

From the enunciable to the visible and from the visible to the enunciable: the scintillations and reverberations in feminist movements/manifestations

Do enunciável ao visível e do visível ao enunciável: as cintilações e reverberações presentes em manifestações feministas

Ana Christina de Pina Brandão
Universidade Federal de Catalão, Catalão, Goiás, Brasil

Antônio Fernandes Júnior
Universidade Federal de Catalão, Catalão, Goiás, Brasil

Abstract: Gilles Deleuze, in 1985, at the University of Paris, in a course entitled *Michel Foucault: The historical formations*, in which he taught a total of 08 classes with the proposal of trying to answer what knowledge is, tried to show it as something formed from discourses (statement regimes) and from what is visible (visibilities), which, in the *Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (2002) called a non-discursive field, system or domain. In this article, we analyze three images of feminist movements/manifestations with the goal of trying to see what types of enclosures they mobilized and are mobilizing against. We also try to understand the driving force that illuminates these movements/manifestations, performing a look conversion process to capture the statement and, therefore, also the visibility, to reflect on the interrelation of the visible with the sayable on women's conducts conduction, produced historically. The analysis therefore is managed by the theoretical/procedural postulates of *The Archeology of Knowledge*, but inspired by Deleuze's reading of the mentioned work. Researchers such as Margareth Rago, Tânia Navarro Swain, Krüger Junior, among others, also contribute to the reflections that are made.

Keywords: Statements; Visibilities; Enclosures; Desire; Freedom

Resumo: Gilles Deleuze, em 1985, na Universidade de Paris, num curso intitulado *Michel Foucault: As formações históricas*, em que ministrou um total de 08 aulas com a proposta de tentar responder o que o que é o saber, procurou mostrá-lo como algo formado a partir de discursos (regimes de enunciados) e a partir do que é visível (as visibilidades), o que, na *Arqueologia do Saber*, Foucault denominou de campo, sistema ou domínio não-discursivo. Neste artigo, analisamos três imagens de manifestações feministas com o objetivo de tentar ver contra quais tipos de enclausuramentos elas se mobilizaram e se mobilizam. Procuramos, ainda, tentar perceber a força motriz que ilumina essas manifestações, efetuando um processo de conversão do olhar para captar o enunciado e, logo, também, a visibilidade, para refletir sobre a inter-relação do visível com o dizível sobre a condução de condutas das mulheres, produzidas historicamente. A análise



atende, pois, aos pressupostos teórico/procedimentais de *A Arqueologia do Saber*, mas inspirada na leitura de Deleuze sobre a referida obra. Contribuem, também, para as reflexões realizadas, pesquisadores como Margareth Rago, Tânia Navarro Swain, Krüger Junior, dentre outros.

Palavras-chave: Enunciados; Visibilidades; Enclausuramento; Desejo; Liberdade

1 Introduction

In 1985, at the University of Paris, Gilles Deleuze taught the first of two courses dedicated to the thought of Michel Foucault. In the first one, entitled *Michel Foucault: As Formações Históricas (Michel Foucault: the historical formation¹s)*, Deleuze proposed, in 08 classes, to try to answer the question: “What is knowledge?”, starting from a careful reading of *A Arqueologia do Saber (The Archeology of Knowledge²)* (FOUCAULT, 2002), inter-related to other books from the archaeological period, when the philosopher sought to show knowledge as something that is formed from discourses (statements regime) and from what is visible (visibilities). Deleuze calls, therefore, visibility what Foucault (2002), in *Archeology*, named as a non-discursive field, system or domain. For Foucault, thus, there are relations between seeing and speaking. However, as Deleuze shows us, this relationship is neither perennial nor stable nor simple, since “[...] What we see is never found in what we say [...]” (FOUCAULT apud DELEUZE, 2017, p. 37, class 05)

If what we see is never found in what we say, what is found between the statement and the visibility – or the discursive and the non-discursive – is a relation non-relation. Between seeing and speaking we have a process of double capture, because there is no direct or cause and consequence relation, but “mutual capture between the visible and the storable, from the visible to the storable and from the storable to the visible.” (DELEUZE, 2017, p. 12, class 06). The researcher, in different classes, takes examples from the book

¹ The English translation of those classes/lectures is available at: <https://deleuze.cla.purdue.edu/seminars/foucault>

² Since all works used as reference to write this paper were written or translated into Portuguese, their titles will be kept in Portuguese at the Reference Section of this paper. However, it is necessary to mention that we consulted the works by Foucault and Deleuze translated into English to assure all the literal quotations from those works to were the same as original English translation. For the sake of space we could not write them at the References, but they can all be read online.

História da loucura (History of Madness) (FOUCAULT, 2013) to reaffirm his arguments about such relation, explaining that the general prison is the visibility of madness and the medical statements speak of unreason, but it is not about the same thing. In that work, Foucault analyzes how, in the 17th century, the police action of locking up individuals considered mad, along with vagabonds, unemployed, beggars, etc. made madness to be seen not based on medical knowledge, but on certain forms of conduct that were considered inadequate or undesirable, since for the knowledge of this historical formation, these individuals polluted the streets, caused embarrassment, challenged the “normality” of the time, bothered. It was necessary to sanitize them, taking them out of circulation. In the gathering of different types of individuals, what the general hospital made to see and produced as visibility was a kind of subject of madness, which was not defined by medical knowledge, but by a way of conduct considered, as we mentioned, inadequate, unwanted by the authorities.

What medical knowledge and the statements of this formation made to emerge was the subject of unreason. Historically, it is not the same. The mad people did not need, and even today, they do not need to be schizophrenic, psychopath, sociopath, maniac, obsessive to be considered mad, they just need to behave in a way that can classify them as such. Based on Foucault's analysis of madness and of the dispositive of sexuality (FOUCAULT, 2013; 2017), we do not consider it inconsequential to state how heavy women had paid for the emergence of this subject made possible both by the general hospital and by medical knowledge. They all could and can be classified as mad. It was enough (and it is enough) for them to, minimally, challenge the norms of conduct that they “should follow”, what was expected of them, to be taken as subjects of madness, of hysteria, since, in the capture of medical statements and the visibility of madness, they could be classified as hysterical and thus enclosed, banished, sterilized.³

³ In *História da Loucura (History of madness)* Foucault reflect on female hysteria, noting the statements about it much more as an image than as a disease. In his words: “[...] Hysteria was often perceived as being the effect of an internal heat that spread throughout the body, an effervescence or ebullition constantly manifested in convulsions and spasms. The heat was thought to be similar to the amorous ardour with which hysteria was often linked, as in young women seeking a match or young widows who had lost their husbands.? [...]” (FOUCAULT, 2013, p. 280). In *A história da sexualidade: vontade de saber (The History of Sexuality 1: The Will to Knowledge)*, the philosopher analyzes how the medical knowledge constituted in relation to hysteria would gain, from the 18th century, through a dispositive of sexuality, the establishment of the rule between the abnormal and the normal (FOUCAULT, 2017). The exercise of power over women's bodies, through the norm, will make them the target of increasingly violent medical interventions, such as sterilization. (FOUCAULT, 2017). This because the knowledge about hysteria denominated the female body as more likely to suffer from this disease due to their reproductive organs,

In this paper, inspired by Deleuze's reading of *A arqueologia do saber* (*The Archeology of knowledge*) (FOUCAULT, 2002) and driven by the desire to reflect on the theme of freedom, or rather, the practices of freedom from a Foucauldian perspective, we analyze three images of relevant feminist movements/manifestations, once they illuminate some of their struggles between the 20th and 21st centuries, with the goal of trying to see what types of enclosures they mobilized and are mobilizing against. The struggle for the right to vote, the questioning of sexist practices in beauty pageants and the debates on rape culture compose statements and visibilities regimes that the chosen images assemble. Each image adds unique visibilities and articulabilities, in which the light and statements regimes project practices of imprisonment and freedom. We also try to understand the driving force that illuminates these movements/manifestations, not totally hidden, nor totally visible (FOUCAULT, 2002). We will try, so, to perform a look conversion process to capture the statement and, therefore, also the visibility, to reflect on the interrelation of the visible with the sayable (articulable) on women's conducts conduction, produced historically.

Thus, we are obviously considering the notion of statement and, therefore, of discourse, which *The Archeology* sustains: dispersed in time, discontinuous, stage of events, whose conditions of existence are always historical. However, to be coherent with the objectives proposed in this article, we will call the images that we put under analysis by statements-visibilities. They are part of a great feminist historical formation that so many other statements help to compose. In this way, From the enunciable (articulable) to the visible and from the visible to the enunciable (articulable) they (the images) make things scintillate, there is a light that gathers on them (DELEUZE, 2005).

Our effort is to try to capture this light by revealing statements. Deleuze states that, when splitting things, or rather, when visibilities allow us to split things, we cause countless statements to be revealed, in the same way that, when opening sentences, we reveal visibilities (DELEUZE, 2017, pp. 13-15, class 07). Thereby, the analysis, perhaps, itself, tries to see beyond the dust of the battle between seeing and speaking (DELEUZE, 2017, class 05). But, certainly, we say nothing here outside our experience with

their body, whose interior is easily penetrable. (FOUCAULT, 2013). Furthermore, from the 19th century, with the development of psychiatric knowledge, medical statements about female hysteria would become even more potent. Psychiatric statements about female hysteria and the exercise of power over the women's body made possible by medical knowledge would lead countless women, as stated by Tânia Navarro Swain (2013), to be enclosed, treated, corrected.

knowledge and power, since the will and desire that drive our writing are historical (FOUCAULT, 2006). If we can and want to split things and open words, it is because we have been, before, captured by statements and visibilities, as Deleuze himself says. And if the statements we reveal in this article can make something to be seen, may it can also be the desire we see illuminating the images we analyze.

2 The scintillations and reverberations of the images under analysis: the struggle against enclosure and the desire for freedom

In image 1, we can see suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) being arrested while trying to deliver a petition to King George V, in 1914, at the door of Buckingham Palace. The suffragettes were a more radical group than the other suffragist ones in the United Kingdom, once to draw attention to the causes they defended, they were willing to go to prison and even injured.

Image 1 - Suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) being arrested



Source: Brasil Escola

The suffix *ette*, by the way, is a pejorative diminutive, which was coined in an article published in *The Daily Mail* in an attempt to minimize and ridicule them before the other suffragist groups (LIMA, 2020). According to Lima (2020), the term in question was triumphantly adopted by this group of women.

It is known that, in addition to performing public acts and walks, the suffragettes broke windows, tied themselves to public buildings and caused fires, all so that their demands could be heard and seen. Nothing like the peaceful tone of the other suffragette groups. Mad women, therefore. The image shows the violent manner in which Emmeline was detained, both by the way the policeman immobilizes her and holds her arms and by the suspension of her body, as if it were a straitjacket. The man on the left, visibly angry, can represent, without exaggeration or speculation, the face of an angry patriarchy that considered them hysterical. This same patriarchy that, for centuries, has tried to enclose women in different ways. Cunha states that “[...] Any vague desire for independence, any attempt to escape biological destiny, customary tasks and subjectivation were punished by internment [...]” (1989 APUD SWAIN 2013, p. 228). The researcher specifically refers to women who were admitted to the Juqueryi psychiatric hospital, in the city of São Paulo, at the beginning of the 20th century. But it is difficult to say at what time in the history of the west, as we mentioned before, women were not enclosed in some way, if not within four walls, within themselves, in norms and rules of race, gender definitions, within their chores. If in ancient Greece women did not have any right of speech or social action, if they were conditioned to be someone's wife or daughter (FOUCAULT, 2014), if in the 14th and 15th centuries a violent pastoral hunted witches and eliminated them in bonfires (SWAIN, 2013), it is difficult to know when patriarchal power did not constitute a regime of truth that concentrated in the phallus and in the masculine, the origin and maintenance of reason and rationalities (SWAIN, 2013).

We do not believe that it can be said that medical statements about unreason constituted, in the 17th century, the reason as something belonging to masculine domination, as Swain (2013) notes, since it already existed, in previous centuries, in dispersed statements, in diverse practices to constitute a discourse of privilege to men. If something can be formulated in discourse, it is because there are historical conditions for it (FOUCAULT, 2002). But what the mentioned century began, without any doubt, was to endow medicine with the power to say about reason, to exclude the normal ones from the abnormal ones through medical knowledge, and among the abnormal ones, women are included (SWAIN, 2013). And such an epistemic movement, such an exercise of power, had devastating effects for women. History, as Foucault (2002, 2006, 2013) shows us, is full of ruptures. The maxim of “it's always been this way” is a fallacy of the games

of truth. It is in the “change of the episteme that the meanings and the social imaginary are transformed, giving rise to other problems, other representations and other social practices” (SWAIN, 2013, p. 226). Therefore, it is in the reformulations of the discourse on madness, it was in the power-knowledge of medicine, with great force, that it was possible to attribute scientificity to the inferiority of women in relation to men and to give conditions of possibility to be effectuated, in the 19th century, women’s general enclosure, not only the physical one, but the moral one, the social one:

The 19th century effectuated the women’s general enclosure in the West, without walls, without asylum, without prison: it is an enclosure in the exclusion of public space and civic rights, in a set of laws that mark the seal of weakness, ignorance, of the most diverse prohibitions: to work, to study, to go out, to write, to express oneself. (SWAIN, 2013, p. 230).

In image 1, we can see the interrelation between the visible (sites of power) and the articulable (ways of saying) from a movement that excludes women from political spaces and/or other professional ones. The medical statements constituted a visibility of a female subject whose mental faculties did not allow her to enjoy the same prerogatives of men in those spaces. The attempts to break with such a constitution, obviously, could not be dealt with if not through the straitjacket, imprisonment, enclosure, as can be noted from the image in question. Emmeline Pankhurst’s prison, showed in the image, dates from the early 20th century. The first reported women’s meetings to fight for suffrage date back to the end of the 19th century. But if power relations are intensified, resistance is also intensified. If the visibilities are “[...] complexes of actions and reactions, multi-sensorial complexes of actions and reactions, of actions and passions [...]” (DELEUZE, 2017, p. 18, aula 04), beyond a patriarchy always ready to enclose and interdict women, especially those who dare to escape from the illusory and violent prerogative of inferiority in relation to men, image 1 also shows us a desire for freedom and it is this desire that illuminates the images that we analyze in this article. If we look closely at image 1, we can see that the suffragette did not seem to consent to the arrest passively. The fact the policeman had picked her up may indicate certain resistance to leave the space “with sweetness and politeness”, as it is expected of every woman. She also seems to be saying something or trying at least. It is the desire for freedom from the enclosure, oppression and violence they suffer that seems to move feminist subjects in their struggles, at least in the images we observe.

We consider it necessary to clarify that the notion of the desire for freedom and we are reflecting about is based on Foucault's studies of power and truth. Deleuze mentions about desire as a third axis of the author's thought: the first being knowledge, the second being power and the third being desire, believing that there is a displacement from one axis to another (DELEUZE, 2017, p. 7, class 3). Krüger Junior (2020), not very differently from Deleuze, understands that desire permeates Foucault's work, with an notion evolution from the French philosopher's incursion into the genealogy of ethics. The researcher notes the desire in Foucault, from the mentioned genealogy, as a kind of political despositive for a self-recreation foundation. (KRÜGER JUNIOR, 2020).

We corroborate the author's hypothesis that the concept of desire, as well as of power, is expanded in Michel Foucault's immersion in the constitution of what can be understood as a history of governmentality, in particular, from his reflections on the government of self. However, we believe that it is not desire alone that moves individuals to become other subjects, but rather a desire for freedom. We take the desire for freedom as a driving force for the desubjectivation of despositives of power, their techniques and technologies, a driving force for counter-conducts (FOUCAULT, 2008). Furthermore, our hypothesis is that the desire for freedom, ethically constituted, can be considered a technology for the care of the self, a technology of the self for the construction of a beautiful existence (FOUCAULT, 2004). Understanding the desire for freedom as a technology of the self, therefore, ethically constituted, the concept of freedom, obviously, assumes an ethical concept too. The concept of freedom, from the archegenealogy, though, can be slippery, since it transits according to the discursive formations of each time. The concept of freedom does not escape from the rationalities, the despositives of power that constitute it according to their technologies of truth, such as those of neoliberalism, for example, in which income is almost the only condition for freedom. However, we are still not interested in discussing the ethics of the desire for freedom of the feminist statements-visibilitys that we analyze in this paper, but rather how it is a light that is gathered in our *corpus*. (DELEUZE, 2017, p. 13, class 04). In this work, we see this desire as the driving force behind the feminist struggle to establish women as legal subjects and as feminine subjects that claim for other truths such as those that are not constituted by the mechanisms of knowledge and the technologies of power of a

patriarchy, which enclose them in rules and norms of conduct, esthetics and existence. And that's exactly what we notice in the next image.

Image 2 – Protest Against *Miss America*



Source: Feminismo com classe

It portrays a moment of the protest that involved about 200 American women, in September 1968, against Miss America⁴, which goal was to criticize the machismo, racism and capitalism that marked this pageant. The puppet being carried by one of the participants shows the desirable body to win it: the thin waist, the large breasts, the white skin, the very well combed and straight hair, obviously. We can see a chain tied to the puppet's waist and, likewise, two protesters with chains tied around their necks. The enclosure, the prison that is simulated, through the puppet and the chains, is that of esthetics based on a discourse of femininity as the norm for the manners of being a woman. The enclosure that is simulated and from which the protesters claim for freedom is that of a laughable statement, but one that haunts feminine subjects and sums up well one of the truths the technologies of gender develop: “bela, recatada e do lar”⁵, preferably white, quite, slim and always with a friendly smile.

We consider it necessary to mention that black, non-white, non-straight feminists have shown, in important works, such as those by Joyce Berth (2019), in the book *Empoderamento* and Carla Akotirene (2019), in the book *Interseccionalidades*, both from

⁴ *Miss America* is a beauty pageant that has been held in the United States since the 1920s, with the participation of a representative from each of the American states. The purpose of the contest is to choose the most beautiful woman in the United States, who will carry the title for a year and compete for another beauty contest of international character, *Miss Universe*. The Brazilian version of the contest, *Miss Brazil*, has been taking place since the early 1950s. The candidates parade in different outfits, including bathing suits, and answer questions from the judges. In 2018, the American version abolished the parade, or rather, the swimsuit test.

⁵ In English, it could be translated as: “beautiful modest housewife”.

the collection *Feminismos Plurais*, as race, ethnicity, sexuality and social class place women, under such intersectionality categories⁶, in underprivileged positions in power relations. The chains that imprison them end up excluding them in even more violent ways from social spaces and the different types of violence they suffer are even more absurd than what other women suffer. It is also worth mentioning that the protest of the image under analysis, which had great black feminists's supporting and protagonism, on the contrary to what is said, is considered a very important event, since it inspired the consolidation of what became known as "women's liberation movement", in the United States, a movement that, in turn, inspired feminist movements in different countries, including Brazil, to review and re-elaborate their struggles guidelines. (PINTO, 2003; ROSSI, 2020).

The statement on the poster: "Can make-up cover the wounds of our oppression?", helps to compose the desire for freedom that the image shows us. The term "oppressions", as we have already commented, refers to the normative femininity which conditions women to a submissive and objectified subjectivity, but also refers to the ills of racism and poverty, at the same time that it illustrates, with the puppet, as women were led to privilege the esthetic by power relations. There are no beauty pageants without candidates and an audience for it. As we can see, the straitjackets or prisons that enclose women, that lock them in and out, are not always visible to the naked eye, but neither are they completely hidden. They can keep, in the subtlety of femininity as norm, the men's power over their bodies, their subjectivities, their desires (SWAIN, 2013; OKSALA, 2019).

It is important to mention that we are not making a timeline of the feminist struggles, as if they were monolithic and had different agendas at each time. It is obvious that the suffragist movement demanding women's participation in the political scenario as voters promoted the creation of laws, as we said, that ensured women in large part of the West (since suffrage also took place in other countries beyond England and the United States) to be included in the constitutions of their countries as legal subjects, holders of rights. At that time, becoming a subject of rights was the most necessary move for the

⁶ According to Brandão (2020, p. 62) "The concept of intersectionality was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, an American jurist and professor of critical race theory, and formally used by her for the first time in 1991, in an article published in the specialized legal magazine *Stanford Law Review*". Akotirene (2019) argues that intersectionality is not just a theoretical concept, but also a methodological tool to analyze racism, capitalism and cisheteropatriarchy as not separated categories from the modes of oppression that decriminalization produces.

reasons we discussed earlier. However, other events took place at the time of the women's struggle for suffrage, as the feminist philosopher and historian Margareth Rago (2019, p. 186) shows us when reporting the publication of the book *A mulher é uma degenerada?*, by anarchist Maria Lacerda de Moura (1887-1945), in 1924, in which “[she] refutes the Lombrosian theories and the argument women’s biological inferiority”. The right to vote for women who were employees and literate took place in Brazil, in 1932. Once again we turn to Foucault (2002) to address the discontinuity of history. Before the suffragists, other women, at different times and places, had resisted by criticizing male dominance. It is undeniable, however, that winning the right to vote was fundamental for feminist agendas to advance and women to begin to enter the political scene, in order to conquer rights denied to them. But, it is clear that becoming subject of law, a legal subject has not guaranteed the fight against misogynistic practices, as the alarming numbers of rape and femicide in this country and in so many others around the world show us.

Image 3 - SlutWalk



Source: Rede Brasil Atual

Image 3, by the way, captures a three protesters’s performance in the SlutWalk, in São Paulo City, in 2011. Each of the three with an apple in their mouth. The apple is the symbol of original sin, in which women were blamed for men’s (and the whole humanity) misfortune, since Eve ate the forbidden fruit (the apple) and convinced Adam, poor seduced male, to eat it too, thus losing the heaven promised by God. Since then, Eve would represent all women. Rago (2019), in an article entitled *Foucault em defesa de Eva*, comments on how the French philosopher stands in defense of Eve in 04 different moments, one of them, in the course *Do governo dos vivos (On the Government of the Living)*, taught at Collège de France, in 1980, when he mocks Father Tertullian for being

the inventor of the wonderful idea of original sin and women as the devil's gateway (FOUCAULT, 2014, apud RAGO, 2019). The author cites in full the excerpt the father addresses women in *La toilette des femmes*⁷ (*De cultu feminarum*)

1. Você dá a luz em meio a dores e ansiedades, mulher; Você sofre a atração de seu marido e ele é seu mestre. E você ignora que Eva é você? 2. Ela ainda vive nesse mundo, a sentença de Deus contra o seu sexo. Então viva, como acusada. Você é a porta do diabo [...] (TERTULLIEN, 1971, p. 43 APUD RAGO, 2019, p. 181)

Foucault (2002), as we have already said, tells us that all statement is preceded by another, since what is articulatable and what is not are constituted by the memory that other statements impregnate them. The pastoral's disservice in blaming women for the fall of humanity has strong resonance even today. The three protesters, walking with apples in their mouths, mock and protest against the moral straitjacket with which Christian discourse and pastoral practices have tried to imprison women since the first centuries AD. The desire for freedom, so, turns against the moral prison that the mentioned discourse and practices have contributed and contribute to enclosing women in a kind of guilty female subject, therefore, liable to be punished, violated, banned. The SlutWalk, by the way, was an attempt to respond to statements that blame women for rape and for the physical and psychological violence they suffer. The guilty female subject is part of the social imaginary and can be observed in songs such as those by the "feminejo", for example, which were considered empowered and feminist by digital media articles between 2016 and 2018. Sousa e Brandão (2022, in press) note how this subject is constituted in the statements of some of these songs: blameworthy, they suffer the consequences for carrying with themselves the voluptuousness given by the devil. The posters that we see raised by the protesters: "Don't tell me how to dress (Tell them not to rape)" and "My body my choice"⁸, help, along with the protesters' performance, to constitute the feminist counter-discourse to the statements that are taken up to "justify" rape "because she was drunk", "because she turned me on", "because her skirt was too

⁷ *On the Apparel of Women On the Dress of Women. De cultu feminarum*. As there is not a more modern translation in English for the excerpt, we decided to maintain it in Portuguese, but it can be read in English at: <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/on-the-apparel-of-women-on-the-dress-of-women-de-cultu-feminarum-11398>

⁸ In literal translation: "Me visto para mim e não para você": "I dress up for myself and not for you" and "Meu corpo minhas regras": "My body my rules".

short”, “because she is nothing but a slut”. Statements that form, with others, misogynistic discourses that patriarchal power formulates and makes to be constantly enunciated.

3 Conclusion

The images that make up the brief *corpus* of this study corroborate Deleuze's (2017, p. 13, class 01) reading on the regimes of seeing and speaking of a given historical formation, when he delimits that “each period defines itself above all by what it sees and makes seen and by what it says”. Demarcating the conditions of visibility and statement of a given historical temporality, this author is even more categorical, when he reiterates that “each historical formation *sees and reveals* all it can within the *conditions laid down for visibility*, just as it says all it can within the *conditions relating to statements*” (DELEUZE, 2019, p. 63. Our emphasis), corroborating the Foucauldian notes indicated in *A Arqueologia do Saber (The Archeology of Knowledge)*. Deleuze emphasizes that there is not primacy of the statement over the visibilities or of the discursive over the non-discursive⁹, and this interrelation demarcates what can be seen or said about the feminist struggles indicated in the chosen images. Each image integrates a historical formation, assemble unique visibilities and articulabilities, in which the light and statements regimes project practices of imprisonment and freedom. The choice of the three images, which integrate our discussion, starts from a specific problem, from which we direct our look on the ways of seeing and speaking of some of the various feminist struggles, historically produced, and on the incidence of patriarchy on women’s conducts conduction, yesterday and today.

Social enclosure. Ethnic and racial enclosure. Economic enclosure. Esthetic enclosure. Heteronormative enclosure. Moral enclosure. It is, therefore, against enclosure, against straitjackets, against prisons that feminist statements and visibilities unite for a historical formation that seeks other knowledge, other truths than those produced by patriarchy in relation to women. As such, the desire for freedom moves

⁹ Knowledge, formed from the assemblage between the visible and the articulable, constitutive of a historical formation, corresponds to what Foucault, in the studies of the genealogy of power, named as dispositive, a concept focused on the study of the conditions of seeing and speaking of a period (DELEUZE), resulting from the interrelation between the practices of visibility and statements or discursive and non-discursive practices.

feminist practices in an attempt to constitute another will to truth that does not have in the masculine the formation of all reason and all rationalities. (SWAIN, 2013). But it is necessary to think about freedom, as we mentioned, beyond repression and oppression. Foucault (1995) shows us in different analyzes that power is never, only, something repressive or oppressive, because it is productive, it produces subjects, knowledge, and truths. In this sense, the oppressions can be much more subtle and, therefore, elusive than it is usually noticed. That is why, when we make statements circulate, like the ones we see on the posters in Figure 3, we must ask ourselves: what kind of choice is that? How has it been constituted? We are not, here, in any way, demeaning such statements, which are necessary for the struggle against machismo, but to observe the subtleties of the exercises of power and their technologies over us is necessary for new strategies of struggle to be (re)thought. The rise of the fascist subject to executive and legislative power clearly shows us that we are under the constant threat of this subject's emergence. A subject that patriarchal power constitutes, so, we believe that an anti-fascist struggle is, above all, a feminist struggle.

There has been a long time, since the French Revolution, we believe, that the truth about the struggles has been very strongly constituted from the logic of the great demonstrations of bravery, physical confrontation, street protests, revolutions, etc. However, power relations, the notion that power is a productive force, which is also infinitesimal (FOUCAULT, 1985;1995) leads us to think of struggles as being infinitesimal too. How to make our desire for freedom a technology of the self to lead ourselves to an ethical, beautiful existence? (FOUCAULT, 2004) How to constitute feminist subjectivities without the patriarchal fallacy of authoritarianism? Without the lure of prescription, technique of power-knowledge of the dispositive of minority? (MARTINS, 2020) How to establish a dialogue without the arrogance of the knowledge regimes and our desire to establish a single truth? How to establish strategies of struggle against a power that blurs all discursive practices, that deludes us that we are free and can do whatever we want, as neoliberalismo does? It is well known (and we are discussing this in this article) that women exercise their freedom to a much more limited proportion than men (OKSALA, 2019).

But the questionings we are making do not constitute a discrediting of feminist struggles, which are large and relevant. We are not talking about separations or ruptures

or individualizations. We are talking about resignification, advances in the criticism of the exercises of power, in untying the straitjackets camouflaged in habits, for example. We are talking about a struggle for a feminism that learns to conduct conducts ethically, trying to get rid of the blindness that the powers produce. But whenever we need to walk and publicize our struggle, whenever we need to transform it into media visibility, whenever struggles demand confrontations, it is with the sluts we are going to walk along.

Contribution

Ana Christina de Pina Brandão: Writing – original draft, Writing – analysis, editing;
Antônio Fernandes Júnior: Writing – original draft, Writing – analysis and editing.

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Received on 15 April 2022
Accepted on 03 June 2022
Published on August 2022

Ana Christina de Pina Brandão
E-mail: ana.chrisbrandao@gmail.com
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6811-2389>

Antônio Fernandes Júnior
E-mail: antonio_junior@ufcat.edu.br
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4969-0407>