

VI INTERNATIONAL MARXIST FEMINIST CONFERENCE

21-21 November 2025

Porto – Portugal

ABSTRACT BOOK

Contents

CONTRIBUTION TO THE VI INTERNATIONAL MARXIST FEMINIST CONFERENCE - ON <i>THE DIALECTICS OF SEXUAL POLITICS</i>	4
OPENING PLENARY - FROM MARX TOWARDS A DECOLONIAL MARXIST FEMINISM.....	17
WORKSHOP - <i>BUILDING FEMINIST, QUEER, AND ANTI-RACIST NETWORKS OF RESISTANCE, BASED ON DIALOGUES AND ECHOES ON KORA (CLAUDIA VAREJÃO, 2024)</i>	20
1A RESHAPING THE WORLD WORKING CLASS.....	21
1D MARXISM FEMINISM AS A TOOL FOR TRANSFORMATION.....	25
PLENARY SESSION - DECOLONIALISM IS NOT A METAPHOR.....	29
WORKSHOP - <i>FEMINIST AND POLITICAL SELF-DEFENSE WORKSHOP</i>	30
2A APPROPRIATION OF WOMEN’S BODIES IN WAR AND PEACE	31
2B SOCIAL REPRODUCTION THEORY AND FEMINIST ECONOMY.....	35
2C INTERSECTIONALITY BETWEEN FEMINISM AND CLASS SUBJECTIVATION UNDER A DECOLONIAL LENS.....	39
2D INVISIBLE CITIES.....	43
2E CONFRONTING GREENWASHING THROUGH LABOUR.....	46
CONVERSATION CIRCLE - <i>STRENGTHS AND CHALLENGES OF COLLECTIVE FEMINIST PRACTICE IN PORTO</i>	49
3A CRIATIVE RESISTANCE AND ARTIVISM E O ARTIVISMO AS TOOLS OF EMANCIPATION.....	50
3B QUEER MARXISM AND THE IMPORTANCE OF QUEER SOCIAL CRITICISM	54
3D RECLAIMING CARE WORK AS ESSENTIAL WORK.....	58
3E REPRODUCTIVE POLICIES AND STATE CONTROL.....	62

WORKSHOP - <i>THE STRUGGLE OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN UNDER OCCUPATION: COLLECTIVE RESILIENCE AND RESISTANCE</i>	65
PLENARY SESSION - BODIES AND LABOUR	66
BOOK PRESENTATIONS WITH DEBATE	68
4A LAND AGAINST CAPITAL	69
4B FEMINISM AS AN ANTI-MILITARIST PRAXIS FOR A JUST PEACE	72
4C CARE AND CONTRADICTIONS: EXPLOITATION AND RESISTANCE	75
4D ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND FEMINIST RESISTANCE	78
4E A MATERIALISTIC CRITIQUE ON DIFFERENCE AND PRACTICE OF OTHERING	81
WORKSHOP - <i>CARE SPACES: OPPRESSION AND PRACTICES OF RESISTANCE</i>	85
5A CHALLENGING SOCIAL ROLES THROUGH ART	86
5B OUR BODIES, OUR RULES	90
5C DESTABILISING THEORY TO WIDEN HORIZONS	94
5D FACING THE LIBERAL FEMINISM TRAPS	97
5E OUR LIVES ARE NOT BATTLEFIELDS	101
WORKSHOP - <i>EL FANZINE FEMINISTA COMO PRENSA DE COMBATE, MATERIAL MILITANTE Y DE FORMACIÓN POLÍTICA</i>	104
CLOSING PLENARY	106

Contribution to the VI International Marxist Feminist Conference - *On the dialectics of Sexual Politics*

Frigga Haug

My reason for doing this special research on sexual political campaigns was not only the increase of such campaigns in the last decades and even more intensively since 1989, but moreover a certain contradiction within those campaigns. Antagonists as well as protagonists came from opposite sides: including feminists fighting for women's rights on the one hand, side by side with the moral majority engaging for law and order, marriage and family and both asking for more state interference in this field. This paradoxical situation was mirrored by my own feelings and thoughts. In short, the contradictions also caused a rupture within me. Such a strange situation urgently needs an analytical approach.

I started with the campaigns on sexual abuse, with which I was confronted, when I came to Canada in 1992 and met again coming back to Germany several months later. The research I want to tell you about is somewhat more recent, starting in 1994 to be finished summer 1997 - it is on sexual harassment at work.

One more preliminary remark before I start: strangely enough this field of the sexual is altogether rather depressing for research. That you cannot deal with it without including yourself does not make it easier and better to live with. Therefore, I imported Chinese tricks to win the humour necessary for research. I shall try to translate at least some of them.

Chapter 2

The first Chinese advice:

To remove the firewood secretly from under the kettle (pot) of someone else and put it under your own.

On August 10th, 1996, the >Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung< (most conservative and dominating daily) reported on its page >Germany and the world< that the Federation of Malaysia was going to fight >erotic in the office<. The administration was planning to hire preferably less attractive women to avoid erotic in the office.

This was deemed the best prevention >of unhealthy activities ... If two women being equally qualified apply for a job the less attractive candidate will be hired<, the paper cited a minister, adding the information that in Malaysian supermarkets separated check-out tills for men and women had been installed with the purpose to prevent the awakening of any sensual and sexual feelings.

The report is not commented on by the paper. The putting together of place - Malaysia, known as a country of sensual pleasure for tourists, - and certain words: - politics being directed against erotic and desire is like putting an end to a campaign that went on for several years and created extremely antagonistic sentiments, enabling odd alliances and producing defeats. >Sexual harassment at the workplace< became an issue first in the United States like most the other

campaigns within the field of sexual politics. In Germany the problem was officially recognized and put in a law dedicated to the protection of employees in September 1994.

Its proposal was promoting equal opportunities for women. Was the campaign against sexual harassment more than exotic nonsense directed against joy of life at the workplace?

Looking back at the beginning of the year 1997, the campaign seems strangely misplaced. All over the world the politics of neo-liberalism were reaching from the dismantling of the welfare state to a politics promoting the attractiveness of the nation for capitals' investment. The consequences of those politics were to be experienced everywhere, even and especially in the everyday life of women, demonstrating unmistakably that what is essential at work is not >female attractiveness< and >male desire< but getting and keeping a job instead of being rejected and thrown to the rubbish.

Compared with those existential crises complaining about the climate at work almost seems like demanding good manners in the case of war, trivial bickering of people having no idea about the gravity of the situation. Should we better shrug and let go of this matter of secondary importance, starting the discussion of the >real< questions? Or are the politics on sexual harassment or, more general, the last decade's campaigns on sexual politics somehow correlated with the breaks in the modes of production and with the relations regulating them.

If we read a complete issue of the FAZ our glance will be oriented from the unattractive office in Malaysia to the globalized markets from Mexico to China, where the capital-strong nations fight for the victory in the global competition. This is certainly a huge distance to overcome mentally but suddenly, we stop at a certain point. Without any doubt the sexual political campaigns deal with gender-relations. This is so obvious that it seems unnecessary to mention it separately. But if we articulate it, we suddenly notice a certain gap in the discussions on world market, globalization, neoliberalism. What is the role of gender relations on this scale?

Language is enmeshed or embedded or part of the dominating culture in an uncanny (unheimlich) way. Therefore e.g. the mere naming of gender relations in the context of politics of growth, capitals' profit, and the conquering of new markets sounds inadequate, like another of these efforts to put something marginal, unimportant, something which could be regulated later onto the central stage of a world summit.

But we will insist that gender relations are not a minor detail. They are fundamental for the relations of production, and we also insist on our question: what is the relationship between the openly led campaigns within gender relations and the breaks and ruptures in the overall relations of production?

This question is now, of course, somehow extremely general and therefore not apt for empirical research. Therefore, I try to gain some knowledge by turning to one of those campaigns concretely and locally. As a model I'm going to investigate the German politics against sexual harassment at work during the nineties. This limited case seems to be quite concrete and handy. Germany even had a law to protect employees from sexual harassment at work and yet it is at the same time rather vague. We certainly don't assume the phenomenon to be totally new, though we can give exact

data on the law, the time when it was passed (4. 9. 94) and its precise words.

Though we know that the problematic it deals with is rather old, the campaign came as a break, a scandal courted by the media, contested in politics, finally caught in law. From the beginning the contested issue as well as its advocates had two faces: feminists fighting for self-determination on the one hand and the guardians of moral, marriage, family and an almost forgotten image of woman on the other. Both parties were calling the state to establish order.

Who won? Who lost? The issue itself became a question of hegemony. It was necessary to deal with it if you wanted to win an election or sell journals and books.

You will remember easily that the topic itself was also produced for instance by the media. All at once male desire seemed to spread out powerfully all over the companies. But this was not all. Memories surfaced, too. More and more events became public that had taken place up to a decade earlier (like in the Austrian parliament or in the case of Anita Hill in the United States). There was also a strange public discussion which mixed the questions of the connection of women being at the disposal of patriarchal power and other political topics of race and class in a strange incomprehensible way and shifted all of them from the outset into the field of morals. The polemics left open whether sexual harassment was a new term for a very old issue or whether the relations and behaviour had changed in a way that the actors in the field of labour must cooperate and interact in a different way.

Trying to understand the issue is like nailing a pudding to the wall. Suddenly it's everywhere and nowhere, withdrawing any determination of a clear boundary and resisting any definition. And the question remains whether sexual harassment became a contested terrain because new self-confident women - the daughters of the women's movement - were no longer willing to endure the old relations, or whether the old defenceless women face new relations, hence whether this is also a cultural break, within which the interactions of the two sexes become problematic.

If you come too close to your field of research the topic brings up possible relations like creepers (climbing plants) in which you get caught. Are men sex offenders, women can't fight back without foreign help? Or are women their tender victims? Are our bodies something like traps, which capture our pure souls? Are the public and especially the semi-public workplace hostile regions for women and is therefore the home the better, since protected place? Is freedom beyond the family the sphere of female derogation to a sex object? Is the whole issue a question of morality or of human rights? And who are we women as sexual beings?

If we cannot understand a topic because it seems to be too close it is advisable to step back and widen your glance anew. So, let's step into the world scene once again.

The last decade we did not only experience as a period of growing globalization and worldwide crises which mainly are discussed as a weakening of the national state by itself because it is pressed by the transnational capitals. Besides this - as already said - a number of fights about positions in gender relations have taken place. Issues of the day became: sexual abuse, violence against women also in marriage, and eventually sexual harassment at work. In each case the various media stressed with relish the pornographic dimensions of the issue, then shifted the focus of the subject or finally

dropped it as ridiculous as I showed you in the beginning.

We obviously must broaden our questions and tie them together at the same time. What is the place of our issue? The economic crisis or a sexual one? Is it about a further sexualization of the female body or, reverse, the moralizing of the gendered division of labour and of an economy functioning on this base? Is it a matter of instrumentalizing the sexual dimension or of a rampant sexuality, which must be stopped? By whom and what for? Is it sexuality which is at stake or is it power and if so, power for whom? Is it a matter of women's liberation? And if so, how?

If we take a further glance at the fights addressing and questioning existing gender relations, it is obvious that within the last decade there were not only sexual politics - but these campaigns were also accompanied by the fights for women's quota: fights which also took place in parliaments and in parties, in the media and in law, fights that were mainly fought in the field of the social gendered division of labour and still go on. At a first glance the question whether women should participate in the making of social life equally and the question whether they should be guaranteed a workplace free of sexual harassment seem to be totally different. But at second thought even this assumption that there would be no connection at all is somehow alarming, though it is convenient. I remind you of the worldwide contested images of the new woman, called babe, who is very sexy and self-confident and therefore interesting and who is of course neither old nor interested in politics. It is strange though expected that these different spheres are kept separately or drawn apart: sex and politics - and work is mentioned as a leisurely hobby if it is mentioned at all. This observation leads us to be quite attentive that in this new campaign on sexual harassment at work all these three properly separated fields of sex, politics and work come together. So, we ask about the relation of sexuality, economy, work and how they mutually support and put each other into service reciprocally. - In this research we must consider that of course there will be a certain autonomy, a specific development and movement of the particular areas of culture, politics, morality, law and the sexual and moreover a certain autonomy of the agents in these fields.

If we look at our issue in this broader context we come to further questions. We see that in the times of economic global crises we meet very short-lived campaigns in the sexual field, which start with problematics of everyday life, engage the persons concerned intensely and direct the two sexes against each other in a way that a return to a state which is even more patriarchal than before seems like a blessing of peace. Then the agenda of everyday life battles is opened at a new place or later in the old place again. In such a way fights and campaigns against sexual abuse were very dramatic in the mid-nineties in Germany; you could find a report on some scandal almost every day in one or the other paper or TV which immediately was controversially discussed. But then the scandal which was said to be the scandal of the century vanished overnight and gave way to silence for more than two years until it was revived violently in a murderous case of child-trafficking in Belgium, which was also called child-abuse and thus could be put together with the conference for children's protection in Stockholm and a case of prostitution in a small village in Germany to a worldwide web of decay of morals.

We end these preliminary efforts to locate and formulate our problematic with a research draft concentrating on three questions:

- We want to understand the correlation of globalizing capitalism with gender relations based on

which it is put through.

- We want to win some insight into the importance and meaning of the political enforcing structural radical changes making them less troublesome, even endurable - our main concerns are mass media and the law.

- We also want to understand the production of subjects and subjectivity at the end of the second millennium between self-responsibility (called individualization) and guilt, further disempowering and moral prosecution of the inappropriate.

Chapter 3

To take advantage of a blaze (large fire) for a robbery.

The topic of sexual harassment remains disquieting like the other fights for regulation of the sexual within existing gender relations. It seems to indicate a crisis in the microphysics of power, which had been able to regulate gender relations also at the workplace in the past.

This present lack of balance has produced alliances strengthening public control and the family as well as appealing to women's self-determination. The effort of demonstrating that the >private< gender relations are to be negotiated in public and pushing them to the political domain, has the paradoxical effect of politicization and depoliticization at the same time. The usual separation allows substituting a long list of urgent questions by the topic of sexual relations at the workplace and therefore leaving both to the randomness of private negotiation. Remember for example poverty, exploitation, crisis of economy, crime or war, occurring suddenly as competing with the issue of regulations of gender relations -- despite our knowledge, that they are carried by and settled in the gender relations.

This is a strong admonition to be critically aware of: Our issue is nowhere to occur as a negotiation of personal woman-man-relations. It is to be placed within the relations of production and reproduction of our lives -- in the form of the division of labour on a large scale, in the matter of property and disposition of labour force, in the consolidation of the relations in the domains of law, ideology, culture and public politics. But as much as we might understand women and men as social constructions, as products of history, as an ensemble of social relations, they experience themselves as direct and personal agents too and relate their actions to each other within the changeable forms they find. In our case this is the form of an enterprise in private economy often with patriarchal patterns. That means: a male dominated hierarchy of the enterprise with a corresponding division of labour, with certain constructions of femininity and masculinity, determining the respective self-images as well as the work culture, within an almost exclusively heterosexual arrangement, regulating the expected morals as well as language and even the common sense, being presupposed and strengthened by the law, and eventually certain historically grown forms of solidarity and culturally regulated networks, you can only escape from, if you are willing to suffer the punishment of isolation.

Chapter 4.

To watch the fire on the opposite shore

Our first step in our investigation was to get an idea about the predominating zeitgeist on the issue of sexual harassment within the enterprises. With a controversially conceptualized inquiry (150 questionnaires and discussion) we started a process of discussion with several members of the workers' councils and shop stewards.

The results were surprising, especially in light of to the excitement the media produced about the issue at that time (1994). According to the routine judgements of our informants it was good to establish order finally, since body and sexuality don't have to do anything with the sphere of labour and must be kept out there. Decent and ambitious workers who like their job do not possess bodies respectively leave them at the entrance of the factory or the office, picking them up for the private sphere again after work. This was the same for both sexes. The only difference was that women perceived the existing disorder more intensely.

Albeit that we were used to discourses dividing body and mind properly and assigning them differently to women and men, we had neither expected a division being so strictly imagined, nor a perspective of pure labour force as a self-determined solution for a working climate where you feel well and are able to function without being damaged. We felt irritated in many ways. Seeing the body as a labour force which has to function unimpressed by further human desires in our opinion was a specific sign of alienation. Our perspective had been the connection of love, sensual pleasure and desire with work. However, this was a perspective for liberation beyond alienated wage labour. We had to notice that we did not have an explicit imagination of how we ourselves thought the sexual dimension, the bodies within working life today, and we had even less imagination of the perspective. We had to recognize, that for this issue we had to include ourselves as subjects and as women experienced in that field, if we did not want to be caught in the traps of the common sense being set everywhere.

Chapter 5

To steal the beams and replace them by decayed ones

It was easier of course to first study the literature being published by feminists, the investigations being ordered by the state and the unions, leading eventually to the phrasing of the law. Some scattered engaged publications in this field were available since 1982, with increasing numbers in 1993. The first purpose was to shed a light on sexual harassment as a problem at workplaces, the second was encouraging the victims to fight back and finally the purpose was getting the state's and the unions' support in this field. Women in working life were supposed to enter the legal position of partners in the work group being protected by contract. But this purpose is getting caught in a net of false conclusions. No doubt, gender relations in society at large materialise in specific forms in the everyday life of an enterprise. The gendered division of labour and the questions of the reproduction of the labour force establish an order, positioning the genders in a

model of subordination and dominance, of serving and caring on one hand and self-assured workers (werktätig) on the other. This division of labour structures society reduces women's chances on the job market and at the workplace, and reproduction work being necessary for surviving obtains the character of private and personal service. On the level of personal relationships needs and claims for satisfaction arise, founding in any case a culturally assured male right of obtaining female services including the sexual field. Narrowing the look on the personal relationships between women and men at the workplace we find the traces of these general gender relations. Men are used to obtaining serving affection of women, they compete in courting their female colleagues' favour, a sexualized chat up line develops, being increasingly experienced by women as embarrassing or even hurting, especially by those women who consider themselves as equal status employees. Women being used to serve superior men as secretary or assistant, are complaining less often; among them personal attention might be experienced as honourable and as an opportunity for at least private advancement (like doctor's aide and doctor, secretary and male boss, female student and male professor). Female anger is occurring especially, if equal status men or even subordinated men allow themselves sexually determined trespasses.

Feminist authors advocating for women's equal rights are narrowing this social correlation to the point of personal relations. Their definition: Sexual harassment is not perceived as >flirting< (Plogstedt/Degen 1992, 14), but as humiliation. The overgeneralization of the statement is covered by a kind of heuristic circle. Closely read the definition says: Harassment is not experienced as pleasant. The additional question >Who is harassed by whom< would have had to draw attention to the problems of class relations at workplace. But the authors are avoiding these problems by further reduction. They have a fleeting glance at the male work-culture and the related climate at work, when it comes to the problems of the lacking fitness to fight back and the isolation of women, but in the following the whole problem seems to be an event between individual male sex offenders and individual oppressed women. Accordingly, the attempts for a solution are restricted to the demands, the state might discipline the men, and the women might fight back. The question we had identified as part of the capitalist patriarchy on a large scale, hence the gendered instrumentalization of the bodies for the capitalist economy, is misplaced as a question of individual morals by the attempt to reject sexual harassment as bad manners of men at the workplace. A better, more virtuous male attitude and more female fitness to fight back are supposed to develop a climate, enabling women to decide themselves, what is agreeable for them. The nice connections to female well-being, freedom and self-determination conceal that almost all basic conditions resist this solution. First, female labour force has its special, subordinated place within the total work of a society; second, the workplace hierarchy is once again utilizing this total order on a narrowing job market; and finally, the opportunity simply to fight back is not provided for by the identity of the female agents themselves, by their self-positioning within the work-culture and by their cultural self-image. The possibility of just fighting back is neither part of their personalities nor a possible position within the workplace culture.

This is to be experienced in one's own everyday behaviour in the world. Starting to think seriously about sexual harassment it stays as a concern about one's own perception. But this also shows in the outcome of the law dedicated to the protection of employees. During the first year after the decree there were very few charges (about 40). In most cases the removal of the woman followed, rarely the removal of the man.

The relation of body, sensual pleasure and work is a relation into which the exploitation and sexual control over women's bodies is inscribed. The inspection of feminist books answered our questions as to this relation with the illusion of self-determined female fitness to fight back, which must be assured by the state. It did not answer at all our questions as to the perspective of the connection between work and pleasure and the production of desire. Work and body remain on different fixed points to be kept separately.

Chapter 6

Running Away Is the Best Option

Let us now turn our attention to ourselves as the subjects of the investigative project, particularly focusing on our capacity to interrupt a bodily discourse marked by female subjection. Inquiring into subjective experiences and memories of sexual harassment at work yielded several significant findings.

For some time, language and memory resisted providing an accurate account of the experience. After weeks of research, when the research topic and its purpose were well-known, suddenly, no one seemed to recall any incident of harassment worth recounting or documenting. Either language was unavailable to express vivid memories, or it constituted an obstacle to identifying anything remarkable in one's own memory.

This leads us to a general thesis about the relationship between subjective experience and knowledge: when attempting to start with one's own experience, one encounters a shared subjection to language that produces silence and discomfort. Language—necessary for expressing, finding, formulating, and working with experience—simultaneously acts as an obstacle. The linguistic form is saturated with definitions, justifications, and imperatives, which one tries to evade rather than grasping the words present around them.

However, a research project cannot be sustained solely by silence and unease. Eventually, individuals begin to share their stories. Once this silence breaks, memory resists confinement to the workplace. Experiences from early childhood, first sexual contacts, and growing up emerge. Consequently, sexual harassment appears as a term encompassing girls' entry into gender relations in general. It is always about defining, subordinating, and assigning unwanted places and actions while revealing a terrified and insecure person concerned about her physical being. From this, we learn a second lesson: rejecting the neat separation between work and life concerning bodily experiences also challenges the broader division of body and mind, as well as public and private spheres. Our experiences critique the organization of knowledge built on such separations, which fails to resonate with daily life.

The conceptual limitations reveal parallel restrictions in life and in the construction of knowledge.

Another challenge arises in beginning to discuss sexual harassment events: the construction of personality within socially acceptable roles and acknowledgment. Women's stories repeatedly invoke shame and guilt. Socially sanctioned concepts, roles, and behavioral advice impose guilt on women who do not conform, protest, or resist these discourses. This moralizing tendency within the field of harassment simultaneously renders moral judgment both appropriate and pervasive.

We also observe this moralizing in women's narratives as evidence of individualizing helplessness and a form of knowledge regarding their social positioning.

The discourse surrounding sexual harassment presents another obstacle. Initially, it silences us; later, it induces a mode of speaking that becomes increasingly depressing, even discouraging continuation. The discourse confines us to victimhood, allowing no alternative narrative. Women are not seen as desiring, willing, or physically engaged beings but solely as victims. This tension extends beyond the workplace—dominant constructions of femininity exclude bodily desire. Women's bodies are associated with domination, thus must be repudiated for liberation. The concept of "sexual harassment" cultivates fear around female bodies, with "harassment" itself remaining a euphemism. Meanwhile, "work," though rarely mentioned, emerges as the abstract exhaustion of labor power.

Several additional insights emerged, which will be discussed later so as not to disrupt the narrative here. Notably, we discovered ourselves as pillars of the prevailing moral system, implicating our role in societal functioning and reproduction. This revelation exposed a divided self—a critical analytical mind alongside a conservative, prosecutorial second mind, quick to judge others but not oneself.

We also recognized ourselves as experts of our daily lives, particularly regarding the breaks and ruptures we experience, understanding these as prerequisites for change and intervention.

Finally, we gained critical insight into the inadequacy and misleading nature of the concept of sexual harassment, which reinforced victim status. Consequently, we replaced it with another term: sexist aggression. This alternative term evoked entirely different recollections and narratives. It positioned us as active agents, directing attention to male culture in the workplace, labor division, and the reality that we were of the wrong sex for chosen activities. While provisional, this concept steered us away from the treacherous moralizing terrain.

Chapter 7.

If you want to neutralize a band of robbers, you have to catch their leader first

You can go on using your and other women's memory for research for a long time, but it is always advisable to study the conditions of our lives, the changes, the different fields of the political, the cultural, the ideological at the same time, because the human being is the ensemble of social relations. This is a material and theoretical precondition which leads us methodically to switch methods, change standpoints of research, learn from all sides.

Let us therefore have a very short look at the media campaigns in the middle of the nineties: In the beginning women's experiences with sexual harassment were sensitively reported, stressing the issue's relevance for an audience, being otherwise already seized with panic because of the increasing unemployment, the dismantling of the welfare state and so on. Empathy was quickly substituted by naming the guilty party¹. Feminists are the ones who raise the issue and thus create

¹ A similar twist was used to brand trade unions as the guilty of rising unemployment.

the very climate in which women must fight. The problem itself is just indicating the degeneration of a society with endangered morals, family values and female virtues. What the state should do thus is to protect the true victims, normal men and women, whose decency is questioned in a world being stirred up by feminists.

Neither female self-determination nor body, work, sensual pleasure and liberation are relevant issues anymore. In addition, the political and moral climate is intensified. We might assume, that the right as the party of law and order is one of the winners of the media campaign against sexual harassment.

Chapter 8

Let us come back to ourselves, to subjective experience once again.

The next short paragraph is therefore called:

To lead the sheep away with a light hand

As in the case of the unions being responsible for unemployment, the media campaigns can count on an echo within the hearts and attitudes of the population, meaning, in our hearts and attitudes as well. Called upon are the dominating morals, which, as I already told you, can also count on us, even where we think to be resistant. Mentioning a certain responsibility of the victims of harassment for their situation did not leave us unimpressed at all. Minis, exaggerated décolletés, stimulating affectation, sexualization of the climate of work by women - no claims that we could not understand at all. At a closer look we found quite the reverse: Each of us had seen sexual transgression experienced by herself as one-sided male actions. But we silently assumed that all the other women had been provoking or even wished for such a behaviour, to avoid the efforts of hard work and qualification. In our individual judgements as well as in the press a woman unexpectedly appeared as a self-confident bait, and her male colleagues as her victims, becoming unable to discipline their sexual drives because of female perfidy. We experienced ourselves in a surprising conspiracy with the dominating morals and their strange assumptions on femininity and masculinity. Once again, we were taught that at least the women being involved in the research believed that body and work have to be kept separated, that sensual pleasure and work are antagonistic, that entering the male domain of wage labour has to be paid for with efforts, discipline, bodylessness and self-abnegation. In certain cases, to be morally condemned, body and gender, female attractiveness and male lack of self-control are correlated and become part of a social career plan. The moral condemnation gives at least an idea of the protest against the instrumentalization of the female body, but the protest is immobilized by the renunciation of sensual pleasure and female desire. The success of the media campaigns relying on such moralization shows that this is happening en masse. The rigid isolation of women is conditioned and reproduced by those moralizations.

From this somewhat depressing though also humorous point of our complicity with the moral majority I go back to the media with an abrupt broadening of the research-view. I remember that since my subject is situated at work, I can protest against this limitation, but I also must throw a second glance at the situation at work.

The mode of production, the relations at work have radically changed several times and therefore it seems unlikely that neither the positioning of body and mind, nor the positioning of the genders within law are corresponding with the state of the productive forces and the relations of production. The development of the productivity of work removed the bodies from a direct participation even more and made physical presence increasingly dispensable. A growing number of workers is of no use anymore, an increasing group of people being occupied precariously or in computer homework is working solitarily, a virtualization of work is taking place. Therefore, reference to a male dominated climate in the workplace seems outdated, and the issue of sexual harassment and legally secured protection of it look rather strange. Obviously, there is non-simultaneity, not only within the personalities of women but within state, law and work. Therefore, the search for a homogeneous function of the proceedings around politics on sexual harassment is out of touch with "the signs of the time", because of its very concern with a homogeneous explanation.

So, let's have a further look for ambiguous explanations. Let us once again ask the media as political agents to be occupied with hegemonic manufacturing of consent.

The successful movie >Die Enthüllung< (disclosure) based on a novel written by Michael Crichton introduces the issue with the necessary breadth, since questions of female self-determination, of micro-electronic work accelerating the direct connection with the extra-exploitation of the 'Third World of capitals' profits and domestic idyll are melted together. The trick is done by a gender-replacement: The woman is in the managerial position and consequently harasses the man. Because of this trick and the stressing of marital faithfulness and domestic happiness the relations of production seem to be just additions to the sustainment of reliable gender relations, being completely erased (entnannt) in their function for the capitalist economy posing as social politics. This construction works because a woman is the agent of power, control, exploitation, harassment and even rape. The movie is making use of various interesting erasures and reversals. For our question concerning the production of desire in post-fordist times of neo-liberal globalization, a remarkable lesson is to be drawn from this movie. Within the well-tried division of labour women are caring and working without being paid, ensuring the functioning of the profitable exploitation of male labour force. Men in exchange are entitled to a certain disposition of female help relating to the satisfaction of their needs also within the sexual sphere. For the new mode of production these traditional gender relations remain necessary and become unnecessary at the same time. The solution to this paradox is the splitting of the labour personnel. The managers of the new, information-controlled mode of production are obviously singles. They must be able to control their mind, their body, their character and therefore their sex as well, ensuring that nothing restricts their extremely concentrated exhaustion of labour power, demanding the whole person in quickly changing different places and times. For that they must be young, alone and physically fit, organizing their private needs efficiently at the proper times. They should not need any help, since this produces dependency. And they should not have to care for

others who are depending on them. That means, if they are masters of their lives, it does not matter anymore whether they are men or women. The politics on sex, body and work would not bother them, since these are related to the lower folks at work. Here the old rules are increasingly valid. Because of the ruptures and breaks at work there is a growing competition for the remaining jobs, - laying the grounds, where the old virtues of care, realized by women, become even more urgent, since women also have to cover the work, being dropped by the dismantling of the welfare state.

In those contexts, politics on sexual harassment at the workplace, as occurring in this film, has a double function. It demonstrates that at work sex and body are taboos for everyone. Doing so it rejects the predominantly female misunderstanding, female self-determination could include the power of control over other bodies, corresponding to the earlier male power of control. The other way round, the constellation is used for strengthening family, marriage, faithfulness and female modesty as asylums, when times are rough at the workplace. Corresponding with the zeitgeist there are increasing differences between the winning Olympic team of both genders and the army of workers following thereafter, conserving their gender relations as traditional as ever. In its resort to prevalent morals and to law, being supported by the media, the politics on sexual harassment might ensure, that elite and foot soldiers don't misunderstand their functions.

Chapter 9

Conclusion and last paragraph, named

Shut the door and catch the thief

Politics on sexual harassment, advising literature and the experiences of women seem to be concerned with fixing the climate at work. Their purpose is guaranteeing the untouchability of the bodies or even of all senses: of hearing (dirty jokes), of seeing (pornographic pictures), of being looked at (undressing looks), of feeling (being touched) and probably of smelling too. All this is introduced as human dignity especially for women. Therefore, it becomes incomprehensible, who actually could be the female body at work cooperating with other workers. From the beginning the media were not that vague and mysterious. They promote more violent and clear ideas about the topic. Labelled as >harassment<, it is attempted rape in one case and in another it is blackmailing coercion to intercourse. Always it is a matter of physical transgression on the body connected with a career or merely securing of the job, respectively with prevention of its loss. This simple order of domination is used to strengthen traditional morals and the corresponding agreement by appealing to female self-determination. It is what justifies the urgency of the law dedicated to the protection of employees, the interventions of feminists and the indignation of involved persons, as well as our own. But in this very context it is urgent to drop the idea of harassment, which is constructing women as bodiless victims with no desire of their own, protected by the state. The concept of sexist aggression for example - as told above - is evoking other memories and is opening a view on the working sphere, where men are going to win the competition on the remaining jobs, supported by traditional gender relations and a corresponding culture in the workplaces. It is only in this field that questions of female self-assertion become important. For that, however, an alliance of women, the development of a female working culture

would be necessary, since fights within the cultural domain are hardly to be won by individuals. Only then could legal institutions be addressed with a certain prospect on support.

What did we learn for our initial questions: As to the relation respectively the separation of body/sex and work, our research in the different fields of work, culture and politics taught us that presupposing an asserted separability of work and body already is a construction and a fiction. Body and sexual desire are already included in work, determining a gendered order, hierarchy, power and subjection as well as the historical constructions of women and men. If the assumption of a proper separation itself proves to be the historical product of a history of heterosexual domination, the recent politics of protection against sexual harassment, can be read as an attempted answer to another mode of production which needs other sexual bodies as labour bodies. The new work discipline is vagabonding. It does not demand as much female care for the male working body as being described by Gramsci for Fordism. The adequate post-fordist worker is capable of virtual satisfaction of his desire. Therefore, he is not really in the need of female subjection. And he does not have to shuffle off responsibility for his children since he has none. Men harassing women at the workplace are old-fashioned. Like the patriarchal climate at work, they seem to belong to a period bygone. Those now in a position to fight back, can gain the right to the new world of labour along with the ruthlessness necessary for a total contempt of human and non-human nature. Read like this, female virtues, conservatively being called upon and strengthened in this context, are as well latecomers of a societal project that neo liberalism has started to destroy.

DAY 1 – 21st NOVEMBER 2025

14.30 – 16.00

OPENING PLENARY - From Marx towards a decolonial Marxist Feminism

with **Catarina Isabel Martins** (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra/ Centro de Estudos Sociais (CES), Portugal), **João Manuel de Oliveira** (ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal), **Nadia De Mond** (Casa delle Donne di Milano/ Non Una di Meno, Italy)

Moderation: **Marga Ferré** (transform! europe, Spanish State)

Catarina Isabel Martins

A revolução será feminista decolonial ou não será.

Reflexões sobre Portugal

No final do mês passado, confrontada com problemas no sistema nacional de saúde português, que têm causado situações de risco e morte de grávidas, a Ministra da Saúde do governo de direita afirmou: “Sabemos quem são e o que aconteceu. São grávidas que nunca foram seguidas durante a gravidez, sem médico de família, recém-chegadas a Portugal e que, muitas vezes, nem falam português, não foram preparadas para chamar o socorro e nem telemóvel têm”. O discurso ignóbil de culpabilização destas mulheres não diz respeito apenas à sua morte e dos bebés, mas à própria exclusão do sistema e da sociedade, bem como à própria pobreza. Ao mesmo tempo reforça o discurso racista e xenófobo que ora promove o ódio contra as mulheres estrangeiras em situação de vulnerabilidade, ora pretende salvá-las, como na recente lei que proíbe o uso da “burca” em Portugal.

As mulheres não brancas, não cristãs, surgem, pois, como eixo de discursos e disputas ideológicas que as invocam de maneiras diversas no âmbito do desenho de políticas que afetam, para além delas, o chamado corpo da nação portuguesa. Nestas disputas, conforme afirmava Gayatri Spivak, a subalterna fica cada vez mais muda.

A partir destas situações, pretendo refletir sobre as possíveis contribuições dos feminismos decoloniais para um caminho revolucionário que não se apresente somente como mais uma via entre capitalismo e marxismo, entre políticas identitárias e políticas materiais, entre ausência de direitos e o direito liberal, mas que possa configurar um quadro novo de reivindicação da dignidade e do bem viver para todas as mulheres.

Bio: **Catarina Isabel Martins** is Associate Professor with Aggregation title of German Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Research Fellow of the Center for Social Studies at University of Coimbra. She was lecturer for Portuguese, for several years, at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, Senegal. She holds a Ph. D. in German Literature from the University of Coimbra (2008) and an Aggregation title in Cultural and Literary Studies, with a focus on Decolonial and Feminist Studies. She has published works on topics related to feminist and postcolonial studies, comparative literature, German literature, and African literature, particularly by women. She has published, among other works, the book *‘Mulheres, Raça e Etnicidades. Introdução aos Feminismos*

Decolonialis' (2024) by the University of Coimbra Press. She teaches in the PhD programmes in Feminist Studies on Discourses: History, Culture and Society, and on Literary and Culture Studies.

João Manuel de Oliveira (ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa)

Feminisms as communal spaces: challenges and contributions of socialist feminisms fighting fascisms

Having read the literature and actively participated in the movement since the late 1990s, very few people like me would have believed it possible that, by the late 2010s and early 2020s, fascist forces contending in the political arena could find points of connection with feminist groups. Yet today, various strands of liberal feminism flirt openly with neoliberalism, and several transphobic feminist groups have shown themselves willing not only to accept funding from fascist and anti-choice movements but also to present themselves publicly as the only legitimate form of feminism.

These gendered phantoms resurfacing over time have met their strongest resistance in other feminist currents. Feminisms that dare to move beyond the fragments (Rowbotham, Segal & Wainwright, 2013) and take their historical subject seriously: a collective of people who, through social processes of oppression, exploitation, recognition, and intelligibility, have become a class treated as women (Beauvoir, 1949). Any attempt to define woman a priori through conceptualisations grounded in genitalia, chromosomes, reproductive capacity, or other elements naturalised as biological, reflects a narrow and restrictive intelligibility of gender. Such assumptions neglect the fundamental premise that women constitute a class of people shaped by social relations, living conditions, and material realities — the foundation of socialist feminism. Gender, as a social relation marked by intersectionalities, is a conceptual achievement born of this theoretical and political legacy of struggle.

Therefore, especially at a time when gender fascism is becoming increasingly embedded in a broader rise of fascist ideologies — and as inequalities intensify — we cannot allow these fascist modes of organising gender, promoted by gender-fascist and self-proclaimed “anti-gender” movements, to contaminate feminism, particularly in its socialist and progressive forms and strength. There can be no rupture in solidarity with trans women and non-binary people, just as there can be none with Palestinian and Sudanese women — nor can we cede a single millimetre in our solidarity with all women. This does not deny differences — which are vital for affirming feminisms — but understands them as reflecting the immense heterogeneity within us.

Instead, we are witnessing mounting pressure for a restrictive definition of the feminist subject, led by groups that have made trans women the scapegoat through which they articulate their gender fascism. A politics that seeks to sever the notion of women as a sign of alliance and class, replacing it with exclusionary and narrow definitions of what they take to be a woman. Socialist feminist politics cannot serve the interests of such exclusion, nor those of the liberal or fascist groups advancing it. Rather, socialist and Marxist feminisms are guided by the commitment to fight all struggles, as we say in the Left Bloc. Feminism is a space of the common.

Bio: **João Manuel de Oliveira** is a non binary queer feminist. S/he is currently an Integrated Researcher at ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon, teaching in the doctoral programs in Psychology and in the Masters in interdisciplinary studies on gender and sexualities. Conducts research at CIS – University Institute of Lisbon. Holds a Habilitation (agregação) in Psychology, as well as a Ph.D. and Masters in Social Psychology. Their research focuses on Gender Studies, Critical Sexuality Studies, and Feminist Theory. Recent publications address topics such as intersectionality and hyphenation, homo/heteronormativity, subjugated and dis/subjugated knowledges, eccentric genealogies, anti-racist and anti-essentialist feminist theories, queer theory, trans* studies, contemporary art and dance, and the intricate relations among knowledge, bodies, politics, and power within the framework of neoliberal political economies. João has published widely on these topics, over 120 publications mostly dealing with feminist thought.

Nadia de Mond and Lidia Cirillo

GÉNERO Y CLASE, UNA RELACIÓN COMPLEJA PERO INELUDIBLE

El texto inicia examinando el carácter dinámico del concepto de clase en Marx, desde dos puntos de vista: por un lado el lugar del proletariado ocupa dentro el proceso de producción capitalista – que lo convierte objetivamente en el actor privilegiado de la revolución - y por el otro su carácter subjetivo o sea la conciencia de se mismo como clase, adquirida mediante la experiencia de lucha, antagonista a la clase burguesa.

Los movimientos feminista y decolonial han criticado, desde los años 70 una visión restringida – de los epígonos - de Marx, introduciendo una visión más amplia de lo que es la clase antagonista al capitalismo. Por un lado extendiendo el concepto del trabajo y del la generación del valor más allá de l@s salariables y por el otro enfocando la atención en los procesos de subjetivación de otras capas oprimidas.

El texto aborda la cuestión del encuentro entre marxismo y feminismo, argumentando que no sólo los análisis y las prácticas feministas que se centran en la economía y en el trabajo son luchas de clases, sino todo lo que cuestiona las relaciones de poder basadas en el sexo y el género.

El encuentro entre el marxismo y el feminismo no tiene lugar de una vez por todas y requiere una redefinición de los términos de cooperación cada vez.

Repensar hoy los términos de la cooperación significa pensar la clase no sólo en relación con el proceso de producción y la organización técnica, sino también con una cultura, unos valores, unas relaciones de sexo y género y un contexto histórico y político específico. El capitalismo se articula, por tanto, en sistemas de poder en los que las relaciones de sexo y género desempeñan un papel específico y diversificado en la jerarquización y la división de la fuerza de trabajo. La forma en que las mujeres se perciben a sí mismas y son percibidas, la posibilidad o imposibilidad del aborto legal y asistido, los niveles de escolarización femenina permiten o dificultan la rentabilidad capitalista.

Bios: **Lidia Cirillo** es militante de la izquierda marxista italiana desde 1960; activista y teórica del movimiento feminista desde los años 70. Publicó numerosos artículos y varios libros sobre cuestiones de feminismo y fue coordinadora y responsable de la revista marxista feminista "Quaderni Viola" (Cuadernos morados) de 1992 hasta 2017, algunos de los cuales fueron traducidos en castellano. [<https://quaderniviola.noblogs.org/coordinadora>] **Nadia De Mond** es militante marxista feminista desde los años 70. Fundadora de la Marcha Mundial de las Mujeres contra la Violencia y la Pobreza en Italia. Colaboradora de "Quaderni Viola". Activa en la "Casa delle Donne di Milano" y participa en el movimiento "Non Una di Meno".

Workshop - *Building feminist, queer, and anti-racist networks of resistance, based on dialogues and echoes on KORA* (Claudia Varejão, 2024)

MICAR

A MICAR – Mostra Internacional de Cinema Anti-Racista é um evento promovido pelo Movimento SOS Racismo, que visa promover o debate sobre o racismo e suas intersecções através do Cinema, e que se realiza anualmente na cidade do Porto, desde 2014, chegando este ano à sua 12.^a edição. A mostra decorrerá entre 30 de outubro e 2 de novembro no Centro de Cinema Batalha, e antecipa em duas semanas a VI Conferência Internacional Marxista-Feminista 2025 (MarxFem).

Dada a confluência de todas as nossas lutas, uma vez que não há feminismo sem antirracismo, nem antirracismo sem feminismo, esta proposta de trabalho consiste na criação de uma parceria entre a MICAR e a MarxFem, enquadrada no eixo temático 1- Descolonizar os corpos.

Dessa forma, convidamos a conferência MarxFem, num primeiro momento, a juntar-se a nós, durante a mostra, para uma conversa, que será registada em áudio, sobre o filme “KORA” (2024, 27 min.), de Cláudia Varejão. Uma conversa que pretende dinamizar um debate de resistência feminista, antirracista e LGBTQIA+, na noite de pré-abertura da MICAR, a 30 de outubro. “KORA” retrata um conjunto de mulheres refugiadas a viver em Portugal que carregam as suas histórias no(s) corpo(s) e nas palavras, preservando memórias afetivas em fotografias. Através destas recordações, vislumbramos a perspectiva pessoal e política de quem reconstrói a(s) sua(s) existência(s) no presente. Num segundo momento, durante a MarxFem, a equipa da MICAR propõe-se a revisitar “KORA” e a gravação da conversa realizada. Neste momento, que também será registado em áudio, procuraremos entretecer estas duas ações como um diálogo em continuidade que transcende a noção do espaço-tempo – uma espécie de câmara de ressonância entre as duas sessões.

Desta colaboração surgirá um objeto áudio-escrito híbrido que funcionará como repositório dessas ressonâncias dialógicas – um “eco” desses encontros – permitindo que as reflexões geradas continuem a reverberar para além dos contextos específicos em que foram inicialmente articuladas. Através de um suporte impresso, a equipa da MICAR propõe-se a produzir uma publicação “tipo—gráfica”, num formato fanzine.

MICAR – the International Anti-Racist Film Festival – is an event organized by the SOS Racism Movement, aiming to foster debate on racism and its intersections through cinema. It has been held annually in Porto since 2014 and is in its 12th edition this year. The festival took place from October 30 to November 2 at the Batalha Cinema Centre, two weeks before the VI Marxist-Feminist International Conference 2025 (MarxFem).

KORA portrays a group of refugee women living in Portugal who carry their stories in their bodies and words, preserving affective memories through photographs. Through these recollections, we glimpse the personal and political perspectives of those rebuilding their lives in the present.

Given the convergence of our struggles – since there is no feminism without antiracism, nor antiracism without feminism – this proposal is to create a partnership between MICAR and MarxFem. We thus invited the MarxFem conference to join us during the festival for a recorded

conversation about the film KORA. This discussion, held on MICAR's pre-opening night (October 30), aimed to foster a dialogue of feminist, antiracist, and LGBTQIA+ resistance.

In a second moment, during MarxFem, the MICAR team proposes to revisit KORA and the registration of the previous conversation. This new session, also recorded in audio, will aim to interweave both actions into a continuous dialogue that transcends the notion of space-time – a kind of resonance chamber between the two gatherings.

From this collaboration, a hybrid audio-written object will emerge, functioning as a repository of these dialogic resonances – an “echo” of these encounters – allowing the reflections generated to continue reverberating beyond the specific contexts in which they were originally articulated. Through a printed medium, the MICAR team proposes to produce a typographic-style publication in fanzine format.

16.30 – 18.00

PANEL ROUND 1

1a RESHAPING THE WORLD WORKING CLASS

Moderation: **Nora Räthzel** (Berliner Institut für Kritische Theorie - Inkrit, Umeå University)

Maria José Gordillo Kempff (University of Heidelberg, Germany)

Exploring the Bolivian Informal Working Class from a Marxist Feminist Lens

After being used as a neoliberal laboratory by the United States since the imperialist Operation Condor in the 70s (McSherry 2005), Bolivia has experienced not only the privatization of state-owned companies and cuts to social expenditure but also the mass dismissal of industrial and mining workers, weakening the labor movement (Kohl 2004; Spronk 2015). However, this period led to massive social and indigenous mobilizations, which brought the progressive Movement to Socialism (MAS) party to power in 2005 with an anti-neoliberal and popular agenda (Gutiérrez 2014; Spronk 2015). Nevertheless, in today's context of rising economic hardship and internal ruptures and contradictions within the social movements' agenda, the presidential electoral victory of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) in October 2025 signaled the end of Bolivia's progressive hegemonic cycle and the return of the right-wing to state power. Consequently, it is argued that despite the MAS's progressive reforms, neoliberal capitalism remains entrenched in the material conditions of most informal workers, especially of women. As according to the latest data by the International Labor Organization, in 2023 Bolivia recorded the highest rate of labor informality in Latin America, at 81% (ILO 2023: 56). Notably, 83% of these informal workers in Bolivia were women (ILO 2023: 58). In that sense, informality is often framed as a peripheral or transitional phenomenon, however, Latin America—and particularly Bolivia—demonstrates that it is a structural feature of contemporary global capitalism. Thus, these conditions underline the need for a Marxist feminist analysis of the growing feminized informal working class, which can also critically contribute insights to rebuild the social and labor movement, using Bolivia as a case study to generate insights that extend beyond its borders. Therefore, this contribution aims to explore class formation within labor informality from a Marxist feminist perspective while proposing

Nancy Fraser's (2022) "Three Faces of Capitalist Labor" as a framework to unify the working class from the global periphery in the praxis. Thus, it is argued that recentring anti-neoliberal struggles around the category of labor might build a class consciousness capable of resisting fragmentation and providing both an analytical and political foundation for unifying material struggles around gender, race, and class, amid a global tendency of growing right-wing hegemony and state austerity.

Sources

- Bellone Hite, Amy, and Jocelyn S. Viterna. 2005. "Gendering Class in Latin America: How Women Effect and Experience Change in Class Structure." *Latin American Research Review* 40(2):50–82.
- International Labor Organization (ILO). 2023. *Panorama laboral 2023: América Latina y el Caribe*. Edición 30 años. Peru.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2022. "Three Faces of Capitalist Labor: Uncovering the Hidden Ties among Gender, Race and Class." (https://criticaltheoryinberlin.de/en/benjamin_lectures/2022/#:~:text=Elaborating%20these%20hypotheses%2C%20Fraser%20argued,exploited%2C%20expropriated%2C%20and%20domesticated.).
- Gutiérrez, Raquel. 2014. *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kohl, Benjamin. 2004. "Privatization Bolivian style: a cautionary tale." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 28(4):893–908. doi:10.1111/j.0309-1317.2004.00558.
- McSherry, J. Patrice. 2005. *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Rodríguez, Juan Pablo. 2021. "The politics of neoliberalism in Latin America: dynamics of resilience and contestation." *Sociology Compass* 15(3). doi:10.1111/soc4.12854.
- Spronk, Susan. 2015. "Roots of Resistance to Urban Water Privatisation in Bolivia: The 'New Working Class', the Crisis of Neoliberalism, and Public Services." Pp. 29–51, in *Crisis and Contradiction: Marxist Perspectives on Latin America in the Global Political Economy*, edited by S. J. Spronk and J. R. Webber. Leiden: Brill.

Bio: Maria José Gordillo Kempff is a PhD candidate in Sociology for Heidelberg University researching unionization and class formation in the context of paid domestic labor and informality in Bolivia. Holds a M.A. in Latin American Studies from the Free University of Berlin and a B.A. in Gender & Diversity from Rhein-Waal University of Applied Sciences. Active member of the Marxist feminist diasporic Bolivian collective [*Revolta Malcriada*](#).

Eduardo Erazo Acosta e Vanessa Arteaga Bernal (Independent Researchers in Indigenous Epistemology Ecuador and Colombia, Colombia)

Global environmental deterioration, analysis from Latin America and the work of indigenous women, indigenous movement Colombia-Ecuador, marked epistemes Sumak Kawsay-Buen vivir

In the framework of climate change, the devastation of the so-called Allapammama (mother earth in quechua language), from the original communities of the Andean region, is urgent and necessary to talk about real figures, scientific research results that account for environmental deterioration and calls like the Landau Committee, or the dissertations in favor of the climate change, as forms of urgent care against the effects on the territory and resilience due to climate change.

From the science there are several calls like the Global researcher climate change, but from the same original communities there are processes of epistemic contribution that urgent to a new care of nature. The analysis of ecology, environmental care and climate change in Latin America is used

In the framework of the post-conflict call in Colombia, peace is presented at the international level as the only reality, without doubt giving rise to a myriad of mega-mining and extractive pro-development factors, affecting even more the conditions of the historically excluded, the original communities located in strategic places, because of the richness in páramos, water, biodiversity continue to be attacked systematically, with threats, forced displacement, assassinations, for questioning the mega-development model that favors the damage to the Allpamamma and above all increases the factors of violence and exclusion in the country, not so for the mass media that serve in unison with national and international oligopolistic interests.

Women within the indigenous movement play a fundamental role, as they are committed leaders and above all depositaries of the ancestral knowledge of the defense of the Allpamamma, their leadership is part of the same episteme of the indigenous communities, on how to understand the mother earth, is taken into account in the organization of life plans and community organization, starting from the recognition of orality, as a factor of transmission of defense of ancestral knowledge, added to the development of the axes of life and community plans: economic, political, educational and environmental, as factors associated with the care of the survival of life and community ontologies.

Ethnographic methodology is used in meeting with native communities, and the foundation in Andean community knowledge, from the works: *Encountering Development: The Making and unmaking of the Third World* by the Colombian Author Arturo Escobar, the academic Bolívar Echeverría the work *Critical Discourse and modernity* and his work *Das Nichtlebbare zu leben: Kritik der Moderne & Widerstand*.

The urgent call first of all is to exhort the academy, to be linked with greater proactivity in the environment and construction-reconstruction of the defense of indigenous mobilizations and women fighting for the defense of their territory, against feminicide, environmental deterioration and annihilation of the millenary culture.

Bios: **Vanessa Arteaga Bernal** is a Philosopher, Cultural activist, Researcher in indigenous epistemologies Ecuador-Colombia, Leader in indigenous feminism, Specially defense of water, territory and circle of life in middle of climate change; **Eduardo Erazo Acosta** is a Sociologist, Research Group "Curriculum and University" attached to Colciencias. Universidad de Nariño (Pasto - Nariño – Colombia), 14 years' research on social movement's, politics, violence in the Andean region.

Giulia Longoni (Università degli Studi di Milano, Italia)

Feminism and revolution. Radical entanglements and resistant perspectives

In contemporary discourse, the concept of revolution is often regarded as entirely utopian, bound to a past that is to be viewed with nostalgia rather than through critical lenses that might still resonate with the present. In contrast, the current proposal seeks to revisit these pasts in order to analyze the motivations that fueled them and the structural dynamics that ensued. This is not a mere sterile inquiry, but rather a reflection on our current moment, which is in profound crisis, starting with the very categories of radical change that underpin the notion of revolution—especially when examined in relation to the demands that have driven and continue to shape the feminist movement.

Given this framework, it becomes possible to pose questions that can guide our reflection. If one adopts a broad and dynamic understanding of class, considering its relationship and opposition to capital, as well as its intersection with other axes of oppression (such as gender, race, and sexual orientation), can it be inferred that (trans)feminist struggles are inherently anti-capitalist? Furthermore, how might one conceive of a collective and potentially revolutionary subject amidst the isolation of existential precarity?

These are two of the main questions this paper aims to answer. Through an extensive analysis of the intersection between feminism and Marxism, it will propose a range of perspectives shaped by the various currents that have influenced—and continue to influence—the movement. The discussion will focus on the framework established by key intellectuals and political figures who, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reflected on the connection between feminism and revolution, including Anna Kuliscioff, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Aleksandra Kollontaj. These perspectives will then be compared to the proposals put forth by the Wages for Housework campaign. Considerable attention will be devoted to contemporary political practices that advocate for feminist and transfeminist revolution. A particular focus will be placed on the innovative approach proposed by the *Ni Una Menos* movement, which utilizes the productive and reproductive strike as a feminist revolutionary tool. At the intersection of reform and revolution, the paper will also examine the example of Chilean feminists from *Las Tesis*, who, as part of the *Partido Alternativa Feminista* (Paf), have contributed to the drafting of the constitution.

Finally, the paper will aim to identify, particularly within the Latin American context, a network of collective revolutionary and feminist initiatives that have leveraged the intersection of decolonial feminism and the struggle against capital to construct subsistence economies grounded in mutual care, rather than in the unrestricted accumulation of wealth.

Bio: **Giulia Longoni** is a Research Fellow at the University of Milan. She received her doctorate in Philosophy from the University of Pisa and Florence in 2024, with a dissertation entitled *Eredità rivoluzionarie. Lineamenti di filosofia femminista nel pensiero e nella pratica politica di Rosa Luxemburg*. Her research focuses on the concepts of gender, class and “race” as theorized by the philosophical current of Marxist feminism, with particular attention to Rosa Luxemburg's work. Giulia's interests include: feminist philosophy, social justice, postcolonial and decolonial studies, and class struggle. She is a feminist activist and co-founder of *CONTRA/DIZIONI*, a study group established in 2019 at the University of Milan and promoter of the three-year homonymous seminar. Since 2022 Giulia has also been part of the *FUEL Department Laboratory - Feminist and Queer Philosophy* at the University of Milan, which explores the research field of feminist thought and queer theories, considered as a fundamental part of contemporary philosophy, using an interdisciplinary, intersectional and decolonial epistemological perspective. In 2023, together with Sevgi Doğan, Giulia was responsible for organizing the international conference *Freedom, Conflicts, Change. Legacies of Rosa Luxemburg*. Her publications include: *Magia, commons, resistenza. La rivoluzione delle streghe nel femminismo di Silvia Federici*, «Politica & Società», n.2-3, 2023; 249-274. doi: 10.4476/112562; *Femminismi americani a confronto. La Mistica della femminilità tra “seconda ondata” e mainstream contemporaneo*, «P.O.I. – Points of Interest», n.8 vol.1, 2021; 130-153. doi: 10.5281/zenodo.5714547; *Femminismo contemporaneo tra neoliberismo e alternativa del 99%*, «Politica & Società», n.3, 2021; 431-452. doi: 10.4476/103010; *Alle origini del femminismo marxista*, «Jacobin Italia», 26/06/2021 (<https://jacobinitalia.it/alle-origini-del-femminismo-marxista/>); *Decolonialità e postcolonialità. L'alternativa femminista all'egemonia escludente della narrazione imperialista*, in *Itinerari del sapere. Teorie e pratiche della conoscenza in età contemporanea*, A. Dividus, C. Malvestio, P.G. Puggioni e A. Raciti (a cura di) Roma: Carocci, 2022; 37-44.

Aleksandra Milinković (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)

Spatializing resistance as care: women and the creation of exilic territories

Using contemporary state-sanctioned violence against communities resisting capitalist land appropriation as a starting point, and focusing on working-class, Black, and Indigenous women, we will explore women's roles in resisting these forms of state-approved violence. Our goal is to place this violence within a historical continuum that connects early modern European witch hunts to ongoing primitive accumulation processes. We emphasize that decolonizing women's bodies is inseparable from decolonizing land. By exploring women's anarchafeminist and anti-capitalist organizing—from the Spanish Civil War to Indigenous resistance in Chiapas, the Kurdish women's movement in Rojava, and struggles against water exploitation in Serbia—we will identify common threads of resistance across different times and places. Through a concept of “exilic territories,” we will highlight how these movements create autonomous spaces of solidarity and imagination that prefigure alternative, decolonial futures, echoing visions of utopian experimentation.

Bio: **Aleksandra Milinković** is an activist and a PhD candidate in Political Science at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. Her research explores the politics of care, with a particular focus on the work of anthropologist David Graeber and its implications for ecological movements in Serbia. She recently presented at the Doctoral Conference: New Perspectives in Humanities and Social Sciences in Ljubljana.

1d MARXISM FEMINISM AS A TOOL FOR TRANSFORMATION

Moderation: **Gabriele Michalitsch** (University of Vienna, Austria)

Laya Hooshyari (University of Manchester, UK)

Revolutionary Struggles in Contemporary Grassroots Movements: A Marxist-Feminist Critique of Leadership, Organisational Structures, and Strategy in Iran and England

While there are notable differences in the social relations, structural configurations, and material conditions of feminist and leftist grassroots movements in Iran (both online and diasporic groups) since 2022, following the Woman, Life, Freedom movement, and in England (specifically Manchester) since 2021, following Climate Strikes and environmental activism, a recurring pattern emerges when viewed through a Marxist-Feminist lens. These movements, despite their shared commitment to challenging patriarchal and capitalist systems, grapple with a fundamental lack of clear leadership, ineffective decision-making processes, and the absence of transparent organisational structures. These weaknesses persist even in the face of the rejection of formal hierarchies, as informal power dynamics continue to shape and limit the movements' potential for effective collective action. This impedes their ability to build coherent strategies and long-term visions for revolutionary transformation.

Given the lessons learned from the failures of past social movements and revolutions, it is now more critical than ever to address these fundamental issues. The lack of cohesion, leadership, and long-term strategic vision has repeatedly led to the collapse of many movements, despite mass mobilisation. History shows that without clear organisational structures and leadership, these

movements risk being crushed by repression or losing momentum due to shifting social and economic conditions. Understanding this history should serve as a warning to contemporary movements—without addressing these organisational weaknesses, their chances of achieving meaningful and lasting change remain slim.

The failure to critically engage with the material conditions of power—both within and outside the movements—reinforces capitalist and patriarchal modes of oppression and exploitation, even within spaces ostensibly set up to resist them. This paper examines these challenges and argues for the necessity of going beyond attempting to change the world. Instead, it advocates for an understanding of their world through the redefinition of leadership, decision-making, and organisational structures in ways that resist both capitalist exploitation and patriarchal domination. It calls for the development of more transparent, accountable, and strategic organising models that not only critique but actively transform existing power relations. In doing so, it is crucial to move beyond the rigid structures of political parties, while also overcoming the tyranny of structurelessness that frequently characterises current political groups.

Bio: Laya Hooshyari (She/they) is a critical psychologist and PhD student in Education at the University of Manchester. She is an active Marxist-Feminist activist, engaged in both Iranian and English grassroots movements.

Angelina Giannopoulou (Istituto Universitario Sophia, Italy)

“Revolutionary Love? Christian Agape and Marxist Solidarity in Feminist Struggles”

This paper will explore the potential intersections between Christian agape (selfless, unconditional love, fraternity) and Marxist solidarity, particularly in the context of feminist movements against patriarchy and capitalism. It would examine whether these two concepts—often perceived as ideologically distinct—can complement each other in radical feminist struggles. We believe the proposal fits to the axis of the conference related to Decolonising practices since we will explore how both Christian and Marxist traditions conceptualise solidarity / fraternity beyond individualism, and how feminist movements might navigate these ideological influences in collective struggles.

We will define both concepts moving to their commonalities, but also their differences. Agape in Christian theology emphasises on unconditional love, justice, and communal care. Marxist/socialist solidarity enhances the idea of collective struggle, class consciousness, and acts as a prefiguration of a socialist society. Regarding their convergences, both concepts promote selflessness, collective action, community and a vision of a transformed world. On the contrary, tensions arise when we view Agape’s spiritual foundation and the opposition to Marxist materialism. Nonetheless, what we will try to propose is viewing love beyond sentimentality and put forward the concept of political love (see the work of Bell Hooks) supported by liberation theology’s interpretation of agape as a force for justice rather than passive acceptance.

Some questions we will try to navigate through:

- How feminist movements have drawn on both religious and Marxist traditions to mobilise against oppression.

- How Marxist-Feminist movements have theorized solidarity beyond class, considering race, gender, and intersectionality.
- Can agape, reinterpreted through a feminist and Marxist lens, serve as an ethical foundation for collective action?
- How can Marxist-Feminists engage with Christian notions of love without reinforcing religious conservatism?
- Can Christian feminism reclaim agape in a way that aligns with anti-capitalist and anti-patriarchal struggles?
- What lessons can feminist movements draw from both traditions to create a more inclusive and transformative politics?

Bio: **Angelina Giannopoulou** is a political scientist and facilitator of the “European Integration and the Strategic Perspectives of the Radical Left” programme at Transform! Europe. She holds master’s degrees in political sociology and religious studies and is a PhD candidate in political science at Sophia University Institute in Florence. She is also a member of the Coordination Team of the Dialog Project for the Christian-Marxist Dialogue.

Katharina Schitow (Bielefeld University, Germany)

Navigating Affect, Body and Knowledge: Institutional Ethnography as Marxist-Feminist Practice

In this presentation, I aim to introduce Institutional Ethnography (IE) as an interdisciplinary feminist research approach that explores how texts organize everyday life. I argue that Dorothy Smith's IE approach has socio-political relevance today, especially at a time when right-wing populist movements worldwide are challenging scientific research and undermining academic knowledge. This context highlights the contemporary importance and urgency of developing Marxist-feminist methodologies such as IE. Marxist materialism and ideology critique have had a significant impact on institutional ethnography. Since the beginning of her work in the 1970s, Smith has combined feminist perspectives with Marxist theory, providing foundational contributions to IE (Smith 1974, 1977). One of her central concepts is "ruling relations," developed through her rereading of Marx (Smith, 2005a).

As part of my doctoral dissertation, I propose to present Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (2001, 2005, 2010) as a theoretical and methodological framework guiding my ethnographic research on institutional racism within primary school contexts. In addition to reflecting on the theoretical and methodological aspects of IE, I will discuss potential ways to expand this approach.

Bio: **Katharina Schitow** is the coordinator of the junior research group Conditions for Racism-Sensitive Teacher Education (Gelingensbedingungen rassismussensibler Lehrer:innenbildung, GraL), at the Faculty of Educational Science at Bielefeld University. Her work focuses on migration pedagogy and institutional racism, drawing on qualitative empirical approaches, shaped by ethnographic and practice-theoretical perspectives as well as feminist methodologies, with a particular emphasis on Institutional Ethnography. In 2023, she completed her PhD with a dissertation titled *Institution – Knowledge – Migration: An Institutional Ethnography in Primary Schools* (Schitow, 2025), at Bielefeld University.

Nesvan Secret Committee, Mor Dayanışma (Iran/Türkiye)

Women's struggle in Iran and Türkiye: Perspectives from the Ground Up

This panel examines the condition of women in Iran and Türkiye within the broader transformations of global capitalism, the regional dynamics of authoritarian neoliberalism and imperialist wars. In both contexts, women's bodies have become a central site of resistance, repression, and ideological projection, yet these struggles unfold through distinct historical trajectories of capitalist restructuring and state formation.

Bios: **The Nesvan Committee (Nesvan)**, revisits the *Woman, Life, Freedom (WLF)* uprising as both a culmination and a rupture. Emerging from accumulated social and economic crisis, WLF mobilized widely but lacked a coherent class horizon and organizational grounding. Nesvan traces the class dynamics of gender repression Iran, showing how decades of imperialist sanctions, inflation, and austerity have restructured Iran's capitalist state, shifting the burden of survival from the public sector to households, and above all, to working-class and peripheral women. Under this regime, women's unpaid and underpaid labor has become the hidden infrastructure of social reproduction under siege. Although WLF was initially ignited at the periphery, by Kurdish women who embodied both national and class oppression, it gradually lost its connection to working-class women's material demands. This disjuncture between social composition and political vision created the conditions for bourgeois and imperial co-optation. Nesvan argues that the experience of WLF shows us that class is not just an add-on but the very condition of possibility for transformative feminist politics in Iran and elsewhere. **Mor Dayanışma** examines the regional dimensions of capitalism's structural and hegemonic crises, emphasizing how capital seeks new zones of accumulation to overcome stagnation. The imperialist wars unfolding across the Middle East reflect this search for expansion through continues reliance on women and children's cheap, precarious labor as its main mechanism of accumulation. In our region, where patriarchy is historically entrenched, capital's crisis and its wars of accumulation are both powered and stabilized by patriarchal relations. In Türkiye, despite the historical strength of the women's movement, the absence of sustained organization remains a critical limitation. Drawing on organized socialist feminist perspective, Mor Dayanışma argues that confronting patriarchy requires simultaneously confronting capitalism. Establishing a paradigmatic organizational link between feminist and broader anti-capitalist struggles is therefore essential for developing a transformative, class-based feminism in the region. Together, both groups offer a regional feminist critique of how global and regional capital structure both the material and symbolic dimensions of women's oppression and resistance.

18.00 – 20.00 PUBLIC SESSION

Decolonise bodies, territories and practices

with Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Dima Mohammed and Ana Cristina Pereira (Kitty Furtado)

DAY 2 – 22nd November 2025

9.00 - 11.00

PLENARY SESSION - Decolonialism is not a metaphor

with **Amanda Hurtado Garcéz** (Colombia), **Rita Alsalaq** (Palestine), **Sara Araújo** (University of Maia, Portugal), **Sílvia Roque** (University of Évora, Portugal)

Moderation: **Idoia Zengotitabengoa** (Iratzar Fundazioa, Basque Country)

Sara Araújo (University of Maia, Portugal)

Subjectivity as the Site of Colonial Power: A Decolonial Refusal

Decoloniality begins with refusal — including the refusal to imagine oneself outside the hierarchies one critiques. Feminist Black and decolonial thinkers have long shown that colonial and patriarchal power is lived subjectively, shaping how one encounters the world, oneself and others. What I once analysed as external colonial hierarchies, I now recognise as forces structuring my own subjectivity and experience in spaces that claim to resist them. This shift is not theoretical but subjective: critique becomes the act of naming the structures that also inhabit us.

Decolonial and postcolonial approaches unsettle the foundations of what counts as knowledge, exposing historical silences and challenging the epistemic and ethical regimes through which academia — and other modern institutions — organise visibility, authority and validation. However, a striking paradox emerges: spaces that analyse institutional oppression and the capitalist, colonial and patriarchal structures of society rarely recognise that they themselves inhabit the very social order they critique. What often becomes visible is a constant oscillation between the progressive, acceptable language of formal equality and everyday practices shaped by individualist, patriarchal and colonial logics that silently govern interactions. This contradiction is unsurprising if patriarchal and colonial power are understood as structural; what is surprising is the refusal to acknowledge that structural violence also organises academic spaces that imagine themselves as exempt from it.

Decolonisation requires more than diversified bibliographies or symbolic gestures of recognition. It demands a transformation of relational ethics, desire and subjectivity. Without this, critical discourse remains cosmetic. Colonial and patriarchal power continue to rely on the devaluation of care labour — naturalised as women's responsibility and extracted without recognition — and on the disciplining of critics who unsettle existing power structures, revealing how domination is sustained through the governance of bodies and everyday life.

From a legal pluralist perspective, what comes into view is the disjunction between the progressive language of decolonial academic discourses and the customary order that organises everyday practices in competitive, neoliberal postcolonial environments — a customary law that does not govern a safe family, but an informal system that is patriarchal, racialised and structured through meritocratic violence. The colonial internalisation of hierarchy by those positioned as subordinate results from institutional practices that distribute legitimacy in deeply colonial, neoliberal and patriarchal ways — through silencing, punishment, symbolic humiliation, and the authority to define whose language counts as “right”. These processes reveal how power inhabits bodies and organises academic and political action.

Taking decoloniality seriously involves — among other urgent tasks — decolonising the critic and the struggle itself. It requires redistributing the material conditions that sustain life, transforming labour, care, safety, time and institutional protection, rather than multiplying the aesthetics of critique. Decoloniality also demands confronting the affective infrastructures of colonial power and refusing both patriarchal liberationism and neoliberal subjectivities of recognition.

Bios: **Amanda Hurtado Garcéz** is an anthropologist, researcher, and teacher. She has published several academic articles, newspaper articles, and opinion pieces. She is the author of one of the books that make up the Afro-Colombian Social Sciences Library, entitled “Insurgent Citizenship: The Process of Black Communities in Colombia.” Her areas of research include historical ethnography, black Marxism, critical theory of race and ethnicity, historical sociology, social movements, black feminism, and anti-colonial and popular republicanism. She is currently the director of the Observatory on Racial Discrimination (a space coordinated by the University of the Andes, Dejusticia, and the Black Communities Process, PCN). **Rita Alsalaq** is a queer Palestinian activist, educator, and fiber artist based in Porto. Her focus is on grassroots organizing and community-building, strongly believing that establishing and strengthening solidarity networks between people internationally is one of the most effective ways to set us (all) free. **Sara Araújo** Araújo is an Assistant Professor at the University of Maia, since September 2025. She holds a PhD in Justice and Citizenship in the 21st Century from the University of Coimbra (2014). From 2005 to 2025, she was a researcher at the Centre for Social Studies (CES/University of Coimbra) and a Visiting Assistant Lecturer at the Faculty of Economics of the same university between 2019 and 2023, where she taught across all three academic cycles, in both Portuguese and English, in 19 curricular units. She was also co-founder and co-coordinator of the International Doctoral Programme in the Sociology of the State, Law and Justice (CES/FEUC). **Sílvia Roque** is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the University of Évora. She holds a PhD in International Relations and, since January 2025, has been a researcher at the Research Center in Political Science (CICP). Between 2008 and 2024, she was a researcher at the Center for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra. She was also a Visiting Assistant Professor in the master’s Program in African Studies at ISCTE-IUL (2017–2019). Since 2005, she has been working on research projects in the field of International Relations, particularly in Peace Studies and Feminist Studies. In addition to Guinea-Bissau and El Salvador—countries where she has concentrated most of her research—she has also collaborated on research projects in Portugal and Mozambique. Furthermore, she has worked with civil society organizations and international organizations in conducting studies, training, and cooperation initiatives aimed at understanding and reducing various forms of violence.

Workshop - *Feminist and political self-defense workshop*

A Coletiva (Portugal)

Num primeiro instante a palavra autodefesa nos remete para algo estritamente físico. Mas, na verdade, a autodefesa feminista é uma caixa de ferramentas que as mulheres aprendem a construir desde muito cedo e a desenvolver ao longo da vida para combater e subverter as diversas manifestações das estruturas machistas e patriarcais da nossa sociedade. A construção dessas ferramentas nem sempre é acompanhada por uma reflexão crítica; e, outras vezes, é uma construção que se alia à necessidade diária de sobrevivência. Consideramos que a prática da

autodefesa feminista, enquanto um espaço coletivo de mulheres, pode ser fundamental para a emancipação e libertação dos nossos corpos e para a ampliação do nosso espaço vital, uma vez que não se limita a técnicas físicas de defesa. Mas, sim, ao pensar coletivamente como podemos elaborar e agir uma ferramenta política de mudança e insubordinação. Aqui, o conhecimento circula apenas entre nós, fortalecendo a nossa capacidade de resistência sem revelar as nossas táticas ao agressor. Participando, aprenderemos a identificar e combater as violências quotidianas do sistema patriarcal através de códigos e práticas. Desenvolveremos métodos de proteção e solidariedade coletiva que o opressor não consegue antecipar, pois são construídos na autonomia dos nossos espaços de luta. Entendemos a autodefesa feminista como um ato revolucionário de insubordinação, uma ferramenta política de transformação social, que se mantém inacessível àqueles que sustentam as estruturas de dominação. Propomos esta oficina de autodefesa feminista e política como um espaço de reflexão crítica, mas, também, de fortalecimento da nossa consciência política sobre o que é ser uma mulher feminista e anticapitalista todos os dias. Temos como objetivo contribuir para uma prática que promova o aguçar da nossa capacidade de impor limites em diversas situações cotidianas, utilizando argumentos que nos representam enquanto sujeitos políticos. A violência de género, em todas as suas formas, é uma realidade alarmante, principalmente com o avanço da extrema-direita em Portugal e no mundo. Por isso, saber como nos defender e reconhecer sinais de perigo é um ato de resistência.

11.30 – 13.00

PANEL ROUND 2

2a APPROPRIATION OF WOMEN'S BODIES IN WAR AND PEACE

Moderation: **Elena Beloki** (Iratzar Fundazioa, Basque Country)

Octavia Quiroga (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spanish State)

Capitalist of the North, Femicide of the South: Prolegomena of the Body: Gender Violence as the Frontier of Capital

This paper develops a critical reading of contemporary capitalism through the articulation of necropolitics, patriarchy, and value critique, arguing that gender-based violence constitutes one of the ontological cores of the capitalist system rather than an archaic residue. Under the title Capitalist of the North, Femicide of the South: Prolegomena of the Body: Gender Violence as the Frontier of Capital, the text proposes that the body—particularly the feminized, racialized, and impoverished body—represents the material limit where the abstraction of value confronts its impossibility to totalize life. Where capital can no longer extract surplus value, it produces death; and where life resists commodification, it enforces violence.

The work draws from Achille Mbembe's notion of necropolitics, expanded here into the concept of necrocapitalism, following Robert Kurz and Anselm Jappe, who view capital as a self-consuming abstraction. Structural violence in Latin America—femicides, drug trafficking, extractivism, forced migration—is understood as a manifestation of this terminal phase of capitalism, where value sustains itself through the planned production of death. These are not only

mere failures of governance or institutional deficits, but rather symptoms of an accumulation regime nourished by the extreme precarization of life.

The text introduces a philosophical and ontological dimension through Karel Kosík's category of the "pseudo-concrete," to describe how capitalism aestheticizes violence, transforming it into a cultural fetish and a desirable commodity. Narco-aesthetics, the entertainment industry, and the imaginaries of luxury and masculine power operate as symbolic legitimating devices that naturalize subordination and death. The theoretical nucleus of the essay lies in Roswitha Scholz's theory of the capitalist patriarchy of value/split form, showing that capitalism is, from its origin, a patriarchal producer of commodities. From this perspective, femicide, sexual exploitation, poverty, and domestic violence are not cultural anomalies but functional expressions of value in crisis. Thus, gender violence is not a moral accident but an ontological symptom of capital's exhaustion.

Thinking of the body as the frontier of capital ultimately means thinking about the end of capitalism itself. Defending life—particularly feminized and racialized lives—implies resisting the logic of value in its economic, psychic, and cultural dimensions. The paper calls for an ontology of non-productive life, inspired by Federici and Jappe, that reclaims the body as a site of connection, care, and communal existence beyond productivity and performance.

Keywords: Necrocapitalism, marxism, materialist feminism, patriarchy, necropolitics.

Bio: **Octavia Quiroga** es Licenciada en Ciencias Políticas, Máster en Estudios Avanzados en Filosofía por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, con formación académica y experiencia en investigación y gestión pública. Ha colaborado en instituciones como el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y el Órgano Electoral Plurinacional de Bolivia. Su experiencia incluye elaboración de proyectos, asistencia en investigación y análisis en temas de participación política, democracia, y marketing electoral, además de publicaciones sobre populismo y desafección política. Sus temas de interés son el capitalismo voraz y sus efectos en la identidad, la cultura y la segregación social.

Federica Stagni (Scuola Normale Superiore, Italy), **Cosmo M. Esposito** (University of Bologna, Italy), **Ludovica Micalizzi** (Independent Researcher, Italy)

Unseen, Not Unheard: Anonymous reports of sexual violence and the limits of Transformative Justice

Visibility has long been positioned as a structural assurance for justice, embedded in legal frameworks that rely on identification as a prerequisite for institutional intervention. Within this model, justice is equated with exposure—of both perpetrators and survivors— even within a transformative justice framework, reinforcing the idea that justice is only reachable through visibility. However, this imperative risks reproducing the very power dynamics that transfeminist movements seek to dismantle, sustaining a logic of surveillance rather than transformation. Additionally, visibility often exposes survivors to both direct violence and indirect harm through possible secondary victimization.

The discussions raised by the reported cases of sexual assault have revealed a tendency toward the constant search for the victim without considering that such an attitude could take forms of oppression and overdetermination. This perspective may stem from a position of privilege, often white and Western, that overlooks the classist, racist, and/or ableist factors that may have

contributed to the decision to report anonymously. Departing from this background our contribution will try to answer the following questions:

When anonymous reports of sexual violence emerge, how should a collective respond from a transfeminist perspective, given that a transformative justice process requiring consensual engagement from both the survivor and the perpetrator cannot be enacted? Who is responsible for engaging in this process when no survivor is willing to disclose their identity, and no perpetrator takes accountability for the harm caused?

This form of violence is embodied even within transfeminist spaces and the visibility framework not only fails to address the anonymous reports of gender-based violence and forecloses the possibility of alternative responses but also risks reproducing systemic-inherited violence, limiting the potential for collective transformation.

In this regard, our contribution aims to propose a new way to imagine decolonial transfeminist practices, particularly those related to assemblies, where the demand for exposure and visibility is too often central, risking to reproduce systemic violence, limiting the potential for collective transformation even within transfeminist spaces in which this form of violence is embodied.

To address these questions, we adopt an autoethnographic approach, as engaged militants, to analyse the unfolding processes following two anonymous reports of sexual assault within transfeminist spaces we are part of. Through our militant engagement, we explore justice that resists the demand for visibility while maintaining a commitment to care, responsibility, and transformation. By centring the personal, we analyse tensions in our assembly and reflect on how justice might be reimagined as a relational, processual practice—one that does not depend on individual identification but on the collectivisation of justice. Grounded in our movement's experiences, this paper examines a transformative justice framework that shifts the perspective from the personal to the collective, fostering care, healing, and change.

Bios: **Federica Stagni** holds a Ph.D. from the Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology of the Scuola Normale Superiore under the supervision of Donatella della Porta and Lorenzo Bosi, where is now a Research Fellow. Her research focuses on antidemolition and anti-eviction movements in Israel and Palestine, where she has spent periods of field research. Federica obtained a degree in International and Diplomatic Sciences from the University of Bologna and a Master's in European and International Studies from the School of International Studies of Trento. She worked as a researcher for ACLED in the Middle East working group. She has published in several scientific journals, such as *Critical Sociology*, *PACO*, the *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *Alternatives*, *Theoria*, and *Sociology Compass*. **Cosmo M. Esposito** is an independent researcher, game designer, and transfeminist activist specialising in transformative play and critical game studies. They are completing a Master's in Cultural Anthropology at Uppsala University, where their thesis explores queer resistance through affect-oriented, embodied ethnography in collaboration with Protego, an LGBTQIA+ anti-discrimination centre in Palermo. Their work bridges anthropology, decolonial theory, and immersive storytelling, focusing on how games can both reproduce and resist structures of power. With a background in live-action role-playing (larp) design, Cosmo creates and studies participatory spaces that centre care, embodiment, and political agency. Their current research investigates how gaming platforms economically support farright radicalisation through algorithmic infrastructures and platform capitalism. **Ludovica Micalizzi** is currently a research collaborator on the PRIN 2022 project "Traces of Populism between Theory and History" at the University of Milano Bicocca, under the supervision of Prof. Vittorio Morfino. She holds a degree in Philosophy of Emotions and a Master's in Political Philosophy from the University of Rome 'La Sapienza,' and is currently completing a second Master's degree in the History of Political Thought at the University of Bologna. Her research focuses on French

structuralism, post-structuralism, and feminist thought, with particular interest in exploring the relationship between reproductive labor and the theory of ideology. Her latest publication, *On Revolution: Hannah Arendt and the Remarkable Clarity of Rosa Luxemburg*, was featured in the journal *La Cultura*.

Lorena Amorelli, Helena Oliveira, Ilana Lemos de Paiva, Verônica Maria Ferreira (Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil)

Giving body to life: articulations on reproductive control, nationalism and social policies in Brazil

Control over the reproductive capacity of a nation impacts its demographic growth and is closely linked to national economic development. Therefore, birth control is a topic of particular interest to conservative sectors. In general, far-right movements are organized around eugenic ideals, expressing a nationalist policy that, depending on the historical context and economic situation, alternates between natalism and controlism. In this sense, although Christian natalism and neomalthusian controlism may seem to represent opposing practices, they are, in fact, elements that make up the same set, with the core being the reproductive regulation of society according to the particular demands of the bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, reproduction represents one of the axes around which the social functions of gender are constructed. In these terms, the order of bodies is, above all, a political and economic order. In the Brazilian context, public policies focused on reproductive rights emerged in close relation to the country's dependency on international capital, which intensified the pressure for Brazil to establish birth control policies. During the dictatorship period, controlism was supported by concerns about controlling demographic growth — which was on the rise at that time. However, since 2005, the birth rate has been declining, while at the same time, the country has experienced an increase in migration flows from neighboring crisis-stricken countries. In Brazil, these migration flows have been added to the long history of persecution of Indigenous peoples and the ideal of population whitening, both inherited from the colonial period. Currently, the growth of natalist ideology is strongly linked to the intensification of eugenic nationalism. It is in this reality that the far-right discourse in Brazil rises.

This work will present a documentary and historical investigation into the appropriation of women's bodies by the state and Brazilian civil society, highlighting the mechanisms of domination and control observed from the Civil-Military Dictatorship period (1964-1985) to the present day. Notably, it seeks to reveal the intricate relationship between nationalist ideology, the rise of the far-right, and the intensification of domination mechanisms over women's bodies through birth control practices. To do so, we will analyze the advances and setbacks in social policies promoting sexual and reproductive rights, highlighting the fight for abortion legalization and the political use of this agenda by the Brazilian far-right. From a feminist Marxist perspective, this work aims to contribute to the fight for the lives of Brazilian women and the self-determination of our bodies. It also aims to strengthen analyses and political projects that oppose the setbacks represented by the rise of the far-right globally.

Bios: **Lorena Amorelli Reinato:** PhD candidate in Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN); Master's and Bachelor's degrees in Psychology from the Federal University of Goiás (UFG); Researcher at the Observatory of the Child and Adolescent Population in Contexts of Violence (OBIJUV-UFRN) and the Research Group on Marxism and Education (GPME-UFRN), focusing on themes such as violence, gender, women, social movements, and reproductive justice. **Helena Oliveira:** PhD candidate in Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN); Master's and Bachelor's degrees in Psychology from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN); Researcher at the Observatory of the Child and Adolescent Population in Contexts of Violence (OBIJUV-UFRN), focusing on themes such as violence, gender, politics, and democracy. **Ilana Lemos de Paiva:** Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Psychology from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN). PhD from the integrated graduate program in Social Psychology UFRN/UFPB, with a research period at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM). Currently, she is an Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte and in the Graduate Program in Psychology at UFRN. She is the Coordinator of the Observatory of the Child and Adolescent Population in Contexts of Violence (OBIJUV/UFRN). She is an associated researcher at the Research Group on Marxism and Education (GPME/UFRN). She holds a Productivity Fellowship from CNPq (level 2). Member of the Ibero-American Network for Teaching and Research in Children's Rights. She was the Regional Director of the National Association of Researchers in Brazilian Youth, REDEJUBRA (2021-2023). She has experience in the field of Psychology, with an emphasis on Social Psychology, focusing mainly on themes such as youth, socioeducation, human rights of children, adolescents, and youth, psychology, feminism, and Marxism. **Verônica Maria Ferreira:** Bachelor's degree in Social Work from the State University of Ceará (2002). Master's degree in Public Policies and Society from the State University of Ceará (2006). PhD in Social Work from the Federal University of Pernambuco (2017). She completed a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the State University of Ceará (2019-2020). Awarded researcher by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) in 2018 for the best thesis in the field of Social Work. She was a Researcher, Educator, and Collegiate Coordinator at SOS Corpo - Feminist Institute for Democracy (2003-2022). She is a Professor in the Department of Social Work (DESSO/UFRN). She is also affiliated with the Study and Research Group on Labor (GET/UFPE) and a member of the CLACSO Working Group "Feminisms, Resistance, and Emancipation." She has experience in research and education on topics such as Women, Labor, State, Social Security, and Public Funds.

2b SOCIAL REPRODUCTION THEORY AND FEMINIST ECONOMY

Moderation: **Beatriz Realinho** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, A Coletiva, Portugal)

Gabriela Figueira (University of Coimbra, Portugal), **Beatriz Vilaça** (University of Porto, Portugal), **Gabriela Azevedo** (University of Porto, Portugal)

Theory of Social Reproduction and the unified analysis of differences

O feminismo marxista se desenvolveu através dos debates sobre a relação entre opressão e exploração no capitalismo. Na perspectiva unitária da TRS, não há uma relação etapista ou hierárquica ou paralela entre formas de opressão, tais quais raça, classe e gênero. Raça, classe e gênero co-constituem-se na experiência concreta, e é precisamente a partir da realidade que a teoria se vai construindo (Bhattacharya, 2017). Pretendemos, neste trabalho, enquadrar o uso da Teoria

da Reprodução Social (TRS) como uma ferramenta de análise unitária das diferenças sociais forjadas no bojo do capitalismo. A partir da compreensão de que o trabalho está na base do desenvolvimento das relações sociais (Lukács, 2018), a TRS analisa o trabalho dispensado para a produção de mercadorias e o dispensado para a reposição diária e geracional da força de trabalho como integrantes da totalidade social capitalista. Ao inserir a perspectiva unitária ao debate feminista marxista, a TRS contribui com a compreensão materialista histórica e dialética de que a realidade é concretamente constituída pela totalidade de relações sociais que, em relação com a natureza, produz as condições materiais para a reprodução da vida humana: logo, a realidade é nada mais que a síntese da totalidade social (Lukács, 2003), uma “unidade do diverso” (Marx, 2011 [1858]). Sendo a totalidade do trabalho produtora das determinações da realidade, a percepção analítica da TRS é de que todos os aspectos da contemporaneidade – em atenção às diferenças sociais – resultam da unidade de exploração, dominação e opressão própria do capitalismo, isto é, própria da forma assumida pelo processo de trabalho que, ao produzir capital, reproduz a vida (Arruzza, 2015). Pretendemos, portanto, demonstrar como a TRS desenvolve-se nas bases da ontologia materialista e, com isso, capacita-se para apreender a interligação dentre as múltiplas formas de opressão com a forma de exploração capitalista, já que frutos do processo unitário de trabalho. Argumentamos que a TRS, enquanto perspectiva teórico-metodológica, oferece lentes apropriadas para a análise da opressão de gênero (mas não só) na atual dinâmica capitalista. Apresentamos nesse estudo, portanto, a proposta da TRS, que privilegia a compreensão não parcial de determinada forma de opressão, mas de uma expressão particular de uma totalidade universal. Nesse sentido, colonialismo, racismo e gênero não são sistemas autônomos e não devem ser investigados como tais, mas sim em sua relação de co-constituição da realidade.

Bios: **Beatriz Vilaça**, Mestranda em História Contemporânea (FLUP), Na sua investigação procura analisar a formação do Sindicato do Serviço Doméstico em Portugal durante os anos 1973 até 1976 fazendo uso da Teoria da Reprodução Social como arcabouço teórico. **Gabriela Azevedo**, Investigadora de pós-doutoramento (FLUP). Em suas investigações analisa a relação entre gênero (especialmente maternidades), direito e autoritarismos (estado de exceção, fascismo e neofascismo). **Gabriela Salcedo Figueira**, Doutoranda em Estudos Contemporâneos (UC/CEIS20/IIIUC), com financiamento FCT (UI/BD/154186/2022). Em sua investigação doutoral, procura apreender a relação entre capitalismo e escravidão racial ao analisar a reprodução social das ordens escravocratas brasileira e norte-americana.

Fernanda Moscoso (Cooperativa Desbordada, Chile)

Hacia una caracterización feminista de la condición dependiente de América Latina: explorando el diálogo entre la Teoría Marxista de la Dependencia y la Teoría de la Reproducción social

Tras un prolongado silenciamiento de la Teoría Marxista de la Dependencia (TMD), la necesidad de comprender el actual ciclo de acumulación ha renovado el interés por recuperarla. Su legado resulta imprescindible para repensar las alternativas de América Latina frente al lugar que ocupa en la dinámica de acumulación mundial y a los límites estructurales que impiden que el capitalismo mejore de manera sostenida las condiciones de vida de las mayorías.

Situado en esa intención, este trabajo se orienta específicamente a explorar cómo la TMD puede enriquecer la interpretación que ofrece sobre la condición dependiente de América Latina (AL) a partir de los aportes de la Teoría de la Reproducción Social (TRS). En este sentido, se busca abordar una oportunidad clave: aunque la TRS ha logrado importantes avances al incorporar, en los análisis del modo de producción capitalista (MPC), los mecanismos sistémicos que explican la opresión de las mujeres bajo el capitalismo, dichos desarrollos aún no han enriquecido de manera significativa los análisis marxistas sobre el desarrollo dependiente.

En ese sentido, un objetivo secundario es argumentar que ambas perspectivas son, de hecho, complementarias. Y lo son no solo porque comparten una lectura común sobre las relaciones fundamentales del capitalismo, manifestada en una intención explícita de partir del análisis general de Marx sobre el MPC, sino fundamentalmente porque ambas consideran necesario ampliar y reinterpretar las lecturas marxistas sobre el MPC para dar cuenta de otras dicotomías sobre las que el capitalismo se sostiene para desplegarse y renovarse. Así, son complementarias porque cada perspectiva otorga centralidad a dicotomías que la otra tiende a desatender. No obstante, la complementariedad es viable y pertinente porque ambas comparten una visión común sobre la naturaleza del MPC: su tendencia a reproducir inherentemente otras polarizaciones entrelazadas al (o a partir del) conflicto capital/trabajo.

Por ello, este trabajo sostiene que los aportes de la TRS pueden complementar y fortalecer la TMD al proponer un análisis del capitalismo dependiente desde los procesos de reproducción social y, a través de esta perspectiva, comprender el rol sistémico que desempeña la división sexual del trabajo en la reproducción de la dependencia. Asimismo, al proponer analizar la dependencia desde los procesos de reproducción social, la TRS contribuye a considerar otras dimensiones o alcances de la división racial del trabajo en la reproducción del capitalismo dependiente.

Finalmente, este trabajo constituye la intención de dar eco y continuidad a los análisis que Vania Bambirra, pionera de la TMD, esbozó, al alertar sobre la importancia de incorporar la opresión de las mujeres en el análisis del capitalismo dependiente. Este trabajo, como plantea Ferreira, es también un esfuerzo por sacarla del exilio teórico y dar continuidad a aquello que en su momento nos entregó como una indicación a desanudar.

Bio: **Fernanda Moscoso** es economista y socia investigadora de Desbordada, cooperativa de economía feminista. Actualmente es doctoranda en el programa de Sociología de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM). Sus líneas de investigación se centran en la economía política latinoamericana, particularmente abordando los cruces entre los estudios marxistas sobre la dependencia y sobre la reproducción social.

Kyriaki Lampropoulou (Panteion University/Greek Ombudsman, Greece)

Care and social reproduction: Parallel and opposite discourses?

Since the 2000s, the study of care, which counts more than forty years of extensive debate among feminists, has been gradually freed from its almost exclusive attachment to gender, shifting the focus of scholarly interest to other social differences and how these are intertwined with caregiving. Along with the shift of interest from the care provider and gender to the care itself, the emergence

of its socio-political frame of reference is also gradually gaining weight. This contemporary trend is characterized by an interdisciplinary approach to the subject, accompanied by the shift of theoretical and research interest from the local to the global, with an emphasis on care chains and the role of migrant women in caregiving, as well as the re-establishment of the concept of social reproduction as an interpretive tool.

On the other hand, especially due to the recent pandemic that has brought the issue of care back to a central place on political agendas, social reproduction theory forces marxists feminists to reconsider features of theory and politics which had previously been regarded as peripheral in marxist feminist thought. One of these areas, a prominent one, is care. Although care policy has been included in Marxist critiques of the state and social policy, the new prominence of care and responses such as the Care Collective's 'Care Manifesto' calls marxists to scholarly engage with the (re)conceptualization of care.

The aim of this paper is to briefly present the theoretical debates on care vis a vis social reproduction, clarifying differences and commonalities and to articulate future developments for theory and political practice.

Bio: **Kyriaki Lampropoulou** has currently completed her PhD thesis in the field of gender and social policy at the Department of Social Policy of Panteion University. She is a graduate of the Department of Sociology at Panteion University and she has completed postgraduate studies in social policy with an emphasis on gender and care at the Universities of Bristol, Oslo, and Mannheim. Her research interests focus on the concept of care in social policy and its relationship with gender. She works as a senior investigator in the Greek Ombudsman Office.

Ainhoa Ozaeta (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea UPV-EHU, Basque Country)

Interdependence and personal empowerment for a feminist and territorial contribution

Aunque las ciencias sociales, incluso el feminismo, estudian los métodos por los que se construye la relación con los llamados “terrenos sensibles”, se investiga poco o nada sobre las que se caracterizan por estar realizadas en la cárcel, dentro de cuatro muros, en situación de vulnerabilidad. Esta ponencia es una controversia sobre la elaboración de una investigación, determinada por la privación de libertad y, por lo tanto, por la práctica de un terreno cerrado, vulnerable, machista y sensible, pero que tiene como terreno de investigación el exterior de estas paredes.

Después de los estudios de economía realizados a distancia con la Universidad del País Vasco UPV/EHU durante mis dieciséis años de privación de libertad, me intereso por las consecuencias del fracasado sistema económico contemporáneo en la vida de las mujeres. Mi posicionamiento científico y político se integra en un anclaje teórico de la economía feminista, que tendrá en cuenta la sostenibilidad de la vida, el análisis de las desigualdades y la transformación social.

Inspirándome en los análisis de Verónica Gago (2019) o Amaia Pérez Orozco (2019), entre otras, parto de la hipótesis de que la división sexual del trabajo está a la orden de las desigualdades y, por lo tanto, se perpetúa naturalizándose en las políticas públicas. Al optar por interesarme por la situación de las mujeres en un contexto de trabajo no remunerado y cuidado de la familia, busco entender cómo los actuales regímenes de bienestar español y francés interfieren en la sobrecarga

de trabajo de las mujeres en los hogares de Euskal Herria. Mi trabajo se centra en las políticas familiares institucionales y, en última instancia, en la interacción entre la acción del Estado, la del mercado de trabajo, la de la familia y la comunidad.

En esta ponencia pretendo analizar los métodos, teorías y los resultados obtenidos durante la realización de mi tesis en estudios sobre el desarrollo económico y social, entre los años 2020 y 2023. Por ello, mi objetivo sería dar a conocer la situación de las mujeres en un contexto de trabajo no remunerado: el cuidado de la familia en los hogares de Euskal Herria, y analizar desde una perspectiva de análisis comparado cómo afectan los diferentes regímenes de bienestar en todo ello. Finalmente, me gustaría también ofrecer una serie de conclusiones o propuestas que puedan servir para ir dibujando la puesta en marcha de un sistema público de cuidados comunitario, reivindicación

Bio: **Ainhoa Ozaeta** es Profesora ayudante doctor UPV/EHU, Departamento economía y gestión Facultad de Economía y Empresa UPV/EHU email: ainhoa.ozaeta@ehu.eus

2c INTERSECTIONALITY BETWEEN FEMINISM AND CLASS SUBJECTIVATION UNDER A DECOLONIAL LENS

Moderation: **Catarina Isabel Martins** (University of Coimbra, Portugal)

Prakriti Prabhat Sharan (School of Oriental and African Studies, (SOAS) University of London)

The (Contentious) Subject of Indian Feminist Praxis

Introduction:

Indian feminism is not synonymous to Indian women's movement, as the former if read within the (post)-colonial rhetoric, is a transitioning ideological force having its essence stemming from nationalism and its requirements for fables, folklore, and tales of heroism in supporting of Indian national discourse; wherein the allegorical representations of 'woman' was appropriated to delineate the oppressive social conditioning and at the same time (re)affirm the existing social norms as corrective measure to restore a nation and a false sense of pride and tradition, while in the latter (Indian women's movement) was and continues to be purely a 'feminist praxis'².

Proposal:

The current paper sets out to understand the trajectory of Indian feminist praxis. It examines the evolving 'subject' of the Indian feminist discourse tracing it from the post-colonial individualism to humanistic articulation. While doing this, it aims to understand the current fragmentation of the women's movement in India as it finds itself embroiled in the politics of identity, 'erasure' and a disillusionment with the former Marxist vocabulary theorizing experience. 'Experience' as an analytical category for Indian feminism has functioned as a 'critique' as well as helped in adopting a 'positionality.' Despite fulfilling its potential worth as a theoretical methodology, the category of 'experience' today carries a connotation of incommunicability. This means rather than bridging 'differences' the particularization of 'experiences' has not just ended up alienating women across

² 'Praxis' is a Marxist existential term, and I intend to use it the same way.

the axis of class, caste and religion but as invoked to what I refer as ‘inter-generational ignorance’ amongst feminist activists and scholars.

The current paper attempts to examine the ‘inter-generational’ dynamics in the contemporary women’s movement in India. Using recent ‘protest sites’ as case study it seeks to explore the ‘experiences’ of older generations of Marxist feminist activists juxtaposed with the ‘expectations’ of contemporary feminists who refrain from aligning themselves to a particular ideology. Emphasizing on the ‘dialectical’ axiom of ‘feminist consciousness’ by philosopher Sandra Lee Bartky, the aim of this paper is to (re)locate and retrieve ‘lived experience’ as an analytical category imperative to the construction of the Indian feminist subjectivity that is rooted in the phenomenological concept of ‘reciprocity.’

Keywords: Inter-generationality, reciprocity, lived experience

Bio: **Prakriti Prabhat Sharan** is at present an independent researcher based in India and currently the Editor of Oxford Public Philosophy. Prakriti Sharan has completed my M.Phil. with the Centre for Gender Studies at SOAS, a research involved studying memoirs of women in revolutionary movements within the cannon of the Indian feminist literature.

Khayaat Fakier (Stellenbosch University, South Africa); **María Guadalupe Rivera Garay** (University of Hamburg, Germany) ; **Paulo Gilberto Rescher** (University of Hamburg, Germany)

Feminist Ruptures Across South Africa, Brazil, and Mexico

This comparative study explores how racialised capitalist regimes in South Africa, Brazil and Mexico disproportionately impoverish women while co-opting feminist discourses into neoliberal “empowerment” agendas. Using Marxist Feminist frameworks (Social Reproduction Theory) and decolonial critiques (coloniality of gender), the paper traces how austerity policies and extractivism in both nations privatise care work, displace Indigenous communities, and naturalise gendered precarity. In Mexico, Zapatista women’s communal land struggles and autonomous healthcare systems are contrasted with state-led progreso programs that erase Indigenous knowledge. In South Africa, the analysis highlights movements like the #AmINext protests against femicide, which link gendered violence to poverty and racialised labour exploitation. The paper argues that decolonising the mind requires rejecting neoliberal “feminist” development models and reclaiming embodied, anti-capitalist solidarity. In addition, the paper critiques development by contrasting state-led ‘development’ (e.g., mega-projects) with communal practices that centre collective well-being over profit. The study of the social minoritization of specific groups may grant an insight on how the related categories are on the one hand flexible and dynamic and constantly contested and renegotiated, but on the other hand never disappear and hence those groups stay with a marker of minority despite of all social transformations. Therefore, using Brazil, we will discuss how these positions are continuously renegotiated in day-to-day interactions but at the same time influenced by broader narratives like those related to national imaginaries or discourses. This requires analysing how northern modes of categorization, power relations and systems of knowledge resp. of ignorance, but also ways of contesting these, are important dimensions in the reconstruction of socially minoritized groups.

Bios: Professor. Khayaat Fakier is associate professor of Sociology at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. She works in feminist understandings of poverty and eco-socialism. She has contributed to journals such as *Rethinking Marxism* and *Capital Nature Socialism*. In 2020 she co-edited a book called *Marxist-Feminist Theories and Struggles Today: Essential writings on Intersectionality, Labour and Ecofeminism* drawing on the first three Marxist Feminist Congresses. **Dr María Guadalupe Rivera Garay** (in absence) is a Hñahñu indigenous woman from the Mezquital Valley in central Mexico. She holds a degree in Sociology of Education from the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Unidad Ajusco in Mexico City and a Master's degree in Sociology with a specialization in public policy and gender from the University of Bielefeld in Germany. At the same University she graduated as doctoral student in sociology at the Center for Migration, Citizenship and Development. She has been a lecturer at several universities in Germany is currently working at the University of Hamburg and is also an advisor and educator in the “Global Learning” programs. Her research interests are transnational migration processes especially in relation to socially minoritized groups, gender diversities, decolonialities, indigenous methodologies and feminisms as well as other educational processes. **Dr Paulo Gilberto Rescher** is coordinator of Latin American-Studies at the University of Hamburg, Germany, and holds a doctoral degree in sociology by the University of Bielefeld. Gilberto Rescher has worked at the universities of Bielefeld and Bochum and had several short stays at Mexican universities. His research interests include (local) politics, development and alternative perspectives, migration, transnationality/-locality, socially minoritized groups, indigeneity/ethnicity, gender issues, decolonial perspectives, “southern sociology” and qualitative methodologies, and he has conducted extended empirical fieldwork in Mexico, Nicaragua, the USA and on the Philippines. Based on these he published several articles inter alia on migration and on political transformations in an indigenous region of Mexico.

Natalia Santos Orozco (University of Puerto Rico, Democracia Socialista de Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico)

Communality and transdisciplinarity as practices for a decolonising education

La educación neoliberal ha convertido el aprendizaje en una mercancía, priorizando la competencia, la individualidad y la rentabilidad sobre el desarrollo colectivo y la justicia social. En este trabajo propongo reimaginar la educación universitaria desde la comunidad y la transdisciplinarietà, desafiando la tradición liberal de formación individualista, para centrar el aprendizaje en el bienestar colectivo y la defensa de los bienes comunes. En un momento en el que el militarismo, el fascismo y la violencia estructural avanzan sin freno, la educación no puede permanecer ajena a la urgencia de construir alternativas. Es necesario reivindicar una pedagogía que entrelace justicia social y producción colectiva de conocimiento como herramientas de resistencia y transformación.

Desde una mirada crítica, cuestiono los límites de la educación liberal occidental, y propongo un marco eco-lógico, decolonial e interseccional que permita responder a las crisis globales desde prácticas pedagógicas críticas, en diálogo con saberes ancestrales, experiencias de lucha y un análisis que considere cómo las opresiones de género, raza, clase y sexualidades se entrecruzan en la producción del conocimiento. Comienzo incorporando la perspectiva de una pedagogía crítica marxista, como la planteada por Wayne Au, que expone la relación entre educación y estructura económica para denunciar cómo el neoliberalismo ha convertido la enseñanza en un instrumento

de reproducción de las desigualdades sistémicas. Además, recupero el concepto de justicia epistémica de Miranda Fricker, para resaltar cómo la producción y transmisión del conocimiento han sido históricamente atravesadas por el silenciamiento y la deslegitimación de ciertos grupos sociales, y cómo una educación transformadora debe combatir estas exclusiones. Me apoyo también en la Pedagogía del oprimido de Paulo Freire para reivindicar la educación como un proceso dialógico y emancipador, donde las personas no sean objetos de conocimiento sino sujetos que construyen colectivamente sus saberes.

Como caso de estudio, compartiré la experiencia del seminario interdisciplinario Viaje a la Semilla: Soberanía Alimentaria, Cultura y Derechos Humanos, que imparto en la Universidad de Puerto Rico. Este espacio se ha convertido en un laboratorio de prácticas descolonizadoras donde convergen disciplinas, vivencias y metodologías comunitarias para abordar temas como la soberanía alimentaria.

Sostengo que una educación feminista, queer, antirracista y decolonial debe romper con las jerarquías epistémicas impuestas por la modernidad colonial. Se trata de transformar el aprendizaje en un proceso horizontal y colaborativo, que desafíe el extractivismo de saberes y el modelo mercantilizado de la academia. La pedagogía transdisciplinaria e interseccional que propongo no solo reconoce la pluralidad de conocimientos, sino que impulsa metodologías que resisten la lógica capitalista de la educación y abren espacios de justicia epistémica.

Esta ponencia es una invitación a debatir sobre la necesidad de descolonizar las prácticas educativas, entendiendo la educación como un campo de disputa política clave en la lucha por la emancipación de los cuerpos, territorios y conocimientos. En el marco de la VI Conferencia Internacional Marxista Feminista, hago un llamado a pensar juntxs cómo la educación puede ser un espacio de resistencia y creación de alternativas al modelo capitalista, patriarcal y colonial que precariza nuestras vidas.

Bio: La Dra. **Natalia Santos Orozco** creció en Carolina, Puerto Rico. Es profesora y militante ecosocialista. Se desempeña como catedrática auxiliar del Departamento de Español de la Facultad de Estudios Generales (FEG) de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras. También es profesora de la Concentración Menor en Derechos Humanos, adscrita al Programa de Bachillerato en Artes de Estudios Generales de la misma Facultad. Es coordinadora del Proyecto de Avalúo de Competencias de Educación General de la FEG. De formación interdisciplinaria, posee un doctorado en literatura hispanoamericana de la UPR-Recinto de Río Piedras con la disertación titulada: *Las formas del cautiverio: género, corporeidad y espacio en Santa de Federico Gamboa y Las honradas de Miguel de Carrión* (2019). Completó una especialización en Epistemologías del Sur del Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO). Actualmente cursa el Programa de Doctorado en Ciudadanía y Derechos Humanos de la Universidad de Barcelona. Colabora con la Cátedra UNESCO de Educación para la Paz del Recinto de Río Piedras de la UPR. Además de estudios publicados sobre literatura hispanoamericana, sus líneas de investigación abarcan temas como la crítica feminista y decolonial, transdisciplinariedad, los estudios generales, soberanía alimentaria y derechos humanos. Ha colaborado con la revista UMBRAL de la Facultad de Estudios Generales, UPR-RP. Es integrante de la junta editorial de la revista digital momento crítico (<https://www.momentocritico.org/>) y de la Comisión Política de Democracia Socialista.

Tamara Caraus (University of Lisbon, Portugal)

Rosa Luxemburg Decolonising Method

Rosa Luxemburg is arguably one of the most well-known and ardent Marxist critics of nationalism, having become synonymous with revolutionary and uncompromising cosmopolitanism. As a practice, however, Luxemburg's cosmopolitanism has attracted growing and plausible criticism—particularly regarding her stance on Poland's independence, which led her toward a form of determinism. Her opposition to Polish independence may have also contributed to diminishing the popularity of cosmopolitanism as an idea. Nevertheless, as a method, Luxemburg's revolutionary cosmopolitanism can serve as a valuable resource for decolonial approaches, as this presentation will argue. The first part of the presentation will outline Luxemburg's methodological cosmopolitanism, which critiques capitalism and the nation-state as inherently interconnected structures. From a Luxemburgian perspective, the nation-state itself—along with the generalized nationalist outlook that spread globally through European colonization—functions as a key tool of colonization. Decolonization, therefore, requires moving beyond the exclusionary framework of the nation-state and taking the world as a whole as the primary unit of analysis and critique. Only then does the theoretical framework shift radically enough to enable genuine decolonization. The second part of the presentation will explore how Luxemburg's revolutionary cosmopolitanism offers critical insights for decolonizing both territories and practices in the face of contemporary global crises. Regarding the decolonization of territories, Luxemburg's critique of imperialism and capitalist expansion inherently opposes occupation, expropriation, dispossession, and militarization. Her analysis aligns with feminist critiques of border regimes, anti-migration policies, and militarized discourses. However, for Luxemburg, a decolonized territory is not one that reverts to self-sufficiency, but rather one that is reintegrated into global interconnectedness on equal and emancipatory terms, grounded in a cosmopolitan framework. Furthermore, Luxemburg's revolutionary cosmopolitan praxis is crucial to decolonizing practices. Her emphasis on mass action, democratic participation, and collective struggle represents a "cosmopolitanism from below"—offering pathways to rebuild solidarities amid precarity and resist both neoliberal and reactionary global forces. In conclusion, reclaiming Luxemburg's legacy as a thinker of cosmopolitanism reveals its potential as a resource for genuine decolonization. This, in turn, points toward the possibility of radical transformation—one that dismantles capitalism, patriarchy, and imperialism in the pursuit of a just and liberated world as a whole.

Bio:

2d INVISIBLE CITIES

Moderation: **Maria Manuel Rola** (CEAU-FAUP, Portugal)

Paula Freire Santoro (University of São Paulo, Brazil)

The gentrified access to the urban land

A terra urbana tem sido analisada pelo seu papel estrutural na produção do espaço capitalista como recurso, ativo e mercadoria. É base para a produção (junto com o trabalho e o capital) e reprodução da vida, e é também ativo (é base para um título e é trocada como ativo), produz renda (através do aluguel), o que a transformou em propriedade capitalista. Embora a terra sempre tenha sido um

elemento do mercado imobiliário-financeiro, é a atual intensidade da sua integração financeira que a submeteu cada vez mais às lógicas de apropriação de rendimentos, tornando-se um ativo financeiro “puro” (Christophers, 2017, p. 64). “O capital tomou posse da terra” e a sua propriedade e exploração – através da extracção de recursos, desenvolvimento imobiliário, construção, corretagem, aluguel, etc. – tornaram-na cada vez mais significativa do ponto de vista econômico (ibid, p. 136).

A terra urbana, no entanto, é também a base para a reprodução social da vida. Sendo um recurso escasso e irreproduzível, cuja propriedade está concentrada nas mãos de poucos, sua distribuição e redistribuição importam para a vida quotidiana e para a sociedade como um todo. As desigualdades estruturais na sociedade resultam num acesso limitado à terra urbana para grupos marginalizados, incluindo mulheres, exigindo uma análise interseccional da terra urbana e da sua utilização. As lutas urbanas das mulheres moldaram a luta pelo seu acesso à terra de diversas maneiras. E os debates e lutas feministas urbanas têm defendido a redistribuição da terra através da criação de sistemas não-proprietários, fora das lógicas especulativas e proprietárias, produzidos e geridos democraticamente, apoiados não apenas financeiramente, mas politicamente pelo Estado.

Com esta perspectiva, este artigo faz uma breve visão geral dos estudos feministas contemporâneos sobre a terra urbana e visa compreender como foram construídos os direitos desiguais das mulheres e o acesso à terra nas cidades tendo o caso brasileiro como fio da narrativa em diálogo com outras situações do mundo. Quer compreender como se construiu o acesso desigual à terra nas cidades. Aborda a lacuna entre as mulheres que têm direitos à terra e à propriedade urbana, a partir de três momentos. Um primeiro que procura recuperar como esta lacuna se construiu na história colonial e na submissão às organizações patriarcais de poder. Um segundo que trata da lacuna entre mulheres com direitos (que podem ser proprietárias), mas sem acesso à terra ou propriedade. Mostra que o acesso à terra, apesar dos avanços de regulação e institucionais, permanece restrito devido a processos renovados e violentos de desposseções lentas. E um terceiro, ao final, que admite que estes processos injetam paradoxalmente agendas redistributivas, coletivas, solidárias, não-proprietárias ou que fogem à lógica proprietária nos movimentos de mulheres urbanas.

Bio: Paula Freire Santoro é Arquiteta Urbanista e Profa. Dra. Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo na Universidade de São Paulo.

Sara Mengato (Dublin City University, Ireland)

Invisible Care Infrastructures: Rethinking Urban Informality in Valparaíso, Chile

Urban informality is a deeply embedded and dynamic feature of cities in Latin America, shaping both the spatial organisation of urban areas and the everyday experiences of their inhabitants. In Valparaíso, Chile this phenomenon is characterised by the coexistence of **informal housing and widespread participation in informal work**, often concentrated in street vending, home-based production, and domestic services. Moving beyond an understanding of urban informality as merely an economic sector, this study approaches it as a **mode of urbanisation** that permeates

the everyday lives of those who live and work informally, exploring its complex realities from the perspective of those who experience it.

Drawing on **feminist geographies as well as popular and feminist economies**, the research seeks to **bridge the meanings of inhabiting and working informally**, challenging conventional binaries between productive and reproductive labour. The core argument is that the everyday life of informal workers and dwellers in Valparaíso is marked by both **precarity and resilience**, as they navigate the intersecting pressures of **housing insecurity, unstable work, and care responsibilities**. The study proposes three analytical dimensions to investigate urban informality: the **economic**, examining how informal practices sustain life; the **material and spatial**, analysing how social infrastructures shape the city; and the **collective and care**, exploring how solidarity networks form **invisible care infrastructures** that sustain urban life.

Based on **qualitative and ethnographic fieldwork**, including participant observation, shadowing, autophotography, semi-structured interviews, and social cartography, the study reveals that urban informality is not merely a survival strategy but a **context-specific mode of life** that enables the sustenance of communities amid unfavourable urban policies. This article contributes to debates on **urban informality, feminist economies, and feminist geographies** in Latin America and beyond, offering a **grounded and relational empirical case** that unsettles conventional binaries of **formal/informal, productive/reproductive, and home/street**.

Bio: **Sara Mengato** is a 2nd year Marie Skłodowska-Curie PhD fellow at Dublin City University (DCU) in the School of Law & Government. My PhD is part of the MSCA PRESILIENT project, a large network on informality in Africa, Latin America and Asia. Her research focuses on urban informality in Chile (Valparaíso) and focuses on the everyday experience of women in urban informality, namely living informally and working informally. She holds a bachelor's in international studies at the University of Trento, and subsequently, completed an M.Sc. in Sustainable Development at Leipzig and Utrecht University with a specialisation in Urban Governance. Before starting the PhD, she worked as a stakeholder analyst for the German Centre for Biomass Research and the Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research at the Department of Urban and Environmental Justice. Through her PhD and her knowledge of urban governance, she aims to steer her research interest towards gender and urban studies in Chile and Latin America.

Ioanna Petridou (University of Gothenburg, Sweden)

The gendered everyday production of public space. Encounters of migrant women. The case of Thessaloniki, Greece.

This study explores the gendered production of space and urban encounters, focusing on migrant women's experiences in public spaces. Engaging with the literature on migration, feminist geography, and urban planning, the research identifies critical gaps in understanding migrant women's experiences through both universal frameworks and individual identities.

Drawing on Lefebvre's theory the production of space and the theoretical framework of Intersectionality (at first), the study aims to examine the geographical, social, and planning dimensions of migrant women's interactions with public urban spaces in Thessaloniki, Greece. By integrating intersectionality with the production of space, this approach offers a nuanced exploration of everyday, often overlooked encounters that shape migrant women's experiences in

the city. These encounters are situated within the complex power dynamics of public spaces that influence how migrant women navigate urban environments and negotiate their identities. The study emphasizes how these spaces, both physical and social, can serve as sites of exclusion, appropriation or resistance, revealing the broader societal impacts of urban planning and offering insight in policy.

Adopting a qualitative methodology, including walking/go-along interviews and the story completion method, the research will collect and analyze data to provide a comprehensive understanding of these lived experiences. This mid-stage study lays the groundwork for further analysis and contributions, offering new insights into the intersection of gender, class, race, migration and public space, and contributing to discussions on public space, urban policy, and spatial justice for marginalized groups. It aims to understand the geographical, social, and planning dimensions of migrant women's experiences in contemporary urban public spaces in Thessaloniki, Greece.

Keywords: gender, migration, feminist geography, public space, gendered production of space.

Bio: **Ioanna Petridou** is a PhD Candidate at the Unit of Human Geography Department of Economy and Society School of Business, Economics, and Law University of Gothenburg (Sweden)

2e CONFRONTING GREENWASHING THROUGH LABOUR

Moderation: **Nadia De Mond** (Casa delle Donne di Milano/ Non Una di Meno, Italy)

Zeynep Nettekoven (University of Frankfurt, Germany)

Decarbonization of the German Automotive Industry: Gendered Impacts on Labor and Alternative Discourses of Transformation

The automotive industry in Germany and the EU is in crisis as fierce global competition, particularly from China, and decarbonization measures intensify pressure on its transformation. The industry's economic and social importance, alongside its significant ecological impact, places it at the center of socio-ecological transformation debates in Germany and the EU (Nettekoven 2023). Electrification of the powertrain as an ecological modernization approach has emerged as the dominant decarbonization strategy, marking one of the most profound shifts in automotive industry history. While macro-level projections suggest electrification may not drastically reduce employment and could create jobs long-term, it poses significant micro-level challenges for workers due to job displacement and evolving skill demands driven by changes in the value chain, production, and technology.

Despite a growing body of research on the environmental, economic and social impacts of powertrain electrification as a decarbonization strategy, its gendered impact on the workforce remains underresearched. However, industrial transformations as such are never gender neutral. Currently, just transition strategies in the transformation of the automotive industry do not have a gender transformative lens. Feminist and masculinities scholars critique the male dominance in climate research, policy, denial discourse, and gendered inequalities in “green” sector labor, using

terms like “mantrophocene” and “ecomodern masculinities” (Raworth 2014: para. 2; Hultman/Pulé 2020: 477).

This paper: (i) investigates, through seven expert interviews and secondary data, in what ways electrification as an ecological modernization strategy (potentially) affects gender inequalities in the automotive industry in Germany; (ii) presents the discourses on mobility system transformation according to three intertwined but distinct approaches in the literature, namely the democratic conversion approach, the degrowth approach and the eco-feminist political economy.

These alternative approaches to mobility transformation emphasize ecological and social democracy and gender equality over industrial growth (see Blöcker 2021; Cattaneo et al. 2022; Cohn/Duncanson 2023). By involving environmental, labor, and feminist movements instead of prioritizing car industry shareholders, they promote democratic decision-making and policies such as in support of public transport and alternative production. They propose exit strategies to address the current automotive industry crisis, creating "green" jobs in sectors like care work while ensuring better working conditions.

Bio: Dr. **Zeynep Nettekoven** is a lecturer for economics and teaches in the areas of: Macro- and Microeconomics, Economic Policy, Wage Policy, European Integration and Economics & Sustainability at the European Academy of Work at Goethe University Frankfurt.

Website: <https://cada.uni-frankfurt.de/person/dr-zeynep-nettekoven/>

Eleonora Gea Piccardi (University of Coimbra, Portugal), **Stefania Barca** (University of Santiago de Compostela, Spanish State)

Care work and the politics of post-carbon transition: reflections from an international workers' inquiry process

In the face of unprecedented threats to human and nonhuman life, twenty-first-century Marxist feminists have been striving to turn care into the guiding principle of a revolution from the institutionalized carelessness of capitalism to a postcapitalist society of caring. At the same time, decolonial feminists and ecofeminists have exposed the persisting international division of caring labour, and its connection with capitalist extractivism. Building on this world-changing perspective, the paper will offer a reflection on an international ‘workers’ inquiry’ process that has taken place over the past four years, involving eighteen unions and social movements’ representatives from different areas of care work in twelve countries, collecting their perspectives on the social and ecological challenges they faced and what they saw as necessary to tackle them. Including both waged and unwaged workers in domestic and community care, food provisioning, environmental care, healthcare and education, the inquiry responds to a contradiction within the politics of the Just Transition policy framework: while claiming to be a postcarbon strategy centred on the needs of working-class communities, JT policies omit care workers and the care needs of both people and nonhuman nature. Carers from low-income communities – the majority of the world’s working classes – thus remain overburdened and underpaid, while their key contribution to the (re)production of life on earth continues to be devalued. Over the past few years, feminist organizations have started to demand that the JT adopts a gender and care-centred approach: however, this call risks boiling down to one for expanding the ‘care economy’, i.e. incorporating more caring work within capitalist and financial markets. Starting with a constructive critique of

this approach, the paper will reflect on what we have learned from carers themselves, and open a debate on the political possibilities for an anti-capitalist Just Transition strategy.

Bios: **Stefania Barca** is associate professor of gender and environmental history at the University of Santiago de Compostela. She is the author of *Forces of Reproduction. Notes for a counterhegemonic Anthropocene* (Cambridge U.P. 2020), and of *Workers of the Earth. Labour, ecology and reproduction in the age of climate change* (Pluto Press, 2024). She is a founder and coordinator of the international Just Transition and Care network. **Eleonora Gea Piccardi** is a coordinator of the international Just Transition and Care network. She holds a PhD in feminist political ecology and her publications include ‘The challenges of a kurdish ecofeminist perspective: Maria Mies, Abdullah Öcalan, and the Praxis of Jineoloji’ (*Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 2022)

Ranjana Padhi

Confronting Extractive Capitalism: The Struggle for the Commons in East India

We find ourselves living in a perpetual war that is destroying people’s homes and hearths and impoverishing millions across the globe. Inequalities are deepening continually. The rise of the far-right accompanied by the aggression of capitalist advancement has led to war-like situations within countries of the Global South. In India, the neo-liberal extractive agenda led to the de-regulation of the mining sector causing untold misery and ecological devastation. This phenomena of extractivism has deepened the planetary ecological crisis. Extractive capitalism upends the local indigenous people from their own land and village commons; denies rehabilitation and resettlement measures; causes toxicity of water, air and soil; spreads chronic illnesses and deaths; pollutes the ecosystem; and inflicts assault on their bodies and senses and that of future generations.

Extractive capitalism affects the lives and life chances of communities dependent on natural resources. The commons are the source of life and livelihood in a predominantly subsistence economy. Women are bravely confronting powerful mining giants and metal producers to assert their rights over commons. Women see their productive assets at stake, be it the mountains, forests, rivers or streams. They fight back collectively with passion and tenacity along with other sections of the communities.

To further explore feminist political ecology, we need to recognize these struggles as powerful resistance movements that seek to decolonize bodies, borders, territories and organizing processes. Based on visits to the affected areas in Odisha, participation in events and discussions with local activists and other people, and from secondary sources from the neighboring states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, this paper will attempt to outline the heavy price paid by marginalized communities and the destruction of entire habitats. First, this paper will attempt to posit the struggle of women to save the commons— natural resources, land, mountains, forests and rivers – from the rapacious greed of capital. It is their productive assets at stake, including their identity and cultural heritage. Secondly, the paper will urge for a theoretical framework that can delineate the changing contours of capitalism and identify the forces confronting contemporary capitalism.

Bio: **Ranjana Padhi** is a Marxist-feminist activist and writer living in Odisha, East India. She has been part of the autonomous women’s movement. Currently, she works as a solidarity activist of

anti-displacement and anti-mining movements led by indigenous communities. Professionally, she is a free-lance English editor. Her co-authored book **Resisting Dispossession: The Odisha Story** published by Palgrave Macmillan (2020) is a set of political and social narratives woven around people's resistance to big dams, mining and industrial projects; in short displacement and dispossession caused by capitalist advancement. Her earlier book **Those Who Did Not Die: The impact of the agrarian crisis on women in Punjab** published by Sage Publications in 2012, focuses on the gendered impact of the agrarian crisis on women, children and the elderly in the context of widespread farmer suicides. It interrogates the split between the private and the public, of production and social reproduction as women rebuild their lives for survival. She writes occasionally for Economic and Political Weekly (EPW), [Monthly Review](#) and Mainstream and websites like Countercurrents and GroundXero. See [academia.edu](#).

Conversation circle - *Strengths and challenges of collective feminist practice in Porto*

Coletivo Afreketê

Desde há muito que os projetos de radicalização da democracia são imaginados e concretizados em contextos periféricos - simbólicos ou concretos. Organizar, formar e materializar a ação política, tem estado ao encargo de um esforço de auto-organização daquelas mesmas pessoas para as quais a democracia plena não está garantida. Os movimentos políticos de mulheres em todo o mundo têm organizado o enfrentamento às estratégias capitalistas de acirramento das desigualdades e de desumanização de uns em relação a um grupo restrito. Têm sido elas as responsáveis pela invenção de tecnologias e métodos que, ao organizarem a resistência, compõem o repertório de lutas anti-capitalistas na atualidade, valendo-se da crítica como instrumento de combate.

Invariavelmente, a forma coletiva tem sido a única efetivamente capaz de dar densidade à utopia de imaginação de um mundo melhor, onde a prioridade seja a promoção da vida, em detrimento da necropolítica geradora de desigualdades que está no centro da estratégia capitalista neoliberal; que sobrepõe o individual ao coletivo, o capital à natureza, homens a mulheres e brancos a todos aqueles a quem a modernidade racializou.

Somando-se ao esforço de constituição de massa crítica útil ao combate dos problemas impostos pelo racismo, sexismo, homofobia e xenofobia, enquanto estratégias capitalistas, um coletivo de mulheres imigrantes radicadas na cidade do Porto (Portugal) criou o Projeto Mexerica Utópica; um grupo de leitura que tem como objetivo produzir reflexão crítica que nos possibilite, em conjunto, nomear, elaborar, discutir e identificar formas de ultrapassar problemas cruciais e ameaças constantes à nossa existência. O grupo existe desde 2024 e está apenas em sua segunda temporada.

Ao longo de encontros mensais, em 2025, foi proposto o tema do coletivo como forma radical de luta política feminista, frente aos desafios à sobrevivência das mulheres enquanto sujeitas políticas nesta sociedade. A interseccionalidade como forma de entender que além de mulheres somos imigrantes, racializadas e (com sorte) trabalhadoras, deu materialidade aos encontros abertos

realizados com todas aquelas que, como nós, acreditam que a transformação só virá a partir da nossa autoorganização.

São muitos os coletivos feministas existentes no Porto e, cada um com propósitos e métodos específicos, tem engendrado formas de ação coletiva na cidade. São elas as responsáveis pelo que podemos observar de mais fresco e renovado na forma política de luta a partir dos comuns. Um trabalho, entretanto, difícil, que demanda disciplina e entrega.

Propomos neste congresso, a partir do que foi debatido ao longo do ano na Mexerica Utópica, um painel com coletivos feministas, que crie a oportunidade de nos vermos enquanto agentes da mudança. A ideia é juntar pessoas engajadas em estratégias coletivas, de modo a que possamos debater a viabilidade e os desafios da ação coletiva em prol da transformação que pretendemos ser.

Bio: O **Coletivo Afreketê** é um grupo de pesquisadoras independentes, fundado em 11 de setembro de 2020 no Porto. Somos todas mulheres migrantes e focamos nossas ações em pesquisa participativa e militância, promovendo e participando de protestos e eventos que defendem o anticolonialismo, o antirracismo, o anticapitalismo e feminismo. Nossas atividades também incluem colaborações com outros coletivos, organização de eventos culturais e políticos. Além disso, buscamos utilizar linguagens artísticas como meio para abordar e comunicar nossas questões políticas. Maiores informações: <https://linktr.ee/coletivo.afreketê>

14.30 – 16.00

PANEL ROUND 3

3a CRIATIVE RESISTANCE AND ARTIVISM E O ARTIVISMO AS TOOLS OF EMANCIPATION

Moderation: **Ana Cristina Pereira (Kitty Furtado)** (Universidade do Minho, Portugal)

Melina Scheuermann, Marcela Pedersen (i2ADS/FBAUP, Porto-Portugal)

Como ver a branquitude? Possibilidades e complexidades de uma educação antirracista e feminista a partir da cultura visual

Esta comunicação propõe uma reflexão sobre a branquitude e os seus mecanismos de invisibilização, a partir da análise do workshop “Representações da branquitude: uma análise da cultura visual portuguesa”, dinamizado pelas autoras em fevereiro de 2025. A partir de um olhar feminista, crítico branquitude e antirracista, discutiremos como as hierarquias raciais e de género são estabelecidas e reforçadas através da cultura visual e quais estratégias educativas podem ser mobilizadas para desnaturalizar essas representações.

Partimos da experiência vivida em Portugal, onde, no nosso dia a dia, a branquitude aparece de forma onipresente: ela molda normas, organiza visualidades e estrutura relações, enquanto se apresenta como algo universal, neutro e não racializado. Embora visível, a branquitude performa um movimento de “se invisibilizar” - especialmente para nós, pessoas brancas - ao se afirmar como

padrão. Reconhecemos que, ao olhar/analisar imagens com corpos brancos de propagandas, monumentos, ilustrações em livros, peças de arte ou até mesmo manequins em lojas, dentro e fora do contexto universitário e escolar, o olhar hegemónico tende a não questioná-las sob uma perspectiva étnicoracial. Em vez disso, essas representações são naturalizadas como universais e “normais”. Essa neutralidade e invisibilidade aparente é, no entanto, uma ferramenta de poder que alimenta desigualdades raciais e de género. Diante disso, nos perguntamos: como podemos ver a branquitude? Como ver aquilo que se pretende invisível? O que acontece se olharmos para imagens consideradas neutras ou universais sob uma perspectiva racial e feminista?

O workshop, realizado com docentes e estudantes das áreas de educação, educação artística e artes visuais, buscou oferecer ferramentas teórico-práticas para problematizar as imagens hegemónicas da branquitude e identificar a colonialidade do ver.

Nesta comunicação, propomos uma reflexão sobre as decisões tomadas na conceção e realização do workshop, discutindo as complexidades envolvidas no debate sobre representações da branquitude, especialmente para pessoas brancas. Ao compartilhar nossa metodologia e as reflexões geradas a partir da experiência, buscamos contribuir para a construção de práticas educativas feministas e antirracistas, capazes de tensionar os modos hegemónicos de ver e de representar.

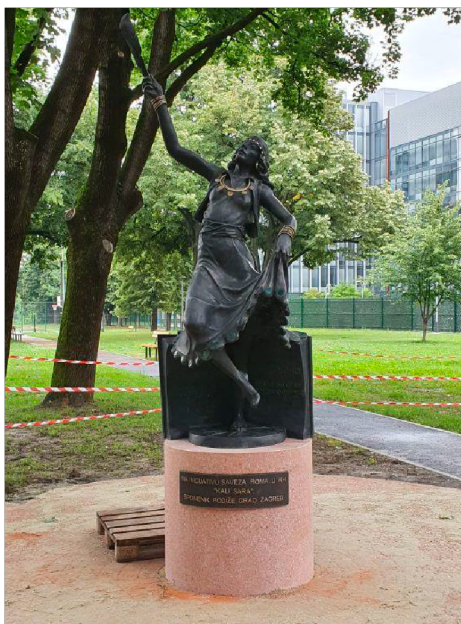
Bios: Somos **Marcela Pedersen** (FCT Ref. 2022.10957.BD) e **Melina Scheuermann** (FCT Ref. 2022.12937.BD), doutorandas em Educação Artística na Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade do Porto (FBAUP) e membros bolsistas do Instituto de Investigação em Arte, Design e Sociedade - i2ADS. Em nossos projetos de investigação, exploramos criticamente as representações da branquitude e práticas do ver inscritas e reproduzidas num sistema cultural e educativo moderno/colonial.

Petra Šarin (Nova University of Lisbon, Portugal)

Lisbon and Zagreb: silencing the voiceless

This paper analyzes public space as place that, through various signifiers – particularly works of art – reflect cultural policies and the prevailing social and gender dynamics, both in historical and contemporary contexts. Focusing on examples from Zagreb (Croatia) and Lisbon (Portugal), the paper critically examines public sculptures, monumental heritage, artistic interventions, performances, and other works of art situated in public spaces throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. Special emphasis is given to recent interventions.

The analysis focuses on works of art that allow for the exploration of issues such as: the labor movement and the legacy of antifascism, historical revisionism, the representation of European whiteness, and the representation of women in public spaces. These topics will be addressed from feminist and decolonial perspectives, with the methodological focus on identifying and understanding the causes and mechanisms that perpetuate different narratives in public space through art.



Marin Marinić, *Sculpture "5th of November"* (Roma – Grada Kilomba, *The boat*, Lisbon, 2021 *Dancer*), Zagreb, 2020

Bio: Petra Šarin (1992, Croatia) is a PhD candidate in Art History at the FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Portugal. In 2021 she won a four-year FCT scholarship for her PhD research that deals with the representation of women workers and the conceptualization of ‘female labor’ in works of Portuguese art and Croatian art from 1930s to 1950s, which is interpreted within the framework of social reproduction theory. Since 2021, she is in the Organizing Committee of the IHA Doctoral Forum, and in 2022 she took on the position of assistant editor at the RIHA Journal Local Editorial Team – Portugal. Šarin developed and organized a free education program entitled “How to Think About Urbanism and Public Space?”, which analyzes public space as a place that reflects cultural policies and dominant social and gender relations. In 2022 she published a book chapter on the Agitprop and the underground printing services in Zagreb during the Second World War, in an open-access book “Cartography of Resistance”. Her areas of interest are art theory, art history from a Marxist feminist point of view, socially engaged artistic practices, historiography and legacy of antifascism and rethinking the public space. She speaks fluent English and Portuguese.

Daniela Carvajal Enríquez, Erandi Villavicencio (Bordar la Ternura, Ecuador)

Collective political embroidery as practice of resistance, memory and emancipation

The artistic practices of Latin American embroidery collectives propose activations that involve taking to the streets, the creation of common productive economic alliances, gatherings for the healing of life, and a commitment to the politics of collective creation. Emancipation from precariousness in the face of extractive capitalism in Abya Yala. We coexist with defenders of the territory, healers, diverse collectives, grassroots organizations, and searching mothers, and we reclaim the act of collective creation of life.

Intertwined with the Latin American context of collective feminist embroidery, "Bordar la Ternura" (Embroidery of Tenderness) emerges in Quito, Ecuador. This is a group of self-

organized embroiderers to which we have belonged since 2021. Through collective political embroidery, we articulate artistic and cultural actions with organizations and social movements in the country and the region. We carry out interventions in public spaces during mobilizations and political events. Using feminist and community pedagogies, we collaborate in horizontal and affective embroidery gatherings. We create textile archives of narratives against forgetting in the face of injustice and violence.

Drawing on the approaches to the common by Federici, Gutiérrez, and Gago, we propose an analytical framework for considering the role of art and culture in the production of the common in weaves. The objective is to reflect on the political ways of weaving community life in collective embroidery, the sensitive potential of textile expression, and its possibilities for memory and resistance. Methodologically, we approach the case study using feminist (auto)ethnography.

Analyzing this case in a situated manner, but in relation to the Latin American context, allows us to observe forms of decolonization of political, artistic, and cultural practices and to formulate new underground and interstitial, fragile, and anonymous forms that are realized in complicity, connection, and expansion—that is, with the potential to spill over into other spheres. These occur within an invisible spectrum of what is usually considered politics and unfold in temporalities beyond exceptional moments of political rupture and through other corporalities and materialities, making a clear call for collective emancipation.

Keywords: Art and culture, collective political embroidery, decolonization, feminisms, production of the common

Bios: **Erandi Villavicencio** is an Independent Researcher at the Latin American Feminist Network: Community Spaces for Self-Care. **Daniela Carvajal Enríquez** is a member of FLACSO Ecuador

Melissa Moralli (University of Bologna, Italy)

Riding the Nepantla, or How to Smash the Aesthetic Violence on Human Mobility in the Anthropocene

Borders are powerful political or, as Mbembe would say, necropolitical instruments of inequality: they are at once places and discourses that produce norms of exclusion through images of people in motion. As technological devices of control and definition of the imaginary, they become discursive and emotional landscapes of power, playing on an excessive spectacularisation that invisibilises the geopolitical relations underlying mobility injustice. This dehumanisation responds to a clear political will, that of erecting further physical and discursive barriers to limit the “mobility of the Anthropocene”. In the face of this aesthetic violence, the subversive power of art - as a process of knowledge and as a dynamic concerning embodied experiences - is not only capable of deconstructing and reshaping regimes of visibility concerning migration and climate change. It is also a space of alliances, solidarity and resistance. Climate change-related migration is not simply a product of geophysical conditions, but a political and colonial construct.

Based on these reflections, the essay develops around two concepts. The first is that of aesthetic dignity. Coming from the Zapatista experience, it refers to the need for a struggle against oblivion and compassion, fighting against the loss of memory resulting from colonial power relations woven over time and reinforced by capitalist globalisation. The second is that of *nepantla*, a Nahuatl term introduced by Anzladúa to describe the transformation against collective traumas, 'arrebatos'.

The artists, nepantleras, imagine and create different realities through the power of imagination as a collective struggle. Healing thus becomes a visual work that is both political and spiritual, where the problem is part of the cure: “You don't heal the wounds, it is the wounds that heal you”. Now, the question is: How can we fight against the oblivion and the arrebatos that oppress human mobility in the era of the Anthropocene?

Thoughts from the Campus Antropoceno America Latina, Rio de Janeiro

Short list of references:

Anzaldúa, G. ([1987] 2007). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
Anzaldúa, G. (2015). *Light in the Dark/Luz en lo Oscuro. Rewriting Identity, Spirituality, Reality*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Aracén, R., Cubitt, S., and Sardar, Z. (eds.) (2002). *The Third Text Reader: On Art, Culture, and Theory*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
Baschet, J. (2002). *L'Étincelle Zapatiste, Insurrection Indienne et Résistance Planétaire*. Paris: Éditions Denoël.
de Sousa Santos, B. (2015). *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. New York: Routledge.
Foucault, M. ([1966] 1970). *Les mots et les choses*. Paris: Gallimard.
Fraser, N. (2000). Rethinking Recognition. *New Left Review*, 3: 107-121.
Glissant, É. (1990). *Poétique de la Relation*. Paris: Gallimard.
Hall, S. (2000). *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*. In: Mirzoeff, N. (ed.), *Diaspora and Visual Culture* (pp. 222–237). London: Routledge.
hooks, B. (2000). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. London: Pluto Press.
hooks, B. (2014). *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. New York: Routledge.
Mbembe, A. (2020). *Necropolitics*. Duke University Press.
Mirzoeff, N. (2023). *White Sight: Visual Politics and Practices of Whiteness*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Spivak, G. C. (1988). *Can the Subaltern Speak?*. In: Cary, N. and Grossberg, L. (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (pp. 271–313). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Valentine, G., and Skelton, T. (2007). The right to be heard: Citizenship and language. *Political Geography*, 26(2): 121-140.
Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of prejudice*, 40(3), 197-214.

Bio: Melissa Moralli is Assistant Professor of Cultural Sociology. She was visiting scholar at CRISES (Centre de Recherche sur les Innovations Sociales, Montréal), IPK (Institute for Public Knowledge, New York University), CRISES Redefined (University of Jyväskylä, Finland), MESOPOLHIS (Aix-Marseille University, Sciences Po Aix, CNRS), MUCEM (Museum of the Mediterranean, Marseille). She works at the intersections between cultural sociology and the arts and she is curator of the international exhibition “Connections” on Europe’s margins, and director of the short-documentary “Frontières (in)visibles”, together with Iranian artist Ali Zareghanatnowi. She is PI of the international project “Collaborative imaginaries on territories in change across Europe”. She was senior researcher in the project “Welcoming Spaces. Revitalising Shrinking Areas by Hosting Non-Eu Migrants” (H2020) and “Atlas of Transitions. New Geographies for a Cross-Cultural Europe” (CreativeEU). She is the author of more than 40 books and articles on migration, activism, engaged research and arts-based methodologies. She co-founded the research collective “Reimagining Mobilities” on critical approaches to climate mobility regimes through creative and aesthetic practices.

3b QUEER MARXISM AND THE IMPORTANCE OF QUEER SOCIAL CRITICISM

Moderation: **Sandra Cunha** (Feministas em Movimento – FEM, Portugal)

Héloïse Russel-Holland (IDHES ENS-Paris Saclay, France/Department of Sociology, UQÀM, France)

Lesbianism and Domestic Labour Division: A Materialist Feminist Perspective

This paper frames the division of domestic labour in lesbian couples within Marxist and materialist feminist theories, engaging with sociological literature on domestic labour as a site of exploitation (Delphy, 1970) and appropriation (Guillaumin, 1978) of women's work and bodies. It also explores the link between lesbian subjectivities, representations, and practices of the division of labour in these couples. The presentation follows three axes. First, it examines lesbian consciousness through meanings attributed to categories of gender and sexuality by lesbian couples' members. Second, it analyses relationships to labour and the (non)implementation of practices of the division of labour. Third, it investigates the relationship between labour and lesbian gender consciousness. The idea is to offer a critical reflection on the division of domestic labour, on subjective and objective relations to work in all its forms, and to propose a political, feminist and sociological definition of labour. Also, by mobilizing the concept of "des/heterosexualization" (Chetcuti, 2010), the process of distancing oneself from the heterosexual regime, the aim is to illustrate the forms that this can take in lesbian couples and to propose a collective reflection on feminism as a tool for analyzing and transforming social relations, particularly gender relations. Finally, the focus will be on the conditions that make it possible to think about the emergence of new political subjects, lesbian and des/heterosexualized subjects, transclass to their sex class, in their practices, bodies and representations.

Bio: Héloïse Russel-Holland is a PhD candidate in sociology. She is attached to the Department of Sociology at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM) and to the IDHES ENS Paris-Saclay laboratory. She is a member of the Institut de recherches et d'études féministes (IREF) and the Réseau québécois en études féministes (RéQEF). She is also a member of the knowledge-sharing group LezbiQueer Canada. Her research focuses on the division of domestic labour in lesbian couples in Quebec and France.

Zayan and Neha Naqvi

Queering Circles of Solidarity: Chosen Families at the Crossroads of Caste Realities in India

Forming chosen families is a reality across communities worldwide. The term coined by Kath Weston in 1991, describes persons who are related to one another not through biology but through the exercising of choice. It is a safety net that provides support, love and care to the people within it. With this said, the felt need for the formation of chosen families is significantly more pronounced among marginalized communities and persons experiencing intersectional forms of oppression. One such community is made up of queer and trans* people, who in the absence of the acceptance and backing of their natal families actively build chosen families as part of their circles of solidarity and systems of support. In India, queerness and transness share a long and checkered history. Caste is deeply embedded within the fabric of these lived realities, but is rarely afforded the space necessary to shape feminist discourse to the extent that reflects actualities on the ground. India is home to rampant discrimination based on caste location. Forming chosen families becomes all the more complex when marginalization on the basis of caste location intersects with marginalization on the basis of queerness or transness. Accessing queer spaces that are safe and affirmative is an uneven and daunting experience for many. Our paper asks the

following questions. How do Dalit and Bahujan persons (people from marginalized castes in India) who also identify as queer or trans* persons, navigate forming chosen families for themselves? What are the socio –political considerations that inform the decisions they make? What are the experiences they have in common with Muslim and Indigenous voices from within the queer spectrum in India who share a history of oppression as well? What are the changes they wish to see? This paper employs an interpretive approach where we interview six individuals who are Dalit, Bahujan Muslim and Indigenous while also identifying as queer or trans* persons. Taking intersectionalities into account, our hope is to offer an examination of six unique case studies that speak to the urban and rural divide across metropolitan cities that scale the breadth of India.

Keywords: caste; gender; intersectionality; queer spaces; sexuality

Bio: **Zayan** is a Dalit Queer Feminist Activist. **Neha Naqvi** is affiliated to the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung South Asia).

Alter Emese, Mikula Flóra, Móczár Maja Lejla (Nők Egymásért Mozgalom, NEM!, Hungary)

The Family as an Economic Unit: Anti-Gender Politics and the Ideological Obscuring of Capitalist Reproduction

The idealized image of the nuclear family has become a key ideological tool in the rise of global anti-gender movements. Promoted across conservative and authoritarian political landscapes, it functions not only as a cultural ideal but also as a political weapon with clearly defined domestic and foreign policy implications. These include the defense of “normal” or “healthy” families from the so-called “gender lobby” and a symbolic war narrative against the perceived threat of “gender ideology” coming outside of the nation. In numerous national contexts, the nuclear family features prominently in right-wing discourses as a bulwark against feminist, queer, and anti-capitalist transformations.

In our presentation, we will examine the nuclear family from two perspectives: on the one hand, we will show how its idealisation in anti-gender rhetoric serves far-right political movements, and on the other hand, we will shed light on the origins of the family model, which appears both as ahistorical yet traditional in the anti-gender rhetoric.

What we find particularly important, however, is not the symbolic or cultural dimension of this narrative in itself but the way it conceals the material and economic functions of the family. The second part of our presentation focuses on the nuclear family as an economic unit in capitalistic societies, historically shaped and continuously reproduced to serve specific functions in the accumulation process: the reproduction of labor power, the unpaid domestic and reproductive labor performed largely by women, and the containment of care within the private sphere.

In our analyses, we examine the emergence of the nuclear family in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and explore how its form and functions have shifted under contemporary capitalism. From this perspective, the anti-gender movement appears less as a mere cultural backlash, and more as an ideological project that mystifies the economic foundations of patriarchal capitalism recasting structural exploitation in the language of morality, tradition, and national survival.

We argue that understanding the family's role as a reproductive unit of capital is crucial in exposing how anti-gender politics operates not just to preserve cultural norms, but to stabilize the economic order. By demystifying these ideological operations, we aim to reframe the critique of the family within the broader terrain of class struggle and the crisis of social reproduction under late capitalism.

Bios: The authors are all members of the Budapest based leftist feminist movement called Women For Each Other Movement (NEM! – Nők Egymásért Mozgalom). Our latest project is a feminist open university titled 'Family in capitalism. Women in the family.' **Alter Emese** graduated from the University of Szeged as a psychologist in 2020. She is currently a PhD candidate in Education at the University of Debrecen. Her research focuses on the patriarchal culture of STEM higher education. She works at Háttér Society (a Hungarian LGBTQI ngo) as a training officer. She has been a member of NEM! since 2024. **Mikula Flóra** graduated from Budapest Business University with a degree in Finance and Accounting. Her main research interests include anti-corruption regulation in Hungary, and the dynamics of capitalism and anti-capitalism in the 21st century. She has been a member of NEM! since 2025. **Móczár Maja Lejla** studied philosophy at Eötvös Loránd University with a focus of contemporary feminist philosophy. She works at Auróra Community Space as an event organizer. She is a cofounder of the 'Közbélépő' project which has a goal to make night life safer for women. She has been a member of NEM! since 2019.

Natacha Chetcuti-Osorovitz (CSP Université Paris-Cité and CentraleSupélec, France)

Understanding the Transformative Effect of Wittigian Thought: Breaking Away from Straight Thinking

Monique Wittig's thought is rooted in and with materialist feminist theorists; she also distinguishes herself through her analysis of "Straight Thinking." In order to restore the coherence and radical nature of the transformative effect of Wittigian thought, we will reconstruct the anchoring of Wittig's work within the French-speaking materialist feminist movement to demonstrate the meaning of the concepts on which Wittig bases her analysis: materialism, gender class, sexism, and minority groups. However, her work distinguishes itself from materialist feminism through its theory of heterosexuality: This is defined as a total regime based on the appropriation of women by men and the erasure of this social relationship within the essentialist system of thought, which Wittig calls "straight thinking." How Wittig theorizes the mechanisms of the diminishment and othering of oppressed groups. What does straight thinking mean? What are its theoretical propositions and their immediate effects?

Bio: **Natacha Chetcuti-Osorovitz** is a Sociologist, Associate Professor accredited to supervise research at CentraleSupélec and researcher at the Laboratory for Social and Political Change (LCSP), Université Paris-Cité, France. Her work focuses on materialist feminist epistemology, carceral sociology, and gender-based violence. Her most recent book, co-authored with Sara Garbagnoli, *La pensée Wittig: Une introduction*, was published by Payot in February 2025. In 2021, she published *Femmes en prison et violences de genre. Résistances à perpétuité* with La Dispute (Paris). Her most recent articles include: 2024, with Sandrine Lanno and Esther Cariel, "Research-creation in a closed educational center for girls: Methodological hybridity and the dissemination of invisible professional knowledge," in *¿Interrogations?*, No. 38, Conceptual and

methodological contributions from the intersections between artistic productions and the human and social sciences: a fertile hybridity, June 2024 [online], <http://www.revue-interrogations.org/Recherche-creation-dans-un-centre>; 2024, with Cynthia Colmellere, “Thinking academic capitalism through the production of its margins,” SociologieS [online], Dossiers, published on March 20, 2024, accessed on May 28, 2024. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/sociologies/22768>

3d RECLAIMING CARE WORK AS ESSENTIAL WORK

Moderation: **Nadia De Mond** (Casa delle Donne di Milano/ Non Una di Meno, Italy)

Katarina da Silva (Universidad Complutense de Madrid/Instituto de Sociologia do Porto, A Coletiva, Portugal)

External events (of the system) in the long-term care model in Portugal

The massive entry of women into the labor market, individual emancipation, new family models and demands for equality have made it impractical to attribute the entire volume of care to the family context (Soeiro, 2022, p. 81). In addition to gender, work and family issues, demographic ageing stands out in literature as one of the most cited impactful events for long-term care. With the growth of the elderly population and the improvement in the standard of living, new concepts and expectations associated with old age and care also emerge. The pursuit of the right to dignity at the end of life and new perceptions about successful ageing place increase pressure on existing resources for better quality services.

This communication seeks to understand factors that enable policy change in Portugal’s care system. To this end, the current study resorts to the dimensions of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier, 1988), namely the definition of external (system) events. This theoretical framework (further known as ACF) claims, in a simplified manner, that policy systems are formed by coalitions and policy brokers and foresee policy outputs and policy impacts. Then, “because policy-making in any political system or policy subsystem is constrained by a variety of social, legal, and resource features of the society in which it is part” (Sabatier, 1988, p. 134), the framework distinguishes between relatively stable parameters and external (system) events.

Between the policy subsystems and stable parameters and external events “are the short-term constraints and resources of subsystem actors” (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, p. 144), meaning changes outside the policy subsystem provide opportunities for coalitions to explore.

For the matter of the topic, this communication considers the concept of External (System) Events. These dynamic events refer to factors that can affect policy subsystems, such as changes in socio-economic conditions, changes in public opinion, changes in the systematic governing coalition and policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems. They are important “because they often shift public attention (and thus resources) toward or away from a policy subsystem” (Weible & Sabatier, 2006, p. 129). In fact, Sabatier & Weible (2007, p. 207) identify four paths to major policy change, in which they include external shocks, and state that “ACF hypothesizes that change in one of these dynamic factors is a necessary condition for major policy change” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 193).

Given the relevance of the concept of external (system) events proposed within the scope of ACF, the aim is to analyze current dynamic events associated with long-term care policies. To do so, this analysis relies documents from academics, organizations and actors related to the policy subsystem in question. It is important to clarify that the events analyzed also result from a personal reflection, which outcomes from my professional, political, associative and civic experience. Thus, it can be said that these considerations began being developed even before scientific consideration of the documents and they are influenced by a set of personal and collective reflections on the various dimensions involving the issue of care.

The communication aims to understand the current situation and estimate the impacts of the following external (system) events in Portugal's Long-Term Care System: (1) Demographic ageing; (2) Gender, work and family; (3) Perceptions on ageing, holistic care and Humans-Rights; (4) Policy care change through Portugal's Free Daycare Network; (5) Considerations on the sustainability of the current system.

In this sense, the aim is to present and reflect on (1) the impact that demographic ageing may have on access to and suitability of the current care system; (2) how the evolution of women's role affects family structures and dynamics, which were once almost exclusively responsible for providing care; (3) the development of human rights-based approaches in the field of ageing and care; and (4) the effects the implementation of the free daycare network, through Law No. 2/2022, may have on the creation of a free network of long-term care services in Portugal.

At last, using scientific and organizational documents, written and published by academics, organizations and actors involved in the topic of care, considerations will be made regarding the sustainability of the current long-term care system, giving space to a final and collective reflection on the viability of creating the National Care Service.

Bio: Katarina Da Silva, natural de Toronto, Canadá, vive atualmente em Vila Pouca de Aguiar, na região de Trás-os-Montes. Assistente Social há 10 anos, trabalha há sete no setor dos cuidados a pessoas idosas, âmbito no qual também já assumiu funções de direção técnica e gestão de projetos. É aluna de doutoramento em Trabalho Social na Universidade de Madrid, onde desenvolve uma investigação sobre a rede de cuidados de longa duração para pessoas idosas em Portugal e as perspectivas para um futuro Serviço Nacional de Cuidados. Colabora, desde março de 2025, com o Instituto de Sociologia da Universidade do Porto no grupo de investigação Família, Envelhecimento e Género. É ativista pela igualdade, liberdade e justiça social e integra A Coletiva desde 2020.

Beatriz Realinho (A Coletiva, Portugal)

National Care Service

A partir da realidade portuguesa, pretendemos mostrar como os usos do tempo revelam uma desigualdade de género profunda na organização e distribuição do trabalho e, decorrentemente, no acesso ao descanso, ao lazer e à cultura, contribuindo para o debate sobre a necessidade da sua ressignificação. Para enfrentar o modo como o sistema capitalista está a responder à crise dos cuidados, num contexto de crescimento da extrema-direita e de recuperação e reconfiguração de retórica e práticas antifeministas, pretendemos apresentar e debater a proposta de um Serviço

Nacional de Cuidados, como um exemplo de possível articulação entre propostas da economia feminista e construção de movimento social interseccional.

Pretendemos promover uma reflexão crítica sobre o modo como os cuidados – formais e informais – são prestados e conceptualizados no nosso país, para daí partirmos para a imaginação de uma proposta política capaz de disputar as lógicas da familiarização/feminização dos cuidados, da mercantilização da vida e da precariedade laboral. O Serviço Nacional de Cuidados, público e de acesso universal, é parte da nossa proposta. Como construir o movimento capaz de dar força de lei à proposta, que setores sociais mobilizar e que debates travar são também ideias e inquietações que queremos partilhar.

Bio: [A Coletiva](#). Somos um coletivo feminista anticapitalista. Juntámo-nos organizadamente em 2017, no rescaldo da primeira vitória de Trump, porque sentimos a urgência de nos articularmos, nacional e internacionalmente, para responder à deriva conservadora que se adivinhava. Somos um dos coletivos organizadores da Greve Feminista Internacional em Portugal. Somos um dos coletivos promotores da Iniciativa Legislativa Cidadã “[Direito ao cuidado, cuidado com direitos](#)”. Intervimos sobre direitos sexuais e reprodutivos e promovemos e participamos em debates do movimento feminista e em articulação com outros movimentos sociais (habitação, LGBTQIA+, trabalhadores do sexo, entre muitos outros).

Nadine Gerner (Ecofeminist scholar-activist, Germany), **Lola Fischer-Irmeler** (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

Materialist-feminist and eco-socialist perspectives on the movement for the socialization of care work in Berlin

The concept of socialization has become central to social movements in Germany, offering a unified strategy to address the ecological and social crises of contemporary capitalism. Feminist movements, in particular, have engaged with this approach as a response to the crisis of social reproduction, which has intensified in recent years and affects predominantly working class women, queers, migrants and people of colour. While efforts to establish nationwide women’s strikes have faced challenges, initiatives focusing on care work and community organization have gained momentum, demonstrating the relevance of feminist perspectives to broader struggles.

A notable example is the campaign to transform a largely vacant shopping mall in Berlin into a center for collective care. This project envisions a space that combines childcare, elderly care, health services, and community resources, removing care work from both the private family sphere and market-driven systems. This proposal of “double-deprivatisation” aims to challenge gendered and racialized divisions of labor, promote communal ownership, and prefigure feminist commons-based alternatives.

By focusing on collective needs and everyday life, these movements establish concrete alternatives that address both base and superstructure of the gendered order of social reproduction. Urban care struggles, for example, connect territorial organizing with the provision of essential services, creating a form of collective power and solidarity rooted in shared experiences. Although these projects cannot fully resolve systemic contradictions between labor and capital, they offer practical solutions that ease everyday burdens, foster new forms of relationships, and lay the groundwork for future struggles against the separation of the productive and reproductive sphere.

This talk argues that a materialist-feminist perspective provides essential insights for understanding the social movements for socialization, linking multiple struggles to a broader effort for social transformation.

Bios: **Nadine Gerner** is an ecofeminist scholar-activist and co-author of the book *Ecofeminism between theory and praxis: an introduction*. She is part of the broader socialization movement in Germany as well as part of the group shopping malls to become care centers that is trying to socialize a shopping center and turn it into a care center. **Lola Fischer-Irmeler** is a marxist feminist at Freie Universität Berlin focusing on materialist state theory, social reproduction, trans marxism and social movement studies. She is also part of the Shopping malls to become care centers group.

Sara Canha (NOVA University of Lisbon, Portugal), **Madalena Ferreira** (University of Lisbon, Portugal), **Ester Oliveira** (University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal)

From fieldwork to transformation: critical reflections on investigating care and social movements

This communication is based on qualitative research carried out by colleagues. We are three doctoral students in different areas of the social sciences—anthropology, political economy, and public policy—who analyze different practices, representations, and policies of care in Portugal. Based on work carried out using qualitative methodologies involving caregivers, formal and informal collectives, and different political groups linked to the demand for better care policies and the right to care, we propose to critically reflect on the tensions, potentialities, and limits of academic work as a tool for social and political transformation.

Within a Marxist-feminist framework, we discuss how research can contribute to the visibility of the material conditions that structure care work – paid and unpaid – and to the construction of transformative political agendas. We question the role of academia in the production of situated, committed, and useful knowledge for social struggles, as well as the ethical challenges that arise when researchers participate in, accompany, and engage in empirical work related to social reproduction and care work.

We also address the fragmentations, tensions, and convergences present in the struggles for care in Portugal, questioning whether and how it is possible to build alliances and common strategies between different actors. Based on empirical experiences and critical reflection on our own positions as researchers, we seek to contribute to the debate on feminist and politically engaged methodologies that recognize care as a terrain of dispute, solidarity, and social transformation.

Bios: **Sara Canha** (CRIA-Iscte) é doutoranda em Antropologia (FCSH-Iscte) com bolsa de investigação da FCT (2022.12855.BD), investigadora no Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia (CRIA). Tem desenvolvido investigação sobre a organização social e política dos cuidados. O seu projeto de doutoramento intitula-se "Práticas e representações do cuidar na velhice - continuidades e heterogeneidades entre diferentes configurações do cuidado no domicílio". **Madalena Ferreira** (ISEG) é doutoranda em Economia Política (ISEG) com bolsa de investigação da FCT (2024.02088.BD). É investigadora no Centro de Investigação e Estudos em Sociologia (CIES), no Iscte. O seu projeto de investigação "Cuidadoras em Movimento: Ação Coletiva e Regimes de Cuidado em Portugal e Espanha no século XXI" investiga mobilizações no

setor dos cuidados no contexto dos regimes de cuidados português e espanhol. **Ester Oliveira** (Iscte) é licenciada em Ciência Política e Mestre em Economia Política pelo Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, tendo desenvolvido uma dissertação relativa aos desafios enfrentados pelos cuidadores informais em Portugal, intitulada “Informal Caregivers: Is There a Light at the End of the Tunnel? An Analysis of the Informal Caregiver Statute”. Atualmente, é doutoranda em Políticas Públicas no Iscte.

3e REPRODUCTIVE POLICIES AND STATE CONTROL

Moderation: **Catarina Ramalho** (A Coletiva, Portugal)

Athena Michalakea (University of London, UK), **Georgios Papanicolaou** (Northumbria University, UK)

Rescue, Repress, Repeat: State, Carceral Feminism, and the War on Sex Work in Greece

In this paper, we return to the interrogation of the concept of police power as the fabrication of a social order by examining the role and practices of civil society organisations, particularly in the context of sex work governance. We approach police power as a technology of pacification and social control that operates not only through state apparatuses but also through the discourses and interventions of non-state actors. Focusing on Greece, we trace how, since the 19th century, sex work has been governed through a regulationist framework that pathologises and marginalises it as a deviant form of social and labour activity. This framework, legitimised by public health concerns and moral panics, has enabled ongoing repression, surveillance, and the systematic denial of sex workers’ status as workers entitled to labour protections and social rights.

Crucially, the state’s repressive apparatus has not acted alone. Civil society actors—particularly those aligned with governance feminism—have actively contributed to the social war against sex workers, often under the ideological guise of ‘rescue and rehabilitation’. Feminist philanthropic organisations have historically collaborated with police forces in raids, established carceral institutions for ‘promiscuous’ women, and promoted the reintegration of sex workers into normative forms of capitalist productivity and/or unpaid reproductive labour. These interventions reflect a broader biopolitical project of disciplining feminised labour under neoliberal capitalism.

We argue that police power in this context is not limited to state violence but extends into the ideological and practical operations of civil society. Through the lens of radical criminology and social reproduction feminism, we demonstrate how the joint action of state and non-state actors has worked to erase sex work as a legitimate form of precarious labour, reinforcing the carceral management of gendered and racialised working-class subjects.

Bios: Dr. **Georgios Papanicolaou** is an Associate Professor at Northumbria Law School. He has studied law and penal sciences at the University of Athens (LLB, LLM), and criminology and criminal justice at the University of Edinburgh (MSc, PhD). His research focuses on the political economy of policing and security, the historical development and functions of police in both national and transnational contexts, and the political economy of organised crime, particularly in relation to irregular migration, human smuggling, and trafficking. Dr. **Athena Michalakea** is a critical legal scholar. She studied law and political and social theory at the University of Athens (LLB, MSc) and completed her PhD at Birkbeck, University of London. Her research focuses on

sex work in law, feminisms, and the state, through the lens of social reproduction feminism, radical criminology and critical labour law. She is a founding member of the Athens-based sex workers' rights organisation SWEN (Sex Workers' Empowerment Network).

Nabeelah Fife (Boston City Campus, South Africa), **Leza Soldaat** (Boston City Campus and Stellenbosch University, South Africa)

Racialised Capitalism, Erotic Capital, and the Contradictions of Sex Work in Post-Apartheid South Africa

This paper examines how racialised capitalism in South Africa perpetuates the commodification of Black women's bodies through sex work, framing it as a site of both exploitation and resistance. Drawing on *racial capitalism* (Bhattacharyya) and *erotic capital* (Hakim), the analysis critiques how apartheid-era hierarchies of race and gender persist in neoliberal economies, where Black women's bodies are fetishized as "hyper-erotic" yet economically devalued. Utilising Marxist Feminist theorists, like Silvia Federici, informs the interrogation of sex work as reproductive labour under capitalism, revealing how state policies criminalize Black sex workers while enabling their exploitation by tourism and extractive industries. The paper argues that decolonising the body demands dismantling the racialised sexual economies that sustain South Africa's uneven development, centring sex worker collectives as agents of anti-capitalist praxis.

Bios: **Nabeelah Fife** is a graduate student, engaging in feminist understandings of racialised, erotic capital. She worked with sex worker and research collectives, and is currently an educator in Sociology at Boston City Campus in South Africa. **Leza Soldaat** (presenting) is an academic from South Africa and occupies roles such as a Research Supervisor at Boston City Campus. She is also a PhD Candidate in Sociology at Stellenbosch University – focusing on minority studies, decoloniality, and language politics. Her expertise is in feminist and decolonial theory – with emphasis on racial capitalism, social reproduction theory, care work, and indigenous knowledge systems. She holds extensive experience in teaching, quality assurance, supervision, and curriculum design in higher education. Passionate about critical pedagogy and inclusive scholarship, she combines academic rigour with a creative approach to knowledge production and social transformation

Nadia Janiczak (Machina Myśli journal, Poland), **Teresa Fazan** (University of Warsaw, Poland)

Propertization as a Gordian Knot. From Subjectivity as Possession, towards Abolitionist Horizons

In the first part of the presentation, we will introduce the notion of subjectivity as tied to propertization. As Eva von Redecker (2020) observes, modern ownership is inextricably linked to the objectification of the enslaved people in the transatlantic trade and plantation economy, and wives within the European contract marriage. In effect, the stabilized identity of the hegemonic subject is produced and maintained in relation to "phantom possession." Understanding white supremacy as the possibility of disposing of the racialized enslaved person, and patriarchy as the

possibility of disposing of women's reproductive capacities, preserves "a qualitative difference between the two forms of oppression, which intersect at the place of propertization" and "captures domination without presupposing the binary race and gender identities which only came to be formed over time within those oppressive relations". Drawing on Redecker's proposal, we expose how "possessing" whiteness/masculinity/heterosexuality becomes a contemporary derivative of institutions that historically regulated violence, a relic that does not necessarily provide real enfranchisement but fulfils a specific political function.

In the second part of the presentation, we will complement such a materialist analysis of social relations and subjectivity as possession with a possible direction of transformative, decolonizing politics—abolition feminism. Grounded in Black radical organizing, it provides a conceptual and practical tool to cut through the relationships organized around propertization, such as police, prisons, and borders (Davis 2024; Gilmore 2022); stemming from Marxist-feminist tradition, its aim is to abolish "all organized scarcities" such as private nuclear household (Lewis 2025, 2022; O'Brien 2023). Therefore, abolition as creative destruction of social relations and individual sovereignty rooted in institutional propertization may serve as both an emancipatory horizon and a call to arms in the here and now. As such, our presentation will offer not only a critical analysis of relationality based on exploitation and violence, but also a frame to imagine life-sustaining alternatives.

Bios: **Teresa Fazan** is a Ph.D. candidate at the Doctoral School of Humanities (University of Warsaw). She holds degrees in Philosophy (University of Warsaw) and Gender Studies (Central European University, Vienna). As part of her studies, she spent a significant amount of time at the Free University of Berlin. In her research, she is interested in relationships between colonialism, capitalism and reproduction, as well as decolonial philosophical practices. She is one of the editors of the online philosophical magazine *Machina Myśli*. **Nadia Janiczak** is a translator and editorial board member of online philosophy journal *Machina Myśli*. Her background is in Sociology and Inter-faculty Studies in the Humanities (Jagiellonian University, PL). Her research interests revolve around decolonial theories and feminism, as well as historical and contemporary trajectories of abolition/ism.

Cecilia Iula (Scuola Normale Superiore - Florence, Italy)

Gestational Surrogacy is Work

Neoliberalism appropriates life also through new reproductive technologies. Among these technologies is gestational surrogacy: a woman, in exchange for reimbursement or payment, is implanted with an embryo whose biological material is provided by the intended parents, for whom she carries the pregnancy and delivers the baby.

Surrogacy is a global biocapital industry that, through intermediary agencies and fertility clinics, connects the demand for biological children (mainly from heterosexual and LGBTQ+ couples or single individuals from the Global North) with the supply of wombs (primarily from women in the Global South and low-income countries). The result is a market of reproductive tourism and a new form of gendered, racialized, exploitative, and stigmatized labor.

The feminist debate on surrogacy often tends to polarize between two opposing ethical positions: on the one hand, the idea of oppression; on the other, that of self-determination, which leads to considering surrogates either as victims or as free entrepreneurial subjects.

A possible way out of this deadlock is to recognize surrogates for what they materially are: workers who sell their labor power (their biological reproductive functions) and relinquish property rights over the product of their labor (the baby).

As Marxist feminists who view reproduction as labor and a source of value extraction for capitalism, we must first and foremost analyze surrogacy as externalized reproductive labor.

With this theoretical paper, I aim to systematize philosophical and sociological contributions that conceptualize surrogacy as labor (particularly Cooper & Waldby, Lewis, Pande) to highlight the urgency of framing gestational surrogacy work as a feminist issue, centering bodies, resistance, and power—also drawing inspiration from the struggles of sex workers.

Naming surrogacy as work creates the conditions for the emergence of subjectivation processes, solidarity, and political conflict: demanding wages and other economic and social rights typical of formalized labor, revealing the alliances between capitalism and patriarchy while exposing their contradictions, expanding and critically reassessing the concept of work to envision collective liberation from all forms of alienated labor.

Keywords: surrogacy; labor; reproduction; biocapitalism

Bio: **Cecilia Iula** is a PhD candidate in Political Science and Sociology at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence

WORKSHOP - *The Struggle of Palestinian Women Under Occupation: Collective Resilience and Resistance*

Hind Abushkhadim (University of Bari Aldo Moro and Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna di Pisa, Italy)

I want to present an interactive workshop that aims to provide an in-depth look at the struggles that Palestinian women are facing under occupation to show their collective resistance to the forces of violent colonialism, land confiscation, and dehumanization.

At the beginning of the workshop, I will start with a presentation of the personal stories of real Palestinian women. so the participants can explore the courage those women have in the face of systematic oppression and how they continually find ways to resist the destruction of their bodies, land, and lives. Moreover, they will examine how these women have transformed their experiences of oppression into influential acts of change, demonstrating their daily resistance to the colonial forces that seek to erase them.

During the workshop, we will explore the women's struggles with occupation practices that shift their land, time, and freedom and how these women, despite living in the constant shadow of occupation, draw strength from one another. The workshop will spot light on how their communities are spaces of resilience and how collective methods of healing are nurtured in response to the trauma and violence they face daily.

Through storytelling, participants will hear the voices of Palestinian women, sharing intimate narratives that showcase their strength, pain, and hope. Later in the workshop, Roleplay and group discussion activities will be implemented to create a space for participants to engage directly with the challenges faced by women under occupation, prompting participants' reflection on what is going on under occupation and learning from the Palestinian case of how women are not only more oppressed and vulnerable under imperialistic military control but the most resilient and the most creative in finding ways to overcome the daily oppression.

The workshop's primary goal is to connect, not just listen. The session will highlight the strength of community and the necessity of collective action to overcome the dehumanizing forces of occupation and oppression. By the end of the workshop, participants will have a more profound knowledge of the specific challenges Palestinian women face and the collective resilience they embody. They will leave with new perspectives on solidarity and healing, bringing the voices of these women with them as they continue to fight for justice, freedom, and dignity.

Bio: Hind Abushkhadim is a passionate scholar and advocate who focuses on the intersections of gender, culture, and global development. She is a PhD candidate in Gender and Intersectional Studies, specializing in Public Administration and Cultural Heritage at the University of Bari Aldo Moro and the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna di Pisa in Italy. Hind also holds a Master's degree in Global Development and foresight (GLODEP), specializing in Global Development Policy, and a degree in Drama and Theater Performances. Over the past decade, Hind has gained extensive experience leading projects and initiatives with local and international non-governmental organizations, focusing on education, social entrepreneurship, youth engagement, women's empowerment, and intercultural dialogue. She has also developed and facilitated workshops on youth empowerment, social justice, and resilience, particularly emphasizing marginalized communities, including Palestinian women under occupation. Abushkhadim is the Middle East-Africa winner of the Google+ Social Media Marketing Competition - 2013. Her campaign sought to empower women and fight the negative stereotypical images of women in Palestine and worldwide.

16.30 – 18.30

PLENARY SESSION - Bodies and Labour

with **Andrea Peniche** (A Coletiva, Portugal), **Ankica Čakardić** (University of Zagreb, Croatia), **Camila Lobo** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal) and **Ciocia Vienna activist** (Ciocia Wienia, Austria)

Moderation: **Nora Rāthzel** (Berliner Institut für Kritische Theorie - Inkrit, Umeå University, Germany)

Ankica Čakardić (University of Zagreb, Croatia)

No Body Left Behind: Rosa Luxemburg on Gender, Labour, and Colonial Violence

When Rosa Luxemburg wrote that capital “fattens itself on the lifeblood it sucks from the worker,” she articulated a visceral truth about capitalism's extractive relation to labouring bodies. Her early

writings from the Polish socialist press (1892–1903) reveal this relation as fundamentally gendered, racialised, and colonial. Her labour protection series from these early newspapers exposes how protective legislation manages rather than liberates women workers' bodies within the exploitative wage system—a critique that resonates with contemporary Marxist-feminist debates over reproductive labour, the devaluation of care work, and gendered precarity in the global proletariat. Luxemburg's documentation of German colonial genocide in Namibia demonstrates how capital accumulation requires the simultaneous exploitation of racialised and gendered bodies in both periphery and centre. Her texts remain urgent for movements confronting racial capitalism, neoliberal feminism, and ongoing colonial expropriation, offering a revolutionary insight that insists on the unity of emancipatory struggles.

Andrea Peniche (A Coletiva, Portugal)

Menopower

In a society marked by female reproductive control, menopausal bodies are represented as obsolete, useless, and worthless. We easily perceive this representation as an artifice because we know that, regardless of a woman's age, her body is always coveted as an economic body—indeed, one of the most valuable precisely because it is a body of free labor. A menopausal body does not generate life per se, but continues to be a body that produces and reproduces life and the way of life that ensures the functioning of societies.

Between stigma and taboo, menopausal bodies have been ignored by science, medicine, and politics, as if there were no longer life, pleasure, or sexuality in bodies that do not menstruate, as if a woman's life were reducible to a function. We therefore need to think about how capitalism reorganizes its program of body domestication to apply it to menopausal bodies, and to occupy the space previously left to pseudoscience, business, and the commodification of our bodies.

Bios: **Andrea Peniche** holds a degree in Philosophy and a Master's in Gender Studies from the University of Porto. She works as an editor. She is an activist with the feminist collective A Coletiva, one of the organisers of the International Feminist Strike and of the Citizens' Legislative Initiative *Direito ao Cuidado, Cuidado com Direitos/Right to Care, Care with Rights*. She is a member of the editorial board of the journal *Anticapitalista*. She is the author of *Elas Somos Nós: O direito ao aborto como reivindicação democrática e cidadã* (2007) and has contributed to several collective works and publications on feminist issues and political philosophy, including: *Dicionário da História Partidária* (2015), *O Capital de Karl Marx 150 Anos Depois* (2018), *Combates contra a Extrema-Direita* (2019), *Não Posso Ser Quem Somos? Identidades e Estratégia Política da Esquerda* (2020), and *O Século XX Português. Política, Economia, Sociedade; Cultura, Império* (2020). **Ankica Ćakardić** holds the Chair of Social Philosophy and Philosophy of Gender at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. Her books include *The Rebellious Mind: Essays in Radical Social Philosophy* (2021), *Like a Clap of Thunder: Three Essays on Rosa Luxemburg* (2019), and *Spectres of Transition: Social History of Capitalism* (2019). She is a member of the editorial boards of *Historical Materialism: Journal of Critical Marxist Theory*, *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, and *Transform: European Review of Politics*. **Camila Lobo** is a researcher in Philosophy at Nova University of Lisbon, where she also teaches in the field of Gender and Women's Studies. Her research interests range from social epistemology to feminist theory and ordinary language philosophy. She examines how our material position shapes what we know

about the world, how our emotional investments in dominant forms of social organization hinder political transformation, and how language functions both as a vehicle of ideology and as a tool for liberation. In 2023, she was a Visiting Scholar at The New School for Social Research in New York. She is also active in feminist organizing and the movement in solidarity with Palestinian liberation. **Ciocio Wienia** in Vienna is an informal group of feminist activists. They support people from Poland and other countries, where access to abortion is difficult or impossible, in organizing a procedure in Vienna. The activist collective provides information about reproductive rights and available forms of abortion in Austria, and helps in the organization of travel, accommodation, the abortion procedure, and translation. Ciocio Wienia also offers support in access to anonymous birth. Whenever possible, financial support is offered, too. They provide a non-judgmental space for all people with an (un)wanted pregnancy: cis, non-binary, trans*, inter and queer persons, regardless of nationality, legal status, and place of residency.

Book presentations with debate

with **Gisela Carrasco-Miró** (*Decolonizing Feminist Economics: Possibilities for Just Futures*) and **Catarina Isabel Martins** (*Decolonizing Feminist Economics: Possibilities for Just Futures – Mulheres, Raça e Etnicidades. Introdução aos Feminismos Decoloniais/Women, Race and Ethnicities. An Introduction to Decolonial Feminisms*)

Bios: **Catarina Isabel Martins** is Associate Professor (Aggregation title) at the Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures of Faculty of Arts and Humanities and Permanent Researcher at the Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra. **Gisela Carrasco-Miró** holds a PhD in Gender and Post/Decolonial Studies from Utrecht University (the Netherlands) and an MSc in Development Economics from the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London). With nearly twenty years of experience, Gisela has worked as a feminist researcher for several international organizations as well as grassroots movements across Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Balkans. Gisela has taught feminisms and decolonial thought at institutions such as Cambridge University (UK) and the National Autonomous University of Mexico. As a Visiting Assistant Professor at the Central European University (Vienna), she developed and taught Decolonizing Development and Feminist Economics, the first courses of its kind. Her research has been widely published in peer-reviewed journals, including *Third World Quarterly*, *Feminist Theory*, and *Social Politics*, as well as in various book chapters and international research reports. Currently, she works as an independent researcher and a lecturer on feminisms, decolonial thought, and ecological economics at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. She is the author of the book *Decolonizing Feminist Economics: Possibilities for Just Futures*, published by Bristol University Press in its *Decolonization and Social Worlds* series.

DAY 3 – 23rd NOVEMBER 2025

09.30 – 11.00

PANEL ROUND 4

4a LAND AGAINST CAPITAL

Moderation: **Maria Manuel Rola** (Univeristy of Porto, Portugal)

Magdalena Siemaszko (Warsaw University, Poland)

Practices of Power and Unruly Alliances of Białowieża Forest: Natureculture Strategies for Forming Agency after the Conflict Over Logging

I would like to propose the presentation on the bottom-up strategies for human & non-human survival in the 'primeval' Białowieża Forest at the polish-belarusian border in the context of meta-crisis. This is the result of several years (2017-2023) of ethnographic research I conducted after the escalation of the conflict over the expansion of the Białowieża National Park and severe logging in 2017 and then during the new European migration route developed there. My work explores the human and non-human intertwining of life in the Białowieża Forest, representing anti-capitalist and decolonizing strategies for practising common life and supporting socio-ecological reproduction in the times of multi-crises. It looks at the discourses and practices of various ecologies materializing in the forest, primarily the local ecology of people living in the forest, forest ecology and the ecology of biologists and nature activists. It focuses mostly on women's engagement in reclaiming the traditional practices and their 'forestry-based' and postsocialist identity as a resistance response for the capitalist, extractivist and colonizing practices of the state, scientific institutions and ecological activists. At the same time I try to show how the scientific ideologies of nature and wilderness works as a colonial practice, paradoxically sustaining the nature/culture division and continuing the state (post-transformation) and anti-reproductive domination strategies. Using embodied methodologies and feminist and posthumanist theories, I look at local practices of everyday care and non-obvious resistance in the Białowieża Forest and at the border. I propose following the multi-species assemblages that are created in the forest and villages and critically analyzing the practices of inter-species relations that enable ecosocial reproduction.

Bio: **Magdalena Siemaszko** is a social and cultural anthropologist (MSc), artist and activist with a background in biology. Based in Poland, associated with Warsaw University. Primarily interested in communities, ecosystems and mutual dependencies: care and power relations between people, plants, animals, bodies and groups. She explores rural and liminal areas, ecological conflicts, cohabitation, change and pleasure, supports collective processes through a regenerative approach and often develops slow-habitation practices, using action research and choreography. She worked for Warsaw University, CIFOR, Botanical Garden, Border Group, Wetlands Conservation Center and she co-creates House for Nature and Culture Association, ecofeminist collective 'Wypuszczone' and SQUIR performative group. For several years she lived in Białowieża Forest and then immersed herself in Polish wetlands, exploring Bug, Narew and Vistula Rivers, documenting the relationship between water and people. Last year she worked at Warsaw

University (IEiAK) on the blue humanities research project and participated in several artistic-research residencies.

Anjana Hemanth Kumar (Jawaharlal Nehru University, India)

Cashew Women vs Lotos-eaters: An Illustration on Social Reproduction in Cashew Factories in Contemporary Kerala, India

The study is part of my on-going PhD on the “Changing Dynamics of Social Reproduction in Global Value System: A study of Cashew Economy in Contemporary Kerala, India”. The paper I propose, is a primary study conducted among stakeholders of cashew processing in Kollam district of Kerala, around 500 cashew workers, small and big cashew traders, factory owners and value addition members. The study attempts to understand the division of labour in Cashew Processing, where the shelling of cashew nut, is par dominantly carried out by Dalit women. The shelling of raw cashew is considered the dirtiest and most dangerous task in cashew processing. Yet, from the incidence of British factories in the country, which mass-produce cashew nuts for exports, this task of shelling, has been carried out by Dalit women. Along with this, the highly skilled labour of extricating the cashew nut from its shell, is passed on in home-based processing units or in informal factories by Dalit women to their daughters, over generation. This generational transfer of knowledge, as well as the caste, religious and gendered institutions creating and sustaining a division of labour, is completely subsidised for global capital. Whereas, the imperialist markets in the west, control the price of their product as well as of their lives, especially under the current vegan frenzy of Global North. The study attempts to understand the subsidised social reproduction of cashew economy pioneered by Dalit women, and alongside their avenues of resistance against Neoliberal Capital.

The abstraction of skilled labour of cashew processing under capitalism, the resulting commodification of its workers and the burns on their bodies; both the visible ones of cashew acid burns and the ones they carry on their backs from centuries of exploitation by local and global capital via social institutions of caste, religion and gender form the foundation of my paper, and of the MarxFem conference as well. Such an intervention works to expose the drain of wealth under colonisation and the continued exploitation and primitive accumulation under imperialism. I hope you consider my application for the conference.

Bio: **Anjana Hemanth Kumar** (she/her) is a final year PhD student in the Centre for Informal Sector and Labour Studies, in Jawaharlal Nehru University, India. I am also a Thomas Sankara Fellow with the Global Partnership Network, based in the University of Kassel, Germany. Apart from research, I work with All India Democratic Women’s Association, which is a Marxist national women’s organisation working towards women’s liberation.

Navpreet Kaur

Women and the Agrarian Question: A Comparative Study of Capitalist and Peasant Agriculture in Rajasthan (India)

The principal focus of agrarian studies in India has been the analysis of production relations. In the context of changing production relations in rural India, the paper seeks to extend this focus to gendered proletarianisation of working classes in both capitalist and peasant agriculture. Drawing on primary surveys in two villages in Rajasthan, the paper will provide insights on the devaluation of women workers in both agricultural production and social reproduction. The paper shows that in capitalist farmer households, women have been largely confined to social reproduction activities, in spite of reliance on employment of some waged female domestic workers. In peasant households, they reflect the emergence of a trend of transfer of the burden of labour on family farms too from men to women along with women being responsible for social reproduction. Many rich and some middle peasants hire manual workers and poor peasants (including women) for agricultural work. The paper further examines the ongoing crisis of social reproduction in poor peasant and manual worker households since the value of labour power tends to exceed wages. The paper briefly examines the impact of state policies on asset ownership, inheritance etc and its implications for gendered proletarianisation.

Bio: Navpreet Kaur teaches economics at Miranda House, University of Delhi (India). She has a Ph.D. in Economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her research interests include agrarian change, production relations, social reproduction and gender and labour. She has published her research in journals such as Journal of Agrarian Change, International Critical Thought, Capital and Class, World Review of Political Economy and Review of Agrarian Studies

Rita Calvário (Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal)

“If I continue in agriculture, I will die young”: Migrant women, vulnerability and exploitation in intensive agricultural enclaves – the case of Odemira, Portugal

Across Europe, the capitalist expansion of the agri-food sector increasingly depends on a low-wage, flexible, and highly exploitable migrant workforce. Women constitute a significant portion of this labor force, working and living in intensive agricultural “enclaves” shaped by global food market demands and the relentless pursuit of capital accumulation.

Scholars have long emphasized how social inequalities and power dynamics segment labor markets in the sector, exacerbating migrant workers’ vulnerability to exploitation. This vulnerability is highly context-dependent, shaped by the interplay of individual and structural factors. Gender norms further deepen these labor hierarchies, particularly in the division between production and social reproduction. For instance, women with families and children are often more susceptible to labor coercion, sexual harassment, and abuse.

This presentation examines the case of Odemira, a major intensive agriculture enclave in southern Portugal, to examine the lived experiences of migrant women in this sector. While the industry presents itself as gender-neutral—offering equal opportunities to both men and women—a feminist intersectional lens reveals a different reality. Rather than fostering women’s

empowerment, the capitalist agricultural system reinforces structural inequalities, leaving migrant women with few opportunities for autonomy unless social reproduction and traditional gender roles are critically addressed. This requires structural changes to the agri-food model.

Bio: **Rita Calvário** is an integrated researcher at DINÂMIA'CET-Iscte, the Centre for Socioeconomic and Territorial Studies at the University of Lisbon. With extensive experience in multidisciplinary research, she specialises in rural sociology, peasant studies, and political ecology. Her work primarily focuses on rural social movements, agrarian change, food transitions and alternatives, and the power dynamics within agrifood systems, particularly in Southern Europe.

4b FEMINISM AS AN ANTI-MILITARIST PRAXIS FOR A JUST PEACE

Moderation: **Sílvia Roque** (University of Évora, Portugal)

Anna Guerini (University of Padova, Italy)

Reproduction, labor, value. A genealogy to challenge the global war regime

Some interpreters have recently talked about 'war regime' and 'war conjuncture' in order to describe the multiplication of conflict fronts and the way in which the logic of war saturates the epistemic horizon and the prospects for resistance to it. As reproduction is one of the main targets of conflicts, policies of militarisation and social recruitment in the war context, it emerges as a 'privileged' terrain for gauging the impact of this war regime and for mounting opposition to it. In this context, and bearing in mind that the exploitation of domestic and reproductive labour has provided a useful model for the dematerialisation of labour, the paper aims to identify the elements of the concept of reproduction that enable us to critically interrogate capital's current policies of appropriation. A brief comparison between Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Rosa Luxemburg reveals that the concept of reproduction emerged from a struggle. Luxemburg clarifies the limits of liberal approaches as Gilman's one, by showing how capital refunctionalises hybrid relations of domination through colonialism, imperialism, and war. Then, the insights of 1970s Marxist feminism (Dalla Costa, James and Federici) and Social Reproduction Theory complicate the concept of work itself by viewing reproduction as the focal point of the 'social fabric'. These reflections help to highlight the specificity of neoliberal transformation, which is characterised by the valorisation of talents such as care, relationality, and communication. In this context, the ability to refunctionalise hybrid forms of domination has progressively redefined the concepts of work and value, taking the exploitation of reproductive labour as a model that is extended across the entire social fabric. The goal of this genealogy is thus to tackle the various connotations of the adjective 'social' in order to pinpoint, firstly, the role and instrumentality of reproduction in relation to the reshaping of capital in the context of war, which also challenges the discourse of nationalisms, and, secondly, its significance as a domain of political and social organisation in opposition to these processes.

Bio: **Anna Guerini** is researcher at the university of Padova. Her main subject of research is the nexus between patriarchy and capital as a social relationship, with a specific focus on European colonial history and on abolitionist struggles.

Javiera Manzi (University of Chile, Chile)

Anti-fascism, disarmament and decolonisation: Olga Poblete and the horizons of feminist activism for peace

Mi ponencia reivindica la vigencia de una teoría antiimperialista de la paz formulada por intelectuales feministas latinoamericanas como Olga Poblete (1908–1999). A partir de la trayectoria y obra de esta historiadora marxista y sufragista chilena, me interesa presentar el desarrollo de un concepto feminista y materialista de la paz que se asienta sobre las condiciones de subordinación económica, política y cultural de los pueblos del Sur Global. Al analizar su influencia en los debates y redes del "tercer mundo" durante la Guerra Fría, busco repensar los horizontes de una política internacionalista y antimilitarista en el ceno del movimiento feminista hoy.

Bio: **Javiera Manzi A.** es ocióloga y archivera de la Universidad de Chile. Integrante de la RedCSur y militante de la Coordinadora Feminista 8M de Santiago de Chile. Actualmente es editora general de la plataforma ModernismoLatinoamericano.org

Julia Cámara

War on war: the role of socialist women and the international workers' movement in the struggle against rearmament

Partiendo de la consigna histórica “Guerra a la guerra”, de la importante resolución aprobada por la Conferencia Extraordinaria de la Internacional de Mujeres Socialistas celebrada en Berna en marzo de 1915, y de la Conferencia de Zimmerwald de septiembre de ese mismo año, la presente aportación se propone realizar una genealogía de los debates tenidos en el seno del movimiento obrero y del movimiento comunista internacional en torno a la cuestión bélica, y del papel específico jugado en ellos por las mujeres socialistas.

A través del trabajo concreto de organización realizado por Clara Zetkin y del feroz alegato de Rosa Luxemburgo contra la traición de la socialdemocracia, entre otras, estudiaremos las discusiones de comienzos del siglo pasado que acabaron con la bancarrota de la Segunda Internacional, y los motivos que llevaron a la militancia femenina y a las dirigentes mujeres a situarse en muchas ocasiones en oposición a las direcciones burocratizadas de sus direcciones nacionales (con el caso emblemático del SPD alemán).

La defensa de un internacionalismo consecuente (“¡Socialismo internacional! ¿Acaso no suenan estas palabras como un sarcasmo?”, se lamentaba Zetkin hace 110 años) nos sitúa hoy, como feministas y como marxistas revolucionarias, en una posición crítica. Aprender de las derrotas pasadas y también de quienes tuvieron el valor de hacer lo correcto es fundamental para no repetir errores, para no caer en la trampa del chovinismo europeísta y para construir un movimiento internacional contra la guerra y el imperialismo al servicio de las clases trabajadoras y les oprimides del mundo.

Bio: **Julia Cámara** is a militant of Anticapitalistas and member of the Advisory Board of Viento Sur magazine. She played an active role in organising feminist strikes between 2017 and 2020 in the Spanish State

Carolina Anjos (Portugal)

From Spanish Colonialism to Moroccan Occupation: How Colonial Capitalism Shapes the Role of Sahrawi Women Today

Capitalism is an oppressive system that focuses on the exploitation of peoples for profit. As a tool of colonial domination, it has shaped cultures and economic structures in the Global South through Western interpretations of labour and gender. By bridging Marxist and Decolonial Feminisms, this research examines how Spanish and Moroccan colonial policies – driven by Colonial Capitalism – have structured Sahrawi women’s roles, labour, and autonomy.

In the case of Western Sahara, Colonial Capitalism takes the form of resource dispossession, labour exploitation and exclusion, the systemic marginalisation of women, and the forced displacement of the Sahrawi people through occupation and warfare. These processes have reinforced economic dependency, disrupted traditional labour structures, and limited women’s autonomy. While extensive research exists on Colonialism and Capitalism, little attention has been given to how Spanish and Moroccan economic policies have actively shaped gendered labour divisions and constrained Sahrawi women’s autonomy. This study examines how Colonial Capitalism, occupation, and dispossession shape Sahrawi women’s lives today.

Methodologically, it combines archival analysis of colonial policies enacted by Spanish settlers with ethnographic conversations with Sahrawi women from the occupied territory and in refugee camps. Archival research will focus on Spanish colonial records, political and economic policies, and legal frameworks that shaped gendered roles. To complement this, ethnographic conversations with older Sahrawi women will explore how the policies have shaped their lives and perspectives. Additionally, interviews with Sahrawi women from the occupied territory now living in the diaspora will provide insights into the impacts of Moroccan policies of exclusion and exploitation. This research contributes to both decolonial and feminist scholarship by exposing how Colonial economic structures continue to shape gendered labour and women’s autonomy. It also sheds light on contemporary Sahrawi resistance, situating their struggle within broader anti-Capitalist and anti-Colonial movements.

Bio: **Carolina Anjos** is a PhD student in International Studies, developing the research project “From Spanish Colonialism to Moroccan Occupation: How Colonial Capitalism Shapes the Role of Sahrawi Women Today”. Her research builds on her MA dissertation, “Sahrawi Women’s Resistance in the Refugee Camps and in the Spanish Diaspora”, and her forthcoming article, “Bridging Worlds: Sahrawi Women’s Fight Against Colonialism and Patriarchy in the Refugee Camps and the Spanish Diaspora” (May 2025).

4c CARE AND CONTRADICTIONS: EXPLOITATION AND RESISTANCE

Moderation: **Barbara Steiner** (transform! europe, Austria)

Evgenia Mavridi (Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Greece)

Care as a Contested Terrain: Navigating the Struggle Between Exploitation and Resistance

The capitalist appropriation of care is not limited to the commodification of its services, it also implies the de-naturalization of care as a political act and its reimplantation within the framework of dominant social relations. Care work, while a fundamental prerequisite of social reproduction and social cohesion, remains undervalued and invisible, with capitalism representing it either as a "natural" quality of women's domestic roles or as a service that can be turned into a commodity and consumed. Within the neoliberal framework, care is instrumentalized to enhance productivity of labor: workers are required to care for themselves and their families through consumer practices, structures of public care are dismantled everywhere in neoliberalism while private care becomes a privileged commodity for the already privileged. Care within capitalism is a paradoxical field—it becomes a valuable commodity while also serving as a space for negotiating our ways of coexistence and solidarity as an essential "common". While its commodification places it within the logic of monetary exchange, the promise of care logic highlights its radical potentiality. Care is not just an activity which is performed but a performative process that constitutes subjects and social relations in general. However, within this terrain of capitalist exploitation, Black feminist thought has long asserted care—particularly self-care—as an act of resistance. Audre Lorde famously described self-care as "an act of political warfare," highlighting how, for marginalized communities, caring for oneself is not a luxury but a radical refusal to be destroyed by systems of oppression. In contrast to the neoliberal framing of self-care as individual consumerism, Black feminist critiques reclaim it as a collective survival strategy that resists both racialized and gendered forms of exploitation. This perspective challenges capitalist logics that isolate care within privatized, market-driven solutions and instead affirms its role in community-based resistance. In order to challenge the capitalist conception of care, we must reject its separation from the concept of labor and recognize care as a collective, political practice which should not be subject to the logic of the commodity. It does not recognize care work as merely productive or reproductive but as a site where exploitation faces resistance, solidarity and possible social order alternatives. Therefore, reimagining it as an act of resistance and solidarity can help us destabilize the gender and class hierarchies which structure it. Our proposal seeks to highlight care as a space of conflict by proposing new ways in which care can be re-conceptualized while simultaneously defending its public and free-for-all aspects as a basic right. In this context, a radical politics of care does not seek to re-humanize capitalism but to act both as a critique of the existing social practices and as a proposal for a, yet to be determined, different social order based on it.

Bio: Evgenia Mavridi is a Postgraduate Student at Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (Athens) in the Department of Political Science, specializing in Political Philosophy and Social Theory.

Oksana Dutchak (Institute for Systemic Alternatives, Ukraine)

Hierarchies of Care and Social Reproduction in Ukraine before and during the War

Capitalist societies are structured in a hierarchical way, including both relying on social reproduction and pushing it to the periphery of economic and political landscape. At the same time, capitalist hierarchies structure social reproduction in a way to suite best for the interest of capital reproduction and according to productivist logic it creates: reproduction of and care for some bodies is prioritized over others. This leads to social reproduction and care becoming hierarchies of their own, influencing material reality and policies of care, its accessibility for people and the lives of care workers involved. Researching hierarchies of care and how they manifest themselves in a particular society allows tracking how they are formed and transformed through actual politics and policies, as well as how they impact social reproduction and social struggles under particular circumstances.

In this paper I briefly theorize hierarchies of care within Marxist Feminist theory of social reproduction to capture their basic defining principles and logic. Further I outline how hierarchies of care structure the material reality of care infrastructure, policies and reform that have been developed in Ukraine in line with hierarchical approach to care throughout recent turbulent decades of military aggression and related socio-economic crises. I outline the ways hierarchies of care influence social reproduction, fragmentation and (de)mobilization of care labor before and during Russia's large-scale invasion of Ukraine. Finally, I show how care hierarchies manifest themselves in the mainstream narrative of post-war reconstruction, making it impotent to answer the challenges, created by the years-long neoliberal policies and the invasion.

Bio: Oksana Dutchak is a sociologist and social anthropologist, based in Kyiv. She holds her PhD in social sciences from the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute and MA in sociology and social anthropology from the Central European University. She is the co-editor of *Spilne/Commons Journal* and currently the responsible research officer within the project "Researching the Transnational Organization of Senior Care, Labour and Mobility in Central and Eastern Europe". Her research interests include: protests, workers protests, gender inequality, social reproduction, care labor. For several years, she has been researching labor in predominantly female sectors: apparel industry, retail, kindergartens, healthcare, elderly care. Oksana is devoted to engaged and public research, which contributes to public discussion and policies, trying to give the voice to workers and other structurally underprivileged groups.

Mili Tölkö (DCA Study Center, Finland), **Tiina Sandberg** (Finnish Communist Party, Finland)

The Crisis of Care from the Perspective of Finnish Welfare State

We would like to discuss the global inequalities from the perspective of the Finnish Welfare state. Although known for its equalizing and emancipatory effects for women in Finland, the welfare state is also built on the subjugation of the global south.

We draw from the insights of Social Reproduction Theory to analyse the role of the welfare state to mediate the tensions between the capital and the social reproduction. The SRT is an important part of Marxist feminist praxis and provides bases on initiatives that can help the local struggles in the field of social reproduction but at the same time tie those struggles in the global anti-capitalist, decolonial, ecological and anti-racist/anti-fascist fight.

From our analyses we suggest that the Finnish anti-capitalist feminists should start moving towards building alliances around shorter working hours, self-sufficiency on food and care as well as debt forgiveness for the global south. The question is how to build better society in the North without exploiting the South. From the Finnish perspective it is also important to start creating systems of social reproduction independent from the state and find ways to lead a meaningful life with less consumption.

Bios: **Mili Tölkö** is working for DCA Study Center and has a long history of activism around social reproduction, environment issues and Palestine. **Tiina Sandberg** is the head secretary of the Finnish Communist Party and a lifetime activist.

Ana Luiza Miranda (NOVA University of Lisbon, Portugal)

From exploited labour to labour for love: rethinking domestic work and the real metaphysics of capitalism through undocumented immigrant women

O meu projeto de pesquisa visa a intersecção entre imigrantes irregulares, a necessidade de buscar a economia informal como meio de subsistência e o trabalho doméstico. Possuindo o interesse em focar-me em imigrantes mulheres que realizam o trabalho doméstico como forma de subsistência nessa economia informal e realizam o mesmo trabalho em suas próprias casas, o conhecido “trabalho por amor” que teoriza Silvia Federici, proponho uma análise crítica da economia política e do trabalho reprodutivo com base nas teóricas da Teoria da Reprodução Social, que ao utilizar as ferramentas marxistas propõem uma reinterpretação da divisão entre valor e trabalho e, consequentemente, da produção e da reprodução. Compreendem as formas não remuneradas de trabalho como não só parte da produção como também essenciais para a produção da mais-valia. Argumento que a teorização proposta pela Teoria da Reprodução Social face a apropriação capitalista do que é trabalho e do trabalho doméstico como natural da mulher mostra-se necessária para perceber do ponto de vista do capital, das suas próprias contradições internas, porquê e como o trabalho reprodutivo é desvalorizado. Reconhecer as limitações da linha teórica do Wages for Housework (1972-1977), por exemplo, não põe em causa todas as suas elaborações, mas traz um contributo novo para um fenómeno cada vez maior – o da economia do

cuidado e a necessidade de teorizar com um repertório próprio as novas formas de pensar a relação entre feminismo e marxismo e entre género e economia política.

Uma análise feminista-marxista de mulheres que trabalham como domésticas e realizam este mesmo trabalho em suas casas como ato de cuidado permite uma abordagem teórica e política mais complexa, com nuances políticas. Há uma violência duplicada, o seu trabalho remunerado não é valorizado como um trabalho digno e o seu trabalho não remunerado, de limpar as suas próprias casas depois de oito horas fazendo-o na casa dos outros, é tido como um ato de amor e cuidado naturalmente esperado das mulheres. A teorização feita pelas feministas-marxistas permite uma análise histórica e política que relacione o capitalismo, o trabalho reprodutivo, o marxismo e a economia política e é com base nestes eixos que foco o meu próprio trabalho.

Bio: **Ana Luiza Miranda** realizou a licenciatura em Antropologia na Universidade Nova de Lisboa (2020/2023) e é mestranda em Antropologia, especialização em Temas Contemporâneos, pela mesma instituição. Desde a licenciatura, através do estágio curricular que realizou da faculdade em associação ao CRIA (Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia) e com a orientação da professora Patrícia Matos, tem vindo a trabalhar a intersecção entre imigrantes mulheres em situação irregular, economia informal e o trabalho doméstico. O seu interesse visa analisar através da teoria e da etnografia o trabalho doméstico remunerado e o não remunerado. Este interesse espelha-se também na sua tese de dissertação do mestrado que irá realizar no próximo ano. Apresentou em Lisboa em 2024 um painel do “Seminário Internacional – I Congresso Feminista e da Educação, cem anos depois. Mulheres, Direitos e Cidadania na Construção das Sociedades Democráticas” onde propunha a análise de imigrantes brasileiras precárias e a teorização do trabalho doméstico. Este ano, em 2025, apresentará o painel “Antropologia das/nas fronteiras” no IX Congresso da APA (Associação Portuguesa de Antropologia) em continuação do desenvolvimento deste mesmo tema.

4d ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND FEMINIST RESISTANCE

Moderation: **Ana Cristina Pereira (Kitty Furtado)** (University of Minho, Portugal)

Vânia Gala (Escola Superior de Dança – Instituto Superior Técnico, Portugal)

Passa Folhas Or Passing leaves through the Body and Plotting

Drawing on Wynther’s (1971) thoughts in affirming the practice of the plot as an inspiring way that goes far beyond a material garden - into Black performances of resistance and Black life and its entanglements - as a form of counter plantation inspiring new performances and ways of living together, this project will examine the practice of Creole Gardens – plotting- in contemporary art. Creole gardens³ are repositories of living practices, of traditional knowledge to cultivate, feed and share food deeply entangled with cultural, spiritual and healing practices that plantation owners attempted to take away from enslaved workers. They offer a groundbreaking, visionary, and subversive orientation as plots (plans) to imagine and cultivate Black life in resistance to the totalizing idea of the plantation. I will argue that this transformative vision offers alternative ways of care, repair key for advancing a transformative climate justice.

I will analyse the art project Greenhouse (Borges & Gala et al) and the performance Passa Folhas (Gala) representing Portugal at Venice Biennale 2024. They focused on gardening as counter narrative and as an anticolonial practice. I will argue that the bringing of a creole garden into the inside(s) of a Palace can be understood as counter-plantation practice of mutual distribution offering alternative ways of living that counter climate change. I will consider Passa Folhas as a proposal of ecological revolt deeply rooted in Black plotting (the practice of creole gardens) and diasporic performative formations that defies the edifice of the “West-identified (arguably white cultural) logic of the archive” (Schneider 2011, 97).

The intention is to discuss how such interventions might or might not go beyond a material garden offering other possible futurities that “refuse all categories of fixed and imperial thought” (Glissant, 2021) and counter systems of white supremacy, terror, dominance, oppression and extractivism echoing Glissant’s ideas of trembling. On another note, I will investigate the limitations of such proposition in cultivating life and kin towards challenging and plotting against “the intertwined death-dealing logics of racism and ecocide” (Davis et al, 2019, p. 4).

¹“Creole Garden” refers to small gardens created by enslaved people on their own initiative away from the enslaved work as a source of nutrition. These arrangements were cultivated and tended in such a way that dozens of different trees and scents mutually protected one another.

Bio: Dr **Vânia Gala** is a choreographer, curator and researcher. Gala is an Associate Lecturer at Escola Superior de Dança. Prior to this she has been Course Leader of MA Expanded Dance Practice at the London Contemporary Dance School, Head of the BA (Hons) in Contemporary Performance Practice at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS), and a module leader in the MA/MFA Choreography – at Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance. She has taught in several HE institutions: Northampton University, Kingston University and Universidade Nova. She received her PhD from Kingston University funded by a university scholarship. Her interests lie in experimental practices with an emphasis on notions of refusal, choreo-thinking, fugitivity, improvisation(s), opacity, black (non)performances, negotiation, and hospitality. As a choreographer she has collaborated with British contemporary artists Sonia Boyce (Gold Lion Venice Biennale), Harold HOFFE and Portuguese Griot theatre company (awarded with Premio Internazionale Teresa Pomodoro - Italy). Collaborations as dancer have included Belgium dance theatre company Les Ballets C. de La B. directed by Alain Platel (Europe Theatre Prize, Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres de la République Française), Constanza Macras (Der Faust theater Prize and Goethe- Institute prize), Dina13 (Cologne honorary theatre award 2020) and Norwegian dance company B.Valiente Kompani. Gala had consulting & evaluation roles in national/international projects (DgArtes - Portugal, Manifest (EU), Cove Park- Scotland). She is the co-convenor of the Theater, Performance and Philosophy group of the Theater and Performance Research Association and of the EDI's European League of Institutes of Arts. Recent performative interventions include Passa Folhas (Venice Biennale), Table for Upside Down Practices in Gulbenkian Foundation and Tramway (UK) and Farmácia Fanon (Culturgest). Gala is part of the collective of artist-curators that represented Portugal at 2024 Venice Biennale.

Zuzanna Kubiak (University of Warsaw, Poland)

Reinventing Slavic culture through contemporary art practice. Ecofeminist approach

Almost no records have survived of Slavic beliefs; the average inhabitant of the former Slavic territories knows more about Greco-Roman or Scandinavian mythology than about the culture of the Slavs. Under the pressure of Western values on the one hand and Russian imperial aspirations on the other, customs from the area of Central and Eastern Europe have been almost completely depreciated and suppressed. What remains are only scraps, so it is almost impossible to carry out historical reconstructions. Tools from the field of postcolonial thought are useful in recovering the remnants of suppressed customs and epistemic systems present in Slavic cultures, taking into account all the differences and doubts that the application of this reflection to the analysis of the situation of Slavic countries raises, as for example Ewa Domańska is trying to research in her works. Nevertheless, what I find most helpful at the moment is art, which is increasingly willing to reflect on the potential inherent in the creative retrieval of elements of former Central and Eastern European cultures and attempt to reconfigure them.

The aim of this presentation is to explore how selected examples from the field of visual and performing arts draw on remnants of Slavic beliefs and customs, using them to speculatively invent different ways of functioning in the world, alternative to those dominant in Western culture. Particularly interesting are the ways in which we create connections with the world, such as the inspiration of matriarchal themes in Slavic mythology or intimate, multidimensional and equal relationships with other species, animate and inanimate. As many of the works from this area are aligned with ecofeminist approaches, I would like to try to revisit both classic ecofeminist texts, also depreciated by Western knowledge, and combine them with more recent, new-materialistic theories, to reflect about ways of distribution of care about bodies (animate and inanimate) and ecosystems that we can speculatively reconstruct through slavic, matriarchal remains. I will draw on the works of Maria Puig de la Bellacasa and Marisol de la Cadena to combine this theories with the works of artists from countries such as Poland and Ukraine, as well as on the practice of Ukrainian artists who came to Poland in the wake of the ongoing war in Ukraine. Theory and art will work together to speculate about ecofeminism as a practice of caring derived from women's ancestral knowledge. I will cite, among others, the choreographic performance of Paulina Ołowska, artistic explorations of Anna Orbachewska, and works of the theatre director Olena Apchel.

Bio: **Zuzanna Kubiak** is a graduate of cultural studies at the Institute of Polish Culture UW (specialization: Theatre in Culture). Doctoral student at the Doctoral School of Humanities at the University of Warsaw. Involved in Polish contemporary theater and choreography both academically and professionally as a producer. She is interested in interspecies relations and non-anthropocentric perspectives in theater, institutional critique, ecofeminism and posthumanism, especially with its New Materialist approaches.

Venla Järvensivu (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Counter-choreographies within the spaces of dance and beyond

In this presentation, I explore the position and direction of my paper, where I investigate the possibilities of counter-choreographies within the spaces of dance (in Finland). The research starts from the premise that spaces are not empty or neutral (McKittrick, 2006), but rather racializing, gendering, and classing. In dance, Eurocentric ways of moving have established a somatic norm (Puwar, 2004), a standard of disciplined embodiment through which Other/ed forms of dancing and those who practice them are marginalized. People whose bodies are not considered to meet these ideals become bodies 'out of place' (Puwar, 2004; Ahmed, 2007; Mirza, 2018), and the historical and political archives of these bodies are then ignored. Dance, as a social practice, is profoundly political and carries the political history of the body within, across, and beyond spaces. The spaces where the archives of Blackness, Brownness, and the plurality of knowledge are recognized and acknowledged can be understood as counter-spaces in white supremacist societies. These counter-spaces are not homogeneous, but they share the potential for radical counter-choreographies. The stories of the dance artists I have interviewed show that while the spaces of dance in Finland do carry and reproduce whiteness, resistances and frictions are also taking place. Therefore, I ask how the spaces of whiteness could be disrupted through counter-choreographies and disobedient ways of dancing.

Bio: **Venla Järvensivu** is a doctoral researcher at the Faculty of Educational Sciences at the University of Helsinki. Her doctoral research focuses on coloniality, racism and whiteness in the spaces of dance, as well as the embodied ways of practicing disobedience.

4e A MATERIALISTIC CRITIQUE ON DIFFERENCE AND PRACTICE OF OTHERING

Moderation: **Angelina Giannopoulou** (transform! europe, Greece)

Helena Carla Gonçalo Ferreira (University of Aveiro, Portugal)

Beyond the Black Box: A Feminist-Marxist Analysis of Generative AI and the Need for Critical-Transformative Positioning

Esta comunicação propõe desenvolver uma análise feminista-marxista da Inteligência Artificial generativa, argumentando que esta tecnologia emergente representa simultaneamente uma nova fronteira de expropriação capitalista e um possível campo de disputa política feminista. Na esteira dos trabalhos de Wajcman (2017) sobre tecnofeminismo e das análises de Federici (2019) sobre as novas formas de acumulação primitiva, propomos examinar como a IA generativa está a reconfigurar as relações de género e poder no capitalismo contemporâneo.

Esta análise estrutura-se em três níveis interligados. Primeiro, uma análise material das condições de produção, investigando a divisão sexual do trabalho digital no desenvolvimento de IAs e mapeando o trabalho invisível de classificação e limpeza de dados, frequentemente realizado por mulheres do Sul Global (Crawford, 2021). Seguindo a tradição da economia política feminista

(Mies, 2014; Fraser, 2017), examinamos as novas formas de expropriação do trabalho cognitivo colectivo e a concentração de poder nas empresas de tecnologia.

O segundo nível foca-se nos impactos na reprodução social, analisando as transformações no trabalho de cuidado e a reconfiguração dos trabalhos tradicionalmente feminizados. Baseando-nos nos trabalhos de Bhattacharya (2017) sobre teoria da reprodução social e nas análises de Noble (2018) sobre discriminação algorítmica, investigamos como a codificação e automatização de saberes e práticas femininas está a criar novas formas de alienação e controlo dos corpos.

Por fim, exploramos os potenciais transformadores, identificando contradições e brechas para intervenção feminista. Inspiradas nas propostas de Mies e Shiva (2014) sobre ecofeminismo e tecnologia apropriada, desenvolvemos propostas de utilizações contra-hegemónicas e estratégias colectivas de resistência e apropriação.

Como contribuição original, apresentamos uma matriz de análise para avaliar tecnologias de IA sob uma perspectiva feminista-marxista, considerando impactos nas relações de género e poder, potencial emancipatório versus reprodução de opressões, possibilidades de apropriação colectiva e capacidade de transformação das relações sociais.

Esta matriz de análise fundamenta-se numa perspectiva materialista histórica que reconhece a tecnologia não como neutra, mas como campo de disputa política atravessado por relações de poder. Baseando-nos nas contribuições de Donna Haraway (1991) sobre tecnociência feminista e nas análises contemporâneas de Wendy Liu (2020) sobre as contradições da indústria tecnológica, propomos um quadro analítico que permita tanto a crítica quanto a ação transformadora.

Bio: Helena Ferreira acabou de depositar a Tese: "Chatas, Loucas E Com Mau Feitio" - Artistas De Teatro, Poder e Género, na Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Doutor em Estudos Culturais. É membro do Projeto Género e Performance do Centro de Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas da mesma Universidade. Publicações recentes relacionam-se com as seguintes temáticas: questões de género no teatro, feminismo, teoria queer, semiótica e direitos humanos.

Andrea Prizia (University of Florence, Italy)

Beyond difference (and gender)? A possible materialist critique of the notion of difference

This paper would like to propose a possible path through some texts by Colette Guillaumin, Monique Wittig and Christine Delphy, regarding the notion of difference, understood as a politically relevant character for a feminist politics and theory. We would like to show how the prediction of these authors, according to which difference would become the main political character of anti-capitalist and anti-patriarchal subjectivities, has somehow come true. By way of paradigm, we consider as clear examples the notions of gender performativity in Judith Butler (Butler 1993) and Rosi Braidotti's nomadism (Braidotti 1994). In both cases, subjectivities, insofar as they are built on ideas - albeit different - of difference, would be alternatives to capitalist and heteropatriarchal social norms. Significantly, further confirmation of the prediction comes from a completely different sphere, namely the ability of neoliberalism to appropriate feminism through liberal feminism and the hyper-individualized notion of difference as valorization of the individual

in the market (Rottenberg 2020). We would first like to briefly reconstruct Colette Guillaumin's and Monique Wittig's critiques of the political possibilities of difference (Guillaumin 1992; Wittig 1992): these critiques are part of a materialist framework, for which difference is not thought of from its otherness to the norm, but from the material processes that produce it. In other words, difference is the name of a power relation to be understood and demolished, since any political claim to difference can only lead to an incorporation into the market (Guillaumin 1992) or to individualistic positions (Wittig 1992). Moreover, Christine Delphy's thought extends the critique even further: the opposition We-Others appears precisely as a production of material and power relations to be overcome (Delphy 2008), relations within which gender itself also falls (Delphy 2013). The paper will therefore finally want to relate this yet-to-be-developed materialist proposal in dialogue with those theories of gender that interpret difference as a productive political possibility.

Bibliography

- Braidotti Rosi, 1994. *Nomadic Subjects. Embodiment and Sexual difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*, Columbia University Press.
- Butler Judith, 1993, *Bodies that Matter*, Routledge, New York.
- Delphy Christine, 2008, *Classer, dominer: Qui sont les "autres"?*, La Fabrique éditions.
- Delphy Christine, 2013, *L'ennemi principal: Tome 2, Penser le genre*, Editions Syllepse.
- Guillaumin Colette, 1992, *Question de difference*, in *Sexe, Race et Pratique du pouvoir. L'idée de Nature*, Paris, Côté-femmes.
- Rottenberg Catherine, 2020, *The Rise of Neoliberal Feminism*, Oxford University Press.
- Wittig Monique, 1992, *Homo Sum*, in *The Straight Mind*, Beacon Press.

Bio: **Andrea Prizia** graduated in 2022 in Philosophy from the University of Rome La Sapienza with a thesis on Walter Benjamin. She is currently a PhD student in Social and Political Change at the University of Florence, with a research project on Judith Butler.

Tjaša Cankar (Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, Slovenia)

How can Yugoslav Marxists and Marxist feminists inform our struggles today?

In the era of neoliberal capitalism, which has enabled and renewed age-old antagonisms, such as misogyny, racism and economic inequalities, we revisit the knowledge production and policies from state-socialist Yugoslavia, focusing on their relevance for contemporary intersectionalist anti-imperialist movements.

Yugoslav Marxism was locally rooted, stemming from the national liberation struggle and the post-war construction of socialist state, where women's emancipation was a prerequisite a totally emancipated socialist society (Tomšič in Zaharijević 2017, 143).

Yugoslav Marxism was also globally engaged with prominent figures such as Vida Tomšič – Yugoslavia's UN representative – who pushed for planned parenthood as early as the 1970s (Bonfiglioli 2016, 533), and linked gender equality to broader struggles for geopolitical equality (Tomšič 1988). Stemming from the Non-Aligned Initiative (Bonfiglioli 2016), it emphasised South-South solidarity (Tomšič 1986) and connected the struggles for justice across the axes of gender, race, class, and geopolitical global inequalities.

Yugoslav Marxist feminists further developed critical frameworks that challenged the limits of gender equality in both state-socialist and state-capitalist formations. They argued that while

woman's question predates the class question, the two are inseparable (Zaharijević 2017, 271), and stated that there is no revolution without liberation of women and vice-versa (Ler-Sofronić 1978). This paper argues that the legacy of Yugoslav Marxists and Marxist feminists offers tools for confronting contemporary challenges—from geopolitical inequalities to global patriarchal backlash. By revisiting their insistence on collective emancipation and systemic critique, we invoke a tradition that can inform present-day resistance across intersecting lines of oppression.

References

- Bonfiglioli, Chiara. 2016. The first UN World Conference on Women (1975) as a Cold War encounter: Recovering anti-imperialist, Non-Aligned and socialist genealogies. *Filozofija i Društvo* 27(3): 521–541.
- Ler-Sofronić, Nada. 1978. Autonomni identitet žene u perspektivi opštjeljudskog oslobođenja. *Opredjeljenja* 10-11: 175-217.
- Tomšič, Vida. 1986. South-South cooperation and the role of women in development. Ljubljana: Research Centre for Cooperation with Developing Countries.
- Tomšič, Vida. 1988. Women, Development and the Non-Aligned Movement. Centre for Women's Development Studies.
- Zaharijević, Adriana. 2017. The Strange Case of Yugoslav Feminism: Feminism and Socialism in “the East”. *Montenegrin Journal for Social Sciences* 1 (2): 135-156.

Bio: **Tjaša Cankar** is a PhD candidate exploring gender knowledge production in socialism and capitalism at the semiperiphery, with a focus on knowledge (dis)continuities during transition in Yugoslavia, and the Western-centrism of gender studies. Her work also critically engages with the ‘Europeanisation’ of (South) Eastern Europe. She has contributed to several EU projects (H2020, Erasmus+), supporting institutional capacity building and strategic gender equality planning.

Gabriele Michalitsch (University of Vienna, Austria)

“Suicidal Empathy”: Psychopolitical Foundations of Colonial Ways of Thinking

“The fundamental weakness of Western civilization is empathy,” proclaimed Elon Musk in the spring of 2025. A lack of empathy, toughness, insensitivity, aggressiveness and even a willingness to use violence characterize the spectrum of - all male-coded - qualities that are increasingly being aggressively demanded by authoritarian “leaders”, parties and movements. They point to a fundamental destructiveness that is linked in particular to practices of othering: to the creation of a homogenous, superior “us” and an equally de-differentiated and inferior “other”. But what are the foundations of destructiveness and othering? Why do such psycho-political strategies resonate? To what extent does the creation of a sense of superiority represent a key to understanding authoritarianism (but also patriarchalism and racism)?

To approach these questions, I draw on Erich Fromm's central theses on destructiveness, authority and adaptation. Fromm is a leading representative of the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, which probably leads a shadowy existence in feminist-Marxist discourse primarily due to its androcentric character. By combining Marxism and psychoanalysis, however, it opens up a multitude of points of reference for the analysis of current authoritarian developments – especially as its feminist reading also makes the significance of gender hierarchization and anti-feminism in authoritarian ideologies accessible. The contribution thus also reflects on the preconditions of decolonization.

Bio: **Gabriele Michalitsch** is a political scientist and economist at the University of Vienna. She has held (visiting) professorships at the University of Vienna, the University of Graz, Renmin University in Beijing, Corvinus University in Budapest, and Yeditepe University in Istanbul. 2002-05 she was chair of the Council of Europe's expert group on gender budgeting. Her research focuses on political economy, political theories, feminist economics, and, in particular, the connections between neoliberalism, authoritarianism, and militarization.

WORKSHOP - *Care Spaces: Oppression and Practices of Resistance*

Giulia Piazza (architect and independent researcher), **Mafalda Araújo** (NOVA University of Lisbon, Portugal), **Federica Romeo** (artist).

Theories of social reproduction reveal how capitalism relies on the invisibilization of unpaid care work, predominantly performed by women and racialized groups. Recent events testify to the ongoing relevance of these theories and their spatial manifestations: unspent funds for childcare centers (only 27% national coverage in Italy, OpenPolis 2023), migrant care workers confined to peripheries (54% of sector, INPS 2023), and cities increasingly divided between privatized services and “care deserts”. The post-pandemic and ecological crises exacerbate these inequalities, making it urgent to rethink the role of space in contemporary society.

In this theoretical and socio-political context, the workshop proposes to use collective counter-cartography as a critical tool to reflect on care spaces. The main objectives are:

1. To raise awareness of the role and value of space in perpetuating inequalities and patriarchal-capitalist oppression against feminine and non-dominating groups;
2. To share resistance and care practices, identifying potential spaces for their implementation, whether real or imagined.

The workshop’s framework will combine:

- Marxist-feminist and intersectional critiques of social reproduction (Federici, Bhattacharya, Mies, Davis);
- Analyses of capitalist space production (Harvey, Lefebvre) and feminist alternatives (Muxi Martinez).
- After a theoretical introduction, participants will collaboratively map private and public care spaces based on their own experiences, revealing “third spaces” that transcend the public/private dichotomy.

Collective mapping allows the participants to reflect from the self, adopting the categories of body and territory as the first places of the self, capable of creating a profound awareness of the colonial dynamics enacted by patriarchal capitalism.

Participants will first engage with theoretical grounding (social reproduction theory, feminist urbanism) before collaboratively mapping private and public spheres based on their experiences of care spaces. Through collective design and interpretation, these mappings will reveal interstitial

'third spaces' - sites of informal care, communal use and resistance. The outcome will visualise a feminist urban imaginary that challenges hegemonic spatial orders by centering care practices and collective organisation.

The material used will be diverse: a large sheet of paper will be placed in the centre where participants will collaborate and share their experiences using various drawing materials (watercolours, pens, post-its, etc.). The duration of the workshop is estimated to be 2h30m.

The co-creation process of mapping is a way of sharing practices, engaging in a political and emotional coalescence of knowledge and desires.

The workshop aims to:

- Promote connections between participants and share best practices;
- Produce a collective map as a political tool to demand services or commons and organize to put them into practice collectively;
- Leave a tangible record for the conference and the feminist networks.

Bios: **Giulia Piazza** is an architect living in Palermo. She graduated from FAUP (Portugal) in 2018 and attended the Master programme “Gender Cities. Methods and Techniques of Urban and Territorial Design” in Florence in 2023. She is co-founder of the practice piazzarchitettura, which focuses on the design of public buildings. She was awarded first prize in international competitions, such as the new construction of a school, where she curated, among other aspects, the research for a feminist and inclusive design of the educational spaces. Her professional and personal interests are led by a feminist and ecological perspective. **Mafalda Araújo** sociologist, researcher at CICS (NOVA University of Lisbon) . **Federica Romeo** artist educated in psychology.

11.30-13.00

PANEL ROUND 5

5a CHALLENGING SOCIAL ROLES THROUGH ART

Moderation: **Ana Cristina Pereira (Kitty Furtado)** (University of Minho, Portugal)

Rhiannon Lockley (Birmingham City University, UK)

Reproduction and Rhythms of Resistance: Education Activism as Reproductive Labour

A presentation of my doctoral research findings. My work is concerned with the conflicted role of trade unions in mobilising and managing dissent, and with understanding labour carried out by activists within trade unions as reproductive labour. This contributes to the Marxist feminist project of developing understanding and critique of capitalism through uncovering reproductive labour, taking the position that many Marxist accounts minimise and fail to draw on colonial and gendered labour forms central to the emergence and continuity of capitalism. My focus is on education trade unions specifically.

I utilised Lefebvre's Regressive-Progressive method, connecting with the past through archival research, walking interviews in historically significant locations, and self-interview, to understand foundations of and revisit challenges facing trade union activists in the present.

I approached archival research as a method for accessing activist community memory, to reinterpret organising problems of the present. Firstly, I accessed online archives of the chainmaker strike organised by the National Federation of Women Workers (NFWW) in 1910. This mobilised isolated home-based workers whose labour included childcare in the workplace. Secondly, I explored the physical archive of the National Union of Women Teachers (NUWT), with a particular focus on the split with the National Union of Teachers in 1920 over equal pay. This issue continues to generate division in relation to industrial focus and strategy in the University and College Union (UCU).

I conducted two walking interviews: one with Tony Barnsley, a union organiser and local historian, on the site of the chainmaker strike in Cradley Heath (West Midlands UK); one in Otley (Yorkshire, UK) with my father, the workplace and home setting of my Great Great Aunt Emily Thomas, an activist in the NUWT. I utilised Narrative Episodic Self Interview to develop connections between the past and the present.

I contend that activism (including specifically education activism in trade unions) is a form of reproductive labour, acting to both preserve society in its current form through the containment of dissent, but also to push against current systemic limits. In focusing specifically on the crowding of activism within other forms of labour, and on the conflicted pressures of mobilisation and containment of the trade union form of activism, my work contributes to the critical Marxist feminist anticapitalist and decolonising project of making visible reproductive labour.

Bio: **Rhiannon Lockley** is a lecturer, and a trade unionist, serving as Birmingham City University Branch Chair and on the National Executive Committee of the UCU (University and College Union), UK.

Joana Monbaron (University of Coimbra, Portugal)

Interrogating Autonomy: Art, Museums and Social Reproduction

This paper interrogates the fundamental contradiction between the radical public ethos of many contemporary art museums and their internal, exploitative labor practices. It takes as its central case study the 2024 strike by cultural mediators at Madrid's Museo Reina Sofía, where a picket sign admonished, "A tu teoría le faltan derechos laborales" ("Your theory lacks labour rights"). This protest crystallizes a critical shift in institutional critique: from a discursive unmasking of ideology to a materialist confrontation with the social reproductive labor that sustains the institution. I argue that the strike enacts a potent form of "infrastructural critique," targeting the hidden architecture of contracts, outsourcing, and neoliberal governance that constitutes the museum's operational backbone.

The Reina Sofía cultivates an identity as a "radical museum," embedding the legacies of social movements and institutional critique into its programming. Crucial to this project was the creation of a Public Activities division, designed to foster critical citizenship. However, this paper

demonstrates how this emancipatory discourse was structurally undermined from its inception, as the cultural mediators tasked with its realization were outsourced to private subcontractors. Mobilizing social reproduction theory, cultural mediation is framed as a form of feminized reproductive labor - the work of sustaining social bonds, transmitting knowledge, and interpreting institutional discourse - which is systematically naturalized, devalued, and rendered precarious. This analysis is grounded in a materialist problematization of artistic autonomy, drawing on the work of Marxist feminists Marina Vishmidt and Kerstin Stakemeier. They contend that the traditional concept of autonomy, predicated on art's separation from capitalist production, is fundamentally flawed. It structurally depends on its separation from reproductive labor, a concealment operationalized through degraded working conditions and the invisibility of its workforce. Consequently, a truly critical autonomy can no longer be found in art's separation from production but must be sought through a confrontation with its relation to social reproduction. Finally, the paper assesses the potential and limits of resistance by juxtaposing the mediators' strike with adjacent initiatives like *Museo Situado*, which builds networks with the museum's neighbourhood. While both represent practices of "instituting otherwise" that emanate from the sphere of social reproduction, they remain fragmented. These parallel efforts demonstrate the latent agency of the reproductive workforce to forge transversal reinterpretations of the museum. However, their full potential to reorganize the institution's symbolic and material conditions is ultimately curtailed by the very outsourcing practices and internal hierarchies they seek to overcome. This struggle exemplifies a broader infrastructural turn, moving beyond what Ruth Wilson Gilmore names "non-reformist reforms" to materially rearrange the institution's relations of production and reproduction.

Bio: **Joana Monbaron** is a PhD candidate at the Center for Social Studies, University of Coimbra.

Maria Giulia Pinheiro (University of Coimbra, Portugal)

Aesthetic Research in Dramatic Writing Based on the Work of Female Artists — The Feminist Dramaturgy Centre (NDF)

O projeto investiga o Núcleo de Dramaturgia Feminista (NDF), analisando a metodologia desenvolvida desde sua criação em 2017. A pesquisa descreve a história, os objetivos e os propósitos do NDF, que propõe um percurso formativo e criativo voltado à prática dramatúrgica a partir da tradição de mulheres artistas. O processo privilegia uma abordagem diacrônica: artistas mulheres de diferentes áreas, pertencças raciais, períodos históricos e nacionalidades são estudadas em seus preceitos estéticos, em diálogo com a busca por autonomia, emancipação e problematização das relações de poder sobre as mulheres em seus contextos. A partir dessa investigação, o trabalho articula a crítica à estrutura patriarcal das linguagens artísticas, o levantamento da tradição artística feminista ocidental e contra-colonial, a construção de espaços de criação e troca com protagonismo feminino e a elaboração de imaginários feministas como fundamentos para o desenvolvimento de uma metodologia dramatúrgica própria.

Bio: Maria Giulia Pinheiro (São Paulo, 1990) é doutoranda em "Discursos: Cultura, História e Sociedade" (Universidade de Coimbra), fundadora da associação FALA orgânica e artista residente na Biblioteca Municipal de Alcântara desde 2023. Também vencedora da 2.^a edição do Prémio Nova Dramaturgia de Autoria Feminina (DGArtes), com a obra "Isso não é Relevante", é autora de cinco livros de poesia e dramaturgia, publicados entre Brasil e Europa. "A Palavra Mais Bonita", com sua encenação, texto e performance, circula desde 2019 em países de língua portuguesa, tendo já realizado temporadas em Moçambique, Brasil, Portugal e Espanha (Galiza). Criou em Portugal uma série de eventos específicos para o país, em que articula comunidades portuguesas e migrantes através da literatura (poesia e dramaturgia) e da performance. São eles: SLAM no CAM (Fundação Gulbenkian), Todo Mundo Slam (Lisboa), Slam Camões (CM de Coimbra) e Ginginha Poética, criada em Lisboa, mas com circulação nacional e internacional, principalmente em Festivais, como FLIP (Festa Literária Internacional de Paraty) e FOLIO (Festival Literário de Óbidos). Também criou no Brasil eventos literários que são realizados em Portugal desde 2019 como Ciranda: Jogo de Palavra Falada (Atualmente programado na Casa Fernando Pessoa) e ZONA lê Dramaturgia (Atualmente na programação do TBA). Enquanto dramaturga, estreou em 2024 o espetáculo "Palimpsesto: o que se apaga para escrever de novo?", com encenação de Lucas França e apoio da DGArtes e da Fundação GDA. Escreve para teatro desde 2012, quando estreou seu primeiro espetáculo, "Bruta Flor do Querer", também com sua encenação. Desde então, escreveu diversos guiões e dramaturgias. Criou e coordena o Núcleo de Dramaturgia Feminista desde 2017, em que leciona sobre dramaturgia a partir da obra de artistas mulheres. Em 2020, estas aulas passaram a ser online, o que atraiu mais de 500 pessoas e resultou na publicação de duas antologias com textos escritos a partir de suas aulas.

Marina Gallo (University of Porto, Portugal)

Between Representations and Presentations: the female body as language, resistance and pleasure

A proposta apresenta práticas artísticas de mulheres artistas de Recife, Pernambuco, que tensionam os modos hegemônicos de representação do corpo feminino, do desejo e da sexualidade. A partir de uma curadoria de obras que transitam entre representação e performance, discuto como essas artistas – com destaque para Joana Liberal, Christina Machado, Laura Mello, Carolina Consentino, Juliana Notari e Cecília – constroem narrativas visuais que confrontam os imaginários normativos em torno da feminilidade, transformando o corpo em campo de resistência e linguagem.

A proposta se divide em dois momentos: um primeiro voltado para representações do corpo em suportes diversos (barro, cerâmica, bordado, tecido, gesso, imagem), muitas vezes tratando de temas como a vagina, a masturbação feminina ou os seios fora do padrão, por exemplo. Aqui, importa não apenas o material, mas também o lugar onde ele é disponibilizado e visibilizado – museus, ruas, redes sociais, feiras ou roupas –, o que influencia diretamente o alcance, o tipo de recepção e a potência política dessas obras. O segundo momento enfoca trabalhos em que o próprio corpo da artista está presente em ação, por meio de performances e videoperformances que embaralham os limites entre arte e vida, até que essa fronteira se torne turva. Essas práticas abordam também temas como feminicídio, repressão sexual, prazer dissidente e gordofobia, propondo novos imaginários sobre o corpo feminino e sua potência.

A pesquisa se ancora em autoras como Pollock, Loponte, Rago, Barros, Tvardovskas e Jimenez, além dos relatos e processos das próprias artistas, para pensar como essas produções operam como uma política do corpo, onde desejo e prazer são também formas de resistência. A proposta dialoga

diretamente com o eixo “Descolonizar os corpos”, ao valorizar produções artísticas do Nordeste brasileiro, frequentemente marginalizadas nos circuitos nacional e internacional, e ao afirmar a necessidade de ampliar as geografias do sensível e do político.

A apresentação poderá ocorrer como comunicação oral (em formato mais breve) ou como uma roda de conversa expandida, com maior tempo e abertura para o diálogo com o público. Em ambos os casos, será necessário o uso de projetor para exibição de imagens das obras analisadas.

Bio: **Marina Gallo** é investigadora júnior integrada do i2ADS - Instituto de Investigação em Arte Design e Sociedade, da FBAUP - Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade do Porto. Atualmente é bolsista de investigação com atuação na Gestão Editorial (i2ADS Edições e Livraria i2ADS). A sua investigação enquadra-se no grupo de interesse ID_CAI -IDENTIDADES_Collectivo de Acção/Investigação do i2ADS, trabalhando questões de gênero, decoloniais e antidiscriminatórias no campo das Artes Visuais. Faz parte da enREDE – Rede Internacional de Investigação em Artes, Educação Artística e Arte/Educação, uma rede de colaboração na investigação anticolonial, antidiscriminatória e anticapitalista. No seu percurso académico, fez o Doutoramento em Design (2021-UFPE), o Mestrado em Artes Visuais (2015-UFPE), ambas com Bolsas de Investigação (CAPES), e a Licenciatura em Comunicação Social-Jornalismo (2011- UNICAP)

5b OUR BODIES, OUR RULES

Moderation: **Elena Beloki** (Iratzar Fundazioa, Basque Country)

Aarna Dixit

Reproducing the Nation: Sex Selection and National Politics in India

This paper explores reproductive justice in India through looking at sex selection and the manipulation of reproductive labor. Through this analysis, it seeks to raise larger questions regarding how national politics may interfere with reproductive justice and individual autonomy. The conceptualizations and interactions of the body and the nation are central to understanding global reproductive justice.

Sex selection in India, rather than being an autonomous choice, occurs due to various pressures and cultural understandings of gender, family and nationhood. This thesis is grounded in an examination of cultural practices and norms that create gender difference and devalue women's bodies. Structures of colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism contribute to India's national politics as well as understandings of gender and reproduction. The impacts of sex selection and the regulation of reproduction in India is linked to these cultural and gendered norms.

Furthermore, utilizing social reproduction theory, this paper seeks to build an understanding of how reproductive labor is exploited and alienated at the national level, while reproductive labor and parenthood are also seen as crucial for national development.

Bodies with uteruses have been charged with pressures to reproduce and maintain national identity through gestational reproductive labor as well as social reproduction. Even in moments of conflict, it is bodies with uteruses that become battlegrounds, subjects of conquest to reassert patriarchal, capitalist and colonial power. Disentangling these connections—between the nation, identity, the

body and reproductive labor—is crucial for recentring individual autonomy and building an intersectional reproductive justice movement.

Bio: **Aarna Dixit** is a current undergraduate senior at New York University, graduating with a B.A. in May 2025, with double majors in Global Liberal Studies (concentration in Politics) and Social and Cultural Analysis (concentration in Gender Studies). As an aspiring academic intending to earn a PhD, Aarna plans to pursue a Master's in Women's and Gender Studies at Trinity College, Dublin, starting Fall 2025. Having worked with grassroots reproductive justice organizations in the U.S., France, Belgium, and India, Aarna has a strong understanding of global reproductive justice issues in theory and practice. Aarna's career goal is to explore how national and colonial politics impact our understanding of bodies and, consequently, frameworks of global reproductive justice. Having explored reproductive justice in India for her undergraduate thesis, she is eager to continue examining issues of reproductive justice, including in the context of Ireland, during her Masters.

Selen Göbelez (École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)/Centre Norbert Elias (CNE), France)

Bio-Techno Colonization of Women's Bodies and Commodification of Childbirth in Turkey

In contemporary Turkey, the intersection of bio-techno-medicalization and pronatalist policies creates a complex landscape of control, commodification, and resistance in childbirth. This presentation will explore how these practices contribute to the bio-techno colonization of women's bodies and the commodification of childbirth, reflecting capitalist, patriarchal, and colonial systems. I will examine how women's reproductive choices are influenced by both technological interventions and socio-political pressures, while also showcasing the strategies women use to reclaim agency.

The Turkish government's 2012 restrictions on cesarean sections, aimed at reducing the country's high cesarean rates, serve as a key example of bio-political control over women's bodies. These policies, intertwined with nationalistic pronatalism, frame women's bodies as national assets to be optimized and controlled. This creates a divide where affluent women in private clinics can access luxury services, while others face limited choices in public hospitals, exacerbating social inequalities.

The emerging doula movement, advocating for non-medical support during birth, presents an alternative to medicalized childbirth. Doulas aim to humanize birth and empower women, but this movement is primarily accessible to wealthier women, perpetuating social divides.

This presentation will critically analyze how these dynamics align with broader colonial processes, where women's bodies are commodified and controlled under the guise of healthcare. It will advocate for a feminist, anti-capitalist, and decolonial approach to reproductive justice, challenging the commodification of birth and the systems of oppression that shape women's bodies as sites of control and profit. Through this analysis, the presentation aims to contribute to the decolonization of bodies and the dismantling of capitalist structures in childbirth.

Bio: **Selen Göbelez** is a graduate from the Department of Philosophy at Bosphorus University, Istanbul. She received her master's degree from Atatürk InsMtute for Modern Turkish History at

Bosphorus University, where she also worked as Research Assistant. She received her PhD degree in sociology at l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), France, with a thesis on the childbirth and mothering experiences of women in Turkey. Her research which focuses on women studies, medical anthropology and social movements, has been awarded grants by the Faculty of Health Sciences at the American University of Beirut, Raoul Wallenberg Human Rights Institute and Istanbul Bilgi University-Community Volunteers Foundation. She is also a doula and activist for women's sexual health rights. She was the co-founder of a publishing house in Istanbul where she has worked many years as translator and editor, whereby she contributed for the works of prominent authors such as S. Federici, E. Balibar, G. Deleuze, A. Negri and N. Chomsky to appear in Turkish language. She has professional and voluntary experiences in various NGO's.

Kathrin Flach Gomez (Die Linke, Germany)

Gender-Geographical Aspects of a Total Abortion Ban in El Salvador and Options for Action from a Development Geography Perspective

This thesis examines the effects of the total abortion ban in El Salvador from a gender- and development-geographical perspective. It explores the social, political, historical, and religious conditions that have shaped the current legal situation and their impact on women's lives. The analysis shows how patriarchal structures, social inequalities, and religious doctrines restrict women's reproductive rights and result in both institutionalized and everyday violence. Case studies prove that women living in poverty and with limited access to education are particularly affected by criminal prosecution, often receiving long prison sentences after miscarriages and lacking access to legal or medical assistance.

The gender analysis reveals that the exercise of reproductive rights is strongly influenced by factors such as education, income, social status, and place of residence. Discourses surrounding the abortion ban are spatially and socially segregated: while conservative actors and churches dominate public debate, pro-choice initiatives tend to operate within academic or NGO contexts—often outside the country itself.

From a development-geographical perspective, the thesis identifies potential avenues for action, including the empowerment of marginalized groups, improved access to resources, and the promotion of gender equality awareness. The conclusion emphasizes that sustainable social and political change will require time, as well as international solidarity, to strengthen women's reproductive rights in El Salvador.

Bio: **Kathrin Flach Gomez** is a city councillor for the Left Party (DIE LINKE) in Nuremberg and a research associate in the constituency office of MP Evelyn Schötz. She previously served as state chair of the Left Party in Bavaria. She studied development geography with a focus on feminist geography. Her work focuses on reproductive rights, social inequality, and feminist organizing from a transnational perspective.

Angélica Antonechen Colombo (Federal Institute of Paraná, Brazil)

State, capital and social reproduction: criminalisation of abortion and anti-gender agenda in Brazil

This paper aims to explore the ethical and political conditions that contribute to the implementation of anti-abortion policies and the anti-gender project in Brazil. To this end, the discussion is grounded in a feminist and Marxist theoretical framework, employing the concept of social reproduction as an analytical lens. By examining the mechanisms of bodily control within capitalism, we observe that such practices operate as essential tools for maintaining the system, particularly through the regulation of social reproduction, that is, the reproduction of labor power. In capitalist societies, the perpetuation of this control is fundamental to preserving the social relations that sustain and drive the system itself. These social relations form the foundation upon which the capitalist structure is built, and thus the system actively seeks to preserve them. Among these relations, the nuclear family plays a central role in the functioning of capitalism, as it constitutes the primary space where the process of social reproduction takes place. This implies that the family must conform to a normative model that ensures the continuity of the capitalist system through specific sexual practices that guarantee the reproduction of the labor force. The political interests of the State, capitalism, and private institutions have long been aligned in implementing specific methods of controlling bodies, particularly women's bodies. An illustrative example of this dynamic is the imposition of motherhood as a political project aimed at sustaining the capitalist system through the control of social reproduction. Consequently, the criminalization of abortion functions as an ideological instrument of bodily control. By denying women autonomy over their own bodies, the State deprives them of an essential condition for the exercise of freedom and self-determination, confining them to a reproductive role. Both the State and capital seek to exert control not only over economic production but also over social reproduction, transforming bodies into instruments of labor and, in the case of women, into machines of reproduction. In Brazil, the anti-gender movement mobilizes in defense of this "family," responding aggressively to advances in rights, particularly reproductive rights. The persistent defense of the so-called traditional family and opposition to abortion reveal that capitalism has historically sought to appropriate bodies, especially those capable of gestation, turning them into a territory for the implementation of control strategies, often supported by state mechanisms. In light of these considerations, this study aims to analyze body control policies and the anti-gender agenda in Brazil through the lens of feminist Marxism, deepening the discussion around the concept of social reproduction.

Bio: **Angélica Antonechen Colombo** is a Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Ph.D. in Science Education, Adjunct Professor in the Department of Philosophy at the Federal Institute of Paraná (IFPR).

5c DESTABILISING THEORY TO WIDEN HORIZONS

Moderation: **Tiina Sandberg** (Democratic Civic Association - DSL, Finland)

Mariana Teixeira (University of Lisbon, Portugal))

Conversion, Inversion, or Subversion: Assessing Different Strategies to Decolonize the Canon

In contemporary debates within social theory and philosophy, there is a growing awareness of the need to come to terms with the classist, sexist and racist aspects of the canon that serves as the touchstone for the way we do theory – and its practical effects. Attempts to counter this state of affairs can be understood as part of the broad project of decolonizing knowledge production and circulation, where ‘decolonization’ means more than just fighting the epistemic consequences of European colonialism around the world, but also encompasses the struggles against all forms of manifestation of the colonality of power, including gender oppression and class exploitation. Far less agreement is to be found, however, as to what this process of epistemic decolonization would mean in concrete terms: What does this imply for the relationship between hegemonic and marginalized forms of knowledge?

In this paper, we identify three broad strategies for the decolonization of knowledge: (1) the inclusion of marginalized knowledges in the pantheon of hegemonic knowledges; (2) the inversion of positions between hegemonic and marginalized knowledges; and (3) the subversion of hegemonic knowledges by marginalized ones, based on the unveiling of the asymmetrical and authoritarian interdependence between them.

In the first part, we present in more detail and in a systematic way each one of these strategies of epistemic decolonization. We then illustrate, in the second part, our proposed categorization with a case analysis of different attempts to decolonize G.W.F. Hegel's writings, specifically with regard to its Eurocentric and sexist aspects. Hegel's case is an interesting one because, while he is the main proponent of the dialectical method that would inspire Marx and serve as a forerunner of different subversive theoretical strands, his writings also contain extremely problematic, to say the least, considerations about non-European peoples and women, thus calling for a decolonial critique.

From this analysis, we intend to provide greater clarity about what is at stake in each of the paths that attempt to decolonize knowledge production and to reflect on whether and how they can be productively combined in a critical praxis.

Bio: **Mariana Teixeira** is Assistant Researcher at the Praxis—Practical Philosophy Research Group/Centre of Philosophy of the University of Lisbon with a research project on the ambiguity of Hegel's legacy in contemporary Philosophy from the standpoints of class (Marx, Kojève), gender (Beauvoir) and race (Fanon). She is also an Associate Researcher at Cebap (Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning) and JUSTLA (Justice in the XXI Century: A Perspective from Latin America), and Adjunct Editor of *Dissonancia: Critical Theory Journal*.

Hugo Monteiro (Instituto Politécnico do Porto)

The Other Side of Robinson's Island. Vulnerability, care and interdependence in the critique of patriarchal citizenship

Both in the Critique of Political Economy as in Capital, Marx uses a word of his own invention to describe, with irony, the isolation of people in their productive functions (Marx, 1990). Marx's word comes from Daniel Defoe's well-known adventure novel and functions as a kind of caricature of the individual who lives his life and secures his livelihood in a supposedly isolated way. Marx uses the neologism 'robinsonade' to represent the fiction of the individual's - literally insular - return to a state of nature, which mirrors and naturalizes the architecture of a bourgeois order (Marx, 1957).

Critically revisiting Marx's words, Judith Butler (2020) adds to the individualism of this 'robinsonade' its supposed independence, made up of self-sufficiency and productive capacity. Even today, subjugated to this assumption, people are, in Robinson's image, "alone on an Island, providing for their own sustenance, living without dependence on others" (27). On Robinson's island, vulnerability doesn't exist.

In an attempt to recognise the ongoing presence of small and large robinsonades, this communication aims, based on Butler (2006, 2009, 2020), to place vulnerability and interdependence as the driving forces behind a social and political counter-narrative, whose emancipatory support encompasses all the struggles in the sphere of anti-capitalist feminism. Vulnerability and interdependence are crosscutting factors in the collectivisation of care, from which communities are rebuilt, and the classic (regulatory, dominant, exclusionary and hetero-patriarchal) concept of citizenship is critically revisited.

Bio: **Hugo Monteiro** is a Professor at the Porto Polytechnic School of Education. He has a PhD in Philosophy, specialising in Contemporary Philosophy. He is a researcher at the Philosophy Institute of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto and a collaborating researcher at INED - Centre for Research and Innovation in Education. His research mainly covers the areas of Deconstruction, Thought and Critical Theory of Education.

Klára Soukupová (Charles University - Prague, Czech Republic)

From resources to comrades: re-thinking human-animal labour relations

In times of impending climate catastrophe, rising fascism and global capitalism that benefits from our separation and individualisation, it is time to search for new forms of alliances. A Marxist-feminist perspective provides the basis for linking different human labour movements and developing mutual solidarities. However, under the umbrella of the oppressive system, there are not only humans, but also other more-than-human actors with their own needs and interests. Namely, animals have been part of the production process since the beginning of human society (Hribal, 2003). Yet they are systematically stripped of their status as workers and seen as mere resources of production. Their othering prevents the conditions for building solidarity and finding common interests, while their exploitation is one of the leading engines of the destruction of the planet. It is time to ask what role does animal labour play in the capitalist economy, and what

consequences would it bring for capitalism if we would establish it as labour, which should be appropriately valued and waged. What alliances (Latour, Schultz, 2022; Kafer, 2013) can be built if we view animals as working (comrades), not worked-upon (resources)?

Building on Nancy Fraser's framework of exploited, expropriated, and domesticated labour, I propose that animal labour constitutes an additional fourth "face of capitalist labor" (Fraser, 2022) that is inherently connected with the others. At the moment, the work of farmed animals alone accounts for \$1.61-3.3 trillion globally (2018) – counting only market value, not even considering the non-market one. For this reason, I will examine the connection between the animal labour and human expropriated labour in slaughterhouses. Human workers in these environments often face extreme precarity, with many being refugees working for less than minimum wage. Their employment, whether it is working below the minimum wage or forced labour fulfil Fraser's attributes of expropriated labour. Meanwhile, animal workers in slaughterhouses work under total biopolitical domination, where every aspect of their bodily existence is standardized and manipulated for maximum productivity. Unlike human workers, whose wages at least allow for some reproduction of their labour capacity, animals are valued even less – the aim is to shorten their lives and extract as much value from their bodies as possible (Wadiwel, 2018). Their labour thus generates enormous surplus value, extracted under extreme conditions of exploitation, to fuel capital accumulation. By acknowledging shared oppression and interest of those workers in resisting exploitative conditions, I will try to rethink the potential for multispecies alliances.

In my contribution I will therefore present a theoretical multispecies-intersectional analysis of labour. In doing so, I will focus on a class analysis of animal labour and its intersections with expropriated human labour in slaughterhouses. Based on this intersection, I will focus on their common interest and ask how a multispecies labour movement might come into existence.

Bio: **Klára Soukupová** is currently doing a Masters in Gender studies at the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague. Her diploma research is focused on a class analysis of animal labour and its intersections with (human) exploited, expropriated and domesticated labours under capitalism (Fraser, 2022). Other than that, she is analysing more-than-human relations and interspecies intersectional resistant politics as a fellow in a research project ResisTerra: Researching Resistant Politics across More-Than-Human Worlds.

Nena Pawletko (Central-European University in Vienna, Austria), **Zofia Zatorska** (TU Berlin, Germany)

Dwelling after Family

Since 2015 we have seen a growing interest in family abolition among scholars associated with trans- and marxist feminism (most notably: M.E. O'Brien, S. Lewis, J.J. Gleeson, K. Weeks, A. Gotby, and others). They follow the historical trajectories of the postulate, locate its place among broader progressive thought and propose alternative visions of communal life.

We will try to contribute to those debates by engaging in a utopian feminist speculation: we will assume that the revolution happened and we live in a communist, post-familial society. Such new forms of life (like any other) cannot exist without their connection to the material environment.

We believe that to take the family abolitionist framework one step further we should intervene with the architecture that already exists.

Once the revolution happens, we will not be able to build everything anew, the future forms of life by necessity will take place among the ruins of the previous order. Therefore it's pointless to engage in a phalanstere-like imaginaries when thinking about post-familial life.

We will bring together theory and material architectural practice by presenting a speculative vision of what a 50-year-old large panel system building in Warsaw, Poland might look like after the family abolition. Our intervention will be governed by principles taken from marxist feminist texts: communalization of reproductive labour, deprivatization of care and developing other than familial relations among humans and non-humans.

We will engage with the materiality of what already is to think of how it can contain a future radically different from the world as it is now.

Bios: **Zofia Zatorska** is an architect, graduated from Warsaw University of Technology, currently pursuing M.Sc. in Architecture Typology at TU Berlin. Since 2022 she has provided humanitarian aid to people on the move at the polish-belarusian border. She's writing a Master thesis on border resistance and destruction of political infrastructure. **Nena Pawletko** holds a B.A. in Philosophy from University of Warsaw. Since September 2025 she studies Critical Gender Studies at Central-European University in Vienna, Austria. Her research deals with trans feminism, feminist marxism, and affect theory. She wrote her B.A. thesis on family abolition and friendship. She's a volunteer providing humanitarian aid at the polish-belarusian border.

5d FACING THE LIBERAL FEMINISM TRAPS

Moderation: **Maria Leonor Figueiredo** (A Coletiva, Portugal)

Helena Grazyelle do Nascimento Oliveira, Lorena Amorelli Reinato, Ilana Lemos de Paiva
(Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil)

Gender Political Violence Against Those Who Dared to Challenge the Structures

This work was constructed through the interweaving of historical and documentary recovery concerning the pioneering role of women from Rio Grande do Norte in the struggle and achievement of women's suffrage in Brazil, together with the accounts of parliamentarians elected to the Brazilian Federal Legislature from the state of Rio Grande do Norte between 1990 – the year of the first election after the 1988 Constitution – and 2018, the year of the election that made Jair Messias Bolsonaro, a defender of the dictatorship and torturers, president of the country. Gender-based political violence against those who dared to challenge the conservative status quo is a common thread linking the history of struggle of women from Rio Grande do Norte for political participation with the trajectories of those elected in the state to the Brazilian federal legislature. By historically recovering the pioneering nature of this suffragist struggle, it becomes evident that the agendas raised by women who did not belong to the wealthy classes and who questioned the conservative and unequal gender–class structures were severely attacked. In some literary accounts, these women were described as belonging to a form of “illbehaved feminism.” This dynamic persists to the present day: even with the guarantee of women's suffrage and the

presence of women in political spaces of power, gender-based political violence continues to be exercised by those who seek to defend the misogynistic, classist, and unequal structure that underpins the political system of capitalist society. The conservative movement has appropriated the discourse of promoting more women in politics and has used this legitimate demand to occupy spaces previously taken by bodies that challenge normative logic, advocating that the women who occupy these positions express themselves within limits that do not challenge the system's logic and that they uphold an anti-feminist discourse. Even with the increase in the number of women elected to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and Senate, the last election resulted in the most conservative composition since 1964 – the year of the military coup in the country. The accounts of the interviewees – nine in total – showed that all of them were targets of some form of gender-based political violence, although with varying degrees of intensity. Those who positioned themselves against hegemonic structures and were more closely identified with the left were subjected to a more explicit and aggressive form of political violence. Therefore, analyzing gender-based political violence from a Marxist feminist perspective is essential to identify the specificities of this form of violence, shedding light on who the targeted women are, demanding the effective guarantee of their political rights and the full exercise of their mandates, so that we may advance in confronting the patriarchal gender structures that dominate, exploit, and expropriate women in liberal capitalist society.

Bios: **Helena Oliveira** is a PhD candidate in Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), holds a Master's and a Bachelor's degree in Psychology from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN) and is a researcher at the Observatory of Children and Youth in Contexts of Violence (OBIJUV-UFRN), focusing on the themes of violence, gender, politics, and democracy. **Lorena Amorelli Reinato** is a PhD candidate in Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), holds a Master's and a Bachelor's degree in Psychology from the Federal University of Goiás (UFG) and is a researcher at the Observatory of Children and Youth in Contexts of Violence (OBIJUV-UFRN) and the Research Group on Marxism and Education (GPME-UFRN), focusing on the themes of violence, gender, social movements, and reproductive justice. **Ilana Lemos de Paiva** is a PhD in Social Psychology from the integrated graduate program of UFRN/UFPB, holds a Master's degree in Psychology from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN) and is Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte and in the Graduate Program in Psychology at UFRN. Ilana is also Coordinator of the Observatory of Children and Youth in Contexts of Violence (OBIJUV/UFRN) and Associate researcher at the Research Group on Marxism and Education (GPME/UFRN).

Ludovica Berlingieri (University of Genoa, Italy)

Intersectionality and the law: a chance to go beyond liberal rights framework

My submission grows from a re-formulation of famous Audre Lorde's quote: "Could the master's tool dismantle the master's house?". My goal is to find – possibly together – a way in which the law could be seen as a liberation tool rather than an exclusively oppressive one (Gramsci, 1977).

If intersectionality was used in the legal context (e.g. EU law), it could oppose to individual liberalism which forces policy-makers and legal professionals to consider discrimination grounds as rigid, causing the cancellation of valuable experiences.

A such built body of law produces relevant distortions:

- because it is imbued with individual liberalism, it therefore reproduces a capitalistic structure (Marx; Engels, 1948). This is clear when we analyze how EU anti-discrimination directives are built and written: they perpetuate a hierarchy both from a personal and material scope of protection point of view (Howard, 2018; Barry, 2003; Bello, 2015);
- we must realize that many people suffer discrimination for a number of reasons which cannot always be traced back to a single ground. Crenshaw's illuminating work was aimed at enlightening such distortions when she wrote "providing legal relief when Black women show that their claims are based on race or on sex in analogous to calling an ambulance for the victim only after the driver responsible for the injuries is identified" (Crenshaw, 1989).

A consistent application of intersectionality by judges and policy-makers could effectively avoid the aforementioned distortions without necessarily changing legal norms and rethinking antidiscrimination provisions as a whole. This can lead to a positive change towards a more socially just conception of discrimination grounds (Collins; Bilge 2016) and eventually towards a decolonised legal approach.

Acknowledging the exerted oppression by the law and legal institutions might also help us finding a space for resistance and for radical change with the means we are given at present.

Bibliography:

Barry, E. (2003). Different Hierarchies – Enforcing Equality Law. In Costello, C., Barry, E. (Curator). Equality in Diversity: The New Equality Directives. Irish Centre for European Law/Equality Authority Dublin.

Bello, B., G. (2015). Diritto e genere visti dal margine: spunti per un dibattito sull'approccio intersezionale al diritto antidiscriminatorio in Italia, *Diritto e Questioni Pubbliche*, 15 (2), p. 140171.

Collins, P. H., Bilge, S. (2016). Intersectionality. Polity Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics, *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 140, 139-167.

Engels, F., & Marx, K. (2015). The communist manifesto. Penguin Classics.

Gramsci, A. (1977) Quaderni del carcere, Gerratana, V. (Curator), Einaudi.

Howard, E. (2018). EU anti-discrimination law: Has the CJEU stopped moving forward?

International Journal of Discrimination and the Law, 18 (2-3), 60-81.

Bio: Ludovica Berlingieri is a PhD Candidate in Political Science and International Studies (Political Thought, Society and Law) at University of Genoa, Italy. She graduated in Law, European and Transnational Studies at University of Trento in March 2024 with a thesis on "Intersectionality in anti-discrimination law: a heuristic device towards substantial equality". She has been working in a small legal firm in Genoa for the past 6 months and I have now been granted a PhD fund from the University of Genoa. Her research should focus on intersectionality as critical theory and praxis, trying to integrate both legal arguments and sociological ones (e.g. focus on social movements, critical theories...).

Victòria Belda Valer (Universitat de València, Spanish State)

A new political economy critique: thinking capitalism with Silvia Federici and Leopoldina Fortunati

En estos tiempos de derivas reaccionarias, el feminismo marxista deviene una necesidad teórico-práctica para analizar y transformar la realidad social. Sin embargo, solo puede llevar a cabo esta tarea si se entiende no como un corpus teórico cerrado y estático, sino como lo contrario: un pensamiento en construcción constante. Debe ser así porque (1) es esta característica lo que le permite su capacidad de disidencia abstracta y concreta, y también (2) porque esto significa seguir el legado de tantas pensadoras que han contribuido a su avance.

Dicho repensar pasa, entre otras muchos asuntos, por atender a la crítica hacia Marx que Silvia Federici y Leopoldina Fortunati elaboran poniendo el foco en la reproducción de la fuerza de trabajo (Federici 2018, Fortunati 2019). Nuestra propuesta entiende que este trabajo ha configurado el camino de ida, abriendo nuevos marcos teóricos para pensar las formas del capital. Ahora, sin embargo, debemos hacer el camino de vuelta: ver cómo queda la crítica de la economía política (CEP) a partir de la crítica feminista.

Dicho regreso a Marx viene motivado por la potencialidad política que presenta la CEP. Se trata de un aparato teórico fundamental para seguir pensando las teorías políticas anticapitalistas de nuestros días (Heinrich, 2008). Dada su capacidad, como apunta la Nueva Lectura de Marx, de evidenciar las relaciones sociales invertidas que se dan en el modo de producción capitalista, a través de formas de mistificación y fetichismo (Ramas 2018).

¿Dónde nos conduce este camino de vuelta? A la reelaboración de la CEP. Si bien las propuestas de Federici y Fortunati caminan hacia esta reelaboración, no encontramos trabajos que la efectúen de un modo sistemático partiendo de la mirada de la Nueva Lectura. No se trata, sin embargo, de una tarea sencilla, porque el diálogo entre las críticas presenta diferentes tensiones que parecen, a priori, insoslayables. Por un lado, el carácter irregular y cambiante de la jornada del trabajo doméstico, choca con la correlación que establece Marx entre explotación y jornada laboral estipulada por contrato (Marx 2018). Por otro, la alianza que advierten estas autoras entre patriarcado y capitalismo (Federici 2018), se topa con el carácter de abstracción de las categorías que componen la CEP.

Nuestra tesis parte de este proyecto ambicioso de reelaboración, pero con una propuesta concreta: la reformulación de la noción de mistificación capitalista en términos de género. Esto es, esta forma desquiciada (Ramas 2018) que genera el capital tiene un carácter de género que le permite operar en la sociedad. Más concretamente, se trata de ver como la división sexual del trabajo, en general, y la invisibilización del trabajo doméstico, en particular, son formas de mistificación que se concretan a través del género.

Referencias:

- Federici, S., Patriarcado del salario, Madrid, Traficantes de sueños, 2018
- Fortunati, L., El arcano de la reproducción. Amas de casa, prostitutas, obreros y capital, Madrid, Traficantes de sueños, 2019
- Heinrich, M., Crítica de la economía política. Una introducción a El Capital de Marx, Madrid, Escolar y Mayo, 2008
- Marx, K., El capital. Libro I. Traducción y edición de Pedro Scaron, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2008
- Ramas San Miguel, C., Fetiche y mistificación capitalistas. La crítica de la economía política en Marx, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2018.

Bio: **Victòria Belda Valera** es investigadora predoctoral dentro del grupo de investigación *Historia conceptual y crítica de la modernidad* (GIUV2013-037) del departamento de filosofía Universitat de València.

5e OUR LIVES ARE NOT BATTLEFIELDS

Moderation: **Ana Vasquez** (Feminismos Sobre Rodas, Bloco de Esquerda, Portugal)

Marina Iaroslavtseva (Justus Liebig University Giessen, Germany)

The Art of Violence: Contemporary Russian Cinema as a Mirror of the Authoritarian Regime

Contemporary Russian cinema has critically conceptualized recent political transformations in Russia. My research tests the hypothesis that Russian filmmakers have started producing new discourses about domestic violence and its intersection with autocratic socio-cultural policies. These cinematic narratives make visible problems silenced in the public sphere, highlighting violence as a structural issue rooted deeply in state practices.

Drawing upon Marxist-Feminist scholarship and decolonial theories of power, particularly Françoise Vergès's (2022) work on state normalization of violence and Michel Foucault's (1991) notion of biopolitical supervision, I argue that contemporary Russian cinematic discourse critiques the state's colonization and control of bodies, sexuality, and identity through structural violence. Through multimodal discourse analysis, and following Denis Saltykov's (2020) perspective on onscreen violence as communicative strategy, this research examines whether contemporary Russian cinema serves as resistance—challenging state-imposed patriarchal and colonial violence—or reinforces dominant narratives, thereby perpetuating marginalization. By doing so, this study contributes to Marxist-Feminist debates on how visual culture can either reproduce or contest autocratic regimes' violent appropriations of bodies and identities.

Bio: **Marina Iaroslavtseva** is an early career researcher in contemporary cultural studies, currently pursuing her PhD at Justus Liebig University in Giessen, Germany. With a strong background in political theory (MA in political science from the University of Manchester), her research investigates the intersection of cinematic representations of domestic violence and authoritarian narratives in modern culture.

Marina Vinnik (Bauhaus University Weimar, Germany)

Limits of solidarity: feminist networks of the post-Soviet space in the times of war

I am a Germany-based feminist researcher originally from the Russian Federation. Throughout my career, I have worked extensively within Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian contexts, and at times with Georgian, Kazakh, and Armenian ones. Before 2022, there existed a robust network of feminist initiatives across these regions (see: Bolotian, Plutitskaia, & Vinnik, 2015). One such initiative was the Goethe Institute's project *Metamorphoses* (2019), which brought together

Ukrainian, Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and German feminists. However, the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022 fractured artistic and activist communities. Cross-national collaborations—such as those spanning Kyiv, Moscow, and Berlin—became impossible (Vinnik, 2022). During 2022 and 2023, I engaged in numerous initiatives as an academic, artist, and activist in Germany, supporting colleagues affected by the war (see: Libet, Raßman, & Vinnik, 2024). I witnessed firsthand the collapse of feminist networks and solidarity structures—not only between Russian and Ukrainian colleagues, but also within previously cohesive groups now divided by migration and political rupture. Few collaborations have survived this fragmentation.

For the 6th International Marxist-Feminist Conference 2025: Decolonise Bodies, Territories and Practices, I propose a reflection on feminist solidarity in wartime and how "nationality" complicates feminist alliances. Drawing on Katy Deepwell's argument that "it is necessary to recognise different approaches to feminist ideas in different nation-states around the world," I explore how feminist projects are shaped by national and historical specificities. Deepwell suggests that this recognition does not imply aligning feminism with nationalism, but rather acknowledging that perceptions of what is at stake for feminism vary across contexts and emerge from distinct historical conditions (Deepwell, 1997). Taking this position, I aim to explore how feminist forms of solidarity or collective identity might be preserved in the face of war. This presentation will contribute to the conference clusters "Decolonising Practices," particularly "Limits of Liberal Feminism," and "Decolonising Territories," with a focus on "Feminism as Anti-Militarist Practice."

- Libet, Svitlana, Kristina Raßman, and Marina Vinnik "Berührungsräume - Ukrainische und Leipziger Künstlerinnen im Dialog", Stadt Leipzig, Referat Internationale Zusammenarbeit, 2024, ISBN 978-3-00-078493-4
- Vinnik, Marina "Pointing Fingers: Russian Artists in Times of War" CAH, University of Warsaw, 2022, <http://cah.wnks.uw.edu.pl/pointing-fingers-russian-artists-in-times-of-war/>
- Bolotian, Imira, Mika Plutitskaia and Marina Vinnik. I-iskusstvo, F-feminism [A-Art, F- Feminism], Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Moscow, 2015
- Deepwell, Katy. "Questioning stereotypes of feminism in the visual arts", n.paradoxa, online, issue 2. (1997): 55-62

Bio: Dr. **Marina Vinnik** is a feminist activist, Videoartist, Researcher. Her PhD thesis: Reimagining the Canon: Women Artists in the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and the Russian Federation. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher at Bauhaus University Weimar, Germany
ORCID: 0000-0001-8338-7586
<https://www.linkedin.com/in/marina-vinnik-a2ba45298/>
<https://www.instagram.com/maryna.vinnik/>

Sudha Rawat (Jawaharlal Nehru University, India)

Tamil Women's Bodies as a Site of War: Sexual Violence, Ethnic Cleansing, and the Sri Lankan Civil War

This paper is based on fieldwork conducted with Sri Lankan Tamil refugees residing in Tamil rehabilitation camps in Tamil Nadu, India, as part of my doctoral research. It examines how sexual violence against Tamil women was instrumentalised as a tool of ethnic cleansing during phases of

the Sri Lankan war. The war was not merely an armed conflict but also a war on Tamil bodies, identity and territory. Tamil women and girls, in particular, became primary targets of sexual violence, including rape, as a means of exerting control over Tamil communities, and asserting dominance over contested region. Despite the state's denial, extensive reports from international and local human rights organisations, survivors' testimonies and local advocacy groups, along with collected narratives from fieldwork—highlighted that rape was not just a byproduct of war but a premeditated weapon to terrorise subjugate and erase the Tamil population from their homeland. Using the feminist political geographers and Marxist feminist framework, this study explores how women's bodies became an extension of the battleground, where control over territory was asserted through bodily violation and subjugation of female bodies. Drawing from the works of Tamar Mayer, Cynthia Enloe, Silvia Federici and Maria Mies, it conceptualises that militarised sexual violence operates as a method of power and control, designed not only to punish but to alter the very structure of ethnic communities

Drawing on narratives gathered from various interviews during fieldwork, the paper argues that by violating the bodies of Tamil women, the Sri Lankan state sought to dismantle the community's bond, weaken resistance, and assert territorial dominance in the Tamil-majority region. Additionally, it highlights that gendered nature of war, demonstrating how rape functions not only as an individual act of dominance but also as a collective strategy for ethnic control. During the Sri Lankan war, sexual violence was more than just a means of physical harm; it served as a form of territorial conquest, political subjugation, and demographic restriction. By exploring this issue, the paper contributes to critical discussions on militarized violence, ethnic conflict, and the role of gendered oppression in shaping post-war realities.

Key words: Sexual violence, ethnic cleansing, Sri Lankan war, Tamil women, feminist political geography, Marxist feminism, wartime rape.

Bio: Dr. **Sudha Rawat** is a feminist political geographer specialising in gender-based violence during wartime. She earned her Ph.D. from Jawaharlal Nehru University with a dissertation titled “Honour, Shame, and Body as a Site of Conflict: Tamil Women in the Sri Lankan Civil War.” Her research critically examines sexual violence against Tamil women during the Sri Lankan Civil War, exploring the intersections of gender, conflict, and displacement. Dr. Rawat has published and presented on gendered violence in conflict zones. Her recent works include ‘Women, Violence, and Encampment: Understanding Gender-Based Violence against Rohingya Women in Refugee Camps’ in book Routledge Handbook of Feminism and International Relations (forthcoming, 2025) and ‘Nation, Language, and Violence during the Sri Lankan Civil War: Voices and Narratives of the Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees in India’ in book Contemporary Armed Conflicts: Challenges to International Humanitarian and Refugee Law (2024). Her research contributes to Feminist Political Geography, International Humanitarian Law, Feminist IR, Migration and Refugee crisis, Wartime sexual violence, with focus on how violence, displacement and war shape gendered experiences.

Carolina Caccetta (University of Bari “Aldo Moro”, Italy/Université Paris 8, France)

Invisible Labor and Institutional Violence: A Feminist Materialist Analysis of Mothers of Children Diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder in Southern Italy

The lenses of feminist materialism refine the historical materialist method beyond Marx's blind spot, making visible the invisibility of reproductive labor—unpaid and systematically exploited for the benefit of the capitalist system. The domestic mode of production intersects with the capitalist mode of production, and the delineation of a General Theory of Exploitation (Christine Delphy, 2015) provides a framework for understanding how multiple material conditions of existence perpetuate exploitation regimes. This paper adopts a feminist materialist approach to analyze structural social relations of domination (Danièle Kergoat, 2017), focusing on the domestic mode of production (Christine Delphy, 1970). It examines the invisible labor performed by mothers of children diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder, who act as unrecognized and unpaid co-therapists. Invisibility, gratuity, and immediacy define the emotional, educational, caregiving, and economic burdens these mothers bear (Isabelle Courcy and Catherine des Rivières-Pigeon, 2013). This study specifically focuses on Southern Italy, a region historically marked by dispossession and inadequate state welfare resources. The stark economic disparity—where the poverty rate in 2023 stood at 9.9% in Northern Italy compared to a 33.7% in the South—exacerbates these structural inequalities. The intersection of non-recognition and the lack of institutional support creates a hidden form of institutional violence. These dynamics exacerbate ongoing exploitation and bodily appropriation, manifesting as structural violence. Within the framework of a General Theory of Exploitation, this intersection of labor exploitation, territorial inequality, and disability demands transformative justice approaches to address systemic harm in favor of radical, intersectional responses to institutional violence.

Bio: **Carolina Caccetta**, is PhD candidate in Gender Studies at the University of Bari. She is pursuing my PhD under a co-tutelle agreement with Paris 8 University. Her research explores French materialist feminism through a historical-philosophical approach, comparing Italy, France, and Latin America in the 1970s–1980s. She analyzes feminist theories, political contexts, and their transnational impact on contemporary debates.

WORKSHOP - *El fanzine feminista como prensa de combate, material militante y de formación política*

Amada Vollbert (Instituto de Investigaciones Sociológicas de la Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca (UABJO), Mexico) **Selene Aldana** (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico)

Proponemos facilitar un taller para la realización de fanzines combativos como materiales militantes y de formación política. Se trabajará con los fanzines *Las marxistas recargadas* (2023) y *Las magonistas revoluciones* (en prensa) de autoría de las talleristas y editados por la Fundación Rosa Luxemburgo, México. El taller se construye en tres momentos. Primero, revisaremos un poco de lo que ha significado históricamente la tradición fanzinera para los movimientos contra hegemónicos —como el feminismo, los movimientos antifascistas, antirracistas, anarquistas y cuir— a través de la exploración de una fanzinoteca que será proporcionada por las facilitadoras. Como segundo momento, realizaremos el ejercicio juntanzas y compartencias, como estrategia

metodológica que nos ayuda a reconocer la potencia política de los momentos cotidianos en los que como morras, mujeres y disidencias nos juntamos a compartir nuestros intereses y problemáticas, esto como paso fundamental para realizar fanzines que respondan a las necesidades de nuestras comunidades. A partir de este ejercicio y el reconocimiento de nuestras problemáticas comunes, pero también de nuestras diferencias, cada una/une podrá realizar un primer boceto de fanzine a través de la exploración de distintos materiales y formas de presentación de este dispositivo de lucha.

Duración: 2.5 horas. (150 min.)

Cupo max: 15 personas.

Requerimientos y materiales: Salón (no auditorio), 3 mesas de trabajo, 2 metros de papel kraft, hojas de colores tamaño carta, plumones, acuarelas, pinturas acrílicas, glitter y crayolas de colores. Cinta azul, pritts, pinceles, tijeras y resistol blanco. Revistas viejas para recortar.

Carta descriptiva del taller

Tiempo	Actividad	Descripción de la actividad
0 min – 20 min	Bienvenida y ritual de apertura	Disponer en el espacio diferentes materiales, objetos, flores, y otros elementos para que las/los participantes, construyan de manera colectiva una ofrenda. Cada una se presenta y dice que cosa ofrenda el día de hoy, puede ser un objeto o una emoción.
20 min. – 30 min.	Presentación del proyecto	Haremos una breve introducción al proyecto y repartiremos los fanzines de las marxistas y las magonistas para que los conozcan.
30 min. – 50 min.	El fanzine como dispositivo político	Primer momento Introducción a la historia de los fanzines como publicaciones independientes y de formación política.
		Segundo momento Exploración de fanzinoteca proporcionada por las talleristas.
50 min. – 95 min	¿De qué quiero hacer mi fanzine? Metodología: Juntanzas y compartencias	Para saber de qué queremos hacer un fanzine puede ayudarnos el preguntarnos <i>¿Cuáles son nuestras juntanzas y compartencias cotidianas?</i> Porque en esos espacios de encuentro cotidiano con las otras/otres, podemos observar las necesidades de nuestras comunidades.
95 min. – 140 min	Traza tu boceto de fanzine.	Una vez identificado de qué nos gustaría hablar en nuestros fanzines se repartirán materiales para que cada una pueda trazar un boceto de su creación.

140 min. – 150 min.	Cierre	Compartencia de reflexiones y agradecimiento.
------------------------	--------	---

Bios: **Selene Aldana Santana** es maestra de Sociología y Trabajo Social en la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. (UNAM. **Amada Vollbert Romero** es maestra de Estética y Epistemología en la Universidad Vasconcelos de Oaxaca e maestrante en el Instituto de Investigaciones Sociológicas de la Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca (UABJO)

14.30 – 16.00

CLOSING PLENARY

with **Heidi Ambrosch** (transform! europe), **Maria Manuel Rola** (Cultra), **Sandra Cunha** (Scientific Committee 2025), **Angelina Giannopoulou** (2027 MarxFem Committee, transform! europe)