

# This is an endnote to the exhibition.

The exhibition presents research about how witch hunting in Scotland is connected to the growth of the textile industry in the seventeenth century.

The central text is *Caliban and the Witch* by Silvia Federici, in which Federici suggests that witch hunting was a crucial component in primitive accumulation, or the development of capitalism.

<sup>1</sup> *Caliban and the Witch* functions as a critique of Marx's analysis of primitive accumulation. In the tradition of Marxist activists and scholars, Federici suggests that through a re-evaluation of the transition to capitalism, and by revealing the structural conditions necessary for its existence, the past can be read as something that survives into the present.

As a feminist theorist, Federici argues that Marx only takes into account accumulation's effect on the male waged worker, and excludes the effects it had on women's social position and their place in the production of labour power. As well as the aspects of primitive accumulation that are traditionally analysed (enclosures, colonisation, etc.) Federici evaluates the mechanisms in primitive accumulation that specifically targeted women, which she sums up in three sections:

- i) The development of a new sexual division of labour subjugating women's labour and women's reproductive function to the reproduction of the workforce.
- ii) The construction of a new patriarchal order, based upon the exclusion of women from waged work and their subordination to men.
- iii) The mechanisation of the proletarian body and its transformation, in the case of women, into a machine for the production of new workers. (Silvia Federici, 2004:11)

## Peasant Uprising

In contrast to Marx, who suggests that the genesis of capitalism was a necessary step towards revolution, Federici argues that the transition from feudalism to capitalism did not depose the nobility but instead re-enforced an existing power structure.

Federici frames the witch hunts of the early modern period by discussing the conditions in the middle ages that made the development of capitalism necessary for the ruling classes to re-consolidate power, and how this implicated women.

For the bulk of the middle ages, a simplistic model of the social structure was composed of serfs, the clergy and the nobility. Serfs, or peasants, would keep a tract of land on a lord's manor from which to subsist, in exchange for a few days work for the lord. It also gave them access to the 'commons' - public areas of woodland or pasture where they could hunt or graze livestock. However, this system was often extremely exploitative, as the lord would often impose arbitrary taxes known as *tallage*, demand offerings of poultry and eggs, and require the serfs join his army.

It is useful to mention at this point that although by no means equal to men at the time, a female serf was regarded just as useful as a worker as a male serf, and was less physically, socially and psychologically differentiated from her male counterparts. Furthermore, "women's work" was less devalued as all activity contributed equally to the family's sustenance.

The various taxes and requirements the lords imposed on the serfs were however difficult to enforce - peasants would often resist the work imposed on them through working slowly or sloppily, or even rebelling. It was not until mid-way through the thirteenth century that they decided to put the laws down in writing in various charters and bills, a famous example of which is the English Magna Carta.

In some respects, these charters masqueraded as a workers' victory, either fixing or abolishing the *tallage* and lessening the burden of military service. However, these charters also commercialized the master-serf relationship, as rents and labour services were from then on to be conducted in money transactions.

The commutation of labour services with money rents made it harder for producers to measure their exploitation - the peasants could no longer as easily differentiate between work they did for themselves and the work they did for their masters.

Furthermore, it created stratification amongst the peasants, were richer serfs with large tracts of land were able to hire labour, and poorer peasants were forced off their land and into vagrancy, or becoming day labourers in the towns. It also particularly affected women, whose inheritance rights were curbed, and were therefore also often forced to move to the towns and cities.

However, in the cities, women gained a certain amount of autonomy. Being able to live alone and work in different occupations, women were able to gain a little more social standing. By the 14th century, women did not only have trades, but were also becoming teachers and doctors. Women also became prominent in various heretic groups, or Christian sects that were aiming to challenge the corruption of the Church. The depiction of the female heretic was an important precursor to the popular conception of the witch.

Half way through the 14th century, the Black Death was somewhat of a game changer for the peasants and newly formed proletariat. Nearly 30-40% of the European population died, and as a result labour became scarce so wages became higher. It also meant that land was abundant and peasants were no longer so afraid of expulsion from the land by lords as they could now just simply move on.

This gave the peasants a newfound confidence and destabilised the existing power structures. This led to several uprisings, such as the 1381 English Peasant Rising led by John Ball.

## Accumulation of Labour

By the late Middle Ages the feudal economy was in crisis - the real wage had risen by 100%, and prices had fallen by 33%, as had rents. In tandem with the population crisis caused by the Black Death, medieval Europe experienced a crisis of accumulation.

It was therefore necessary to concentrate capital and labour in order to transition from feudalism to capitalism. Marx identifies that the main mechanisms of primitive accumulation were: the expropriation of the peasants from their land; the mass pauperisation of the peasantry in order to force them into waged labour; and the enslavement of African and Native populations in the New World (albeit only mentioned briefly).

Federici suggests that Marx ignores a crucial aspect of primitive accumulation. She describes a sexual division of labour where the domestic and reproductive work of women was aggressively accumulated. This also functioned as a technique by which to further divide and undermine the working class. In contrast to Marx, when this additional mechanism of primitive accumulation is taken into account, capitalist accumulation cannot be identified as any sort of liberation of the worker, but was instead a more insidious and brutal form of enslavement by an existing ruling class.

## The Enclosures

The peasant revolts of the late Middle Ages were mercilessly crushed - the German Peasant Wars (1524-1525) ended in a bloodbath that saw 100,000 people killed. The punishment of the peasants was due to continue, as they began to be expropriated from the land, which in Western Europe, particularly Scotland and England, is referred to as the Enclosures.

Essentially, the Enclosures refers to the late 15th century abolition of the open field system and the fencing off of the commons, which it is worth noting began to happen around the same time as colonial expansion. This was performed largely in the name of agricultural modernisation, and the land-grab initiated by the Reformation. Otherwise, peasants were forced off of the land by massive rent increases and taxation. Land owners justified the expansion of their holdings claiming that the peasantry were unable to produce efficiently - but the peasants starved as a result of this 'modernisation' as much produce tended to be exported.

The Enclosures had enormous effect on cooperative relations and social cohesion as individual labour contracts replaced collective ones. The expulsion of the peasants from the land deepened economic divides amongst the rural population as the number of vagrants, who had no choice but to beg for a job or alms, increased. Federici points out that this particularly effected women, as the enclosure of the commons undermined female sociality, as the common was an important place for them to meet and exchange news autonomously of men. Furthermore, the mass pauperisation caused by the enclosures particularly effected older women, as the flight of their children from rural areas left them unable to fend for themselves.

These divisions, caused by the enclosures, perhaps explain the common background of many witchcraft accusations at peasant level; that is, they were disputes of a mostly economic nature, over begging, the theft of livestock or unpaid rents.

## The Policing of Reproduction

Even though the colonies brought an apparently unlimited source of (forced) labour, Europeans brought nothing but death to the Americas, killing off almost 95% of the native population. Additionally, despite the state's attempt at stabilising the population crisis through some provision of social aid, populations in Europe continued to decline. Instead of making the connection between appalling living conditions and mortality, the continuing population crisis was blamed on low natality rates.

Contraception, a practice that had been treated with some leniency in the Middle Ages became a capital crime. Furthermore, midwives began to be marginalised in favour of male doctors, further subjugating women's control over the birthing process. As a result, accusations of witchcraft were often conflated with infanticide

The side-lining of the midwife is a precursor to the devaluation of women's labour in general from around the mid-sixteenth century. Society began to pigeon hole women into jobs that could be defined as 'domestic' or 'housekeeping', if they could even find work at all. City guilds were encouraged to overlook work women did in the home for industries such as the textile industry, as it was becoming to be classified as 'not real work'. Male workers were also complicit in this displacement, as craftsmen would campaign to exclude women from the workshops as they were employed at cheaper rates. This devaluation of women's work led to an explosion in prostitution, which again once seen as a necessary evil, was now harshly punished as an expression of unproductive sexuality.

Federici refers to this process as *the patriarchy of the wage*, which she pitches against the idea of 'wage slavery'. According to Federici, "if it is true that male workers became only formally free under the new wage-labour regime, the group of workers who, in the transition to capitalism, most approached the condition of slaves was working class women" (Federici, 2004: 98).

## Mechanical Bodies

This transition to wage labour marked a shift in the conception of the body. It was something to be harnessed as a tool solely for work, or conceived of as a 'work-machine'. This was an idea that was reinforced by philosophical, religious and political debate of the time.

The dawn of the Enlightenment, and the work of philosophers such as Descartes and Thomas Hobbes, ratified the notion that the body was simply matter to be put to work. A key feature of this type of philosophy was a conceptual division that was created between the body and the mind. The mind, the agent of Reason, was always at odds with the body, which was considered the site of instinct or baseness, which should be the slave to the mind's master.

The metaphors that were used for the body in works like *Leviathan* by Thomas Hobbes describe the body directly "in analogy with the *machine*, with an emphasis on its *inertia*" (Federici, 2004: 139). For instance:

Life is but a motion of limbs...For what is the heart, but a spring; and the nerves, but so many strings; and the joint but so many wheels, giving motion to the whole body. (Hobbes, 1650)

This reductive attitude to the body made it something that was intelligible, controllable, and had a potential for work. Reason, or the mind, is designated "judge, inquisitor, manager, administrator" with all of the trappings of the bourgeois ideals of ownership, law, responsibility and identity.

This re-conceptualising of anatomy further helped to adjust any 'magical' conceptions the body had in the medieval period, which encouraged superstition amongst the workers. In the words of Francis Bacon, "magic kills industry", so the 'de-mystifying' of the body, and divorcing it from the idea of what properly constitutes a person, was crucial in putting it to work.

Meanwhile, an important religious revolution occurred within which the notion of work was deeply implicated. The Protestant Reformation valorised ascetism and hard work, emphasising that despite the piety of a modest and restrained lifestyle, the refusal of wealth or gain if it was offered was an affront to the grace of God.

## Witch Trials as a State-Sponsored Initiative

The description of the changing socio-political landscape through the transition to capitalism culminates in Federici's hypothesis as to how all of the factors surrounding the accumulation of labour (enclosures, mass pauperisation, new social policy on reproduction and the birth of mechanical philosophy) contributed to the proliferation of the witch hunt across Europe.

First and foremost Federici emphasizes the importance of reading the witch hunt as an initiative from above as opposed to a movement from below; by describing the witch hunt as merely a product of superstitious hysteria, the crimes of the perpetrators are depoliticized.

The notion of the witch hunt as a state supported initiative is demonstrated by the string of laws that were passed and the administrative models used to prosecute a witch. For instance, in England three Acts of Parliament were passed in 1542, 1563 and 1604 legalising the persecution of witches, with the final act legalising the death penalty for witchcraft as *such*, that is an accusation that had no alleged proof of damage to property or persons. These laws were bolstered by the continuing misogyny of the Church, and in a Europe divided by the Reformation, were something that the Catholic and Protestant denominations could agree on.

Although the seventeenth century saw the birth of modern rationalism, many prominent thinkers of the day supported the witch hunt. For instance, Thomas Hobbes, although sceptical about the existence of witchcraft, supported the hunt as a means of social control. Even more extreme was Jean Bodin, who was credited with writing the first treatise on inflation, participated in several trials and authored a paper insisting that witches ought to be burnt alive, instead of 'mercifully' hung first.

The geographical distribution of the hunts also shows how the transition to capitalism and changing state policy contributed significantly to the intensity of the persecutions. In more agriculturally advanced areas (i.e. were the most enclosures had occurred) hunts were more wide spread; for instance, the most concentrated instances of witch hunting in England occurred in Essex, the county whose fields were enclosed first and agriculture modernised most rapidly. Many would expect more rural communities to have higher instances of witch hunting as superstition would be more ingrained; however, the graphs in the exhibition also show that in Scotland, the more agriculturally advanced the area, the more witch hunts occurred, as opposed to in the remote Highlands where trails were extremely few and far between.

Furthermore, the concentration of the witch hunts in areas effected by the enclosures is demonstrated by the developments in the popular imagination about witchcraft, most significantly the Demonic Pact. Previous to the end of the sixteenth century, witchcraft cases were mostly characterised by a particular *malefice* or spell, and confessions rarely involved descriptions of a pact with the Devil. However, through the seventeenth century, the instances of accusations of diabolism increased sharply. As the enclosures were the main cause of a mass displacement of peasants, causing them to turn to crime and vagrancy, the fear felt by the ruling classes about an uprising is illustrated by the imagery found in depictions of the Sabbat and diabolism. The

organisation and collective nature present in the idea of a meeting of witches bound together by allegiance to the Devil very much rings true to anxieties felt by the state and aristocracy about a repeat of the uprisings caused by heretics and other popular movements in the Middle Ages - as Christina Lerner points out, "popular uprising is social Sabbat" (Lerner, 1981).

### Witch Hunting as a Campaign Against Women Specifically

Federici goes on to demonstrate that witch hunting was essentially a manoeuvre to discipline the female body and transform it into a reproductive machine for the newly required work force. Her main arguments to support this hypothesis is the declining number of men prosecuted over time, and the specifically reproductive nature of the crimes associated with witchcraft.

Nearer to the middle ages, when witch trials were more closely associated with heresy, the accused tended to consist of roughly 40% men. However, moving into the early modern period, this declined steadily until during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries over 80% of those accused were women. Popular currents of misogyny kept the working class appropriately divided, discouraging any large organised initiative by men to protect women from persecution.

Furthermore, the nature of the crimes associated with witchcraft was largely of a reproductive nature. 'Witches' were frequently accused of infanticide, or causing abortion or sterility - as a result, midwives were popular victims as obstetrics began to become dominated by men. Additionally, it was often single or elderly women who were targeted - essentially those who did not conform to the model of sexuality as only a means to reproduction in the nuclear family. This was all part and parcel of what Federici describes as the capitalist 'rationalisation' of sexuality where all forms of non-productive sexuality were persecuted. For example, homosexuality, which up until the early modern period was generally tolerated began to be severely punished. Federici points out:

"So fierce was the persecution of homosexuals that its memory is still sedimented in our language. 'Faggot' reminds us that homosexuals were at times the kindling for the stakes upon which witches were burned"

### Conclusion

Towards the end of the chapter Federici stresses that the witch hunt did not have a singular key cause or root; it would be a mistake to suggest that it was lifted directly from the pages of Hobbes or Descartes, or as a logical conclusion to the enclosures. It was the result of a type of ideological bricolage, within which "rationalism and mechanism were not the *immediate* cause of the persecution, although they contributed to a world committed to the exploitation of nature" (Federici, 2004: 204). People, especially women, came to be seen as a natural resource. A key notion for Federici is the notion of the female body as the new common:

Just as the Enclosures expropriated the peasantry from the communal land, so the witch hunt expropriated women from their bodies, which were thus 'liberated' from any impediment preventing them to function as machines for the production of labour (Federici, 2004:184)

2 Scotland can be interpreted as a compelling model for these ideas proposed by Silvia Federici. In the late sixteenth to early eighteenth century, Scotland displayed the vast majority of the conditions described. The central belt and borders experienced enclosures, mass poverty and starvation, rapid industrialisation beginning in the late seventeenth century, and a zealous Protestant reformation. The Scottish witch hunt was one of the most intense in Europe, with the distribution of the hunts very much reflecting where industrial growth was most concentrated. Scotland's early industrial development was centred on the textile industry, with mills opening as early as 1681 in Haddingtonshire - which was, incidentally, statistically the most dangerous county in which to be a woman, with the highest proportion of accusations compared to population in the whole of Scotland. Furthermore, a particular case from Paisley includes almost all the elements to support Federici's argument about the connection between the ruling class, industrialisation and witch hunting.

In 1696, the daughter of the laird of Bargarran, Christian Shaw, began to show bizarre symptoms, which were eventually attributed to possession by witches. She would throw fits, hear voices, and (allegedly) coughed up balls of hair and pins.

The accused amounted to almost thirty people, seven of which were hung on the 10th June 1697 at Gallow Green in Paisley. Although not a very high prosecution rate by comparison, the demography of the victims was classic - servants, blasphemers, a midwife, and those of generally poor repute in the town. The only anomaly of the make-up of those put to death was the proportion of men to women: three men and four women. The prosecution was made up entirely of local gentry, including several related to the Shaws, such as Lord Blantyre who was the head of the commission.

The backdrop of the trials also exemplifies the conditions described by Federici as ideal for a witch scare. Scotland was economically and politically unstable after the 1688 Glorious Revolution (the overthrow of Catholic James II by William of Orange). Furthermore, fear of an invasion by the French meant taxes and troops were being levied despite the on-going famine and economic crisis. The church was also experiencing instability as Presbyterianism was restored in Scotland after the revolution. The religious zeal fostered by the Church's need to assert itself was also an important factor - a point that would likely explain the higher proportion of men accused in the Paisley case, as the prosecution of atheism as well as witchcraft was a particular priority for the new Kirk.

However, what makes the case an almost perfect example of Federici's thesis is the fact that, with the help of her mother, Shaw grew up to open the Bargarran Thread Company and become one of the most influential people in the textile industry on the West Coast of Scotland. This string of events perfectly illustrates her thesis that it was an existing ruling class that initiated industrialisation, and that these people were interested in the disciplining techniques that were facilitated by the witch hunt, as a result of fledgling philosophies of capitalism.

3 The textile industry is a particularly useful example when examining the development of capitalism as it was so implicated in all aspects of early capitalist expansion. Cotton was picked in the Americas by slaves, exported to the UK to be spun into thread and woven into cloth, and then exported back to the colonies and across Europe. Now, the garment industry is a trade that is often used to illustrate the mounting 'feminization of labour', where now, in late capitalism manufacturing is becoming increasingly populated by a precarious female workforce.

The equipment used in the early textile industry - namely the loom - has an important place in the history of technology and manufacturing. The punch cards used to create patterns in cloth were the precursors to the cards used for early computer programming. Charles Babbage and Ada Lovelace based their early computer, the Analytical Engine, on a loom.

Invented by Joseph Marie Jacquard, the punch hole card system for looms cut the amount of time it took to set a pattern in a loom by weeks, and reduced the amount of manpower needed to produce cloth significantly. This was met with hostility by many workers in the textile industry - new frames were famously vandalised by Luddite rioters in the early eighteenth century.

Charles Babbage greatly admired Jacquard, and owned a woven portrait of him. The portrait consisted of one thousand threads per inch, and used some twenty four thousand punched cards to create the image. Babbage's initial arithmetic machine, the Difference Engine, could only add, but with the introduction of the punch card system based on that of the looms, the Analytical Machine would have been able to do several different types of calculations. Ada Lovelace largely developed the programming system for the Analytical Machine, although she's rarely given the due credit for her involvement in the development of early the computer. However, she did give her name to the American military's programming language (ADA).

Through this genealogy, many aspects of late capitalism from electronics manufacture, personal computers, to high frequency trading can be traced back to the loom:

The yarn is neither metaphorical nor literal, but quite simply material, a gathering of threads which twist and turn through the history of computing, technology, the sciences and arts. In and out of the punched holes of automated looms, up and down through the ages of spinning and weaving, back and forth through the fabrication of fabrics, shuttles and looms, cotton and silk, canvas and paper, brushes and pens, typewriters, carriages, telephone wires, synthetic fibres, electrical filaments, silicon strands, fibre-optic cables, pixelated screens, telecom lines, the World Wide Web, the Net, and matrices to come. (Sadie Plant, 1998: 12)

### Can the mechanical body be recouped?

In her history of women and technology, Sadie Plant suggests that the female body and technology are fundamentally linked, from the conception of the earliest computers to female workers on electronic assembly lines. For Plant, technology is intrinsically runaway, more closely resembling the biological, webbed and interconnected nature of amoebas than linear logic.

Those were the days when we were all at sea. It seems like yesterday to me. Species, sex, race, class: in those days none of this meant anything at all. No parents, no children, just ourselves, strings of inseparable sisters, warm and wet, indistinguishable one from the other, gloriously indiscriminate, promiscuous and fused. No generations. No future, no past. (Plant, 1998: 3)

This follows in a tradition of feminist thought that suggests the mechanical body, or cyborg, could be a site of feminist liberation. In Donna Haraway's canonical text, *The Cyborg Manifesto*, it is acknowledged that cyborgs are traditionally seen as "the final abstraction embodied in a Star Wars apocalypse waged in the name of defence, about the final appropriation of women's bodies in a masculinist orgy of war" (Donna Haraway, 1991). However, Haraway's essay suggests that cyborg's are a useful image for socialist-feminist struggle as the cyborg represents the ultimate sexless, inter-racial, technological rogue bastard child being:

The cyborg is resolutely committed to partiality, irony, intimacy, and perversity. It is oppositional, utopian, and completely without innocence. No longer structured by the polarity of public and private, the cyborg defines a technological polis based partly on a revolution of social relations in the oikos, the household. Nature and culture are reworked; the one can no longer be the resource for appropriation or incorporation by the other. The relationships for forming wholes from parts, including those of polarity and hierarchical domination, are at issue in the cyborg world. Unlike the hopes of Frankenstein's monster, the cyborg does not expect its father to save it through a restoration of the garden; that is, through the fabrication of a heterosexual mate, through its completion in a finished whole, a city and cosmos. The cyborg does not dream of community on the model of the organic family, this time without the Oedipal project. The cyborg would not recognize the Garden of Eden; it is not made of mud and cannot dream of returning to dust. Perhaps that is why I want to see if cyborgs can subvert the apocalypse of returning to nuclear dust in the manic compulsion to name the Enemy. Cyborgs are not reverent; they do not re-member the cosmos. They are wary of holism, but needy for connection - they seem to have a natural feel for united front politics, but without the vanguard party. The main trouble with cyborgs, of course, is that they are the illegitimate offspring of militarism and patriarchal capitalism, not to mention state socialism. But illegitimate offspring are often exceedingly unfaithful to their origins. Their fathers, after all, are inessential. (Haraway, 1991)

### Rebel Bodies

The image of the rebel body - cyborg, possessed, witch - becomes a useful image as we find ourselves in what Paul B. Preciado refers to as the 'pharmapornographic era'. Transitioning from an industrial, Fordist economy into a post-Fordist late capitalist society, gender subjectivity is increasingly managed along the lines of pharmaceuticals and masturbation. The body has become a consumer as opposed to mere producer of sexuality, through the multi-million dollar porn industry and the consumption of synthesized oestrogen, progesterone and testosterone, holding bodies in a stasis of highly constructed gender and managed reproduction.

For instance, and this was expressed by Letitia Beatriz in their event *Positions of Power*, the development of the contraceptive pill for an American market was a highly political, racialised operation. It was extremely difficult to find a large enough group of test subjects in the United States in the fifties, as contraception was still illegal in many states. However, in the pseudo-colonial island of Puerto Rico, the authorities has been interested in population control for a while now, having sterilized almost 35% of the female population. As a result they were willing to cooperate with pharmaceutical companies in the testing - and Puerto Rico became the 'cage of ovulating females' the company desired. As a result, Puerto Rican women were exposed to the migraines, nausea, and cancer-cell multiplication associated with early incarnations at the development of the pill, for the benefit of the white, American 'liberated' woman.

The make-up of the contraceptive pill is indicative of a larger cultural attitude toward femininity. The truth is, that there were several different ways that the contraceptive pill could have been produced; a small amount of testosterone would have done the job. The lack of any interest in developing a male pill also speaks volumes about cultural attitudes surrounding fertility and virility. Through the administration of 'female' hormone, the Pill still ultimately constructs a female subject with whom the task of reproduction and domesticity still lies.

Intrinsa was a synthetic testosterone patch that was developed by Proctor and Gamble for use by a female market. The patch would help to rejuvenate the sex drives of women who had had hysterectomies, were post-menopausal or experiencing the reduction in libido commonly associated with the pill. However, the FDA refused to allow P&G to market the product, as they wrote it off as a 'lifestyle drug' like Ecstasy or poppers. This is representative of the prevalent attitude towards the administration of hormone across the sexes; "feminine sexuality is constructed as a passive territory on which the violence of male sexuality is exerted" (Paul B. Preciado 2013, 225). However, this is not to say that women are the sole victims of this social construct; men are rapidly becoming implicated in the pharmacopornographic landscape of gender stabilisation. For instance, adult males generally have between 437 and 707 nanograms per decilitre of blood; however some bodies, only produce 125 nanograms per decilitre, and their sexual assignment is still male - however, they are commonly candidates for testosterone hormone therapy.

Through the course of his book 'Testo Junkie' Paul B. Preciado begins to administer testosterone to his female body. Preciado is essentially becoming a sort of gender pirate, neither quite trans-man or cis-woman, floating ambiguously across gender and sexuality in order to challenge constructs and assignments, becoming a bio-techno- cyborg terrorist, a trans-man refusing to have his uterus confiscated by the state. Preciado proposes a "molecular and post-pornographic trans-feminism" that encompasses the struggles of all of the pharmapornographic era's 'feminised' (or more accurately in line with his theory 'pornified') bodies. Preciado is "pleading for an array of politics of physical experimentation and semiotextology" (Preciado, 2013: 226) to create resistance to normalisation.

Gender copyleft strategies must be minor but decisive: the survival of the planet is at stake. For this movement, there will be no single name that can be transformed into a brand. It will be our responsibility to shift the code to open the political practice to multiple possibilities. (Preciado, 2013: 395)

What the body of the cyborg and the witch represent in this context is a refusal - a refusal of work in a medical-sexual- industrial complex.