

OTHER FEMININ

So-called anti-gender politics, characterized by discriminatory, misogynist, homo- and transphobic, and exclusionary languages, regulations, and practices, is on the rise globally. But so are feminist movements and discourses that exceed merely demanding equality by proposing profound structural transformations and political strategies. These feminist movements and discourses mainly originate in the so-called Global South, but their impact is felt worldwide.

Along with the current rise of far-right governments and fascist movements and the normalization of racist and exclusionary discourses, we are seeing greater restrictions on reproductive rights and a significant increase in femicide and trans- and homophobia worldwide. Politicians now shamelessly glorify the patriarchal family and cis-heteronormativity, and adopt moral and religious rhetoric to normalize violence against women and gender dissidents in the name of protecting society.

One can rightfully ask why anti-gender politics plays such a strategic role in mobilizing the masses in the 21st century, whether in liberal democracies or dictatorial regimes. Some argue that the crisis of masculinity – referring to the emotional and political impacts of society's inability to maintain traditional gender roles, norms, and desires – is not only driving anti-gender politics, but is also a contributing factor to the growth of the far-right more broadly. While the crisis of masculinity can partly explain the affective and cultural prevalence of anti-gender beliefs and practices, it is certainly not sufficient to fully comprehend the political factors driving the worldwide growth of anti-gender and other reactionary politics. In fact, the idea of a resurgence of masculinity has always been a critical factor in fascist and conservative politics. We therefore need to look further afield to explain the key role that anti-gender politics play in contemporary right-wing populist movements.

The crisis of crisis management

Indeed, the crisis of masculinity and its consequences should be understood as a part of a larger societal crisis, which from a feminist perspective is referred to as “the crisis of social reproduction”. This crisis arises when neoliberal governance fails to reproduce itself and overcome structural challenges through consensual politics. The current global authoritarian shift in governance is a response to the crisis of crisis management. It deploys necropolitical forces, new surveillance technologies, disciplinary mechanisms, and coercive state apparatuses in order to restore social order and govern the ungovernable. The new authoritarian shift has resulted in a surge of multifaceted violence against individuals, populations, and territories. Recent anti-gender movements can be viewed

ISMS A SUBVERSIVE GIFT TO THE WORLD¹

Firoozeh
Farvardin

as a reactionary response to the crisis of social reproduction. By enforcing certain gender norms and practices, these movements aim not only to discipline gendered (and racialized) labour forces, but also to reinforce boundaries between public and private, production and reproduction, collective and individual, nature and culture. They seek to overcome the failures in the governance of social reproduction and restore social order.

Yet authoritarian neoliberal governance has met with increasing resistance and opposition. Large-scale movements and significant voices have emerged over the past decade that strive to defend or reclaim the autonomy of non-normatively gendered bodies. This handbook covers many of these movements and voices. They not only demand equal rights and bodily autonomy, but also seek structural transformation. From the bedroom to the state, they challenge the status quo. These movements represent a growing trend towards the feminization of emancipatory politics, emerging in various geographies of marginalization and on different scales.

The emergence of other feminisms

From feminist mass protests in Latin America against femicide, revolutionary uprisings in Rojava and Iran against state violence, to LGBTIQ+ movements in Turkey and Eastern European countries, women's strikes are burgeoning across the world, and with them, an increase in the active participation of women and gender dissidents in trade union and political organizations, opening new horizons in feminist politics. These emergent feminisms have also brought renewed attention to issues such as care work, gendered pay gaps, and the limitations of neoliberal feminism, gender equality discourses, and identity politics. The many feminist contributions in this handbook are evidence of the feminization of emancipatory politics, and the growing popularity and importance of feminist politics in anti-authoritarian and anti-fascist struggles. How can we think these simultaneous and interwoven movements in their diversity, while at the same time considering what they have in common? And how do these movements undertake this task?

In this article, I contend that there is a plurality of new feminisms emerging, all of which make diverse but valuable contributions to emancipatory movements as a whole. These movements and intellectual interventions are rooted locally, but maintain strong connections with feminist struggles worldwide. These connections, on the one hand, encompass knowledges, strategies, and discursive elements – the conception of the body-territory as a political framework for combatting femicide and colonization, which has travelled from Abya Yala to other regions, or the reappropriation of the “Jin, Jiyan, Azadî” (Woman, Life, Freedom) slogan by feminist movements in the Middle East beyond

Kurdistan, or various performative protests around the world inspired by the LASTESIS performance “Un violador en tu camino” (see below). On the other hand, the emerging feminisms are also connected via concrete collaborations and coordination, as we saw play out in the case of the International Women’s Strikes in 2017 and 2018.

These new feminisms, while drawing inspiration and ideas from previous waves of feminism, can be seen neither as a continuation of these waves nor as constituting an entirely new wave in their own right, since their diverse approaches and practices resist any homogenous categorization. Feminist struggles have continued to evolve and take on various forms across the world, just as neoliberal capitalism has done. Along the way, these struggles have undergone variations and mutations in terms of their intellectual and political projects, strategies, and tactics for grassroots resistance, as well as in their visions for the future.

Therefore, I refer to these emerging trends of feminism as “*other feminisms*”. The term not only highlights their differences and similarities from previous feminisms, it also recognizes that these novel forms mainly originate from marginalized populations and territories. At the same time, *other feminisms* do have certain transnational elements in common, some of which have been acknowledged and debated in the works of transnational feminist theorists. In what follows, I shed light on the profound significance of the rise of *other feminisms* during the past decade while summarizing some of these key commonalities in light of the contributions in this book.

Violence as the point of departure

The nationwide protest in India after the brutal gang rape and murder of 23-year-old Jyoti Singh Pandey in Delhi in December 2012; the mass mobilization and street protests initiated following the femicide of 14-year-old Chiara Paez which gave birth to the “Ni Una Menos” movement in Argentina and other Latin American territories; Kurdish women’s armed resistance against massacre and mass sexual assault and rape committed by different military forces in Western Kurdistan (Rojava) and Syria, including ISIS, the forces of the Assad Regime, and those of the Turkish state; the protests against sexual assaults and rape culture at Rhodes University in South Africa in 2016; the demonstrations following the 2018 assassination of Marielle Franco, a black queer feminist activist, which included performative acts of renaming public places after her;² the Tal’at movement in Palestine against both occupation and patriarchal violence which sprung up after the killing of Israa Ghrayeb, a 21-year-old Palestinian woman from Bethlehem; the “Falgatna” movement against sexual violence in Tunisia; the 2022 revolutionary uprising in Iran following the murder of a Kurdish woman, Jina (Mahsa) Amini, by the morality police of the Islamic Republic;³ massive protests of women and gender dissidents in Poland in 2020 and 2021 against the new restrictive abortion laws (Strajk Kobiet protests⁴) – these are a few recent examples of the power of movements against gender-based violence to organize and create bridges connecting different forms of discontent and discrimination, and to defy authoritarianism.

Other feminisms have emerged out of the struggles against violence in its multifaceted forms, which has necessarily involved a theorization of violence’s multiple meanings and practices. Indeed, it can be argued that the rise of *other feminisms* corresponds to the global trend towards authoritarianism, which utilizes increasingly complex and interwoven

coercive and necropolitical mechanisms that propagate new forms of violence. In this sense, unlike the previous feminisms, even those with intersectional approaches, *other* feminisms concentrate not only on violence against gendered and racialized bodies, but also on economic and ecological violence. All of these necropolitical mechanisms are part of a strategy to advance authoritarian rule and further the exploitation of target populations. These varied forms of violence tend to target women and gender dissidents as their primary site of operation. This explains why forms of gender and sexual violence, such as femicide or violations of the rights of feminized bodies, have often served as trigger events for the recent mass movements across the globe that primarily mobilize women and gender dissidents.

Other feminisms confront issues such as domestic violence, public assaults, the policing of feminized bodies, femicide, and state violence against women, queer and trans people. They also implicitly or explicitly address the structural, institutional, and epistemic violence stemming from colonial and capitalist relations of exploitation and extraction. Many of them also involve struggles against the institutional violence of police and the incarceration and criminalization of subversive bodies, indigenous populations, and migrants.

Movements for reclaiming life

**"My desire
Live the life that
I choose"⁵**

March 2020 marked a milestone for anti-authoritarian feminist struggles in Argentina when two women-led movements against the necropolitical forces perpetuating violence in the country met in Buenos Aires.⁶ The first movement, the "Madres de Plaza de Mayo" (Mothers of Plaza de Mayo), began under the military junta (1976-1982) and have remained active through to the present day. Wearing their distinctive white scarves, they protest injustice, demand the return of their disappeared children, seek the truth about their fate, and keep the memories of the victims of state violence alive. The second movement is a national women's movement that uses the green scarf as its symbol and fights for the legal, safe, and accessible right to abortion for all women. They aim to save lives from the gendered and sexual violence to which women are exposed due to the denial of their bodily and reproductive autonomy. Despite their differences in tactics and targeted populations, both movements address the same broader strategic issue of reclaiming life by preserving the memory of victims of violence and saving the social and biological lives of those subjected to sexual and gendered violence.

Of course, this is not the first time feminisms have addressed violence in its multifaceted forms. Indeed, many struggles against anti-gender politics across the globe had previously focused on how the various interlocking mechanisms of oppression and violence, originating in heteropatriarchy, the regime of nation states, colonialism, and capitalism, harm us both collectively and individually. However, the emerging movements in question here go beyond making this violence visible. Instead, their primary focus is on highlighting the ways in which everyday life and survival are dependent on the (social) death and continued violence experienced by "others" due to the prevailing necropolitical regimes and the ways in which they unevenly distribute life and death chances. In other words, *other* feminisms are opposed to the structural dependence on violence and the necropolitics that threaten the reproduction of life.

The historic meeting of the green and white scarves movements in Argentina connects the past and present struggles against authoritarianism in the country. It represents a new political understanding of the interdependence and interconnected destinies of various anti-systemic movements. This understanding goes beyond the specific demands of recognition or seeking justice for a particular group of people.

The struggle against necropolitical forces that threaten or destroy various forms of life, including generational, ecological, (non-)human, biological, social, and cultural life, is crucial in *other* feminisms. In this regard, the meaning of life goes beyond its mere biological conception and comes to signify an interconnected and multifaceted collective that serves as a foil to (social) death and the destruction inflicted by necropolitical forces. In this way, new transnational feminisms prioritize the meaning of life and setting an agenda for reclaiming, maintaining, and reproducing life. Eva von Redecker calls this new movement a “Revolution for Life”, which extends beyond feminist movements, although feminists play key roles in it. According to von Redecker, the revolution for life emphasizes the importance of reproductive labour and its connections to colonization.⁷

The emergent *other* feminisms also challenge the nature-culture divide, which emphasizes their overlap with climate movements, anti-colonial and anti-racist struggles, and anti-authoritarianism. The Kurdish women’s movement, embodied in the slogan of “Jin, Jiyan Azadî”, is a prominent example of putting life at the heart of the struggle against colonialism, extractivism, and the patriarchal regime of the nation-state.

Beyond equality: a call for transversal politics

“We want ourselves alive, free, and out of debt!”⁸

Standing against necropolitical forces and for reclaiming and regenerating life has the potential to connect and weave together different histories, multiple movements, and varied visions for the future. This ability or “*potencia*”, which transcends the framework of gender equality, constitutes another prominent common element of *other* feminisms – “transversality”. Transversality in these new gender movements, as Verónica Gago⁹ elaborates, involves making alliances while recognizing and actually celebrating differences among the political forces fighting for justice, equality, autonomy, and liberty on different fronts.

Feminized bodies are often the strategic target of violence, resulting in excessive extraction and exploitation, particularly in marginalized and colonized spaces. Around the world, these bodies continue to perform the majority of social-reproductive labour. At the same time, as noted, feminized bodies comprise the main oppositional forces and voices against necropolitical governance. Therefore, in these different arenas of struggle, they have the collective capacity and occupy key strategic roles that can bridge different forms of oppression and violence, and on that basis forge alliances among bodies and movements. In this sense, transversal feminist politics refers to the potentiality, within discourse production and activism, for *other* feminisms to organically connect different anti-systemic forces.

As an example, contemporary trans and queer feminist resistance in Turkey illustrates the potentiality of *other* feminisms to introduce a new multidimensional agenda for anti-authoritarian struggles beyond gender equality. Authoritarian neoliberalism in Turkey targets women and gender dissidents through neoliberal mechanisms of financialization,

hyper-securitization, and the precarization of their (reproductive) labour. This is intertwined with cis-heteropatriarchal, racist, and religious mechanisms of exclusion and oppression. Yet this has also meant that trans and queer feminists in Turkey have become a strong voice of resistance against the AKP regime. Their unique position and potentiality at the intersection of different forms of violence have enabled them to connect and mobilize against state violence, which includes gender violence, racism, nationalism, gentrification, privatization, ecological destruction, and extractivism.

Radicalizing the politics of everyday life

By bringing together a multiplicity of different conflicts and situations of injustice, each rooted in particular relationships of domination and exploitation, *other* feminisms have contributed to redefining the meaning and scope of politics. Rather than just focusing on structural and institutional domains of power, *other* feminisms have recognized the need to compose forces in various social, cultural, mental, and physical terrains that have the ability to affect and be affected. In new materialist terms, *other* feminisms have advocated the “micropolitics of everyday life”. This means that their politics acknowledge desires, feelings, and thoughts as much as the material outcomes and physical effects of domination and exploitation. *Other* feminisms have also expanded the scope of struggles and feminist interventions beyond institutional boundaries and the public sphere to include different aspects of social life, from the bedroom and the household to carceral institutions, from the state apparatus to the global financial sector.

Other feminisms stress the strategic connection between the gendered issues in everyday life and those more widely considered “political”, offering a new front of emancipatory politics. As an example, *other* feminisms have brought issues, such as domestic violence, femicide, and trans genocide in connection to the dispossession of land and ecocide, access to clean water and basic sanitary materials for women in conflict zones and among marginalized communities, and imposing mandatory hijab as a means of body policing, among other gendered themes, into the forefront of their agendas and visions for the future. As a result, in the Global South and North alike, we are witnessing the politicization of issues that were long considered marginal or local. Thanks to *other* feminist movements, these topics are now often addressed and taken seriously, even in mainstream political discussions and popular campaigns.

Thus, *other* feminisms challenge the boundary separating public from private, as well as that between the micro and macro scales of politics. Although the blurring of the boundaries of public and private is not new to feminism, it seems that *other* feminisms strategically radicalize the politics of everyday life and assert the importance of decentralizing and redefining the domain of politics and its main protagonists.

Redistribution, recognition, and reparation

Other feminisms and their aligned gender movements also challenge the division between the politics of recognition (of suppressed identities and bodies) and the politics of redistribution (of power, wealth, and strategic resources), which had been especially prevalent in the Global North.

In the past, feminist movements have primarily focused on either individual or collective efforts to achieve recognition and address gender inequality, or worked to achieve the redistribution of power resources while also fighting against class stratification and for economic equality.

Despite their divergences in terms of tactics and practices, *other* feminisms are committed to advocating for a revolution of life itself. For this reason, they see feminism as a political project rather than an identity, as Sylvia Walby argues.¹⁰ New feminisms have worked against the division between recognition and redistribution and offered forms of political engagements beyond this duality. The core agenda of *other* feminisms is to reclaim life beyond its mere biological meaning in the face of the necropolitical forces that cause (social) death and destruction.

Moreover, we can observe and identify elements of the politics of “reparation” in *other* feminisms, too.¹¹ *Other* feminisms seek to restore and repair not only the identities and lives of individuals but also those of entire communities and territories, to hold out hope for future generations, and to keep alive the memory of those lost. New gender movements strive to repair life for those sectors of the population that have been historically marginalized or excluded from society. To do so, these diverse movements employ different practices such as forming justice-seeking movements against gendered or sexual violence, using abolitionist tactics against carceral institutions and state policing, making demands for land reparation or restitution for indigenous communities such as those in America, Kurdistan, and Palestine, and forms of artistic intervention to restore and (de)construct memories of transgressive bodies and subaltern peoples.

Subversion: aesthetics of the feminist revolt

“To work with emotions is a subversive gift to the world. Subversion dipped in beauty is revolution.”¹²

On 27 December 2017, on a very crowded street called Revolution Street in Tehran, Iran, Vida Movahed stood on the utility box, tied her white headscarf to a stick, and waved it to the crowd as a flag. She was arrested immediately after this performance, but the video of her protest went viral. Coinciding with an ongoing uprising in protest against economic hardship and the corruption of the regime, the picture of Vida became symbolic of those protests, despite their various origins and motivations. A month later, other feminized bodies and even a few men started doing the same performance on the utility boxes in the same street. Later, in other streets and cities. Most of the protesters were beaten and arrested right after their performances. However, the individual performances eventually coalesced into a collective feminist movement known as the “Girls of the Revolution Street”.¹³

Other feminisms also offer something new in terms of how feminist subjectivities are practiced and performed. The wilful and subversive body, either individual or in various forms of assembly, is at the centre of the performative protests, artistic interventions, or theorizing that are key to *other* feminisms. *Other* feminisms are also popular, in that their protagonists, in most cases, are not politicians or other representative or spectacular figures, but by and large ordinary women and gender dissidents. In other words, anybody can be a figure of resistance by the sheer fact of using their body to perform their subjectivity. Ewa Majewska calls this kind of performance of subjectivity a form of “weak

resistance” which “presents itself as a new territory, as the unexpected reconstitution of the dark matter of the excluded suddenly presenting its agency on the stage of history”.¹⁴ *Other* feminist weak resistances are often decentred, situational, and performative/figurative practices of being/living otherwise everywhere, from beds to streets, carried out by anonymous subversive bodies. In this regard, subversion is a pivotal element of performing feminist subjectivity. That is why joy, in its collective form, is one of the essential forms of expression and assertion in *other* feminist struggles. Through joy and collective wilfulness, feminists manage to undo the oppressive, immiserating, and violent climate surrounding them.

BounSergi Collective, a group of queer activists at Boğaziçi University of Istanbul whose story is told in this book, organized their influential protests at the university through collective joy via art exhibitions, individual dance performances, raves, stand-up shows, and games.¹⁵ Other examples of collective subversive feminist actions which are described in this handbook include the “Antimonumentas” (anti-monuments) movement in Mexico¹⁶, a Russian feminist group undertaking various forms of sabotage against the pro-life anti-abortion movement in Russia,¹⁷ and LesStickers-teadores collective’s stickers in support of the LGBTIQ+ rights in Cuba.¹⁸

LASTESIS, a well-known intersectional and trans-inclusive feminist collective from Chile, has also garnered mass appeal and had significant impacts on feminist movements internationally, not least because of their message, which addresses widespread gendered and sexual violence, but also due to the creative form that it advocates, namely, using collective dance and joy to fight against violence. It is no coincidence that immediately after being performed for the first time, “un violador en tu camino” went viral globally and has been translated, contextualized, and performed in different contexts, from Tunis to New York, from Istanbul to Mexico City.

Alternative vision: a politics of care

**“To care is
to be creative,
to be willing
to imagine
otherwise”¹⁹**

While stressing the current conjuncture and historical trajectories, the focus on a micropolitics of everyday life does not imply that *other* feminisms have no transformative visions for the future. On the contrary, the movements and discourses that have emerged in recent decades are based on reclaiming and repairing life for the future. By caring for the future, they offer a pathway for transforming our current, disastrous form of (re)production. Indeed, “futurability”, as a horizon of possibility and alternative visions, is one of the main forces behind the new politics of care (for others) that *other* feminisms advocate.

Feminists have long theorized and practiced care as an autonomous survival strategy and a foundation for political organization that seeks to realize a world in which all people have an equal chance of living and thriving. The politics of care serves a dual purpose in *other* feminisms. Firstly, it creates new, independent spaces for recognizing, reproducing, and redistributing life while seeking to reclaim and repair existing spaces and institutions. Secondly, it involves using prefigurative actions in both theory and practice in various feminist movements and initiatives.²⁰ Prefigurative actions refer to social relations, political actions, and cultural interventions that model a desirable future society in the present moment.

Thus, the politics of care forms the backbone of various feminist initiatives and alternative spaces that endorse practices of being and living otherwise. In other words, (re)constructing autonomous realms of everyday life and carrying out prefigurative actions aimed at repairing life for the future are only possible through collective care and solidarity. The practices of abolitionist feminisms embody a radical understanding of the politics of care and solidarity.

Jinwar, an autonomous village exclusively for women and children in Rojava, northeastern Syria, for many became the symbol of liberation from both the regimes of patriarchy and of nation states. The village, which was officially inaugurated in 2018, aims to introduce itself as a role model for a possible future free from structures of oppression imposed on feminized bodies. Jinwar is one of the many initiatives and autonomous spaces in recent decades to have been founded by women and gender dissidents whose primary objective is collective survival in the face of the perils of the various systems of oppression.

The future is feminist

While it is not possible to fully explore or list the multifarious aspects of emerging feminisms, I hope to draw the reader's attention to their novel impact in mobilizing different populations and communities. *Other* feminisms continue to address issues related to the hetero-patriarchal system and to gendered and sexual violence, while simultaneously putting forward radical demands and pushing for structural changes beyond the framework of gender equality.

In the past decade, *other* feminisms have been the major force combatting hetero-patriarchy, neoliberal capitalism, racism, extractivism and colonialism, and authoritarianism, no matter how powerful these may seem. In recent years, many of the more successful mass mobilizations in occupying public spaces were either organized or significantly influenced by women and gender dissidents.

Additionally, *other* feminisms play a vital role in expanding the scope of political action by radicalizing everyday life as well as by uniting and connecting various social movements and frontiers of struggle. It is rare to find other political projects that take on environmental concerns, class struggles, indigenous rights to both their land and their bodies, abolitionist movements, gendered or sexual violence, and more, both in their transnational aspects and local contexts.

What unites all these diverse movements and discourses against oppressive power relations in our time is the desire to defend or rather to reclaim life. Life, in its broader and plural meaning, has the potential to mobilize those subjugated bodies that are responsible for the reproduction of life and are affected by the excessive exploitation and extraction of bodies, territories, and (non-)human resources.

Other feminisms also offer visions for possible futures by radically engaging with constructing the present and critically repairing the past(s). Indeed, there are many instances worldwide where *other* feminisms, in advocating the politics of care, offer concrete models for future-making via building autonomous reproductive spaces and other forms of prefigurative action.

Finally, *other* feminisms propose alternative ways of being and living through performative and symbolic forms of resistance. The aesthetics of *other* feminist movements differ from previous feminist movements in this way. While the body has always been the focus of

feminist interventions, for these *other* movements, the performance of subversion and wilfulness in various forms and expressions is the impetus that brings together a collection of anonymous feminized bodies.

If we consider all these different aspects of feminist struggles happening in our time, then it is not unrealistic to say if there is a future for our world, it could be feminist. Given the extent of destruction, inequality, and injustice that we face, new emerging popular feminisms have the potential to address the most urgent issues of our time and to suggest ways out of global misery and resurgent authoritarianism. Despite their differences, many of the contributions in this handbook provide evidence of a possible feminist future.

Endnotes

- 1 Inspired by LASTESIS, *Set Fear on Fire: The Feminist Call That Set the Americas Ablaze*, London: Verso Books, 2023.
- 2 See: Marielle Franco *Street Transcending Boundaries*, p. 102.
- 3 See: *Upheaval on the Cloud – Countering the Authoritarian Gaze in the Iranian Uprisings*, p. 296.
- 4 See: *The Art of Sustaining a Movement – Visual and Sonic Identity of the 2020/21 Strajk Kobiet Protests in Poland*, p. 108.
- 5 See: *Erasing Borders Around Our Skin – Painting an Image of Ourselves the Way We Want To Be Seen, Heard, Loved*, p. 194.
- 6 See: *Scarves for Women’s Struggles in Argentina*, p. 306.
- 7 Eva von Redecker, *Revolution für das Leben: Philosophie der neuen Protestformen*, Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 2020; also see her essay *Counterstrategies for Life*, p. 96, in this book.
- 8 A popular slogan that was first used in 2017 by the NiUnaMenos collective in Argentina.
- 9 Verónica Gago, *Feminist international: How to change everything*, London: Verso Books, 2020.
- 10 Jo Littler and Sylvia Walby, “Feminism is a project not an identity”, *Soundings*, 81 (81), 2022, pp. 128–142.
- 11 Jo Littler and Angela McRobbie, “Beyond anti-welfarism and feminist social media mud-slinging: Jo Littler interviews Angela McRobbie”, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25 (1), 2022, pp. 327–334.
- 12 LASTESIS, *Set Fear on Fire*, p. xii.
- 13 See: *Upheaval on the Cloud – Countering the Authoritarian Gaze in the Iranian Uprisings*, p. 296.
- 14 Ewa Majewska, “Weak resistance”, *Krisis*, Issue 2, 2018.
- 15 See: *Singing in Dark Times*, p. 54.
- 16 See: *Communicating Vessels in the Feminist City*, p. 186.
- 17 See: *Orthodox-Vaginal Control – Or How to “Steal” and Sabotage a Pro-life Action*, p. 276.
- 18 See: *LesStickers-teadores – For a Cuba From All, With All*, p. 272.
- 19 Miriam Ticktin, “Care and the commons”, *The Politics of Care*, edited by Rachel Brown and Deva Woodly, 2021, pp. 916–921.
- 20 Verónica Gago, *Feminist international*.