



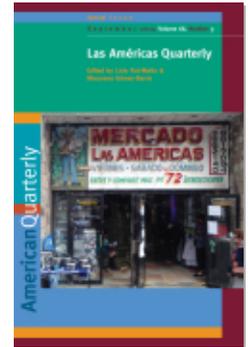
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Theories That Matter

In South America the term *queer* first appeared in universities, particularly in departments of English or humanities. It did not acquire the pejorative sense that it had in the United States, according to Bradley Epps.¹ Nor did it compete with the designation of *gay*, since *queer* was not taken as a synonym for LGBT. Queer became and remained a specific area of theoretical and political discourse, reinvigorating academic discussions in the social sciences, philosophy, and literature, with its focus on the erotic and on sexualities, since its introduction via the works of Judith Butler in the early 1990s. Above all, *queer* provided a new perspective with which to radically describe phenomena in the wake of their institutionalization, particularly in light of the guidelines of international funding agencies that often dominate research in so-called peripheral countries.

As is well known, academic queer studies sought to distance themselves from the study of sexualities focused on the classic methodologies of specific disciplinary fields (philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology, history). Characterized by a methodological transdisciplinarity and a deconstructive approach, queer could relate in multiple ways with other variables, especially race-ethnicity and class, and this was taken advantage of in Argentina. At first, queer studies were confined to cultural studies. For this reason, left theorists immediately criticized queer studies. Many feminists, aligned with left-wing critique, viewed the “deployment of [Judith] Butler” with distrust. Aside from taking Butler as a stand-in for the entirety of queer studies, these critics regarded Butler’s purely philosophical and psychoanalytic concepts as lacking an anchor in production and saw her conditions of theoretical production as alien to local feminism. Without a doubt, Argentine left and feminist critique took little account of the intense discussions of seventies and eighties Latin American activists, whose demands must be properly contextualized in the time of ferocious dictatorships. Activists demanded not merely a politics of visibility but, rather, and fundamentally, an end to repression and extermination. Par-

ticular forms of association, around sexuality in this case, came into being far removed from the concept of minority struggles. In consequence, Argentine queer trajectories differ considerably from those dictated by the liberal demand for justice typical of mainstream LGBT groups in North America.²

In Argentina, sex- and gender-based political movements had long drawn attention to the link between the creative experience of sexuality and the repressive regulatory practices of the state. They politicized sexuality before academic theories of gender or of performativity entered the scene. In the Southern Cone, queer was not merely trafficked in or incorporated into debates; it was cannibalized—that is to say, ruminated on, over and over again, truly digested and regurgitated, as its theoretical and political benefits were weighed to determine its efficaciousness in producing interpretive and operational schemes valuable to antirepressive struggles of the nineties. Naturally, the return to democracy in Latin America did not translate into the immediate dismantling of the repressive apparatus of the dictatorship. The emergence of neoconservatism validated oblivion, pardon, or clemency for genocide and implemented fierce neoliberal policies of economic adjustment. Perhaps unsurprisingly, during the first decade of the twenty-first century no arena was more examined in queer circles than the policy of extending rights as the major tool for queer enfranchisement.

Queers who began discussing queer theory in Argentina as academics or theorists in the nineties found that they could not dissociate from the activist sphere, since activists are, in fact, Argentina's inaugural queer theorists, the first who initiated or adopted several demands with respect to the state articulated around the concept of queer, even if they did not directly employ the term. The most important demands of the turn of the century concerned the twin struggles to achieve legal personality for transvestite groups and equal marriage for LGBT people. With tensions and reservations, trans people supported demands such as equal marriage, which they identified as a priority for the gay and lesbian movement. Likewise, the LGBT movement as a whole got involved in the law of gender equality while entertaining objections and criticisms to a vision of gender that seemingly troubled the gender presuppositions on which lesbian and gay identities were taken to reside.

Beyond Recognition

It became clear that the imperative was to focus not on what was demanded but on the forces released in political practices through a multiplier mechanism, as became all too evident in the wake of Argentina's economic crisis of

2001. The demands for the recognition of a denied legal personality, first for homosexuals and then for transvestite associations, or of equal marriage for all were not viewed as particular demands for rights to be enjoyed as liberal citizens or as pathways to generate new conditions of normality. The objective was to “out,” so to speak, the protocols of civic normalization inherent to the Argentine state, analyzing the very construction of Argentine citizenship. The result itself was, perhaps, secondary; what mattered most was making explicit, via a mechanism of constant refusals, state arguments around normality, morality, and good manners that propped up the deserving Argentine “person” or “citizen.” A kind of civic stubbornness increasingly laid bare the repressive discourses that the state saw itself obliged to uphold in the name of Argentina’s future. The successive responses of trans people in particular forced the replies of the state to become more complex. The strategy aimed at exhibiting the state logic of extermination, which had a decades-long history in Argentina and an emotional resonance for all Argentines, queer or not.

Before the equal marriage law was passed in July 2010, the demand for recognition immediately called forth a repressive rhetoric. In the Chamber of Deputies, jurists and psychological, psychiatric, and medical professionals, together with religious and political activists, deployed arguments for and against the bill for months. In particular, the sectors linked with positions contrary to equal marriage, Catholics above all, began using arguments that were said to be based on scientific studies.

The LGBT Federation shepherded the legislative process leading to the law’s approval. Some of us began producing reports that operated at the same discursive register as those of our opponents. We found ourselves in a position where we had to counter these arguments with their own logic, however much it troubled us. We always made it clear that the fact that LGBT people and the existence of same-sex families were “subject to survey” is in itself a discriminatory point of departure. We pointed out that no one studied heterosexuals and their families to see if they have the right to exist. In this way, it was less the assembling of a new normality that was at stake than a discussion that could contribute to visualizing false procedures, which try to force religious or scientific conclusions in favor of discrimination and racism and ultimately sustain metaphors of exclusion and extermination.

Gay marriage was referred to as *matrimonio igualitario* and was likewise not conceptualized as demanding a new “normal” or responding to a “politics of respectability.” It was regarded as a matter of access to certain specific rights that would improve some domestic issues for many gay and lesbian people. It could have been solved with any other legal concept, as some form of civil

pact that was not as resonant an institutional concept as marriage. We chose to establish a policy of “stubbornness” following the transvestites’ lead. It was not the content itself, marriage, that was important to us but the incitation to discourse we could spark (to recall Michel Foucault).

In 2010, during the legislative debate, the Argentine bishop Baldomero Martini testified that “in homosexual cohabitation it goes without saying that there is no possible mother, nor anyone else who carries out this mission. Neither is there a husband, nor a wife, nor spouses, nor children. In short, there is nothing.”³ This “nothing” he alludes to equals the logic of extermination, the dictate that we should not even exist. We fought to make power tell the truth of what the LGBT population represents for certain sectors of the state and society; we wanted to articulate our right to exist.

Articulations

In Argentina in December 2001 a profound economic, social, and political crisis led to leaderless government, intense repression with thirty-nine dead, and massive popular demonstrations. LGBT groups were not absent during those days, and neither were transvestites. As the trans activist Lohana Berkins states:

From the windows of Palermo, of San Telmo, Constitución and Flores, us transvestites peered out, our faces half made-up or with the mascara already smudged after a night of few customers and a lot of walking. We were joining in with the rebel cry that gathered on the corner, in the streets, in the avenues. Side by side with our neighbors, both male and female, our first surprise was not hearing those insults (to which we were accustomed) with which many of them identified us: niggers, depraved, AIDS sufferers. It was a surprise to notice that, for once, the exaggerated silicones, the bashful genitals, the vulgar makeup and corsets melted away behind the social protest, hiding themselves in it. Oddly, or not so oddly, it was when they didn’t look at us that we felt we were seen in the best light. There we were just one more neighbor.⁴

Some years later, on July 16, 2004, there was an unusual protest against the Contraventions Code of the city of Buenos Aires, which had just been sanctioned, called by the Coordinator against Contraventions Code, which united human rights organizations, squatter settlements, gays, lesbians, transvestites, transsexuals and transgender persons, street vendors, and *piqueteros*.⁵ The protest became violent when the marchers tried to set fire to the legislature building of the city of Buenos Aires. Seventeen people were injured and twenty-four arrested in clashes with the police.

Trans people established the possibility of articulation with respect to all those “others to the state” on the basis of links of affinity, whether or not these had anything to do with gender. Berkins explains this succinctly:

In community terms, Argentina is one of the few countries that does not only defend political rights but also economic rights; in 2001 [the transvestites] were starving to death as much as anyone else. From the beginning we realized that it was necessary to politicize the situation. We made everything political and that can be seen in the *Pride March*, in the support for Equal Marriage, which included various sectors who understood that it was necessary to obtain marriage equality, and even sectors who only attended in order to say “enough” to the church. In this process, it has been of fundamental importance to establish a dialectic with the social movements, the political parties, and the different actors. Once, in a *piquetero* plenary, they had not let us talk; so we established a *piquete* there and then and they ended up giving us a standing ovation. We ourselves got stuck in, we argued, and that changed our history: from the standpoint of particularism we built universality, since there were cross-sectional issues which united us and which allowed us to move forward in conjunction with the other movements.⁶

While the state was reluctantly but forcibly open to the normalization of LGBT identities, of course always subordinate to the heteronormative ideal, it refused to visualize trans people as anything other than homosexuals, as men dressed as women, and insisted that transvestites enact a dominant gender identity to be recognized as subjects of rights.

As Berkins states: “We had no need to justify or explain [the] matter [of gender]. . . . we wanted to force them to say, we will not give them it because they are transvestites, i.e., we wanted to make explicit the act of discrimination.”⁷ Trans and intersex persons argued that their rights did not have to be channeled through their gender identity representation, although the right to choose their gender identification was an important part of their demands. Through this battle, it became clear that demands around gender were diverse, that gender in and of itself could not unify the experience of oppression in a continuum going from gays and lesbians to every expression of trans people as well as other ethno-racial or class experiences. The contribution of trans and intersex persons to social activism entailed, above all, the need to articulate political struggles addressing (while critiquing) gender assumptions. Trans people, in their struggles against the police edicts and contravention codes, made evident their almost total exclusion from access to material and symbolic goods (such as employment, housing, health, education).⁸ By doing so, what they destabilized was not the specificity of each gender identity demand in particular. They destabilized the status of community itself, that is, the claim that gender subjects should enclose themselves in an identity unproblematically that would enable them to act coherently in the public sphere.

Articulation always involves the introduction of what Ernesto Laclau calls “chains of equivalence,” that is, bonds that link “a particular content to a universality that transcends it.”⁹ Thus there operate two orders of reference:

the specific demand of the LGBT sectors, and the demand for access to the rights of redistribution that transcends and unites the demands of other historical subjects. As on innumerable occasions, transvestites and some LGBT groups articulated (as they continue to articulate) collective actions in defense of popular interests.

Equality as an Empty Signifier

Citizenship always entails exclusion, so it is always necessary to subject access to citizenship to critical discussion, to determine its extension and under what conditions this is realized. As Berkins notes, “It seems contradictory to ask for guarantees from a state which is the first violator of human rights.”¹⁰ However, citizenship struggles grant possibilities of existence, based not only on recognition but on access to basic rights such as work, health, education, and housing. A struggle around citizenship must establish minimum standards of equality, a basic minimum, and then begin to discuss what contents to grant to such citizenship. The crux lies in the way the debate over, and participation in, the content of citizenship is posed, a debate that should not be fixed by the normalizing rules of the state.

With respect to equal marriage, one central aspect that can be identified as a specificity of the process in Argentina—and, without any doubt, as a factor of its success—was the demand for equality. Under the slogan “the same rights with the same names” (*los mismos derechos con los mismos nombres*), the demand was for all or nothing, eliminating the possibility of the demand’s reduction. Raising the issue as a matter of equality repositioned the entire debate. It was not a matter of recognition for a minority but equal access to the same rights that everyone had. It was an argument advanced in terms of human rights, which established a relationship with a long-standing struggle in Argentina: “Unlike the US, ‘human rights’ in Argentina does not recall distant conflicts, but connects to a domestic legacy marked by cycles of democracy and violence. It’s a legal demand, to be certain, but it carries additional moral resonance.”¹¹

Moral reasoning definitively persuaded the government to respond to this demand and made possible unforeseen alliances with very wide support. The demand for equality functioned as a banner representing the past while being “of the future,” with a paradigmatic historical charge in the construction of the classic democracies but harboring an important gap capable of being occupied and replenished permanently. Equality was not understood in a liberal sense by queer groups but as “a statement that dismantles the hierarchical orders which legitimated themselves as the nature of things; in that sense all equality

is, strictly anarchic and leaves empty the place of power—from then on, just a place of transit, always occupied in an alternating and provisional way.”¹²

Following Laclau, there is no concrete content, given in a determinate context, to the demand for equality; it is rather a task that historical forces must produce over time. In this way, equality becomes a symbol of a lack. And, precisely because it is a constitutive lack, without a content that can fill it, it is subject to any possible articulation: “This means that the ‘good’ articulation, the one that would finally suture the link between universal task and concrete historical forces, will never be found, and that all partial victory will always take place against the background of an ultimate and unsurpassable impossibility.”¹³

In the Argentina of the early twenty-first century, *kirchnerismo* reestablished a clearly populist logic in the country, which divided society into two radically antagonistic and polarized currents.¹⁴ In a populist context that amplified the democratic bases (in the clearest terms in which Laclau defines them), to be for or against equality marked boundaries and repositioned subjects. A string of similarities that unified scattered longings and allowed for the emergence of a “popular subject” made it necessary for Argentine queers and indeed all Argentines to take a decision with no half measures. Something higher unified at the level of feeling rather than thought and, consequently, mobilized for action. Marriage between people of the same sex was established on the basis of the logic of the “comrade,” an appellation perfectly capable of being understood by any Argentine, of whatever gender, *peronista* or not.¹⁵

The signifiers of equality and loyalty would acquire almost mystical contours. This meant taking a stand, and to most it was felt in the soul. The struggle for equality reinstated a mystique of activism that was experienced at all times in the most diverse collective actions, in vigils, marches, slogans, and demonstrations of support. It was displayed in the media, in mass meetings in the Congress, in demonstrations and via flags of different political stripes. No one could remain indifferent, and the rank-and-file movements in different locations, formerly oblivious to the demands of LGBT people, coalesced massively in support of queers.

This logic of articulation is certainly emotional. It calculates neither losses nor gains, nor the negotiation of conflicting interests; it is not based on argumentation and even less on conviction but on affinity and the sense of belonging to a diffuse “we” that is in permanent expansion and redefinition.¹⁶ The participation of collective subjects in the expansion of rights, and the demands articulated in chains of equivalence, supposes that the particular redefine itself in a permanent way.

Argentina Maricona

“*Argentina maricona*” (Faggot Argentina) is one of the “grievances” with which conservative groups attacked the passing of laws benefiting the LGBT population. While conservatives homogenized a spectrum of social subjects under their hateful appellation, we were a wildly diverse group, with very differing working definitions of who we “were” in our context. In this sense, the concept of strategic essentialism is too narrow to do the critical work we must.¹⁷ Here, it is not the critical gesture of looking at identity as exclusionary that is central; instead, it is inclusion in the articulation of equivalences, a process that guarantees the permanent alteration of particularism itself. In this context, a hard or specific identity undergoes constant rediscussion and transformation.

Berkins provides a case in point, when she argues that we cannot ignore the weight of the everyday use of the category of identity in popular processes, above all when they propose the access to basic rights of vast, excluded sectors. For this activist, identity should be questioned, but ultimately it is necessary:

Intellectual debate is one thing. How what the people experience what we debate is another, whether our intellectual stance comes across to those who truly live the reality we debate on a daily basis. Speaking as Lohana Berkins, what I say is always personal to me; I can never separate what I say from the situation of the majority of the comrades. I cannot sit down now and say, “we’re no longer transvestites, girls,” when after many years we have only recently managed to assume this question of identity. Practical issues, such as going into the street without so much makeup. Showing a beard if you have one. Accepting your own body. Even questioning the abuse of the body by submitting it to surgery. Now that this has started to move forward, now that it’s beginning, we cannot decree now that “identity has already been overcome.” It’s still a valid tool, identity, as it is understood and practiced by the working classes and all who embody their struggle.¹⁸

More than a strategic essentialism, what Berkins proposes is identity as an excuse or fantasy on the basis of which to reveal everything that excludes and denies all queers. It is a malleable, mobile identity, without fixed principles, capable of becoming attached to other identities: “It is a lie to believe that identity only reinforces a monolithic question. What we ourselves do through identity is appropriate this issue for ourselves, and from that standpoint to unveil the disadvantages, the oppressions, inequalities in which we live.”¹⁹

The hypothesis that when minority movements normalize themselves in terms of citizenship, they obstruct any emancipatory possibility, is deserving of consideration. It should not, however, stop us from an appraisal of theoretical developments that critique the trivialization of differences and take into account new demands of vast activist sectors that have revised their essentialist

foundations in the wake of joint popular struggles. As I have shown in the case of Argentina, “queer” has done important work, challenging us to understand every antagonism as a landmark in a historical process that “materializes” itself in specific traits, in frequently random combinations. The conflict revolves around who creates that “different other.” The world of “otherness” depends on mutable sutures, which must of necessity be mobile to capture—or attempt to capture—every possible behavior of the “other,” with the intention of maintaining domination as a historical process. Homosexuality (comprising here a univocality of senses and behaviors) is one of various possible contrasts with “normal” sexuality (or the dominant sexual discourse). It functions provisionally as a possible contrast to the “moral,” a possible contrast to “health,” a possible contrast to the “family.” It can also be a possible contrast to the *patria*, nation, and race.

If this is the logic of differentiation that establishes inequality, the fight should take its stand on the same territory, with full consideration of the complicated identities in conflict. We thus open ourselves to the possibility of looking beyond ourselves as queers, beyond our “specificity,” perceiving the multiple tensions that intersect us. The next step in the revision of our own position then becomes the articulatory possibility, with which we avoid the foreclosure of other conflicts (recall the accusation that Slavoj Žižek makes with respect to the LGBT groups).²⁰

Thanks to the decisive influence of trans theory and queer critique, Argentina has managed to distinguish itself clearly from those mainstream LGBT movements, such as those of the United States, which maintain a significant resistance to incorporating issues of economic, racial, and gender justice.²¹ Every articulatory process expands democratic frameworks while controlling the limits of identity within activist groups. As Laclau explains, the participation of previously excluded sectors in public affairs provokes the constant deployment of demands for access that leads to a radicalization of democracy.²² In Argentina, transvestites historically pointed the way when they considered any policy of recognition that was not accompanied by a politics of redistribution insufficient. Subsequently, as Renata Hiller explains in the context of the approval of equal marriage, “democratic-ness” was measured not only “in terms of an expansion of citizenship status for some of those who were previously at its margins. The democratic-ness of this law resides in those mutations enabled during the debate. The public space generated by the debate over gay and lesbian marriage also brought into discussion its own rules of operation and, thus, contributed to extending its limits.”²³

In an articulatory process, the universal breaks down, replaced by a polyphony of voices, each of which constructs its own irreducible discursive identity. It is necessary “to inscribe this plurality in equivalential logics which make possible the construction of new public spheres.” This would imply the achievement of a “relative universalization of values which can be the basis of a popular hegemony.”²⁴ Of course, this hegemony is, as I have pointed out, contingent and open and subject to a positive hybridization: “This democratic-hegemonic possibility must recognize the constitutive contextualized/decontextualized terrain of its constitution and fully take advantage of the political possibilities this such undecidability opens.”²⁵ Such is the context in which the demands for the expansion of rights in Argentina were made, and such is the political framework that challenges the LGBT movement to continue to construct, more than the solidarities that are so dear to liberalism, the equalities that radicalize democracy.

Notes

1. Bradley Epps, “Retos, riesgos, pautas y promesas de la teoría queer,” *Revista Iberoamericana* 74.225, coord. Luciano Martínez (2008): 897–920; translation mine.
2. For a critical comparison between the development of the LGBT movement in North America and in Argentina, see Mabel Bellucci y Flavio Rapisardi, “Alrededor de la identidad: Las luchas políticas del presente,” *Nueva Sociedad* 162 (July–August 1999): 40–53.
3. Baldomero Martini, “Las uniones homosexuales, ‘un verdadero antimatrimonio,’” Agencia Informativa Católica Argentina, www.aicaold.com.ar/index.php?module=displaystory&story_id=19154&format=html/.
4. Lohana Berkins, “Un itinerario político del travestismo,” in *Sexualidades migrantes: Género y transgénero*, ed. Diana Maffia (Buenos Aires: Librería de Mujeres Editoras, 2009), 150.
5. The groups of *piqueteros* emerge during the nineties as a form of protest against unemployment and precarious living conditions produced by the neoliberal politics of that period. The *piquete* consisted in gatherings of persons who demonstrated in determinate public places or blocked the streets or the highways. See Maristella Svampa y Sebastián Pereyra, *Entre la ruta y el barrio: La experiencia de las organizaciones piqueteras* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2003).
6. “Lohana Berkins: ‘Con esta ley por primera vez el Estado nos ve como sujetas de derechos,’” entrevista a la reconocida activista travesti (Reportaje de Ana Engelman y Federico Ghelfi), *Iniciativa por un proyecto nacional, popular y latinoamericano*, <http://espacioiniciativa.com.ar/?p=5651/> (accessed July 10, 2013).
7. “Hablan las dirigentes. Entrevista a Lohana Berkins,” in *Conversaciones Feministas, Políticas de Reconocimiento II* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Ají de Pollo, 2009), 156.
8. The police edicts and contravention codes in Argentina are pseudolaws with a penal character whose interpretation and application is in the hands of the institutions of the police. They regulate aspects of urban order and security but also, and above all, aspects of morality, criminalizing the female sex workers, the transvestites, the beggars, or the homosexuals. Their constitutionality and legality are constantly challenged. See, in this respect, Silvia Delfino y Guadalupe Salomón, “Regulaciones culturales y luchas políticas: El caso del Código Contravencional de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires,” *Revista Jurídica de la Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico* 38.1 (2003): 151–67.

9. Ernesto Laclau, "Subject of Politics, Politics of Subject," *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 7.1 (1995): 162.
10. "Hablan las dirigentes: Entrevista a Lohana Berkins," *Políticas de Reconocimiento II*, (2009): 158.
11. Kate Redburn, "Two Gay Weddings," *Jacobin a magazine of culture and polemic*, June 2013, <http://jacobinmag.com/2013/06/two-gay-weddings/>.
12. Diego Tatian, "Igualdad como declaración," *Cuadernos del Inadi* 3 (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la Xenofobia y el Racismo, 2010), <http://cuadernos.inadi.gob.ar/numero-03/diego-tatian-igualdad-como-declaracion/>.
13. Laclau, "Subject of Politics, Politics of Subject," 162.
14. Peronism (*peronismo*) is the popular political movement founded by Juan Domingo Perón and Eva Duarte in the 1940s. Kirchnerism is the current expression of the Partido Justicialista, in power since 2003.
15. The logic of the "comrade" (*compañero*) is a foundation of the Peronist doctrine. Perhaps we can sum it up in the motto expressed by Juan Domingo Perón: "For a Peronist there can be nothing better than another Peronist." "Comrade" was to become a leitmotiv of the movement. "Comrade" indicates a community experience that surpasses any difference.
16. On the notion of affinity, see Donna J. Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 149–81.
17. Gayatri Spivak, "Criticism, Feminism, and the Institution," interview with Elizabeth Gross, *Thesis Eleven* 10–11 (1984–85): 175–87.
18. "Las batallas de Lohana: El arco iris en el cielo rojo y la libertad de Pepo *Pañuelos en Rebeldía*, November 2006, www.panuelosenrebeldia.com.ar/content/view/258/59/.
19. *Ibid.* In the same way Butler asserts: "Diana Fuss, Naomi Schor, and Gayatri Spivak have spoken about the rhetorical use of the essentialist claim, sometimes in terms of 'strategic essentialism.'" Spivak underscores the necessity of insisting on culturally specific differences over and against the theoretical and political efforts to erase or subordinate them. But this is not a question of offering an adequate representation in language of a preconstituted group; in a sense, it is the performative invocation of an identity for the purposes of political *resistance* to a hegemonic threat of erasure or marginalization" (quoted in Judith Butler, Stanley Aronowitz, Ernesto Laclau, Joan Scott, Chantal Mouffe, and Cornel West, "Discussion," *October* 61 [Summer 1992]: 108–9). For a related discussion in Argentina, see Eduardo R. Mattio, "¿Esencialismo estratégico? Un examen crítico de sus limitaciones políticas," *Construyendo nuestra Interculturalidad* 5 (2009): 1–11.
20. Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology* (London: Verso), 1999.
21. See Urvashi Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class, and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics* (New York: Magnus Books, 2012).
22. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985).
23. Renata Hiller, "Matrimonio igualitario y espacio público en Argentina," in *Matrimonio Igualitario en la Argentina: Perspectivas sociales, políticas y jurídicas*, ed. Laura Clericó and Martín Aldao (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2010), 123.
24. Laclau, "Subject of Politics, Politics of Subject," 164.
25. *Ibid.*