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Performance anxieties in Elfriede Jelinek's online private novel, 'Envy'

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Gender & Performance

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Performance Anxieties in Elfriede Jelinek's Online Private Novel, *Envy*

Sruti Bala

cultural-philosophical concepts of performance and the perforedge. What would it imply to bring these seemingly disparate requirements, and as a descriptor of sexual climax). Yet the two in English (related to business results, the fulfilment of technical the constitution of identity through acts and language) seem to mative (related to artistic execution, presentation in public and results that can be clustered into two broad semantic fields. The A simple internet search of the term performance would generate be as distinct as scholars of performance might like to acknowlsemantic fields or paradigms of performance may perhaps not have no connection to the most commonplace usages of the term the way we understand gender as being performed? chance etymological connection, and if so, what does it imply for our understanding of automobile performance? Is it more than a with business performance, or the performative speech act with to be found in performance theory linking artistic performance refer to as 'enhancing one's performance'? Is there a connection the performance of gender have to do with what drug advertisers usages of the term in conversation with each other? What does

The answer to this final question can be found in the 1000-page novel *Envy* (*Neid*) by Elfriede Jelinek, published in 2007-08 in a series of sparsely formatted PDF files available on her website. The novel became accessible to me as I listened to the radio adaptation of the oceanic text in the form of ten hour-long podcasts by the German public broadcaster *Bayerischer Rundfunk*, aired between October and December 2011. It may come as a surprise to claim that a German novel, in which the word *performance* does not appear even once, could be a source text for a theorisation of the concept. *Performance* is not etymologically a German word,

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of the performance of gender, neither of the above terms would be ment and accomplishment of a standard. In referring to the notion as Leistung or Leistungsfühigkeit, in the sense of capacity for achievein the sense of an artistic, cultural performance or show; secondly with at least two different words: firstly, Aufführung or Vorführung event such as a Happening; (ii) the achievement potential of a term Gender-Performanz or Performativität. used in German, rather it is more common to find the anglicised English term performance could indeed be translated into German machine or a market share; and (iii) actual language usage.3 The Here it integrates three meanings: (i) a staged act, or an art-like although it has been recently included in the Duden dictionary

of the failure to perform; it stands for the anxiety and inability to a marker of performance as a goal, and is often evident in terms of woman is linked in a complex manner to the notion of nonwoman, the text poses questions for the theory of performance performance penetrates the common thinking of the category of than a fixed identity. In common language vocabulary, gender is process of the historically constituted sedimentation of acts, rather woman, is understood as being performatively generated: it is a monly used in the humanities, any gendered category, such as performance, albeit in very different ways. In vocabulary comadaptation. This is a category that appears in both paradigms of performance or failed performance in the text and in the radio thus questioning their dissimilarity or separation. The category most were the rhetorical tropes and techniques employed by through mental translation and paraphrasing, what struck me myself trying to make sense of the vastness of the text and the as a non-native speaker of the German language, while I found and gender. hood. By making apparent the ways in which the idea of failed perform the acts that constitute 'successful' manhood or woman-10-hour radio adaptation by mapping its main narrative strands performance as a philosophical, social or linguistic problem. Yet Jelinek in semantically linking these seemingly incongruous fields The novel Envy does not directly address the issue of gende

Envy: An Online Private Nove

is contrasted with the virtuality of financial capitalism; the houa ghost town: the outcome of a collapsed economy, which is yet texture of the novel, and their eerie presence lurks in what is itself of the past are rendered impossible to forget or eliminate in the promotion of the region as a winter sport attraction. The ghosts woven together with quotes and references from the yellow press torium in collusion with her overbearing mother. At the interface the family. In particular, the text focuses on the guilt the narrator relationship of the narrator to her parents and other members of figures of the present. On yet another level, Envy deals with the spectres of the past are set against the 'living dead' (lebende Tote) sing crisis is interwoven with the crisis of national memory. The another complex theme of the text. The virtuality of the internet World War to the recent economic refurbishment and aggressive is examined in the text by linking these killings during the Second in a racist mob attack in 1945. The problematic of historical erasure Death March of Präbichl', wherein 200 Hungarian Jews were killed refers to the site of a historically documented incident called 'The level of the text: the town of Bichlstein, in which Brigitte K. lives, underground, criminal secrets is further expanded on in another that reports the activities of a 'cannibal murderer'. The motif of ding stories about women detained in cellars for years and one coverage of other sensationalised criminal cases in Austria, inclueventually murders his girlfriend out of envy. This crime story is teenage music pupils, offering him a car in exchange for sex and of trivia and the sensationalist media. On one level, the novel folgenres and subcultures and, in particular, delves into the language is impossible in her own life. the living, who know how to live so well'5, a quality she believes between these relationships lies the envy the narrator teels towards feels about her mentally ill father, whom she 'deports' to a sanahis younger secretary, engages in a secret affair with one of her town in Austria, an ageing woman ditched by her husband for lows a crime plot: Brigitte K., a violin teacher in a small industrial Part novel, part internet blog, part diary, it draws from a variety of tapestry of motives, narratives, themes and intertextual references As with all of Jelinek's writing, Envy (Neid) is a tightly woven

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own house, it is at best the housekeeper, who sweeps the grounds of the text and, crucially, into the language of speaking of and every chapter of the novel, is sewn into all the narrative strands of the groundless'.' it says I, it may contain I, but in any case this I is not Master of its representing the self: 'Nothing is true, everything is I ... Where painting by Hieronymus Bosch that appears at the beginning of Envy, one of the seven cardinal sins depicted in the table top

author, rather than appraise or even read the book. The irony or online, or the difficulty of printing out a thousand pages." a cursory and fleeting manner, with thoughts (hyper-)linked as if of the internet novel also retains a sense of being grasped only ir overwhelming presence, is thus not to be missed. The radio version and yet ephemeral and escaping attention precisely because of its subtitling Envy a 'private novel', available only on the internet public and open space of the internet, Jelinek ironically evades and the attention of the media. By 'hiding' the text in the most steer clear of the pressures and mechanisms of the book market in between, without a clear indication of how much more would uploading the novel chapter by chapter, often with long intervals industry, which are vehemently critiqued in Jelinek's work.8 By one encounters in reading if through large swathes of fine print as a textural principle. It is clearly a spoken text rather than a narwere, in a chain of associations, digressions and seemingly random of book reviews that create the cult around and then attack the and simultaneously comments on the hypocrisy in the culture public figure in the Austrian press and in the German language follow and when it would come to an end, the author, a very is closely connected to the issues of authorship and the publishing three years after receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2004 rated text, and that is further attested by the physical discomfort connections that employ the rhizomatic structure of the internet literary and theatre scene, seems to have consciously sought to The decision to publish a novel in serial form on her website

erasures and digital presentations of the self that are invisible in 'gender performance' by focusing on its perceived failures and digressive narration a clash between different connotations of their very hyper-accessibility, *Envy* offers by way of methodically menopausal women, crime-obsessed boulevard news, historica Spanning a landscape of shrinking cities, dying economies

> equally, as decay, collapse and degeneration; it is not described not only as a process of subject constitution and becoming, but and lacking identity constantly and viciously attacked for being insufficient as an identity marked by possibilities alone, but recognised as an non-performance. The category of woman is ironically unravelled

dinary detail in this particular text and sensitively adapted to the cally, industrially derived usages such as 'non-performing loans auditory medium in the radio play. non-performance is uniquely elaborated in a barrage of extraorin the text. This complex play with language is typical of all of matically combine disjoint phrases, are systematically employed and that refuses the possibility of a straightforward explanation. results in a semantic incongruity that is witty and insightful, theorisation of gender as constructed identity on the other. This or 'automobile performance' on the one hand, and the feminist Jelinek's writing, but the specific connection between gender and Figures of speech such as zeugma and syllepsis, which gramhancement drugs' or 'performance anxiety', as well as economithe trivial, sexualised usage of notions such as 'performance en-The text generates indirect but sustained contrasts between

within outwards' 10 By foregrounding and interweaving the sointrojections, but also projects excrements and bad objects from spoiling it. Unlike greed, envy does not only strive for destructive able, whereby the envious impulse lies in taking this away and another person is enjoying and withholding something desirfilmmaker Eva Meyer explains envy as 'the angry feeling that an audio teature accompanying the radio production, writer and an idea of the self. Referring to psychoanalyst Melanie Klein in precisely, envy is used as a method of evoking that which is no gender performance. to the absence of this connection in theoretical understandings of performance of gender, the novel and radio play implicitly point called trivial connotations of performance with the notion of the there, which is lacking or withheld or denied, in order to constitute Envy is the emotion that constitutes the fabric of the text. More

Iwo Paradigms of Performance

to correspond to the performative and the constative dimensions sexual fields. Linguistically, the two paradigms could be argued so. The former usage is predominant in the humanities, reterring of language and speech. usage is most common when referring to economic, technical and to artistic, linguistic, cultural, and gender performance. The latter the latter emphasises the fulfilment of a goal or the failure to do inversely, non-performance, failure, collapse and inadequacy in terms of success, accomplishment, growth, reputation, or tion and becoming, whereas the other emphasises performance field emphasises performance in terms of its creation, constitudifferent usages of the term performance as follows: one semantic an admittedly vast field, I would like to distinguish between two Whereas the former emphasises the processuality of performance For the purpose of this essay, and at the risk of oversimplifying

formance in the English language: Here is a tentative glossary of the different paradigms of per

Performance as Process

- most of the founding texts of the field of performance studies; intangible archives and repertoires. This paradigm is outlined in ming arts; culture as articulated and consolidated in practices and creatively developed work belonging to the realm of the perfor-1. Artistic or Cultural Performance: public presentation, exhibition,
- as enunciated in speech act theory derives from this field,11 petence to accomplish meaning and acts; the term performative 2. Linguistic Performance: ability to use language, linguistic com-
- 3. *Gender Performance*: gender as identity being historically constituted through a 'stylised repetition of acts', ¹² Performance as Goal
- complishes a task, as well as the measurement of its output; 4. Technical Performance: the manner in which a mechanism ac-
- measured against a standard;¹³ the quality of execution of an action, operation or process when actual results vs. desired results in a business-related activity: 5. Business Performance: an indicator of the difference between

out sexual activity and the norms associated with virility and 6. Sexual Performance: vocabulary referring to the ability to carry

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a utilitarian sense. Strong judgements of one's gender are made a generative, material category rather than as a fulfilment of a as in the case of constative speech, which can be verified by its ter of accomplishment and having a potential for achievement ir or behaviours are implied in being either a woman or a man. In and re-imagine exactly this norm, which determines what acts cannot be quantified or verified. From the perspective of common determined and is not random or merely a matter of free will. I that gender is a never-ending process; this process is historically ance of gender from a cultural-theoretical point of view, we mean term are at odds with each other. When referring to the performtransformation and agency. Yet the two different meanings of the given role is an attempt to introduce the possibilities of active the field of performance studies, the theorisation of gender as to do so. Feminist theories and practices have sought to critique successfully fulfilling these standards or, more frequently, failing of the accomplishment of certain norms and the judgement of political and cultural acts and interactions. When speaking of given, but is generated and constituted through linguistic, sociotheorised as a subject position that is not natural or biologically to gender. When speaking of performance as process, gender is to different trajectories in their conceptual histories. However each other, employing very different vocabularies and pointing language usage, gender is either performed well or not; it is a mat performance as goal, gender is commonly understood in terms they curiously overlap or intervene with each other in relation It may be argued that these two fields remain largely distinct from

to do so. That the notions of success and failure are, in effect, two sharp focus the extent to which the idea of performing one's gennot treat them as equally valid; rather, it works out a complex, gender and performance, Envy does not ignore or overlook these der (pertormance as goal) often becomes equivalent to the failure feminist critique of how they are interrelated. Envy brings into different understandings of gender performance and also does In terms of what it achieves as an artistic engagement with

through experiment and error. conventional perceptions and irritating the familiarity of language presentation that provides insights and hints at ways of unsettling and interruption – a highly specialised language and form of review and in their overdependence on being recognized by the and other women as inadequate according to a capitalist world Envy attacks the complicity of women in referating themselves woman in public discourse is inevitably represented and measured sides of the same coin becomes evident in the way the figure of the strategies of digression – specifically, the tropes of interweaving patriarchal norm. At the same time, the text proposes through its against patriarchal and capitalist standards in the novel. Further,

Strategies of Interweaving and Interrupting

meaning of the phrase, 'lazy loans', by contrasting it with a neosurrendered to others for their use: the woman's body, ownership of which is willingly or unwillingly housing and financial crisis, and from there the association with ing a connection to the US-American companies that fuelled the logism, fleißige Kredite, literally 'hardworking loans', thus drawand are close to default. In the text, Jelinek plays with the literal performing loans', referring to loans that have not been repaid The phrase faule Kredite¹⁴ may be translated into English as 'non-

use, to be possessed by someone and become possessed! a good price, though not good for us! - Well, the main thing is cost us our homes), would be gotten rid of at a blanket rate and but also the hardworking performing ones, would be flogged be lived in by someone else, or be furnished to facilitate quick to the locust Cerberus (this homey beast [Heim [W]e could all only profit, if our lazy non-performing loans that our bodily apartment, at least the one still available, will *læn*J, which will

What comes across as an absent-minded slip of the tongue, leading investment firm, ironically bearing the name of a three-headed hand, the term 'locust Cerberus' refers to the private American interweaving of the text's diverse thematic strands. On the one to seemingly random associations, is in fact a careful and compact

> of patriarchy. It is not a simple equivalence that is laid out, but a ership of their 'houses', implying their residences, their inherited down our capacity to see what hes behind them. simultaneously splitting up the habitual connections that wear gesture of linking fields generally perceived as disconnected while crisis. The subject of the economy is interwoven with the object of the language extracted from the news related to the housing possession of the woman's body thus interrupts a smooth reading property, as well as their bodies. The idea of the acquisition and and condemns women as functional caretakers, who forsake ownfinancial housing crisis and the language that looks down upon such as domestic silver. These references form a link between the primarily valuable for sentimental rather than financial reasons here to the possibly illicit sale of an heirloom: property that is I translate as 'homey beast'. The term to flog (verscherbeln) refers to a field. On the other side, the word Hainghan means both a and thus destroyed thousands of jobs, as a locust swarm does mythical beast, which bought out several multinational companies house cricket as well as a pejorative term for a housewite, which

from storage';18 'the others are the ones who are unfriendly, we because her body is not youthful and attractive: exploited for its mineral resources and a city that is deserted for its litical developments. The language describing a hill that has been woman is carefully interwoven with ongoing economic and pothrough male recognition. The experience of growing old as a women are extremely service-oriented'. 19 The careful and unrelentwork she does',16' the wife doffed aside as a coat',17' the being of this women - in all of the above. The text abounds with phrases and the financial crisis, to the phenomenon of shrinking cities in the that speaks of the ageing woman's loss of desirability, devalued declining profit-generating potential is contrasted with language and the service of patriarchal interests, women repeatedly fail to ing scrutiny of language lays bare how, within the logic of profit woman has been discarded, recessed, and will now be removed patriarchy: 'The woman is the work she does, the man eats the expressions that bite into the calves, as it were, of capitalism and role allocated to and performed by women – particularly ageing emergent post-industrial economy in the West, to tourism and the perform' and seek instead a legitimisation of their own existence The critique of capitalism in Envy extends from addressing

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in it and nothing of it.20 one else enters into a relationship with them), into which one concierges of some reality housing, which they manage, suwas excavated from within and without. Now nothing is left can penetrate in a lasting way, as indeed into this hill, which relationship, a comfortable relationship of convenience (for no pervise and with which they have entered into a shaky reality going away, whereas the older ones stay on, as receptionists, for which I even have pity, culminating in younger women of the sexes, with which I have already tortured you enough [11]here are, for instance, torturous changes in the relationship

of desire or utility declines. The critique of patriarchy is thus a woman's value when her 'performance potential' as an object or abandoned as required. The symptoms of the economic crisis a natural environment as an economic resource to be exploited this being possible with a narrative method of picking up and something is good or bad. Rather, it recognises moral judgements roles. The critique is not a simple moral judgement, stating that ageing woman, are humiliated, and in which they play a signifi and to generate a convoluted complex of what is left behind, of she sees in front of her.21 The attempt is not to render a primary ing and language. The narration thus does not follow a mimetic themselves as having a pattern, which unfold in and through writgoes hand in hand with the ownership and regulation of gender the nation state, wherein the ownership of property and territory inseparable from an awareness of the profit-oriented values of relate to the symptoms of cultural crisis, particularly the loss of cant part, are shown as being related to the mechanisms that view what has already been said: biographical, related to current affairs or trivial media reports, using material from any available source, be it historical, literary, reality as authentically as possible, but to interrupt any sense of procedure, wherein the author simply represents the world that The social mechanisms by which human beings, here specifically

not yet, not that this means they will be locked up yet, these alone, which is dying, the place is dying, not the woman, There are so many such as this woman, in the rural province

> any respectable arse.22 with it, and anyone may go in me as well, as is appropriate to to this country, and so I am now permitted to go everywhere own - full of arseholes, I don't exclude myself when I say this, country is – like any other, even in that it won't stand on its I too wish to belong after all, I have acquired by birth a ticket the country may have been full of them by now, however this lonely beings, these dungeons of themselves, all the holes in

the text to feminist theory of gender performance. fields, is what I consider one of the main impulses provided by of linking and connecting ideas deemed to belong to separate hand where clarity seems to be in demand, and on the other hand interrupting associations, of introducing ambiguity on the one national citizenship. This literary strategy of interweaving and of entitlement and occupation that is implied with a privileged ship and control this evokes, which in turn references the sense derogatorily perceived as 'holes' and the connotations of ownerits own past crimes; it also refers to the parts of the female body the holes or gaps in the national memory with regard to addressing criminal cases of women being locked up in holes underground; metaphorical: the abandoned mining ditches in the provinces; the passage above reters to several different 'types' of holes, literal and used to create and sustain differences. The image of the hole in the reader and listener to be circumspect about the way language is The all too obvious clash of meanings and references invite the

or to introduce distinct terms such as performativity, which are in teminist theorisations of gender, is to strictly demarcate the clash, at least in the academic world of performance studies and with appraisal, anxiety and failure. The general response to this industries, businesses and economies, where it easily compounds into it, and materialised by the same logic that governs machines untouched by this latter terrain, gender is very much incorporated of output, efficiency, profitability and utility. Far from being left place usage of the word performance, stemming from a vocabulary there remains the problem that this contradicts the most commonprocessual, transitive understanding of the way gender is peruse of the term from the paradigm of 'performance as goal' and / formed and sought to irritate a fixed, normative understanding While feminist theorisations of gender have struggled for a Sruti Bala Performance Anxieties

is strictly determined and judged. It does not claim to propose a and yet it does not allow these dominant modes of perception is private here, as if something is hidden precisely because it is and recognition of others. In its length and density, its convois denied to or unavailable to oneself. At the experimental level departure, in order to finally arrive elsewhere, but where?"24 definitely want the implicitness of the gender binary as a point of to exist with ease: 'More than that I couldn't say, except that theory or a form of perception that would displace existing ones the language is lifted and recycled from social fields where gender multi-layered constitution of gender subjectivity. At the same time narrative strategies emphasise the processuality and tragmented there for everyone to see. Clearly, the language of the text and its luted language, its openness, it is impossible to say what exactly sovereignty and freedom to speak, without fear of the judgement as a radio podcast marks the 'successful performance' of this very this private novel that can be downloaded and read or listened to response to others enjoying the sovereignty and recognition that talist, nationalist and patriarchal world views. Envy is the emotive ability, are emblematic for the deep connections between the capi and young, and not being valued for her loss of utility and desir woman's performance anxieties about not being beautiful-bodiec literary response to this problem. At the thematic level, the ageing I consider Jelinek's Envy to be a very complex and self-reflexive

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Notes

- See http://www.elfriedejelinek.com (Accessed 12 June 2012). The text apparatus becomes smaller. The page numbers henceforth cited refer to the compiled version for PCs, http://a-e-m-gmbh.com/wessely/ in various font sizes, whereby the font becomes larger as the reading NEID.pdf (Accessed 12 June 2012). All transl for PCs, e-readers and smartphones are simply duplicates of the text issues; it is recently available in different versions. The three versions between 03.03.2007 and 24.04.2008, with five chapters, and a total of 14 was first published as a serial novel in the prose section of the website ours are num
- radio/bayern2/sendungen/hoerspiel-und-medienkunst/schwerwas accompanied by a series of interviews and supplementary fea broadcast from October to December 2011, consists of a monologue The production, adapted and directed by Karl Bruckmaier and first punkte/jelinek-neid100.html (Accessed 12 June 2012). tures, also available as a downloadable podeast. http://www.br.de/ Jelinek, and music by Frode Haltli and Maja Ratkje. The production spoken by the actress Sophie Rois with occasional inserts by Elfriede
- Duden, Rechtschreibung der deutschen Sprache, 21st ed. (Mannheim) Leipzig/Wien/Zürich 1996).
- These are the cases of Natascha Kampusch, kidnapped at the age Jelinek, Envy (Neid), 216. and kept in an incestuous and abusive relational case, involving a woman held in captivity for 24 years by her tather of ten and locked in a tiny cellar in Vienna for eight years; the Fritzi Viennese street where Jelinek's own family members once lived. Amstellen in Austria; and the case of the 'cantibal murderer' in a hip in the town of
- in Madrid, estimated date 1495-1520; oil on wood, 120×150 cm; Reg The original artwork is held in the collections of the Museo del Prado

No. 2822

- E. Jelinek, 'No Orders, no Payoffs, no Receipt, no Deceipt. Remarks or und-medienkunst/hoerspielpool372.html (Accessed 12 June 2012). 03.10.2011, http://www.br.de/radio/bayern2/sendungen/hoerspielhtm (Accessed 12 June 2012); also available as podcast on BR Online Anmerkungen zu Neid), http://a-e-m-gmbh.com/wessely/faunerk Envy' (Keine Anweisung, keine Auszahlung, kein Betrag, kein Betrug
- In an introductory note on Enry, Jelinek pleads with the reader to do and Book Market in Elfriede Jelineks Prose of the Noughties,' Austrian ics, Vol.19 (2011) 1, 82-97

This is evident not only in Enry (New) but also in other essays and in

the novel Greed (Gier). See J. Tuschling, 'The Face of the Brand: Author

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what s/he wants with the text, but to please not print it out. I must

admit I disobeyed the authorial instructions, as it would have been

- impossible for me to read and engage with the text otherwise.

 10 E. Meyer, 'Born Digital. On Jelinek's Private Novel Envy' (Das digital geborene Ich. Zu Jelineks 'Neid: Privatroman') http://www.br.de/ radio/bayern2/sendungen/hoerspiel-und-medienkunst/hoerspielpool368.html (Accessed 12 June 2012).
- 11 Most widely recognized here are the works of J.L. Austin and N.
- 12 I first came across this particular phrase in J. Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Chomsky, respectively. Theory', Theatre Journal 40.4 (1988) 519.
- 13 Both above definitions are from the Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd ed
- 14 Jelinek, Envy (Neid), 4 and 161 (here: rotting loans or 'faulige Kredite'

in German 'lazy' and 'rotten' are homonyms).

- 5 Idem 4. Idem 59.
- 15 17
- 7 Idem 146. 8 Idem 277. 9 Idem 223.
- 18 Idem 277. 19 Idem 223. 20 Idem 66. 21 Meyer, 'Be 22 Jelinek, Er 23 J. McKenz
- Meyer, 'Born Digital'. Jelinek, Envy (Neid), 206. J. McKenzie, Perform or Else, From Discipline to Performance (London/ New York 2001).
- Jelinek, Envy (Neid), 28.

Women's Empowerment in Chiapas

Political Theatre and Battlefield Theatricality in FOMMA

Caroline Rodrigues

Women at Sites of Power: Two Cases from Chiapas

that craved transformations based on equality, gender equality contemporary thoughts on political resistance. Approaching two litical thinkers including Gerald Raunig, Roger Burbach, John being one of its main means to permanent revolution. decades of existence, the Zapatistas are indeed a model of a society Holloway and Slavoj Žižek as a strong paradigm for building The Zapatistas' story has been told and analysed by several po

capital of Spanish imperial power. men, most of them Maya, occupied the city of San Cristóbal de las daybreak on January 1, a vast crowd of ski-masked men and woutopian expectations of political affirmation were fulfilled. At of massive expropriation of indigenous lands, many seemingly indigenous movements since the 1960s. In 1994, after NAFTA (the Casas, one of the oldest cities of Mexico and once an important North-American Free Trade Agreement) was instated in times The region of Chiapas has been politically shaken by rebellious

were clearly stated in the Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle. Aside from the eleven abstract demands for work, land, home, food time, the movement was unified under the name of one of the basic citizenship had been vocalised for two hundred years. This democratic elections and land agreements.² These demands for peace, the declaration stipulated precise requirements related to health, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and cito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN), the protesters' demands United under the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (Ejér-