

IRGAC WORKSHOP

The Crisis of Social Reproduction in the Global South: Anti-Gender Politics, (Re)production of Life and Resistances

**July 19 - 20, 2024
Kassel University, Kassel**

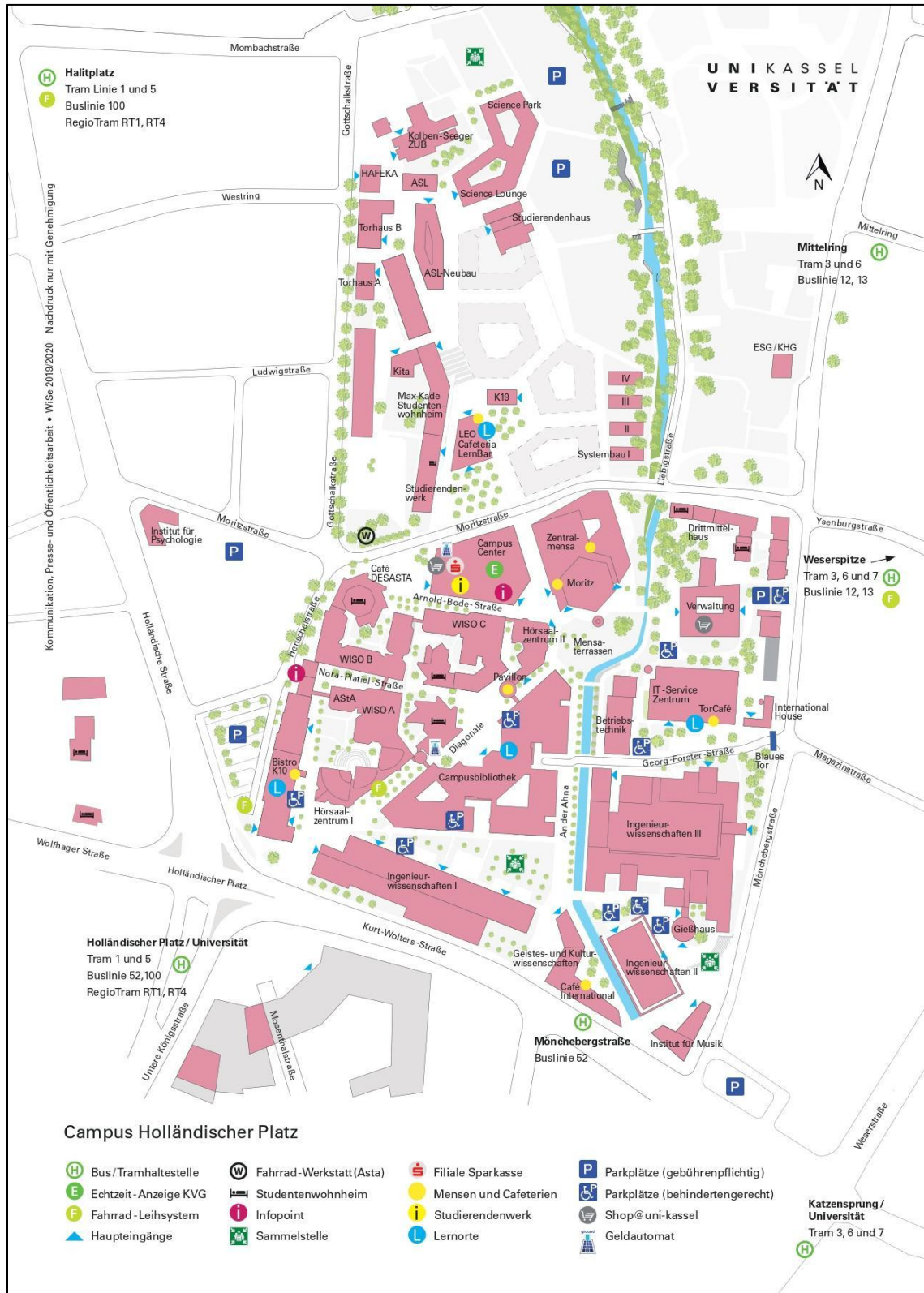
**Convenors: Sara Cufre, Melehat Kutun, Firoozeh Farvardin & Ülker Sözen
Assistant: Aylin Türer**

Workshop Venue

Nora-Platzi 6 Raum 0207 & 0210, WISO A

Keynote Lecture Venue

Nora-Platzi 6 Raum 0207, WISO A



The workshop and keynote speech venues Nora-Platiel 6, Raum 0207 & 0210 are located in the WISO A building.

FRIDAY, JULY 19

10:00 - 10:30 **Welcome and Opening Remarks**

Raum 0210

Melehat Kutun & Sara Cufre (Representing the workshop convenors)
International Research Group on Authoritarianism and Counter-Strategies (IRGAC)
Carolina Vestena Political Theory Department Kassel University
Börries Nehe IRGAC - RLS

10:30 - 12:00 **Session 1: Reproduction of Life I: Reproductivity, Familialism and State**

Raum 0210

Chair: Paula Varela Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Laborales (CEIL-
CONICET) and Buenos Aires University

First Raw Materials, Now Babies: The Outsourcing of Fertility and Pregnancy to the Global South
Irina Herb Friedrich Schiller University Jena

The Gendered Dimension of the State: Renaturalizing the Social Reproduction
Melehat Kutun Kassel University

12:00 - 13:30 **Lunch: Campus Mensa**

13:30 - 16:00 **Session 2: Anti-Gender Politics: Circulations and Digital Platforms**

Raum 0207

Chair: Hülya Kendir Kassel University

Gendered Labour as Commodity: YouTube and the (Re)Production of an Average Middle-class Indian Women's Life
Sagorika Singha Goethe University

Anchoring Patriarchy on Social Media: Crisis of Social Reproduction and Online Self-Help Cultures in Turkey
Ülker Sözen Passau University & Leipzig University

Agents of the Neoliberal State: Heteronormative Masculinities, Nationalist Violence, & Conspiracy Theories
Erol Saglam Istanbul Medeniyet University

16:00 - 16:30 **Coffee Break**

16:30 - 18:00 **Keynote Lecture**

Raum 0207

Chair: Mechthild Bereswill Kassel University

Our Right to Set the Conditions of Our Social Reproduction
Paula Varela CEIL-CONICET and Buenos Aires University

19:00

Dinner: Arkadas Restaurant, [Sickingenstraße 10, 34117 Kassel](https://www.arkadasrestaurant.de/)

SATURDAY, JULY 20

10:00 - 12:30 **Session 3: Reproduction of Life II: Community, Territory and War**
Raum 0207 **Chair: Pinar Tuzcu** Queens University

Combating the anti-Social in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Towards a Transformative Politics of Protests Against Femicide

Damir Arsenijević & Jasmina Husanov University of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Racialized & Gendered Unseen Workers: Displaced Kurdish Women in Pink-Collar in Germany

Esra Karadas Ekinci Göttingen University

Social Authoritarianism and Grassroots Counter-Strategies in the Everyday of a Brazilian Favela: The Case of Heliópolis Community Radio

Hugo Fanton University of São Paulo

12:30 - 14:00 **Lunch:** Campus Mensa

14:00 - 16:30 **Session 4: Resistance and Feminist Counter-Strategies**
Raum 0207 **Chair: Carolina Vestana** Kassel University

Feminist Revolutionary Momentum in Iran: (Trans)Forming Spaces of Solidarity and Care

Firoozeh Farvardin Humboldt University of Berlin

Unionising the Green Tide. Feminism and Labour Movement in the Struggle For Abortion In Argentina

Sara Cufre CEIL-CONICET

Feminist Strategies Amidst a Changing Political Landscape: Reproductive Autonomy, the Pro-Abortion Green Scarf, and the Emergence of the New Right in Argentina

Verónica Orsi Academy of Fine Arts Vienna

16:30 - 17:00 **Coffee Break**

17:00 - 18:00 **Closing Remarks**
Raum 0207 **Chair: Jan-David Echterhoff** IRGAC - RLS

ABSTRACTS

First Raw Materials, Now Babies: The Outsourcing of Fertility and Pregnancy to the Global South

Irina Herb – Friedrich Schiller University Jena

Scholars and activists have fruitfully analysed the extractive relationship between the Global South and North with regards to raw materials and the outsourcing of cheap labour. Coining the terms of “international division of reproductive labour” and “care chains”, Rachel Parreñas and Arlie Hochschild have famously shown how this also pertains to so-called house- and care work. Here, a gap remains which impedes our understanding of social reproduction crises: The outsourcing of fertility and pregnancy which is spurred by technological advances around assisted reproductive technologies (ART).

This paper argues that we ought to understand “fertility crises” in the context of neoliberalism and unequal relations between the Global South and North: environmental degradation, alongside shrinking welfare states and rising costs of living lead to rising unwanted childlessness. This is increasingly “solved” through market mechanisms along colonial continuums: Fertility treatments have been skyrocketing in the Global North, including egg “donation” and surrogacy, which are overwhelmingly provided people in/from the Global South. Big business in the form of healthcare conglomerates, agencies and asset-managers not only rake in high profits – the sales volume of the global fertility market is estimated to be \$27.5 billion in 2023, with annual growth rates of 10% – but also help circumvent and exploit national regulations and vulnerabilities. As a result “global fertility chains” (Sigrid Vertommen and colleagues) emerge: An egg cell from South Africa may be inseminated in the Ukraine with sperm from France, handled by a Danish donorbank, then shipped to Ghana for surrogacy, while the intended parents could be German – a country in which both egg ‘donation’ and surrogacy is illegal.

While the outsourcing of “house- and carework” has been fruitfully analysed, “fertility chains” evoke different consequences which call for urgent attention. This includes the stratification of biological reproduction: who gets to reproduce genetically and who gets to do the biological work becomes increasingly stratified along the lines of class and colonial structures. Furthermore, “fertility chains” are imprinted with racism and authoritarian tendencies in the form of global ultra-rich elites which fund eugenic visions in the context of ART. This is where this project adds: to shed light on the phenomenon of fertility chains in the context of core-periphery inequalities, I draw on a case study of the fertility agency Delivering Dreams, annual business reports and press releases, and 40 interviews with fertility practitioners, intended parents and egg “donors”. In doing so, I set an underinvestigated but crucial actor center stage: economic players, including asset-managers and healthcare conglomerates which gain increasing influence. These empirical elaborations help address a theoretical gap within social reproduction theory (SRT) concerning the structurally exploitative relationship between the capitalist core and periphery. Here, I propose linking SRT with dependency theory, particularly work by Paul Sweezy, Samir Amin and Walter Rodney, to capture the perpetuation of inequalities and crises of biological reproduction.

Keywords: *Social reproduction, dependency theory, fertility chains, reproductive technologies, bioeconomy, political economy, global inequality, surrogacy, egg donation, Marxist feminism*

The Gendered Dimension of the State: Renaturalizing the Social Reproduction

Melehat Kutun – Kassel University

It is not possible to situate (rising) anti-gender policies or (the crisis of) social reproduction without taking into account the capitalist state itself as a political form of social relations. Whether in mainstream or critical approaches on state, there is little mention of gender as one of the dimensions that shape the form of the state, nor as one that cuts across other dimensions – economic, political, ideological. For example, while critical studies on the state take labour as a fundamental social category, not enough attention is paid to where the state stands on the maintenance of cheap, unpaid and domestic labour or the biological reproduction, reproduction of labour-force and provision for care needs which perpetuate society and life and which are placed at the centre of gender roles. As the social reproduction and materialist feminist literature highlight, this articulation between material and social reproduction, or the public and private spheres, reveals the gendered reality: the gendered division of labour or the sociality of the production of gender.

To understand how this gendered reality has been constituted, the study brings a theoretical claim that gender is a dimension of the state form that has been reshaped in different state forms. It will be examined by asking the following question: How can the gender dimension of the capitalist state be conceptualized in terms of social reproduction? To answer this, it will focus on the – supposed – separation between material production and social reproduction or the public and private spheres specific to capitalist social relations, historically shaped and naturalized through the opportunities provided by patriarchy to capitalism – by consent or through coercion.

To understand the current gender dimension of the state form in terms of the crisis of social reproduction, I will bring renaturalization as a concept that will be addressed as a sub-theoretical claim, guided by the following question: What happens when the state is unable to manage the contradictions inherent in material and social reproduction processes and the struggles thus arising? In other words, since the state as a site of material production and social reproduction is also a site of these struggles, how is the gender dimension of the state reconfigured? It focuses on how the patriarchal-capitalist construction of inter-gender social relations has been renaturalized as a response to the crisis of social reproduction. It claims that the current gender dimension of the state renaturalizes the gendered social reality by supporting gender complementarity policies. It conceals and fetishizes the antagonisms and tensions between gendered groups to sustain the gendered dependencies, privileges and hierarchies which have become imperative in overcoming the crisis of social reproduction.

It provides a critical theory-driven method by combining open-Marxist state form analysis with existing critical feminist state theories by focusing on the global South. It historicizes the recent crisis in neoliberalism as a renaturalization process and contributes to critical feminist discussions.

Keywords: *Gender dimension of the state form, social reproduction, renaturalization*

Gendered Labour as Commodity: YouTube and the (Re)Production of an Average Middle-class Indian Women's Life

Sagorika Singha – Goethe University Frankfurt

India's poor Female Labour Force Participation Rate (FLFPR) among South Asian countries is a fact. Within this, Assam, one of the eight states comprising the Northeast region of the country, has an even lower Female Labour Force Participation than the national average accompanied by a lower gender ratio. Multiple studies attribute this deficit in women's contribution to the labour force to India's patriarchal society. Though, various national labour surveys also noted the rise in women's self-employment between 2017 to 2021, in both the urban and rural areas in Assam. It is imperative to note here that since the pandemic, the Right-wing Government in India has been underscoring a self-reliant refrain economically, socially and culturally. In this backdrop, we witness the rise of online content creators including YouTubers, the subject of this research. This paper analyses women YouTubers from Assam between the period of 2017 to 2024. Customarily, platform labourers such as the YouTubers, are conflated as self-employed, with platforms highlighting their flexible work environment. However, as witnessed in this case, the precarious conditions of the platform economy, where gendered labour is monetised, further reveal the crisis of social reproduction in contemporary neoliberal societies.

To illustrate, this paper focuses on Assamese YouTuber Diya Nag (2.07 million subscribers until May 14, 2024). In her self-titled YouTube channel, 34-year-old Nag narrates her middle-class life while monetising her domestic gendered labour as a mother, wife, daughter and sister, among other expected roles. Female creators such as Nag increasingly represent the informalized creator economy which has burgeoned in the post-pandemic era. In her channel, Nag not only showcases her cooking skills but also shares her everyday mundane experiences through videos, shot mostly inside her three-storied building, featuring her husband, child, and other family members, and documenting the preparation and consumption of various dishes. Such YouTubers show the commodification of social reproduction wherein the emotional and affective/care labour of the average Indian woman is translated into the immaterial labour of the digital economy. These feminised platform workers, while locating their platform labour into a productive realm, negotiate it in exchange for their visibility and intimate existence, in other words, encouraging extractive participation.

Thus, the paper argues that in a precarious platform economy, middle-class women YouTubers rely on adapting gendered labour as productive labour, further complicating our understanding of social reproduction theory. Their success in this endeavour is directly proportional to the "ideal" conversion of their care work into affective labour. Nag's newer videos amass over a hundred thousand views in hours if not minutes. Her massive engagement is evident from the thousands of comments her posts generate, with a significant portion of them coming from women who relate to her "authenticity". The study demonstrates that Nag's success results from her ability to create a relational authenticity with her audience. The paper concludes by emphasizing the need to recognize the value and contributions of such creative labourers to the digital economy in a majoritarian state, as more women find themselves out of the (formal) labour force only by mining affective currency cultivated through their gendered labour.

Keywords: *Gendered labour, women's labour, social reproduction, crisis of reproduction, platform economy, Covid-19, creator economy*

Anchoring Patriarchy on Social Media: Crisis of Social Reproduction and Online Self-Help Cultures in Turkey

Ülker Sözen – Passau University & Leipzig University

The crisis of social reproduction in today's Turkey is manifold. On the one hand, the religious-conservative government launches a moral panic against divorce and the decreasing marriage rates. In this regard, the authoritarian policies and measures to restrain the growing influence of feminism in society and to suppress gender equality struggles are accompanied by an ideological campaign to demonize feminists and LGBTQ as the enemies of the sacred family and the nation. On the other hand, the tensions arising from the destabilization of patriarchy and traditional gender roles lead to confusion, disappointment, anger, and the feelings of shame and inadequacy when the psychic and personal lives of individuals are considered. This distress is aggravated by the persistence of gendered societal expectations and aspirations that revolve around the ideal of a happy marriage and family, which are more and more unattainable under the conditions of neoliberal impoverishment. In turn, this psychic distress, addressed around the questions of romantic relationships, dating, and sexuality, becomes one of the core foci of the subjectivity technologies produced by the contemporary self-help culture. Therein, idealized gender roles and patriarchal norms are re-negotiated and re-invigorated through hypermasculinist discourses and the deployment of popular psychology terminologies and techniques such as masculine and feminine energies and the anchoring of romantic relationships. This discursive governance assemblage has an understudied connection to the circulation and internalization of authoritarian understandings of the self and the world.

The popular psychology and self-help discourses progressively take place in the online realm, bringing in networked and platformized dimensions to the neoliberal and neo-patriarchal subjectivity technologies that they enact, along with their outreach and reception by the public. Against this backdrop, this article intends to scrutinize the symptoms, governance strategies, and meaning-making patterns regarding the crisis of social reproduction manifesting at the personal and psychic levels through an analysis of the online self-help social media dyads. The analytical lens of "social media dyad" enables examining the interplay of the discursive strategies of online self-help influencers and the digital intimate publics that is formed among their audience, which is embodied through social media platform affordances of commenting, sharing, and replying to other viewers' comments. In this respect, first, the research will utilize critical discourse analysis upon the dating, marriage, and sexuality advice content by a selected group of online self-help influencers targeting male and female audiences separately, to demonstrate how they reproduce, negotiate, and complicate gender essentialism, male hegemony, and the ideal of patriarchal family. Secondly, the audience responses and exchanges will be analyzed to tackle the formation of digital intimate publics around self-help cultures and to produce a deeper understanding about the conditions of agency regarding the subjects suffering from their personal crises of romantic relationships, self-esteem, and care, which are conclusively tied to the crisis of social reproduction and gender roles.

Keywords: *Self-help cultures, social media, governance of subjectivity, sex and dating advice, gender, digital intimate publics*

Agents of the Neoliberal State: Heteronormative Masculinities, Nationalist Violence & Conspiracy Theories

Erol Saglam – Istanbul Medeniyet University

The politico-judicial transformations Turkey has undergone in the past two decades has generally been described as “democratic backsliding”, a term that has recently been criticized by scholars because both of its emphasis on institutional discourses and neglect of everyday socio-economic dynamics that give rise to these changes in a bottom-up fashion. Acceleration of neoliberalization as well as the mainstreamization of right-wing populist discourses in the 2000s, for this reason, has generally been analyzed as top-down processes (e.g., Esen and Gumuscu 2016) through which authoritarian actors “capture” (Sommer 2016) state institutions. Furthermore, authoritarian neoliberalism’s maintenance is often traced exclusively through cases of social groups (e.g., feminist interventions, Kurdish political movement or environmentalist mobilizations) who explicitly resisted the workings of neoliberal authoritarian governance, leaving its maintenance and legitimation largely underexplored: How everyday makings of authoritarian turn in Turkey may indeed reflect on wider discussions on the “crisis of social production” (Fraser 2014, 2016) and intersect with gendered dynamics of social reproduction and its incessant unmakings, for this reason, remained largely unaccounted for (Rao 2021): How do everyday actors actively engage in the makings and maintenance of neoliberal authoritarianism and its entanglements with violent ethnonationalism?

Drawing on field study and interviews with ultranationalist communities in Trabzon and Konya, two strongholds of Turkish nationalism and Islamic (Sunni) conservatism in contemporary Turkey, this contribution addresses how heteronormative men participate in the legitimization and maintenance of neoliberal authoritarianism through their circulation of conspiracy theories. While conspiracy theories are conventionally analyzed through their “epistemological shortcomings” and widely dismissed as “false consciousness” reflecting the narrators’ socio-economic “failure”, this contribution deliberately refrains from checking the veracity of these accounts and rather attends to the socio-political effects their circulation generates. It primarily asks: How do everyday men forge their subjectivity and agency through the circulation of conspiracy theories? How does their casual circulation of conspiracy theories in the everyday intersect with the making, legitimization, and maintenance of neoliberal authoritarianism? Does right-wing populism engender a particular modality of neoliberal subjectivity? And finally, how do technological innovations and online communication affect this bottom-up making of authoritarian neoliberalism? The article is to demonstrate how the circulation of conspiracy theories is a performative act through which heteronormative men forge themselves as subjects “in the know”, engender a political milieu within which violence against potentially subversive is both necessary and legitimate, and cultivate their agency through embodying the neoliberal-authoritarian state in their engagement in vigilantism and paramilitary violence.

Keywords: Masculinities, nationalism, conspiracy theories, authoritarianism, agency

Combating the Anti-Social in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Towards a Transformative Politics of Protests against Femicide

Damir Arsenijević & Jasmina Husanović – University of Tuzla

Bosnia and Herzegovina struggles with the lasting impacts of wartime violence against women, particularly sexual violence used as a tactic of war (Campbell et al., 2019; Clark, 2017). Despite moving into a post-war society, violence against women remains prevalent, with over 50% of women over 15 experiencing some form of violence (Matić, 2017). Emerging trends show younger victims, such as school-age girls, and increased violence involving small arms (UNDP/SSEESAC, 2007; Žurnal, 2009; Isović, 2012). Research on the judicial treatment of femicide has only recently begun, covering cases from 2017 to 2022 (Hrnčić, 2024, forthcoming).

In 2023-2024, targeted killings of women surged, highlighted by the live-streamed murder of Nizama Hećimović in August 2023. This sparked widespread protests under the banner "Nijedna više" (Not a single one again). We interpret these killings not as femicide but as feminicide—an extension of wartime gender-based violence normalized in peacetime. The term "feminicide," used by Latin American scholars and activists (Colectivos Otras Negras . . . y Feministas!, 2021), refers to the deliberate killing of women as a means of social or political control, prevalent where women's lives are undervalued, involving state entities, armed groups, or individuals.

We argue that Bosnia and Herzegovina exemplifies "gore capitalism" within the European peripheral South, marked by colonialism, classism, racism, necropolitical masculinity, economic and existential precariousness, neoliberal ideals, and fake news (Valencia, 2022). This perspective, combined with Nancy Fraser's concept of "cannibal capitalism" (Fraser, 2021), calls for a reevaluation of feminicide, situating it at the gender-class intersection and enabling a reframing of resistances to it.

We assert that feminicide in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a symptom of the antisociality inherent in capitalism—a systemic violence that perpetuates economic growth at the expense of human and social existence (Tomšič, 2023). The mutilated female body symbolizes a dismembered social body, a product of antisocial capitalism and the European peripheral South's transitional logic. Perpetrators of feminicide, often victims of capitalist transition themselves, embody the principles of gore capitalism. We explore how this antisociality persists through "pedagogies of cruelty" in postwar institutions and daily life (Fory Banguero and Lobo, 2021; Segato, 2021).

Post-war women's movements focused on resilience and self-sufficiency after sexual violence (Helms, 2013), and recent protests against feminicide range from neoliberal demands for legislative recognition to advocating new forms of popular assemblies beyond the neoliberal paradigm. These protests need to be contextualized within a decade-long series of demonstrations in Bosnia and Herzegovina against social injustice, expropriation, and corruption (Arsenijević, 2014; Arsenijević, Husanović, and Vasić Janeković, 2017; Mujkić, 2016). We will analyze these resistances and the recurring failures they encounter. We propose new methods for assemblies and protests that avoid the logic of privatization, extraction, and expropriation. These should be based on the 2014 workers' protests principle of "protest to maintain production," creating a non-toxic space and socialized time for radical change.

Keywords: *War-time violence, feminicide, Bosnia and Herzegovina, post-socialism, capitalist transition, social protests*

Racialized & Gendered Unseen Workers: Displaced Kurdish Women in Pink-Collar in Germany

Esra Karadas Ekinci – University of Göttingen

In this paper, I will analyze gendered and racialized social reproduction practices through pink-collar workers, who had to migrate to Germany because of the war in Kurdish region in Turkey. I will focus on how pink-collar Kurdish women workers reproduce the life in terms of displacement by emphasizing how their domestic work is transformed into low-paid work as a service.

The supposed separation between material production and social reproduction under capitalist social relations has created a gendered and racialized labour hierarchies. Migration patterns have surged in the last 50 years, with many from the global south moving to the north for "better" exploitation. Predominantly women migrants now fill domestic roles abandoned by native women entering the formal workforce, perpetuating this cycle of inequality. The "pink collar" jobs, which are created by categorizing social reproduction, develop on the axis of -gender/migration/social reproduction. Therefore, this process has globally mainstreamed both gendered migration and racialized - and previously gendered - social reproduction.

In light of this theoretical background, my paper draws a line of analysis on the gendered and racialized labour process of pink-collar Kurdish migrant women in Germany. It will also highlight their unique experiences in terms of war-related displacement and reproducing the life in another country. The growing number of Kurdish women in Germany have experienced unique challenges at the intersection of ethnic, gender and class dimensions. The most common obstacles are limited job opportunities, domestic labour liability, male-dominated working conditions, Turkish-Kurdish confrontation, and integration problems. This situation leads women, who are seen as the providers of social reproduction, to pink-collar jobs. In the post-war period, women as a target group, who have no previous work experience, generally define house cleaning, child/elderly care and home-based work as "familiar jobs". In my fieldwork, I will interview 10 pink-collar worker Kurdish women aged 35-50 who were displaced by forced migration after 2015 because of the war.

Methodologically, the multi-sited and feminist ethnographic method is adopted to make visible the statistically invisible data and challenges, and gendered and racialized forms of social reproduction at the micro level. Since the categorization of migrants in Germany is based on the country of origin –the requests of Kurds with a Turkish passport– this method within semi-structured interviews, will be more useful. As the statistical data do not fully reflect the racialized practices in daily living conditions of displaced Kurdish women, the use of feminist ethnographic methodology allows for more scientific assessments at the micro level, as it includes field-study and qualitative-sensitive data.

Keywords: *Social reproduction, war-displaced Kurdish women, the integration of labour market*

Social Authoritarianism and Grassroots Counter-Strategies in the Everyday of a Brazilian Favela: The Case of Heliópolis Community Radio

Hugo Fanton – University of São Paulo

The growing instability in neoliberal capitalism and the far-right rise have revived the global debate on authoritarianism. In Brazil, this recontextualises historical dilemmas of democracy as an uncompleted project, due to the “perverse confluence” (Dagnino et al. 2006) between the formal achievement of political rights and the reiteration of inequality and exclusion in society (Fleury 1997, 34). The legal formulation that foresaw the extension of rights is experienced in the everyday of a society highly hierarchical and discriminatory (Dagnino 1994), which contextualises the crisis in the sphere of social reproduction (Fraser, 2017; Brown, 2019; Harvey 2008).

These phenomena displace the authoritarianism beyond the State and institutional power relations. Social authoritarianism, based on class, race and gender, is reiterated as a form of mediating relations between individuals and groups (Dagnino 1994, 109), and emerges from the ruins of social reproduction that shapes everyday life (Brown, 2019; Fraser, 2017). The precarisation constitutive of productive relations in the peripheral social formation is reproduced in the reproductive sphere, through a “neoliberal ethic of intense possessive individualism, and its cognate of political withdrawal from collective forms of action” (Harvey 2008, 32). As Fraser (2017) reminds us, in the market–society dyad, the latter is not “as virtuous” as Polanyian assumptions indicate, hence the need to better “parse the grammar of social struggle” (Fraser 2017, 8).

This paper aims to discuss how this crisis of social reproduction manifests in the everyday life and is related to social authoritarianism in a historical context of advancing neoliberal capitalism, as well as the resistances to its normative rationale by other social- political grammars. The analysis is based on a case study of the Heliópolis Community Radio, located in the Heliópolis favela, the largest in São Paulo. The study was conducted over ten years (2009-2019) with tools and techniques of the ethnographic method, as participant observation, and semi-structured interviews with 93 people, including Radio Heliópolis announcers, local activists, listeners and artists.

The trajectories of individuals and groups working in the radio are presented, among them that of a trans woman who created an LGBTQIA+ radio show and collectively confronted the heteronormativity that was expressed in Heliópolis by different ways. The gender oppression that traces social authoritarianism was counterposed by an LGBTQIA+ radio programme as public manifestation of a group barred from social existence in the territory. Through collective action, by producing meanings and values in a radio show, the group expressed their way of life, which was (re)integrated into the social relations that shape the territory. The success of the radio show enabled the extension of political action through the territory and the city, by constitutive public manifestations of resistance in a context of crisis of social reproduction.

The tensions between democratic practices and social authoritarianism are thus expressed in everyday life, and their overcoming through the reaffirmation of equality in opposition to formal law comes from converging mechanisms of individual survival and collective resistance. In the everyday life of thousands of residents of favelas, tenements and squatter settlements, social practices are engendered both to reinforce an exclusionary order and to oppose it, in defence of new sociabilities, with the potential to extend rights, limit the advances of market logic and impose collective transformations facing the crisis of social reproduction.

Feminist Revolutionary Momentum in Iran: (Trans)Forming Spaces of Solidarity and Care

Firoozeh Farvardin – Humboldt University of Berlin

Since its inception (1979), anti-gender politics and the disciplining of feminized bodies have been the features of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The imposed compulsory hijab law (enacted in 1981) is, in fact, a series of institutional mechanisms to control feminized bodies and spaces. Yet, the policing of compulsory hijab is insufficient to explain why and how the revolutionary momentum took place in September 2022, in the course of 100 days, and not at any other point in the Islamic Republic's history of anti-gender politics.

My argument is that the shift toward neoliberal governance in Iran has led to neoliberal gender and sexual subjugation in response to the crisis of social reproduction. This crisis is characterized by the inability of the Islamic Republic to sustain life, manage death, and reorganize labour in the face of depopulation and mass migration, harsh economic conditions, the rise of contentious politics, including gender struggles, environmental disasters, and, most recently, the coronavirus pandemic, among others. These factors have contributed to the new articulation of anti-gender repression, as well as the emergence of a revolutionary momentum, feminist subjectivities, and new spaces of solidarity and care. In other words, the violence imposed on feminized bodies is not only through mandatory hijab regulation and gendered segregation but also through the neoliberal exploitation of their reproductive activities and extraction of their vital resources by the state. This has been actualized by imposing new pronatalist policies, defeminizing the formal labour market, and encouraging informal and family-based work units to overcome its all-encompassing crisis. As a result, feminized bodies have been at the forefront of recent waves of protests and everyday life struggles against both religious authoritarian rule and neoliberal policies of the Islamic Republic.

Inspired by feminist theorization of care politics and social reproduction and based on information collected through (cyber-) ethnography and interviews with activists, this paper explores the various spaces of solidarity and care, as different forms of “commons” that have formed or advanced as a result of the 2022 revolutionary uprising in Iran. During the revolutionary mobilization, (in)visible spaces of solidarity have gradually transformed into autonomous realms of reproducing and reclaiming life and generating innovative forms of resistance. These networks, such as extended family networks, neighbourhood initiatives and urban committees, and women-led supporting groups that mainly emerged in the time of covid outbreak, connect previously fragmented spaces of marginality and have become significant sites of struggle for equality and a decent life for marginalized bodies. I argue that these spaces have formed and provided the conditions for the revolutionary momentum and the visibility of feminist subjectivities that emerged on the streets of Iran.

Keywords: *Feminist subjectivity, anti-gender politics, crisis of social reproduction, neoliberal governance, care politics, Iran*

Unionising the Green Tide. Feminisms and Labour Movement in the Struggle For Abortion In Argentina.

Sara Cufre – CEIL, CONICET

In the Argentine context, the "green tide" is a powerful metaphor and emblematic representation of the feminist movement that flourished in 2015. It arose amidst the condemnation of structural violence and femicides against women and feminized bodies, evolving into a monumental movement that reclaimed the historical call for legal, safe and free abortion while proposing revitalized strategies of resistance and politicising everyday life. The feminist movement not only brought forth the debate to the National Congress in 2018 but also ignited a vast nationwide feminist tide that surpassed previously imaginable limits, especially under a conservative neoliberal government.

Notably, labour organisations were not exempt from this influence, marking an unprecedented historical development as they incorporated advocacy for the right to abortion into their repertoire of union demands for the first time, not without tensions and struggles within them. From being confined to a women's issue, it evolved into a labour demand that reshaped union strategies and structures. This shift in union agendas challenged existing gender relations within trade unions.

How did the struggle for legal abortion become a union demand? What are the characteristics of this revitalised feminist movement that triggered new forms of relationship between the union and feminist movements? How have the feminist movement and the union movement rebuilt their relationship in the massification of the struggle for legal abortion?

To address these questions, I analyse the characteristics of the feminist movement and connect them with a more extended history of human rights and labour activism. The literature on the rise of the feminist movement in Argentina converges on two key elements: its massiveness and the transversality of its demands. Additionally, I propose a third element to consider: the intergenerational nature of these struggles.

I then delve into how these elements allowed for the emergence of a new relationship between feminisms and unions in the struggle for legal abortion. I argue that feminist awareness of all forms of violence, including violence at the workplace and union structural violence and discrimination, allowed for theoretical and practical tools to understand and intervene in the cross-sectorial structures of exclusion and discrimination within unions. The parallelisms and similarities that feminist unionists found among themselves allowed for the creating of feminist union networks from 2016 onwards. These spaces were the core of their coordinated actions during the struggles for legal abortion in the period 2018-2020 and a portrait of the feminist politics of transversality, a distinctive feature of the revitalised feminist movement.

The research draws from an analysis of secondary sources, encompassing specialized academic literature on feminist and labour movements and reports from union research organizations. Additionally, I incorporate documents from union confederations and inter-union organizations and statements produced by feminist organizations from 2018-2020. I supplement this with participant observation in feminist mobilizations and activities organized within the public workers union, the Asociación de Trabajadores del Estado (ATE), where I was a shop steward at the time.

Keywords: *Abortion struggles, feminisms, unions, feminist politics, inter-union networks*

Feminist Strategies Amidst a Changing Political Landscape: Reproductive Autonomy, the Pro-Abortion Green Scarf, and the Emergence of the New Right in Argentina

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In December 2020, Argentina celebrated a watershed moment with the legalization of abortion rights, propelled by the iconic green scarf symbolizing the feminist movement. However, following this triumph, the political terrain began to change, prompting a reassessment of feminism's role in advocating for reproductive justice. Recent political shifts, exemplified by the ascent of ultra-liberal conservative forces epitomized by President Javier Milei, have reignited debates surrounding feminism's role and reproductive autonomy for birth-givers.

Since December 2023, under President Javier Milei's administration, regressive policies have been instituted, including the dissolution of the Ministry of Women, Gender, and Diversity, the proscription of inclusive language in state institutions, and the discontinuation of comprehensive sex education programs in schools. Concurrently, efforts to undermine abortion rights and parental responsibilities have gained momentum, potentially allowing men to relinquish parental responsibilities without consequence, leaving birth-givers in total vulnerability. This political agenda was very clear from the outset. President Javier Milei even made the repeal of abortion rights a campaign promise. The growing tension between feminist advancements and the rise of anti-feminist and anti-abortion sentiments has led many to partially attribute the electoral success of the new right to the feminist movement, who is regarded as a central figure shaping the political narrative. In response, feminist activists in Argentina are reassessing their strategies amidst differing viewpoints. While some advocate for introspection and self-critique, others stress the importance of acknowledging the movement's accomplishments. Their objective is to organize against the impending threat of rights erosion and to effectively counter right-wing agendas and anti-gender policies.

This contribution proposes a temporal analysis of Argentine feminists' trajectory, delineating two distinct phases in the pro-choice: the fervent mobilization of 2018-2020 and the subsequent period of appeasement until 2023. Additionally, it tentatively explores the possibility of a third moment, examining recent feminist gestures in response to the new presidency's policies. The inquiry at hand explores how the feminist movement asserts its presence through the symbolism of the green scarf amidst evolving societal dynamics and shifting political landscapes.

Employing an interdisciplinary methodological framework of visual, material, and performative approaches, this study examines the presence of the green scarf in protests, media representations, and social networks. It also investigates the material infrastructure of demonstrations and analyzes the performative dimensions of the feminist movement through firsthand accounts. The hypothesis posits a direct correlation between the expansion of feminist activism and the growth in anti-feminist resentment, viewing primarily anti-abortionism as a disciplinary tool that undermines the physical and moral autonomy of feminized bodies. This assertion is grounded in the interplay of capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy, without which the modernity we acknowledge today would be inconceivable. Through an exploration of the enduring symbolism of the green scarf as emblematic of reproductive self-determination and feminist resistance, this study elucidates the challenges and imperatives facing the feminist movement in safeguarding hard-won rights and advancing progressive agendas amidst a threatening political landscape.

Keywords: *Abortion, Argentina, feminist strategies, anti-feminism, green scarf*

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Irina Herb is a researcher in the project Property in the human body in the context of transnational economies of reproduction, which is housed by the Collaborative Research Center Structural Change of Property, at the Friedrich-Schiller University Jena and the Free University Berlin. In her PhD project, she works on Marxist Feminist approaches to the commodification, financialisation and outsourcing of fertility and pregnancy.

Following her studies in Göttingen (Germany) and Oxford (UK), Irina worked outside of academia for some years, spending much of her time concerned with issues of reproductive justice and reproductive technologies. In the context of her activism, she turned to Marxist Feminists to find answers concerning the commodification of the body through reproductive technologies. In this process, she found gaps and returned to academia to tackle them.

Jasmina Husanović is a Full Professor of Cultural and Gender Studies at the University of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her research interests are the politics of equality and solidarity, governance of life and culture of trauma, as well as emancipatory politics with a focus on critical pedagogies in art, academia and activism. She is one of the founders of collective platforms EKOPEM BiH, Workers' University and Yugoslav Studies. Her books include: *Between Trauma, Imagination and Hope: Critical Essays on Cultural Production* (Fabrika knjiga, 2010), *Culture, Community and Activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Emancipatory Trajectories* (Offset, 2020), and also as a co-author, *Community and Mainstreaming Gender Equality at the Universities in the Balkans: Fighting Gender-Based Violence* (Scholars' Press, 2023).

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Paula Varela is a lecturer at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) in the Departments of Sociology and Political Science, a researcher at the Centre for Labour Studies and Research (CEIL) of CONICET, and the coordinator of the Research Collective on Workers in Argentina Today (CITTA) at the Institute of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (IEALC-UBA). Her research focuses on the relationship between class and gender in capitalism and the Theory of Social Reproduction. Among her latest publications is the prologue to the first Spanish edition of Lise Vogel's book *Marxism and the Oppression of Women* (Bellaterra, 2024) and the book *¿Hacia dónde va el trabajo? (Where is Work Heading?)* (CEIL, 2024).

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Sara Cufre is a Political Scientist with a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from Buenos Aires University. She is a research fellow from the International Research Group on Authoritarianism and Counterstrategies (IRGAC, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation) based at the Labour Studies Research Centre (CEIL CONICET), Argentina. She also collaborates in union training programmes and activities at the Global Labour University. She has combined her academic trajectory with activism in the labour and feminist movements.

Her field of research is labour sociology, and her current project studies the transformations in Argentinean aviation labour relations since the outbreak of the COVID-19 crisis. It is focused on how cabin crew workers have resisted such processes. Her latest publication, *Conflicts up in the Air: Cabin Crew Resistance in Argentina and Portugal through the Lens of the Body*, is a co-authored paper addressing workload intensification and resistance in flagship renationalised companies.

Ülker Sözen received her PhD degree in sociology from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Turkey. She was a postdoctoral fellow from 2019 to 2022 at IRGAC, wherein she conducted research on civil society, production of activism, and authoritarianism in Turkey. Between 2022 and 2024, she worked as a postdoctoral researcher and lecturer at Leipzig University, studying the discourses and negotiations of sexuality, intimacy, and piety by the youth on Turkish social media. In June 2024, she commenced her research under the "Platformization, Forms of Authoritarianism, and the Future of Democracy: Perspectives from the Global South" project at Passau University, Chair of Development Politics.

Verónica Orsi is a curator, lecturer, and consultant specializing in critical diversity, inclusion, and queer-feminism within the cultural sector. Her research explores the intersections of art and cultural work, gender studies, museum studies, and countercolonial processes. She focuses on the transnationalization of the feminist movement in Latin America, particularly the mass demonstrations against femicide in Argentina, known as *Ni Una Menos* (Spanish for 'Not one less'), and the campaign for the right to legal, safe, and free abortion, symbolized by the green scarf.