



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„The global feminist strike 2021 in Italy“

verfasst von / submitted by

Claudia Tatangelo

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master (MA)

Wien, 2022 / Vienna 2022

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Individuelles Masterstudium Globalgeschichte

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Dr.in Patricia Zuckerhut, Privatdozentin

UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„The global feminist strike 2021 in Italy“

verfasst von / submitted by

Claudia Tatangelo

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master (MA)

Wien, 2022 / Vienna 2022

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Individuelles Masterstudium Globalgeschichte

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Dr.in Patricia Zuckerhut, Privatdozentin

Summary

Women's empowerment has been on the agenda of the global establishment for more than 50 years, but the progress in women's equality since the 1970s has happened in parallel with increases in socio-economic inequalities and the establishment of a neoliberal world order. This form of neoliberal global feminism has mainstreamed a gender agenda that does not take into consideration the intersectional forms of oppression that women and gendered subjectivities experience, such as racial and classist oppression. On the 8th of March 2017 several feminist movements in different parts of the world adhered to the global feminist strike, suggesting the resurgence of an oppositional, anti-neoliberal wave of feminist mobilization that has not been extensively studied until now.

The primary aim of this thesis is to determine to what extent feminist movements that have mobilized around the idea of the global feminist strike manage to challenge the hegemonic paradigms of neoliberal global feminism. The Italian Non Una di Meno (NUDM) movement and the mobilization around the feminist strike 2021 was taken as a case study. As a student-activist, I propose a feminist decolonial epistemology and an interdisciplinary research paradigm which are based upon a situated, circular, and embodied research framework. Through participant observation and textual analysis, ethnographic data and documents were gathered and analyzed.

From a methodological perspective, this research aimed at making academia a place of tension between the potential radicality of a politically informed epistemology and the mainstreaming of feminist decolonial politics. From the point of view of the content, there are three main findings. First, analytically the NUDM movement inserts itself in a tradition of feminist Marxism that successfully reformulates the definitions of work and labour strike, centering unpaid and reproductive work, contributing to the expansion of the concept of working class by adding subjects that have been historically marginalized. Second, it proposes the feminist strike as a tool to re-signify and counter gender violence through a connection to economic violence and bio-capitalist exploitation. In the context of a racial and gender global division of labour and the disappearance of the distinction between life-time and work-time the feminist strike 'for life' combines challenges that have traditionally been separated among the feminist, workers' and migrants' movements. Lastly, NUDM engages in a political analysis that, while conscious of the intersection of gendered and racialized categories, provides grounds to build global solidarity on the basis of anti-capitalism.

Zusammenfassung

Obwohl das *Empowerment* der Frau seit mehr als 50 Jahren auf der globalen Agenda steht, gingen die Fortschritte bei der Gleichstellung der Frauen seit den 1970er Jahren mit einer Zunahme sozioökonomischer Ungleichheiten und der Etablierung einer neoliberalen Weltordnung einher. Diese Form eines neoliberalen globalen Feminismus hat eine genderbezogene Agenda durchgesetzt, die intersektionale Formen der Unterdrückung, welche Frauen und vergeschlechtlichte Subjektivitäten erfahren - wie etwa rassistische und klassenbezogene Unterdrückung - nicht berücksichtigt. Am 8. März 2017 schlossen sich mehrere feministische Bewegungen in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt dem globalen feministischen Streik an, was auf das Wiederaufleben einer oppositionellen, anti-neoliberalen Welle der feministischen Mobilisierung hindeutet, die bisher nur wenig untersucht worden ist.

Das Hauptziel dieser Arbeit ist, festzustellen, inwieweit es feministischen Bewegungen, die sich um die Idee des globalen feministischen Streiks herum mobilisiert haben, gelingt, die hegemonialen Paradigmen des globalen Feminismus auf neoliberaler Grundlage in Frage zu stellen. Die italienische Bewegung Non Una di Meno (NUDM) und die Mobilisierung rund um den feministischen Streik 2021 wurden als Fallstudie herangezogen. Als studentische Aktivistin habe ich eine feministische dekoloniale Epistemologie und ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsparadigma angewendet, welche auf einem situierten, zirkulären und verkörperten Forschungsrahmen beruhen. Durch teilnehmende Beobachtung und Textanalyse wurden ethnografische Daten und Dokumente gesammelt und ausgewertet.

Aus einer methodologischen Perspektive zielte diese Forschung darauf ab, die akademische Welt zu einem Ort der Spannung zwischen der potentiellen Radikalität einer bewusst politischen Epistemologie und dem Mainstreaming der feministischen dekolonialen Politik zu machen. Aus inhaltlicher Sicht gibt es drei Hauptergebnisse. Erstens reiht sich die NUDM-Bewegung analytisch in eine Tradition des feministischen Marxismus ein, der die Definitionen von Arbeit und Arbeitskampf erfolgreich neu formuliert, indem er unbezahlte und reproduktive Arbeit in den Mittelpunkt stellt und dazu beiträgt, das Konzept der Arbeiterklasse um historisch marginalisierte Subjekte zu erweitern. Zweitens wird der feministische Streik als Instrument zur Neubestimmung und Bekämpfung geschlechtsspezifischer Gewalt vorgeschlagen, und zwar durch eine Verbindung zu ökonomischer Gewalt und biokapitalistischer Ausbeutung. Im Kontext einer globalen rassistischen und geschlechtsspezifischen Arbeitsteilung und der verschwindenden Unterscheidung zwischen Lebenszeit und Arbeitszeit stellt sich der feministische Streik "für das Leben" Herausforderungen, die traditionell sowohl von der Frauen- als auch von der Arbeiter*innen- und Migrant*innenbewegung übersehen wurden. Schließlich betreibt NUDM eine politische Analyse, die sich der Überschneidung von geschlechtsspezifischen und rassistischen Kategorien bewusst ist und eine Grundlage für den Aufbau einer globalen Solidarität auf der Basis des Antikapitalismus bietet.

Resumen

El empoderamiento de las mujeres ha estado en la agenda del establecimiento global por más de 50 años. Sin embargo, el progreso en la igualdad de las mujeres desde los 1970's ha ocurrido en paralelo con el aumento de las desigualdades socioeconómicas y el asentamiento de una orden mundial neoliberal. Esta forma de feminismo global neoliberal ha incorporado una agenda de género que no toma en cuenta las formas interseccionales de opresión que experimentan las mujeres y las disidencias sexogenéricas (González Ortuño 2016), como la opresión racial y clasista. El 8 de marzo de 2017 varios movimientos feministas en diferentes partes del mundo adhirieron a la huelga feminista global, sugiriendo el resurgimiento de una ola opositor y antineoliberal de movilización feminista que ha sido poco estudiada hasta ahora.

El objetivo principal de esta tesis es determinar hasta qué punto los movimientos feministas que se han movilizadado en torno a la idea de la huelga feminista global consiguen desafiar los paradigmas hegemónicos del feminismo global de base neoliberal. Se tomó como caso de estudio el movimiento italiano Non Una di Meno (NUDM) y la movilización en torno a la huelga feminista 2021. Como estudiante-activista, propongo una epistemología feminista decolonial y un paradigma de investigación interdisciplinaria que se basan en un marco de investigación situado, circular y enfocado en el cuerpo. A través de la observación participante y el análisis textual, se recogieron y analizaron datos y documentos etnográficos.

Desde el punto de vista metodológico, esta investigación pretende hacer de la academia un lugar de tensión entre el potencial radical de una epistemología políticamente informada y la incorporación de una política decolonial feminista. Desde el punto de vista del contenido, hay tres conclusiones principales. En primer lugar, analíticamente el movimiento NUDM se inserta en una tradición del marxismo feminista que reformula con éxito las definiciones de trabajo y huelga laboral, centrando el trabajo no remunerado y reproductivo, contribuyendo a la ampliación del concepto de clase trabajadora al añadir sujetos que han sido históricamente marginalizados. En segundo lugar, propone la huelga feminista como una herramienta para reconceptualizar y contrastar la violencia de género, a través de la conexión con la violencia económica y con la explotación biocapitalista. En el contexto de una división global del trabajo racial y de género y la desaparición de la distinción entre tiempo de vida y tiempo de trabajo, la huelga feminista "por la vida" conjuga retos que han estado tradicionalmente repartidos entre los movimientos feminista, obrero y de migrantes. Finalmente, NUDM realiza un análisis político que, aunque consciente de la intersección entre las categorías de género y raza, proporciona bases para construir una solidaridad global basada en el anticapitalismo.

Abstract

L'*empowerment* femminile è presente nell'agenda dell'establishment globale da più di 50 anni. Ciononostante, i progressi nell'uguaglianza di genere a partire dagli anni '70 sono avvenuti in parallelo con l'aumento delle disuguaglianze socioeconomiche e l'istituzione di un ordine mondiale neoliberale. Questa forma di femminismo globale neoliberale ha fatto propria un'agenda di genere che non prende in considerazione forme intersezionali di oppressione sperimentate da donne e soggettività non etero-cis-normate, come l'oppressione razziale e classista. L'8 marzo 2017 diversi movimenti femministi in diverse parti del mondo hanno aderito allo sciopero femminista globale, suggerendo il ritorno di un'ondata di mobilitazioni femministe anti-neoliberali e d'opposizione che sono state fino ad ora poco studiate.

L'obiettivo primario di questa tesi è determinare fino a che punto i movimenti femministi che si sono mobilitati intorno all'idea dello sciopero femminista globale riescono a sfidare il paradigma egemonico del femminismo su base neoliberale. Il movimento italiano Non Una di Meno (NUDM) e la mobilitazione intorno allo sciopero femminista 2021 sono presi in considerazione come caso di studio. Come student*-attivista, propongo un'epistemologia femminista decoloniale e un paradigma di ricerca interdisciplinare che si basano su un quadro di ricerca situato, circolare e basato nel corpo. Attraverso l'osservazione partecipante e l'analisi testuale, sono stati raccolti e analizzati dati etnografici e documenti.

Dal punto di vista metodologico, questa ricerca mira a fare del mondo accademico un luogo di tensione tra la potenziale radicalità di un'epistemologia politicamente informata e il *mainstreaming* di una politica decoloniale femminista. Dal punto di vista del contenuto, ci sono principalmente tre conclusioni da trarre. In primo luogo, analiticamente il movimento NUDM si inserisce in una tradizione di marxismo femminista che riformula con successo le definizioni di lavoro e sciopero dell'* lavorator*, mettendo al centro il lavoro non retribuito e riproduttivo, contribuendo all'espansione del concetto di classe operaia con l'aggiunta di soggetti che sono stati storicamente marginalizzati. In secondo luogo, propone lo sciopero femminista come strumento per risignificare e contrastare la violenza di genere, attraverso la connessione con la violenza economica e con lo sfruttamento biocapitalista. Nel contesto di una divisione globale del lavoro razziale e di genere e la scomparsa della distinzione tra tempo di vita e di lavoro, lo sciopero femminista 'per la vita' combina sfide che sono state tradizionalmente ripartite tra i movimenti femminista, operaio e dell* migranti. In terzo luogo, NUDM si impegna in un'analisi politica che, pur essendo consapevole delle intersezioni tra categorie razzializzate e di genere, fornisce le basi per costruire una solidarietà globale sulla base dell'anticapitalismo.

To all the witches that have supported me through the writing of this thesis, go my words of gratitude.

To all the comrades that have made me feel at home, wherever we have been together, I am grateful that our paths crossed.

I thank you for all the reviewing, translating, discussions, and conflicts we had. But I also thank you for making this project possible through the care you poured into it, for the chocolates, the hugs and the beers that we had together.

I salute you with love and anger.

A todas las brujas y todxs lxs brujxs que me han apoyado a lo largo de la redacción de esta tesis, van mis palabras de agradecimiento.

A todas las compañeras y todxs lxs compañerxs que me han hecho sentir como en casa, donde sea que hemos estado juntxs, agradezco que nuestros caminos se hayan cruzado.

Les doy las gracias por todas las revisiones, traducciones, discusiones y conflictos que hemos tenido. Pero también les agradezco que hayan hecho posible este proyecto por el cariño que han puesto en él, por los chocolates, los abrazos y las cervezas que hemos tomado juntxs.

Les saludo con amor y rabia.

A tutte le streghe che mi hanno sostenuto durante la stesura di questa tesi, vanno le mie parole di gratitudine.

A tutte le compagne e l* compagn* che mi hanno fatto sentire a casa, ovunque siamo stat* insieme, sono grat* che le nostre strade si siano incrociate.

Vi ringrazio per tutte le revisioni, traduzioni, discussioni e conflitti che abbiamo avuto. Ma vi ringrazio anche per aver reso possibile questo progetto attraverso la cura che avete riversato in esso, per i cioccolatini, gli abbracci e le birre che abbiamo bevuto insieme.

Vi saluto con amore e rabbia.

Table of content

List of abbreviations / 3

Introduction / 5

Chapter 1 – Literature review / 10

1.1 Non Una di Meno Italia / 11

1.2 Gender, class, and the strike / 14

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Grounding / 26

2.1 A starting point – Epistemologies from the South / 30

2.2 Italian-ness, whiteness, and the Southern Question / 35

2.3 Methodology 1 – Situated knowledges and translation / 42

2.4 Methodology 2 – Third-space methodologies and hyphen-spaces / 45

Chapter 3 – Analysis / 52

3.1. Sources – Participant observation and written data / 55

3.2 From fieldwork to theory / 57

3.2.1 Economic violence as patriarchal violence / 60

3.2.2 “It is not a job that’s missing, it is the money”: from wages to housework to self-determination income / 65

3.2.3 The feminist strike / 79

Conclusion / 93

Bibliography / 103

Notes to the structure of the Bibliography / 103

Literature / 105

Sources / 118

*“The strike’s message is the strike itself because it shows where the power lies.
It is a demonstration of power that we see necessary to maximize our power.”*

(Transnational Social Strike Platform 2018: 10)

*“Hay una mujer.
No importa el color de su piel, porque tiene
todos los colores.
No importa su idioma, porque escucha todas
las lenguas.
No importa su raza y su cultura, porque en
ella habitan todos los modos.
No importa su tamaño, porque es grande y sin
embargo cabe en una mano.

Todos los días y a todas horas esa mujer es
violentada, golpeada, herida, violada,
burlada, despreciada.
Un macho ejerce sobre ella su poder.
Todos los días y a todas horas, ella viene a
nosotras, nosotros, nosotrosas.
Nos muestra sus heridas, sus dolores, sus
penas.
Y sólo le damos palabras de consuelo, de
lástima.
O la ignoramos.

Tal vez como limosna le damos algo para que
cure sus heridas.
Pero el macho sigue su violencia.
Nosotras y ustedes sabemos en qué terminará
eso.
Ella será asesinada y con su muerte morirá
todo.

Podemos seguir dándole sólo palabras de
aliento y medicinas para sus males.*

*O podemos decirle la verdad: la única
medicina que puede curarla y sanarla por
completo, es que enfrente y destruya a quien
la violenta.
Y podemos también, i en consecuencia,
unirnos a ella y pelear a su lado.

A esa mujer nosotros los pueblos zapatistas la
llamamos: “madre tierra”.
Al macho que la oprime y la humilla,
pónganle el nombre, el rostro y la figura que
ustedes quieran.
Nosotros los pueblos zapatistas llamamos a
ese macho asesino con un nombre:
capitalismo.
Y hemos llegado hasta estas geografías para
preguntar, para preguntarles.

¿Vamos a seguir pensando que con pomadas
y calmantes se solucionan los golpes de hoy,
aunque sabemos que mañana será más
grande y profunda la herida?

¿O vamos a pelear junto con ella?

Nosotras las comunidades zapatistas hemos
decidido luchar junto a ella, por ella y para
ella.

Es todo lo que podemos decirles.
Muchas gracias por escucharnos.”*

Palabras de las comunidades Zapatistas en ocasión de la marcha contra la destrucción de la naturaleza.

En Viena, Austria. En voz de la compañera Libertad, el día 24 de septiembre del 2021

(EZLN 2021, September 27)¹

¹ Video and translations in several languages are available on the Enlace Zapatista website (<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2021/09/27/hay-una-mujer-contra-la-destruccion-de-la-naturaleza-austria-viena/>)

List of abbreviations

D.i.Re	Donne in Rete contro la Violenza
E.A.S.T.	Essential Autonomous Struggle Transnational
EZLN	Zapatista Army of National Liberation
FD	Field Diary
FIS	Fondo di Integrazione Salariale
ISMU	Fondazione ISMU - Iniziative e Studi sulla Multietnicità
LGBT*QIA+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and/or Non-binary (*), Queer, Intersexual, Asexual
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NUDM	Non Una di Meno
NUM	Ni Una Menos
PNRR	National Plan for Recovery and Resilience
RD	Research Diary
TSS Platform	Transnational Social Strike Platform
UDI	Unione Donne Italiane
UN	United Nations
ZAD NDDL	Autonomous Zone to Defend of Notre-Dame-des-Landes

Introduction

“Una nueva época del movimiento feminista ya se ha instalado. Estamos viviendo en ella. La organización de las huelgas internacionales de mujeres, lesbianas, trans y travestis desde 2017 ha marcado un umbral en la escala de la movilización, en la conceptualización y en la constelación de luchas que se presentan como feministas. Es esta triple dimensión del movimiento (multiplicidad de luchas, escala geográfica y gramática común) la que ha producido diagnósticos y prácticas concretas contra los modos depredadores del capitalismo patriarcal y colonial en su fase actual con enorme eficacia política.” (Gago & Malo 2020: 9-10)²

Women’s empowerment has been on the agenda of the global establishment for more than fifty years. Although feminism as a radical movement of opposition has never disappeared, it is, especially during the last two decades, becoming a political force once again taking up space and discourse within opposition movements (Watkins 2018: 5). Between 2015 and 2017, a ‘feminism of the 99 per cent’ organized a march against the Trump administration in the US, while Polish women fought against the tightening of restrictive abortion laws and feminists from Southern Europe and South America marched against domestic violence and economic precarity under the banner of ‘not one less’ (*ibid.*: 5-6). On 8th of March 2017, these movements came together launching the first global feminist strike.

According to Watkins, there has been a significant progress in women’s equality since the 1970s. However, this progress has been happening in parallel, or rather in collusion, with increases in socio-economic inequalities and the establishment of a global neoliberal order by international institutions (*ibid.*: 7). As Watkins suggests, the way in which the global order has changed since the 1970s shows that gender alone is not a useful category to bring about

² “A new era of the feminist movement has already begun. We are living in it. The organization of the international strike of women, lesbians, trans and transvestites since 2017 has marked a threshold in the scale of mobilization, in the conceptualization and in the constellation of struggles that present themselves as feminist. It is this triple dimension of the movement (multiplicity of struggles, geographical scale and common grammar) that has produced diagnoses and concrete practices against the predatory modes of patriarchal and colonial capitalism in its current phase with enormous political effectiveness”.

transformations at a social level and improve the living conditions of women around the globe. By rendering the concept of patriarchy universal and committing to a neoliberal agenda, global feminism has not been able to effectively foster change towards gender equality. With the 2017 global feminist strike, the resurgence of an oppositional, anti-neoliberal feminist movement suggests the existence of an alternative to this form of hegemonic global feminism.

Hence, Watkins proposes to investigate global feminism through the perspective of ‘new feminist movements’ i.e., movements that have mobilized around the idea of a global feminist strike. Nevertheless, feminist movements have shown a great degree of difference in terms of focus and outcomes, for example the #MeToo movement in the US has focused on harassment at work or in education, while “new movements in Latin America have focused on domestic violence and those in southern Europe on economic, sexual and migrant precarity” (*ibid.*: 9). In this sense, Watkins proposes to question “[t]o what extent they challenge, transcend, or reproduce the hegemonic paradigm” of global feminism on neoliberal basis, and to comprehend the degree of autonomy from “the now mildly feminized world order of multinational corporations, bureaucratized non-profits and NATO powers” (Watkins 2018: 59).

In light of the above, the present study revolves around the question of global feminism and its developments today, especially in relation with the theory-praxis of the feminist strike. Taking in account The Non Una di Meno (NUDM) movement in Italy during 2021 as a local example, this thesis aims at detailing the reality of current global feminism, questioning to what extent this specific movement is able to propose radical anti-neoliberal politics and be autonomous from the hegemonic paradigm of mainstream global feminism.

In one of the first documents published by the Italian NUDM there is an explicit reference to the Argentinian Ni Una Menos (NUM) movement and in general there are several

instances of signifiers that have been translated from the Argentinian to the Italian context - the name of the movement, the *pañuelo*, as a political symbol and the metaphor of the "tide" (Trillò 2019). At the beginning of my research, I was curious to explore the self-perception of a transnational or global movement and to investigate to what extent these transnational connections were real or perceived, and whether the exchange of ideas was mono- or multi-directional. But while researching the history of the NUM movement, I encountered Veronica Gago's study of the global feminist strike in Argentina, an approach that highlights the connections between new feminist movements, their global character, and their connection to the concept of labour. By focusing on the strike and the topic of labour, the research process brought me to shift my theoretical premises from the analysis of the identity and modes of organization of the NUM movement. Instead of focusing on the comparability between NUM and NUDM, the scope of my research question expanded on a global dimension, while at the same time narrowing my case study to a very local phenomenon. Combining participant observation carried out through ethnographic field research with the analysis of documents, I propose a reading of the global feminist strike from the situated perspective of the Italian Non Una di Meno.

In Chapter 1, I propose an overview of Non Una di Meno as a movement and of the theory-practice of the feminist strike from a historical perspective. While NUDM is a relatively new movement, officially existing since 2016, it was built on previous feminist experiences and theorizations. With this chapter I suggest two ideas. The first concept is that new global feminist movements align themselves in continuity with Marxist and anti-capitalist tendencies that have marked the history of the feminist movement since the 1970s, re-appropriating a non-hegemonic and militant historical memory that connects feminist and workers' demands. The second concept is that new feminisms build on a long tradition of feminist reformulation of the

very idea of labour and of capitalism, as a theoretical premise to strike, therefore breathing new life into the relation between feminist and workers' movements.

In Chapter 2, I introduce the concept of decoloniality as a cornerstone of this project. The concept of decoloniality has two major consequences for this work. Firstly, through decolonial methodologies, I am proposing a circular and embodied understanding of scientific work. Circular, because it starts from the knowledge produced within the movements to translate it into an academic product, and bring it back to the movement, conscious of power relations between non-hegemonic knowledge and scientific authority. Embodied, because as a feminist activist-student it aims at producing a situated knowledge with an explicit political agenda, the construction of an anti-racist and anti-capitalist feminist politics. Secondly, by situating NUDM in its socio-political-geographic location, I put into practice the idea that gender is a colonial category. Therefore, understanding global feminism means historicizing patriarchy and considering a gendered division of labour is also a racial one, whereas colonialism, capitalism and racism are intertwined systems of power that take specific historical forms.

In Chapter 3, after a description of my field work, I discuss the way in which the global feminist strike is concrete on a local level. Firstly, I describe how economic violence is conceptualized by NUDM as patriarchal violence, suggesting how NUDM has linked violence against women and feminized bodies with capitalist expropriation, turning the narrative of victimhood into one of resistance. Secondly, by focusing on the demand of a self-determination income, I describe how theoretical discussions around wage and non-wage labour, productive and reproductive work, take a practical form in both criticizing and opposing current politics and suggesting new forms of economic redistribution. Thirdly, by focusing on the concrete case of the strike of YOOX workers in Bologna (Italy), I demonstrate how labour-related and migrant struggles have intersected with the feminist strike giving rise to an anti-racist and feminist alliance on the ground.

In the last chapter, I will conclude the discussion of this thesis by weaving together the paths that I describe in the previous three chapters and suggest paths for further research on the topic. In fact, through the research process, I realized how this project is far from being finished. My vision is a long-term one and I would like to continue researching global feminism by looking more closely at different movements in a comparative perspective, but also at the political and historical relevance that new feminist movements might or might not assume in the next years. In this light, I see this text as a work-in-progress rather than a thorough synthesis. I believe that my analysis could greatly improve through continuative involvement in the movement, as well as through critical feedback from the activists I have already talked to, but also from those I did not get a chance to talk to. I really hope that this thesis will not end up incarcerated within the ivory tower, but could represent a scientific legitimization of the radical potential of the political work carried out by NUDM activists and also a first step towards the historicization of the NUDM movement, contributing to the construction of the historical memory of the feminist movement in Italy. Moreover, I hope that academically it will contribute to the development of a decolonial and embodied approach to the study of feminism and feminist movements, and more specifically to the phenomenon of the global feminist strike with a transformative effect in terms of research practices.

Chapter 1 – Literature Review

Italy is a Catholic and conservative country which has a great impact on women's and queer³ people's lives. It was one of the last European countries to pass a law on same-sex civil unions. More than 80 per cent of gynaecologists are conscientious objectors, practically ignoring the effects of the Law 194, which since 1978 makes abortion legal and accessible in Italy. The laws that are supposed to enforce the Istanbul convention and prevent domestic violence are insufficient. Just a few months ago, a law proposal against homophobia and transphobia, the DDL Zan, was rejected. Italy has one of the lowest female occupation rates in Europe, rates that negatively peak in the Southern regions. The wage gap between men and women is above the European average and Italian men are responsible for as little as 30 per cent of social reproduction work. Finally, most care work (especially kids and elderly care) is privatized and outsourced on immigrant, low-paid, precarious and “*in nero*”⁴ work (Arruzza & Cirillo 2017: 139-140). Between 2019 and 2020 only, a quarter of the 456 thousand people that lost their jobs were migrant⁵ women, reducing ten per cent of the number of employed women with a non-Italian nationality compared to a reduction of 1,4 per cent for Italian women and of 3,5 per cent for migrant men (Fondazione ISMU 2022).

It is these material conditions that “Non Una di Meno” as a feminist movement plans to challenge. The following chapter will draw an outline of two of the main concepts of this work,

³ “Queer: (strange, bizarre) term of autonomy, inclusive, transversal, focusing on sexual identity not as an objective reality but as a changing, transitory ground. Set of theories and practices that subvert the rules of binary oppositions (gender binarism, sexual binarism, etc). Queer theories understand sexuality as an interweaving of sex, gender and sexual orientation that is socially constructed and constantly reproduced by subjects” (NUDM 2017: 4).

⁴ “under the table” or work without a legal contract. It literally translates as “black” work. I find interesting that the reference to “black” work is still widely accepted in the Italian language, despite the obvious racist underpinning.

⁵ All along the project I will stick to the term migrant, even though immigrant might be more correct in English. The reason is that in Italian they would translate as *migrante* and *immigrato*. The word *immigrato* is a past participle, indicating that an action is finished, and it refers to the concept of definitively establishing one's residence in a different country because of economic or work reasons. On the opposite, *migrante* is a present participle, indicating an action that is in progress. The word *migrante* is, in my opinion, more open-ended as it does not indicate the end of an action but rather the process itself. Moreover, it is a term of self-determination that is used by most political groups that identify as migrant.

namely an introduction to Non Una di Meno as a political actor and a history of the feminist strike.

1.1 Non Una di Meno Italia

The Italian Non Una di Meno network (NUDM) was established in 2016 by a combination of already existing realities, among them the *Rete IoDecido* (network that advocates for sexual and reproductive rights), the *Di.Re* (network of Italian anti-violence shelters) and the UDI (the Union of Italian Women) (Trillò 2019: 1). During a national assembly held in October 2016, feminist activists launched the creation of the NUDM movement through mobilizing people for its first big protest action on the “International Day of the Elimination of Violence Against Women” (26th November 2016) in Rome (Trillò 2018: 88), which was followed by a second national assembly (27th November 2016). At this same time, Polish women were calling for a nation-wide women’s strike to protest the tightening of the abortion laws. At the beginning of 2017, the Argentinian feminist movement launched the idea for a women’s strike on the 8th of March 2017. In Italy, feminists met in a national assembly in Bologna on February 4th-5th 2017 and decided to join the international strike initiative (Chironi 2019: 19). As Chironi (2019) argues, 2016 marked an end to a period of latency in Italian feminist organizing, and she defines the convergence of different generations of activists into the new movement as a sign of Italian participation into the “international movement against male violence over women” (Chironi 2019: 2). By putting together different grassroot groups from a variety of feminist and LGBT*QIA+⁶ activist groups, but also leftist and anti-fascist groups based on occupied social centers, NUDM successfully connected different struggles and generations of activist under a common trans-feminist banner (Chironi 2019: 6). For Chironi,

⁶ LGBT*QIA+ it is an acronym for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans or non-binary (*), Queer, Intersexual, Asexual people. The + at the end signal openness to further self-determination in relation to gender identity or sexual orientation.

NUDM is “the local version of the movement set up the previous year in Argentina” (Chironi 2019: 5).

From an organizational perspective, NUDM is a grassroots self-organized movement characterized by horizontal structures i.e., it does not have any leader and local assemblies do not have a designated spokesperson to communicate with the national assembly. Together with the national assemblies, which have regularly taken place since 2016, permanent local assemblies were created in several Italian cities. The activists who participate in these assemblies are both already politicized people and people that were not used to political participation (Chironi 2019). Differently from the tradition of *femminismo della differenza*⁷, especially popular in the 1970s in Italy, NUDM is not an explicitly separatist space, however most active members are women and ‘free subjectivities’⁸. Moreover, most of the existing assemblies do not have a fixed site for their meetings, but rather meet in different spaces. NUDM has put intersectional feminism at the center of the agenda, pushing towards the margin other feminist currents, especially trans people and sex workers exclusionary radical feminists. Even though it is possible to talk of a NUDM political discourse, being a movement rather than a collective, NUDM brings together very different opinions and positions, which are negotiated during national assemblies. Chironi’s description of the NUDM movement, clarifies the way in which NUDM has become fundamental to the Italian feminist scene, managing to unite

⁷ Feminism of difference

⁸ The phrase ‘free subjectivities’ loosely refers to all people who question the cis-hetero-binary norms. It is the English translation of the Italian term ‘*libere soggettività*’, which is in part molded on the Spanish term ‘*disidencias*’. The latter terms come from Latin American elaborations of sexual dissidence theories, and it is a self-determination term that describes the idea of sexual and gender dissidence as a front of social struggle and reflection, as well as from the rejection of the term ‘queer’ as a hegemonic, elitist term (González Ortuño 2016). During the process of creation of the LGBT*QIA+ node of the NUDM movement, activists came up with the term through the discourse of ‘dissidence’ and eventually decided that they wanted to further the idea of ‘liberation’ (or freedom) rather than that of dissidence (FD Encuentro Intergaláctico: 5). In this sense ‘free subjectivities’ is not meant to be an essentialist label, but a political identity that brings together members of the LGBT*QIA+ community, without specifying gender or sexuality affiliations. It can include lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersexual, polyamorous, asexual, and non-binary people.

different positions in an inclusive movement which has plurality as a core value and keeps a high level of engagement participating in various campaigns, both national and international.

Tommaso Trillò described NUDM as an organizationally brokered network relying on the logic of collective action (Trillò 2019: 9). Collective action is the output of a centralized consultation within a community, while connective action applies to the voicing of grievances through individual/personalized political viewpoints loosely related to a political identification. According to this typology, NUDM presents a hybrid form of both collective and connective action. It takes the form of collective action, from the point of view that there are structures where the politics of the movement have been decided (the national assemblies, the constitution of local groups and tables, according to different stages of the protest cycle), but activists also make use of empty signifiers (such as social media campaigns) which are then filled out by individual people, both activists themselves and the broader public. These latter online activities, namely the ascription of meaning to signifiers, are however not completely free. In fact, Trillò notes the existence of an “identifiable group of choreographic leaders that manage production and circulation of frames via social media” (Trillò 2019: 9). This core group, which Trillò identifies with the press agency of NUDM (NUDM Comunicazione), is in charge of formulating and diffusing ‘empty yet bounded’ signifiers. According to Trillò, the choreographic leaders frame the activity of the movement, bounding the possible meaning of ‘empty signifiers’ following a specific political agenda. As an example, he mentions the name of the movement, making the point that if on one hand the phrase ‘non una di meno’ can loosely refer to anything that is related to violence against women, on the other hand the choreographic leaders narrowed down its meaning saying that: Non Una di Meno is an autonomous, bottom-up organization, refusing institutionalization and support from parties or unions (Non Una di Meno 2019, April 20). Drafting the plan against violence, they narrowed down the meanings

that violence against women can have, at the same time highlighting how gender violence is not only sexual, but also economic and cultural violence (Trillò 2019).

1.2 Gender, class, and the strike

This paper will focus mainly on one aspect or one political practice of NUDM, namely the theory-practice of the feminist strike. The reason is that it is around this practice that feminist movements around the world have reorganized and re-proposed a common framework of action since the 8th of March 2017. By looking at the Italian Non Una di Meno movement from the point of view of the strike, it is possible to describe a specific, geographically and temporally bounded movement, taking into consideration also the transnational dimension and political discourse that has globally shaped the resurgence of feminist movements in the past seven years.

At the same time, the idea for this thesis came to light during another global event that has characterized the last two years, the global coronavirus pandemic. It is in a way paradoxical to study the global feminist strike in 2021, because since 2017 the strike took place through a massive demonstration in the streets in 2018 and 2019. In 2020, because of the pandemic, the Italian NUDM movement had to cancel the street demonstration due to the lockdown measures. In 2021, the protest was back on the streets, even though organizing street demonstrations during the pandemic became a challenge. However, as Veronica Gago proposes “el paro como una nueva forma de cartografía practica de la política feminista”⁹ (Gago 2019: 18), it is possible to see the strike as a practical, “essential horizon for the struggle” (FD Nazionale Bologna: 28). This means it is essential to look at its organization and significance

⁹ “The strike as a new form of practical mapping of feminist politics”.

beyond the date of the rally, considering the strike as a long-term process that involves a longer time of political theorizing and practice.

If it might be possible to affirm that capitalism disrupted primitive patriarchy or a pre-capitalist sexual division of labour as the only mode of production, capitalist primitive accumulation is fundamentally based on the reconstruction of patriarchal power relations, weaved in with a racial division of labour. In “*Caliban and the Witch*”, Silvia Federici states that primitive accumulation does not only relate to the dispossession and separation between the workers and the means of production. Between 1350 and 1500, the process of primitive accumulation transformed the relationship between workers and masters by transforming the very body of the male worker into a ‘working-machine’ and subjecting women to social reproduction¹⁰. This accumulation was driven by colonialism: the accumulation of workforce was carried out by the dispossession of commodities, stolen from the colonies, and the dispossession of bodies, through the institutionalization of slavery and exploitation. At the same time the patriarchal/colonial matrix created and reinforced, both materially and discursively, hierarchies based on gender, race, and age as constitutive elements of the modern working class (Federici 2015 [2004]: 77).

Federici defines ‘wage patriarchy’ as the system in which women’s labour and bodies are controlled through the distinction between wage and non-wage labour. “The paradox is that capitalism needs social reproduction [...] but does not want to pay the cost for it. Especially because all the activities of social reproduction have low technology and are labour intensive,

¹⁰ Social reproduction can be defined as the whole set of activities that maintain life on a daily and intergenerational basis. It includes subsistence means like clean water, air, and food (Arruzza & Cirillo 2017: 120). This way of defining social reproduction should allow to include different types of household/domestic systems, as well as community or collectivity based social reproduction. Moreover, a socialist feminist approach to social reproduction recognizes the way capitalism functions “at the intersection of gendered dominance (patriarchy), racialized oppression (racism), and class exploitation (capitalism)” (Vincze 2021: 15). In this sense all reproductive work, both unpaid and underpaid, constitutes essential productive forces of capital accumulation and capitalist system’s very reproduction.

which means they are expensive” (Arruzza 2019: online). In order to keep the costs of social reproduction low, a fictitious separation between productive (and therefore wage) labour and reproductive (unpaid or underpaid) labour is created. But as Arruzza stresses, capitalism is not only a mode of production, but it is also a societal formation (Arruzza 2017: 69). Although a (less rigid) sexual division of labour existed also in pre-capitalist societies, it is through the hierarchy between sexes and between colonizers and colonized people that a certain capitalist/colonial structure is produced and reinforced. Today some common phenomena that involve the cost management of social reproduction include: the exploitation of poorly paid and non-unionized migrant labour in privatized sectors, the cuts on the welfare state that puts the cost of care work onto families and especially women, the commercialization of some parts of social reproductive work-chains (such as restaurants, laundries, etc...) using cheap migrant labour (Arruzza 2019: online).

According to Arruzza and Cirillo (2017), the feminist strike has been ‘cooking’ since the 20th century. The increase of women involved in wage work on a global level (Watkins 2018: 6) meant an increase in the number of women involved in political organizations. In different parts of Europe, women began to unionize and participate in trade-union organizations, despite the fact they were mostly unskilled workers and that they were generally marginalized and/or excluded by male-dominated trade unionist movements (Arruzza 2013: 30). By the beginning of the 20th century, there was a rise of women-only trade union organizations in England, which brought together women outside of the unionized sector and women working in sectors where unions did not allow women to join (*ibid.*). It is the collective rejection of exploitation and the solidarity constructed on the ground that contributed to women empowerment rather than wage work by its intrinsic nature (Arruzza & Cirillo 2017: 68).

As it has been widely discussed (Davis 1981; Arruzza 2013), feminism or the women’s movement started as a bourgeois, white movement campaigning for middle-class women’s civil

rights. Nevertheless, the first wave of feminism allowed alliances being made between feminists and the workers' movement, for example in the case of demands for access to education and employment, full citizenship, and the right to take part in politics (Arruzza 2013: 49). In a similar way Angela Davis talks about the moments of contact between suffragist feminism and the abolition movement, although the contradictions and racist attitude of the feminists eventually did not allow for a consistent alliance (Davis 1981).

It is often thought that second wave of feminism, which began between the 1960s and the 1970s, was founded upon the “theory of difference” between men and women, which diverted the attention from the demand for equality towards the construction of women liberation through emancipation from the patriarchal order. If it is true that a certain bourgeois feminism turned to a more psychoanalytic and separatist feminism during this period, the feminist movement has always been rather heterogeneous, as a less Eurocentric account of the history of women's organizing demonstrates¹¹. In the Italian context, the theorization of patriarchy as a system of oppression pre-existing capitalism and the idea that “the personal is political”, which means that power relationships within society must change already, regardless of the communist revolution, explained the divorce with the workers' movements, as well as the hostility of the Italian Communist Party for autonomous women's organization (Arruzza 2013: 56). The *femminismo della differenza* if on one hand was in line with a certain Western, or bourgeois (white) feminism, claiming a ‘natural’ global sisterhood and separatist women spaces, which was strongly rejected by Afro-American, Chicana, working-class and anticolonial feminists (Arruzza 2013: 53), it was also a response to the problem of ‘double

¹¹ There are several accounts that complicate the picture of the history of the feminist movement as divided in chronological ‘waves’. See for example Armstrong (2016), who contends that different chronotopes of women internationalism can be deduced by looking at global feminism from the different temporalities and spatialities, and Bonfiglioli (2016), who highlights how anti-imperialist and socialist genealogies of women's activism mirror different narratives of transnational discussions on women's emancipation. See also Watkins (2018) for an account of the marriage between global feminism and a neoliberal agenda.

militancy' and the disillusionment with regard to the feminist agenda of communist parties (Bonfiglioli 2008: 58; Slaughter 2007).

The year 1975 saw the first groups of women trade unionists in Italy, in connection with a rise of women in the workforce between 1973 and 1981 (Arruzza 2013: 55). At the same time, the issue of women's 'double burden' became relevant through the Wages for Housework campaign. The International Feminist Collective, formed in 1972 in Padua by Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Selma James, Silvia Federici and Brigitte Galtier, laid the basis for an international coordination of self-organized women's collectives within an international network (the Wages for Housework network) and promoted the development of feminism with an anti-capitalist perspective (Barbagallo 2019: 29). One of the central demands of the Wages for Housework campaign was the claim for women's personal autonomy through economic autonomy. The latter could not be reached through women taking up more wage work outside of the home, but rather through the recognition of the economic value of reproductive work (*ibid.*). Shifting away from a perspective whereas either class or gender oppression have primacy over each other, the materialist feminist perspective theorized through the Wages for Housework campaign eliminated the distinction between (cultural) oppression and (economic) exploitation (Arruzza 2013: 90). By explaining women's oppression in terms of the exploitation of women's reproductive work, which is actually productive and unpaid labour creating commodities and surplus value that is appropriated by the ruling gender/class, the campaign laid the basis for an intersection between the concepts of gender and class (*ibid.*).

As Christine Delphy puts it, ignoring the work of caring that it is necessary for the functionality of labour commodity value, this would mean that the workers eat raw pork and potatoes (mentioned in Arruzza 2013: 90). The invisibility of the processes of food preparation and cooking which make these commodities useable, is exactly where the surplus value comes from. Moreover, it appears clear that meal preparation, as well as cleaning, laundry and child

or elderly care, are labour services that are produced and exchanged as commodities, outside of the home. It is only the unpaid nature of women's domestic work within the family that allows for it to be defined as non-productive labour (*ibid.*: 90-91). In conclusion, a Marxist reading of domestic work as unpaid labour helps understanding the relation between women, class and work, even though the political demand for a wage connected to housework is flawed because it reinforces the sexual division of labour and it is confusing because domestic work produces the conditions for the reproduction of labour power (indirectly producing value), and not labour power itself (in the form of direct production of a commodity that has market-value) (Arruzza 2013: 93-95). In this sense, more recent debates around the role of reproductive and care work concretize into the demand for an income rather than wage, such as the self-determination income, as we will see in the third chapter.

“We all do housework; it is the only thing all women have in common, it is the only basis upon which we can gather our power, the power of millions of women.

It is no accident that reformists of every stripe have always carefully avoided the idea of our organizing on the basis of housework. They have always refused to recognize housework as work, precisely because it is the only work that we all have in common. It is one thing to confront two or three hundred women workers in a shoe factory and quite another to confront millions of housewives. And since all women factory workers are also housewives, it is still another matter to confront these two or three hundred factory workers united with millions of housewives. [...] But let's make this clear. *No strike has ever been a general strike.* When half the working population is at home in the kitchens while the others are on strike, *it's not a general strike.* We've never seen a general strike. We've only seen men, generally men from the big factories, come out into the streets, while their wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers went on cooking in the kitchens.”

Mariarosa Dalla Costa

Mestre, Italy, March 1974

(emphasis in the original, mentioned in Barbagallo 2019: 79-81)

On October 24th of 1975, 90 percent of Iceland's women staged a strike in the workplace and refused to perform unpaid socially reproductive work for a day. The aim of the

strike was to make their work and contribution to society visible, while demanding equal wages and the end of discrimination on the workplace. Even though feminist groups around the world never stopped to exist and kept being active, between 2015 and 2016 we have seen a resurgence of a mass feminist movement, taking to the streets and using the tool of the strike. In 2016, Polish activists adopted the strategy and message of the 1975 Iceland women's strike and organized a massive women's strike to stop a bill in parliament that would have banned abortion. Argentinian activists did the same in October 2016 to protest male violence against women. Most authors (cf. Montella 2017; Gago 2019) traced in the 2015 mass demonstrations against femicide in Argentina and the 2016 strike in Poland against the right-wing government, as well as 2016 Women's march in the US against Trump's election (Davis et al. 2017: online), the premises for the 8th of March 2017 call for a global feminist strike.

According to Veronica Gago, between 2015 and 2016 the strikes happening in different parts of the world were not coordinated, but gradually contributed to weave connections and *de facto* exchange (Gago 2021: online). It is only from the 8th of March 2017 that, through the call to an international feminist strike, actual transnational coordination started to happen. The internationalist dimension seems to be central to this coordination because it is interlaced with the very significance of this strike: the centrality of work and the global division of labour, the denouncement of neoliberalism, of financialization and, in general, of the global restructuring of the economy (Gago 2021: online). It includes the grievance of precariousness of life and labour and it directly visibilized the exploitative dimension of domestic and care work. It also denounces the neo-colonial and racist oppression emphasizing how the price of care work, not considered central by the state, is paid by (female) migrants (Montella 2017: 153).

In "*La potencia feminista*", Veronica Gago proposes an interesting conceptualization of the strike from her situated perspective of Argentinian academic and activist. She proposes "la

huelga como lente, como punto de vista específico, para contornear algunas de las problemáticas actuales del movimiento feminista”¹² (Gago 2019: 12). From an analytical perspective, the feminist strike allows to see and highlight the invisibility regime that surrounds feminized work, value production, and processes of precariousness within a new phase of capitalist accumulation (Gago 2019: 65). From a practical perspective, the strike allows to ask the following questions: “¿qué tipo de cuerpos, territorios y conflictos caben en la huelga cuando ésta se hace feminista? ¿A qué tipo de generalidad se compromete?”¹³ (Gago 2019: 13), which means reformulating the subject of feminist politics. Finally, the strike permits to engage with the history of entanglement between Marxism, workers’ movement, and feminism(s), because through its ‘*transbordation*’ outside of the classic trade union framework, the feminist strike might suggest ways of redefining the notion of class from an understanding of subalternity and coloniality (*ibid.*).

For the purposes of this work, I take up Gago’s suggestion and challenge to think about the feminist strike in Italy from a practical and theoretical perspective that puts the feminist strike, as a theory and a practice, at its center. Looking at the strike as practical and analytic perspective arisen from the struggle is an idea shared also by the Italian NUDM national assembly, especially because it is through this horizon that it is possible to draw a line that connects patriarchal violence (sexualized and domestic violence, gendered violence against women and feminized bodies) with economic violence. Not only does it allow to draw a line, but it also politicizes this violence “la huelga deviene un dispositivo específico para *politizar las violencias contra las mujeres y los cuerpos feminizados porque las vincula con las*

¹² “[t]he strike as a lens, as a specific point of view, to outline some of the current issues of the feminist movement”.

¹³ “[W]hat kind of bodies, territories and conflicts fit into the strike when it becomes feminist? What kind of generality is it committed to?”

violencias de la acumulación capitalista contemporánea”¹⁴ (emphasis in the original Gago 2019: 20).

The power of the feminist strike is that it is “connecting the analytic dimension to the organization of insubordination” (Gago 2021: online), making the process of transnational construction of insubordination a driving element. By homogenizing the agenda on common points, the circulation of images and slogans at a global level¹⁵, created a solidarity out of the exchange of practices. As in Gago’s elaboration, the creation of a “feminist international” makes it possible to build moments of public visibility but also to keep translating a common grammar into day-to-day organizing and the construction of a feminist movement that is still autonomous at a local level. Moreover, the reciprocal exchange between the feminist movement and other movements, mainstreamed practices of struggle that are characteristic of a feminist perspective, such as the way mobilization and occupation of public space is organized, the way voice is handled within assemblies, issues of representation as well as political agenda, bringing together ecological, indigenous, and queer perspectives with the feminist one. The ability of the feminist movement to include issues that are not traditionally part of feminist demands is part of a long-term shift of the politics of feminism in the last decades (Gago 2021: online).

Another feature of the feminist strike is the expansion of the right to strike to all subjects that have been historically excluded from it because of not being part of wage-work or because they are not considered productive subjects (Gago 2021: online)¹⁶. This also means that the feminist strike is not only a strike for women, but for “women, LGBT*QIA+ people, people

¹⁴ “[t]he strike becomes a specific device to politicize the violence against women and feminized bodies because it links them to the violence of contemporary capitalist accumulation.”

¹⁵ See for example the performance *Un violador en tu camino* from the Las Tesis collective (Chile) or widespread use of *Canción sin miedo* as a hymn against gendered violence; the use of the pañuelo or in some cases of the baklava during street demonstrations. About the use of the matrioska as a symbol cf. Rete IoDecido (2016, October 25).

¹⁶ Since 2016 the strike, at least in Argentina, kept changing name showing the evolution of the politics behind it: *Paro nacional de mujeres* became *Paro internacional de mujeres, lesbianas, trans y travestis*, *Paro internacional feminista plurinacional* and finally *Huelga general feminista* (Gago 2019: 17).

with disabilities and people without a residence permit” (FD Nazionale Bologna: 18, 20). As Arruzza points out “[t]he problem of the replacement of class struggle with identity-based struggles should [...] be reformulated as a political problem arising from the hegemony of the liberal articulation of feminist discourse.” (Arruzza 2017: 195). In fact, she goes on, “[i]f we think of the class as a political agent, gender, race, and sexuality should be recognized as intrinsic components of the way people concretize their sense of self and their relation to the world” (*ibid.*), therefore becoming part of the way political subjectification takes place, as well as what practices to engage in (*ibid.*). Following a feminist Marxist reading, also the construction of sexual identities can be understood in relation to capitalism. According to this, sexual preferences and orientation have been reified into distinct sexual identities following historical dynamics of late capitalism such as the diffusion of mass consumption, disqualification of wage and factory work, and the new centrality of free time and its organization through consumption goods defining personal, gender and sexual identities (Arruzza & Cirillo 2017: 12). The connection between identities’ historical formation and capitalism has the advantage of proposing a theory of intersectionality that is strongly built on materialism and on an anti-capitalist analysis. As Arruzza and Cirillo put it, a Marxist feminist theory of universality is inclusive (Arruzza & Cirillo 2017: 123). This ‘inclusive universality’ has a lot in common with ‘pluriversality’ (Grasfoguel 2011: 32) i.e., a way of thinking whereas identity categories and their diversity are taken into consideration, together with their interdependence. This idea of open or expanding ‘diversality’ (*ibid.*), is exemplified by the Zapatista phrase “un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos” (EZLN mentioned in Batalla de ideas 2021, November 17)¹⁷.

¹⁷ “A world in which there is room for many worlds”. This is a famous Zapatista quote that has been travelling around since at least 1996 and it is now used in many different contexts and by different organizations.

Through analytically revealing exploitation that goes way beyond wage labour, connecting the struggles of different ways of experiencing precariousness and finally criticizing the theoretical apparatus of economy, the strike expresses a feminist political subjectivation that attempts at creating solidarity beyond identity categories. Connecting gender violence with economic violence goes beyond identity politics and by making the practice of strike inclusive, concrete, real and public, works against victimization, feeding radical thinking and the rebuilding of autonomous structures. Without losing the aspect of critique of the global sexual division of labour, the feminist strike as a political strike *transborda*¹⁸ the labour strike onto the realm of existential, without falling into the construction of a merely symbolic strike. This transbordation¹⁹ of the strike is not only theoretical, but also real. The feminist strike is a ‘strike for life’ that creates multiple spatialities of the strike, from the workplace to the street, to the community and especially to the domestic space. It involves stopping production, as a rejection of violence but also as a way to free time and energy from work to help create an alternative future; it is a strike that involves the full temporality of the work-day from productive work (wage labour) to reproductive work (domestic labour and care labour) (Gago 2021: online).

As previously mentioned in this chapter, the reconceptualization of work and of the strike by new feminist movements centers the question of the feminist movement on the critique of global capitalism. The degree of political elaboration as well as the very nature of the process of the strike, which has involved very different realities, suggests that rather than a “class conscious” feminism, we can talk about a movement that has critiqued and enlarged the very concept of “class” through concrete struggles and by pointing at the centrality of life-put-to-work in current bio-capitalism. As Arruzza puts it, “the new feminist wave [can be thought of] as a process of radicalization and politicization in which the subjectivity of the workers – often

¹⁸ Exceeds but also transfers.

¹⁹ Transfer.

young, precarious, poorly paid, unpaid, exploited and sexually harassed in the workplace – is emerging as a combative and potentially anti-capitalist subjectivity” (Arruzza 2019: online). In this sense, there is no real opposition between an anti-capitalist and a feminist struggle, instead an expansion of the concept of class and a redefinition of who are the workers, or the productive subjects (Gago 2019: 53). By rejecting and disobeying the hierarchy and division between wage workers and non-wage workers, such as women, unemployed people, sex workers, and so on, the feminist strike detaches the recognition of work from the concept of salary, including subjects that have been politically marginalized by the workers movements. Finally, the intersectional and transnational dimensions of the feminist movement has made clear another aspect: that “*la cuestión de clase ya no puede ser abstraída de la dimensión colonial, racista y patriarcal sin revelarse como categoría encubridora de jerarquías*” (Gago 2019: 54)²⁰.

²⁰ “[T]he question of class can no longer be abstracted from the colonial, racist and patriarchal dimension without revealing itself as a category concealing hierarchies”.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Grounding

“*El intento de narrar y conceptualizar la huelga feminista tiene la intención de reivindicar nuestro poder de fabulación colectiva. Y, por tanto, de invención de una lógica política que desafía la racionalidad considerada ‘política’.*” (Gago 2019: 55)²¹

Like Rachele Borghi *plantea*²² in the first chapter of *Decolonialità e privilegio*: “La marginalità è la condizione di chi sta al margine, quando sei una persona bianca (quindi parte del sistema di dominazione), occidentale, con nazionalità europea, quando lavori all’interno di una struttura (istituzione, compagnia, impresa, ecc.) che occupa una posizione centrale nel sistema sociale e nell’organizzazione del potere, quando fai parte del centro del sistema-mondo, ha senso parlare di margine?” (Borghi 2020: 14)²³. In conversation with bell hooks’ *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics* (1990), Borghi develops a framework that she later calls “*esercizi di decolonialità*”²⁴ (Borghi 2020: 18), an exercise of memory and remembering, of recognizing privilege and power, a geographic investigation of margins and centers. In this sense, she criticizes the postmodern knowledge apparatus and its holders, especially in the way they keep producing an exclusive *sapere*²⁵ legitimized by a coat of commitment to social justice (Borghi 2020:19). If all knowledge is part of the coloniality of power, she refuses to give in to the status quo and claims her space of marginality within the academia²⁶, a space of opposition and resistance even within the center of the world-system. But how does one create and sustain such a space? For her, the answer is decoloniality, not only in the theoretical sense of criticizing

²¹ “The attempt to narrate and conceptualize the feminist strike is intended to vindicate our power of collective fabulation. And, therefore, of invention of a political logic that defies the rationality considered “political””.

²² Lays out, contemplates, suggests.

²³ “Marginality is the condition of those who are on the margin, when you are a white person (therefore part of the system of domination), Western, with European nationality, when you work within a structure (institution, company, enterprise, etc.) that occupies a central position in the social system and in the organization of power, when you are part of the center of the system-world, does it make sense to talk about margin?”.

²⁴ Decoloniality exercises.

²⁵ Knowledge.

²⁶ Rachele Borghi is, between other things, Geography teacher at the Sorbonne University in Paris as she writes in her book (Borghi 2019: 30).

the current world-system and the coloniality of power (cf. Quijano 1991; Mignolo 2000; Lugones 2007), as it has been proposed and developed by intellectuals from the global South, but also as a practice that comes from the struggles of social movements. She proposes to actively step out of the *piste*²⁷ of coloniality to stop reproducing a colonial world, to take conscience and responsibility and to actively choose to “prendere sul serio i saperi decoloniali e [mostrarsi] umili verso i produttori di sapere che vengono dai movimenti sociali” (Grasfoguel 2016 mentioned in Borghi 2020: 22)²⁸. She proposes to construct a space where it is possible to learn to be comfortable in discomfort (Borghi 2020: 23).

In this context, a decolonial exercise is, for example, to make oneself intelligible to an audience or community that is not exclusively academic. It means to start from personal experience, not only through the consolidated praxis of “positioning”, but actively “intrecciare la tua esperienza con gli argomenti (scientifici) che vuoi trattare” (Borghi 2020: 26)²⁹. *Partire da sé*³⁰, not in a solipsistic way, means illuminating theory through the reference not only to individual experiences, but also to collective ones, the “us” of political militancy and of political communities. It is scary to put this theory into practice due to fear of repercussions, of exclusion from the center one inhabits, of vulnerability, or simply because of shame. Despite that, by giving up individual authority on one’s work and recognizing the work of the community, it is possible to transgress the limits of scientific writing in order to legitimize new practices and the creation of new theoretical corpora (Borghi 2020: 27).

“La scrittura diventa politica anche quando aggiunge un altro elemento: l’emozione, quella di chi scrive e quella di chi legge” (Borghi 2020: 28)³¹. The frustration towards the

²⁷ Tracks.

²⁸ “[T]ake decolonial knowledge seriously and [show] humility toward the producers of knowledge that come from social movements”.

²⁹ “Intertwine your experience with the (scientific) topics you want to cover”.

³⁰ Starting from oneself.

³¹ “Writing also becomes political when it adds another element: emotion, that of the writer and that of the reader”.

limitations of this work is a part of it, as much as the findings that it suggests. In many ways I was not able to live up to my expectations while writing this Master Thesis. I had foreseen some practices of knowledge production which eventually turned out not to be possible due to the limitations imposed by the Coronavirus pandemic and by financial and time restraints. Some of them included collective interviews, longer stays “on the field” and the possibility to pay people for the time they spent with me while I was collecting data for this work. Also, writing this thesis in a different language, or translating it afterwards, together with extensive feedback sessions where the activists could have been involved in the writing process, were part of my initial project.

The topic for my Master Thesis comes primarily from a very personal interest, which is also a broader philosophical question. Who am I? Where and to which community(ies) do I belong? About five years ago I started a journey, the one of migration. This journey has brought me to leave my hometown, Naples, a Mediterranean city located in the southern part of Italy. Migration is an incredibly common human experience which often has to do with processes of hybridization in terms of identity, social status, language, culture. The migrating subject often finds himself/herself/themself at the ‘borderland’ (Anzaldúa 2012 [1987]) of two dominant cultures: the culture or social environment of the country or geography they have chosen to live in, as well as of the one they left behind. For this very practical reason, a migrant researching subject cannot help but to commit to a type of methodology which goes beyond essentialism and dichotomous, either/or paradigms. The concept of “third space” (Bhabha 1994) as well as the queer logic of both/and (Weber 2014)³², are both approaches whose objective is to contest a pure or normative understanding of culture and cultural products, creating a “space in

³² Weber defines the ‘queer’ logic in opposition to the logic of ‘sexual difference’. While the either/or logic of sexual difference tends to define things monolithically, the queer logic of both/and means that the same object can be characterized by qualities that are only apparently contradictory but that, in reality, coexist. The same idea could be described through the difference between the concepts of binarism and of duality.

between” (Bhabha 1994) for hybridization and blending which does not homogenize but rather integrates different, and/or contradictory, elements. Another element of my identity that I have used for the purpose of the thesis is being a feminist activist and participating in different political projects and communities in the places that I have come to cross. Being an activist has had two major consequences in terms of my work: first, it connects me to the topic of my master thesis, and it gives me a common ground with the activists I researched with, especially regarding the ethics of the relation between academia and activism and a way of dealing with the activist community that is not one of *extractivismo*³³. During my research, I was frequently dealing with the question whether to prioritize the writing of this thesis or purely participating in political organizing and it has since been a difficult balance to reach. Secondly, researching activism in my country of origin through the experience of different political contexts, gave me a peculiar perspective about it. On one hand, as a native/indigenous person to that community, I had the advantage of speaking the language and being a cultural insider; on the other hand, I have not been continuously living in Italy for a long time, which meant that I did not have close friends within the movement. I believe that this insight might have given me the right distance.

In terms of research framework, it translated into an integrative framework based on a *mezcla*³⁴ of less hegemonic Euro-Western knowledge paradigms with indigenous, subaltern, or marginalized knowledge apparatuses sharing a democratic and social justice aim (Chilisa 2012: 25). With all the necessary differences, for my research I have been greatly inspired by the work of Dolores Bernal Delgado and by her usage of a Chicana feminist approach (Delgado Bernal 1998), as well as by the visit of the EZLN delegation in Vienna in September 2021 in the context of the ‘Journey for Life’³⁵.

³³ Extractivism. On the meaning of extractivism see for example Acosta (2013).

³⁴ Mixture.

³⁵ In fact, my research took place during a quite interesting historical moment, especially for the anti-globalization and anti-capitalist movement: the announcement on 1st of January 2021 of the ‘Declaration for Life’ from the Zapatist Army of National Liberation (EZLN 2021, January 1). With this declaration, the EZLN announced the

In the next sub-chapter, I will start defining the epistemological approach that has guided my work, namely ‘knowledge born in the struggle’ (de Sousa Santos & Meneses 2020) and a feminist anti-capitalist, transnational, and decolonial perspective (Mohanty 2003; Galván 2014). I will also mention the critiques that have been moved to the concept of transnational feminism (Mendoza 2002), and the possibility of entrapment within a cultural debate and/or the impossibility of going beyond academic discourse. In the second sub-chapter I will focus more extensively on the modern/colonial matrix, proposing a short literature review of postcolonial studies in Italy. Combining history and cultural studies, the short overview of Italian colonial history and postcolonial condition, while still within a cultural debate, would create a background which might help to further comprehend the political and economic dimensions of the struggles that will be discussed in the fourth chapter. The last sub-chapter will be focused on methodology. Starting with the idea of situated knowledge, delve into the role of a Chicana feminist approach and then more concretely understand how the concept of hyphen-spaces applies to this research.

2.1 A starting point – Epistemologies from the South

From an epistemological point of view, the starting point for me was de Sousa Santos’ concept of ‘epistemologies from the South’. His main proposal is that there cannot be global justice without global cognitive justice (de Sousa Santos 2016). The objective of this epistemological framework is to propose alternatives to the reproduction of Eurocentric epistemologies within social sciences. As many scholars have already criticized social sciences (e.g., Quijano 1991; Mignolo 2000; Lugones 2007; Rivera Cusicanqui 2012), de Sousa Santos

sending of a delegation to Europe during summer 2021 (the ‘Journey for Life’) to connect with ‘the Europe from left and below’. In recent years, movements such as the Zapatista and the Rojava Kurd have drawn international attention for their gender politics (Sáenz 2015). In this sense, they have already put into practice what Mohanty (2003) has been translating into academic language: that feminism will be at the center of anti-globalization and anti-colonial movements who are striving for new forms of non-western democracy.

suggests that an ‘epistemological rupture’ is needed for knowledge production to really change and question ethnocentrism. He argues that, while multinational companies are global in their reach but still situated in the so-called ‘North’, only the appearance of movements who practice resistance against globalized neoliberalism is indeed global. De Sousa Santos suggests that scientific knowledge or academic knowledge translates theories and practices produced in struggles into information, while maintaining the authority or power to produce theories. His proposal is to turn this relationship around: knowledge should originate from the struggles and then be brought back to academia as finished products of knowledge. He calls for an ‘ecology of knowledge’ (de Sousa Santos 2020: 535) where popular knowledge is integrated together with academic knowledge in a horizontal way, arguing for a ‘de-monumentalization’ of written texts in favor of oral knowledge and practices of knowledge production that go beyond the scientific/rational method (de Sousa Santos 2017). De Sousa Santos (2020) argues for a radical decolonization of knowledge and knowledge production that explicitly involves moving this production from the center (as in the metropole, or the North) to the margins (the so-called South). Nevertheless, the “epistemologies from the South” framework could be expanded through a more explicit acknowledgment of the way global struggles are carried out by people at very different locations and how those local and global locations, as well as social locations of the members of such movements, intersect in complex ways.

In her re-writing of “Under Western Eyes”, Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003) discusses extensively the transformation that her vocabulary has gone through since the first publication in 1984. While in 1984 she spoke about West/Third World difference, and later of the South/North divide, today she argues for a more complex definition that questions essentialism and binary thinking. Taking into account quality of life as well as an analysis of social position and power, Esteva and Prakash (1998) propose the non-essentialist category of one third/two thirds of the world. According to this categorization, the one third represents

minority groups in both the north and south hemispheres that are characterized by a relatively homogenous way of life, which are economically an upper class and ascribe to the basic paradigms of modernity. However, the majority is constituted by groups and individuals that have no access to the set of goods and services that define the standard of life in industrial societies. Even though this type of categorization does not deal specifically with coloniality and colonial legacy, it highlights a very important aspect. By detaching its definition from geographical referents, which involve in some way to think in terms of nation-states and/or continents, the one third/two thirds category highlights the continuities and discontinuities that cross national borders. It makes it possible to address the “Souths within the Norths” and vice-versa, putting the focus on specific individual and collective subjects that, regardless of their geographic position in one or the other hemisphere, are socially and economically situated on a continuum of privilege/oppression. As Mohanty explains more clearly when situating herself as part of the one third and of the two thirds at the same time, these categories need to be thought of in terms of dualities (Mohanty 2003: 416). Instead of creating rigid oppositions, the idea that individuals and groups are connected at a global scale and in a transborder fashion can further the central importance of a transnational anti-capitalist practice.

Mohanty opposes to the failed project of international feminism carried out through the idea of global sisterhood, which is neoliberal in its ways and effects, the possibility of a transnational practice of anti-capitalist feminism that is “fed by historical materialism and puts at the center racialized gender” (Mohanty 2003: 420). Mohanty re-reading of her 1984 essay is clearly influenced by the development of a global anti-globalization project. Her project of solidarity between feminist activists goes through the re-centering of feminist struggle within the anti-globalization movement. Mohanty (2003) proposes that anti-globalization i.e., the critique of global capitalism, is to be put at the center of feminist theory and struggle. Informed by the already mentioned reflection on social location and its epistemic effects, Mohanty

proposes a paradigm for feminist studies, which is based on globalization, which also means decolonization of women's studies within academia. For a feminist anti-capitalist praxis, Mohanty proposes to imagine space in a way that Trinidad Galván (2014: 136) would define 'glocal'. For both Trinidad Galván (2014) and Mohanty (2003), the emphasis of the glocal dimension is that it implies the mutually constitutive nature of the local and the global spatiality. It highlights the need for a dual understanding of both time and space, an understanding that includes a non-linear vision of time, whereas colonial vestiges and decolonizing efforts happen simultaneously, as well as a spatial dimension that goes beyond physical geography to account for social locations. Aware of this dimension, Mohanty (2003) suggests a comparative analysis of the directionality of power, together with a focus on mutual relations, common interests, and feminist solidarity.

However, others such as Mendoza (2002) have highlighted the contradictions of the concept of transnational feminisms and of global solidarity that might be a consequence of 'romanticizing' the idea of decolonial epistemologies. For Mendoza, "the possibility of a political solidarity of feminists across the globe that transcend class, race, sexuality and national boundaries" (Mendoza 2002: 296) is made possible from the very existence of globalization, which she identifies with the existence of UN women conferences as well as the global division of labour. It is also made possible by third and first world feminist theorizations on race, class and sexuality and feminist postcolonial studies. Without denying the concrete experiences of transnational organizing of women across the globe, she discusses the way this has affected feminist practice in Latin America.

The utopia of a globalized unified world of resistance (Escobar 1999 mentioned in Mendoza 2002: 5), as well as the concept of globalization from below and of transnational social movements, are complicated by the fact that "only territorial points that are saturated by global forces such as zones with intense traffic of migrants, global assembly lines, [...] and so

forth acquire a real social, political and economic significance” (Mendoza 2002: 5) while “[w]hat happens at the local level lacks in substance unless it hits cyberia or is hypermediatized and becomes a global spectacle” (*ibid.*: 6). Mendoza critically points at the transcendent nature of geographical, social, cultural, and political locations as the main center for transnational politics and history. Highlighting the failure of transnational feminism at developing a critique of the intersection between gender, race, nation state and mobile transnational capital in political economic terms, she highlights the danger of articulating this critique in merely cultural terms (*ibid.*).

For Mendoza, “the increased mobility of globetrotting feminists – mainly urban, middle-class, white mestiza – now acting primarily in international conferences” (Mendoza 2002: 13) together with “a division of political labour whereby the professional feminist – the gender expert – has arrogated the global terrain to themselves without a clear basis of legitimation from local constituencies” (Mendoza 2002: 14) create a situation whereas Latin American feminist global intervention tend to reflect power imbalances. In this sense, she criticizes the phrase “Latin American feminisms” as an analytical construct or ideal type that does not reflect empirical reality (Mendoza 2002: 15). Writing in 2002, Mendoza had already pointed out this shift from localism to transnationalism in some strands of Latin American feminisms. She contends that transnational feminisms have exacerbated inequalities between women at the local level, leaving the gap between intentions and outcomes and the entrapment in cultural debates untouched.

In conclusion, from an epistemological perspective, the contributions of scholars devoted to decolonizing knowledge and research, especially research concerning social movements, have contributed to a decolonial turn that has the potential to affect social sciences. Moreover, Mohanty and other feminists (e.g., Lugones 2007, 2008; Mama, Carty & Mohanty 2005; Rivera Cusicanqui 2012; Shohat 2006) have contributed to the decolonization of feminist

discourse and proposed pathways to build transnational solidarity in feminist studies. Nevertheless, Mendoza (2002) reminds us of the dangers of homogenizing social movements under the banner of transnationalism, such as ‘Latin American feminisms’, and contributes to complicating the understanding of privilege/oppression with regard to the academia/activism binary. Furthermore, it suggests that there is a danger of entrapment in cultural debates that lack the material basis to actually criticize inequalities and bring about change at a local level. Finally, Mendoza (2002) reminds us that the ‘cultural turn’ of transnational feminisms can result in a weaker analysis of power relationships.

One way to solve this apparently unsolvable dilemma is to unpack the dichotomy activism/academia. For Michelle Téllez, it is “a paradigm of denial and of borders” that maintain the tension between academia and activism (Téllez 2005: 54). Epistemology is not only a necessary part of academic writing and part of the scientific method, but it also has material effects on the way subordinated groups can be able to replace dominant’s way of knowing with different ones. By pointing at the power relations that shape who to believe and why, epistemology has a fundamental role, even indirectly, outside of academia. Epistemological work cannot be wiped out because academic legitimization of knowledge does have an impact on the changing of discourse. Although it must be kept in mind that academic appropriation is also an effect of the unequal distribution of power, a decidedly decolonial and feminist epistemological approach to academic research is still relevant.

2.2 Italian-ness, whiteness, and the Southern Question

It is in the year 1882, with the purchase of the Assab territory in Eritrea, that Italy started pursuing an active colonial politics in Africa (Obasuyi 2020: 14). Even though the formal colonization of Eritrea, Somalia, parts of Libya, Ethiopia, the Dodecanese, and Albania ended between 1943 and 1947, with Italy’s loss after Second World War and the subsequent Paris

Peace Treatises of 1947, Italian colonial relations with some of these countries continued for the next two decades. The case of Somalia and Libya are an example, with the Trust Territory of Somaliland ending in 1960 and the forced exodus of Italian citizens from Libya in 1970 (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 1). In *L'Italia postcoloniale*, Lombardi-Diop and Romeo have contributed to the field of postcolonial studies proposing the postcolonial condition as a basis to understand contemporary Italy. They argue that Italian postcolonial history needs to be understood in relation to “la riconfigurazione dell’Europa in seguito alla fine della Guerra Fredda, alla globalizzazione delle migrazioni e alle postcolonialità che sono emerse da questa riconfigurazione” (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 2)³⁶, in this sense using the term ‘postcolonial’ as a lens that allows to explore genealogies and continuums, rather than as a fixed temporality. Exploring the specifics of Italian postcolonial condition means including in the discussion issues that previously were not connected to coloniality, such as emigration, the Southern question, and immigration, connecting them to its global dimension (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 3).

Between 1876 and 1976 about 26 million Italian left the country (*ibid.*). The fact that especially in the decade after Italian unification emigration became a mass phenomenon highlights the “natura transnazionale del nuovo stato-nazione appena unificato” (*ibid.*)³⁷. The concept of “*italianità*”³⁸ i.e., the sense of national belonging, has been particularly influenced by the processes of colonization and emigration, as it is shown by the current Italian electoral system (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 4). In fact, while Italian citizens abroad, including the Italian diaspora at large (according to *ius sanguinis*, anyone who has at least one parent with Italian citizenship can claim citizenship), have a right to vote in political elections and popular

³⁶ “[T]he reconfiguration of Europe following the end of the Cold War, the globalization of migration, and the postcolonialities that have emerged from this reconfiguration”.

³⁷ “[T]ransnational nature of the newly unified nation-state”.

³⁸ Italian-ness.

referendum, migrants that live, work, and pay taxes in Italy do not have access to political rights (Camilli 2017). Also, people born in Italy from parents that do not hold Italian citizenship need to fulfill extremely complicated requirements in order to access citizenship and civil rights (Camilli 2017)³⁹.

The connection between international and intranational migration flows, as well as the connection between emigration and colonization need to be studied in conjunction in order to show continuities and discontinuities between these phenomena. As Verdicchio (1997) argues, in literature, and especially women and lesbian literature of Southern Italians displaced in North America, one can see a ‘coscientization’ of Southern Italians that leads to the emergence of a postcolonial discourse “outside of the place of colonialism”. By recollecting the history of Italian unification beginning in 1861, Verdicchio (*ibid.*) proceeds to show in which ways this historical process has been narrated through colonial tropes, making South Italy a territory of colonial conquest from the North. As of today, South Italy still bears the scars of this colonization process, which became clear in the state of the economy, educational system, health care and basic institutions compared to northern Italy. For Verdicchio, emigration is “the south’s most successful revolution, since it is only abroad that many southern Italian citizens have found expression” (Verdicchio 1997: 209) in their cultural identity. At the same time, the discourse of emigration and the difficult conditions of Italians abroad have been used to promote imperialist politics, in the same way today the right-wing discourse appropriates the conditions of emigrated Italians to promote racism⁴⁰. Italian internal colonialism shows an example of emergence of postcolonial condition that, at least apparently, seems in contradiction

³⁹ Although the several attempts at changing law 91/1992 since more than two decades, they have all been unsuccessful until now (Camilli 2017). On the same topic, I recommend the award-winning documentary ‘18 Ius Soli’ by Italian-Ghanaian director Fred Kudjo Kuwornu (2011) on the topic of denied citizenship for more than a million of people born and raised in Italy by parents that do not have Italian nationality.

⁴⁰ For example, the case of an Italian guy who was murdered in New York, created a debate whereas right-wing people accused left-wing to deliberately ignore his death, because being white and Italian. Showing a clear misunderstanding of structural racism and fomenting the discourse of white victimization (Boezi 2021, December 6).

with the “traditional geographies of power (First world/Third world) as well as highly dichotomized racial structures (white/non-white)” (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 5).

Similarly, in “Europe in theory” Roberto Dainotto (2007) analyses the concept of Europe and its genealogy from the perspective of its southern shores, or from the perspective of the PIGS⁴¹ in order to deconstruct it from within. As already others have done for other European margins, such as Todorova for the Balkans (Todorova 2009), Dainotto (2007) discusses two fundamental topics. First, the way in which through climatology, ethnography, and more in general the post-Enlightenment scientific method Italians, and particularly Southern Italians, have been ascribed to ethnic and colonial categories that fixed the trope of South Italy’s ‘backwardness’. The fixation of this stereotype is what, from a discursive point of view, made the internal colonization of Italy during and after the process of unification possible. Second, by focusing on Orientalist knowledge production he shows how “nineteenth-century ethnographies of the European south (Lombroso, Niceforo, etc.) had been historically inspired by, if not directly modeled on, previous notions of what constituted the Orient” (Dainotto 2007: 173). By analyzing the work of southern European Orientalists, he shows how they contributed to the construction of the idea of the Orient, while at the same time being defined by those same ideas by writers from Northern Europe. Dainotto’s work is interesting particularly because it connects the topics of Orientalism and the Southern question in a novel way beyond Jane Schneider’s work on orientalism in one country (Schneider 1998), by showing different nuances and contradictory ways in which orientalism played out in Southern Europe. It also recreates the connection between the concept of subalternity and the Southern question⁴², keeping in mind the evolution that this concept went through since Edward Said’s and the *Subaltern*

⁴¹ PIGS: Portugal, Italy, Greece, Spain.

⁴² See Antonio Gramsci’s (1975) work on the Southern question.

Studies Group's elaborations in the context of postcolonialism (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 6).

If, on one hand, there is a discourse that aims at complicating the understanding of Italian identity from the point of view of postcolonial studies and a broader idea on colonialism and coloniality; on the other hand, there are processes of construction of Italian national identity which need to be critically studied through the lenses of the construction of whiteness and white supremacy. The process of whitening Italian racial identity is also at the basis of the neutralization of debates around colonialism and around race which, according to Lombardi-Diop, has to do with the fascist eugenic project and its continuity in contemporary Italy (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 24). Part of this process goes through the ongoing absence of a reflection at a national level, in both political and academic discourse, on Italian colonialism and its consequences. As Obasuyi points out, “[q]uando si parla di fascismo, di guerra e colonia, l’idea degli “italiani brava gente” che spesso emerge nel dibattito pubblico porta a considerarli completamente estranei a repressioni e atrocità” (Obasuyi 2020: 15)⁴³. Moreover, there is no real problematization of the role that scientific racism and racial policies played into the construction of Italian whiteness and the whitewashing of Italian history, revealing the absence of a real cultural decolonization (Obasuyi 2020).

After The Second World War, while mass migration flows from the ex-colonies started towards the ex-imperial homelands, Italian migrants and especially southern Italians were part of the work-force (*Gastarbeit*) that countries like Germany, Austria and Switzerland started to recruit from the Mediterranean, especially from southern Europe, Turkey, Morocco and Yugoslavia through bilateral agreements that promoted temporary visa, and social subsidy in exchange of manpower (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo 2014: 7). At the same time, southern Italians

⁴³“When it comes to fascism, war and colony, the idea of “italiani brava gente” that often emerges in public debate leads to consider them completely innocent from repression and atrocities”

migrating to Northern Italy can be described as ‘internal colonial migrants’ on the basis of their racialization and discrimination in the work and house sector (*ibid.*), constituting one of the two faces of the northwards migrations flows of the second *dopoguerra*⁴⁴.

Gaia Giuliani (2015) makes an interesting point on the topic of whiteness and Italian-ness, using the concept of symbolic anthropophagy. She argues that Italian Mediterranean whiteness has been constructed in the 20th century, especially during and after fascism, through the ‘symbolic whitening’ of national identity in the cultural discourse. In this sense, Italian Mediterranean whiteness operates a ‘de-epidermization’ of the traits associated with blackness or alterity, as exemplified by the trope of the Latin lover or symbolically by Italian *bellezza* of divas from neorealism, in which the representation of whiteness comes together with typically racialized features such as passion, impulsivity, closeness to ‘the people’ (as compared to bourgeois and Victorian stereotypes of whiteness) (Giuliani 2015: 171). In this sense, Mediterranean whiteness cannibalizes blackness, in a process of conscious self-exoticization which tries to exploit the trope of Italian alterity with respect to modernity and the rest of the European context while at the same time confirming its relation to whiteness (*ibid.*: 172). Therefore, the constitution of Mediterranean whiteness based on the codification of the Italian race as mixture of ‘the finest Mediterranean people’ (*ibid.*: 169), serves the objective of constructing national identity, as well as legitimizing capitalist expropriation, showing the continuity between institutional racism during fascism and its survival as structural racism in contemporary Italy. “Made in Italy” as a brand, used by both actors pertaining to the national imagined community and not, is based on the cannibal appropriation of de-epidermized blackness, which allows the exoticization of Italian whiteness as a tool for profiting of its alterity and exoticism in comparison to standard north European and north American whiteness (*ibid.*: 173). The simultaneous appropriation and rejection of Mediterraneity in its proximity

⁴⁴ Postwar period.

with backwardness, tradition, and blackness is meant to reiterate Italian identity as white, European, and Christian, highlighting the relevance of patriarchy, heteronormativity, and Catholicism as fundamental features of the ‘Mediterraneity’ of Italian whiteness (Giuliani 2015).

The dualism of Mediterranean whiteness, marginal to European whiteness but at the same time crucial namely because of its role as southern border, both geographically and to the idea of whiteness and European-ness, and also the relevance of patriarchy and Catholicism in its definition represent a point of contact with a Chicana epistemology. In fact, a unique characteristic of a Chicana feminist epistemology is that it “validates and addresses experiences that are intertwined with issues of immigration, migration, generational status, bilingualism, limited English proficiency, and the contradictions of Catholicism” (Delgado Bernal 1998: 561). In this sense, and in line with Verdicchio, my research is based on an understanding of Italian identity that does not reproduce methodological nationalism. Rather it takes into consideration the way Italian identity, not only within Italian borders but in a transnational framework, is entrenched with cultural practices aimed at taking advantage of white supremacy and a global racial order. At the same time, by highlighting marginalities and peripheries within the center of this racial order, it tries to reveal contradictions and points of contact in order to develop a decidedly anti-racist and anti-colonial feminist identity.

But a brief account on Italian colonialism and Italian postcolonial condition is also important to show two ideas. First, a decolonial effort is appropriate to this specific case, because it is an all-encompassing framework that aims at highlighting the role of the modern/colonial matrix inside and outside of the place of formal colonialism, working together and beyond the proposal of postcolonialism. Second, that a decolonial approach informed by academia can shed light on the reality of the contemporary feminist movement In Italy, as we

will see in the third chapter, because structural racism and colonial dynamics are relevant to its discourse and practices.

2.3 Methodology 1 – Situated knowledge and translation

As Donna Haraway (1988) discusses it, the first and foremost issue that the feminist researcher needs to deal with is the question of objectivity. If feminist theory and praxis have highlighted the ways in which the personal is political and all knowledges are situated, how it is possible to account for both the “radical historical contingency for all knowledge claims and knowing subjects” (Haraway 1988: 579) while at the same time committing to the scientific mission of knowledge production? Looking at science as a way to translate and convert knowledge among power-differentiated communities, rather than as a search for a universal truth allows the justification of the very existence of feminist objectivity or situated knowledges (Haraway 1988). In this sense, Donna Haraway (*ibid.*) suggests a first path to overcome the radical relativism of postmodernist thought. She also mentions one point that is, in my opinion, quite relevant to contemporary feminist discourse, especially in the relation between intellectual/academic feminism and activist feminism, the one of identity politics. By focusing on the contradictory nature rather than the fluidity of identity positions and the self (in this case the self of the researcher), she points at the need to commit to more experiential ways of knowledge.

Even more than Haraway (1988), Mohanty (2003) states that the situatedness of knowledge is not enough to overcome the paralyzing dichotomies such as the one between western and non-western feminisms. Mohanty’s position is that overcoming the postmodernist academic discourse means finding the right balance between specifying differences and particularities, without losing sight of the common or the collective, and using these differences to theorize the universal better, rather than homogenizing them. In terms of my research this

meant fundamentally two things: first, that I am not aiming with my project at describing anything in a definitive way. In other words, I am committed to letting all the contradictions that came out during the research process have space in the final product. As my knowledge of my topic is situated and partial, I can only hope that by not concealing its blind spots, it can stimulate more dialogue and research. Second, this means a commitment to an epistemology that is fully aware of the dichotomy between theory/intellectual identity and praxis/activist identity and aims at bridging this gap by fully committing to the knowledge from people that are actively part of a feminist struggle, not as a source of raw material up for refinement but valuing it as finished knowledge.

My point of view as both a student and an activist, is to translate what I participate in in my political work, to a different community. Working on this research, I have tried to not only be fully conscious of the necessity of bridging between academic feminism and political organization, but also overcome the epistemological division between rational thinking, science, and embodied knowledge, while at the same time not falling into the trap of thinking that feminist work cannot exist outside of this imaginary division between theory and praxis. However, I had to honestly ask myself if the knowledge created in the struggles is a benefit for the academic world, and what is then the benefit that the struggles get from being translated into academic knowledge. In fact, for many radical activists, legitimization, or the mainstreaming of their knowledge, not only is not an objective but it can hinder their political practice. In a sense, it is a privilege of the academics to be interested into bridging this gap, while for many political organizers this bridging is not equally relevant since radical politics often do not benefit from academic appropriation.

Trusting translation as a politically and theoretically fundamental method of creating knowledge, as well as alliances and interpersonal communication, I have tried to translate, not only linguistically but ontologically, what I have observed and participated in as a *Non Una di*

Meno activist in 2021. Even though translating often entails a betrayal of the original and unmediated translation can open up the possibility for mistakes, erasures and equivocations, it is also a tool for dialogue, in this case between academia and activism, as well as a way to translate a context specific activism into a different language (that is from Italian and Spanish into English).

As Claudia de Lima Costa beautifully puts it:

“By replacing dichotomous approaches of social-political conflicts for complex analysis of the in-between spaces – *las fronteras* – of the social landscape - and, therefore, by emphasizing through the practice of translation relationalities between hegemonic forces and subaltern contestations, feminisms are today in the forefront of discussions on how to decenter and decolonize Western knowledge formations. They are, in very creative ways, enabling alternative possibilities that go beyond those offered by feminist postcolonial theories.” (de Lima Costa 2016: 48)

Needless to say, processes of cultural translation and dissemination of ideas are always caught up in relations of power and asymmetries between languages, regions and peoples (de Lima Costa 2016: 49). As de Lima Costa (*ibid.*) but also Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) have highlighted, especially in the academic context it is very common that translating pairs up with an act of appropriation by powerful subjects within a theoretical apparatus. Particularly, Rivera Cusicanqui (*ibid.*) refers to the discontinuities between the ideas appropriated within the academia and the social forces that breathed life into those ideas. She points at the complex structures of internal and external colonialism, the ‘geopolitics of knowledge’ which results in the “cooptation and mimesis, the selective incorporation of ideas and selective approval of those that better nourish a fashionable, depoliticized, and comfortable multiculturalism that allows one to accumulate exotic masks in one’s living room and to engage in absurd discussions about the future of public sector reforms” (Rivera Cusicanqui 2012: 104).

Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) points at the danger of appropriation of a decolonial discourse in absence of a decolonizing practice and political engagement. I agree with de Lima Costa's argument that translation is still needed as a key element in forging political alliances and feminist epistemologies, especially in contexts where - even just temporary - overlapping interests and identities make the translation project possible (de Lima Costa 2019: 56).

2.4 Methodology 2 – Third-space methodologies and hyphen-spaces

As Chilisa (2012) argues, overcoming the dichotomy between indigenous and Euro-Western methodologies can take place in the 'third-space', a space where both Euro-Western and Indigenous research paradigms are criticized for being essentializing, where "indigenusness is interrogated to include the voices of those disadvantaged on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity, ableness, health, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, age, and so on." (Chilisa 2012: 25). Such a culture-integrative framework is put in practice by the EZLN and it has practically informed my research. In fact, the tenet of the EZLN delegation's visit to the Europe "from the left and below" has been that of *caminar preguntando*⁴⁵. This practice has to do with the formation of groups of "Escucha y Palabra", i.e. groups of delegates of the Zapatista community, which have taken up the responsibility of talking on behalf of their communities but also listening and reporting back to them. In this sense, the Zapatista visit to Europe revolved around the exchange between the groups of Escucha y Palabra with European political groups and collectives. Within these encounters, all members of the Escucha y Palabra group speak instead of having one single *vocera/o/oa*. They have prepared for months for this task, but they also spontaneously organize the flow of the event on the spot (*informal conversation*, September 2021). The questions they pose are often very practical and regard the way other groups work on the construction of autonomy or the organization of their community.

⁴⁵ To walk asking questions.

In this sense, the Zapatista visit to Europe is one of many examples of practical application of a methodology which values spoken word, the creation of intimate spaces of discussion, and the opportunity of going ahead with the construction of political autonomy through listening and the hybridization with other anti-capitalist struggles.

Decolonizing and third-space methodologies pay particular attention to the issues of voice and accountability, representation, reciprocal appropriation, and ownership of the knowledge production process. One of the tenets of postcolonial indigenous research methodologies is to “reject simplistic and dualistic research endeavours and appropriately renegotiate and reconcile Western feminisms and non-Western feminisms to create coalitions of knowledge systems, hybridity, alliances of worldviews [...], and transformative methods that build bridges across theories, disciplines, paradigms, and strategies for globalizing resistance from bottom up” (Chilisa 2012: 264). Similarly, Chela Sandoval (2000) talks about “coalitional consciousness” as an approach to bring subjugated peoples together to work toward social change (mentioned in Chilisa 2012: 49). It involves a mixture of appropriation of ideas, knowledge, and theories, understanding the very fact of mixing as the necessary reality of surviving as a minority or other. Also, Swadener and Mutua (2008) discuss decolonizing methodologies as involving forging cultural partnerships, creating the space for working collaboratively on common goals and engaging in multidirectional lending and borrowing from diverse cultures (*ibid.*). Borderland-Mestizaje feminism, which stems from Delgado Bernal’s (1998) foundational proposal for a Chicana feminist epistemology. is one example of a hybrid mode of thinking that creates alternative, decolonizing methodologies and tools for scientific inquiry (Chilisa 2012: 270). As an example of third-space methodology, it inspires this work as it is also in line with both de Sousa Santos’ (2016) call for epistemological ruptures and Mohanty’s (2003) theorizations of a feminist anti-capitalist academic practice.

One of the premises of Borderland-Mestizaje feminism is to value cultural intuition as a method of research (Calderón et al. 2012: 515). According to a Chicana feminist framework, a researcher can rely on existing literature and professional experience, on a mixture of personal and collective experience, on the memory of the communit(ies) she participates in and on the analytic research process itself (*ibid.*: 516). The idea of cultural intuition is also very close to that of spiritual activism (Anzaldúa 2012 [1987]), in fact spiritual activism can be used against forms of material psychic oppression as racism, sexism and homophobia (Calderón et al. 2012: 516). Moving from the concept of ‘nepantla’ (Anzaldúa 2002 [1987] referenced in Calderón et al. 2012: 517-518), Anzaldúa describes the space whereas different perceptions and multiple belief systems overlap, where there is a deep, embodied awareness of the changeability of racial, gender, sexual, and other categories (*ibid.*). This in-between space, borderland/*frontera*, or marginality (in bell hooks’ words), is a space of possibility where is conceivable to disrupt binaries through the insight provided by an insider/outsider subjectivity (Calderón et al. 2012: 518).

Another important part of Chicana feminism is the place given to the act of ‘queering’. As an act of transformation, ‘queering’ means recovering knowledge that is located in the body, or else identifying the body as a place from where theory emanates (*ibid.*: 521). In fact, Revilla (2010 mentioned in Calderón et al. 2012) through queering Delgado Bernal’s concept of cultural intuition, questions the role of heteronormativity in the construction of cultural intuition based on Chicana communities, reclaiming the role of a queer episteme. Taking queer as a method, rather than as an identity label, it can be used not only to rethink the sexual, but also to rethink the way the sexual affects material conditions outside of the sexual sphere. Differently from the either/or logic of “sexual difference”, queer logic forces to analyze contradictory regimes of both visibility and invisibility for sexualized and gendered subjectivities, as well as contrasting cis-heteronormative systems. As Pérez (2003 mentioned

in Calderón et al. 2012) also argues, a decolonial gaze on history must also be a queer gaze on it, as the effects of the modern/colonial matrix are a constitutive part of the current capitalist/patriarchal gender system (Lugones 2007).

Finally, by centering the ‘bodymindspirit’, a Borderland-Mestizaje feminist approach to research implies that the research process needs to be confronted with the whole self of the researcher, including grief, fears, desires, and love (Calderón et al. 2012). As Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí (1997) has pointed out, ‘body-reasoning’ is a typical feature of Western modern epistemology, one that allows at the same time to claim a difference between sex and gender, but also super-impose the category of gender over non-European history. Against the predominance of body-reasoning or biological thinking, Borderland-Mestizaje feminism suggests research “that does not fit into predetermined categories, that is messy, full of contradictions, often very personal, and sometimes quite painful” (Calderón et al. 2012: 535), a type of research where the body is seen in conjunction with the mind and the spirit. In this sense, a decolonial feminist approach disrupts “Western colonial assumptions such as the idea that research needs to be neutral or unbiased and that our bodymindspirit must be separated entities” (*ibid.*). For Anzaldúa, seeking social justice through writing and theorizing should imply the holistic reunification of the bodymindspirit (*ibid.*: 525). She pictures the ‘scholar-warrior’ as someone who thinks differently, recognizes alternative forms of knowledge, and engages in spiritual activism with body, spirit, and text (Calderón et al. 2012: 525).

In order to use cultural intuition and the bodymindspirit of the researcher to access knowledge, it is useful to consider the concept of hyphen-spaces. Hyphen-spaces “draw attention to the identity work of both researchers and respondents, to power relations and their potential impact, and to ethical choices about the way we position ourselves in relation to others in our research” (Cunliffe & Karunanayake 2013: 385). In inter-subjective research, they need to be kept in mind in order to engage with the complexity of the act of conversing with the

community we are researching with. Through the awareness of how cultural and social assumption shape every part of our research, from research design to data collection, we might avoid writing a “colonizing discourse” in which researchers construct the identity and worlds of others (*ibid.*: 386). Moreover, reflecting on hyphen-spaces allows the researcher to keep in line with an auto-ethnographic research paradigm, in which research methodology and methods are reflected upon and questioned, being transparent about choices and how the results of research come about. In this sense, rather than talking about identities and identity labels, Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013) define the multiple researcher-respondent identities as relational categories, paying attention to the way they change throughout the research. They highlight four areas of hyphen-spaces: insiderness-outsiderness, sameness-difference, engagement-distance, political activism-active neutrality.

The first hyphen-space is insider-outsider. It questions to what extent is the researcher indigenous to the community and how much of their work happens within or outside of it. It also questions the reciprocal relation between researcher/author and researched/participants, whether the latter perceive the first as part of the community and whether the researcher feels “at home” in the research site. In this sense, Cunliffe & Karunanayake (2013: 372) distinguish between four categories: an indigenous insider, indigenous outsider, external insider, and external outsider. In my case the lines between these categories are rather blurred. In fact, my community of study is the NUDM movement. In this sense I am an indigenous, because of being able to speak the same language and having a similar cultural background of most of the people. Moreover, being white and middle-class brings me close to a majority of NUDM activists in terms of background. On the other hand, I am an outsider because I do not belong to any group as I am not living in Italy anymore. Nevertheless, during the fieldwork this shifted. In fact, after participating to the Campeggia and the Encuentro Intergalactico, I became more actively part of the Corpi e Terra network so much that at the national assembly I read the

opening interventions in representation of this network (Non Una di Meno 2021, October 9), and I conducted the workshop together with some fellow activists (FD Nazionale Bologna: 36-37). But my relationship with this hyphen-space was more complicated because I also realized that in the role of researcher, I could not completely identify with this group, but I had to maintain some neutrality or distance from them. That is why on the second day of the assembly I did not sit with them and did not intervene in the name of the group anymore. In fact, I thought that if on one hand this would give me closer access to how some of the activists were experiencing the assembly, on the other hand other people could not interact with me because of this closeness. For this reason, on the last day of the assembly I ‘outed’ myself as researcher and clarified that I am studying abroad and writing a master thesis on the topic because I am interested into researching what I see as my “home” from the perspective of being abroad (Non Una di Meno 2021, October 9).

Regarding the hyphen-space of sameness or difference, while sameness is relatively easy to spot, difference is not. Regarding to my research, I would argue that probably the biggest difference I have encountered was the age factor. In fact, while at my first field site (FD Campeggia) most activists were in their forties or older, at the national assembly (FD Nazionale Bologna), the majority was in their twenties or thirties. As I previously mentioned, most of the activists are white and middle-class like me, mostly assigned female at birth and often non-heterosexual. However, part of my analysis is based on two groups to which I had the least contact with. With the YOOX and GKN activists the difference in terms of background and nationality were greater.

The engagement-distance hyphen-space is about the degree to which the researcher is involved with the respondents, epistemologically, physically, and emotionally. While epistemological distance is impossible to maintain, I found that emotional distance is also very difficult. In fact, only by acknowledging emotional connectedness as part of the research, it is

possible to make sense of feelings of being uncomfortable with fear and how this affects the research design. An example of this difficulty was the second *etapa*⁴⁶ of my field-research. In fact, I had to stop taking notes and writing my field diary at the Encuentro Intergaláctico after a workshop on sexualized violence which triggered a very intense emotional reaction. However,

“I recognized my own vulnerability as a form of my cultural intuition. [...] it wasn’t exclusively my own vulnerability that played a role in cultural intuitions: the participants were also vulnerable [...] I believe a shared vulnerability can be a source of cultural intuition that allows us to enter each other’s lives in the research process and become motivated to overcome pain, trauma, or grief; it engenders a solidarity that moves us toward a collective effort of healing, empowerment, and resistance” (Calderón et al. 2012: 529)

As Lindsay Pérez Huber claims regarding her research process, reconnecting with one own bodymindspirit and becoming vulnerable through the research process, it is a form of cultural intuition and also spiritual healing. Through connecting with a vulnerability that is shared with the participants in the research, it was possible to better understand the sense of collective agency that feminism allows. What my bodymindspirit experienced at the Encuentro was an empowering moment that influenced both my own healing process, my connections to the people surrounding me, and it also gave me an embodied take on the topic.

It is this in-between space, or else the hyphen-spaces between my multiple identities, as an afab⁴⁷ non-binary person, lesbian, migrant, southern Italian, European, white, middle-class, feminist activist, master student, (and so on), that allows me to produce an academic situated knowledge regarding the object of my study, the feminist strike in Italy.

⁴⁶ Stage.

⁴⁷ Short for assigned female at birth.

Chapter 3 – Analysis

In terms of data collection, I have tried to recount a truthful narrative of the experience of the feminist strike in Italy from the standpoint of an insider-outsider student-activist. In 2021 I have lived between Leipzig (Germany) and Vienna (Austria), and I have gone back to Italy for three to four weeks, between July and October, to do field research. As I have mentioned, carrying out research during the Covid-19 pandemic had the downside of a limited mobility, and the upside that many assemblies took place online or in a hybrid form, which allowed me to participate even when I was not physically in Italy. The mode of my field-research data collection has been mostly participant observation (both offline and online), together with the collection of an extensive email corpus and a corpus of documents produced by the movement, both published and unpublished.

In January 2021 I started participating in online assemblies in preparation for the strike of the 8th of March 2021. Most of these assemblies were public and could be accessed by simply asking a link for the virtual room through the Facebook pages of the assemblies. I participated in online assemblies from the Rome (21.01.2021) and Bologna (26.01.2021) local nodes. In these cases, I was just listening as an observer, but I did not present myself or participate in any way. This stage of the research was mostly preliminary and helped me get in contact with the organizational structures. Then at the end of January, I participated in the virtual tables of preparation for the national assembly (30-31.01.2021), which also took place online. The organization of thematic tables is the usual structure for NUDM's national meetings. I personally participated in only two of the five thematic tables and after the assembly reports from each table were published by the comrades in charge of facilitation anyone could read

them before the national open assembly⁴⁸, which took place on the 6th of February. It is important to note that it is not always the case for national assemblies, but that in this case the main topic of the national assembly was creating mobilization before the 8th of March. Given the Covid-19 related restrictions to gatherings, the main questions that came out of the assembly revolved around how to strike despite the restrictions imposed on the right to strike since March 2020, how to innovate the praxis of the strike given the new conditions created by the pandemics (the category of ‘essential workers’ and working from home) (FD Nazionale online: 7), how to strike from informal and precarious work, and how to strike from reproduction, from gender and from consumption (*ibid.*). On the 7th of February an open assembly of the Feministas Transfronterizas transnational network took place, which saw the participation of activists from both sides of the Ocean. It took place on the last day of the ‘Tercer Encuentro Plurinacional de Las y Les que luchan’ (5th-7th of February 2021), a yearly event organized by the Coordinadora 8M (Chile). Feministas Tranfronterizas is a network born in October 2019 in Switzerland, out of the convergence between local and global paths (FD Nazionale online: 15). It identifies the strike as one of the tools that unites us the most within the struggle. It is constituted by women and free / dissident subjectivities from a plurality of nations and, in this case, it also focuses on the way the pandemic affected the struggle and what are the common goals for the 8th of March 2021.

It is after this preliminary work that I have been added to the mailing list of one of the tables, the table on eco-systemic justice coordinated by the transterritorial group Corpi e Terra (I will explain more about Corpi e Terra in the next section). I was also added to the NUDM Rome mailing list. At this point of the process, I still hadn’t had any personal contact with the activists that I had been meeting online. After the 8th of March I almost stopped going to virtual meetings

⁴⁸ With open assembly is meant a public assembly, open to people that are not practically involved as activists. Reports and live streams (when available) from open assemblies are all available on the Non una di Meno website (<https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/portfolio/sciopero-lotto-marzo/>).

because I needed a break from activism after being involved in the preparations for the 8th of March in Leipzig. From April, I started having a clearer picture of how my research would look like and started planning field research accordingly. For these reasons, in May I attended one virtual meeting from the Corpi e Terra group (RD: 43). In this context, I was invited to participate at the Campeggia in July, an event which I will talk about more extensively in the next sub-chapter.

After the Campeggia in July, I went together with one activist from the Corpi e Terra group to the Encuentro Intergaláctico, happening at the end of July at the ZAD⁴⁹ de Notre-Dame-des-Landes (ZAD NDDL), France. This event was an important step in getting closer to the comrades and more practically involved with the assembly Corpi e Terra. In fact, during the Encuentro me and two more activists organized a workshop on the topic of the intersection between transfeminism and anti-speciesism (FD Encuentro Intergaláctico: 14). After a break of two months between August and September where I only marginally participated in the activities of the group, mostly due to the visit of the EZLN delegation in Vienna, I participated in an online assembly on the 5th of October (RD: 96) where we decided who was going to participate in the NUDM national assembly taking place in October in Bologna. In the context of the national assembly, we also re-proposed the workshop that we did at the Encuentro. After the national assembly and coming back to Vienna in November 2021, I had to stop the data gathering stage of my thesis and start writing. For this reason, I decided to reduce my contact with the participants and with the field to focus on the data I had already collected.

⁴⁹ “The ZAD - to the developers it is the Zone d’Aménagement Différé’, the differed development zone and for us it’s a Zone À Défendre: a zone to be defended. [...] Their construction project "Grand Ouest" is an economic platform of international importance stretching from Nantes to Saint-Nazaire, which will form a singular, huge metropolis. [...] Our goals, in coming to live here on the proposed site of the airport, are many: to live on a protest site, where we can be close to those who’ve been opposing the project for 40 years and to have the power to act when construction happens; to make use of abandoned spaces to learn to live together, to cultivate the land and to be more autonomous from the capitalist system.” From the ZAD website (<https://zad.nadir.org/?lang=en>).

At the same time, I do not feel like I have abandoned it completely because I am still planning, as soon as it is possible again, to get involved with the movement. Many times, I had to take break also because not being there, it was becoming exhausting to keep up with all the political work, especially in the moments when I felt like I had to prioritize between local political work in Vienna and these online assemblies. Nevertheless, I participated as observer in the national assembly of January 2022 in preparation for the feminist strike of the 8th of March 2022 and in the second open assembly from the Feministas Transfronterizas and E.A.S.T. networks on the 13th of February 2022.

3.1 Sources - Participant observation and written data

From 5th of July 2021 to 11th of July, I have been participating in the second *Campeggia Multispecie*⁵⁰ that was held at the Agripunk Onlus⁵¹ (Bucine, Arezzo, Italy). The *Campeggia* is an event organized by the Corpi e Terra assembly, which is a transterritorial assembly part of the NUDM movement.

“A multispecies ecotransfeminist week to be together in relationship between all human and non-human individuals in this wonderful space, a former intensive farm linked to the Amadori chain that was occupied and then freed, recovered, re-signified, re-inhabited. We shared relationships, idleness, creativity, actions, thoughts, self-managed workshops, assembly moments, work, cleaning the stables, feeding the other animal individuals, unpacking the hay bales, shoveling the poop, and taking it to the compost heap. We met for the first time or found each other again after months of being caged and forced to meet only in online spaces” (FD *Campeggia*: 5)

My participation in the *Campeggia* signalled a shift in my research from observation to actual participant observation since it is with this event that I got to personally know the people

⁵⁰ Multispecies Eco-trans-feminist Camp.

⁵¹ An anti-speciesist, anti-fascist association, shelter and social space created by the conversion of an intensive livestock farm. More information on the Agripunk website. (<https://agripunk.business.site/>).

and became an active member of the Corpi e Terra assembly. It is also at this point that my research journey took an unexpected curve. In fact, because of the circumstances of my life and me being based in Vienna, since the lockdown rules were released, it had become extremely more complicated to take part in assemblies from the local nodes of the movement. On the contrary, “Corpi e Terra network [is a] [t]ransterritorial assembly. Meetings take place mostly online apart from the two annual events, the Seminarie and the Campeggia. This is the second Campeggia. It's anti-speciesist and queer but it's not separatist so anyone who wants to cross this space can. The Campeggia is self-managed.” (FD Campeggia: 42). Because of the structure of Corpi e Terra, I could more easily take part in the activities, and I kept on doing it after the end of the intensive field period. Most of my work within the group has been regarding the editing of texts and participation in further assemblies, as well as planning and organizing the workshop.

The second part of my field research took place few weeks later, from the 25th of July to the 1st of August 2021 at the ZAD NDDL (Nantes, France). I have been participating in the Encuentro Intergaláctico (Intergalactic Gathering) a self-organized meeting of activists from ‘the Europe from left and below’, separatist in its nature. This event was organized by the ZAD NDDL together with the Gender Commission of the European Coordination of the Journey for Life⁵². The main reason to join this event was that I went there with two other activists that participated in the Campeggia. We went there as informal delegates or *vocerxs* from the Corpi e Terra network, so not only we participated in workshops organized from other collectives as individuals, but as a group we also organized a workshop called “Laboratoria ecotransfeminista multispecie” where we discussed the outcomes of the open assembly that took place on the last day of the Campeggia. From the point of view of my research, this event

⁵² It is possible to find more information regarding the European Coordination of the Journey on their official website (<https://viajeczapatista.eu/es/>).

also gave me the possibility to become closer on a personal level with one participant with which we developed a relation of reciprocity. This relationship brought the person to share some interview materials they collected with me, and they also invited me to take part into their radio programme (FD Encuentro Intergaláctico: 24-27; RD: 102).

The last bit of field-research I did took place at the Non Una di Meno national assembly in Bologna (Italy) from the 9th to the 10th of October 2021. The national assembly organization and moderation was led by the NUDM Bologna group. All the meetings took place at the University of Bologna. On the first day there was a first plenary session where all local and trans-territorial nodes of NUDM spoke and also some of the invited groups that are external to NUDM (FD Nazionale Bologna: 15-26). During the lunchbreak the Corpi e Terra network reproposed the “Laboratoria” as a space of discussion on the topic of feminism and anti-speciesism (*ibid.*:36-38). Later the assembly was divided into four thematic roundtables: feminisms and transfeminisms, violence, work, and health. I took part on the work roundtable (*ibid.*:26-31). The second day was the second plenary session, when reports from the roundtables were given and it followed an open discussion (*ibid.*:31-36).

In terms of written data, my corpora is based on material that is available on the NUDM official website (<https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/>) and on the Bologna Migrant Coordination website (<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/>). Apart from the published material, it included emails and ether-pads that are collected in a Research Diary.

3.2 From fieldwork to theory

NUDM’s national assembly comes together two or three times per year but works closely together also throughout the year organizing joint actions and through the mediation work of the NUDM Communication group. The units that compose the national assembly are the local nodes in their entirety (NUDM Rome, Bologna, Torino, etc.), as well as the trans-

territorial nodes (Corpi e Terra, Libere Soggettività, NUDM Transterritoriale Marche). In fact, there is no fixed delegation system but, at least at the national assemblies I participated in (February 2021 and October 2021), the whole local assembly was invited to participate. Since not everyone can participate in the national assemblies, usually the members of the local node that are able to participate share the task of bringing to the national assembly the opinion of the whole group through the opening and closing interventions of the assembly, as well as they decide who is going to participate in which thematic table (RD (15.09.21): 93). The writing of the intervention speech is a collective writing, organized usually through online writing tools in which everyone can add, modify, comment texts. In the case of the Corpi e Terra assembly, the writing of the pad implied ideological discussions regarding the wording and the meaning of parts of the text (FD Nazionale Bologna: 24), even though the bulk of work is done by fewer people according to their capacity. Apart from the local nodes of NUDM, the NUDM national assembly as a collective body includes a wider variety of groups. In the case of the October 2021 assembly in Bologna, several external groups participated both online and in presence, such as the Casa delle donne Bologna, the GKN Women's Coordination, Lesbiche Bologna, the Women's Assembly of the Migrant Coordination, Rivolta Pride, Casa Marcella, Our voice, MIT (Movimento Italiano Trans), E.A.S.T. network, Gruppo Trans*, etc.

Differently from the national assembly that has a duration of one to two days and the program of which is mostly organized around thematic discussions and plenary sessions, the Campeggia was a seven-days event that involved the participation of a smaller group (Corpi e Terra and Libere Soggettività). The Campeggia involved informal ways of discussing, as well as practical workshops, such as dance, music, and serigraphy workshops. Since it happened at Agripunk, it also involved working on the farm site together. The Campeggia is a way of informal meeting and exchange of ideas that is specific for the Corpi e Terra network that does not have a physical meeting place or place-bounded assembly. For these reasons, the fieldwork

at the Campeggia revolved more around understanding group dynamics and challenges, while the fieldwork at the national assembly was more focused on political discourse and speeches. Interestingly, at the Campeggia the smaller setting allowed for a few ideological discussions that brought up a series of conflicts, or divergence of opinions, in a way that the national assembly could not. Despite this, the Campeggia was extremely more homogenous in terms of topics and background of the people participating, while the national assembly saw the participation of a more diverse group of people and opinions from different geographical and social locations.

Inspired by feminist approaches to Grounded Theory (cf. Glaser & Strauss 1967; Länsisalmi et al. 2014; Clarke 2012), I applied triangulation as a method that involves combining interviews, participant observation and textual analysis. The product of these three data sources has been the compilation of textual and visual diaries that I have then analyzed. During the preliminary analysis (roughly from January to June 2021), I have started gathering data while at the same time mapping all the possible themes that were connected to the topic of the feminist strike and the NUDM movement (RD (19.05.2021): 58-59). This kind of Situational Analysis, as proposed by Clarke (2012), serves to describe in a cartographic way a particular situation, taking in account every actor and discourse even when contradictory, that appears within a specific ecology (Clarke 2012: 18).

The theoretical concerns that emerged from the provisional analysis guided the following stages of research. Already after the first two fieldwork stages (FD Campeggia; FD Encuentro Intergaláctico), I started coding the field diaries segment by segment and producing temporary labels (*ibid.*: 4; C1: 1-23). These temporary labels contributed to re-orientate my work in the third stage of the research (C1: 23-68), in which I started organizing the labels per type (description or mention of people, events, institutions, but also ideological concepts, demands and practices). Once I had a complete map of all the themes that emerged during field

research, I organized segments into categories and sub-categories. The main categories being political subjects (both real and implicated), concepts or discursive constructions, practices and demands, time, space, and context.

At the beginning of the research process, I was mapping the heterogeneity of themes that were present on my field. After the national assembly in Bologna in October 2021, I closed the data gathering stage and finally decided the aspect I was going to focus on in the writing process. The main drivers for this decision were the strong connections between the feminist strike and the topics of work and economic violence that emerged from the provisional analysis of my data, but also the composition of the Bologna assembly, which included groups and voices that were particularly vocal on this topic.

In the next sub-chapters, I will describe the way in which economic violence is conceptualized as patriarchal violence. Second, by focusing on the demand of a self-determination income, I describe how theoretical discussions around wage and non-wage labour, productive and reproductive work, take a practical form in both criticizing and opposing current politics and suggesting new forms of economic redistribution. Third, by focusing on the concrete case of the strike of YOOX workers in Bologna (Italy), I show the way in which labour-related and migrant struggles have intersected with the feminist strike giving rise to an anti-racist and feminist alliance on the ground.

3.2.1 Economic violence as patriarchal violence

NUDM has been in the Italian political scene for six years now. During the October assembly, a need for reflecting on the work done and renovate practices of the movement was expressed. One red-line throughout the assembly was that the Plan against violence needs to be updated and re-launched, including the elaborations regarding the pandemic and its consequences in terms of patriarchal violence.

In November 2017, after one year that saw the flourishing of tens of permanent assemblies in 70 cities, five national encounters and after the global women's strike on the 8th of March 2017, NUDM published the “We Have a Plan: Feminist Plan to Combat Male Violence Against Women and Gender-Based Violence” (Non Una di Meno 2017). Nine thematic tables worked at a local and national level and the plan is the product of the collective writing of women and free subjectivities. It is based on the idea that male violence against women is systemic, it is implicit in the social construction of *maschile* and *femminile*⁵³, and that is why it is defined as gender violence. The methodology used in writing the plan is defined as intersectional (*ibid.*). The plan is divided into nine chapters which deal with the following topics: free from sexism, free to educate ourselves (school and education)⁵⁴, free to train and teach (learning as a long-term process and *auto-formazione collettiva*⁵⁵), free to decide about our bodies (for full healthcare rights), free from economic violence, exploitation and job insecurity (financial empowerment), free to write our own history (media narratives on gender violence), free to move, free to stay (no to racism and institutional violence of borders), free from environmental violence (eco-systemic justice), free to build feminist spaces (autonomous, distinct spaces that empower and liberate), free to be autonomous (routes to self-determined empowerment and recovery from violence), free to assert and defend our rights (freedom from structural victimhood), free to set the record straight (autonomous analytical tools, monitoring and databases on violence)⁵⁶.

As the broadness of the topics treated in the Plan shows:

⁵³ Masculinity and femininity.

⁵⁴ On this topic, see the work of Scuola DeGenere and the fanzine they produced on education to differences and gender education (<https://scuoladegenere.noblogs.org/>).

⁵⁵ Collective self-education.

⁵⁶ On the latter topic, it was recently launched (25.11.2021) a database project to monitor and collect data, both quantitative and qualitative, of “events that qualify as femicides, lesbicides, and trans*cides”, i.e. events in which the killing of a person occurs for reasons attributable to power relations and patriarchal gender-based violence (<https://osservatorionazionale.nonunadimeno.net/>). The long-term project is to expand this database at a global level (*informal conversation with NUDM activist*, 2022, February 13).

“La reconceptualización de la violencia machista ha sido clave para el movimiento feminista de los últimos años. De dos modos. En primer lugar, pluralizando su definición: logramos dejar de hablar “sólo” de la violencia contra las mujeres y cuerpos feminizados para ponerla en relación con un conjunto de violencias sin las cuales ésta no se explica, ni menos aún se comprende con respecto a su incremento histórico.” (Gago 2019: 61)⁵⁷

As Gago puts it, the reconceptualization of sexist violence is key to the feminist movement because it expands its meaning beyond physical and sexualized violence. Similar as in the case of Ni Una Menos Argentina, Non Una di Meno Italia began as the organization of women and feminized subjects against sexualized violence, domestic violence and femicide. With the phrase ‘*non una di meno*’ (not one less) as the name of the movement, it made it clear that saying *basta*⁵⁸ to violence means also organizing and fighting back. From there, a broader understanding of gendered violence, has determined the way feminist theorizing and activism has been able to link together a series of phenomena potentially separated.

Through Silvia Federici’s conceptualization of the current phase as “un estado de guerra permanente contra las mujeres”⁵⁹, which contemporary globalization pushes through the devaluation of life and work (Federici 2011 referenced in Gago 2019: 64), Gago hypothesizes that we are currently in a new phase of a witches’ hunt. In other words, violence as a structural phenomenon that precedes capitalist accumulation is used against women, feminized bodies, and indigenous people to extract and dispossess value from their *cuerpo-territorios*⁶⁰. In fact, the idea that the current wave of violence is a productive force towards a new phase of capitalist accumulation, is an *idea-fuerza* that helps us conceptualize different scales of dispossessions

⁵⁷ “The reconceptualization of male violence has been key to the feminist movement in recent years. In two ways. Firstly, by pluralizing its definition: we were able to stop talking “only” about violence against women and feminized bodies to relate it to a set of violence without which it cannot be explained, let alone understood in terms of its historical increase”.

⁵⁸ Enough.

⁵⁹ “[A] state of permanent war against women”.

⁶⁰ Body-land.

(Maria Mies 1986 mentioned by Gago 2019: 65). Through the intersection between patriarchy, racism and class exploitation, capitalism can function and reproduce itself through the appropriation of reproductive work, which is still either unpaid (free housework, care for children and the elderly, performed within the patriarchal family) or underpaid (labour performed by racialized categories of workers and especially migrant workers) (Vincze 2021: 15). This reproductive dynamic of capitalism happens at a global scale (global division of labour), whereas the growth of the service sector in the developed countries “expanded the supply of low-wage jobs and the demand for working-class immigrants to fill them” (Sassen 1988 mentioned by Vincze 2021: 16). From this starting point, Gago proposes to map which are the new bodies, territories, and conflicts on which [this violence] is practiced (Gago 2019: 64).

In the *Corpi e Terra* and *Libere Soggettività* intervention at the national assembly, the subjects of patriarchal violence are named through reference to gender (e.g., trans*, non-binary, intersex), sexual (e.g., lesbians, bisexuals, gays, asexual) and affection/relational labels (polyamorous, aromantic), species (non-humans) but also “whoever does not recognize themselves in these labels but escapes the cis-hetero-norm and binary men/women divisions” (e.g., the umbrella term ‘queer’ people) (FD Nazionale Bologna: 23). Other collectives prefer to put the attention to other aspects, such as highlighting that the main subjects affected by economic violence are women, LGBT*QIA+ people, people with disabilities and people without a residence permit (FD Nazionale Bologna: 16). ‘Froce’ (fags/dykes) are named, as well as second generations, workers [feminine and neutral], inmates [neutral] and sex workers. When talking about migrant women, it is highlighted how they are the ones that are mainly fighting both patriarchy and institutional racism. The main areas in which migrant women can become victims of violence or be disposed of their autonomy are individuated in the relation between the work contract and visa, the issue of visas issued for family reunification, domestic

violence related to the family, the transnational violence at the borders (and, I would add, bureaucratic abuse and discrimination) (FD Nazionale Bologna).

As we will see later in this chapter, migrant women have been the ones that, especially since the beginning of the pandemic in 2020, have been at the forefront of the social struggle by refusing “the tightening of capitalist, patriarchal and racist regimes that exploit their reproductive and productive force” (LevFem Collective & Transnational Social Strike Platform 2021: 8). In fact, the Covid-19 pandemic has revealed “the deep interconnectedness and mutual dependency” between countries that rely on a global division of labour, but also between production and social reproduction (*ibid.*: 7). The care crisis brought about by the pandemic has led to the emergence of the category of ‘essential workers’, such as nurses, teachers, care workers, cleaners, logistic workers, grocery store workers, seasonal workers, all jobs that are mostly performed by women, LGBT*QIA+ people and migrants. After two years of pandemic in a phase of post-pandemic reconstruction it appears clear that despite care labour and care workers being essential to the system, their lives are still disposable as it can be seen by the neoliberal agenda of national recovery plans (E.A.S.T. 2022).

Therefore, what is common among these people and different subjectivities named during NUDM national assembly is not “*la violencia, sino que lo común lo produce el cuestionamiento situado y transversal de las violencias*”⁶¹ (emphasis in the original, Gago 2019: 63). In this sense, what is common to the analysis of forms of violence against different bodies, is that it is founded upon the understanding of a colonial/capitalist/patriarchal matrix of power, and that it puts the analysis of labour and the racial/gender global distribution of labour at the center. Structural capitalist violence is described in terms of the extraction of value from labour, but when it comes to women and feminized subjects this analysis is complicated by the

⁶¹ “violence, but the commonality is produced by the situated and transversal questioning of violence.”

fact that their work is often not recognized as work, non-rewarded or under-rewarded and rendered invisible. Through the recognition of economic violence as part of the structural patriarchal violence, NUDM is able to appropriate not only traditional feminist fights for abortion rights or against sexualized violence, but it is able to create a strong feminist and anti-capitalist reading of the reality that involves a wider understanding of work. By redefining labour in a feminist sense, “[I]a huelga deviene un dispositivo específico para *politizar las violencias contra las mujeres y los cuerpos feminizados porque las vincula con las violencias de la acumulación capitalista contemporánea*” (emphasis in the original Gago 2019: 20)⁶².

In this sense, the analysis of labour and work goes together with the practice of the strike. As Gago highlights, it is the power of a subaltern, feminist epistemology to bridge together analytic power and power of action as practical tools.

“Es el surgimiento de un feminismo de masas el que ha permitido (y permite) hacer una lectura del mapa de las violencias como entramado que conecta la violencia de género con la violencia económica, financiera, política, institucional y social, que hoy se ha convertido en un análisis difundido. Este análisis no surge de la academia estrictamente, ni de las lecturas de ciertas teorías. Este análisis se consolida a partir de poner en práctica la herramienta del paro feminista [...]. Es decir, es el horizonte organizativo de esa herramienta tomada por el movimiento feminista el que produce y difunde el análisis de la conexión de violencias.” (Gago 2019: 54)⁶³

3.2.2 “It is not the job that’s missing, it is the money”⁶⁴: from wages for housework to self-determination income

⁶² “[T]he strike becomes a specific device to *politicize the violence against women and feminized bodies because it links them to the violence of contemporary capitalist accumulation.*”

⁶³ “It is the emergence of a mass feminism that has allowed (and allows) a reading of the map of violence as a web that connects gender violence with economic, financial, political, institutional and social violence, which today has become a widespread analysis. This analysis does not arise strictly from academia, nor from the readings of certain theories. This analysis is consolidated from putting into practice the tool of the feminist strike [...]. That is to say, it is the organizational horizon of this tool taken by the feminist movement that produces and disseminates the analysis of the connection of violences [...].”

⁶⁴ (Gruppo Femminista per il Salario al Lavoro Domestico 1977, October 9 mentioned in Picchio & Pincelli 2019: 86).

What is value? According to Morini and Fumagalli differently from industrial-Fordist capitalism, whereas value could be measured through time and output, the current stage of bio-capitalism saw the collapse of this theorization of time-value (Morini & Fumagalli 2010: 248). The so-called bio-labour is characterized by the overcoming of a series of dichotomies that characterized Fordist work: separation between work-time and life-time, between work-place and life-place, between production and reproduction, and between the latter, circulation and consumption. In other words, bio-labour is defined as a conjunct of relational, linguistic, cognitive, symbolic, corporeal, and affective labour (Morini & Fumagalli 2010: 241). “[T]eachers, advertisers, union executives, coaches, tabloid journalists, call-center workers and nurses might be defined as ‘producers of emotional labour’. Therefore, emotional labour refers to innumerable sectors, all those whose objective is not the production of material goods, but rather the production of wellbeing” (Morini & Fumagalli 2010: 242).

For the authors, the category of emotional labour encompasses most of contemporary labour, as capitalism “demands *emotional labour* – and evaluates its qualities –, showing an extraordinary pervasive capacity and a great plasticity in ceaselessly creating new territories to profitably colonize” (Morini & Fumagalli 2010: 243). The relevance of this relational labour for reaching the goals of work questions the categories of manual/intellectual labour, as well as those of labour/non-labour, between productive and unproductive labour, or paid and unpaid labour. Therefore, the authors suggest that in current bio-capitalism a labour theory of value is actually a life theory of value (Morini & Fumagalli 2010: 249). This process is what is defined as “feminization of labour”. With this concept, it is meant not only the increase of feminine presence on the job market, but also that the precarious work that has been historically assigned to women is now performed by men as well. This process is connected to the globalization of the job market and the feminization of immigration, given by an increase in the demand of

caring and domestic labour, linked to both the nature of bio-labour and to the progressive dissolution of the welfare state (Morini & Fumagalli 2010: 242).

Looking at work from the perspective of the social reproduction chain, such as the interdependency between people within the community, and the relation with other species and the environment, it appears clear that social reproduction has an essential role in the capitalist productive system (Morini 2021: online). In a phase where contemporary bio-capitalism is extracting value from time – which translates into life –, the social, cultural, and biological reproduction of those providing this time (i.e., the workers in the broader sense) is more than ever the raw material that allows capital accumulation (*ibid*). As life and time have become the raw material of capitalism, the strike in the sense of *paro*⁶⁵, stopping from producing and reproducing value, becomes the privileged mean of expressing opposition to such a system (*ibid*). Similarly, it appears obvious the reason why, at the forefront of the struggle for work and life there are migrant feminized subjects.

At the October national assembly, the discussion about work starts, not casually, by focusing on the labour crisis brought to the light by the Covid-19 pandemic. In Italy, even before the pandemic, 48 per cent of women were unemployed⁶⁶. In 2020, 70 per cent of the people who lost their job were women (Non Una di Meno Bologna 2021). One of the reasons for women losing their jobs is related to the fact that during the lockdown the responsibility of care work fell back on women and the family (FD Nazionale Bologna: 16,26; Non Una di Meno Bologna 2021)⁶⁷. At the same time, the care work that was already happening outside of the

⁶⁵ Strike, but also stoppage.

⁶⁶ “L’occupazione femminile è al 49,7%, -18,3 punti % di quella maschile; l’inattività femminile al 44%, +20 punti % di quella maschile (ISTAT, 2019); il differenziale salariale di genere complessivo al 43,7% (Commissione Europea, 2018). 2 milioni e 472mila sono le donne in povertà assoluta e 4 milioni e 669mila quelle in povertà relativa (ISTAT, 2018)” (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019).

⁶⁷ Nevertheless, this is a more general trend. According to Pirovano in 2016 on 30.000 women who have resigned from the workplace, one in five has done so because the children were not admitted to the nursery school, almost one in four for incompatibility between work and childcare, 5% because of high newborn assistance costs.

family such as elderly care in resting homes – i.e., reproductive and care work that has been considered essential during the pandemic (FD Nazionale Bologna: 16; Non Una di Meno Bologna 2021) – became a site of high risk and exposure to the virus. Work in sanitation and healthcare, performed almost completely by women and especially women migrants, happens under terrible working conditions: low wages, work contracts that offer very little protection and intense working rhythms (*ibid.*), which showed even more the precarity of the workers in the care sector, as well as the precarity of life within the system (FD Nazionale Bologna: 27). The end of the lockdown measures and the post-pandemic phase is not looking better for essential workers.

“Together with national governments, [the “progressive” EU] has established new conditions of exploitation, racist and sexist division of labour and oppression, via the Recovery Plans. Neoliberal recovery plans are, in fact, producing and reinforcing internal, regional, and transnational hierarchies that have only one winner in sight: big capital. Essential workers are excluded from these recovery measures. Women are facing unemployment and involuntary part-time work, often to perform unpaid care work at home. Migrant care workers, predominantly women, are left out from social benefits and immigration quotas.” (E.A.S.T. 2022)

The Italian PNRR (National Plan for Recovery and Resilience) was harshly criticized by NUDM. Written between the Conte II⁶⁸ and Draghi⁶⁹ governments, despite the lobbying of women MPs, women’s shelters, and institutional feminist networks, in its final draft it did not discuss gender issues as a structural problem (NUDM Bologna 2021) but rather in neoliberal terms. In spite of the recognition of the low participation of women in the labour market, no major changes have been proposed but rather an emergency policy of containment. In the PNRR presented to the EU, the allocated funds for women are minimal and most of them pass through

⁶⁸ 2019-2021. The ‘yellow-red’ alliance between center-left parties and the *Movimento 5 Stelle* (Five Stars movement).

⁶⁹ 2021- current. It has been described as a ‘national unity government’ sustained by a large majority of most parties in Parliament, including right-wing parties. A technocratic prime minister, welcomed by many EU observers, Draghi has been formerly European Central Bank President.

companies and only a small part through welfare (NUDM Bologna 2021). Companies obtain finance and tax exemptions through women's employment and through 'empowerment development' i.e., through benefits given to companies that are managed by women, while other companies can access credit by respecting gender balance requirements – requirements that are not specified in the plan itself (NUDM Roma 2021; NUDM Bologna 20219)⁷⁰. For subordinate workers, apart from an insufficient investment in nursery care⁷¹ and the practice of "smart working"⁷² (NUDM Bologna 2021), no measures have been proposed that go towards a different redistribution of care work (NUDM Roma 2021).

In Italy only 73 per cent of men participate in domestic care and education of children on a daily basis, against the 97 per cent of women (Istat 2016). Even worse when it comes to reproductive work, such as housework and cooking, 81 per cent of women does it daily against the 20 per cent of men (*ibid.*). The structural gap between women's and men's care work is reiterated within the PNRR, through the reform plan 'Family Act', which includes measures such as: an increase in the duration of the paternity leave from three to nine days and the incorporation of all child allowances in a single progressive allowance that depends on the income (NUDM Bologna 2021). As families are the main beneficiaries of the subsidies, "the patriarchal family is reasserted as the fundamental nucleus of the society" and as "the only access channel to different subsidies and indirect income allocated against the crisis" (*ibid.*). "It also means to continue to rely on unpaid women's labour" (*ibid.*). The welfare policies adopted

⁷⁰ "In addition, the EU Gender Equality Strategy presents itself as an alternative to conservatism but promotes the neoliberal agenda, reproducing exploitative, racist and patriarchal hierarchies. This EU strategy [...] stipulates that member states must implement: the reduction of corporate tax to incentivize women's hires; cuts to public welfare, forcing women to enter the job market for miserable wages; allowances for paying babysitters and care workers in those countries granting remnants of welfare." (E.A.S.T. 2022).

⁷¹ Currently in Italy an average 25 per cent of children have access to kindergarten (NUDM Bologna), even though it varies significantly across the country with the South and the islands at the bottom.

⁷² The Treccani vocabulary defines smartworking as "flessibilità prevista dalla legge all'interno di un rapporto di lavoro subordinato, finalizzata a incrementare la produttività e a facilitare il lavoratore nelle sue esigenze personali". The concept of *smartworking* can be looked as another form of feminization of work, as the life-time of the workers through the prolonged hours that the digital form has allowed, is made available to the capital (FD Nazionale Bologna: 30).

through the PNRR, “non fanno altro che perseverare la volontà politica di marginalizzarci e renderci ricattabili”⁷³ (FD Nazionale Bologna: 16), instead of favoring women’s independence and self-determination. Moreover, the requirements to obtain subsidies exclude the majority of migrant women and LGBT*QIA+ people.

By focusing on supporting middle-class women access to the labour market (as in productive, wage work), “the [EU Gender Equality] strategy divides women who should dedicate more time to productive labour from those who should perform care work for unliveable wages. It is taken for granted that other women, mainly migrants, will take care of the reproductive burden for poverty wages. The latter do that often under the threat of the residence permit, the abuses of the bosses, the constant threat of losing wages and housing, while leaving their own families.” (E.A.S.T. 2022). In 2020, the crisis of care work prompted several European governments to grant amnesties to invite migrant workers to obtain documents and stay in the care sector, as it was the case in Italy, or through other forms of institutionalized exploitation⁷⁴. In Italy of almost two million domestic workers, at least 311 thousand do not have a residence permit and more than half of them are working without a permit (Associazione DOMINA 2021: 10). Nevertheless, of the 177 thousand requests for regularization, only 43 thousand have received an answer as of 2021 (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2021, November 22). The difficulty of access to the bureaucratic practices, because of the strict requirements in terms of housing eligibility and possessing a regular rent contract, because of the high costs of intermediaries that help carry out the paperwork, has made clear that this ‘*regolarizzazione-truffa*’⁷⁵ (*ibid.*) was not only insufficient but also ornamental. Through the impossibility to access complicated bureaucratic practices, and the ongoing blackmail of the residence permit depending on work and rent contracts,

⁷³ “[D]o nothing but persevere in the political will to marginalize us and make us blackmailable.”

⁷⁴ See for example the case of live-in care workers in Austria (Igas 2021: 35-42).

⁷⁵ Regularization-scam.

migrant women, both single mothers and within families, have been excluded by any benefit of the PNRR.

Finally, NUDM calls for a re-politicization of care work: re-evaluating it from a feminist/transfeminist perspective and through the strike as a process (FD Nazionale Bologna: 26). Through the tool of the strike, NUDM reiterated a commitment towards its main demands: self-determination income, European minimum wage, universal and public welfare, European residence permit. The request for a universal self-determination income is conceptualized as a redistribution measure, whereas the wage for one's work is complemented in a way that everyone's earnings are above survival level. The claim for a European minimum wage, not only a national minimum wage, is based on the idea that migrants should not be excluded by welfare measures, and it would also represent a tool against the depreciation of salary at a transnational level. The above demands are connected to the proposal of a welfare reform towards a universal and public welfare that would not be centered on the family but on individuals/communities of care, and which should go hand in hand with the redistribution of domestic and care work. Finally, NUDM expresses the request for a European residence permit, instead of a national one, that would apply to all migrants regardless of intra-European borders.⁷⁶

“Il nostro reddito di autodeterminazione è pensato infatti come strumento di autonomia e liberazione dalla violenza di genere, dalla violenza economica e dalla violenza razzista, dalla precarietà, dallo sfruttamento, dal ricatto del lavoro purché sia. Lo vogliamo pertanto universale e incondizionato, rivolto alla singola persona e non familistico, slegato dalla prestazione lavorativa, dalla cittadinanza e dalle condizioni di soggiorno. Per noi il

⁷⁶ For the purpose of this work, I have decided not to focus on other demands of the movement, such as the reduction of work time, the decriminalization of sex work and a reform of the parental leave system.

reddito di autodeterminazione è redistribuzione della ricchezza che quotidianamente produciamo e che quotidianamente ci viene sottratta” (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019)⁷⁷

The self-determination income is predicated upon the politicization of care and social relationships, networks of proximity, urban spaces, and the claim to a livable environment. “Global feminist movements have been one of the main driving forces in defense of the environment and sociality, focusing their struggles and claims on the terrain of life, time and income. The ability of feminist movements to diagnose and act is connected to the role acquired by social reproduction in the processes of valorisation at large and exploitation of unpaid labour specifically” (Morini 2021: online). If precarity can be defined as “the erosion of waged labour and the existential dimensions (time for life and relations with the surrounding world)” (*ibid.*), re-imagining labour in terms of quality and choice, means opposing the institutionalization of precarity imposed by neoliberal capitalism (*ibid.*). In this sense, the demand for an income rather than wage, highlights the necessity to reappropriate and redistribute a collectively produced value, the value of care, that exceeds the dynamics of salary (Morini 2010: 135).

The self-determination (or existence) income is not a welfare tool, but rather it has the potential to disrupt a mechanism whereas lifetime is constantly spent on wage labour, depriving people of the possibility to create communities and commons (Morini 2010: 137). In contrast to the idea of self-determination income, in 2019 the Conte government I⁷⁸ launched the citizenship income as new welfare policy and mechanism towards poverty reduction. NUDM has critically engaged with this measure. Similarly, to the critiques moved to the PNRR, the

⁷⁷ “Our income of self-determination is in fact thought of as an instrument of autonomy and liberation from gender violence, economic violence and racist violence, precarity, exploitation, blackmail of work. We want it therefore universal and unconditional, aimed at the individual and not family, unrelated to the work performance, citizenship, and residence conditions. For us, the income of self-determination is the redistribution of wealth that we produce every day and that is stolen from us every day.”

⁷⁸ (2018-2019). The ‘yellow-green’ alliance between *Lega* (right-wing party) and the *Movimento 5 Stelle* (Five Stars movement).

citizenship income is criticized through the analysis of the following aspects: who is excluded by the measure, the familistic approach, the workfaristic approach and the punitive approach.

Firstly, as a measurement against poverty, the citizenship income fails by leaving out a segment of people and family in absolute poverty, plus 9.3 million of individuals in conditions of relative poverty (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019). It also leaves outside all the people that are not EU citizens, that do not have a residence permit or permanent residence permit, who do not come from countries that have signed bilateral social security conventions with Italy, who are not in possession of an EU residence permit for long-term residents or who have not been resident in Italy for at least ten years, the last two of which on a continuous basis (*ibid.*). The exclusion of non-EU citizens residing for less than ten years in Italy responds to a racist re-articulation of social policies that should be understood in parallel with the ban, the refoulement at sea, the incarceration in the Centri di Permanenza e Rimpatrio⁷⁹ or the subcontracting of imprisonment (and torture) of migrants in Libya. From this point of view, the "citizenship income" is organic to the security policies adopted by state racism (Ciccarelli 2021: 42).

Second, by fitting the 'familistic' model of welfare, the citizenship income is directed towards familiar nucleus instead than individuals, being calculated on the basis of family members and on an annual basis (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019). Even in the case of separated and divorced spouses who live, likely due to issues of economic hardship, in the same house, the citizenship income will still be calculated on a family basis, which means that there will be many separated or divorced women who will be forced to cohabit, with their ex-partners because they will have to share with these the citizenship income and the obligations attached to it (*ibid.*). Moreover, the request for the benefit will have to be made by those in the family

⁷⁹ Detention and repatriation centers.

who have the highest income, which according to the data, in most cases will be the man, who will then be the holder of the card on which the income will be paid (*ibid.*).

As it does not promote economic independence from the patriarchal family, the citizenship income has no potential in becoming a tool for preventing discrimination, or protection from forms of subordination and violence experienced by marginalized subjects within and outside of the family (*ibid.*). The pointlessness of such measures in guaranteeing economic self-determination for women, LGBT*QIA+ and migrant women, because of the familistic approach and the exclusionary requirements, is mirrored by the so-called freedom income. This measurement passed in 2020 is supposed to be directed at women victims of violence for their path out of violence. But once again it excludes migrants without a residence permit, and it requires that the abusive situation is proved by a specialized center. Considering that many women's residence permit is connected to the one of their fathers or husbands, it makes it very complicated to escape domestic violence. Moreover, with a maximum of 400 euros monthly for a maximum of one year, the freedom income is insufficient to sustain personal and housing autonomy, as well as supporting children. According to a press release by the Bologna Migrant Coordination, of the 50 thousand women that every year, enter anti-violence shelters, as little as 625 women have the actual requirements to access the freedom income (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2021, November 24).

Furthermore, the citizenship income, binds the subsidy to a series of obligations for all members of the household. The ones "able to work" are required to enter into the "Pact for Work", which involves presenting themselves regularly to the Employment Centre to accept training projects, guidance, job offers and even to do socially useful voluntary (unpaid) work for up to 16 hours a week. Even though the worker has theoretically the right to accept or refuse

a job offer, the citizenship income is bound to the obligation to accept “suitable offers”⁸⁰. If in the first six months the radius for job offers is 100 kilometers away from home, it becomes 250 kilometers after the sixth month and finally throughout the country in case of renewal of the benefit after 18 months. The obligation to accept a “suitable offer” or voluntary work in order to keep the benefit, has three major consequences: first, it penalizes women who, in absence of an adequate welfare, are still mainly responsible for caring for children, elderly and disabled people of the family, and therefore could not afford to accept a job offer so far away from home (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019); second, it facilitates internal migration to the North of Italy, providing migrant, exploitable workforce for companies with the approval of the state; third, by blackmailing people into doing public utility work, it means that local organizations and associations can make use of unpaid workforce, instead of hiring regular workers with a contract, worsening the already precarious conditions of work in the social sector (Ciccarelli 2021). The “unfit for work” - long-term unemployed, people with drug addiction problems or mental disorders - will stipulate the “Pact for social inclusion” instead, and observe the program dictated by the social services. In general, all the beneficiaries of the nucleus will have to guarantee eight hours of free work at the municipalities (estimated at a value of 1.6 million euros), with the exception of minors, people with disabilities and those who already carry out care work at home for children under three years of age, the elderly and the disabled (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019).

Finally, it is sufficient that only one member of the family does not respect the program to trigger sanctions that can progressively reach the entire elimination of the benefit, or even imprisonment from one to six years (*ibid.*). While the recipient of the citizenship income is

⁸⁰ “A “suitable offer” is considered to be a salary that exceeds by 20% the last unemployment benefit received by the ex-worker (already lower than the work salary).” (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019). This obviously means that there is no attempt to contain phenomena such as the gender pay gap, or those of wage dumping that especially affect migrant labour.

strictly supervised, companies can receive a tax exemption (up to 18 months) for hiring a beneficiary of the citizenship income with a permanent work contract, with the only condition not to dismiss them before 24 months. Moreover, while the recipient can incur in up to six years of imprisonment for mendacious declarations regarding illegal or irregular work carried out while receiving the citizenship income, the punishment for an employer who has recruited the beneficiary of the citizenship income without hiring them is limited to pecuniary sanctions (Ciccarelli 2021: 40)⁸¹.

Opposed to this classist and racist model, based on the blaming of the poor and the distinction between welfare policies for the unemployed and workfare for the employed, who need to be flexible, to prioritize work over life, the Basic Income Network (2021) proposes a transformation from the citizenship income to the basic income on the basis of “a politics of liberation funded on personal and collective autonomy”. Similar to the proposal of a basic income, Non Una di Meno proposes since 2017 the self-determination income as an “unconditional universal basic income that ensures self-sufficiency, regardless of one’s work situation and citizenship and residence status. The income would guarantee financial independence and therefore material support for women recovering from abuse (whether domestic or in the workplace). More generally, this would be an effective means of preventing gender-based violence, as it would free us from blackmail and exploitation in the workplace, from instability, from harassment.” (Non Una di Meno 2017: 14).

⁸¹ Interestingly, a similar situation whereas the state rages against the last instead of surveilling the richest is happening right now (February 2022) with asylum seekers. In fact, throughout Italy asylum seekers have been sent letters that ask them to give back up to 20.000 euros they received as part of the *Assegno sociale*, with the reason that they earned more than 5.900 euros per year, and they are being expelled from the reception centers. To know more about immigration centers in Italy see Ministero dell’Interno (2020), but especially the work of Open Migration (<https://openmigration.org/glossario/>). It is ridiculous that asylum seekers are being so closely supervised and that they are being asked to pay back the welfare money they received, when it is obvious that the extra money are earned through underpaid and essential labour, especially in the logistics sector, that was carried out during the lockdown. (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2022, February 14; *ibid.* 2022, February 10). Being expelled by the CAS (Centro di Accoglienza Straordinaria), in the absence of second reception centers as of the abolition of the SPRAR system (Ministero dell’Interno 2020) in 2018, where would asylum seekers be able to find housing and have basic needs cared for earning less than 500 euros per month?

“Garanzia di indipendenza economica per le donne che intraprendono percorsi di fuoriuscita da relazioni violente, in casa come sul luogo di lavoro; possibilità di rifiutare i lavori di merda, sottopagati, umilianti, possibilità di scegliere, di vivere la vita che vogliamo, di essere felici. Il nostro reddito non regala nulla alle imprese, al contrario, lo vogliamo insieme a un salario minimo europeo, per contrastare i salari da fame e i meccanismi di *gender pay gap*, di *dumping* salariale⁸² e di segregazione lavorativa delle donne e delle/dei migranti.” (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019)⁸³

Italy is the only European country, alongside Greece, where a measure of income support is missing, although the European Union had already suggested the introduction of a minimum income in 1992 (94/441 CEE). The center-left, which had been in power until May 2018, introduced the inclusion income (*Reddito di inclusione* or REI), basically a measure of poverty management (Morini 2021: online). The citizenship income introduced in 2019, as we have seen, ends up having similar characteristics. While the maximalist demand is the self-determination income, which is a form of basic income (individual rather than family based, universal and not subjected to the control of the economic situation of the individual, free from obligations like job performance or availability to job offers), NUDM is also demanding for a European minimum wage policy.

Currently, minimum wage is a measure adopted from some European countries, which involves income transfers to poor families, with the conditions of looking for a job or participating in education activities. But if one understands poverty in terms of societal oppression and inequality, rather than in a “workfaristic” sense and conditional, which actually re-creates a situation of loss of autonomy, it is possible to imagine minimum wage from a point

⁸² The concept of ‘dumping’ refers to commercial offers that are more advantageous for the foreign market than for the domestic one. The definition of ‘wage dumping’ in the labour market indicates the devaluation of wages to which different rules apply and lower costs than those in the worker’s home country.

⁸³ “Guarantee of economic independence for women who undertake paths of escape from violent relationships, both at home and at work; possibility to refuse shitty, underpaid, humiliating jobs, possibility to choose, to live the life we want, to be happy. Our income does not give anything to companies, on the contrary, we want it together with a European minimum wage, to counteract starvation wages and mechanisms of *gender pay gap*, *wage dumping* and job segregation of women and migrants.”

of view of redistribution and therefore imagine a basic unconditional and universal income at European level. “An EU-wide minimum wage, in order to combat low pay, the systematic gender pay gap, wage ‘dumping’ (paying lower wages in certain geographical areas) and job segregation against women and migrants” (NUDM 2017: 14). The reason to do this at a European level rather than national level stems from the fact that the European minimum wage could be a measure that adds up to the already existing fiscal and welfare policies of member states (FD Nazionale Bologna: 29; 33).

“Vogliamo insieme a un welfare universale, gratuito e accessibile a tutt@: non basato dunque sul modello familistico, piuttosto capace di riconoscere garanzie e diritti sociali a tutt@, adeguato alle forme, alle relazioni, ai bisogni, ai desideri, agli stili di vita contemporanei. Servizi laici, gratuiti e non ingerenti rispetto alle scelte di vita delle persone. Infrastrutture sociali in grado di liberare i nostri tempi di vita, di affrontare la questione del lavoro riproduttivo e di cura come un problema che riguarda la società tutta e non soltanto, “naturalmente”, le donne.” (Non Una di Meno Roma 2019)⁸⁴

The need for a universalistic reform of welfare stems from the need to re-think and re-found social work in public services. If it is necessary for the greatest number of people to be freed from the blackmail of precariousness, it is equally necessary for an equally great number to work to allow these people - but also themselves - to be able to govern their own time through social institutions that function on the basis of justice (Ciccarelli 2021: 44). The reform of welfare proposed by NUDM and by other feminist movements is based on the centering of ‘care’ and towards a system of universal care, as theorized in the publication recently translated to Italian, the Care Manifesto. The Care Collective writes: “In uno stato che mette al centro la cura, l’idea di appartenenza non si fonda sull’identità etnico-culturale e la difesa razziale dei

⁸⁴ We want together a universal welfare, free and accessible to all: not based on the family model, but rather capable of recognizing guarantees and social rights to all, adapted to the forms, relationships, needs, desires, lifestyles of today. Secular services, free and not interfering with people's life choices. Social infrastructures able to free up our life-time, to address the issue of reproductive and care work as a problem that concerns the whole society and not only, "naturally", women.

confini in nome della sicurezza, ma sul riconoscimento della nostra reciproca interdipendenza. Uno stato di cura è efficace solo se permette la crescita di ogni essere umano e ogni altro essere vivente all'interno dei suoi confini”⁸⁵ (The Care Collective 2021: 71).

This ‘care state’ would re-think the welfare policies imagined in the aftermath of the Second World War and make them universal, by re-centering and prioritizing care over profit (The Care Collective 2021: 74). In this sense welfare policies needs to be rethought of by putting the valuing of individual and collective (societal) life at the center. Public welfare would be meant to cultivate autonomy and strategic independence, rather than dependency, which means creating the conditions for active participation in democracy tailored on everyone’s specific needs (*ibid.*: 75). In line with feminist abolitionism, the care state would prioritize social justice rather than punitive justice, by building supporting communities instead of privatized systems of incarceration (*ibid.*: 76). Putting promiscuous and communal care at the center (*ibid.*), the “care state” involves the afore-mentioned income measures, in order to reduce the hours of wage labour and open up time, resources and capacities to care both within the household and within the community (*ibid.*).

3.2.3 The feminist strike

The feminist strike is a political strike; it centers life and the needs of people who are subjected to patriarchal and racist violence. Through the feminist strike it is possible to map new forms of exploitation of bodies and territories through a perspective of both visibilization and insubordination (Gago 2019: 231). The feminist strike expresses a feminist point of view about work, answering the question: “What is work?”. It recognizes labour that has been always devalued, showing the way non-recognized and non-paid work contributes to the general

⁸⁵ “In a state that focuses on caring, the idea of belonging is not based on ethnic-cultural identity and racial defense of borders in the name of security, but on recognition of our mutual interdependence. A state of care is only effective if it allows for the growth of every human being and every other living being within its boundaries.”

precarization⁸⁶ processes. Finally, it re-appropriates the traditional tool of the class struggle in order to reinvent it and go beyond it.

In the last chapter of my analysis, I will focus on the practical aspect of the strike, as I have been able to witness during my field research. Since the restraint imposed by the Coronavirus pandemic, the 8th of March strike of 2021 happened in exceptional conditions, whereas for most workers and especially essential workers it was impossible to strike. However, during 2020-2021 other permanent strikes erupted, namely the strike of the YOOX workers in Bologna (Italy) and the GKN strike. As a delegation of the YOOX workers participated in the national assembly, they discussed the way NUDM activists had practically supported them during the days of the strike, by waking up at 5 am, joining the pickets in front of the factory and sometimes bringing food (FD Nazionale Bologna: 32). They also mentioned the way in which, through the experience of the strike, they managed overcome the fear of retaliation from the employees and show them that they have the power to fight and change things (*ibid.*). The example of NUDM supporting a concrete labour strike suggests that NUDM political stance of intersecting labour-related and migrant struggles bear fruits at a local level through active anti-racist and feminist solidarity built on the ground. It also shows that the feminist strike and its demands have influenced the practice of striking also outside of the place of the feminist movement and of the 8th of March. Finally, the cooperation between NUDM and the Women's Assembly of the Bologna Migrant Coordination in support of the YOOX workers, opens up horizons of transnational organization that go beyond the feminist movement, showing how feminist activists are also involved in migrant and anti-racist networks.

“In una situazione in cui la frammentazione rischia costantemente di rendere invisibili le nostre lotte così come le nostre vite, il *livello transnazionale* è per noi fondamentale

⁸⁶ Global trend towards the development of exploitation in absolute terms by reshaping and restructuring the organization of work, thus decoupling the worker from workplaces and equipment, basic services, recruitment expectations and stable income (Communia).

per far vedere e fare valere la nostra forza. Le condizioni che ci sono imposte e che viviamo sulla nostra pelle dipendono infatti da un governo delle migrazioni che, per quanto complesso e diversificato a livello nazionale, è *europeo e lega a doppio filo le nostre vite con quelle di altre e altri migranti dentro e fuori l'Europa*, bloccati sul confine polacchi, nei campi in Grecia, in Turchia o in Libia o ancora sfruttati nei magazzini, nelle fabbriche e nelle case.

Per questo, il Coordinamento Migranti Transnazionale rappresenta per noi l'opportunità di mostrare la presenza di condizioni comuni, di strapparle all'isolamento in cui le si vuole tenere, di costruire una comunicazione politica in grado di valorizzare la forza dirompente che incarniamo e con la quale quotidianamente sfidiamo la violenza dei confini e dello sfruttamento. È con questa prospettiva che vogliamo organizzarci anche verso *lo sciopero dell'8 marzo* che è stato lanciato già in vari paesi del mondo *come momento di un processo di lotta, comunicazione e connessione tra le diverse condizioni vissute da donne e soggettività LGBTQI+, comprese le migranti.*" (emphasis in the original, Transnational Migrants Coordination 2021: 18)⁸⁷

The Transnational Migrants Coordination is a network of individuals and collectives that came together in the spring of 2020 out of a coordination of common migrants' struggles between France and Italy⁸⁸. The main aim of the network is "to coordinate [...] on a transnational scale in order to effectively challenge the racist and violent border regime and immigration policies in Europe and beyond". The main demand of the network is the claim for a European unconditioned and unlimited residence permit.

⁸⁷ In a situation where fragmentation constantly risks to make our struggles invisible as well as our lives, the transnational level is fundamental for us to show and assert our strength. The conditions that are imposed on us and that we live on our skin depend in fact on a government of migration that, although complex and diverse at the national level, is European and ties our lives with those of other migrants inside and outside Europe, stuck on the Polish border, in the camps in Greece, Turkey or Libya or still exploited in warehouses, factories and homes. For this reason, the Transnational Migrant Coordination represents for us the opportunity to show the presence of common conditions, to tear them away from the isolation in which we want to keep them, to build a political communication able to enhance the disruptive force that we embody and with which we daily challenge the violence of borders and exploitation. It is with this perspective that we want to organize ourselves towards the strike of March 8th, which has already been launched in several countries around the world as a moment of a process of struggle, communication and connection between the different conditions experienced by women and LGBTQI+ subjectivities, including migrant women.

⁸⁸ More information is available on the webpage of the Transnational Migrants Coordination, hosted on the website of the TSS Platform (<https://www.transnational-strike.info/projects/transnational-migrants-coordination/>).

Part of this network is the Coordinamento Migranti Bologna (Migrant Coordination Bologna), “A collective of migrants and Italians, women and men that opposes the Italian migration law and EU regulations which, thanks to the link between residence permit and employment contract, make migrants a specific workforce destined to be exploited or expelled according to market needs” (Transnational Migrants’ Coordination 2020: 24). Existing since 2004, the Coordinamento Migranti Bologna has three main objectives. The first is transforming Italian and European immigration laws and regulations. The second is to affirm the political role of migrants in the struggles against precarization, both work-related and social or existential. The third is to fight against institutional and structural racism⁸⁹. What is relevant about their political analysis is that it focuses on the construction of migrant struggles from the point of view of capitalist exploitation, rather than from an identity or cultural perspective. In fact, it is the link between employment and residence permit that “make migrants a specific workforce destined to be exploited or expelled according to market needs”⁹⁰.

On the 3rd of October 2020, the first public meeting of the Assemblea delle Donne del Coordinamento Migranti (Women’s Assembly of the Migrant Coordination) took place.

“Questa Assemblea è nata perché in piazza ognuna di noi ha trovato la sua voce nella voce delle altre. Riconoscere questo spazio comune è il primo passo per rifiutare la normalità della violenza e per dare concretezza al nostro femminismo. [...] Per rifiutare il razzismo che comincia a scuola e continua quando a 18 anni i nostri figli si ritrovano a dover chiedere il permesso per restare nel loro paese, o rischiano di essere aggrediti e ammazzati per strada. Per rifiutare che, come donna, sia normale avere un reddito più basso, essere povere. Vogliamo che le parole della nostra lotta esprimano la rabbia di tutte le donne che stanno vivendo “sottoterra”, perché a casa hanno un marito che le opprime, perché a lavoro i padroni le trattano come macchine, perché il permesso di soggiorno le ricatta e mette in pericolo la loro vita, perché il lavoro domestico le confina

⁸⁹ Information available on the website of the Bologna Migrant Coordination (<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/informazioni-e-contatti/>).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

in casa, perché i turni di lavoro impossibili rendono difficilissimo lottare e anche vivere.” (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2020, October 10)⁹¹

On 30th of May 2020, right after the end of the lockdown, the Assemblea delle Donne took the streets for the first time. In coordination with the E.A.S.T. (Essential Autonomous Struggles Transnational) network, in order to spread and connect women and women workers and intersect “le lotte femministe, sul lavoro, nelle case”, the Women’s Assembly has become a collective voice that brings together migrants’, workers’, and feminist struggles.

At the beginning of 2020, YOOX⁹² changed the contract company from the YOOX warehouses to Lis Group. As a consequence, the employees with a permanent contract were informed that, despite what was written in their contract, the time of their shifts were changed - the morning shift started as early as 5:30 am, and the afternoon shift finished as late as 11:30 pm. The workers were forced to choose between having to work the new shifts or leave the company. With a majority of women employed, of which many are mothers of young children and sometimes single mothers, it became clear that the new shifts were unsustainable since school-age children do not leave the house earlier than 7 am and get out of school much earlier than 11:30 pm. Since the Italian welfare system provides very little, if any, support to caretakers, public childcares are poorly distributed across the country and overall expensive⁹³,

⁹¹ “This Assembly was born because when we were in the streets, each of us recognized her voice in the voice of others. Recognizing this common space is the first step to reject the normality of violence and to materialize our feminism. [...] To refuse the racism that begins at school and continues when, at 18, our children find themselves having to ask permission to stay in their country, or risk being attacked and killed in the street. To refuse that, as a woman, it is normal to have a lower income, to be poor. We want the words of our struggle to express the anger of all women who are living “underground”, because at home they have a husband who oppresses them, because at work the bosses treat them like machines, because the residence permit blackmails them and endangers their lives, because domestic work confines them to the house, because the impossible work shifts make it very difficult to fight and even to live.”

⁹² YOOX is an Italian online fashion retailer part of YOOX Net-a-Porter Group S.p.A and Net-a-porter Group.

⁹³ More than half of childcare facilities (for the 0-3 age range) in Italy are private, while less than 39% belong to the public sector (as of 2016). Nevertheless, as it can be deduced by the levels of enrolment, there is significant variation across the country in terms of availability of facilities and accessibility with enrolment rate being between 24.3% and 43.5% in the North and between 6.8% and 25% in the South and the islands (Bulgarelli: 2). Regarding average coverage, the rate is at 7.6% in the south, 26.5% in the center and 23% in the north (Pirovano: 3). In general, childcare facilities in Italy are considered quite expensive. The rate of enrolment and price level falls on the age range 3-6, which are run on by national government instead than regional government (Bulgarelli: 6). In 2012, 22.4% of women who worked during pregnancy lost their job within two years of giving birth, with younger,

most of the care-takers positions are taken up by women within the family or private baby-sitters. For single mothers, migrant workers, and workers who do not hold Italian citizenship or long-term residence permit, which means restricted access to public welfare, or who do not have extensive family ties available to do unpaid care work, or who do not earn enough to be able to afford a private baby-sitter (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2020, December 8), these shifts are obviously impossible.

Among the workers affected by these changes was a small group of about fifteen workers that, after being repeatedly ignored when expressing their needs in terms of working conditions, decided to protest these changes. Their main claim is to be employed in a central shift or to have their working hours reduced, to be able to take care of their children (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2020, December 1). Some of them had already participated in a season of protests in 2014-2015, where the YOOX workers had to claim basic rights such as the compliance with the minimum hourly rate stipulated in the national collective bargaining agreement for the sector (1.200 euros per month against the 800 that they were being paid), parental leave paid at 30 per cent, and breastfeeding hours for new mothers. According to the workers on strike, the fact that they already participated in protests in 2014 and are aware of their rights, that they have a permanent work contract, together with the fact that now they are mothers and are not available to work extra-shifts up to 16 hours a day, was a reason why the YOOX company tried to get rid of them to hire young and more inexperienced workers who would be easier to exploit (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2020, December 8).

“Lo sciopero delle lavoratrici Yoox non riguarda solo le lavoratrici di Yoox. Nella nostra assemblea, prima di questo sciopero, decine di donne hanno condiviso esperienze simili. È stato chiaro per tutte noi che i padroni approfittano del fatto che siamo donne, madri, migranti per sfruttarci di più, per ridurci i salari, per dividerci. Per

less educated women in South of Italy being even more likely to lose their job (Bulgarelli: 5). In 2016, of 30.000 women that have left their workplace, one in four has declared that it was because of incompatibility between work and child-care (Pirovano: 3).

questo le nostre compagne di Yoox che hanno organizzato lo sciopero hanno voluto che cominciasse il 25 novembre, la giornata contro la violenza maschile sulle donne.” (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2020, December 7)⁹⁴

On the 25th of November 2020, a group of fifteen YOOX workers, the Assemblea delle Donne del Coordinamento Migranti, together with Non Una di Meno, started striking in front of the YOOX establishment at the Bologna Interporto. In the call for a transnational strike on the 25th of November, they write:

“Lo facciamo perché la lotta contro la violenza maschile si combatte anche nei luoghi dello sfruttamento e non è separabile dalla violenza razzista che affrontiamo ovunque. Alla Yoox come in molti altri luoghi di lavoro che impiegano manodopera femminile, noi operaie, in gran parte migranti, siamo costrette a ritmi di lavoro intenso con turni che diventano un ricatto quando sei madre e non puoi pagare una baby-sitter, ma il lavoro ti serve per vivere e persino per restare in Italia. Si tratta di un ricatto e di una violenza a cui non intendiamo cedere.” (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2020, November 25)⁹⁵

After two weeks of strikes and picket lines at the Bologna Interporto, on the 12th of December 2020 the Assemblea delle Donne took the streets of Bologna together with the YOOX workers and the SI Cobas⁹⁶ (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2020,

⁹⁴ “The Yoox women's strike is not just about Yoox women workers. In our assembly before this strike, dozens of women shared similar experiences. It was clear to all of us that the bosses take advantage of the fact that we are women, mothers, migrants to exploit us more, to reduce our wages, to divide us. This is why our Yoox comrades who organized the strike wanted it to start on November 25, the day against male violence against women.”

⁹⁵ “We do this because the fight against male violence is also fought in places of exploitation and cannot be separated from the racist violence that we face everywhere. At Yoox, as in many other workplaces that employ female workers, us workers, mostly migrants, are forced to work hard in shifts that are made to blackmail us when you are a mother and you can't pay for a baby-sitter, but you need the work to live and even just to stay in Italy. It is blackmail and violence, and we do not intend to give in.”

⁹⁶ The Inter-categorical Union Cobas is a *sindacato di base* (grassroot union). Differently from *sindacati confederali* (“confederated trade unions”, i.e. all the unions that are associated with the three main trade union organizations), which in Italy are CISL (Christian Democratic), UIL (social-democratic), and CGIL (formerly associated with the Communist Party), who already in the 80s were accused of colluding and compromising with *il padronato* (the ruling class), the *sindacati di base* born in the 80s-90s tried to reorganize and re-unionize starting from the local level. Self-management, basic democratic decision-making, have been at the basis of the idea of *sindacati di base*. SI Cobas in particular, as an heir of this tradition, has taken up the struggle of logistic workers. The big retail enterprises, make use, for transport and portorage operation of subcontracting enterprises organized in “cooperatives”. The workers employed by these cooperatives, considered as “members”, do not benefit from the most basic rights recognized to other workers by laws and national labour contracts (L’Internazionale 2016).

December 14). On March 8th, 2021, right during the global feminist strike, the company YOOX signed an agreement with CGIL, CISL and UIL (*Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori e Unione Italiana del Lavoro*). In this agreement, concessions to a central shift are only for mothers of children under one year old, while the possibility to access part-time is only until the child is three years old. With a half salary, YOOX workers will have to depend on their husbands, partners, and family members. In fact, to have access to a residence permit a minimum income is required, which many women, especially single mothers, would not achieve with part-time work (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2021, March 10).

Finally, on the 31st of December 2021 the Labour court of Bologna recognized that the shifts imposed by Lis Group are unmanageable, admits that starting a shift at 5:30 am or leaving work at 11:30 pm makes it impossible to take care of one's children, and clearly states that the central shift must be restored for all workers with children under twelve. Commenting on the ruling, the Assemblea delle Donne stated that:

“Per noi dell’Assemblea donne del Coordinamento Migranti, per le nostre compagne che lavorano a Yoox e che hanno lottato con coraggio per ottenere questo risultato, è chiaro che il senso comune di questa società è quello che usa razzismo e sessismo per sfruttarci di più e poi mandarci a casa quando non siamo più necessarie. Soltanto che noi questo non lo abbiamo accettato. Non ci siamo fatte umiliare e nemmeno abbattere. E con la nostra lotta, con uno sciopero che è stato subito femminista e come tale è stato abbracciato da Non Una di Meno, siamo riuscite a far sentire pubblicamente la nostra voce.” (Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti 2022, January 8)⁹⁷

⁹⁷ “For us in the Women's Assembly of the Migrant Coordination, for our comrades who work at Yoox and who have fought with courage to achieve this result, it is clear that the common sense of this society is that it uses racism and sexism to exploit us more and then send us home when we are no longer needed. But we didn't accept this. We didn't let ourselves be humiliated or beaten down. And with our struggle, with a strike that was immediately feminist and as such was embraced by Non Una di Meno, we were able to make our voices heard publicly.”

The struggle of the YOOX workers shows very clearly the way in which the feminist strike is not only a political strike, but it also takes the form of the trade union strike. The relation between the YOOX strike and the different trade-unions, from SI Cobas to the confederated trade unions, could be further investigated in order to shed light on their relation. Another interesting example of the connection between the proposal of the feminist strike and classic trade union strikes in the age of precarity is the experience of the GKN workers and especially of the GKN Women's Coordination.

On the 9th of July 2021, 422 workers of the GKN factory⁹⁸ based in Campi Bisenzio (Florence, Italy) were fired via e-mail. The e-mail stated that from Monday on they were not supposed to show up at work anymore because the factory site was going to be closed and be relocated. On Monday 12th of July there was already a strike planned, together with the RSU (*Rappresentanza Sindacale Unitaria*)⁹⁹ because the subcontract company which employed some of the workers had declared bankruptcy. The subcontract workers stopped receiving their salary right away with the bankruptcy, since service companies like cleaning companies do not have access to social measures. As one of the contract workers tells, they only managed to receive half of their salary through one of the Covid-19 safety nets provided by the state, the FIS (*Fondo di Integrazione Salariale*)¹⁰⁰ (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2021, November 26).

Since July 2021, the workers of GKN established a permanent assembly that, under the slogan "*Insorgiamo*" ("Rise up"), have been self-managing the factory and have organized several public demonstrations to claim their rights as workers¹⁰¹. Within the actions that they

⁹⁸ British multinational automotive and aerospace components business.

⁹⁹ Unitary trade union representation.

¹⁰⁰ Wage integration fund.

¹⁰¹ The main communication channels from the GKN factory collective are the Facebook page Coordinamento GKN Firenze (<https://www.facebook.com/coordinamentogknfirenze>) and the Instagram profile Collettivo Fabbria GKN (<https://www.instagram.com/collettivofabbricagkn/>).

organized, there was a public demonstration on the 12th of September, which saw between 20.000 and 40.000¹⁰² people in Florence expressing solidarity with the GKN workers. Later, delegates from GKN workers' permanent assembly have been travelling Italy to discuss and meet other collectives and workers of other factories (Collettivo Fabbrica GKN). From this assembly, the GKN Women's Coordination was born, which includes the contract workers of service companies but also the partners and wives of the GKN workers who have actively entered the struggle and provided solidarity for all workers during the strike. As one of them says, "GKN was also my home" (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2021, November 26).

On November 26th of 2021, in a public (online) talk between the GKN Women's Coordination, the Women's Assembly of the Migrant Coordination and two *voceras* of the YOOX workers on strike, they discussed both the specifics of their struggle and the general issues that affect them (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2021, November 26). As all of them state, the GKN but also the YOOX strikes are not just for the workers of these companies, but they are for every worker, woman, and migrant. In both cases, the main problems are that companies, with the help of the state, deny basic rights, such as the right to a decent wage work, take care of one's family, and live with dignity. Already before the pandemic, but even more after, it was clear that "i figli sono delle madri" and not of both parents (*ibid.*). In fact, what the YOOX struggle has shown is that the system expects women and families to do unpaid care work, while working in precarious and exploitative conditions, otherwise it will attempt to push women workers out of the labour market. According to Liuba, one of the YOOX *voceras*, when the contract company for the YOOX warehouses changed to the Lis Group, the shifts were changed to the night ones, women workers were forced to choose between impossible working conditions or having to give up a permanent work contract. This strategy affected women and young mothers disproportionately. In fact, only very few of the men YOOX workers

¹⁰² The number varies according to the sources, but 20.000 seem like an average estimate (Nathan 2021).

participated or supported the women's strike. Between them there was Mohammad Nazam, who also asked for a central shift because of health reasons but his request was denied. He was crushed by a truck on 25th of January 2022 on his way to start a shift at 5:30 am, while driving to the Bologna Interport (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2022, January 25)¹⁰³.

Both the YOOX and the GKN workers talk about blackmailing. According to a worker from the GKN Women's Coordination, subcontract workers as well as migrant workers that depend on their contract for the residence permit are more vulnerable to companies' blackmailing. At GKN, the older workers with permanent contract have repeatedly mobilized for the others, but nonetheless there have been cases of blackmailing. She mentions that an Albanian worker was forced into coming back to work during the first lockdown, even though she just went through heart surgery and was still recovering (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna 2021, November 26). Another temporary worker hired during the pandemic was forced to accept a night shift because of her residence permit. She stresses the importance of being united, beyond nationality and the need that everyone fights for everyone's rights. She also stresses that Italian and permanent contract workers, even when they are risking retaliations, are harder to fire and, therefore, they should stand up for others. However, another worker highlights the way in which a gender hierarchy is still in place and the way she was discriminated against because of being a woman in a male-dominated factory (*ibid.*).

As Marie, a comrade from the Women's Assembly of the Migrant Coordination points out, essential workers, such as women employed in cleaning companies, were the first to be at risk during the pandemic. They had to fight for minimum security protocols, such as masks, gloves, and disinfection (*ibid.*). In 2020 as many as 444.000 people lost their jobs in Italy, of

¹⁰³ Nazzam's death only adds up to a long list of deaths on the workplace, especially at the Bologna Interporto, among which for example the death of Yaya Yafa who was crushed while loading and unloading trucks in unsafe working conditions on the 22nd of October 2021 (Coordinamento Migranti 2021, November 2; Zuppiroli 2021, October 22).

which 312.000 were women. Only in December 2020, of the 101.000 people that lost their job 99.000 were women (Non Una di Meno Milano 2021, February 2; Istat 2020)¹⁰⁴. The reason why many women lost their job and only half of the women in Italy work, is related to various structural reasons such as the weight of the “doppio-lavoro” (the double shift of care work), worsened especially during the lockdown. This shows that not only migrants and migrant women are blackmailed on the basis of the residence permit, but that different categories of people, such as working-class women and caretakers, are affected by the blackmail of having to choose between unfair working conditions and unemployment.

“We are not victims. We are fighters” says Marie. What all of them agreed on, is that women coordinating within workplaces should not stop. Also, the support of political collectives to workers struggles, such as in the case of the Women’s Assembly of the Migrant Coordination and Non Una di Meno, who have actively and materially supported the YOOX strike since its start in October 2020, is important because it shows the continuity between the feminist and anti-racist nature of the *sciopero vertenziale*¹⁰⁵ that focuses on conciliation between work time and life time, and the feminist political strike. As a sign of the increased intersection between these struggles, the Women’s Assembly of the Migrant Coordination re-states their participation at the upcoming national assembly of the Non Una di Meno movement, taking place on the 22th-23rd of January 2022.

The feminist strike is of course different from the labour or trade-union strike because of its intersectional and transnational dimension, as well as its political dimension. It is also different because it takes into consideration social reproduction and not only production. But

¹⁰⁴ “In Italy women's employment is at 50%: 1 woman out of 2 is expelled from the labour market for various structural reasons, such as the higher cost for the employer for example in case of maternity, the gender gap for which a woman still "brings home" much less than a man in an equal position, the weight of "double work" not recognized and not paid related to the care of children, elderly, home that still falls mainly on the shoulders of women.”

¹⁰⁵ Trade union strike.

what the YOOX women's strike shows, is that a labour right strike can also take upon itself feminist demands: by putting life at the center, and the connection between life-time and work-time, YOOX workers' strike shows the overlap between a feminist strike and a labour strike within contemporary capitalism and the precarization of work and life. Through refusing to accept working conditions whereas it is necessary to choose not only between work and family, but its impossibility, because there is no public or private welfare that takes care of your family, they are also pointing at the injustice of having to choose between earning enough to feed your children or bringing them to school. Moreover, being migrant women, losing the job does not only mean losing means of subsistence, but also losing the house and the right to stay in the country you have lived in the last ten to fifteen years because of the blackmailing of the residence permit.

“Lo sciopero ti cambia la vita” (FD Nazionale Bologna: 32). The strike puts at its center the needs of workers and migrant women through highlighting that as women and as migrants, we are all workers. By focusing on the reality of current bio-capitalism, it points at the inexistent separation between work-time and life-time and it translates it into a site of resistance to capitalist exploitation. But while being a fundamental element of the agitation and mobilization of the last six years, NUDM activists recognize that is just one way of carrying on the struggle, which might be very different in other contexts. The global feminist strike therefore is a political strike also because it is a concrete site that serves to create solidarity among different positions and different struggles at the local level. While focusing on precariousness and economic violence as part of gender violence, it makes it clear to what extent the feminist struggle has the potential to complicate or even substitute the class struggle.

In this chapter I have analyzed conceptualization and demands expressed discursively by the NUDM movement. The analysis of the material produced by participant observation and the documents published by the movement itself, shows that NUDM's analysis and demands

are in line with an anti-neoliberal agenda. In fact, the reconceptualization of gender violence as economic violence and the demand for a self-determination income challenges the ‘integrate, regulate, incarcerate’ model (Watkins 2018: 59) that identifies neoliberal global feminism. Finally, by giving a glimpse of the story of the strike of the YOOX and GKN workers, I suggest that the feminist strike has taken different forms at a local level and that it goes beyond the date of the 8th of March. The fact that YOOX workers, the Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti, and the GKN Women coordination, together with NUDM, subsumed the discourse of the feminist strike within their labour strike, shows the intersectionality of the feminist strike to issues that are common to the workers’ and migrants’ movements.

Conclusion

“What brings us together apart from the violence that affects us?”

“How is it possible to recognize difference and find convergences?”

“How to build transnational practices if we are not equally oppressed, and we know that global sisterhood is built from the struggle but does not precede the struggle?”

“How can we build spaces together with migrant, trans and racialized people? How to include workers, migrants and second generations?”

“How to transform our language and give up thinking in binary terms, while at the same time name the ways in which binarism exerts violence upon us?”

“How not to confuse gender and sexuality, but at the same time name the material manifestation of sexuality and especially the marginalization that comes from it?”

(FD Nazionale Bologna)

As I have shown through this thesis, the contemporary resurgence of feminist organizing at a transnational level questions the very definition of global feminism by disowning its neoliberal basis and striving towards a feminist internationalism built upon an anti-capitalist understanding of reality. Through the global feminist strike, feminist movements globally appropriated a traditional tool of the workers' movement, reinventing its significance and enlarging the very concept of class. Taking the Italian NUDM movement as a case study and a local version of the global feminist movement, there are a number of conclusions that we can draw. I will first discuss the outcomes of my work from a methodological perspective, and then from the perspective of content.

From a methodological point of view, the outcome of this paper is multi-fold and points toward making a political stance regarding the need to transform ways of doing research. By committing to a feminist and decolonial methodology in Chapter 2, I have proposed an auto-ethnographic, circular, embodied research framework. Reflecting on knowledge production and theorizing from the reality of social movements, refusing the neutrality of science for the advantages of a situated perspective, I suggest that it is indeed possible to bridge between

activism and academia, practice and theory, making of academia a site of tension between potential radicality and ‘mainstreaming’ (and therefore de-radicalization) of a feminist decolonial politics. Committing to an activist standpoint as a researcher has meant privileging ethical limits and questions that are overlooked by academics. For example, I entered the field of study with an approach that does not aim at extracting knowledge, but at reciprocal enrichment and engagement through building relationships between participants and researcher based on mutual aid and reciprocal interest in each other’s work. Furthermore, I approached the activist community through a commitment to contribute to the collective wellbeing and political agenda of the group while also including this agenda within the scope and academic agenda of this research.

Secondly, I have combined grounded theory with a feminist and decolonial approach by reading knowledge produced by activists (in the form of informal discussions, but also written documents such as emails, minutes from assemblies, statements, etc...) along the grain and as the most fundamental source of information. Another aspect of a feminist decolonial practice is the idea that as an insider and a native of the NUDM movement, a source for my thesis has also been cultural intuition and collective memory of feminist and anti-capitalist struggle on the Italian territory. Hopefully, this research can, in the future, grow towards becoming an oral history of the movement. In fact, a lot of what is written here, has to do with re-conceptualizing what I have seen and studied from my situated perspective. Broadening auto-ethnography towards a participative research framework that includes more active participation of activists in the writing process, this study could become a collective project of oral history and historical memory of the movement.

Thus, the clear limitation of this work is that by committing to auto-ethnography, focusing on my identity as an activist and on self-reflection, I had to take away space from deep, formal interviews, both individual and collective, as well as from the possibility of

receiving feedback from the participants of this research. Finally, since my research questions shifted greatly throughout the work, some parts of this research could be further analyzed, for example the relation between NUDM and YOOX workers should be also critically engaged with from the perspective of the YOOX workers.

From the point of view of the content, there are three main conclusions. As I have described in Chapter 1, at an analytical level this thesis shows how the NUDM movement operates a re-evaluation of work and of the subject of feminism. Despite the definition of ‘new feminist movement’, the Italian NUDM is inheriting a feminist tradition of Marxist and anti-capitalist analysis. In fact, it is through a feminist Marxist analysis of the concepts of work and value, that NUDM is able to reformulate the definition of work, including forms of unpaid or underpaid work, that are traditionally not included in its definition. By putting life and social reproduction at the center of the economic analysis, the hierarchy between production and reproduction is turned upside down, suggesting that social reproduction is a site of capitalist accumulation which is essential to the capitalist system as much as production. Finally, NUDM’s analysis exceeds classical Marxist and white feminist analysis by taking into consideration a decolonial feminist perspective which suggests that the colonial/patriarchal matrix of power is at the basis of the current gendered and racial global division of labour. As a consequence of the expansion of the definition of work, several subjects that have not been considered ‘workers’ or that have been marginalized by the workers’ and trade union movements, being women and feminized subjectivities, domestic workers, precarious and/or migrant workers, are now included as feminist subjects.

Secondly, from the analytical to the practical sphere, NUDM proposes the feminist strike as a site of resistance and opposition to a neoliberal and racist society (FD Nazionale: 32). In Chapter 3.2.1, I have highlighted in which ways the NUDM movement started as a protest against patriarchal violence and transformed the meaning of patriarchal violence, from

the narrow definition of gender and sexual violence, to include also economic violence. In this way, it operated a politicization that rejects a narrative of victimhood for people that are affected by this violence, people whose work, although deemed ‘essential’, is constantly undervalued, underpaid, or unpaid, and people whose unpaid work is naturalized and made invisible. This political analysis shows how gendered and racial hierarchies affect certain categories disproportionately, but it is the same analysis that also allows to create solidarity through a political strike. In this way, abstract terms as feminization of labour assume a very concrete meaning, by pointing at processes of exploitation of labour and especially of bio-labour that affect all genders. By understanding current capitalism in terms of bio-capitalism, there is no distinction between work-time and life-time, as capitalism appropriates life time of the workers, NUDM re-signifies the struggle for decent work and decent life through the feminist strike. As a strike for life, in the sense of a strike that affects all areas of life and especially sites where life is reproduced, the feminist strike has the political potential to build transnational sisterhood on the ground, by proposing a shared grammar that can assume different forms in different contexts.

Thirdly, Chapter 3.2.2 shows that NUDM as a movement is a political subject that is breaking with the hegemony of neoliberal strands of feminism, taking up space and discourse not only within global feminism, but also at a national level and in the broader anti-capitalist movement. In fact, through the demand for a self-determination income, NUDM shows to be able to present a detailed analysis and critique of the citizenship income and of the PNRR in anti-neoliberal terms, showing a critical engagement and opposition with policies proposed by the establishment, and also that it has appropriated the demand for a universal income. By formulating the proposal of a universal income in terms of a feminist self-determination income, NUDM actively proposes a measure of economic redistribution, pointing at the fact that higher pay and inclusion within the existing structures is not sufficient to foster gender or social

equality. In order to re-equilibrate and radically transform the patriarchal system there is a need to give back all the surplus value that has been produced and that is constantly stolen from women and gendered subjectivities, precarious workers, migrants. In this sense, NUDM demonstrates that as a movement, it is not relegated within a solipsistic discourse, only understandable by other feminist activists, but that it participates into broader economic and political discussions.

Nevertheless, the conclusions drawn until now need to be understood in relation to their limitations. As I have referenced at the beginning of this chapter, there are several open questions that came out of the Bologna national assembly that still do not have an answer. Firstly, the extent to which NUDM includes and solidarizes with concrete workers' and migrants' struggles and demands is often on a more theoretical than practical level. Even though in Chapter 3.2.3 I mention one example where NUDM Bologna has supported the concrete strike of the YOOX and GKN workers, the situation varies greatly throughout the national territory and there are different degrees of intersection between NUDM and other local social movements such as workers' and migrants' struggles, that should be further investigated. Secondly, regarding inclusivity in terms of gender and the so-called 'subject of feminism' there is still great disagreement. Even though NUDM declares itself anti-essentialist and inclusive of LGBT*QIA+ subjectivities, there are also, in this case, great difference at the territorial level on the degree of intersection of the feminist and queer struggle (e.g., FD Campeggia: 13-14). Both of these topics would need further investigation with a different research methodology in order to become concrete conclusions, while some general questions of contemporary feminism might need time and a historical perspective to be appropriately answered.

Given these limitations, I also want to suggest that my thesis, by taking the Italian NUDM movement as a case study, suggests it as just one example within a bigger phenomenon. What I want to put forward is that this feminist anti-capitalist analysis is not original to the

Italian NUDM movement, but it is a shared analysis that characterizes some strands of contemporary anti-capitalist internationalism. As I have shown by crisscrossing not only documents from NUDM (2017; Non Una di Meno Roma 2019; Non Una di Meno Bologna 2021), the Coordinamento Migranti Bologna (2020; 2021; 2022) and the Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti (2020; 2021; 2022), but also from Argentinian NUM activists Veronica Gago (2019; 2020; 2021), the E.A.S.T. network (2022), the Transnational Migrants Coordination (2020; 2021) and the TSS Platform (LevFem Collective & Transnational Social Strike Platform 2021), the grammar of feminism and of anti-neoliberalism is common to other networks that have put at the center the strike as a theory-practice and that have been influenced by the global feminist strike. However, further comparative analysis would be needed to prove the existence of a global phenomenon, which might highlight more differences than are foreseeable within the state of my field work, as well as it should prove in which way the common grammar of the ‘strike for life’ has been built and what kind of connections link those movements together.

In addition, I need to briefly mention a number of topics that are also part of NUDM theory and practice, which I could not focus on in this master thesis. Regarding the economic and political spheres, I was not able to expand on the demands that go together with the self-determination income, such as European residence permit, European minimum wage and universal public welfare. My hypothesis is that the demand for a European residence permit was appropriated by NUDM from other struggles, especially migrant struggles connected to the Transnational Migrants Coordination; therefore, it would be interesting to look into this connection and understand where this demand comes from and what it would mean in practical terms. Moreover, in my analysis I have decided to center just one aspect of NUDM’s political work, even though NUDM as a movement and at a local level touches different areas such as violence and violence prevention (FD Nazionale: 5-8; C2: 3-4), health (FD Nazionale: 11-14),

education (C2: 15), and so on, as both the “Feminist Plan to Combat Male Violence Against Women and Gender-Based Violence” and the agenda for the national assembly show (Non Una di Meno 2017; FD Nazionale Bologna).

Another aspect that is completely missing from the final text of this thesis is that a very big part of my field work was carried out with the Corpi e Terra and Libere Soggettività groups and revolved around questions of gender, environment, and speciesism. As the trans-territorial assembly whose main objective is to merge feminist views with an ecological or eco-feminist view, as well as a multi-speciesist one, the question of speciesism is a topic that derived mostly from the Campeggia field work. The discussion involved three main axes: the comparison and differentiation between anti-speciesism and animalism; the topic of veganism as a lifestyle or a political stance, and the question of moralism. Nevertheless, the topic of anti-speciesism is not one upon which there is a real shared consensus at the national level, making the Corpi e Terra assembly a ‘semi-clandestine cell’ (irony in the original FD Campeggia: 49). As the assembly is nevertheless quite vocal about this topic, it was present at the national gathering through the “Siamo tutt* animale, ognun* con la sua diversità: an ecotransfeminist multispecies workshop”, which became a space of discussion and confrontation on several related topics (FD Nazionale Bologna: 37). Another aspect that I found quite interesting is that the Corpi e Terra and Libere Soggettività assemblies are so close to each other, as there are several, and very active members, that cross both spaces and that are interested in connecting anti-speciesism with LGBT*QIA+ issues (FD Campeggia: 10).

From my point of view, anti-speciesism and issues related to gender and sexuality, as well as their relation, are very interesting themes that would need more space and longer research. According to the activists, the point of contact between anti-speciesism and queer issues is that they are both creating a perturbation of the social, sexual, gender, reproductive, and alimentary norms, which form the foundations of our society. Because they want liberation

for all bodies, of all species and genders, against patriarchal and anthropocentric exploitation (real or symbolic), they are marginalized in certain feminist contexts. In this sense, the ‘*sciopero dei e dai generi*’¹⁰⁶ (Corpi e Terra & Libere Soggettività 2022, January 25; Rete NazioAnale 2021, March 7) intersects issues of gendered and sex work that are often dismissed at the national level. Even though, I believe that the strike of and from consumption (Corpi e Terra & Libere Soggettività 2022, January 25), and the strike of genders and from genders, are all very important and integrative parts of the feminist strike I eventually had to omit them. As I realized that they would not fit the scope of my research question and the length of this thesis, it was especially hard to operate this cut because the Corpi e Terra assembly is the NUDM group which I mostly identify with and that has welcomed me the most, not only as student or researcher, but especially as an activist and comrade.

In conclusion, this thesis aims at echoing one of the slogans of the 2021 global feminist strike: “*Essenziale è il nostro sciopero*”¹⁰⁷. Not only women, lesbians, trans*, intersex and non-binary people, refugees, migrants, and racialized people are the ones mostly involved in essential sectors of the economy, which in countries like Italy, during and after the pandemics, has been the care and logistics sectors. The exploitation of their life and work, that is unpaid, underpaid, *invisibilizzato*¹⁰⁸ and/or *precarizzato*¹⁰⁹, allows the reproduction of the current capitalist system. The exploitative working and living conditions of women, migrants and free subjectivities have been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemics of 2020. Nevertheless, as the feminist strike in 2021 has shown, feminist subjects are striking back, developing discursive and practical strategies of resistance and *impoteramento*¹¹⁰, making visible the essential nature of our participation into society and the collective power of the strike.

¹⁰⁶ Strike of and from genders.

¹⁰⁷ Our strike is essential.

¹⁰⁸ Invisibilized.

¹⁰⁹ Precarized.

¹¹⁰ Empowerment but rather *empoderamento*. See Borghi (2020: 13).



Picture – A banner that was hanging at the NUDM national assembly (Bologna, Italy. October 2021). Photo credits: Saraliù Bruni.

Bibliography

Notes to the structure of the Bibliography

As my approach to this research has been a mixture of anthropology and history, it raised a series of questions regarding how to organize the bibliography. In fact, while there is surely a certain degree of overlapping between the two disciplines, they also have different ways to approach the object of study. I have decided to try to merge the two approaches. Therefore, I have divided my material into sources and literature.

Sources refer to primary sources in a historiographic sense. They are organized chronologically. In an ethnographic sense, the sources bring together the product of my participant observation (field and research diaries) together with written material that is partly a product of participant observation and partly was recovered later on to be part of the analysis. In this sense, documents published by Non Una di Meno and by the Coordinamento Migranti Bologna and by Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti Bologna appear here, because they are an integral part of the analysis and are its main objects. Most of these texts I have read along the grain in order to support the proposed arguments. The reliability of the sources is proved through triangulation with participant observation and additional sources, when needed.

Literature instead, includes all materials that I use to support my analysis. They are organized alphabetically. In a historiographic sense, it would be secondary sources. My literature does not only include academic literature, but also newspaper articles, documents published by political groups, statistics and so on. The majority of materials, not only newspaper articles but also academic articles and books, I have mostly accessed in a digital form.

I just want to specify that the distinction between sources and literature is merely for the sake of specifying which documents I have analyzed in this paper and which documents I have used to support my analysis. There is no judgment of sort between the two; in fact, documents of the source type would be possibly listed as literature in another context, or the other way around. Finally, I would like to remind the reader that even though my research has a historical approach, I did not analyze my sources in a strictly historical way as they have all been published in the last few years.

Literature

- Acosta, A. (2013). Extractivism and neo-extractivism: two sides of the same curse. In Permanent Group of Alternative to Development, Lang, M. & Mokrani, D. [Eds.]. *Beyond Development. Alternative Visions from Latin America* (pp. 61–87). Transnational Institute Luxembourg – Rosa Foundation
- Agripunk. Webpage of Agripunk. <https://agripunk.business.site/>
- Anzaldúa, G. (2012). *Borderlands/La Frontera. The New Mestiza* (4th ed). Aunt Lute Books. [Original work published 1987]
- Armstrong, E. (2016). Before Bandung: The Anti-Imperialist Women's Movement in Asia and the Women's International Democratic Federation. *Signs*, 41(2), 305-331.
- Arruzza, C. & Cirillo, L. (2017). *Storia delle storie del femminismo*. Alegre.
- Arruzza, C. (2013). *Dangerous Liaisons: Marriages and Divorces between Marxism and Feminism*, Merlin Press. Resistance Books and the IIRE.
- (2017). From Social Reproduction Feminism to the Women’s Strike. In T. Bhattacharya [Ed.], *Social Reproduction Theory. Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression* (pp. 192-196). Pluto Press.
- (2019, January 6). “Feminism of the 99% is an anticapitalist alternative to neoliberal feminism”. *An interview with Cinzia Arruzza*. International Viewpoint. <https://internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article5869>
- Associazione DOMINA (Associazione Nazionale Famiglie Datori di Lavoro Domestico). (2021). Rapporto annuale DOMINA sul lavoro domestico 2020. https://www.osservatoriolavorodomestico.it/documenti/sintesi_rapporto_annuale_2021.pdf
- Barbagallo, C. [Ed.] (2019). *Women and the Subversion of the Community: A Mariarosa Dalla Costa Reader*. PM Press.

- Basic Income Network Italia [Ed.]. (2021). *Verso il reddito di base. Dal reddito di cittadinanza per un welfare universale*. Associazione Basic Income Network Italia.
- Batalla de ideas (2021, November 17). *Por un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos*. Notas. Periodismo popular. <https://www.notasperiodismopopular.com.ar/2021/11/17/por-un-mundo-donde-quepan-muchos-mundos/>
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge.
- Boezi, F. (2021, December 6). *Il vergognoso silenzio sull'italiano ammazzato a New York*. Il Giornale. <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/silenzio-degli-influencer-sul-ragazzo-italiano-ucciso-new-1994165.html>
- Bonfiglioli, C. (2008). *Belgrade, 1978. Remembering the conference «Drugarica Zena. Zensko Pitanje – Novi Pristup?»/ «Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: A New Approach?» thirty years after* [Unpublished master's Thesis], University of Utrecht. <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/31158>
- (2016). The First UN World Conference on Women (1975) as a Cold War Encounter: Recovering Anti-Imperialist, Non-Aligned and Socialist Genealogies. *FILOZOFIJA I DRUŠTVO*, XXVII(3), 521-541.
- Borghi, R. (2020). *Decolonialità e privilegio. Pratiche femministe e critica al sistema-mondo*. Meltemi.
- Bruni, S. (2021). Photo from the Non Una di Meno national assembly in Bologna 9-10.10.2021. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/nonunadimenobologna/photos/a.1768626153347829/1768612000015911>
- Bulgarelli, D. (n.d.). *Quality employment and quality public services. Quality of employment in childcare Country report: Italy* [PDF]. European Public Service Union.

<https://www.epsu.org/sites/default/files/article/files/Country%20report%20Italy%20childcare.pdf>

Calderón, D., Delgado Bernal, D., Pérez Huber, L., Malagón, M. C., Vélez, V. N. (2012). A Chicana Feminist Epistemology Revisited: Cultivating Ideas a Generation Later. *Harvard Educational Review*, 82(4), 513-567.

Camilli, A. (2017, October 20). *Ius soli, ius sanguinis, ius culturae: tutto sulla riforma della cittadinanza*. Internazionale. <https://www.internazionale.it/notizie/annalisa-camilli/2017/10/20/riforma-cittadinanza-da-sapere>

Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. Sage.

Chironi, D. (2019). Generations in the Feminist and LGBT Movements in Italy: The Case of Non Una Di Meno. *American Behavioral Scientist* 1(28), 1-28.

Ciccarelli, R. (2021). Per una società con il reddito di base e senza politiche attive del lavoro. In Basic Income Network Italia [Ed.]. *Verso il reddito di base. Dal reddito di cittadinanza per un welfare universale* (pp. 34-45). Basic Income Network Italia.

Clarke, A. E. (2012). Feminism, Grounded Theory, and Situational Analysis Revisited. In Hesse-Biber, S. J. [Ed.]. *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis* (pp. 388-412). Sage.

Collettivo Fabbrica GKN. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/collettivofabbricagkn/>

Communia. (n.d.). *Precarization*. In *Communia Marxist Dictionary*. <https://en.communia.blog/dictionary/precarization/>

Coordinamento GKN Firenze. Facebook.

<https://www.facebook.com/coordinamentogknfirenze>

Coordinamento Migranti Bologna. Webpage of the Coordinamento Migranti Bologna.

<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/>

— Informazioni e contatti. <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/informazioni-e-contatti/>

- (2021, November 2). *Yaya, l'Sda, e le condizioni politiche del lavoro migrante. La denuncia del Coordinamento Migranti Interporto*. Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2021/11/02/yaya-lsda-e-le-condizioni-politiche-del-lavoro-migrante-la-denuncia-del-coordinamento-migranti-interporto/>
- (2022, January 25). *Muhammad Nazam, lavoratore migrante di Yoox, è morto sulla strada per l'Interporto*. Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2022/01/25/muhammad-nazam-lavoratore-migrante-di-yoox-e-morto-sulla-strada-per-linterporto/>
- (2022 February 10). *La Prefettura di Bologna multa ed espelle i migranti dall'accoglienza*. Coordinamento Migranti. <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2022/02/10/la-prefettura-di-bologna-multa-ed-espelle-i-migranti-dallaccoglienza/>
- (2022 February 14). *Un furto a norma di legge. Presidio contro i rimborsi astronomici chiesti ai richiedenti asilo*. Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2022/02/14/un-furto-a-norma-di-legge-presidio-contro-i-rimborsi-astronomici-chiesti-ai-richiedenti-asilo/>
- Corpi e Terra & Libere Soggettività. (2022, January 25). *#8M Sciopero per tutt: Generi e consumi. Contributo e proposte delle assemblee transterritoriali Corpi e Terra e Libere Soggettività all'assemblea nazionale di Non una di Meno del 22 e 23 gennaio 2022*. Rete Corpi e Terra NUDM.
https://retecorpieterranud.wixsite.com/seminaria/post/8m-sciopero-per-tutt-generi-e-consumi?fbclid=IwAR0jMDzJiM_mqgsLbmuBAn7fs9Yjrm8mHgMdeu0szcEMmuFtKRarhzseoIA

- Cunliffe, A. L. & Karunanayake, G. (2013). Working Within Hyphen-Spaces in Ethnographic Research: Implications for Research Identities and Practice. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16(3), 364-392.
- Dainotto, R. M. (2007). *Europe (in theory)*. Duke University.
- Davis, A. (1981). *Women, Race, Class*. Random House.
- Davis, A., Ransby, B., Arruzza, C., Keeanga-Yamahtta, T., Martín Alcoff, L., Fraser, N., Yousef Odeh, R. & Bhattacharya, T. (2017, February 3). *Beyond Lean-In: For a Feminism of the 99% and a Militant International Strike on March 8*. Viewpoint Magazine. <https://viewpointmag.com/2017/02/03/beyond-lean-in-for-a-feminism-of-the-99-and-a-militant-international-strike-on-march-8/>
- De Lima Costa, C. (2016). Gender and Equivocation: Notes on Decolonial Feminist Translations. In W. Harcourt [Ed.]. *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- (2019) Latin America, Decoloniality, and Translation. In A. J. Pitts, M. Ortega & J. Medina [Eds.]. *Theories of the Flesh* (pp. 173-187). Oxford University Press.
- De Sousa Santos, B. & Meneses, M. P. [Eds.]. (2020). *Conocimientos nacidos en las luchas. Construyendo las Epistemologías del Sur*. Akal.
- De Sousa Santos, B. (2016). *Epistemologies of the South. Justice against epistemicide*. Routledge.
- (Lecturer) (2017, December 19). *Boaventura de Sousa Santos - Epistemologías del Sur*. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ohZ8BR1vj_8
- (2020). Descolonizar la Universidad. In De Sousa Santos, B. & Meneses, M. P. [Eds.]. (2020). *Conocimientos nacidos en las luchas. Construyendo las Epistemologías del Sur* (pp. 501-539). Akal.

- Delgado Bernal, D. (1998) Using a Chicana Feminist Epistemology in Educational Research. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68(4), 555–583.
- E.A.S.T. (Essential Autonomous Struggle Transnational) (2022). *A Feminist Reconstruction: Essential Demands for 8M and Beyond*. Transnational Social Strike Platform. <https://www.transnational-strike.info/2022/02/11/a-feminist-reconstruction-essential-demands-for-8m-and-beyond/>
- Esteva, G. & Prakash, M. S. (1998). *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*. Zed.
- European Coordination of the ‘Journey for Life’. Viaje Zapatista. <https://viajeczapatista.eu/es/>
- EZLN (2021, January 1). *Una Declaración por la Vida. Primera Parte*. Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2021/01/01/primera-parte-una-declaracion-por-la-vida/>
- (2021, September 27). *HAY UNA MUJER. Contra la destrucción de la Naturaleza. Austria, Viena*. Enlace Zapatista. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2021/09/27/hay-una-mujer-contra-la-destruccion-de-la-naturaleza-austria-viena/>
- Federici, S. (2015). *Calibano e la strega. Le donne, il corpo e l’accumulazione originaria* (Luisa Vicinelli, Trans.). Mimesis. [Original work published 2004]
- Fondazione ISMU (Iniziativa e Studi sulla Multietnicità). (2022). Ventisettesimo rapporto sulle migrazioni 2021. <https://series.francoangeli.it/index.php/oa/catalog/view/757/598/4493>
- Gago, V. & Malo, M. (2020). La Internacional Feminista. Luchas en los territorios y contra el neoliberalismo. In Gago, V. [Eds]. (2020). *La Internacional Feminista: luchas en los territorios y contra el neoliberalismo* (pp. 9-23). Tinta Limón.
- Gago, V. & Mason-Deese, L. (2019). Rethinking Situated Knowledge from the Perspective of Argentina’s Feminist Strike. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 18(3), 202-209.

- Gago, V. (2019). *La potencia feminista: o el deseo de cambiarlo todo*. Tinta Limón.
- (2021). *Dal 2001 argentino all'internazionale femminista: intervista a Verónica Gago*. Dinamo Press. <https://www.dinamopress.it/news/intervista-a-veronica-gago-dal-2001-argentino-allinternazionale-femminista/>
- Gago, V. [Eds]. (2020). *La Internacional Feminista: luchas en los territorios y contra el neoliberalismo*. Tinta Limón.
- Galván, R.T. (2014). Chicana/Latin American Feminist Epistemologies of the Global South (Within and Outside the North): Decolonizing El Conocimiento and Creating Global Alliances. *Journal of Latino/Latin American Studies*, 6(2), 135-140.
- Giuliani, G. (2015). Mediterraneità e bianchezza. Il razzismo italiano tra fascismo e articolazioni contemporanee (1861-2015). *Iperstoria* 6, 167-182.
- Glaser, G. B. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Aldine.
- González Ortuño, G. (2016). Teorías de la disidencia sexual: de contextos populares a usos elitistas. La teoría queer en América latina frente a las y los pensadores de disidencia sexogenérica. *De Raíz Diversa*, 3(5), 179-200.
- Gramsci, A. (1975). Gerratana, V. [Curator]. *Quaderni del carcere*, Einaudi.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2011). Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality. *Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575-599.
- hooks, b. (1990). *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics*. Routledge.
- Igas, C. (2021). Romanian live-in care workers in Austria: exploitation and self-organization. In LevFem (2021). *Essential Struggles: Pandemic Fronts* (pp. 35-42). Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Istat (2016). *Cura dei figli e lavori domestici* [Infographic]. <https://www.istat.it/donne-uomini/bloc-3d.html>

Istat (2020). *Occupati e disoccupati*. https://www.istat.it/it/files//2021/02/Occupati-e-disoccupati_dicembre_2020.pdf

Kuwornu, F. K. [Director]. (2011). *18 Ius Soli: The Right to be Italian*. [movie].

Länsisalmi, H., Peiró, J-M. & a Kivimäki, M. (2014). Chapter 20 – Grounded Theory in Organizational Research. In Cassel, C. & Symon, G. [Eds.]. *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational research* (pp. 242-255). Sage.

L'Internazionale (2016, October). Sindacati confederali, sindacati “di base” e limiti del sindacalismo. *Lotta di Classe* (21). <http://www.linternazionale.it/spip.php?article827>

LevFem (2021). *Essential Struggles: Pandemic Fronts*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

LevFem Collective & Transnational Social Strike Platform (2021). (Post)pandemic struggles in social reproduction. In LevFem (2021). *Essential Struggles: Pandemic Fronts* (pp. 7-11). Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Lombardi-Diop, C., Romeo. C. (2014). Il postcoloniale italiano. Costruzione di un paradigma. In Lombardi-Diop, C., Romeo. C. [Eds.]. (2014). *L'Italia postcoloniale* (pp. 1-38). Mondadori Education.

Lugones, M. (2007). Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System. *Hypatia*, 22(1), 186-209.

— (2008). Colonialidad y género: hacia un feminismo descolonial. In Mignolo, W., Lugones, M., Jiménez-Lucena, I. & Tlostanova, M. V. [Eds.]. (2008). *Género y descolonialidad* (pp. 13-54). Del Signo.

Mama, A., Carty, L. E. & Mohanty, C. T. (2015, May 4). *Feminist Freedom Warriors (FFW): Linda E. Carty and Chandra Talpade Mohanty in conversation with Amina Mama* [Video]. Feminist Freedom Warriors.

[http://feministfreedomwarriors.org/watchvideo.php?firstname=Amina&lastname=Ma
ma](http://feministfreedomwarriors.org/watchvideo.php?firstname=Amina&lastname=Ma
ma).

Mendoza, B. (2002). Transnational feminisms in question. *Feminist Theory*, 3(3), 295-314.

SAGE.

Mignolo, W. (2000). *Local Histories/Global Designs: Essays on the Coloniality of Power, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking*. Princeton University Press.

Mignolo, W., Lugones, M., Jiménez-Lucena, I. & Tlostanova, M. V. [Eds.]. (2008). *Género y descolonialidad*. Del Signo.

Ministero dell'Interno. (last update 2020, June 19). Centri per l'immigrazione. Governo

Italiano. <https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/immigrazione-e-asilo/sistema-accoglienza-sul-territorio/centri-limmigrazione>

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Duke University Press.

Montella, T. (2017) L'8 marzo, dalla storia al presente. In Arruzza, C. & Cirillo, L. (2017).

Storia delle storie del femminismo (pp. 147-154). Edizioni Alegre.

Morini, C. & Fumagalli, A. (2010). Life put to work: Towards a life theory of value.

Ephemera, 10(3/4), 234-252.

Morini, C. (2010). *Per amore o per forza. Femminilizzazione del lavoro e biopolitiche del*

lavoro. Ombre Corte.

Morini, C. (2021, February 28). Life is mine. Feminism, self-determination, and basic income.

Basic Income Network Italia. <https://www.bin-italia.org/life-is-mine-feminism-self-determination-and-basic-income/>

Nathan, I. (2021, September 18). Corteo di Firenze per la Gkn, gente da tutta Italia. Almeno

20mila partecipanti. *La Nazione*. <https://www.lanazione.it/cronaca/manifestazione-firenze-1.6816880>

- Non Una di Meno. Webpage of Non Una di Meno. <https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/>
- Archivio Assemblee nazionali. <https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/portfolio/sciopero-lotto-marzo/>
- Osservatorio nazionale Femminicidi Lesbicidi Trans*cidi
<https://osservatorionazionale.nonunadimeno.net/>
- Scuola DeGenere. Per un'educazione libera da stereotipi.
<https://scuoladegenere.noblogs.org/>
- (2019, April 20). *Comunicato: Non Una di Meno è un movimento politico autonomo da qualsiasi partito*. Non Una di Meno.
<https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/2019/04/20/comunicato-non-una-di-meno-e-un-movimento-politico-autonomo-da-qualsiasi-partito/>
- Non Una di Meno - Milano. (2021, February 2). *Nel 2020 ben 444mila persone hanno perso il lavoro, 312mila sono donne*. Facebook.
<https://www.facebook.com/nonunadimenomilano/photos/a.384914155201892/1371782026515095/>
- Obasuyi, O.Q.D. (2020). *Corpi estranei*. People.
- Open Migration. Glossario. <https://openmigration.org/glossario/>
- Oyèwùmí, O. (1997). *The Invention of Women. Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Picchio, A. & Pincelli, G. (2019). *Una lotta femminista globale. L'esperienza dei gruppi per il Salario al Lavoro Domestico di Ferrara e Modena*. Franco Angeli.
- Pirovano, L. (n.d.). *Childcare in Italy* [Powerpoint slides]. European Public Service Union.
<https://www.epsu.org/sites/default/files/article/files/Italy%20FP%20CGIL.pdf>
- Quijano, A. (1991). Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad. *Perú Indígena*, 29. 11-21.

- Rete IoDecido (2016, October 25). *Matrioske di tutto il mondo unitevi!*. Non Una di Meno.
<https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/2016/10/25/matrioske-di-tutto-il-mondo-unitevi/>
- Rivera Cusicanqui, S. (2012). Ch'ixinakax Utxiva: A Reflection on the Practices and Discourses of Decolonization. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 111(1), 95-109.
- Sáenz, C. M. (2015, March 19). Women up in Arms: Zapatistas and Rojava Kurds Embrace a New Gender Politics. Toward Freedom.
<https://towardfreedom.org/story/archives/women/women-up-in-arms-zapatistas-and-rojava-kurds-embrace-a-new-gender-politics/>
- Sandoval, C. (2000). *Methodology of the oppressed*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Schneider, J. (1998). *Italy's 'Southern Question': Orientalism in One Country*. Routledge.
- Shohat, E. (2006). *Taboo Memories, Diasporic Voices*. Duke University Press.
- Slaughter, J. (2007). Communist Feminism: The Unfulfilled Possibilities of a Difficult Relationship. *Aspasia*, 1(1), 236-240.
- Rete NazioAnale TFQ. (2021, March 7). *Sciopero dai generi: per un 8M transfemminista queer*. Smaschieramenti.
<https://smaschieramenti.noblogs.org/post/2021/03/07/sciopero-dai-generi-per-un-8m-transfemminista-queer/>
- Swadener, B. B., & Mutua, K. (2008). Decolonizing performances: Deconstructing the global postcolonial. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith. [Eds.]. *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies* (pp. 31-43). SAGE.
- Télliez, M. (2005). Doing Research at the Borderlands: Notes from a Chicana Feminist Ethnographer. *Chicana/Latina Studies*, 4(2), 46-70.
- The Care Collective (2021). *Manifesto della cura* (Marie Moïse & Gaia Benzi, Trans.). Edizioni Alegre. [Original work published 2020]

- Todorova, M. (2009). *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford University Press. [Original work published 1997]
- Transnational Migrants Coordination (2020, October). *TMC Journal*. Transnational Social Strike Platform. https://www.transnational-strike.info/app/uploads/2020/12/TMC-JOURNAL_2020.pdf
- Transnational Migrants Coordination (2021, December). *TMC Journal*. Transnational Social Strike Platform. https://www.transnational-strike.info/app/uploads/2021/12/EN-TMC-2021_compressed.pdf
- Transnational Migrants Coordination. TSS Platform. <https://www.transnational-strike.info/projects/transnational-migrants-coordination/>
- Transnational Social Strike Platform (2018). Introduction. In Transnational Social Strike Platform [Ed.]. (2018). *Power upside down: Women's global strike*. TSS Platform. <https://www.transnational-strike.info/2018/03/01/pdf-tss-journal-power-upside-down-womens-global-strike/>
- Treccani (n.d.). Smartworking. In *Vocabolario Treccani*. https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/smartworking_%28Neologismi%29/
- Trillò, T. (2018). The Non Una di Meno Feminist Movement in Italy: Connective or Collective?. In E. Romero Frías & L. Bocanegra Barbecho [Eds.]. *Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades Digitales Aplicadas. Casos De Estudio y Perspectivas Críticas* (pp. 85-109). Universidad de Granada.
- Trillò, T. (2019). Non una di meno and its traveling signifiers in a feminism without borders. In del Rio Riande, G. De León, R. Corbellini, N. Calarco, G. Striker, G. Cantamutto, L. & Mangiarotti, I. [Eds.]. *La cultura de los datos: Actas del II Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Argentina de Humanidades Digitales*. Universidad Nacional de La Plata.

- Trinidad Galván, R. (2014). Chicana/Latin American Feminist Epistemologies of the Global South (Within and Outside the North): Decolonizing El Conocimiento and Creating Global Alliances. *Journal of Latino/Latin American Studies*, 6(2), 135-140.
- Verdicchio, P. (1997). The Preclusion of Postcolonial Discourse in Southern Italy. In B. Allen & M. J. Russo [Eds.]. *Revisioning Italy. National Identity and Global Culture* (pp. 191-212). University of Minnesota Press.
- Vincze, E. (2021). Housing as a field of social reproduction and struggle for housing justice in Romania. In LevFem (2021). *Essential Struggles: Pandemic Fronts* (pp. 15-25). Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Watkins, S. (2018). Which feminisms?. *New Left Review*, 109, 5-76.
- Weber, C. (2014). From Queer to Queer IR. *International Studies Review* (2014) 16, 596–622.
- ZAD. Webpage of the ZAD NDDL. <https://zad.nadir.org/?lang=en>
- Zuppiroli, F. (2021, October 22). *Morto all'Interporto Bologna, indagato l'autista del camion che ha schiacciato Yaya Yafa. Il Resto del Carlino.* <https://www.ilrestodelcarlino.it/bologna/cronaca/morto-interporto-yaya-yafa-1.6945699>

Sources

Field Diaries

- FD Tavoli Preparazione Nazionale (30-31.01.2022)
- FD Nazionale online (06-07.02.2021)
- FD Campeggia (05-10.07.2021)
- FD Encuentro Intergaláctico (25.07-1.08.2021)
- FD Nazionale Bologna (9-10.10.2021)

Research Diary

- RD (09.03.2021-05.03.2022)

Coding

- C1: First coding (July-November 2021)
- C2: Second coding (December 2021)
- C3: Third coding (January 2022)

Non Una di Meno. (2017). *Piano femminista contro la violenza maschile sulle donne e la violenza di genere*. Non Una di Meno. <https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/portfolio/materiali-scaricabili/>

Non Una di Meno. (2017, November 21). *Sintesi del piano femminista contro la violenza maschile sulle donne e tutte le forme di violenza di genere*. Non Una di Meno. <https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/2017/11/21/sintesi-del-piano-femminista-contro-la-violenza-maschile-sulle-donne-e-tutte-le-forme-di-violenza-di-genere/>

Non Una di Meno Roma. (2019, February 5). *Reddito di Cittadinanza. Una critica femminista*. Non Una di Meno. <https://nonunadimeno.wordpress.com/2019/02/05/reddito-di-cittadinanza-una-critica-femminista-di-nudm-roma/>

Non Una di Meno Roma. (2021). *Recovery Fund in chiave femminista*. (Private corpus).

Non Una di Meno Bologna. (2021, June 8). *Familistic Policies in Post-Pandemic Reconstruction in Italy*. Transnational Social Strike Platform. https://www.transnational-strike.info/2021/06/08/familistic-policies-in-post-pandemic-reconstruction-in-italy/?fbclid=IwAR0UukGNxd743D7jpH2IRqPNcCf5LspE-Wx8o9qrrrp3xYt7zVZrIXP_WTI

Non Una di Meno (Uploader) (2021, October 9). *Assemblea Nazionale NUDM 9/10/2021*. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k3MCsIdrHQM>

Coordinamento Migranti Bologna. (Uploader). (2020, December 8). *Intervento Liuba sullo sciopero alla Yoox in diretta su La7, L'Aria Che Tira*. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dt9kkWY9Ru8>

— (Host). (2021, November 26). *Assemblea Donne Migranti con Coordinamento Donne GKN* [Video]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=292791192772074

Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti. (2020, October 10). *Donne, migranti, femministe. La nostra presa di parola contro la violenza*. Coordinamento Migranti. <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2020/10/10/donne-migranti-femministe-la-nostra-presa-di-parola-contro-la-violenza>

— (2020, November 25). *Contro la violenza maschile e razzista, oggi sciopero femminista!*. Coordinamento Migranti. <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2020/11/25/contro-la-violenza-maschile-e-razzista-oggi-sciopero-femminista/>

— (2020, December 1). *Un lusso che non gli possiamo permettere. Donne migranti in sciopero alla Yoox!*. Coordinamento Migranti.

<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2020/12/01/un-lusso-che-non-gli-possiamo-permettere-donne-migranti-in-sciopero-alla-yoox/>

— (2020, December 7). *Oltre le mura di Yoox, oltre l'interporto: sciopero femminista! Sabato 12/12 presidio in p.zza Nettuno.* Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2020/12/07/oltre-le-mura-dei-magazzini-oltre-linterporto-sciopero-femminista-sabato-12-12-presidio-in-p-zza-nettuno>

— (2020, December 13). *Comunicato dell'Assemblea Donne del Coordinamento Migranti per lo sciopero delle operaie Yoox.* Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2020/12/14/comunicato-dellassemblea-donne-del-coordinamento-migranti-per-lo-sciopero-delle-operaie-yoox/>

— (2021, March 10). *La lotta di donne operaie e migranti sconfigge la Yoox!.* Coordinamento Migranti. <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2022/01/08/la-lotta-di-donne-operaie-e-migranti-sconfigge-la-yoox/>

— (2021, March 10). *Padroni e sindacati che odiano le donne – dell'accordo patriarcale Yoox-CGIL, CISL, UIL.* Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2021/03/10/padroni-e-sindacati-che-odiano-le-donne-dellaccordo-patriarcale-yoox-cgil-cisl-uil/>

— (2021, November 22). *27N Donne migranti contro la violenza 1. Rompere la gabbia del lavoro domestico.* Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2021/11/22/27n-donne-migranti-contro-la-violenza-1-rompere-la-gabbia-del-lavoro-domestico/>

— (2021, November 22). *27N Donne migranti contro la violenza 2. Reddito di libertà, ma quale libertà?.* Coordinamento Migranti.

<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2021/11/24/27n-donne-migranti-contro-la-violenza-2-reddito-di-liberta-ma-quale-liberta/>

— (2022, January 19). *Sul capodanno di Milano: non è una cultura che non funziona, è il patriarcato in funzione.* Coordinamento Migranti.
<https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2022/01/19/sul-capodanno-di-milano-non-e-una-cultura-che-non-funziona-e-il-patriarcato-in-funzione/>