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Beyond
the Nation State



TRANSEUROPA
MARGINS ON FIRE!

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Imagine, Demand, Enact

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Noemi Pittalà is a multidisciplinary activist and cultural professional from Palermo, working at the intersection of art and social inclusion. With a background in visual arts and theatre, she has specialized in communications within the cultural sector, focusing on creating connections and fostering community engagement. Her work emphasizes radical inclusion, collective care, and active youth participation. As a Pop The Vote Changer in the 2024 European election promotion campaign by Culture Action Europe, she actively engaged in fostering civic participation. Noemi founded Scuola di Restanza e Futuro, an activism initiative aimed at empowering young people in Southern Italy.

Estelle Prudent is a photographer & activist living in Seine-Saint-Denis. She created the project Queer Super Power: Elevating force, emancipator of re-emergence, of re-appropriation, of our bodies, our skins, our sexualities, our identities, our genres ... Faced with what is defined as the norm. It is a total possession of our essences, our representations, our feeling of the emerging self, our inscriptions as being.

Ségolène Pruvot is a Director of European Alternatives. Ségolène has developed extensive experience in designing and implementing transnational participative cultural programmes. She curated, managed and coordinated artistic projects in several European countries, including Transeuropa Festival. Ségolène is a Doctor in Urban Sociology. In the course of her academic career and professional life, she specialised in the exploration of the intersection between arts, the city and social change. She was the main coordinator of the FIERCE research in France, which analyzed feminists and anti-gender movements in the last decades.

Anna Rispoli is an artist and activist working between artistic creation and civic space, developing prototypes for sharing material resources, intelligence and affects. Together with 30 engaged women with and without papers, she co-leads the trajectory Struggle Care Joy which launched the first Candidate Sans Papiers and the European Alliance des Fortes.

Alessandra Sciarrino is a researcher, multidisciplinary artist, and service designer exploring the emotional, political, and perceptual dimensions of emerging technologies in the contemporary social landscape. Her practice moves across art, critical theory, and design to investigate how AI, infrastructures, and care entangle. Her current focus includes posthuman ecologies, affective interfaces, and embodied knowledge systems.

Unmut-e is a revolutionary, intersectional, intersectional, queer feminist self-publishing project. It takes the form of a collection of fanzines, posters, stickers, flyers and other media designed to convey and spread an activist message.

The margins are not silent.

They disrupt. They speak. They communicate across many languages.

We write from here, from the contested edges of Europe. From a place where women, queer individuals, exiled voices, racialised lives, and precarious existences refuse to be sidelined. We are not seeking inclusion into the political spaces of yesterday; we are already establishing alternative spaces of belonging and meaning.

Issue 11 has been gathered post the TRANSEUROPA 2025 festival edition *Les Marges en Feu*, a weekend of queer, feminist & anti-racist performances, discussions, and workshops in Saint-Denis and Paris, reclaiming fire not as destruction but as transformation, as a tool of resistance, a symbol of uprising.

The fire wasn't only in the streets, it was in the stories, the wounds, the spells, the dance floors.

We spoke of cyber witches, healing rituals, workers' revolts, anti-racist unlearning, and queer ecologies.

We dared to burn with joy.

We hope to archive and expand our collective flames in this journal edition. That our readers may be inspired to respond with their own sparks of action.

We begin with *Brûlures* by **Lisa Adams**, a series of poems reminding us that our individual struggles are collective, that we are all left in the ashes of governance without care.

Following the results of FIERCE, a transnational intersectional feminist networking & research project which became the basis of the festival, **Noémie Gardais** and **Ségolène Pruvot** provide insight into historic and current french far-right gender backlash and feminist counter movements with *In the face of the organisation of reactionary forces, the feminist response will rise to the occasion: loud, global and unstoppable* and *The Battle of*

Concepts: French Feminist Mobilizations Against the Far Right's Appropriation of the Feminist Legacy.

Nasteho Aden from Nous Toutes 93 Antiracistes, our festival co-organiser, then speaks of the importance of joining forces across borders to build collective resistance, the power of community-building moments like Les Marges en Feu, and the struggles facing intersectional feminist movements in *From Saint-Denis to Europe: when the margins become the heart of resistance*.

Who is the legitimate political subject of our mourning? **Fatou Dieng** and **Orian Lempereur-Castelli**, French anti-racist activists, explore selective state memory and blind spots in our community mourning of victims of police violence, advocating for a policy of commemoration.

Exploring what an alternative could look like when principles of care are in our community structures, **Anna Rispoli**, who facilitated the TRANSEUROPA final assembly, and **Nina Ferrante**, give insight into their activist & migrant-led network in *The Alliance of Women* in Exile*.

Rebekka Hölzle and **Rachel Margetts** offer another case study of feminist migrant-rights organising with *Wherever the wind blows them*, an hour-long audio co-created in resistance of the UK's hostile environment policy.

Looking back at TRANSEUROPA, we have a middle-spread graphical memory of the festival, and begin the second half of the journal with a text by **Aurola Gyorfi**, who curated and performed in *FREEDOM, LOVE!*, an activist performance event on the last day of *Les Marges En Feu!* bringing together queer Hungarian migrants against Orban's restrictive gender policy and culture.

Sara Hodgson-Brown continues to challenge patriarchal constructions through arts, and unpicks the similarities in exploitative gender and environmental power relations in *Reclaiming the extractive gaze: How feminist landscape painting challen-*

ges 500 years of patriarchal land domination. And from feminist painting to feminist coding, **Alessandra Sciarrino** questions how digital space could be with practices of care in *Infrastructures of Perception*.

Lucile Olympe Haute and **David Benqué** put such theory into practice, showing their cyber *Sigil Séance Against Space Billionaires* as a case study of digital community resistance. One of our editors took part in their last sigil, which invited participants to manifest against Jeff Bezos and his privatisation of Venice, and protect its watery beings. This takes us back to the site of our last edition of TRANSEUROPA: *Undercurrents*, journey back with us through *Water Bodies: Voices of Hydrofeminism*, a documentary by **the festival participants, water bodies & creatures of Venice**, reminding us that planetary thinking is feminist thinking.

From the lagoon of Venice to global seas, our final entry from the editors calls for attention to the Global Sumud Flottila, where our board member Louna Sbou sailed, and features graphical calls of solidarity by **Unmute**, **Estelle Prudent**, and **Juliette Liou**, artists from TRANSEUROPA25.

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Brûlures



A cycle of four poems on burns – or
how fire asks my body to get itself
out of danger.

Lisa Adams--Aumérégie

(I)

My first recurring dreams -
fire
Though I had never seen one

I had seen the aftermath
when triangles-on-squares
no longer have a definite shape
the aftermath -
shards of smoked glass, black limestone,
a sulphurous skeleton of wood and metal,
even blacker

On the verge of falling asleep,
I hear flames roaring
at my door

Sometimes, I tie the sheets together
Or I throw myself into the hedge
The fire already licking at my young toys

Sometimes, the floor gives way
I slip through the cold night unscathed
Bare feet on frost-stamped grass

*Sometimes I worry about
fires*

On feverish evenings, my mother takes
an illustrated book
The colorful, dog-eared drawings
confiscate my nightmares
English in bubbles
barbituric bla-bla,
lowers my eyelids

I no longer cry out about the invisible fire

(II)

One day, I
s
p
i
l
l
a pot of boiling tea on my thigh

The H₂O feeds the fire
On raw flesh, soft blisters
pop like bubble wrap

At the pharmacy, I lift up my shorts
as high as possible to show the burn,
the color and size of a fine apple
Gala-red
Biseptine, osmo gel and spike lavender
- will apparently repair the skin barrier

A scab forms,
hardened lava on my exploded skin
Crimson, blood orange, brown
My mum asks who did this to me
It was *I*

The all-engulfing emptiness
I held it so tightly between
the pixelated faces and the books
of my student library

I am hurting,
but I am learning to love
this almost-birthmark,
that appeared twenty-one years later
A sign that my life had finally begun
or the first fire-brand
of work

(III)

Another day, I get up with a taste
of sulphur on my lips
My own ashes cover
the left half of my back
and stomach
A touch and,
on my now brittle flesh,
inflamed blisters

Everywhere, I look for the parasite
that rustled between my coccyx
and my navel
until it gave birth to this constellation

Not at all
It's a virus, the doctor tells me,
shingles
An eruption of work
through my nerve fibres

Summer is out of breath
I'm working on the release
of a documentary
and finishing my thesis
The forests of Siberia are burning,
and so am I

My body is a Zone to Defend
It orders me to stop,
or else it'll crack from head to toe

(IV)

A year later, I change jobs
Two months later, I give up work

No smoke without fire
The smoke seeps in through my pores
On my eyelids and hands
little red ants, static -
eczema
I am off for three short days,
vaporized by insomnia

Today, I have to go back to work
The fire alarm drags me out of bed
one hour before my alarm clock

No smoke, no fire
I search the air
for white wisps,
but the threat is not here -
it's in what awaits me there

My home absorbs
the inflammatory signals of my body
and also sounds the alarm

My boss is burned out, he burned himself out
Why were you off work?
I was sick
Sick with what?
I was sick, thanks for asking
No but with what?

The next day, he yells at me
That's the way it is, you don't have a choice
It would take louder shouting
for him to stop,
for it to stop

Instead, I am as soft
as the breath that stirs the embers
I announce my resignation
He yells one last time,
as I turn on my heels -
a stick of fire in my left hand

This article was originally written in French by the author and later translated into English by the European Alternatives team. You can read the original version in the French edition of the journal, available here: <https://euroalter.com/about-the-journal/print-editions/>

In the face of the organisation of reactionary forces, the feminist response will rise to the occasion: loud, global and unstoppable

Noémie Gardais

French movement for Planning familial

IVG dans la constitution



Anti-gender movement, anti-rights movement, anti-abortion movement, all terms that describe the opponents of sexual and reproductive health and rights, whose influence is dangerously growing in Europe. All of this is happening in a context where the far right is gradually eroding our democracies and the rule of law. Yet feminist mobilisation, too, has never been stronger. At the forefront of building a more equal society, despite numerous reactionary offensives, the feminist movement is responding louder, more coordinated, and more visible than ever.

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When anti-rights movements draw inspiration from Trump: Europe facing the reactionary contagion

These conservative forces no longer content themselves with operating in the shadows: they coordinate, have access to massive funding, and insert themselves into the very heart of European institutions. Their aim is not merely to restrict access to certain rights, but to fundamentally reshape our social contract, our institutions, and our fundamental freedoms. **Europe has become the new ideological battleground for anti-gender movements.**

And for good reason: we are witnessing increasing internationalisation through a proliferation of events where anti-choice movements and the far right gather. In fact, the strategies developed by Trump are accelerating in France and across Europe. The rhetoric is the same in Italy, Hungary, Poland, and the United Kingdom: why would there be a “French exception”? Or even a European one? European far-right parties are organising, training, and meeting more and more regularly to share their common conservative strategies. In February, the far right party Patriots for Europe organised its first meeting with Viktor Orban and Marine Le Pen. In May, the Spanish right-wing party Vox, through its far right think tank *Fundacion Disenso*, brought together speakers from the Hungarian far right/populist party Fidesz, Portugal’s Chega, the Patriots for Europe Foundation, the Polish institute Ordo Iuris, and the Hungarian Mathias Corvinus Collegium (MCC). In June, the European Parliament itself hosted a second series of events marking the official publication of a document co-written by Ordo Iuris and the MCC.

The MAGA (“Make America Great Again”) slogan has thus arrived in Europe, not only in the form of the “Make Europe Great Again” (MEGA) movement, but also through a practical handbook for dismantling the European Union via the so-called “Great Reset.” This conservative and anti-democratic project seeks to reform the EU and the European Commission from within, under the strict control of nation states.

Furthermore, the European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights reveals in its latest report on anti-choice movement funding that between 2019 and 2023, more than 1.18 billion US dollars were channelled into anti-gender causes, coming from 275 organisations. France ranks second in the countries receiving the largest share of this funding, with 165.7 million dollars, just behind Hungary (172.2 million). The arrival of French ultra-conservative billionaire Pierre-Édouard Stérin in the public debate proves that this is not merely rhetoric, but a full-scale societal project - ultra-liberal, traditionalist, and identitarian - bankrolled by millions of euros in initiatives to “serve and save France.”

The ties between French and European agendas are also very close, as shown by the fact that the Fondation Lejeune made a donation of 18,000 euros to the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), a far-right group in the European Parliament that includes *Identité-Libertés* (formerly the *Mouvement conservateur*), chaired by Marion Maréchal. This foundation ranks among the top five main donors to the ECR.

Feminists facing budget constraints: an unequal fight

Conversely, the current context is clearly unfavourable to feminist organisations, which are not fighting on equal terms. The problem also lies in the inaction of progressive countries, which are drastically reducing their support for the grass-roots associative fabric.

For example, the French *Planning familial* is facing an untenable situation with historic budget cuts: the departmental council of Drôme has decided to close seven (out of twelve) sexual health centres in the department and to reduce by 20% the subsidies granted to the organisation. The department of Loiret has decided on a 10% cut in its subsidy to the *Planning familial*, a loss of €47,000 that could lead to the elimination of two jobs. The president of the Pays de la Loire region has removed all subsidies entirely. What is at stake here is not simply a budgetary question, nor an isolated event limited to a few territories: these are political attacks on sexual and reproductive rights and health. Ideologically driven decisions, systematically taken at the expense of associations, and therefore impacting first and foremost women, LGBTQIA+ people, migrants, young people, and the most vulnerable. This must be understood within a broader framework, in which French cuts to public development aid amount to over 40%, with drastic consequences. The real question remains: how much longer will we continue to underfund those who are changing the world, while anti-rights movements see their funding skyrocket?

Anti-gender attacks will only amplify feminist anger and determination

In the face of these increasingly numerous attacks, the feminist movement is mobilising with an even stronger response. It is essential to take a step back and observe the full range of positive dynamics in the field of gender equality. Despite significant attacks, **resistance and victories are very real.**

Budapest Pride, banned by Viktor Orbán's regime, was nevertheless the largest ever recorded in the country, with more than 200,000 participants. France enshrined the guaranteed freedom of access to abortion in its Constitution. Norway passed a consent law defining non-consensual sexual relations as rape, while France is currently debating similar legislation. The Italian Constitutional Court ruled that two mothers can be registered as parents on their child's birth certificate, a significant victory for equal rights in the country. There are many such examples, and resistance is taking place within the feminist movement but also thanks to broad citizen mobilisation.

While anti-gender forces organise on a global scale, feminists are building borderless alliances. Building alliances is proving to be one of the most powerful strategies, and it is time to think of them in connection with broader networks than the usual ones linked solely to gender equality. A collective, organised response that embraces an intersectional approach is essential, mobilising feminist, pro-EU, pro-democracy organisations, defenders of associative freedoms, LGBTQIA+ rights, migrant rights, and the rights of persons with disabilities...

Citizen mobilisation is powerful. We saw it in the strong public support for the European Citizens' Initiative against conversion therapy, as well as for *My Voice, My Choice*, which aims to guarantee safe access to abortion in Europe for everyone, regardless of who they are or where they come from, through a European financial mechanism. By collecting over one million signatures, Europeans also highlighted the important surge of international solidarity and the centrality of essential human rights such as the right to abortion.

Finally, you don't change the world without investing in those who carry it forward. At both national and European levels, several strategies can and must be put in place. This includes strengthening and ensuring sustainable new funding for feminist civil society organisations, community associations, and human rights defenders, both within and beyond the EU. The European Union must also develop an effective monitoring system to prevent any EU funding from going to actions that promote anti-gender movements. This requires the implementation of regulations obliging these groups to disclose their sources of funding, their expenditures, and their lobbying activities.

Investing in gender equality and in sexual and reproductive health and rights means fighting for a society in which everyone has the right to control their own body, make their own choices, and receive dignified support.

In the face of the reactionary offensive, feminist movements are advancing as society evolves, towards greater

equality, justice, and inclusion. That is why it is urgent to fund them massively and sustainably. Because the defence of human rights cannot be left without resources.

The feminist response is already here: determined, structured, ambitious. It is building powerful alliances, forging new solidarities, and continuing to transform our societies, for everyone.

We will not change Europe without feminist movements. And above all: these movements will not give up.

Recommendations from FIERCE

Political recommendations were elaborated by feminist collectives from throughout Europe in a collaborative research-action framework happening within the transnational feminist labs and network:

Monitoring and countering anti-gender movements

- Identify and map European funding that directly or indirectly benefits anti-gender actors. Put an end to this funding by ensuring that it complies with EU values.

- Publicly sanction hate speech and attacks on the rights of women, LGBTQIA+ people and human rights defenders.

- Strengthening digital safety: reporting procedures, rapid removal of sexist, homophobia, transphobic etc. content, media codes of conduct.

Strengthening feminist movements in Europe

- Ensure sustainable and structural core funding for feminist organisations, beyond one-off projects.

- Actively support transnational feminist networks: networking, alliances, political visibility in European institutions.

- Accurately monitor financial flows: introduce transparent monitoring of the actual funding allocated to women's and gender minorities' rights.

Protecting democracy in the face of digital attacks

- Regulate digital platforms to counter sexist and anti-feminist misinformation.

- Promoting algorithmic justice: auditing gender bias in technologies and guaranteeing the transparency of moderation criteria.

<https://fierce-project.eu/policy-toolkit/>

The Battle of Concepts: French Feminist Mobilizations Against the Far Right's Appropriation of the Feminist Legacy

Ségolène Pruvot

This article is a reworked excerpt from the chapter written by Ségolène Pruvot in the Book "Anti-Gender Mobilizations in Europe and the Feminist Response". Springer, August 2025. The text has been simplified for publication in this journal. All academic references are available in the full text available in [Open Access](#).

On November 19, 2022, during the annual demonstration against sexist and sexual violence organized by the feminist collective *Nou-sToutes* around November 25 (International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women), the far-right group *Némésis* infiltrated the march, wearing outfits resembling niqabs. Their banners displayed slogans such as “My burqa, my choice,” “Feminist and Islamist,” and “My Koran, my laws.” The aim of these identitarian activists was to “denounce the inconsistency of neo-feminism with respect to political Islam, the fact that today, they tolerate Islamist slogans more than anti-immigration ones,” as explained by Alice Cordier, spokesperson for *Némésis*.

Media-focused flash actions are one of the favored strategies of this new breed of extreme right-wing groups. Small groups like *Les Antigones* or *Némésis*—limited in numbers of their members but with significant media presence and social media followings—position themselves as the true defenders of women’s rights, contrasting their actions with those of “neo-feminists,” “woke,” and “islamo-leftist” feminists, whom they claim endanger women and women’s rights.

The main lines of arguments and the new repertoires of action anti-gender movements develop often mirror the practices of left-leaning social movements. These movements strive to appropriate the legacy of feminism, positioning themselves as the true defenders of women’s rights against what they consider deviant feminist movements. The *FIERCE* research reveals how anti-gender actors, often aligned with the extreme right, have been able to leverage an intersectionality of hate (Bard et al., 2019), mixing anti-gender, anti-migrant, and anti-Islam positions to discredit feminist movements and attack women’s and LGBT+ rights.

La Manif Pour Tous as a stepping board for anti-Gender Mobilization in France.

Since *La Manif Pour Tous* (The Protest For All, LMPT) in 2013, anti-gender movements in France have become more active in the public sphere. They vehemently oppose what they derogatorily term “gender theory” or “gender ideology.” Initially, these movements focused on opposing marriage equality and same-sex families. However, since 2018, their focus has shifted primarily to opposing feminism, which they perceive as unnatural due to its differentiation between sex and gender. Transgender rights and medically assisted procreation (MAP) for all have become prime targets for anti-gender activists, with feminist movements advocating for transgender rights becoming one of their main adversaries.

Despite their relative failure – the legislation allowing “wedding for all” was passed in 2013 – the conservative movement’s scale led some to refer to it as the “Conservative May 68” (Brustier, 2014). The *La Manif Pour Tous* protests also marked the moment when “gender” became a contested term for the French public. Its opponents explicitly linked the term with American academia in order to position it strategically as a suspect “foreign import.” “Gender theory” became the theme around which diverse groups could organize, renewing a conservative and largely Catholic opposition to female and LGBT+ emancipation and equality (Fassin, 2001).

In this context, in September 2013, the government launched “Les ABCD de l’égalité” (The ABCDs of Equality), an experimental program in 600 schools across the country to raise awareness about gender stereotypes. As soon as the project was announced, LMPT and their allies, including right-wing Muslim parents and public personalities, launched a massive campaign involving street protests, spreading false information online, and targeted cyber-attacks. The program’s opponents claimed that the ABCDs were teaching explicit sexual content to children and brainwashing them with “gender theory”. Although initial results were encouraging among participating classes, the project was canceled after a teacher received death threats. One consequence of the LMPT battle against the ABCD de l’égalité was the removal of the word “gender” from some educational content.

A variety of movements is gaining influence with the mobilizations against medically assisted procreation (MAP) and against the rights of trans people.

In 2017, presidential candidate Emmanuel Macron proposed to open medically assisted procreation (MAP) to “all women,” arguing that differentiating between heterosexual and lesbian women was discriminatory. In 2019, the first protest against “MAP for all women” took place, coordinated by the newly formed *Marchons enfants!* collective. This collective includes many former members of *La Manif Pour Tous*. Between 2019 and 2021, protests by both pro- and anti-‘MAP for all’ activists occurred. Although the anti-‘MAP for all’ groups never mobilized as strongly as LMPT, a heated public debate ensued.

Following the adoption of the ‘MAP for all’ law (August 2021), the debate shifted to transgender rights. A heated debate, notably fueled since 2021 by the *Observatoire la Petite Sirène*, is ongoing in French media and public discourse regarding children and teenagers’ medical transitions and operations, as well as simplified measures for changing gender officially in the civil status after a transition (proposed since 2017 by trans rights associations and some political parties and supported by the “Defender of Rights”).

Before 2022, anti-gender movements had limited legislative success, beyond the withdrawal of the ABCD de l’Egalité. However, their influence within the state has been documented, notably concerning the weight given to fathers’ rights movements in discussions about children’s rights, as seen in the general recognition of the “syndrome of parental alienation” in French jurisdictions. More recently, an official Senate report on gender transitions was heavily influenced by the anti-gender association *Observatoire la Petite Sirène* (Observatory of the Little Mermaid) and adopted as a new law proposal by the Senate in May 2024 (Sénat, 2024).

Conclusion

The new “nebula” or constellation of anti-gender and anti-feminist movements appears to have strengthened and consolidated considerably following LMPT, converging on issues linked to reproductive rights. Among the new groups, some have gained considerable influence in the public debate and within political parties, such as *Sens Commun*, a direct offspring of LMPT created in 2013 “with the stated aim of influencing from within the conservative political party, UMP” (Le Monde, 2020). Smaller “radical” extreme right-wing groups, such as the *French Spring* and *Génération Identitaire*, gained visibility, and new public figures emerged, often young women like Thaïs d’Escufon, the then-spokesperson of *Génération Identitaire*. Today anti-gender discourses are relayed by mainstream media outlets and by regular journalists and tribune writers.

The French case illustrates how anti-gender movements have successfully renewed their strategies, framing themselves as defenders of women and children while undermining feminist, LGBTQAI+, and migrant rights. They have built a powerful narrative that continues to influence both public debates and political institutions.

Anti-gender movements in France are numerous, diverse, and well-connected, both internationally and in places of power, as numerous studies and journalistic articles have documented in recent years. The article from which this excerpt is taken analyzes the impact of the growth of these movements on feminist movements, and the forms of mobilization and reaction that French feminist movements have been able to develop.

From Saint-Denis to Europe: when the margins become the heart of resistance

An interview with Nasteho Aden

This interview was originally written in French in collaboration with the author and later translated into English by the European Alternatives team. You can read the original version in the French edition of the journal, available here: <https://euroalter.com/about-the-journal/print-editions/>

In Saint-Denis, on the last day of the Transeuropa – Les Marges en Feu ! festival, we met Nasteho Aden, an Afro-feminist activist, local elected representative and secretary of *NousToutes 93 Antiraciste*. This collective, a key partner of the festival, works tirelessly for social justice, gender equality and the fight against all forms of discrimination, whether sexist, racist or social. Its struggle is also to transmit these values, to build a more just and united society, where everyone has their place. Rooted in the working-class neighbourhoods of Seine-Saint-Denis, it links local struggles with transnational solidarity.

In this interview, Nasteho discusses the urgent need to engage with the public and political sphere in the face of the rise of the far right, the challenges of anti-racist feminism in a context of systemic discrimination, and the importance of joining forces across borders to build collective resistance.



Nasteho Aden moderating the festival's first panel on the 5th of June, 'La Révolte des Femmes de Chambre' (The Revolt of the Chambermaids) at Cinéma l'Ecran in Saint-Denis, with Sylvie Kimissa Esper, activist from the Ibis hotel housekeepers' collective, and Rachel Kéké | Credits: Claire Zaniolo

What strategies are you implementing, at the local and transnational levels, against the rise of the far right and anti-feminist movements?

First of all, the mere fact that NousToutes 93 Antiraciste exists is already a strategy in itself. Our collective was born out of political urgency, following the scandalous last-minute dissolution of the National Assembly in June 2024 and the unprecedented breakthrough of the Rassemblement National (a racist and conservative far-right party in France) in the first round of the elections. We felt it was vital to reaffirm anti-racism as a core value of French society, to remove it from the distorted, opportunistic and hollow uses made of it by the public authorities (and sometimes even by the far right itself), to place it back at the heart of the struggles led by those most affected, and to make it a mobilising and transformative political force.

Our second goal is to create political and social links between regions, associations and organisations. In concrete terms, this means ensuring that, at the local level – in popular towns and neighbourhoods, such as Saint-Denis in Seine-Saint-Denis – this issue is made visible to those most affected.

This requires the existence of spaces, the restoration of those that are lacking, and the guarantee that it is those most affected who have a say and establish

connections between themselves. Once this foundation has been laid, which is our basis for operation, we can politicise many aspects of everyday life: Mother's Day, the issue of war, or even the organisation of our feminist and anti-racist festival.

Finally, on an international scale, it is also a question of joining forces with other organisations. For example, we have worked with Canadian collectives on the issue of domestic work. This is how we are building this network: building up from our local roots, with issues taken up and expressed by those most affected.



Last day of the festival, organised in collaboration with Nous Toutes 93 Antiracistes in Saint-Denis | Credits: Claire Zaniolo

What are the main objectives facing intersectional feminist movements today?

The first challenge is to occupy as much space as possible and reclaim our words. Today, we face a major problem: femonationalists are appropriating our vocabulary, our struggles and our methods, and are even seeking to join our demonstrations.

We must therefore clearly draw a line: you cannot be a feminist and a supporter of the far right. The challenge is to remind people that as feminists, we are anti-racist, anti-capitalist and committed to fighting gender-based violence.

When it comes to ecology, we must assert that all struggles are feminist, and that the battles to come will be won with feminists.

After all, feminism and anti-racism are the last bastions against the far right. We must rebuild the defences, fight against the backlash and remind people that feminism is, by its very nature, anti-racist and anti-capitalist – and therefore incompatible with the far right.

In your opinion, what are the pitfalls/obstacles/difficulties in our current strategy as feminists?

The main weakness is our dispersion. We are active in multiple spaces, but there is a lack of strong links between them. With NousToutes 93 Antiracistes, we are modestly trying to respond to this by creating a common space, notably through this festival with Transeuropa.

Les Marges en Feu is one example: it brings together our causes in a single space, through round tables, committed artists and local associations. It is in these moments of sharing that we can build the revolutions of the future – and they will be feminist.

Why is it important to join forces and come together as part of the Transeuropa festival?

Because the European Union as it exists today is primarily an economic union of countries, rather than a social and united Europe. We want to build up these possible cooperation initiatives. The challenges facing working-class neighbourhoods in Seine-Saint-Denis are the same as those facing working-class neighbourhoods in Italy or elsewhere. The margins and struggles are found everywhere, and they must be discussed collectively.

Earlier today, we debated the question of prisons and the reintegration of marginalised and racialised people in different countries. This shows how much we have to learn from each other.

It is essential that we meet, get to know each other and push forward together on European policies. Faced with the rise of fascism across Europe, we must ensure that anti-fascist resistance is even stronger, even more connected – and that it is feminist.

Who is the legitimate political subject of our mourning? Towards a policy of commemoration.

Orian Lempereur-Castelli
Fatou Dieng

This article was originally written in French by the authors and later translated into English by the European Alternatives team. You can read the original version in the French edition of the journal, available here: <https://euroalter.com/about-the-journal/print-editions/>

It should come as no surprise that French society, and more specifically the racial order that governs it, does not mourn our dead. We have come to expect that we will be prevented from expressing our grief publicly, that our tributes will be criminalised as if they were crimes. But how can we explain that even within our own commemorations, certain lives are forgotten?

While the names of Zyed Benna and Bouna Traoré resonate in our collective activist memory and even within French society, those of other victims fall silent. And whereas the death of Nahel Merzouk provoked (legitimate) national outrage, even reaching the President of the Republic, two weeks earlier Alhoussein Camara died in Angoulême (France) in the midst of an overwhelming silence from the media and even activists. Admittedly, his death was not filmed. But could it be that the sociological characteristics (he is black and a migrant) of this 19-year-old Guinean contributed to his non-consecration as a political martyr¹?

Ultimately, considering commemorations as sites of (re) production of hierarchies, this article focuses on the contours of the category of 'victim of police violence' and, beyond that, on the legitimate subjects of our mourning. Are there better victims than others? What do our commemorations say about our representations of the 'good' victim of police violence? What are the blind spots in our commemorations?

I use the word 'our' because this article is intended as a critique from within the struggles. For an academic paper, I attempted to reflect on the significations of our commemorative practices. Beyond this theoretical aspect, the article is the fruit of my experience as an anti-racist and queer activist. It is informed by activist books, such as *100 Portraits Against the Police State*, but also by discussions I have had with Fatou Dieng, who co-authored this article with me. The organisations she is part of – *le Réseau d'Entraide Vérité et Justice* ('The Truth and Justice Mutual Aid Network') and *le Comité Vérité et Justice pour Lamine Dieng* ('The Truth and Justice Committee for Lamine Dieng') – are actively involved in developing a militant, inclusive and collective policy of commemoration. Based on the activist experience of *le Réseau*, which responded to the call for *Global Commémor'action* in February 2025 in Paris and Rennes, as well as to the *Transborder Summer Camp* at the ZAD (Zone A Défendre) in Notre-Dame-Des-Landes, the end of this article outlines the contours of commemorations that could be real tools for destabilising the structures that oppress us.

1. Andrew R Murphy, *Theorizing Political Martyrdom: Politics, Religion, Death, and Memory*, *Political Theology*, 4 July 2023, vol. 24, no 5, p. 465-485.
2. Collectif Cases Rebelles, *100 portraits contre l'Etat policier*, Paris, éditions Syllepsis, 2017.
3. Judith Butler, *Ce qui fait une vie : essai sur la violence, la guerre et le deuil*, translated by Joëlle Marelli, Paris, Zones, 2010, 176 p.

Mourning to recognise the value of life

For Judith Butler³, the possibility of grievability reflects the value we attribute to the lives of others. A life subject to grief is one that we celebrate as having been lived. To mourn is to say: this is a life, this life mattered to us. Our tears express this recognition. Above all, the possibility of grief draws a line between lives that conform to the standards of intelligibility of what we recognise as life, those that are worth living and worth mourning, and lives that are not really lives, whose loss does not provoke collective dysphoric emotions.

"Now the city is saved, the two enemy brothers are dead, and Creon, the king, has ordered that Eteocles, the good brother, be given an imposing funeral, but that Polynices, the scoundrel, the rebel, the thug, be left without tears and without burial, prey to the crows and jackals. Anyone who dares to perform funeral rites for him will be mercilessly punished with death."

Jean Anouilh, *Antigone*, 1945
(translation by the authors).

This dichotomy between lives that are worthless and those that are honoured is a recurring theme in our Euro-Mediterranean societies. Take *Antigone*. On one side, there is Polynices, and on the other, Eteocles. On the desert floor lies the brother whose body will rot in the sun at the mercy of vultures. In the royal tomb lies the other, whose funeral occupies every one in Thebes. More than a punishment, Creon's ban on burying Polynices reflects the devaluation of his life. A life that does not deserve to be honoured. Therefore, when we turn our attention to our commemorations and the public expression of our emotions, we must examine the logics of inclusion, exclusion and hierarchy at work within our anti-racist movements.

Montrer patte blanche (showing one's innocence):
a strategic dead end

Faced with this situation, the temptation to shape our lives to conform to racist and classist expectations is strong... but futile. We can cry out the innocence of our dead, insist on the human qualities of the victims, smooth over their history, but nothing will erase what they are really blamed for: their social race.

In the aftermath of the deaths of Zyed Benna and Bouna Traoré, Clichy-Sous-Bois marched behind a banner reading ‘died for nothing’⁶. This is also the title of the tribute rap album featuring 164 artists, including Diam's, Akhenaton, Kerry James and Kool Shen. Finally, it is the slogan printed on the T-shirts worn by members of the association Au-delà des mots (‘Beyond Words’). The young age of the teenagers, combined with the absence of any offence, reinforces their innocence in the eyes of the public, and therefore our collective indignation.

But let us not be fooled: as in many other cases of lethal police violence, and despite Zyed and Bouna's innocence, the police officers responsible for the deaths of the two children were not convicted. For those who uphold racial order, their minds will never be changed: no clear denial, no film, no smile, no story will ever convince those in power of the value of their lives.

The racism that tarnishes our lives

While in Sophocles' tragedy, adapted by Jean Anouilh, the reasons that lead Creon to refuse Polynices a burial are fairly obvious – he rebelled against authority – when we step outside the tragedy to examine the social world in which we live, the criteria that determine which lives will be mourned and which will not are not so clear-cut. To put it another way, why is a life not worth as much as another life?

In the case of lethal police violence, Rachida Brahim's analysis confirms what many of us already know: racism kills twice⁴. In other words, racism criminalises non-white people during their lifetime, but also after their death. Not only black and arab, but also asians and travelers⁵ (whether they are Gypsies, Roma, Manouches, Gitanes...) victims are not recognised as valuable lives, and are therefore not subject to public grieving, instead, their memory is tarnished. In some cases, their criminal records are dug up. In others, pathologies are invented. If not, they are being accused of rebelling against the police. In one way or another, they are always made responsible for their own deaths. The value of their lives is diminished, as if to say that, deep down, this lost life is not so serious, it was not really a life.

Resisting the liberal co-optation of our tears

Above all, commemorations have no intrinsic political value. Co-opted by the authorities, they can be formidable instruments of division, tools of power used to sort, rank and exclude.

In this regard, the commemorations for Zyed and Bouna in Clichy-Sous-Bois illustrate how, when taken over by the state authorities, commemorations lose their political significance and can even become a way to pacify a working-class neighbourhood.

In 2006, as meetings between municipal teams and the families progressed, the content of the commemorative plaque financed by the city was gradually watered down, to the point where the word ‘deceased’ was removed from the text initially proposed by the families' relatives⁷.

During the annual ceremonies held in front of this same plaque and co-organised by the town hall, speeches are devoid of any critical tone. No slogans or demands against the police are heard. The focus is on the ‘drama’ and ‘tragic story’ of these two children, to the point that anyone attending the ceremonies in front of the plaque without knowing the story of Zyed and Bouna could legitimately imagine that their deaths were accidental. In Clichy, the commemorations allow politicians to shed crocodile tears in order to discredit public anger.

Does commemorating mean sorting?

Importantly, the political-media system likes to hold up some of our dead as symbols in order to better devalue others. This is the result of the individualisation of court cases and the neoliberal personification of struggles. In doing so, the racial system sorts our dead, selecting between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ victims and organising a competition to win its favour.

In response, the anti-racist movement also tends to reproduce dynamics of exclusion based on racist, classist or ableist criteria. Expressing grief publicly, being outraged by the deaths of some and forgetting others, allying with certain families more than others: all these commemorative practices participate in defining the contours of the legitimate political subject of our anti-racist struggles. Thus, commemorative spaces overlap with historical hierarchies and exclusions: madmen and madwomen, thieves, former convicts, migrants, non-white women, travellers, prisoners, criminals, undocumented people, sex workers, trans people... there are many blind spots in our commemorations. Yet their lives matter too.

For a policy of commemoration

Devising a policy of commemoration that rejects the injunction to innocence, the personification of struggles, and instead allows us to collectively assert the strangeness (one could even say queerness) of our lives seems all the more necessary and urgent given that, when co-opted by public authorities, commemorations can contribute to the reproduce oppressions.

As we write this article together, Fatou reminds me of the words of the Manden Charter:

"Every life is a life.

It is true that one life comes into existence before another,

but one life is not “senior” or more respectable than another.

Nor is one life superior to another."

It seems to me that a desirable policy of commemoration, based on equality and emancipation, must be fully in line with this heritage, otherwise we risk perpetuating the very hierarchies that we, as anti-racist activists, denounce. We affirm that every life is a life. No life is more respectable than another. Whether or not someone is presumed innocent (in the eyes of laws whose logics are often racist and classist), whether they hold colonial papers, their gender or their mental and physical state should not be a criteria in our commemorations.

Initiatives such as the *Truth and Justice Mutual Aid Network* prove that, when conceived collectively, commemorations can be one of the tools used to destabilise oppressive structures. Since 2007, the *Network* has been bringing together the families of victims of law enforcement so that they will never again be pitted against each other. Above all, it works to de-segment our politics of commemoration. Since its creation, le Network has brought together families of victims of lethal and non-lethal but mutilating violence, in particular from the *gilets jaunes* (yellow vests) movement. More recently, its involvement in the organisation of *commémor'ation* demonstrates the determination of its activists to open up commemorations to lost lives from all walks of life: migrants, prisoners, trans people, etc.

4. Rachida Brahim, *La race tue deux fois: une histoire des crimes racistes en France 1970-2000*, Éditions Syllepse, Paris, 2020.

5. On this subject, read Aurélie Garand, *Depuis qu'ils nous ont fait ça*, Éditions Du Bout De La Ville, Paris, 2022.

6. *Marche blanche* of 2006.

7. About the evolution of the content of the plaque, see: Orian Lempereur-Castelli. « Ni oubli, ni pardon. Les pratiques mémorielles dans la lutte contre les violences policières ». [Mémoire non publié, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales], 2025, 143p.

The example of the Truth and Justice Mutual Aid Network

In February 2025, *the Network* responded to a call from *Global commémor'action*⁸, an activist network against borders that has been commemorating those who have died in the Mediterranean, the desert, the mountains and at borders since 2014. In Rennes and Paris, the faces of Lamine Dieng and Babacar Gueye were mixed with those of people who died on migration routes. Representatives of undocumented migrants' collectives, from CSP 75 to the young people of Belleville Park, spoke after artistic performances: there, a woman wove the leaflets distributed to migrants in Calais, later in the evening two dancers, themselves refugees, expressed the violence of their journey through their art. Then it was *the Network's turn*. Here is what they had to say:

'The Network is the result of various meetings across France and beyond, and the links forged between victims' committees from 2007 to the present day. It brings together committees/collectives of victims' families, a collective supporting the families of victims of enforced disappearances and survivors of crimes, police, prison and psychiatric violence, as well as feminist, anti-repression, anti-fascist, anti-prison and anti-imperialist collectives.

On 6 February, in response to the call from Global Commemor'action, we also call for the strengthening of this movement of solidarity and resistance against deaths at borders and for dignity and rights for all.

Neither forget nor forgive, freedom of movement for all!

Tribute to the victims of migration policies.

Migration is a right, not a crime.

Migrate to live, not to die.

Borders kill.

Detention kills.

States kill.

Truth, justice and reparations for all victims of borders, detention, the police, the gendarmerie...

Support for refugees, migrants, people with or without colonial papers, survivors, bereaved families, families of the enforced disappeared and missing persons.

Support for the oppressed, isolated unaccompanied migrants, support for the Belleville Park youth collective.'

In August 2025, the Transborder Summer Camp at the ZAD (Zone A Défendre) in Notre-Dame-des-Landes provided an opportunity to put these inclusive and emancipatory slogans into practice. During a workshop on those who have died because of racism, whether on French soil at the hands of the police or in the Mediterranean, in the



crédit : <https://commemoraction.net/>

mountains or in administrative detention centres (CRA), families and loved ones of those who have disappeared met with Fatou Dieng and Awa Gueye. United, we commemorated our dead. We cried together. We prayed together. We shouted together. Not to say that the stories are the same or to draw up an exhaustive list, which is unfortunately impossible, but to affirm the equal value of lives, the sharing of common oppressions – those perpetrated by racist states – but above all a common struggle for the emancipation and liberation of all.



Commémor'action du 6 février 2025, place de la République, Paris (crédit : <https://commemoraction.net/6-feb-2025/>)

8. <https://commemoraction.net/>

The Alliance of Women* in Exile. Practising Feminist and Antiracist Futures



A life worth living © Maika Larrue

Nina Ferrante
and Anna Rispoli_Struggle Care Joy

1. The asterisk in women signals an inclusive usage of the term, referring to all those affected by patriarchal oppression and/or socialized as women, regardless of gender identity. It is a political and intentional choice rooted in intersectional and transfeminist feminist frameworks.

Struggle Care Joy has kept us in motion for over a year now, ever since Anna brought us into this project of sisterhood and active complicity between women* with and without documents. We call this practice of doing-together a *trajec-toire*: not a straight line, but a posture – an attitude of looking ahead, beyond the swamp of the present, past the boundaries of what can be imagined today, and further than what we have done so far.

This is how we define the practice of prefiguration – not as a wishful hope that naming something will make it come true, but as a steady cultivation of faith in utopia, a political commitment to bringing forth what does not yet exist, without any longer postponing to the future the transformative capacity of the collective.

Since we started, everything has accelerated, veering sharply to the right: the European Pact on Migration, the genocide in Palestine, war becoming the only horizon, the rise of the European far right and global fascism. In this conjuncture, turning toward the future feels like an even more radical act. The exercise of prefiguration demands that we stay grounded in urgency while already organizing the infrastructures that allow us to persist, to resist, to sustain each other, even as we’re still formulating the question of who “we” are when we speak as one, and – most of all – which networks we can rely on when one of us needs time to breathe, space to feel safe, to come back to herself, and regain the strength to move forward.

Struggle Care Joy is a trajectory shared by several grassroots collectives of women* in exile, aiming to move forward together in the struggle for regularization and toward personal emancipation. Today, the trajectory includes the *Comité des Femmes Sans Papiers*, *Femmes Tout Terrain*, and *Candidates Sans Papiers* from Belgium; *Territorio Doméstico* and *Comisión Antirracista 8M* from Spain; and a number of autonomous union organizers from France.

The use of artistic strategies grounded in the prefigurative practice towards desirable futures – futures that are today more urgent and essential than ever – has given rise to electoral campaigns, antifascist fashion shows, performances in public space, and, above all, the **ALLIANCE DES FORTES (Féministes Organisées Résistantes Transnationales Exilées et Sorores)**, a collective subject that aims at positioning itself on the European stage as a counterforce to the project of the racist right.

The asterisk in *women* signals an inclusive usage of the term, referring to all those affected by patriarchal oppression and/or socialized as women, regardless of gender identity. It is a political and intentional choice rooted in intersectional and transfeminist feminist frameworks.



Alliance des Fortes Rituel d' alliance
© Rita Maria Habib

We are writing from Brussels, the symbolic capital of a Europe that claims unity through a supposed identity project, rooted in colonial history and propelled forward by warfare, bordered by frontiers that constantly manufacture an enemy to defend against. As we build our trajectory, we have come to understand the symbolic potential of this city, which we hope will become, on our own maps, the beating heart of an alliance emerging from the burning margins. «**Porque sin nosotras no se mueve el mundo**», as our compañeras from Madrid say.

Focusing on each of the terms through which we build our shared practices, we recount the actions of a collective journey as an invitation to what we can still do:

#care: we continue to invest in the material value of care

#joy: we invent the priorities of a community led by a Candidate Sans-Papiers

#struggle: we inaugurate a transnational alliance against the Migration Pact

#CARE (May 2024)

The compañeras of *Territorio Doméstico* – a transborder collective of immigrant women based in Madrid – arrived dancing, their songs already a political program. One of the women ready to welcome them, from *La Ligue des Travailleuses Domestiques*, part of the CSC/Brussels union working with migrant domestic workers, told us she immediately thought: Something is about to happen here.

And so began four days of deep reflections, joyful dancing, tears of emotion and uncontrollable laughter – a **school about the politics of care**, hosted by KunstenFestivalDesArts, where we discussed reproductive labor from the perspective of migrant women within patriarchal and racist societies.

“You’re like family” is the master’s magic formula: considering the emotional blackmail of unpaid labor, something all of us socialized as women know too well. But there’s something in that “like family” that reveals a deeper truth: some women will never be accepted into the family, because in the Father’s house and in the Homeland, they remain foreign, undocumented, and even more vulnerable to exploitation within domestic walls.

We were guided in this reflection by Lea Melandri, Maddalena Fragnito, and Silvia Federici, who helped us unravel the knot that binds the emotional ambivalence of inti-

mate relationships to the violent matrix of colonial exploitation within global reproductive labor chains.

The workshop on tools of struggle led by *Territorio Doméstico* consisted in re-situating one’s personal experience within the framework of a collective narrative of oppression – and, at the same time, in feeling the emancipatory power of collectivization and reappropriation through action-theatre.

This is how figures like **La Perra Liberada** (the Unleashed Dog), an archetype of the woman who breaks away from exploitation, came to life; along with **La Pulpo**, a multi-tasking heroine, and **La Empoderada**, who proudly claims her right to an aperitivo with her friends.

These archetypes joyfully took over the public space of KunstenFestival with a *Pasarela* – a subverted fashion show – claiming visibility, but above all **occupying space** and asserting the agenda of those who are usually left out of moments like these.



With love not for love_La Pulpo © Rita Maria Habib

#JOY (September 2024)

A new chapter begins – new first of all in its composition: our network of comrades expanded to include other self-organized groups of women without papers. Among them, the *Comité des Femmes Sans Papiers* and the women from *Occupation de la Paix*. Over these months, we have become implicated in one another's lives – facing evictions together, opening new homes, and forging new bonds of sisterhood with other allied collectives.

We came together again at Kaaitheater to pick up the thread we had left, gathering around the question of care and the phrase: “**with love, not for love.**” While the workshop was unfolding, the municipal elections were taking place all around us – when migrants disappeared from political discourse (especially women), only to be invoked by racists in the name of security.

What better time to imagine what city administration would look like if care were placed at the center? What if the city were made livable starting from the needs of the most fragile? Who better than an exiled woman with no access to housing could manage a housing crisis? Who would be more capable of rethinking anti-violence measures outside of securitarian logic? Who better than an undocumented person could redesign the integration of services and a centralized regularization system without administrative dead ends?

That's how the public action during **MolenFest 2030** was born, on the Pont des Flandres: launching the **first Candidate Sans Papiers**. The campaign poster was a cut-up of the faces of many of the women who initiated the project, a vision greater than the sum of each one's intelligence, the project a glimpse of what we could build if we weren't constantly being drained by survival.

To prepare, we focused on occupying public space, on legitimizing the right to speak for those usually excluded from politics, on the embodiment of visible, proud bodies that take the stage in a celebration of the city to come.

#STRUGGLE (May 2025)

Against the European Pact on Migration and Asylum, we made ourselves an Alliance. Everything around us moves quickly – and to the right – amplifying the sense of precarity. Belgium elects the “Arizona Government,” a broad coalition whose first agreement is to cut social rights and actively persecute migrants. Europe elects a new majority, again leaning further to the right, fronted by the reassuring face of a woman – Von Der Leyen – who made it clear that from now on, war would be the only item on the agenda.

In this context, turning toward the future feels even more urgent, more radical. Europe is rearming, building unity by constructing borders that for many represent the line between life and death. It arms wars and genocide in Palestine, exploits and pollutes while refusing to welcome those whose lives it has rendered unlivable.

To this Europe, we say: you will find a united front of women – **more powerful than ever, because we are organized.** Nothing terrifies power more than that.

We gathered in Brussels to speak directly to the heartless heart of European politics: we are ready to write a new history – or rather, **new futures** – feminist, anti-racist, anti-fascist, and without borders.

We invited *Territorio Doméstico* to join the Alliance, and other compañeras arrived from Spain, France, Italy – care workers, community-builders, trade unionists, squatters, singers, artists. All militants.

During three intense days of meetings held at Kanal, we took care of each other, we developed a shared strategy for struggle and a common horizon of freedom and joy. We discussed practical issues: mutualism, self-organization, and self-funding of our movement. We refined a plan to be more effective:

“Face à la criminalisation des personnes migrantes, nous voulons dire d'une seule voix que nous sommes celles qui luttons pour la vie.”

As the comrades from *Comité des Femmes Sans Papiers* often remind us:

“Nous ne sommes pas un danger, nous sommes en danger. That's why we unite.”

We created and brought into the streets a **ritual** to give visibility and weight to the pact we were forging with one another. Our alliance is not written on paper, it is not expressed through legal language, it is not based on violence or fear. Our bond is inscribed in our bodies, it is made collective in a moment of **joy and struggle** in Molenbeek's square—making visible the creative, transformative force of our practices in public space.

The best is yet to come

A trajectory, as we said, is defined by its ability to keep looking beyond what already exists. To form an alliance is, above all, an act of trust – not only in the relationships we already have, but in those yet to come.

We are building a **political platform**, a space of exchange between migrant women, to break out of the isolation into which migration policies try to enclose us. We now have a **shared calendar** of coordinated actions, a promise of wide mobilization whenever one of our nodes is under attack, and an **infrastructure for exchanging the best tools from a shared toolbox of resistance.**

What matters most to us right now is understanding who we are when we say “**we**”:

Which new collectives want to join the alliance?

What practices are still unknown to us that could expand the transformative potential of our actions?

Who are the protagonists?

What is the space for supporters of the alliance?

How do we support an alliance by redistributing material resources and social capital **without taking up the space of those most directly concerned?**

In the difficult times ahead, we need to know that it is within **our shared struggle** that we will find our strength.

To become more visible, more effective, and more connected internationally.

The best is yet to come.



Alliance des Fortes © Rita Maria Habib

“Wherever the wind blows them.”

Community conversation and creative storytelling session with songs, sounds, and stories from the cracks of the UK’s Hostile Environment

Rebekka Hölzle: artistic co-production, overall project coordination

Rachel Margetts: artistic co-production, sound-production of the intervention

Amanda: artistic collaboration

Faiza: artistic collaboration

Mary: artistic collaboration



Caleb Pinnell from Turf Projects Croydon

Listening to the sounds and voices of the slow, everyday violence of the UK’s Hostile Environment¹, ‘all our lines are busy’, trying to block the endless holes in a leaking basket, ‘you made yourself intentionally homeless’. Learning from the scattered seeds, small and thin, they fly with the wind and don’t decide their fate, or the snail that leaves their shell behind for other insects to make it their home, in a quiet, generous gesture.

This one-hour audio piece is a live recording of a collective creative intervention performed at the LIMINAL Lab’s 2-day ‘Lexicon II - Hostility and Infrastructures of Care’ event in London, February 2025, hosted by Turf Projects in Croydon. LIMINAL is an international and interdisciplinary laboratory investigating intersectional (im-)mobilities and border violence, based in the University of Bologna’s Department of the Arts.

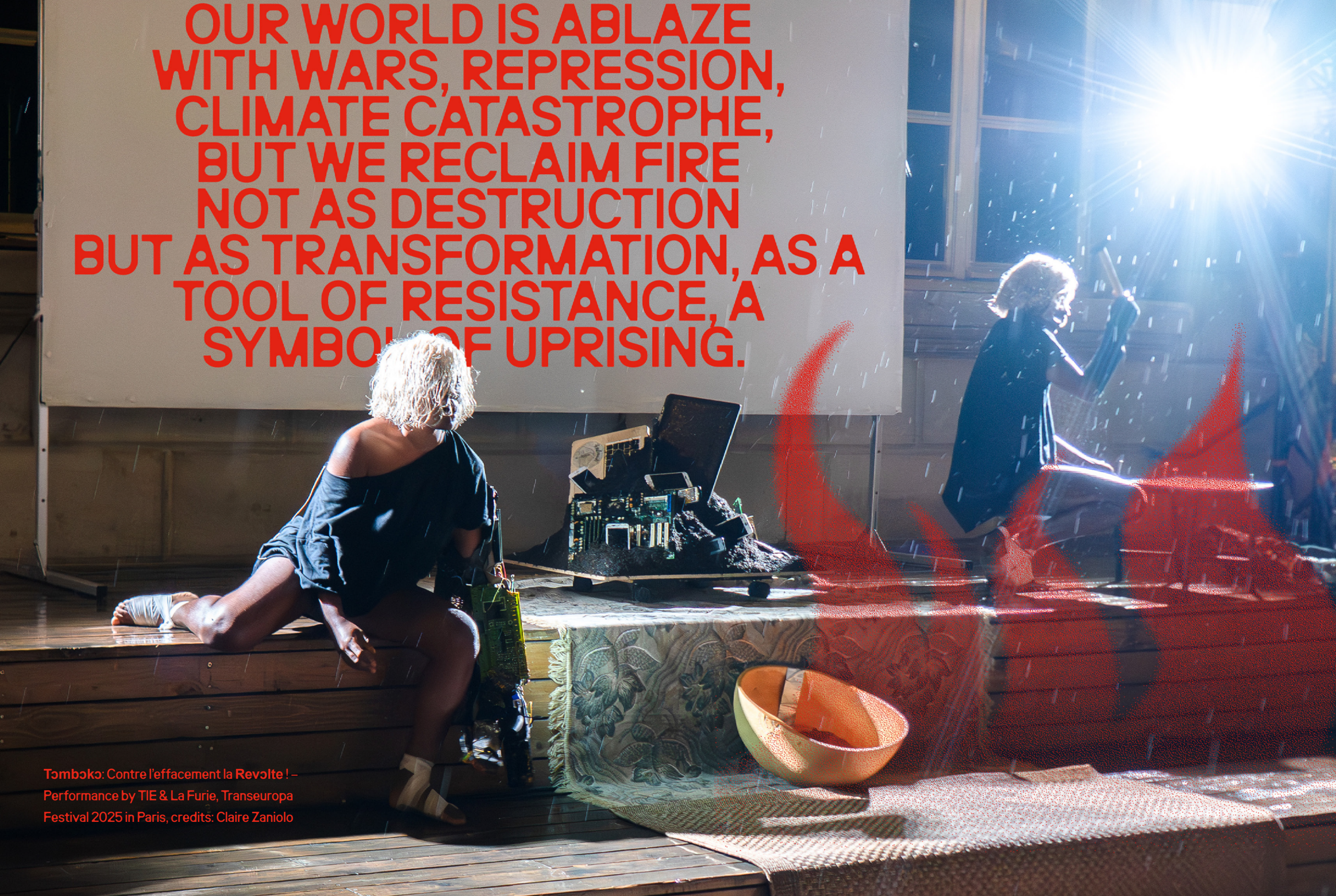
In this creative intervention, supposedly ‘academic’ concepts around migration, solidarity, resistance, and care are interwoven with poetic conversations and stories sharing lived experiences of surviving and resisting the UK’s hostile environment from within its cracks. These are shared alongside music, and sound recordings and quotes gathered during a creative research residential with a group of London-based migrant women² activists, three of whom – Amanda, Faiza, and Mary – joined the Liminal Lab intervention as storytellers and creative collaborators. The residential formed part of Rebekka Hölzle’s doctoral research on migrant women’s care and resistance practices in the context of the UK’s hostile immigration policies, especially focusing on the impact of the ‘No Recourse to Public Funds’ policy which excludes cer-

tain groups of migrants from statutory welfare support. The research was realised in partnership with the South London Refugee Association’s Women Group.³

The creative conceptualisation of the intervention emerged through a collaboration between artist Rachel Margetts and interdisciplinary researcher Rebekka Hölzle. Both are committed to exploring artistic and academic practices that use different creative media to craft more collaborative and ‘care-full’ forms of storytelling and research with communities targeted by hostile migration and welfare regimes. The intervention playfully blurs the boundaries between academia, activism, and arts, and is thought of as an invitation to re-imagine and expand the formats and voices represented within academic conferences and publications, and how stories and knowledges are disseminated and shared within and beyond academic settings more broadly.

1. The term ‘hostile environment’ is based on a 2012 quote by the then Home Secretary Theresa May, and has since become an umbrella term for the UK’s steadily expanding inhumane immigration discourse, legislation, administration, and practice. This includes harsh and punitive policies limiting refugees and migrants’ access to welfare, healthcare, employment, and creating more expensive, exclusive and longer routes to settlement, asylum protection, and citizenship.
2. In this project, we define ‘women’ as anyone who self-identifies as a woman or female, regardless of ascribed biological sex. This definition implies shared, albeit intersectionally differentiated experiences of patriarchal oppression.
3. Find out more about the research project and download a zine with material from the creative residential on: www.rebekka-hoelzle.org

OUR WORLD IS ABLAZE
WITH WARS, REPRESSION,
CLIMATE CATASTROPHE,
BUT WE RECLAIM FIRE
NOT AS DESTRUCTION
BUT AS TRANSFORMATION, AS A
TOOL OF RESISTANCE, A
SYMBOL OF UPRISING.



Томбоко: Contre l'effacement la Revolte ! –
Performance by TIE & La Furie, Transeuropa
Festival 2025 in Paris, credits: Claire Zaniolo

‘Margins on Fire!’: A Space of Reflexion, Action and Joy

Transeuropa Festival is an annual event that brings together people from across borders for reflection, action and celebration. The festival was created in 2007 in London with the vision of shaping a Europe that is fair, inclusive and united through creativity, culture and collective action.

The Paris edition of the Festival in June 2025, and this newspaper, which is one of its offshoots, aim to contribute, at their own level, to building the social movements, changes and society of tomorrow.

The theme of the Festival, Margins on Fire!, called for the centrality of the margins to be taken into account and for a reversal of perspective, not only social and cultural, but also spatial, bringing to light the creative and political energy emerging from Europe’s urban peripheries.

"Marginalised, our knowledge is always at the heart of movements of transformation," said bell hooks. [1]

The margins are numerous, interconnected and varied. Those who live on the margins know that they are inventing new forms of life and governance on a daily basis, making collective choices that challenge the status quo.

This is a critical period: across Europe (and the world), the far right and conservative movements are gaining ground, seeking to destroy the rights of women, LGBTQIA+ people, exiled, racialised people, disabled people and all those relegated to the margins.

Issues related to gender, anti-racism and decolonial struggles are essential areas of action, exploited by anti-rights movements to advance an ultra-conservative, patriarchal and capitalist vision of society.

In Hungary, LGBTQIA+ movements are under direct attack and accused of jeopardising national sovereignty. Their resistance, and the support shown for Pride in June 2025, has given us hope, but the battle is far from won. In Poland, recent political changes that raised hopes for improvements in women's and LGBTQIA+ rights are likely to be reversed by the outcome of the presidential elections and the victory of conservative nationalist Karol Nawrocki. In France, of course, migration policies are tightening and the RN is gaining ground in every election and finding itself at the heart of the political spectrum. The RN's positions are influencing the political developments of centrist and conservative movements, particularly on issues such as immigration, gender and the environment. The list of anti-democratic and anti-rights electoral victories is long: Sweden, Germany, Romania...

The European Union refused to take action in the face of these movements and in the face of Viktor Orbán, who has become one of the champions of the ultra-conservative, traditionalist, anti-gender, extractivist and revisionist movement. The *"Make Europe Great Again"*, a slogan coined and promoted by Viktor Orbán to advance an illiberal and nationalist agenda, movement is consolidating at breakneck speed, taking advantage of the global context and anti-democratic regressions in the United States, Russia, Latin America and the rest of Europe.

The rule of law and democracy are eroding and fragile. The rights of racialised, sexual and gender minorities, as well as social rights, are under attack, weakened and forgotten. Funding for movements, associations, and research institutions labelled as "woke" is being cut, and the media is being colonised by the ultra-conservative ideas of a handful of billionaires. But with this Festival, we are reminding everyone that we refuse to let ourselves be consumed.

Beyond the paralysing anxieties and political disaffection, there are many powerful and joyful mobilisations. Feminist movements are the flames of those who refuse to bow down. They carry resistance and have never been so numerous and supported. They have evolved to become more diverse, more open, and to create intersectional alliances.

These local, national and transnational alliances are key to bringing about change in a direction opposite to that advocated by anti-rights and anti-democratic movements, to enable social, economic and environmental projects. European Alternatives works tirelessly in this direction, notably through the creation and coordination of a transnational feminist network acting against anti-gender movements, which emerged from the [FIERCE research project](#) (which analysed anti-gender movements in eight European countries and their impact on feminist movements over the last decade).

We must not allow the idea that human rights are part of a now obsolete global order to take root. We must defend them, demand their effective implementation and move towards new forms of radical democracy, not submit to new forms of fascism.

The Festival is a collective effort every year. A big thank you to our partner organisations: NousToutes, Le Planning Familial, Féministes contre le Cyberharcèlement, SOS Homophobie, NousToutes 93 antiraciste, Georgette Sand, and all the associations and individuals who participated by offering a workshop, supporting the participation of speakers, running a stand, to the volunteers, interpreters, artists, the European Alternatives team and our funders, in particular the European Commission, as well as the private foundations that support us.

The Festival is a time for exchange, joint construction and joy. We hope that readers of this newspaper have been able to feel this through the articles. We invite you to join us for the 2026 edition of the Transeuropa Festival, which will be held in Athens on the theme of "Reclaiming the Clouds". It will focus on air, storms, artificial intelligence and feminist, ecological, humanist and democratic interconnections.



Transeuropa Festival 2025 in Paris
credits: Claire Zaniolo

FREEDOM, LOVE! : the role of (queer) artists in political crises

Aurola Gyorfy

*Freedom and love my creed! / These are the two I need. / For
love I'll freely sacrifice / My earthly spell, / For freedom, I will
sacrifice / My love as well.*

Petőfi Sándor. Pest, 1847. január 1.



Liberté x Amour, June 2025.

Hadley Z. Renkin¹ writes about the changing meanings of sexual identity, community, and politics in postsocialist Hungary, emerging as an organized movement in the years immediately preceding the collapse of Socialism in 1989, Hungarian lesbian and gay activists have striven to build stronger conceptions of identity and community, to create political consciousness, and to be seen as valid members of Hungarian society. These conceptions of representation and community have been actively challenged in the past years in Hungary both politically and culturally. This article illustrates, **during a politically regressing regime, the role of the artists becomes eventually more political.**

The representation and biopolitical interpretation of sexuality in Eastern Europe has been key to creating the borders of modern "European" identity in both Western and Eastern conceptions. By defining the boundaries of European modernity, Hungary is a sexual-political site that can symbolize both the fundamental flaws of post-socialist society and citizenship, "and the West as the necessary source, model, and executor of their solution, thereby legitimizing Western Europe's moral and political dominance in Eastern Europe".² These interpretations portray the West as a space of appropriate sexual freedom and inclusion, concealing its heteronormativity; they depict Hungary as a site of complex and ambivalent sexual-political resistance, casting its people as either falling short of Western norms and "proper sexual citizenship"³, or

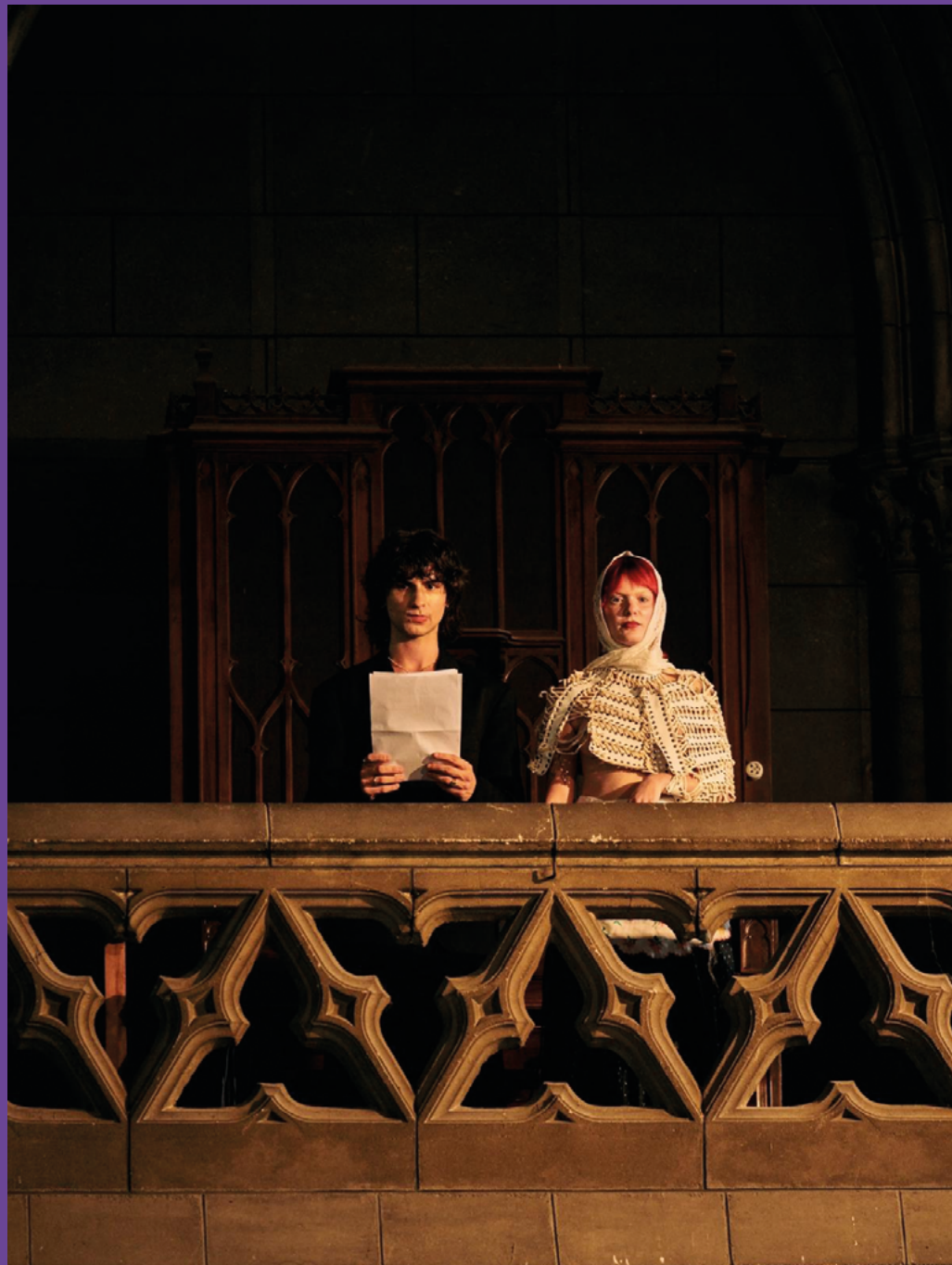
representing a more traditional European alternative.

Hungarian sexual minorities radically questioned traditional notions of cultural belonging: the Hungarian social vision critical of post-socialist structures, which was developed through their activism after 1989, fundamentally questioned traditional boundaries of identity and community and offered an alternative way of defining the boundaries between national and transnational meanings. According to Rekin, the far-reaching cultural consequence of this model (as well as the vision of national death that has accompanied Hungarian history) is that the Hungarian right wing portrays the Christian heteronormative family model as a necessary defense of the nation's natural gender and sexual traditions against the behavior of the modern West.

1. Received his PhD in Anthropology from the University of Michigan; he teaches at the Gender Studies department at Central European University, once in Budapest, Hungary, now in Vienna, Austria. His research focuses on Hungarian sexual politics, Hungary's LGBTQ+ movement, and the complexities of the relationships between sexuality and transnational and national belongings in the postsocialist context.

2. Chetaille, A. (2013). Is the "other Europe" homophobic? the European Union, polish nationalism, and the sexualization of the east/west divide. *Raisons Politiques*, 49(1), 119-140.

3. Renkin: Homophobia and queer belonging in Hungary (2009).



Liberté x Amour, June 2025.



Liberté x Amour, June 2025.

LIBERTÉ X AMOUR

The Liberté x Amour event, organised and curated by Aurola Gyorfy and Márk Rékai in Paris, created a space that reimagined the concepts of freedom and love from a queer perspective. The project gave young Hungarian migrant artists the opportunity to explore their own identities and reflections on the political situation in Hungary through live performances, video projections, and participatory actions. The program featured works by Anime Liberation Front, Kmetyó Annamária, Györfy Aurola, Csoboth Dorka, Le Nina Rossa, Rékai Márk, and Sawa.

FREEDOM, LOVE! was born to express our deep refusal of this social and political system, in which the notion of “inclusion” itself must be interrogated—what does it mean to be included within a system that never ceases to reproduce the same hierarchies of race, class, and gender?

Our goal is to dismantle narrow frameworks and give space to a queer body and gender experience outside the system of static and self-producing body politics. The exhibition rejected the heteronormative strategy of owning and showing bodies, and experimented with possibilities of redefining the revolutionary queer subject through a lens that is not bound by existing structural dialogues.

At a certain point, we felt that we had to react: even as Hungarians living abroad, we can react quickly to po-

litical situations in Hungary. Activism had not characterized our practice before, but in this political climate, we felt that as artists, the dynamics between performance and activism could best shift the classic functions and roles of the exhibition space, the viewer, and the artist.

This also influenced our choice of title: we wanted to find keywords that are familiar to everyone, capable of mobilizing the masses and have a manifest character, one which does not exclusively activate the queer community and operates with an absolutely unfixed concept of queer. Both the curatorial concept and the use of space reject binary codes or homonormativity⁴. One of the symptoms of today's art world is that queerness is often only accepted in an aestheticized, “beautiful” form, which often still contains repressed, heteronormative elements, even though these are alien to the essence of queerness. This is mostly visible during Pride month, where the commodification of queerness for cultural

4. Homonormativity, refers to the belief that sexual minorities can and should conform to heteronormative institutions in order to achieve greater acceptance in dominant society. Homonationalism is the granting of rights to homonormative sexual minorities within a nationalistic, ideological framework, meaning those who can assimilate into heteronormative structures and conform to the congruent gender roles receive more privileges than those who do not or cannot.

5. The Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Lost Imagination (2012)

capital without actual structural transformation is contributing to rainbow capitalism. A similar logic operates in commercial spaces like David Zwirner, where artists such as Wolfgang Tillmans or Felix Gonzalez-Torres are regularly exhibited. While both artists hold significant positions in queer art history, their work is often framed through a formalist lens, emphasizing beauty, intimacy over radical specificity. This reflects a preference for queerness that is elegant and ultimately palatable to elite, heteronormative, audiences. As Sarah Schulman writes, such forms of inclusion resemble cultural gentrification: “a process in which once-disruptive identities are only accepted once they cease to threaten”.⁵

The very first gesture, during the opening speech of the exhibition, was to distribute anti-LGBTQ+ laws passed by Fidesz over the past 15 years to those present. The participants themselves read these aloud as part of the ceremony – this was also a way of breaking down the hierarchy. The viewer was no longer just a viewer, but an active participant.

“Without you, the gag is not happening.” So if the viewer isn’t there, if they don’t participate, then there is no event. This open, fluid situation was broken by only one fixed point: an installation, a “throne” on which we placed a figure of Viktor Orbán as a readymade object. This symbolized that while the community could move freely, power remained fixed, motionless, in a position of fixed gaze. Ironically, it was the ruler who was the least free actor in this chaotic, de-hierarchized space. This was a conscious gesture with which we contrasted the rigidity of the gaze of power with the constant movement and rearrangement of the queer community.

CULTURAL FUNDINGS AND QUEERNESS

The current Fidesz government views culture as an element of the totalitarian ideological state apparatus; **in its rhetoric, tradition does not mean the critical recreation of culture, but rather the reproduction of an ideologically defined “national” culture.** It is understandable that during a period of general economic regression, artists from politically marginalized groups will be the first to be affected by the decline in cultural subsidies.

*In 2009, the last Socialist-Liberalist government spent 59 billion on culture, which was then reduced by the incoming Fidesz government by 20%, landing the cultural budget at 50 billion. This amount has remained more or less constant for the last few years, only to be shrunk by inflation. Nobody should be misled by the ex-under-secretary’s announcement to the effect that the cultural budget would amount to 127 billion in 2018.*⁶

The cultural system in Hungary after the change of regime was based on Western European models, but over the past 10 years this system has become increasingly distorted as the economic and political interests of individuals become dominant. The system’s previous shortcomings are often addressed without institutional professional control, disregarding the context and interests of the system as a whole. József Mélyi, Hungarian art historian, writes about this in his article on the museum system of Hungary:

*The coordination problems within the state and municipal cultural institution system have been growing since 2010 and have now reached a critical level [...] they no longer only threaten the near future, but may also cause significant damage in the longer term.*⁷

In the history of Hungarian art, emigration under soft dictatorships has been a constant tendency; it is true that autocratic control of cultural fundings is a real concern for the preservation of artistic freedom, but as Hungarian aesthetician Tamás Seregi mentions in his article titled *Cheap Art? From What* – the primary problem is not the lack of money.

The thematic and conceptual flourishing of art is common during periods of political oppression; the current right-wing policies of the Hungarian government have shaped an aesthetic reality in which art cannot escape its cultural role. The role of the artist cannot be reduced only to the field of education when culture itself is subject to political pressure (this would be the role of the education system, which in Hungary has also been under the government’s influence in recent years). If queer artists remain within the aesthetics of homonormativity, they risk continuing to serve a system that marginalizes and instrumentalizes them, obscuring their own real biopolitical complexity. The dynamic position of art and its relationship to culture without being subordinated to it, is vital in order for it to remain an indicator of itself, rather than a tool of ideology.

(Queer) artists may also take on roles as activists or educators, but their work should preserve its autonomy, avoiding the instrumentalization of art as purely educational,

a tool of pedagogy, or the product of culture. In a political environment where the global rise of the far right has become an everyday reality, we all have to take on these roles. This is not a challenge unique to the cultural sector, but one for society as a whole.

Liberté x Amour, June 2025.



5. The Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Lost Imagination (2012)
6. <https://exindex.hu/en/flex/olcso-muveszetet-de-mibol/>
7. <http://tranzitblog.hu/melyi-jozsef-felelotlenseg/>

Reclaiming the extractive gaze: How feminist landscape painting challenges 500 years of patriarchal land domination

Sara Hodgson-Brown

Wandering the shining halls of the Louvre or the Rijksmuseum, you may not realize that a landscape painting from two hundred years ago served not just as art, but as an artifact reinforcing both ecological destruction and the exclusion of women from cultural production. The European landscape genre existed not merely for the sake of painting—it became a calculated tool of patriarchal and colonial domination, shaping our visual and cultural relationship with the natural world to the present day. This enduring legacy demands that the landscape genre be reclaimed and repurposed as a practice of healing and justice.

After five centuries of perpetuating ecological domination, could the landscape painting genre become a practice of healing? How could it reconcile with its history and, instead of continuing patriarchal domination, offer a feminist approach toward reconnection? This article documents my development of 'painting in relationship', an ecofeminist intervention that aims to subvert and transform the purpose, the painting process, and the function of landscape painting. Using the teachings and frameworks of Silvia Federici, Thomas Berry, Joanna Macy and Dra. Rocio Rosales Meza, this methodology shows that domination over the natural world and the exclusion of women from the landscape painting genre and cultural meaning-making are the result of the same systemic violence. By reclaiming the landscape genre from within, this methodology offers ideas and tools for cultural transformation that aim to support environmental and gender justice, rather than blindly perpetuating the extractive traditions of harm.

Artwork by the Artist 'From Up Here'
© Sara Hodgson-Brown.





View of the Salon Carré at the Louvre,
Alexandre Brun, 1880.

The Violence of the Genre

Silvia Federici's groundbreaking analysis in *Caliban and the Witch* highlighted that the birth of capitalism in Europe in the 15th to 17th centuries required the closure of the commons, whereby a system of open resource land sharing was taken from the people. At once, women who worked alongside men in the open Commons found themselves relegated to a reproductive role to supply the workforce. Women no longer could access medicinal plants and use their traditional ecological knowledge without great risk. They became tied to male wage-earners. Their traditional skills were lost and their cultural power criminalised. Simultaneously, the landscape painting genre, its institutions and collectives, established masculine authority over both the function of its works and land ownership.

It may seem like happenstance, but this timing was the result of the same violence. The natural world and women both became resources to be managed, their agency revoked and assigned. The genre of landscape painting was shaped as part of the cultural apparatus that normalised - and was an extension of - capitalist land relations. It functioned to establish shared worldviews among the male upper class of their rights to possess and define the natural world. As an institution, it systematically excluded women from artistic education, denied them access to travel necessary for landscape study, and relegated them to other painting genres, 'better suited' for women. Women - in addition to other marginalised

groups - were unable to contribute to and maintain the ecological relationship needed at such a crucial moment in European history.

This created the extractive gaze, whereby living places are transformed into things to possess and consume. Women and land both in equal measure. Traditional landscape painting violated Thomas Berry's fundamental truth that we are not separate from the Earth, but participants in an ongoing cosmic evolution. The landscape painting and its institutions perpetuated the myth that we sit outside this cosmic system that is portrayed on the canvas and in our current relationship to our planet.

Artworks like Gillis van Coninxloo's countrysides or Caspar David Friedrich's untouchable mountainscapes trained the viewer to see the landscape as the stage for human activity, a drama of 'Divine Right' to be played out on an ecosystem -and peoples- ready for the plunder. Indigenous peoples know this narrative all too well. Rather than present ecosystems and peoples with their own agency, the painter establishes himself as the explorer who discovers and captures the landscape, presenting the finding to the viewer who is able to possess it completely through their commodified aesthetic experience.

Through the cultural justification of the landscape painting genre, private property was portrayed as beautiful and natural, extraction as development and improvement, en-

closure as order imposed on the chaotic and untamed and patriarchal power as essential for economic and aesthetic value. The genre of landscape painting depicted these lands as devoid of life, empty and in need of management. It reflected back and affirmed a world barren of consciousness and self-knowing. Modern extraction at a now-unprecedented scale continues this precedent.

Contemporary landscape painting does little to address or disrupt this narrative. Performance and installation art critiques this from their own respective lenses. Yet traditional landscape paintings often reproduce the same tropes; the isolated genius, the bucolic pastoral or mountain-conquered vista waiting passively for its man-made narrative. The viewer-patron continues to consume landscapes devoid of life, breath, meaning, agency. All parties oblivious to the power structures and privilege underpinning this elitist art product.



Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog,
Caspar David Friedrich, 1817.



Landscape with the Judgement of Paris,
Gillis van Coninxloo, 16th c.

Painting in Relationship to Place

How can we paint and consume landscape paintings that show rather than obscure our connection to the Earth community? How can we paint the land in a method that serves healing rather than domination? Using the teachings of Berry, Macy and Dra.Rocio Rosales Meza, I have been developing a methodology I term ‘Painting in Relationship’, with the aim to transform the process and function of how and why we make landscape paintings.

My research and ongoing painting process approaches the following with curiosity and a sense of responsibility. I don’t have answers yet. I might not ever have a concluded painting process that answers my inquiry in its entirety. However, my painting practice is working toward:

- centering relationship with places understood as living beings with their own consciousness and agency
- serving collective transformation and ecological healing rather than creating objects solely for aesthetic consumption
- connecting to movements for environmental and gender justice to challenge the isolated artist-genius model

Addressing Power Structures

There is a responsibility to reveal the flow of power, capital and labour that shape the landscapes I am painting. Extraction, environmental degradation and colonial infrastructure cannot be separated from artistic practice. All European landscape paintings are the result of the culture they were painted in - from medieval commons enclosures to modern day colonial projects. What if landscape painters acknowledged this inheritance and privilege?

Think for a moment how any scenic European countryside depends on industrial agriculture and the global market economy, while importing from former colonies that still suffer from land grabbing, modern slavery and displacement. Or the modern way of life that transfers environmental externalities onto marginalised and poorer communities. Could landscape painters come to terms with their own privilege that allows unfettered access in order to make these connections front and centre, rather than metaphorically or literally cropping them from view? How might the function of the painting change by addressing the systems of power that deny land access to refugees, migrants and marginalised communities, particularly women and children? What does it mean that this impact remains invisible to privileged observers, as much today as when the Enclosure Act was put into place 500 years ago? What if landscape artists took responsibility for revealing rather than obscuring these patterns of harm in contemporary practice?

Embodied Knowledge Over Detached Observation

My aim is to paint against detached, rational observation. Practicing as an ecofeminist, I am to integrate physical pres-

ence, a mindful relationship, and seasonal practices that engage with the place I am painting. I am not separate from it. I am here because of it. That is quite a privileged position and an enormous opportunity. Following Thomas Berry’s vision, can I paint as an active member of the cosmic story that makes up each place? Such that the painting process acts as a kind of listening to the voice of the place - the complex web of life made of fungi, animals, plants, rocks and organisms that make up each location? I believe I can and must. So what follows is a proposition - a methodology in progress, seeking to find its way.

Collective Transformation Over Individual Mastery

Imagine if the classical painting institutions of today became accountable to those most impacted by extractive harms, creating work that does not obscure or romanticise but instead serves to unmask the privilege that allows for this type of cultural production. Landscape painters would ask what cultural work would best serve movements opposing ecological destruction and capitalist aims, as opposed to producing precious objects for elite consumption. Artworks would function as a means to redistribute resources to places and people.

Methodology as Commons

Confronting the masculine artist-genius model that has prevailed since the Renaissance, and in the footsteps and spirit of collective feminist action and approaches to community wellbeing, consider if landscape painters developed tools that others could adapt to their own places and contexts. The sharing of failures and contradictions, simple frameworks, processes made collaboratively, and approaches to painting that don’t require special training or mystified artistic authority. I imagine painting on the rim of some local mountains with other women and gender minorities as a setting for challenging norms and furthering ideas for this practice. Everyone could modify and improve the approach. The political work would happen in the process of the painting-making, which could transform the role of the landscape tradition entirely.

Transforming Viewer Experience

Using this methodology, we can expect more of our viewer, and her of us. The artist shares documentation of stories, hidden histories, silenced voices, accountability structures and connections to justice movements. Imagine viewers are shown hidden flows of power, labour and capital in any landscape. Imagine landscape paintings serving as opportunities for reconnection. The painting, secondary to the process here, emerges from this practice and invites viewers to see themselves in what Joanna Macy calls the ecological self - the larger identity that depends on the natural world. She beautifully articulates that the result of this is Active Hope, an engaged participation and care contrary to paralysis and despair we so often experience today. To love a place and a landscape with our whole heart, and to fight for it. To understand, respect, and listen in different ways than before. And most importantly, to see ourselves as inseparable from the Earth community.

The Revolutionary Potential

Europe’s climate crisis, current nationalistic policy-making, and resurgent anti-gender and anti-immigration backlash demand that women & non-binary artists subvert the established traditional cultural institutions now. Artificial intelligence continues the extractive narrative in capitalism’s latest evolution; mining data sets without consent, appropriating others’ work and producing images at speed for profit. The time has come to subvert the genre and use it as a tool for action and liberty.

This methodology is in the process of being born. It prioritizes sustained presence over speed, collective wellbeing over individual consumption and relationship over extraction. Rather than abandoning the genre, it aims to show that landscape painting in particular can be a part of the healing of the Earth. It aims to recover and build upon women’s suppressed ecological knowledge, as resistance to the same systems that burned women as witches while cutting them off from both their agency and the land that supported it.

The European painting institution and landscape genre that once served to separate women from cultural power and humans from ecological relationships has the chance to serve healing on both fronts. This is a transformation of what landscape painting is for. Landscape painting has needed ecologically-minded women like never before. By reclaiming the extractive gaze, the landscape tradition that supported five hundred years of the colonial capitalist project becomes a practice for reconnection and revolutionary hope.

Take Action

The traditional landscape painting genre will keep serving domination until we actively reclaim it. Here are some immediate ways to engage with the Relationship to Place methodology.

For Artists: Find out what systems of privilege and power are at play in the places you paint. Connect your practice to local groups and communities that are addressing justice issues. Share your findings. Share your process. Use your experiences to amplify voices and redistribute resources to those communities on the front lines. Listen and learn.

For Viewers: Reject art that only serves passive consumption. Find out about access, labour and power relationships at play behind painted landscapes. Support artists whose work serves justice groups.

For Institutions: Decolonise collections by being transparent about the colonial history and patriarchal violence that landscape painting traditions served. Support movements and artists that support these movements.

For Movements: Recognise that all cultural work is the hot compost pile of transformation. Invite artists to support and engage with your work. Use art platforms to share campaigns. Invite artists to speak visually to your cause.



The Author Painting in her Studio,
© Sara Hodgson-Brown.

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Infrastructures of Perception: Speculative Interfaces and Embodied Care

Alessandra Sciarrino

In the contemporary European landscape, the intersection between technology, data governance, and feminist resistance reveals both cracks of exclusion and potentialities for systemic transformation. From a positionality rooted in Southern Europe – an axis often symbolically peripheral yet epistemically dense – this contribution addresses the mechanisms through which digital systems codify exclusions and invisibilities. I approach this inquiry not only as a researcher but as a woman with hybrid Northern-Southern Italian heritage, critically situated within the tensions of European colonial legacies, economic divides, and cultural hegemonies. This situatedness is not merely biographical context, but a methodological lens: it informs a counter-hegemonic reading of computation and positions embodied knowledge as central to the interrogation of digital systems.

This paper proposes that algorithmic infrastructures, often framed as neutral and universal, are in fact cultural and political artifacts shaped by the dominant epistemologies of their creators – epistemologies that reproduce Eurocentric, patriarchal, and capitalist worldviews.

Understanding these dynamics is crucial for formulating a resistance that is both technological and cultural, capable of fostering alternative forms of subjectivation and collective agency.

Design paradigms often center on efficiency or optimization; perceptual residues point to what gets left out: emotional labor, ambiguity, and micro-affective shifts that accumulate. These traces surface the political and sensorial costs of interaction that computation erases or renders invisible. Attending perceptual residue means tuning into what computation overlooks – moments of confusion, gestures of hesitation, or feelings that linger after the screen fades.

Research Context, Motivation and Methodological Approach

This inquiry stems from a hybrid background – interweaving artistic research, service design, and critical theory—with persistent attention to how digital systems shape subjectivity, affect, and regimes of value. I approach AI as a dynamic, relational field entangled with histories, aesthetics, and structures of power.

Lately, my research has turned toward the often-invisible conditions of computation: the sensory, emotional, and political textures underlying our interactions with technical systems. Out of this, I am developing a conceptual orientation I call “*perceptual residue*”: the subtle, often unconscious impressions that digital systems leave on our bodies, emotions, and attention.

Rather than producing technical solutions, I position design as a mode of inquiry, imagination, and refusal – treating opacity and friction as generative tools for resistance.

These are not direct outputs, but felt traces – such as the tension after scrolling, the anxiety from opaque recommendation systems, or disorientation from an overload of notifications.

Perceptual Residue

The notion of *perceptual residue* describes lingering sensory-affective traces remaining after interaction, especially where systems fail to recognize or respond to human complexity. These residues are not always overt; they may manifest as misrecognition or dissonance – a remainder that is both affective and epistemological. For example, in facial recognition systems, the residual feeling of being misread leaves an embodied trace of refusal.

Unlike affective computing, which quantifies emotional states, perceptual residue resists capture. It gestures toward what remains unarticulated, sensorially diffused, and structurally obscured. This shifts the focus from data extraction to the ethics of aftermath.

Situating the Problem

The critical genealogy of technological infrastructures has been developed through various interlaced perspectives that challenge dominant epistemologies.

Scholars such as Kate Crawford, in *Atlas of AI*, reveal how artificial intelligence is not an abstract system of computation but one deeply enmeshed in extractive economies, labor exploitation, and ecological and epistemic violence.

Building on this, Beth Coleman’s work on racializing networks illuminates how algorithmic cultures reproduce hierarchies of race and gender through the logic of code.

Patricia Reed, in her reflections on *xenophilia* and denaturalization, suggests a reconfiguration of epistemic architectures that allows for a politics of openness toward the non-human – an essential gesture in rethinking agency beyond the human frame.

Luciana Parisi advances this decentering further, exposing how machine learning operates as a speculative form of thought with profound political implications.

Within this terrain, the Laboria Cuboniks collective provocatively claims that emancipation demands alienation – that the figure of the human must be undone in order to be reimaged.

Sara Ahmed’s exploration of orientation devices complements this by showing how institutional norms sculpt bodies of knowledge and define the contours of what is seen as legitimate.

Rosi Braidotti and Donna Haraway, each in their own way, further destabilize anthropocentrism: Braidotti through a posthuman feminism that envisions transversal subjectivities, and Haraway by proposing cyborg ontologies that blur boundaries and invite hybrid forms of becoming.

This constellation anchors my argument: unless Europe’s digital infrastructures are re-engineered through feminist, decolonial, and ecological lenses, they will remain vectors of exclusion under the guise of innovation. This paper responds to and extends these genealogies by embedding speculative practice as both method and proposition – inviting reparative imaginaries and foregrounding the aesthetic-political stakes of situated re-coding.

From Systemic Bias to Infrastructural Reparation

We create categories to depict our world, and so do the tools we use. Algorithms and data models are framed by our epistemologies. When applied without cultural-political awareness, they risk becoming oppressive.

In an age where pain is commodified – via cruelty-core and similar trends – the line between critique and complicity matters. Marginalized individuals are reduced to symbolic suffering within dominant techno-cultural scripts, absolving observers of responsibility.

Wounded, racialized, or hyper-visible bodies function as symbolic apparatuses flattening complexity. Nietzsche noted¹ people seek facts that support their truths. Similarly, generative AI developed by Western male engineers carries embedded biases: patriarchal, colonialist, capitalist, ableist. The deeper issue lies not with developers, but with the economic structures commissioning such systems.

Power, as Foucault reminds us, circulates. No one is fully outside. Generative technologies can either reproduce or disrupt power. Passive engagement lets algorithms shape opinions and choices, reinforcing conformity and Ruha Benjamin notes technologies often reinforce inequities they claim to fix.

Diversity neutralization subtly erases nonconforming identities through absence. In hyper-mediated society, irrelevance equates to non-existence. Gramsci’s reflection that “events grow in the shadows” resonates in the age of algorithmic opacity.

Marcuse critiques how technological rationality serves domination, but tech can be reclaimed – if reframed through care and justice.

We are narrators, not passive observers. Identity functions as a recursive circuit: our gestures generate stories, and those stories feed back into who we become. In narrating ourselves, we participate in shaping the world.

On Ethics and Speculation

In the face of systemic distortion, critique alone is insufficient, while speculation is a reparative methodology for imagining otherwise, highlighting a persisting blind spot: how AI systems treat marginalized or racialized bodies – which is not only about bias in datasets, but about infrastructures that render some bodies invisible or abstracted.

This research insists on bringing embodiment back – not as representation, but as infrastructural agency.

Which bodies are seen, felt, or ignored in technological imaginaries? These are ethical design questions.

Machine learning systems produce selective intelligibility. They are not neutral but regimes of perception. This asymmetry reflects histories of surveillance and epistemic violence. Visibility becomes governance.

Lived bodies are parsed into behavioral data, voiceprints, and affective scores. The labor of feeling and being sensed is abstracted – Fred Moten speaks of blackness’s refusal to be captured, Édouard Glissant’s right to opacity resists fungibility.

Following Haraway’s call to “stay with the trouble,” speculative design becomes a space to embrace ambiguity and resist the demand for total intelligibility. In AI systems – from emotion detection to biometric capture – affective data are often extracted without context or care, stripped of their relational depth. The gap between sensing and caring is not technical; it is ethical, and lies at the heart of current AI design.

1. Nietzsche’s critique of morality and Gramsci’s theory of hegemony are invoked here not as full frameworks, but as conceptual tools to frame the affective and political conditions of system repair.

Bridging technical and speculative languages is essential. This paper does not reject specificity, but invites its recalibration.

The goal is dialogue: to interrogate how design epistemologies shape recognition and imagine co-authored systems with vocabularies of care, embodiment, and fabulation.

Technical language is historically situated; embracing this enables interdisciplinary methodologies that honor both precision and poetry.

Bridging Ethics and Care

If speculation unveils what is hidden, then ethics must offer a concrete response. In the face of opacity and the agency of infrastructures, reparative gestures become necessary and speculation becomes truly infrastructural when translated into design practices grounded in care.

This signals a shift from *ethics about* AI to *ethics within* AI – an internal reconfiguration that resists extractive logics and embraces embodiment, ambiguity, and emotional labor.

Here, care is not a soft supplement; it is a foundational stance. I frame it as infrastructural: encoded in rhythms, permissions, protocols, refusals, joy, and acts of maintenance.

Inspired by Haraway and Morton, I call for an approach attuned to the entangled realities of digital ecosystems. Ethical AI must be rooted in situated *knowledges* that recognize the political nature of data and the material conditions of its capture and circulation.

The point is not to imagine ourselves outside power, but to reflect on how we inhabit it: from cruelty-core aesthetics to narrative identity, every act becomes a node, every code a gesture with ethical weight. A reparative infrastructure thus demands accountability and co-participation.

Aligning with the ethical frameworks of Braidotti and Sara Ahmed – posthuman ethics and ethics of orientation – marginalized voices must not remain as data points, they must become co-designers of the systems that shape their lives, calling personally for an ongoing attunement to who gets to move, and who gets mapped.

Conclusion

How might we learn to sense with – not merely through – machines?

To care today demands friction, displacement, and refusal – not just compassion. Both design and art may reorganize perception, precisely because they make space for contradiction, opacity, and interruption. In this sense, refusal itself may become a design practice.

Design as refusal could mean choosing not to smooth over frictions, but to let them speak, as a form of art in shaping absences – spaces where extractive logic cannot reach, where care is not engineered but encountered.

If Europe seeks a decolonial and intersectional future, its infrastructures must be radically reimagined. This is not only a policy matter – it is epistemic.

This research does not seek to humanize machines but to complicate what “human” means.

It seeks to make infrastructures and their politics visible. It invites us to treat AI not as destiny, but as a design question: a space of ethical, aesthetic, and relational possibility. A future where design no longer mirrors domination – but enables the co-becoming of plural worlds. Perception, after all, is infrastructural: it is where power becomes felt – and where refusal begins.

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Sigil Seance Against Space Billionaires

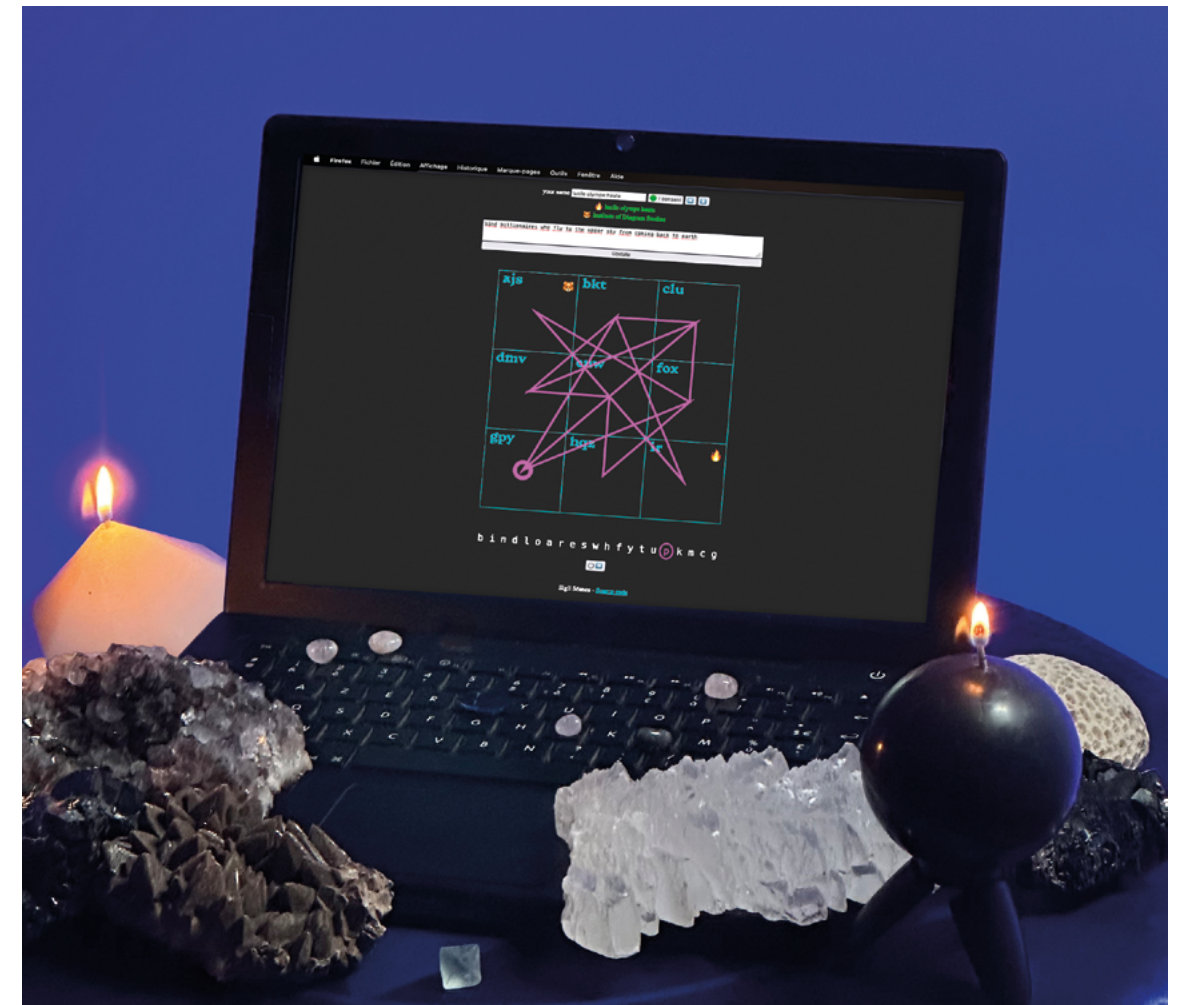
Lucile Olympe Haute, Nîmes Université
and David Benqué, Institute of Diagram Studies

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Introduction

Sigil Seance Against Space Billionaires is a protection ritual against "New Space" colonizing overlords and an exploration of peer-to-peer online gathering.

Sigil Seance Against Space Billionaires © Lucile Olympe Haute & Institute of Diagram Studies



Disclaimer: This article includes information that has already been published or presented at conferences. The full versions can be found on the project website: <https://sigil-seance.diagram.institute/papers/>

The Sigil Seance Against Space Billionaires project began in 2021 with the first manned flight of Jeff Bezos' New Shepard space tourism rocket. This moment, worthy of a science fiction story, reveals the space billionaire as the archetype of the contemporary villain. The caricatured figure amasses wealth on an incomprehensible scale, while constructing a fascist ideology based on science fiction novels and leaving a trail of death and destruction in his wake.

We share the wish expressed by Paris Marx (2021) after the launch of New Shepard: "Leave the billionaires in space." This project is our response to the destructive figure of the billionaire and the future he imposes. We present Sigil Se-

ance, a teleperformance based on chaos magick and sigils, which aims to create a space for critical reflection on the billionaires' rush to space, while also allowing alternatives to be manifested. As artists/designers, we seek to establish a form of praxis that is both reflexive and actively engaged in the multiple crises currently unfolding.

New Space: the colonial and ecocidal billionaire-industrial complex

We are interested in the billionaire space race that has made headlines in recent years, with companies such as Blue Origin (Jeff Bezos), Space X (Elon Musk), and Virgin Galactic (Richard Branson). While space tourism attracts attention—and sparked our own interest in this field—it is only a small part of the much larger upheavals currently underway in the space industry. By opening up space exploration to commer-

cial interests in 2015, the United States has sparked a new wave of entrepreneurs and startups, all seeking to profit from space. We consider the future proposed by the billionaire space barons to be very radical, in the sense of radicalized and dangerous. We identify at least two vectors of danger: ecocide and colonization.

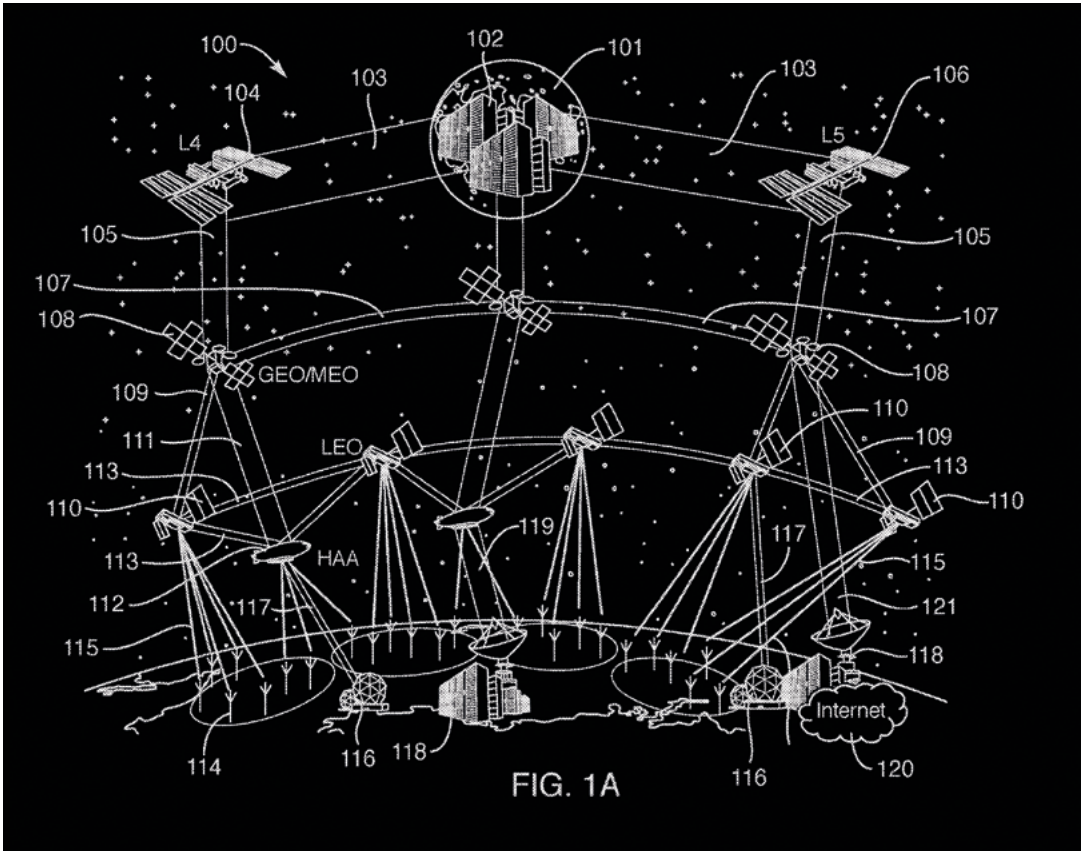
The Future New Space

	Ecocidal	Colonial
Earth	Fossil fields	Starlink satellites
	Resource extraction	Land grabbing
Space	Starman roadster	Asteroid mining
	Space debris	Colonisation of the moon
	Interplanetary contamination	Colonisation of Mars

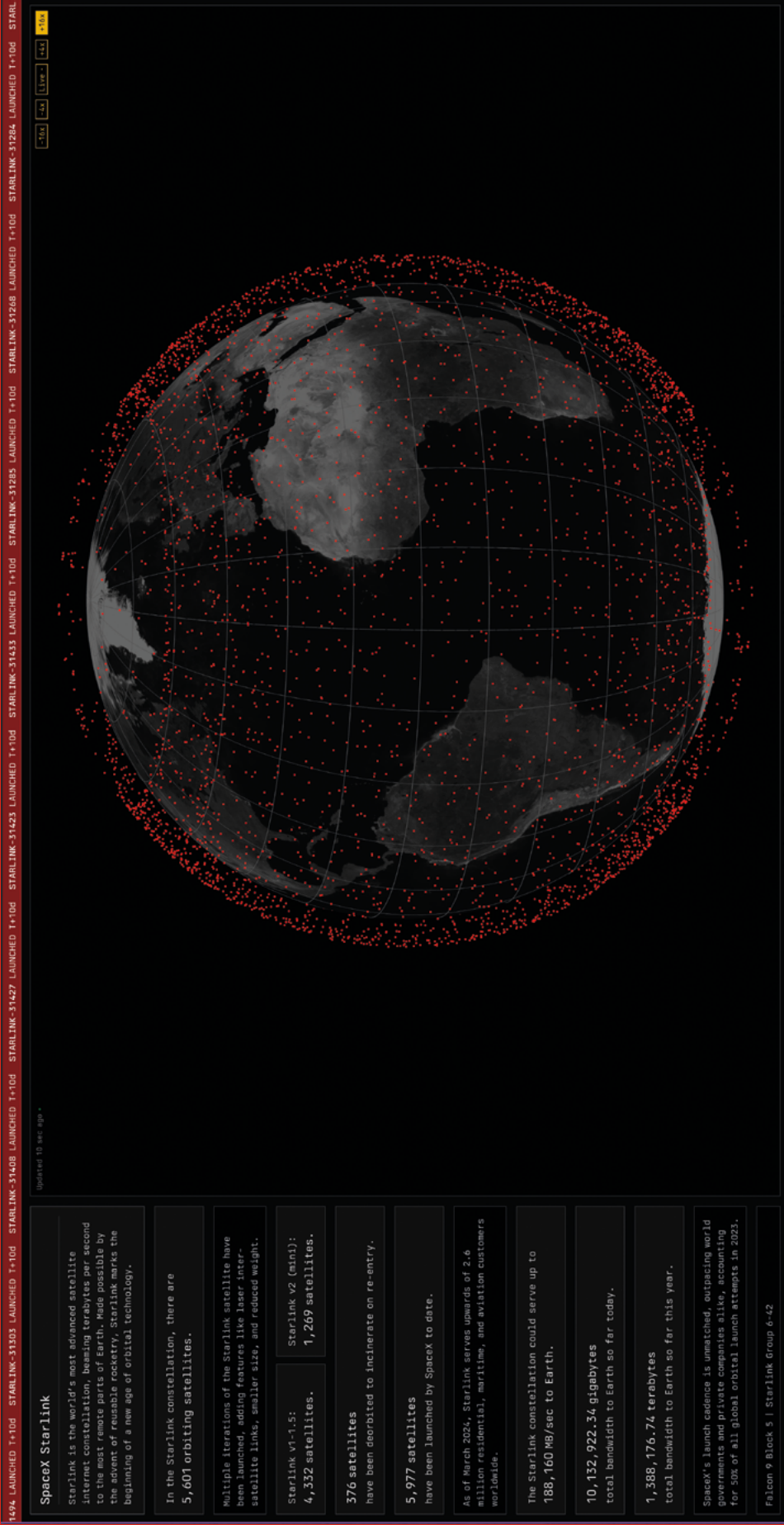
If we turn first to space, we can see patterns and operations specific to the colonial process at work. Utrata (2023) describes a process of dispossession: defining a territory, thereby transforming it into an asset that can be claimed as property. As Smiles (2020) points out, the “myths” of American colonialism are still very much alive in the current discourse on space. Terms such as “manifest destiny,” “frontier,” and underlying concepts such as “terra nullius” underpin projects such as Elon Musk’s colonization of Mars (2017).

Turning our attention now to Earth's orbit, a more mundane reality is at work, but perhaps one that is all the more toxic since the vision is already partially deployed. Among other things, this involves a massive expansion of digital infrastructure and a fierce battle for control over it. Amazon, for example, plans to place data centers in space to improve the efficiency of data flows via satellites (Liu and Kim, 2019). Space X has already colonized the sky, enveloping the planet in a dense layer of Starlink satellites that irreparably damage the quality of the night sky.

In short, the future proposed by the billionaire space barons is a radical ideology of acceleration at a time when all attention should be focused on planetary limits. At its worst, space conquest is a cynical strategy of escape, a profound betrayal of life on Earth, as it abandons it and seeks the next planet to plunder. Rubenstein (2022) shows how the ideological foundations of space colonialism are linked to religion. As we feel the urgency to protect ourselves, ourselves and the planet, from this deadly future, a response on a spiritual level seems a pertinent terrain.



US Patent 10419106B1 held by Amazon FIG. 1A (reversed by the authors) cited by Au (2023)

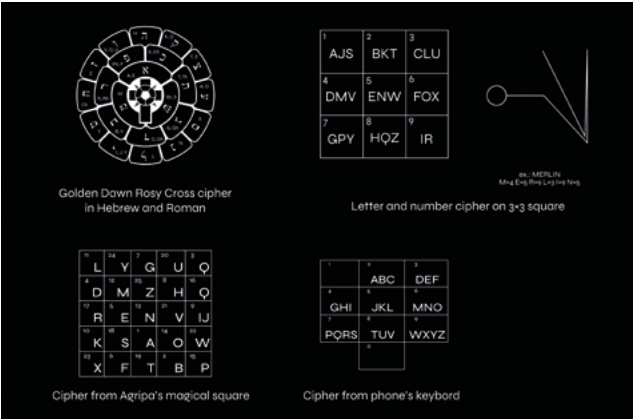


Magic techniques

Turning to magic or the occult may also be one of the last options available to regain some semblance of power, given the total impossibility of deviating from the current direction. Using digital technologies to perform magic raises a paradox. It exacerbates the tension between two worlds: the supernatural and the computational. This tension, or paradox, is based on normative assumptions. On the one hand, digital technologies are associated with an objective and efficient conception of the world; on the other, magic refers to a wonderful and inaccessible imaginary world, seen with nostalgia. This tension is based on a discontinuity that can be questioned.

From spiritualist telegraphs to algorithmic oracles, each new technology has been suspected of embodying supernatural powers. Artists' projects have focused on this subject: research into the universal fluid that inspired worldbrain.d-w.fr (2015), and research into ghosts in communication tools in mediamediums.net (2013-2016). More recently, we have seen a return to the figure of the witch and occultism to exorcise the modern West of positivism, liberalism, and mechanization.

Osman Spare. The latter revived sigils as an “art of belief” in a 1913 publication (Osman Spare, 1913, p. 86), a means of mobilizing a person's unconscious power for the “manifestation of a plan” (p.100).



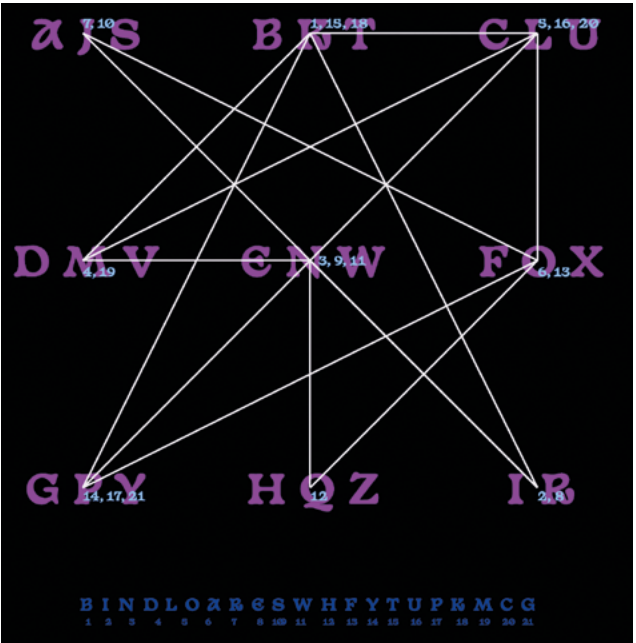
Ciphers compiled by Jackson (2013), redrawn and supplemented by the authors © Public domain



Austin Osman Spare (1913) © Public domain

We turned to an ancient technique: symbolic inscription, which is believed to have magical powers over the world (and can be described as a talisman, a table, or a tablet, depending on the tradition) and, more specifically, to its contemporary reinterpretations in Chaos Magick. Chaos Magick is a modern tradition of magic characterized by the use of paradigm shifts, free cosmogony, and belief as tools to achieve effects. Among the famous figures who have used it are the early 20th-century occultist and philosopher Aleister Crowley and one of his main sources of inspiration, the artist Austin

According to Mark B. Jackson (2013), ciphers are a much older magical tradition that organize letters in space to enable the encryption of phrases or words. We chose to work with a 3x3 square encryption grid, halfway between a magic square and the telephone keypad encryption beloved of millennials.



Drawing of the sigil "Bind Billionaires who fly to the upper sky from coming back to Earth" on a 3x3 grid. Sigil Generator v1 © Lucile Olympe Haute & Institute of Diagram Studies

Online magic as counterattack training

In the field of political activism, collective action is a strategy adopted to resist control mechanisms based on individualization. Our work provides an opportunity to revisit past examples of groups and movements that have mobilized magic as a means of political action.

In 1970s Japan, a group of monks called Jusatsu Kito Sodan was at the forefront of the country's ecology movement. Photographer Mitsutoshi Hanaga documented this “Group of monks praying for deadly curses” as they visited sites of industrial pollution to curse the factory owners responsible, repeating mantras and other ritual practices (Hopfner, 2020).



Jusatsu Kito Sodan monks © Mitsutoshi Hanaga Estate published on <https://dark-mountain.net/power-of-the-powerless/>

The Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (W.I.T.C.H.) was a feminist group active in the United States during the women's liberation movement of the 1960s. Their first action was a march on Wall Street to curse New York's financial district. The anonymous collective reformed in the wake of Donald Trump's election in 2016, first in Portland and then in many other American cities. The 2016 WITCH explicitly references its 1960s predecessors, citing them in an Instagram post. Simultaneously, on Instagram and Twitter, a magical cyber-resistance has organized, relayed with the tags #BindTrump and #magicresistance. At each full moon, a ritual gathering is performed individually and becomes collective at a distance.

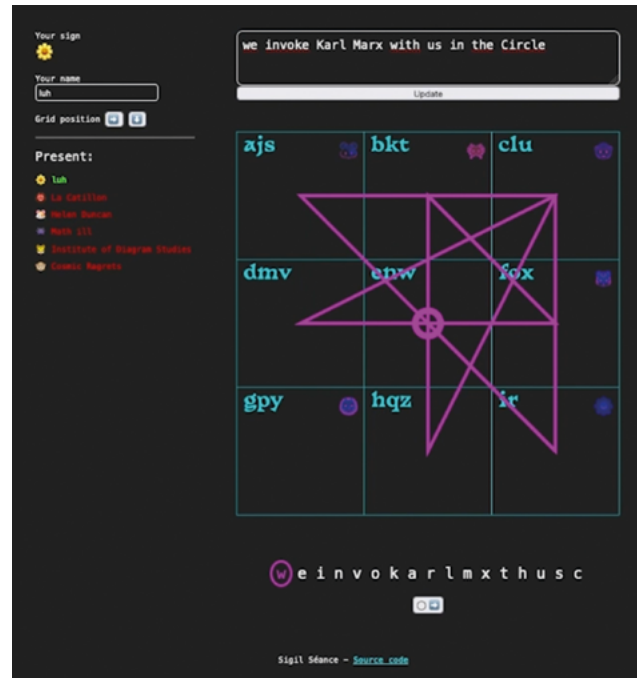
Finally, although it is not really magic, we would like to mention Cassie Thornton's [The Hologram] (<https://thehologram.xyz>) (2020). In response to the catastrophic failures of healthcare systems, Thornton proposed a peer-to-peer model in which participants gather around the person in need of care, thereby reclaiming some of the care work that has been denied them.



Screenshot from the W.I.T.C.H. Portland Instagram account © W.I.T.C.H. Portland

Sigil Seance

We began experimenting with sigils in 2021, with the first generator encoding the phrase: “Bind billionaires who fly to the upper sky from coming back to Earth.”



Video of the 2nd Sigil Seance Against Space
Billionaires, October 2024
© Lucile Olympe Haute & Institute of Diagram Studies
Download here: <https://cryptpad.fr/file/#/2/file/Ao+Sgw2fzl8sR-IBfl+VWlpr/>

With Sigil Seance, we added a collaborative element to this sigil production, allowing a group of people to gather on a web page to generate and launch sigils together. The application is built with Yjs, a library commonly used for collaborative text editing (Jahns et al., 2014; Nicolaescu et al., 2016). Participants log in and receive a username and emoji avatar that appear in the attendance list on the page and on the encryption grid. Anyone can edit or replace the phrase in the main text box and click a button to draw the sigil and synchronize it with all other participants. Participants in the ritual are all connected by an audio call.

A participant types a phrase to be launched and invites others to contribute or modify it. The software converts each phrase into a sigil by 1) condensing all letters and removing duplicates so that each letter cannot appear more than once, and 2) plotting the resulting sequence of letters on the encryption grid (Jackson, 2013). All participants must express their consent before proceeding with the sigil launch. Consent is reset each time the sigil is modified to ensure that the collective energy cannot be diverted at the last minute. Participants send and receive letters based on their position on the grid. This process is repeated until the entire sequence of letters is complete, at which point the sigil is considered launched and a participant releases the grid by sending a blank update. This launch procedure is repeated a number of

times during the ritual of the seance, which we designed as a teleperformance.

According to Richard Schechner (2002), ritual is one of the fundamental elements of performance. Indeed, performance can be defined simply as ritualized gestures and sounds. Different performance practitioners have had divergent relationships with technology and the mediation it provides between artists, participants, and audiences.

We follow the legacy of the Cyborg Manifesto (Haraway, 1991) and adopt its post-digital ontology, which affects the subject and, in our ritual, the performing subjects. Consequently, we characterize our project as a teleperformance (Haute, 2010) with an implicit use of technology. The traditional Ouija board or seance is replaced by a web page where we collectively upload and launch the sigil of a spell.

Taking black magic seriously

While this project began innocently enough with a sigil generator, coordinating the ritual activation of sigils by multiple people via a collaborative application forces us to consider its potential consequences.

Leaving aside the human toll, by wiping out a fathomless number of no less important organisms, those responsible for industrial pollution threatened the entire cosmic order. A curse was therefore the only proportionate response (Hopfner, 2020)

The aforementioned Jusatsu Kito Sodan monks resorted to Abhicara, or black magic, which would be frowned upon by many Buddhists who adhere to strict non-violence. However, according to the group, the scale of the deadly damage caused by industrial pollution was such that a deadly curse was justified.

In our case, we also consider that “the entire cosmic order” is sufficiently threatened to justify serious curses. This is a point that has been discussed: how should we position ourselves on the spectrum of magical action that ranges from the sphere of protection to “preemptive retaliation” through the casting of spells? We are also aware that our software aims to invite others to reflect on their own level of proportionate response. How can we respect their free will at each stage of the ritual?

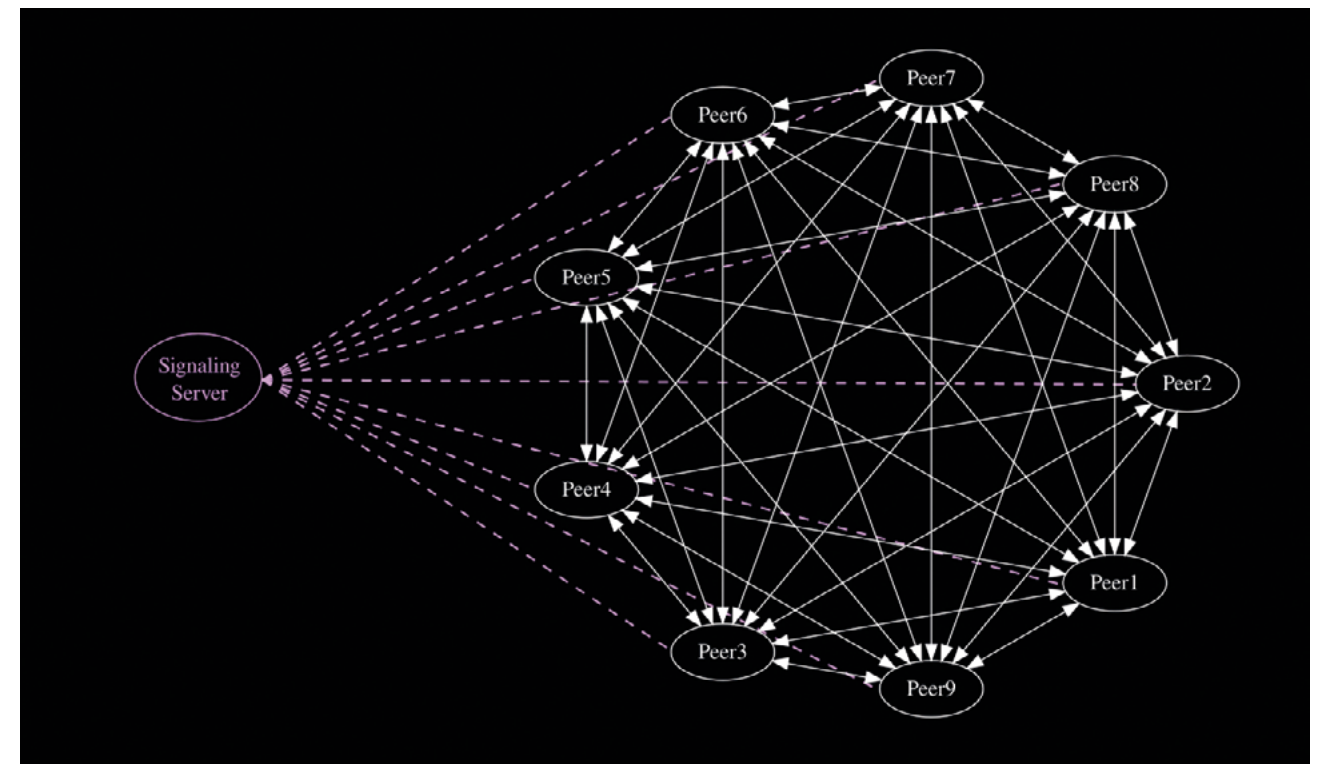
We designed the consent mechanism explained above to integrate these questions into the technical design of the software. We have also added a warning to the session invitation text and to our website so that these questions are asked by participants.

Conclusion & future work

Four sessions have been held so far. We are therefore beginning to identify a form of praxis that opens up a space for collectively analyzing the radicalized future of billionaire space barons and expressing our resistance. With this emerging community of practice, the next step is to give the sessions a recurring schedule, likely aligned with the seasons and commercial space launches. We hope to continue this experiment by offering new sessions. Please let us know if you would like to participate.

We are considering various technical developments, imbued with the notion of technological sovereignty, in the same sense as food sovereignty, i.e., covering the criteria of autonomy, the possibility of choosing culturally and socially appropriate tools, prioritizing local products, and respecting the environment (Richard, 2018). Among these are the opening of more “rooms” or pages so that people can perform sigil rituals without our facilitation. We are interested in infrastruc-

Finally, on a theoretical level, we want to focus more on alternative visions of space and the cosmos. In particular, we want to deepen our knowledge of indigenous visions that have resisted colonial and ecocidal futuristic imaginaries for hundreds of years. To quote Mary-Jane Rubenstein, we want to search for better mythologies.



ture policies and the poetics of peer-to-peer networks, which leads us to experiment with protocols such as WebRTC, where people's devices are connected directly (after being introduced by a signaling server), or webxdc, which allows an application to be shared in a chat room such as deltachat <https://webxdc.org/docs/>.

...if we want to get right with space, we're going to have to get right with religion. To expose the values of contemporary techno-science as the product of bad mythologies and seek out better ones. (Rubenstein, 2022)

Future goal: peer-to-peer session infrastructure using WebRTC © Lucile Olympe Haute & Institute of Diagram Studies

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Water Bodies: Voices of Hydrofeminism



*We must rediscover our watery liquid nature
Not because we are women, not because we
are minorities, but because we are humans,
earthly beings, and our earthly condition is
made possible by water.*



Hydrofeminism reminds us that planetary thinking is feminist thinking. That all earthly beings and all environmental states are interconnected through water. That privatising and exploiting an element with such an inherent state of commons is also an exploitation of ourselves.

This is a social-art research field that has grown largely with the likes of Astrida Neimanis' *Bodies of Water*, *Posthuman Feminist Phenomenology*, and Alexis Pauline Gumb's *Undrowned: Black feminist lessons from marine mammals*. Building on indigenous cosmologies and ecofeminist thinking, these works invite us to question and dissolve corporeal boundaries between self and water. They unpick how the exploitation of water reflects histories and current practices of colonialism, extractivism, and gender oppression, but also how water itself and its inhabitants can teach us liberation.

In 2024 our annual TRANSEUROPA festival investigated and celebrated these prospects of a world geared towards new relationships among humans, species and natural elements to push against a seemingly apocalyptic tide. This edition was named 'undercurrents' and took place in Venice, a labyrinth of canals, where the ebb and flow of tides are the pulse of the city, and the delicate relationship between urban and environment reminds us of our interconnectedness.

Here we present a multilingual documentary about ideas, memories and reflections on hydrofeminism with Francesca Heart, Benedetta Panisson, Myriam Bahaffou and the many beings of the waters surrounding Venice.

Creative direction: Billie Dibb, Jacc Griffiths, Marta Cillero Manzano, Noemi Pittalà

Voices: Francesca Heart, Benedetta Panisson, Myriam Bahaffou

Direction of photography: Giuseppe Drago

Editing: Giuseppe Drago

Colour and image treatment: Giuseppe Drago

Footage: Giuseppe Drago, Guillaume Dubois, Benedetta Panisson, Filippo Gonnella

Music: PASE, Skipper Fonzy Amgao, Lara Trentin, Pietro Paolo Cesari, Filippo Lo Giudice, TRANSEUROPA24 attendees, water bodies & non-humans of Venice.

Production: European Alternatives

Translations and transcript: Billie Dibb, Jacc Griffiths, Marta Cillero Manzano, Noemi Pittalà

Because we are in fact living under patriarchal policies that cannot tolerate the idea that we can create a world in a more fluid, more watery way, and therefore in a way that escapes us.

Building Global Solidarity Against Fascism and Genocide

In the final words of this journal edition, we would like to remind our readers that you are not powerless in the face of global fascism or ongoing genocides. We must keep making noise and actively working for global liberation, from our everyday community interactions to joining international campaigns.

For our EU readers, we call on you to sign the [My Voice My Choice](#) campaign to suspend EU-Israel trade agreement. We demand an **immediate and unconditional ceasefire in Gaza**, the **lifting of the blockade**, and an **end to European Union complicity** in the ongoing massacre, from arms exports to diplomatic silence. Ceasefire is not neutrality: it is the minimum act of political responsibility in the face of a genocide unfolding with our governments' consent.

We take inspiration from the global boycott movements which have shown the power of our everyday purchasing power, from the withdrawal of Carrefour in Italy to the mass closures of Macdonald's across the Middle East.

We take inspiration from the Freedom Flotillas, from our board member Louna Sbou and all other activists who sailed towards Gaza in an attempt to break the blockade, facing violent interception, detention, and deportation, their courage reminding us that solidarity can cross borders even when states seek to silence it.

We take inspiration from the thousands of UK protesters under-arrest for defying authoritarian suppressions of right to protest and on Palestinian solidarity, from the mass protests against austerity in France, and of course, we take inspiration from the recent youth-led Nepalese revolution.

We take inspiration from the prolonged struggle and resistance in Ukraine, where communities endure bombardment, displacement, and acts of collective care in the face of invasion, and from the waves of resistance in Serbia, where thousand of students have marched to demand justice, accountability, and democratic reforms under a government increasingly accused of suppressing dissent.

Boycott companies and institutions profiting from occupation and genocide.

Withdraw your labour and your art from complicit institutions.

Pressure your representatives to cut all military and economic ties with Israel.

Join grassroots collectives and campaigns for ceasefire, demilitarisation, and liberation.

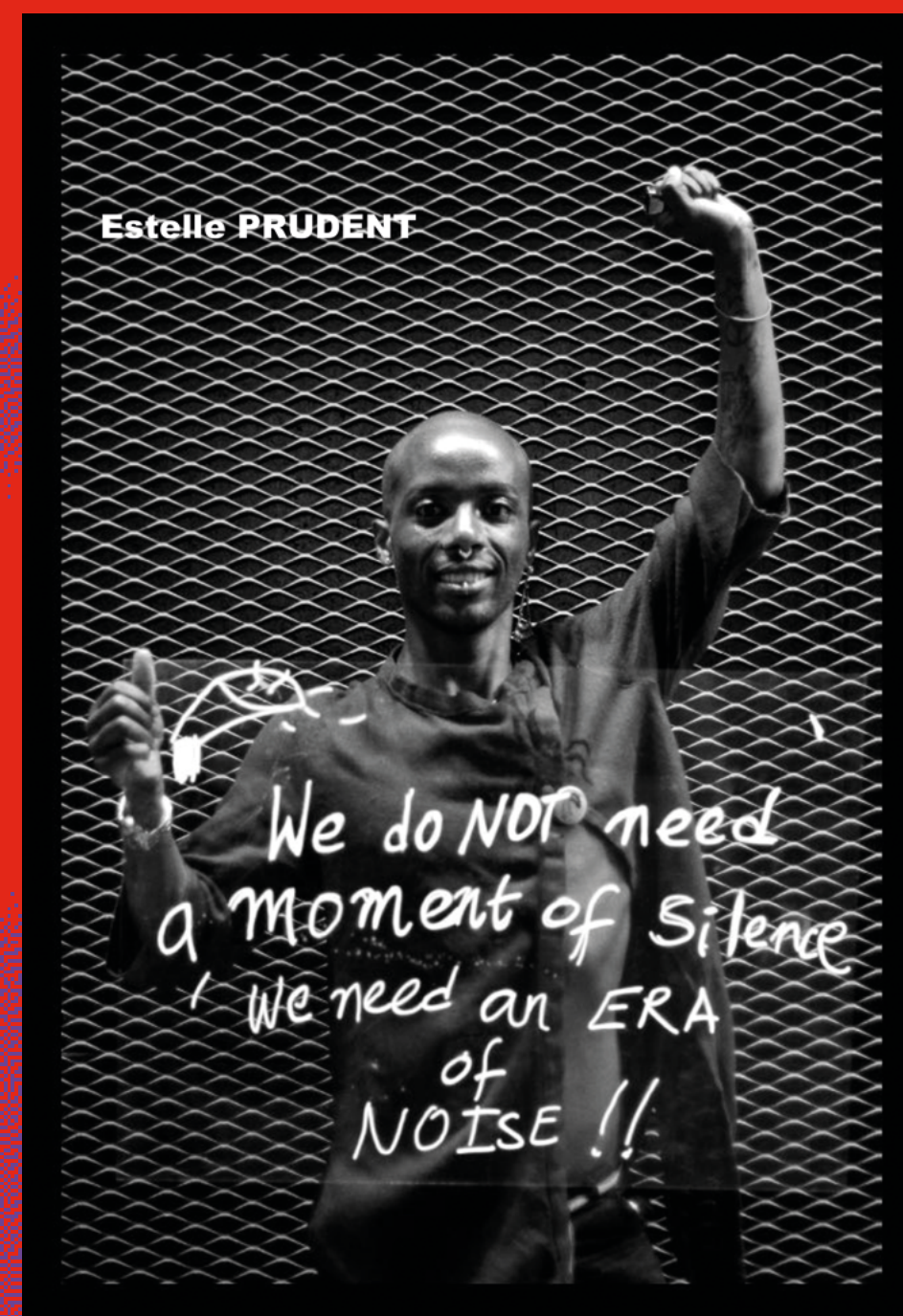
Write, film, organise, and act. For justice.

Queers for Palestine, poster by unmut.e, a revolutionary, intersectional, intersectional, queer feminist self-publishing project, displayed at TRANSEUROPA Les Marges en Feu.





Macron, resign!, illustration by Juliette Liou, a multidisciplinary artist, dyke and Asian-descendant, displayed at TRANSEUROPA Les Marges en Feu.



QueerSuperPower 4, 160 x 110 cm, by Estelle Prudent, a queer intersectional photographer & activist, who took part in TRANSEUROPA Les Marges en Feu.

Join
European Alternatives

