

The Collective and Historical Self

Vulnerable Epistemologies, Affective Politics, and Intergenerational Herstories

Abstract: This paper investigates women's multiple practices of doing and writing history at the intersections of history, epistemology, and politics. Drawing on archival material, I focus on the Greek feminist birth control movement, which was part of the broader women's liberation movement, and highlight how it involved two simultaneous processes: the development of a feminist political agenda and the formation of knowledge. The analysis unfolds in three parts. The first section focuses on history and feminist intersubjectivities, exploring how the concept of history has been reconfigured in feminist historiography and the role of these reconfigurations within the Greek birth control movement. The second section examines the archives as central to knowledge production, specifically referencing the role of the Delfis Archival Center (Αρχειο Γυναικών Δελφύς) in Athens. Finally, the paper addresses studies of futurity and temporality, arguing for a reconfiguration of historical time itself. This multidirectional approach reveals how the Greek feminist birth control movement represents a political history of knowledge, marked by vulnerability, anxiety, and responsibility, as women strive to ensure their histories endure and effect small but meaningful political change over time.

Keywords: feminist intersubjectivities, self-historicization, knowledge, politics, theory, history, archives, time

1. Introduction

How can the feminist birth control movement become a way of exploring how women have made and written history? What did the historical intersubjectivities shape in

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25365/oezg-2025-36-2-3>



Accepted for publication after external peer review (double blind)

Evangelia Chordaki, Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, Scheide Caldwell House, Princeton, NJ 08544, USA; ec8612@princeton.edu, echorda@eie.gr

the interplays of history, epistemology, and politics? This paper discusses these issues from a theoretical perspective based on archival material of the Greek feminist birth control movement that emerged in the Greek public landscape in the 1970s and 1980s as part of the women's liberation movement. A movement that embodied two parallel processes: the development of a political agenda and the formation of knowledge – a knowledge related both to history and the birth control movement. I prefer to discuss these aspects as phenomena that are simultaneously embodied in and construct the content of the feminist birth control movement, rather than as separate or chronologically distant perspectives. This approach allows me to transcend traditional boundaries between politics, science, and knowledge production, using feminist critique from a historical perspective. Additionally, this methodological and analytical stance situates me and my research within the ongoing theoretical and, above all, disciplinary discussion – or rather negotiation – of the boundaries between history, politics, and knowledge. This discussion includes at least three different layers that can be summarized as follows: can the history of social movements be a history of knowledge? Is the history of knowledge a political history? What is the relationship between the history of knowledge, the history of science, and political history?¹ These research questions will be analysed in the context of a specific place, Greece – an area that is often considered to be politically, epistemically, and geographically a periphery, (re)producing related inequalities. However, due to the critical political conditions of the period (see below) as well as the transnational character of the feminist movements, this case study allows me to gain specific theoretical and historiographical insights and contextualize them within their situatedness.

The slogan 'the personal is political', stemming from 1960s feminisms and also seen in the Greek context, questions the separation of personal experience from broader socio-political discussions. Despite ongoing critiques, the Enlightenment notion of separating the political from the epistemic persists, shaping social and scientific perspectives. Sara Ahmed, a leading scholar in feminist theory, lesbian feminism, queer theory, affect theory, critical race theory, and postcolonialism, proposes that "the personal is theoretical", offering a fresh perspective on the link between emotions, theory, and politics.²

1 Laurence Cox/Flesher Cristina Fominaya, Movement Knowledge. What Do We Know, How Do We Create Knowledge and What to Do with it?, in: *Interface. A Journal for and about Social Movements* 1/1 (2009), 1–20; Lorraine Daston, The History of Science and the History of Knowledge, in: *KNOW. A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1 (2017), 131–154; Johan Östling/David Larsson Heidenblad, Fulfilling the Promise of the History of Knowledge. Key Approaches for the 2020s, in: *Journal for the History of Knowledge* 1/1 (2020), 1–6; Johan Östling/David Larsson Heidenblad/Anna Hammar Nilsson, Developing the History of Knowledge, in: idem (eds.), *Forms of Knowledge. Developing the History of Knowledge*, Falun 2020, 9–26.

2 Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, Durham 2017.

My research starts from this consideration: the relationship between the personal, the political, the scientific, the theoretical, and the historical – as a way of discussing history, politics, and knowledge within the frame of gender, feminist, and queer theory. I have argued elsewhere that by approaching the feminist birth control movement as a herstory of the production and circulation of knowledge, as a herstory of science communication, we can see the multiplicity of the public arena where science operates.³ Moreover, we can explore women's relation to different forms of knowledge and the processes through which women within the feminist birth control movement developed a specific type of expertise based on their experiences.⁴ Nevertheless, my focus here is on history – history as a concept and as a practice, the relationship between history and (inter)subjectivity, the understanding and making of history through its relation to knowledge, and vice versa.

More specifically, I revisit my study of the Greek feminist birth control movement as the intertwining between the politics of knowledge, body politics, and the feminist agenda, and reapproach it as an effort to reconstruct the collective (feminist) historical self. The current paper's multidirectional approach traverses theoretical, analytical, and empirical realms, dissecting concepts of history, feminist intersubjectivities, and archival practices. The first part focuses on the concept of history and feminist intersubjectivities. It examines (re)configurations of the concept of history in the historiography of social movements and, in particular, in the historiography of feminist social movements. It also examines the concept of history and its political and epistemological significance in my case study – the Greek feminist birth control movement. The second part is concerned with archives. It examines the local and historically situated feminist archives that store documents and sources of the Greek birth control movement. Here I will concentrate on one of the most crucial political spaces of knowledge production and circulation for the Greek feminist movement and Greek feminist birth control, the Delfis Archival Center (Αρχείο Γυναικών Δελφύς) in the Greek capital. I refer to a feminist collection of archives established in the back room of the Women's Bookstore in Athens – a space of great political and epistemological significance that still exists and continues to help feminists write their histories. Archives as a practice of doing history, and as history themselves, are inevitably linked to the concept of time. Hence, the final part of this discussion aims to bring the studies of futurity and temporality into science studies for a reconfiguration of the (historical) time.

3 Evangelia Chordaki, *Science Communication in the Late 20th Century Greece. Public Intersections of Gender and Knowledge Circulation in the Feminist Birth Control Movements*, unpublished PhD thesis, Hellenic Open University 2022.

4 Chordaki, *Science Communication*, 2022. See also Evangelia Chordaki, *Making Sense of Knowledge. Feminist Epistemologies in the Greek Birth Control Movement (1974–1986)*, Cambridge 2025.

Against the stable and hegemonic Histories that are “strong like walls” and resist to messy reconstructions, my attention here will shift to the feminist ways – as political acts – of producing multiple herstories of knowledge through the practices of self-historicization.⁵ By discussing my theoretical concerns, I will show how and why the history of the birth control movement is a political history of knowledge, in which collective intergenerational subjects formed a herstory that is fragmented, vulnerable, affective, uncertain, unstable, full of responsibility/accountability, anxiety, and fear – women’s fear of “[being able] to survive to tell their stories, and collectively strain to achieve small political shifts within the greatest length of time”.⁶

2. Framing the locality: *Metapolitefsi* in Greece

The Greek feminist birth control movement emerged after the collapse of the dictatorial regime in 1974 and officially ended with the decriminalization of abortion in 1986 under the governance of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK).⁷ This period marked the transition to democracy, known as *Metapolitefsi*, and was characterized by significant cultural shifts, including changes in social and gender dynamics, mass consumption, migration, mass tourism, the sexual revolution, and the proliferation of subcultures.⁸ *Metapolitefsi* also witnessed the rise of mass political and cultural events, acts of solidarity, and the emergence of self-organized publishing houses and those that published radical texts.⁹ Additionally, it led to the politicization of art and public discourses, fostering diverse forms of socialization, collective action, and public engagement.¹⁰ It was in this context that the feminist movement

5 Sara Ahmed, *Sweaty Concept*, in: *Feministkilljoys*, 22 February 2014, <https://feministkilljoys.com/2014/02/22/sweaty-concepts/> (19 September 2024).

6 Athena Athanasiou, *Θεωρία φτιαγμένη από ιδρώτα* [Sweaty Theory], in: *Feministika* 3 (2020), <https://feministika.net/theoria-ftiagmenh-apo-idrwta/> (13 February 2025).

7 Law 1609/1986, Government Gazette Issue (FEK) A '86/3.7.1986: Τεχνητή διακοπή της εγκυμοσύνης και προστασία της γυναίκας και άλλες διατάξεις [Technical Termination of Pregnancy and Protection of Women's Health and Other Regulations].

8 Antonis Liakos, *Ο ελληνικός 20^{ος} αιώνας* [The Greek in the 20th Century], 3rd edition, Athens 2022, 411–414.

9 For the analysis of *Metapolitefsi* as a “symbolic and spectral field of ideological conflicts” and its role in today’s Greek society, see Athena Athanasiou, *Αντι-μεταπολίτευση, Μετα-Δημοκρατία και Βιοπολιτική* [Anti-Metapolitefsi, Meta-Democracy, and Biopolitics], in: Manos Avgeridis/Efi Gazi/Kostis Kornetis (eds.), *Μεταπολίτευση. Η Ελλάδα στο μεταίχμιο δύο αιώνων* [Metapolitefsi. Greece Between Two Centuries], Athens 2015, 421–428.

10 Nicolaos Papadogiannis, *Ενότητα: Πολιτισμός. Έργο: Δημιουργία ιστοσελίδας για την ιστορία της Μεταπολίτευσης 1974–1989* [Section: Culture. Project: Creation of a Website on the History of the Post-independence Period 1974–1989], 2017, <http://metapolitefsi.com/%CE%95%CE%B-D%CF%8C%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82/%CE%A0%CE%BF%CE%B-B%CE%B9%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%BC%CF%8C%CF%82> (13 February 2025). The pro-

emerged – directly confronting both the state and the Church, advocating reforms in family law and women’s liberation, and joining forces with other movements such as the women’s peace, anti-nuclear, abolitionist, and LGBT movements.

The Greek feminist history of *Metapolitefsi*, as Ntina Vaiou and Angelica Psarra argue, began in 1974 and ended in 1990, marking an era where new collectives “demanded their political visibility”,¹¹ embodying multiple tensions, contradictions, and views, reclaiming a place in public spaces and discourses, and emphasizing gender relations and women’s position in the family.¹² It emphasized reproductive and sexual health and justice and involved ‘state feminists’ affiliated with political parties as well as autonomous, non-hierarchical grassroots feminists independent of political ties. These groups reshaped birth control as a domain of feminist knowledge and influenced the political agendas of *Metapolitefsi*.

3. Searching for the historical self in history – searching history in different histories

Exploring the relationship between politics and knowledge in feminist social movements, and more specifically in the Greek feminist birth control movement, from a historical perspective, two crucial concepts emerge: the historical self and/or historical subjectivity, and the concept of history itself. While these concepts are shaped, reshaped, negotiated, constructed and deconstructed, claimed and reclaimed in different historical, social, political, and geographical conditions, it is essential to search for them in theory, historiography, and within the case study. In this way we will better and more deeply understand how contemporary queer feminist theory approaches and informs the concept of the historical self and subjectivities, and how historiography about feminist movements treats the concept of history. Consequently, we will be able to explore the feminist intersubjectivities of the Greek birth control movement and examine possible (a)symmetries of conceptual and/or epistemological (dis)continuities in the two approaches – the one that reconstructs the past and the one that shapes a present. Put differently, what I am trying to understand here is, first, how

ject run at the Contemporary Social History Archives (<https://www.askiweb.eu/index.php/en/about-aski/aski>); Athanasiou, Anti-Metapolitefsi, 2015.

- 11 Ntina Vaiou/Angelica Psarra, Εισαγωγικό σημείωμα επιμελητριών (Introductory Note by Editors), in: idem (eds.), Εννοιολογήσεις και πρακτικές του φεμινισμού. Μεταπολίτευση και „μετά“ [Conceptualizations and Practices of Feminism. Post-independence and “After”]. Workshop Proceedings. The Hellenic Parliament Foundation for Parliamentarism and Democracy, Athens 2018, ix–1, xi–xii.
- 12 Lilika Μρομπολου, Φεμινισμός εσωτερικού χώρου. Ιστορίες γυναικών. Χρονικό μιας πορείας στο φεμινιστικό κίνημα [Indoor Feminism. Women’s Stories. Chronicle of a Course in the Feminist Movement], Athens 2008, 33.

intersubjectivities are constructed; second, how practices of doing and writing history conceptualize the concept of history itself in specific – perhaps similar or contradictory – ways; and, third, how the interrelation between these two concepts is mediated by the practices of knowledge production as political acts and vice versa.

Subjectivity, the self, and questions on agency have been much theorized in post-structuralist feminist and queer theory. In such literature, the subject appears as relational and performative,¹³ constructed in the social context,¹⁴ constituted through discourse, and shaped at the intersection of knowledge and power.¹⁵ It is based on intersubjective relationships, becomings, and interdependencies in which resistance is fundamentally linked to the question of agency.¹⁶ Whether we are talking about queer(/)feminist relationality or permeable intersubjectivities which emerge within the networks of affective relationships¹⁷ or in the discursive spaces where subjects come into being through their dialogical interactions with others,¹⁸ autonomous rational selfhood has been systematically deconstructed. And it is precisely this kind of self and subjectivity that I suggest we need to look for in the feminist movements, or in our historically informed engagement with feminist movements, or rather in the practices of doing history within feminist movements. This methodological position allows us to see how the relationships between and within generations, the inter- and intra-relations between individuals and collectives shape and are shaped by their practices of doing and writing history, practices of intersubjective knowledge production, and the parallel formation of political agendas.¹⁹ I argue that these multidirectional connectivities construct the subjects of feminist history or the feminist subjects in history.

Nevertheless, as I have already pointed out, there may be a political and perhaps even epistemological distance between the practices of doing or making history: on the one hand, feminists' efforts to produce, save, and write history; on the other, feminists writing histories about the histories of feminism. As a scholar of the feminist birth control movement, I belong to the second category. However, my point

13 Indicatively see Lesley-Anne Gallacher/Michael Gallagher, *Methodological Immaturity in Childhood Research? Thinking Through Participatory Methods*, in: *Childhood* 15/4 (2008), 499–516.

14 Cf. Sarah L. Holloway/Louise Holt/Sarah Mills, *Questions of Agency. Capacity, Subjectivity, Spatiality and Temporality*, in: *Progress in Human Geography* 43/3 (2018), 458–477.

15 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. I, New York 1980; Thomas Mary, "I Think It's Just Natural". The Spatiality of Racial Segregation at a US High School, in: *Environment and Planning* 37 (2005), 1233–1248.

16 Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power. Theories in Subjection*, Stanford 1997.

17 Tyler Bradway, "Permeable We!" Affect and the Ethics of Intersubjectivity in Eve Sedgwick's *A Dialogue on Love*, in: *GLQ. A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 19/1 (2013), 79–110.

18 Victoria Hesford, *Feeling Women's Liberation*, Durham 2013.

19 Naomi van Stapele, *Intersubjectivity, Self-reflexivity and Agency. Narrating about "Self" and "Other" in Feminist Research*, in: *Women's Studies International Forum* 43 (2014), 13–21.

here does not imply historical linearity. Rather, it is based on the political significance of what kind of new bonds, through what processes, and with what types of epistemologies the subjects and the objects of feminist history are being interchanged, encountered, or deconstructed as separate entities. In order to understand this, one might start by searching the concept of history in both cases – the historiography of feminist movements and the Greek birth control feminist movement.

What kind of histories are our histories? Before answering this question, it is essential to go back in the exploration of the word ‘our’. Feminist scholars have systematically engaged with the analysis of this word, exploring both the construction of its meaning within the hostile conceptual environment of the Other(ness) and the (im)possibilities of new becomings.²⁰ Here, the word ‘our’ includes all subjects identified as feminists and/or women and operates as a space-making concept. It becomes the space where feminist history and historiography meet, the place where the feminist subjects seep through feminist objects and vice versa, and the locus where the bonds and epistemologies are generated in our encounters with them. In this sense, ‘our’ becomes political.

Our histories are micro-histories that operate on a macro scale – they embody collective herstories that maintain the uniqueness of personal experience and resist master narratives that create specific political terms.²¹ They produce desires, investments, and responsibilities while they negotiate the relationship between past, present, and future, constructing the self through the process of writing and reading.²² They become a moving gesture that connects different generations in ways that, as Victoria Hesford notes, call and are called to historical and ethical accountability.²³ This specific type of conceptualization of history that emerges in the political landscapes of feminist movements is identified as the critical stance that we (need to) take towards the ways in which the past is remembered.²⁴ Our stories are stories that rapture established social orders and epistemological regimes.²⁵ They are stories that bring feminists into history and bring feminist history into the academic boundaries,²⁶ while questioning what feminism and feminist history should

20 Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 2017; Donna Haraway, *Situated Knowledges. The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective*, in: *Feminist Studies* 14/3 (1988), 575–599.

21 Gylfi Sigurdur Magnússon, “The Singularization of History”. *Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge*, in: *Journal of Social History* 36/3 (2003), 701–735.

22 Lucy Delap, *Feminist Bookshops, Reading Cultures and the Women’s Liberation Movement in Great Britain, c. 1974–2000*, in: *History Workshop Journal* 81 (2016), 171–196.

23 Hesford, *Feeling Women’s Liberation*, 2013, 256.

24 Wendy Brown, *Politics Out of History*, Princeton 2001.

25 Chordaki, *Science Communication*, 2022.

26 Ellen Hartigan-O’Connor/Lisa G. Materson, *Introduction: Women, Gender and American History*, in: idem (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Women’s and Gender History*, Oxford 2018, 1053–1075.

be.²⁷ Our histories are gendered histories that question the organization of historical knowledge,²⁸ criticize “objectivity in historiography” and “scientific impersonality and professionalization of history as discipline”,²⁹ and focus on the multiple universalities.³⁰

The history of feminist histories, such as the histories of feminist movements, disrupt political history – not by proposing a subcategory within it, but by expanding what is considered political. They challenge academia, broaden scholarly approaches, question the process of institutionalization, and disrupt language and thus theory.³¹ Silja Behre writes that such histories depict the struggling processes of finding a common language that produces new ideas while mobilizing groups, “revealing the social role of words – as designations and literary practices”.³² These literary practices of producing, translating, and circulating among multiple feminist acts (print culture, cafes, bookshops, events, groups) generated possibilities for reinventing the feminist self, enabling the parallel construction of collective identities.³³

The Greek feminist birth control movement, as part of the women’s liberation movement, is one of these histories. It is a movement that changed local, national, and transnational relationships, centralizing knowledge movements and exchanges.³⁴ The practices of the production and circulation of knowledge involved operated as political acts, while aiming to liberate women and their sexuality through processes of democratization of medical knowledge. In this movement, women historicized their experiences of oppression and liberation through the multiple histories of medicine and biology (for example, the history of contraceptive methods, medical methods of abortion, the naturalization of sexual difference and gender oppression), they historicized the ways in which they organized their response to this historical moment through the feminist movements of the time and the visions that they had for the democratic future of Greek society (for example, *Methods of*

27 Janaki Nair, The Troubled Relationship of Feminism and History, in: *Economic and Political Weekly* 43/43 (2008), 57–65; Alyosxa Tudor, The Anti-Feminism of Anti-Trans Feminism, in: *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 30/2 (2023), 290–302.

28 Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender – a Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, in: idem (ed.), *Feminism and History*, Oxford 1996, 1053–1075 (orig. 1986).

29 Bonnie G. Smith, *Historiography, Objectivity and the Case of the Abusive Widow*, in: Scott (ed.), *Feminism*, 1996, 15–32, 550.

30 Judith Butler, *Contingent Foundations*, in: Seyla Benhabib/Judith Butler/Drucilla Cornell/Nancy Fraser (eds.), *Feminist Contentions. A Philosophical Exchange*, New York 1995, 153–170.

31 Stefanie Ehmsen, *How the Women’s Movement Changed Academia. A Comparison of Germany and the United States*, in: Kristina Schulz (ed.), *The Women’s Liberation Movement. Impacts and Outcomes*, New York 2019, 36–50.

32 Silja Behre, *Introductory Remarks*, in: Schulz (ed.), *The Women’s Liberation Movement*, 2019, 67–72, 67.

33 Cf. Schulz (ed.), *The Women’s Liberation Movement*, 2019.

34 Chordaki, *Science Communication*, 2022, 320–383.

Contraception [1977] edited by the Movement for the Liberation of Women). In this way, they oppose historical linearity, connecting past, present, and future on a political basis, while continuously questioning the role/presence of hegemonic narratives in feminist history itself.

Furthermore, they historicized their bodies and the discourses ascribed to them.³⁵ As specific materialities such as the famous book *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (1970) indicate, this history is a history of creating feminist registration and meeting points.³⁶ The translation of this book into 35 languages and its continuously updated (English) editions (eight, most recently in 2011) testify to this and prove that the feminist work of publishing, writing and translating is a gesture that creates a meeting point in which we can register to our pain(ful) experiences. It is a history that has built feminist bonds, revealing desires to write histories about desires.³⁷ It is a history that has transformed feminist subjectivity into active intersubjectivities – adding motion, connectedness, and a plurality, for example in Anja Meulenbelt's book *For Ourselves: Our Bodies and Sexuality from Women's Point of View*.³⁸ It included practices of writing history and practices of self-historicization by locating history, for example, the historicization of abortion laws and their changes in order to locate their oppression in specific contexts.³⁹ As Kathy Davis argues for the important role of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective as a pioneer activist group, it validated women's experiential and embodied experiences, emphasizing "the local not as an identity but the context in which complex and shifting relationships are constituted within a dynamic field of historical and geopolitical forces".⁴⁰

This history created archives – and was created by archives. Beyond archives, however, one of the main practices of producing and publicizing a history is the establishment of (inter)national days – what Maria Grever theorizes through Eric Hobsbawm's concept of "invented traditions".⁴¹ Feminists of the birth control movement did this, for example they established the World Contraception Day (26 Sep-

35 See K. Vinder (ed.), *Kvinde kend din krop* [Woman, Know Your Body], Copenhagen 1975; translated into Greek: Ομάδα Γυναικών Δανίας [Women's Group of Denmark]/Alekos Dimitriou (Scient. ed.), *Η γυναίκα και το κορμί της* [Woman and Her Body], Athens 1980.

36 Cf. Boston Women's Health Book Collective, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, Boston 1970, Greek translation in 1984.

37 Ομάδα Γυναικών Βοστώνης, *Εμείς Και Το Σώμα Μας* [Boston Women's Health Book Collective, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*], ed. by Mariliza Mitsou-Pappa, Athens 1984, 36–38.

38 Anja Meulenbelt, *For Ourselves. From Women's Point of View: Our Bodies and Sexuality*, London 1981 (Greek translation Athens 1984).

39 Agapi Ntaifa, *Η έκτρωση δεν είναι αντισύλληψη* [Abortion is not Contraception], in: Πόλη των γυναικών [City of Women] 7 (1982), unpaginated.

40 Kathy Davis, *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves. How Feminism Travels across Borders*, Durham 2007.

41 Maria Grever, *The Pantheon of Feminist Culture. Women's Movements and the Organization of Memories*, in: *Gender and History* 9/2 (1997), 364–374.

tember) or the International Day of Action for Women's Health (28 May).⁴² Nevertheless, for them, these days were not passive commemorations or celebrations, but days of intensified struggle for global interconnectivity that had to disrupt the present and orient these social movements towards epistemic and reproductive justice.

History is also related to meetings; the latter are related to spaces. These practices, as they were common to all social movements, are an excellent example of creativity or world-making practices, in which women reinvented their interdependent subjectivities within the knowledge they produced as an act of resistance.⁴³ In this sense, we see numerous international feminist meetings and conferences on various topics, including birth control and women's sexuality and liberation, such as the First International Scientific Conference of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute of the Concordia University in Montreal (summer 1982),⁴⁴ the International Meeting in Paris (October 1977),⁴⁵ and the International Conference on Women's History in Amsterdam (1986).⁴⁶

4. The struggle of the archive and the archive of a struggle

Archives and history are interdependent. Archives produce histories, and histories produce archives. However, just like histories, not all archives are the same. In the case of social movements, and feminist movements in particular, the work required to create an archive is equal to the work required to form a social response or resistance, while the archive itself is part of this response or resistance. Some feminist scholars have been concerned with questions about the archives in relation to women. Such questions are linked to certain practices, for example collecting, cataloguing, and preserving particular materialities, while simultaneously, as Kate Eich-

42 See for example flyers available in the Delfis Archival Center like *Αυτόνομες Γυναίκες και Ομάδα Γυναικών της Φιλοσοφικής* [Autonomous Women and Women's Group in the School of Philosophy], 31 March 1984; *Αδέσμευτη Κίνηση Γυναικών. Διεθνής Ημέρα Δράσης για την Γυναικεία Υγεία* [Free Women's Movement. International Day of Action for Women's Health], 1984; *Προκήρυξη. Σύνδεσμος για τα Δικαιώματα των Γυναικών* [Proclamation. Greek League for Women's Rights], 1984.

43 *Women's Collective/Malliakou Ntina, Για την δημιουργία των γυναικείων ομάδων αυτοσυνείδησης* [For the Creation of Women's Groups of Self-Consciousness], in: *Πόλη των γυναικών* [City of Women] 1 (1981), unpaginated.

44 [Unknown author], *Επιστημονική έρευνα για τις γυναίκες* [Scientific Research for Women], in: *Ο Αγώνας της Γυναίκας* [The Struggle of Women] 16 (1982), unpaginated.

45 [Unknown author, no title], in: *Κίνηση για την Απελευθέρωση των γυναικών* [Publication of the Movement for Liberation of Women] 1 (1978), unpaginated.

46 *Dimitra Samiou, Ιστορία των γυναικών. Η διεθνής συνάντηση στο Άμστερνταμ* [Women's History. International Meeting in Amsterdam], in: *Δίνη* [Vortex] 1 (1986), unpaginated.

horn notes, the ultimate goal is to create new narratives and reveal new subjects.⁴⁷ Another set of questions relates to the ways in which (feminist) archives operate – are they a destination, a place, or a practice? – and the historicization of the processes that have centralized them in both feminist research/scholarship and activism.

However, what is essential for the discussion about the parallel processes of knowledge production and the formation of political agendas is the relationship between the practices and materialities of archives in relation to the practices of knowledge production and circulation. Feminist archives are knowledge-making. In this vein, Eichhorn argues that

“the creation of the archives has become integral to how knowledges are produced and legitimized and how activists, artists, and scholars make their voices audible. [...] The making of archives is frequently where knowledge production begins [...]. [A] turn to the archive is as much a turn to philosophy and more specifically epistemology, as it is a turn to history”.⁴⁸

Feminist archives are a feminist practice of self-historicization. The Greek feminist birth control movement had its own archives in which the activists wrote and produced situated histories of knowledge. Here I will focus on the formation of the Delfis Archival Center and my experience of working with it while writing my PhD dissertation. I show how the historical feminist trajectories were, and still are, the source that generates feminist histories of knowledge – trajectories that can never be approached outside their political contexts.

Shortly after beginning my PhD thesis, I learned about the Delfis Archival Center, a feminist space intertwined with history (in general). It emerged, endured, and continues to shape history. The Delfis Archival Center is closely associated with Anna Mihopoulou (born in 1963), a prominent feminist researcher and figure in Greek women's history. Known for her warmth and supportive demeanour, Anna Mihopoulou has long been involved in feminist pursuits. As a former student of the School of Philosophy at the University of Athens in the 1980s, she participated in the Women's Group in the School of Philosophy (Ομάδα Γυναικών Φιλοσοφικής, 1979) and co-founded the Group of Self-Consciousness (Ομάδα Αυτοσυνείδησης) (1982) with seven other women. Her commitment to Greek feminist movements led her and two others to establish the Women's Bookstore in 1983, which later incorporated the Delfis Archival Center. Lucy Delap argues that such bookshops made women's movements institutionally stable by constructing social worlds.⁴⁹ As such,

47 Kate Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, Philadelphia 2013.

48 Ibid., 3, 5. See also Hesford, *Feeling Women's Liberation*, 2013.

49 Delap, *Feminist Bookstores*, 2016, 172.

this feminist archive changed names and locations over the decades in various Athens neighbourhoods, accommodating and hosting different materials and events (for example an exhibition on contraception during the feminist birth control movement in 1985).

At the same time, this space has preserved history and recorded theoretical and literary books and feminist archives, documents, sources, and personal papers by or about women, in order “to collect women’s written discourses”.⁵⁰ It includes a variety of feminist archival sources from different geographical areas and topics, and from different periods, for example brochures, magazines, posters, photographs, ephemera, artworks, handwritten notes, and various other archival materials. This centre is a key institution in Greek feminist history, contributing significantly to the circulation of knowledge related to birth within the Greek feminist birth control movement.⁵¹ Anna Mihopoulou’s car was often filled with posters and memorabilia from contemporary feminist movements found all over Athens in her continuous efforts to archive and collect. History continues to make herstories.

While researching materials, I also wrote parts of my dissertation here, which was a unique experience. As a scholar of the history of science and feminist science and technology studies, accustomed to various archival settings, both formal and informal, typically under state control, my time at this centre stood out. I had always felt that the materials pushed me to tell the histories while I eagerly searched them. In my understanding, part of this experience was related to the way the archives were organized. There is a certain feminist work that we do when we write or create feminist histories. This work refers to the ongoing relationships that we have built, we are building and that we have a vision to build. A feminist work or feminist histories are always directed to other feminists or feminist works. I felt this accountability when I was writing my own history of the Greek feminist birth control movement. I sensed the work of Anna Mihopoulou and the other women directing the material

50 Mirtó [unknown surname], Βιβλιοπωλείο γυναικών Αθήνας [Women’s Bookstore in Athens], in: Γαία [Gaia] (1985), unpaginated.

51 Evangelia Chordaki/Katerina Stavridi, Ούτε Μπα, Ούτε Μπο. Ο Β@wie στο φεμινιστικό χωροχρόνο [Neither Ba nor Bo. Β@wie in the Feminist Space-Time], in: Anna Carastathis/Besi Polykarpou (eds.), Έλα να σου πω: Φεμινιστικές, λεσβιακές και κούηρ αφηγήσεις της μεταπολίτευσης [Come, Let Me Tell You. Feminist, Lesbian and Queer Narratives of the Post-Dictatorship Period], Athens 2021, 55–66; [unknown author], Ομάδα γυναικών Φιλοσοφικής [Women’s Group in the School of Philosophy], in: Κατίνα [Katina] 1 (1987), unpaginated; [unknown author], Πρόσκληση για μια κοινή απόφαση αλλιώςτική από τις άλλες [For a Common Decision That is Different From Others], in: Κατίνα [Katina] 2 (1987), unpaginated; Anna Markoulidaki/Anna Mihopoulou, Αυτόνομες ομάδες γυναικών. Αρχείο γυναικών [Autonomous Women’s Groups. Women’s Archives] in: Δίνη [Vortex] 5 (1990), unpaginated; Anna Mihopoulou/Mirtó Mpolota, Το βιβλιοπωλείο των γυναικών [The Women’s Bookstore], in: Πόλη των γυναικών [City of Women] 10 (1983), unpaginated.

to me so that I could write this history – for this herstory to be heard. I felt the work of the feminists of the 1970s and 1980s to not only produce, organize, and circulate the knowledge around birth control but also to let this body of knowledge relate to future feminists, future herstories, and future demands. It is this work that is a political work – a work that tells herstories in order to create worlds.

Part of this feminist work of the period was the wider print culture that women developed within the feminist movement. This print culture aimed to give visibility to women's past, present, and future voices and included the publication of their own magazines. These magazines built communities, presented an invisible reality, produced theory, and made feminist history part of the established history of modern Greece. In the case of the feminist birth control movement, one of the many magazines that played a crucial role in publicizing abortion and contraception was *I Politon Gynaikon* (City of Women), a magazine on the theoretical and practical problems of women's emancipation, published from 1981 to 1985 by Ntina Malliakou and the editorial team.⁵²

Additionally, the feminist magazine *Katina* was published by the Autonomous Women's Group of Thessaloniki (Αυτόνομη Ομάδα Γυναικών Θεσσαλονίκης, founded in 1985) from 1987 to 1991, while the famous *Skoupa* (Broom) was published from 1979 to 1981.⁵³ *Skoupa* is a characteristic example of women's collective work to transform publishing into a political act. Here, the editorial team highlighted that the magazine helped “women to establish their right to produce discourses and question the ‘truths’ that are presented as causalities”, challenging the scholarly discourses that they identified as “oppressors”.⁵⁴ These magazines were some of the 26 Greek feminist magazines that produced and circulated knowledge about birth control in the 1970s and 1980s, in particular about abortion, contraception, sexuality, family planning, sex education, local and international networks, activities, feminist theory, concerns about women's participation in politics, and women's experiences.⁵⁵

52 Names of authors and editors that repeatedly appear in the magazine: A. Daifa, D. Mparmpopoulou, A. Vasilakou, A. Attart, Nt. Malliakou, A. Chatziaslani, K. Melahrinou, E. Katakouzinou, G. Mplanas, K. Papathanasiou, N. Oixaliotou, D. Tsiki, K. Papadimitriou, Z. Trambidou, A. Alexandri, S. Paraskeva, A. Maragkopoulou, Ch. Tsakmaki, E. Ksirou, K. Mouzaki, K. Triantafyllou, N. Konidou, L. Vagiannou, A. Christakou, V. Batikian, S. Sisneros.

53 Names as they appear in the magazine: E. Avdela, F. Ziozia, L. Mosxona, M. Mitsou-Pappa, G. Papageorgiou, M. Papagiannaki, I. Florentin, A. Frangkoudaki, A. Psarra.

54 Εκδοτική Ομάδα του Περιοδικού Σκούπα [Editorial Team of Skoupa Magazine], in: Σκούπα [Skoupa/Broom] 1 (1979), 2.

55 Chordaki, Science Communication, 2022.

5. A feminist relationship with the past: poly-temporalities and multiverse futures

Feminist archives are concerned with new narratives, political subjectivities, and forms of knowledge. However, the word 'new' here is not only descriptive but also analytical. It does not refer to what follows the last, nor does it contradict the old. Rather, it describes all those experiences of "not feeling at home in the world"⁵⁶ and all those practices and acts of resistance, all the efforts to make the world home, all those discomforts of making the world home and the upset of not fitting in. The 'new' refers to Wendy Brown's "dirty history, a history that will never be at home among histories of reason, meaning or higher purposes",⁵⁷ a messy epistemology that contradicts specific epistemological and biopolitical orders and comes from atypical archives that do not fit into hegemonic sources,⁵⁸ a dirty (according to Wendy Brown) and disloyal (according to Jack Halberstam) methodology to conventional disciplinary methods.⁵⁹

In such a body of work, feminist archives are not approached or treated as static repositories that either hold specific truths or passively await the recovery of history. Instead, as Dimitris Papanikolaou argues, they embody the practice of reinvention, and when they trouble or they are troubled, they "reframe historical and political understanding and alert us to the modalities of a history in the present".⁶⁰ And here comes my next concern for the study of feminist histories through feminist archives: the relationship to time. More specifically, I am trying to understand what kind of relationship is produced and reproduced when creating or writing feminist histories of knowledge production. In particular, I want to explore how knowledge production as a political act of resistance reconfigures our relationship to time, and how our experience of time as political performativity direct our practices of knowledge production. While I have been confronted with these questions in my work with the feminist archives of the birth control movement, my concerns are also disciplinary. Nevertheless, influenced by my academic background, I am very much interested in the broad scope that the intersection between science studies and studies of futurity and temporality might offer to our understanding of knowledge production as a historically situated political act. Both science (medicine and gynaecology) and femi-

56 Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 2017, 13.

57 Brown, *Politics Out of History*, 2001, 104.

58 Chordaki, *Science Communication*, 2022.

59 Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, Durham 1998, quoted in: Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn*, 2013, 17.

60 Dimitris Papanikolaou, *Archive Trouble*, in: Penelope Petsini (ed.), *Capitalist Realism. Future Perfect/Past Continuous*, Thessaloniki 2018, 162–173, 168.

nist birth control movements are constructively related to practices of knowledge production and to notions of futurity and temporality. And there is nothing more political than the intersection of these positions.

Rita Felski asks, “How can feminism help us make sense of the hybrid histories of time?”⁶¹ Indeed, time is crucial to feminism and cuts across social and epistemological realms. But it is equally important to explore what kind of relationship to time has been built up in our relationship to feminist archives and vice versa. In addition, Victoria Browne discusses the notions of history, feminism, and time, arguing for multidirectional and multi-linear models that conceive of historical time through a “polytemporal conception.”⁶² In her insightful analysis, the historical time does not contradict but is shaped by lived time, which is related to experiences, interdependencies, and temporalities. The abstract, metaphysical, and objective notion of time is deconstructed, while past, present, and future seem to appear, reappear, and disappear with and within each other.

Some critical points that are raised in this line of literature refer to the interconnectedness of the formation of historical intersubjectivities within collective political acts with the anti-linearity of time, the emphasis on the continuities, relationalities, temporalizations, and the multiplicity of histories.⁶³ The concept of lived time is also connected to the literature on the living presents and feminist temporalities – “that is stretching past and future as it contracts all past experiences and expects those yet to come”⁶⁴ – and explores the different times in different histories. Complementary, queer literature analyses queer temporalities that contradict straight ones and problematize the “normativity and the cultural implications of the governing logics of time [...] as a tool of power and discipline.”⁶⁵ As Elizabeth Freeman and Jack Halberstam have shown, queer subcultures resist by not fitting into existing heteronormative framings and by proposing possibilities of being and living outside the specific linear and spatial configurations of time.⁶⁶

Analysing time from feminist(/)queer perspectives, the term as a signifier of a cultural, historical, performative, normative, and epistemic framework has

61 Rita Felski, *Telling Time in Feminist Theory*, in: *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 21/1 (2002), 21–28, 21 f.

62 Victoria Browne, *Feminism, Time and Nonlinear History*, London/New York/Shanghai 2014; Antoinette Burton, “History Is Now”. *Feminist Theory and The Production of Historical Feminisms*, in: *Women's History Review* 1/1 (1992), 25–39.

63 Browne, *Feminism*, 2014, 27–40.

64 Rachel Walker Loewen, *The Living Present as a Materialist Feminist Temporality*, in: *Women. A Cultural Review* 25/1 (2014), 47–61, 48.

65 Dustin Goltz, *Queer Temporalities*, in: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*, Oxford 2022, 1–2, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.1182>.

66 Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds. Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*, Durham 2010; Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place. Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*, New York 2005.

been replaced by that of multiple temporalities. This shift, combined with critical approaches to linearity, results in the discussion of temporalities in relation to futurities. One essential example that is central to the related history and easily conceivable in queer(/)feminist movements, such as the feminist birth control movement, is hope. Ahmed argues that hope reminds us that “feminist visions of the future have not been realized in the present”.⁶⁷ Utopias and hopes, as structural parts of opposition, have been central to this body of work, while transcending the boundaries between past, present, and future and remaining connected to – producing and being produced by – particular social struggles.⁶⁸ Similarly, Julie MacLeavy, Maria Fannin, and Wendy Larner argue on the one hand that in order to think about feminist futures, we need to embrace “the multiplicity and simultaneity of contemporary feminisms [...] [and open up to the] multiple feminist trajectories”.⁶⁹ Sara Ahmed, on the other hand, notes that the “feminist futurity might be realized through attending to the multiplicity of the pasts”.⁷⁰

Relational feminist time, as a political possibility and necessity that is meaning-making, has also been discussed in the literature as generational time, continually creating bonds between and across generations. Browne has discussed generational time in relation to temporalities and feminist historical trajectories that embody the “desire to build constructive intellectual and emotional connections between feminisms of the past and the present”.⁷¹ This kind of female sociality, which is also space-making – it creates a space to meet – is approached beyond “its biologized and naturalized configurations” and embodies “an impossibility as the only possibility of a future”.⁷²

Within the archival body of the Greek feminist birth control movement, related issues regarding temporalities, futurities, and feminist genealogies/generations appear and reappear, contextualizing the political demands on which the practices of production and circulation of knowledge related to birth control were based. A key example of this is the French feminist book *Clémentine ou la Contraception*, originally published in 1978 and written and illustrated by four high school girls: Natalie Crinon, Catherine Manes, Aurélie Memmi, and Catherine Revault.⁷³ In the introduction, the young authors emphasize the intergenerational nature of the

67 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, New York, NY 2004.

68 José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia. The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, New York 2009.

69 Julie MacLeavy/Maria Fannin/Wendy Larner, *Feminism and Futurity. Geographies of Resistance, Resilience and Reworking*, in: *Progress in Human Geography* 45/6 (2021), 1558–1579, 1558 f.

70 Sara Ahmed, *This and Other Others*, in: *Economy and Society* 31/4 (2002), 558–572, 559.

71 Browne, *Feminism*, 2014, 120.

72 Athena Athanasiou/Elena Tzelepis, *Thinking Difference as Different Thinking in Luce Irigaray's Deconstructive Genealogies*, in: Athena Athanasiou/Elena Tzelepis (eds.), *Rewriting Difference. Luce Irigaray and 'the Greeks'*, New York 2010, 1–14, 10, 13.

73 Natalie Crinon/Catherine Manes/Aurélien Memmi/Catherine Revault, *Κλημεντίνη ή τα Αντισυλληπτικά* [*Clémentine or the Contraception*], Athens 1979 [1978].

knowledge they want to convey, addressing “from virgins to menopausal women”.⁷⁴ As I have discussed elsewhere, the book publicizes issues related to women’s health and sexuality, including understandings of the body and sexual pleasure.⁷⁵ What is extremely interesting is that the book moves between the worlds in which social pressure and patriarchal ideology shape the understandings of these issues, and the worlds in which women are free to discuss them, share their concerns with their female and friendly doctors, and organize their sexual and reproductive choices in relation to the knowledge that they acquire about their bodies and their functions, sexuality, abortion, contraception, and so on. These two worlds are narrated and, to some extent, experienced through the deconstruction of the division between reality and utopia – the present (the living social present and the living feminist present) and the vision of the future. The poly-temporalities that emerge in relation to the futurities that the authors produced while writing their own history about the production and circulation of knowledge related to sexual and reproductive health are further structured by the interchangeability of the personas of the narration, which focuses on sexual orientations, gender performativity, and more.

If one of the most crucial things that happened during the global birth control movements was the politicization of the body, one aspect of this was the reconfiguration of women’s relationship to the notion of time through the processes of reclaiming knowledge. Both abortion and contraception are constructively related to time – to how time is experienced and performed through the organization of knowledge around birth control. So, reclaiming knowledge changed and was changed by women’s relation to time, and consequently if reclaiming knowledge was a political act, then reclaiming time was a political demand.

These shifts become even more profound when one understands the generational or genealogical continuities that shaped the experience of medical and social oppression and its resistance. Characteristically, Anna Mihopoulou, in a public speech in 1983 in the context of the feminist birth control movement, discusses the generational continuities of traumas and hopes and the temporalities of women’s past experiences.

“Eleni’s grandmother married at the age of 15. She gave birth to seven children, five of whom survived [...]. She had more than ten abortions; Eleni’s mother, who was married at the age of 25 and had two children, had eight

⁷⁴ Ibid, forward.

⁷⁵ Evangelia Chordaki, *Hidden Paths – Unconventional Practices. A Her-Story of Circulation of the Medical Knowledge in the Late Twentieth Century*, in: Kostas Tampakis/George N. Vlahakis (eds.), *Science and Literature. Poetry and Prose*, Athens 2020, 103–110.

abortions [...]. My friend Eleni is 23 years old and she had her first abortion this year. [...] She doesn't want to have another one.”⁷⁶

In a similar story, we see how inter- and intra-generational relationships construct feminist interdependent subjectivities in which the experience is lived and becomes epistemology. Here the woman describes her experience of abortion, which is directly linked to other women's experiences of abortion and women's experiences of oppression, as follows:

“They call your name, and you are sitting in a corridor [...]. You see an unconscious woman on a stretcher, half-naked, with something in front of her legs, destroyed. [...] You enter a room with another woman, whose position you take; she is hemorrhaging, she encourages you. [...] Near your bed, there are tissues with saliva, injections, etc. You are wearing the hospital gown of the previous woman. You feel like the 10th copy; you are the same as the previous girl who left in tears. [...] Dozens of women, wearing the same gowns, alone and with their wombs on the guillotine. Themselves and their gender, in convulsions on the stretcher, to demonstrate their nature and their loneliness and the feeling that all women share in everyday life, looks and touches, even from our loved ones, the oppression of women, which is experienced first in the body [...]. After a while, you get up and leave, staggering. Other women are waiting. [...] You feel all the women, young and old, your sisters – parts of your suffering, united and strong.”⁷⁷

6. Conclusion

The main concern of this paper was to understand the complex ways in which historical intersubjectivities are shaped in the interplays between history, epistemology, and politics. More specifically, I situated these questions within the Greek feminist birth control movement, which emerged in the Greek public arena in the 1970s and 1980s and embodied the parallel processes of the development of political agendas and the formation of knowledge. I argued that this multi-layered herstory, as a herstory of a feminist movement, a herstory of knowledge, and a political herstory, renegotiated established boundaries within the specific context of *Metapolitefsi*. My focus was on the construction of historical subjectivities in feminist herstories. This notion implies an examination of the relationship between history and intersubjectivities,

76 Anna Mihopoulou, Public Speech (15 December 1983). The transcript of the speech is available at the Delfis Archival Center.

77 [Unknown author], Η εμπειρία μιας έκτρωσης [The Experience of Abortion], in: Θούριος [Thourios], 12 March 1981.

and the multiple understandings and makings of history through the relationship with knowledge.

In this multidirectional triangulation between the notions of history, intersubjectivity, and knowledge, I focused on the crucial aspect of the practices of constructing feminist intersubjectivities as political acts that produce and maintain a herstory of a social movement – the Greek feminist birth control movement – which produced and circulated knowledge for over a decade. My main concern was how, through the feminist birth control movement, we could rethink and reflect on the (historically informed and) given epistemological boundaries. In order to show that in feminist movements the production of multiple herstories of knowledge takes place through practices of self-historicization – a profoundly political act – I examined three different aspects. The first concerned the relationship between politics and knowledge – a discussion that I shifted to the practices of (re)production/(re)invention of the historical self and the notion of history itself. Here, I centred on the transformations and conceptualizations of the notions as they appear both in the feminist birth control movement and in the historiography of feminism. I also discussed how doing the feminist historical self and doing history are knowledge-making projects. Here, the case study allowed me to show how the collective intersubjectivities – as they appeared in the practices of knowledge production about birth control – expanded the notion of history as a historically situated concept and reconfigured the epistemological aspect of politics and political agendas and the political aspect of knowledge and knowledge formation. The revisited notion of history as it appears within the intersubjectivities of the birth control movement also provides a feminist self-reflection. As Antoinette Burton has noted, it shows that feminist theory cannot be ahistorical.⁷⁸ But as much as feminist theory cannot be ahistorical, feminist history cannot be atheoretical.

In the second part, I explored the relationship between archives and feminist histories. I focused on the practices and materialities of the archives in relation to the practices and materialities of knowledge production, situating the notion of archives in the Delfys Archival Center. I also discussed my experience of conducting empirical research in this centre. This reflection was part of producing knowledge about knowledge production – a moment where we can see feminist intersubjectivities and history in action. I highlighted the correlation between the archives and the feminist relationship with time. My main concern was the relationships that are produced when we create and/or write feminist herstories of knowledge production. This discussion politicized time by creating a link between knowledge, futurities, and temporalities and feminist genealogies.

78 Burton, *History*, 1992.

Feminist archives are conceptual, material, and physical spaces where women made and wrote history within the feminist movement. They are the place and space where the personal has repeatedly become theoretical, while operating as intervention and resistance. I have shown how they change our relationship to time – repositioning us in relation to the past, present, and future – as a frame for the practices of knowledge production. Here, the meaning of time changed that of history, revealing the new tensions produced in the historically situated relationship between history, politics, and knowledge.

The herstory of the feminist birth control movement is a political herstory of knowledge that renegotiates the epistemologies of the political. And the political is negotiated here through different feminist works. Part of these works is the reinvention of the collective historical self, the reconceptualization of the notion of history, the reconfiguration of our relationship with time, and the reclaiming of knowledge. Part of this work is the commitment, as Ahmed argues, to “become the sources of each other”⁷⁹ or, as Kristina Schulz has shown, “let the theories emerge from our sources”.⁸⁰ Part of this work is to be constantly appearing and reappearing but never disappearing. This is how we produce knowledge, and this is how we become political.

79 Sara Ahmed, *The Feminist Killjoy Handbook. The Radical Potential of Getting in the Way*, London 2023.

80 Karen Offen, *Writing the History of Feminisms (Old and New). Impacts and Impatience*, in: Schulz (ed.), *The Women's Liberation Movement*, 2017, 320–36, 330.