not pleased when his female comrades occupied their thoughts with feminism.

Similar approach to feminism was present in anarchists' debate on feminism published in the zine titled Inny Świat in 2002. Some of the anarchists, who presented their point of view in the magazine, regarded their ideology as universally emancipatory for all discriminated groups and declared feminism to be a sort of reductionism. The discussion on Centrum Informacji Anarchistycznej about anarchist participation in LGBT demonstrations serves as another illustration of the problem. In the online debate that followed Equality March of 2008 in Wroclaw several of the disputants framed LGBT movement as apolitical, preoccupied with private sphere, reformist and immune to class struggles. Such vision is grounded in ideological presumptions about nature of power and inequality as well as concept of identity and results in some anarchists' demands for redistribution of power without recognition of minorities. Nancy Fraser identified such strategy as futile. Anarchafeminists do not share it. They claim, just like Carol Hanish, that private is political. They do not believe that abolishing the political power of the state will automatically establish social equality. In their attempt to change the world anarchafeminists fight unequal relations on every level of life, starting from conquering their own prejudices. According to anarchafeminism, we internalize hierarchy, learning it in our families and schools. The basic relation that we become accustomed to is based on our sex/gender.

approach to power and their Anarchafemnists' focus on deconstructing and eliminating sex/gender discrimination make them allies to feminists, especially the leftist ones. In Poland anarchfeminists often work with feminists. However, the cooperation has not been always smooth. In the mid-90s, when anarchafeminist groups became active in Poland, many anarchafeminists were punkrockers in their teens or early twenties. Feminists were typically at least few years older and maintained a less wild outlook. The age difference combined with ideological discrepancies (especially different approach to leadership and the role of the state) let the older feminists take the position of the "aunts of the movement" and control the movement message. At the beginning the message was concentrated on reproduction rights and critique of Church and State relations in Poland. As Katarzyna Szumlewicz writes in her article about feminism and leftist ideologies, it was not before the year 2004 when feminists in Poland started to criticize capitalism. Anarchafeminists raised such criticism earlier, because they perceive capitalism and the state as a part of patriarchy.

The aforementioned ideological differences between anarchafemnists and broadly defined feminist movement as well as unequal positions of activists ensued with anarchafeminists' self-organization, apart from the broader institutionalized feminist movement. Anarchafemnists publish zines and organize festivals such as Valpurgis Night or Ladyfest where they have the possibility to express their ideas openly. Anarchafeminist zines and websites address numerous forms of discrimination the activists of the movement would like to eliminate, for example: sexism, homophobia, classism, racism, speciesism... Anarchafeminists demand both recognition of minorities and redistribution of rights and power. Anarchafemnist thought is based on recognition of interplay of various dimensions of inequality (intersections of forms of oppression), which makes it similar to intersectionality theory.

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