Lesbian* Resistance Practices Report

Project: *Fight Like A Dyke*, La Tortiteca.

Index.

Introduction.

This report is part of Fight like a Dyke, a project by the La Tortiteca Association aimed at gathering, making visible, and systematizing strategies, actions, and approaches developed by lesbian movements within the European Union context. The initiative seeks, on the one hand, to recover past and present experiences to strengthen the preservation of lesbian histories, and on the other hand, to reactivate forms of resistance against the contemporary rise of far-right movements and the intensification of anti-rights discourses.

To achieve this, we designed and distributed an open survey, inviting the participation of both organizations and collectives, as well as activists and individuals involved in lesbian struggles and resistance. The responses received—heterogeneous, situated, and deeply valuable—constitute the primary input for this report, which presents the results of the analysis and offers a first approximation.

1.
General Characteristics of the Survey and Methodological Considerations of the Analysis

The designed survey consists of a total of twenty-six questions, twenty-one of which aimed to collect qualitative information on current lesbian activism. In this sense, it serves as a fundamental tool for gathering experiences, memories, and political orientations from lesbian activists in Europe. The purpose is not to obtain a statistical representation of the entire movement, but to capture situated voices and diverse ways of thinking and practicing contemporary lesbian activism. Through open-ended responses—often extensive, narrative, and highly politicized—the material generated allows for the observation of recent practices, genealogies, collaboration networks, common challenges, and modes of resistance to the growing influence of the far right on the continent.

The nature of the corpus is deeply qualitative. Participants responded in their own terms, without restrictions on length or format. This encouraged the emergence of narratives and experiences rarely documented by other means: political reflections, personal testimonies, archival evocations, descriptions of community projects, strategies to cope with material or emotional precarity, analyses of the current political context, etc. Some responses are extensive and demonstrate a solid historical knowledge, while others are brief, telegraphic—something common in this type of survey. Taken together, this material offers privileged access to political subjectivations that could hardly be documented through structured or quantitative tools. Additionally, the responses allow us to reconstruct an archipelago of spaces, genealogies, and experiences that contribute to preserving lesbian memory in its multiple scales.

Although there is a notable geographic concentration in Barcelona and other Catalan territories, the survey also captures voices from various European countries,

including Germany, Portugal, the Netherlands, France, Latvia, Italy, and Greece. This diversity does not make the sample representative at a continental level, but it does capture a significant range of experiences and contexts. Similarly, the profiles of the participants cover a broad spectrum: cis lesbians, queer lesbians, migrant and racialized activists, professionals in the cultural and therapeutic fields, long-standing militants, and young individuals who have recently joined the activism scene. This heterogeneity is one of the greatest strengths of the corpus: it reflects real tensions within the lesbian political field and allows us to observe it as a plural, conflicted, creative, and ever-changing space.

The analysis was carried out through a thematic coding process, suitable for complex and heterogeneous textual corpora. An exhaustive reading of all responses was conducted, identifying recurrent units of meaning—such as political concerns, ethical principles, forms of resistance, archival memories, care practices, or perceptions of the rise of the far right. Subsequently, these units were grouped into analytical categories that allowed for the reorganization of the material and the detection of patterns, dissonances, or internal tensions.

While the analysis is essentially qualitative, some questions involved orientative quantification in order to identify general trends within the sample: the proportion of affirmative or negative responses, the frequency of certain mentioned alliances, or the presence of specific risks highlighted. These percentages do not aim to produce population-based inferences, but to provide clarity and proportion to emerging patterns within the specific universe of the survey.

At the same time, the survey presents limitations that should be transparently stated. It is not statistically representative, as its composition and size do not allow for generalizing conclusions to the entire lesbian activism field in Europe. Moreover, there is a high variability in the extent and depth of the responses: some questions yield abundant information, while others provide barely any data, which requires caution when interpreting trends. Certain key concepts—such as "activism," "memory," "lobbying," or "resistance"—are defined in divergent ways, and although these differences are analytically valuable, they make direct comparisons difficult. The

geographical concentration in Catalonia also creates an overrepresentation of a particular political and community context, limiting territorial generalization.

Overall, the survey allows us to understand not only what activists do, but how they think, feel, discuss, remember, and project themselves politically. Far from offering a homogeneous snapshot, it presents a dynamic, complex, and ever-evolving political landscape in which situated resistance practices, multiple genealogies, collective wounds, and future desires coexist. It is precisely this complexity that makes the survey a valuable resource for mapping the current state of lesbian activism in Europe and for continuing to build political memory from the voices that sustain it.

2.
Participant Profile

Based on the responses received, we outline the participant profile considering the following six aspects: type of entity/organization, years of experience, presence of migrant individuals, territorial distribution of participants, approaches to intervention within lesbian activism, and networking/articulation work.

Before beginning the analysis, as a general consideration, when designing the survey, we decided to distinguish responses made on behalf of an entity or organization from those provided personally by activists. This distinction allowed us to outline suggestive contrasts between the profiles of entities and those of individual activists.

Percentage of entities vs. activists

Entities/Groups:
34.0%

Activists in a pers…
66.0%
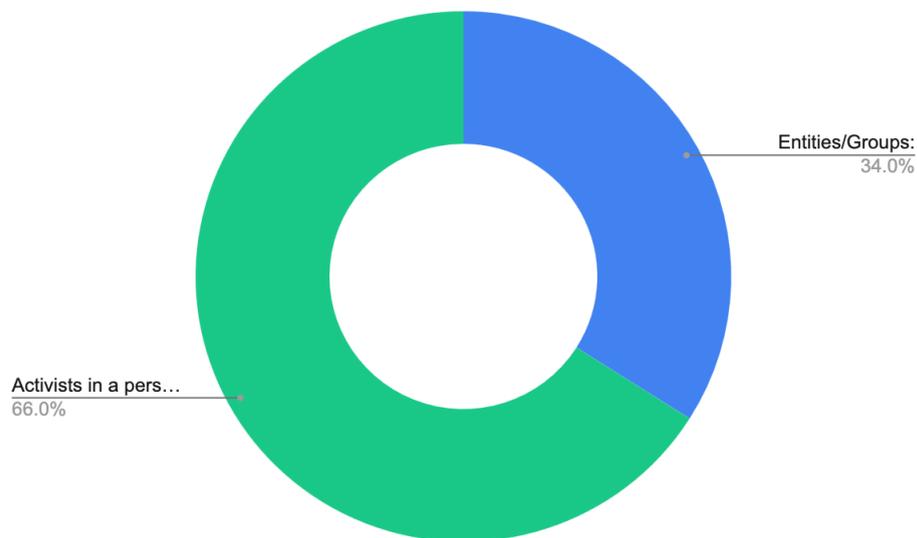
➔ **Entities/Groups**: 34%

➔ **Activists in a personal capacity**: 66%

However, we consider it important to note here that 86% of the activists who responded in a personal capacity are also members of some entity/organization related to lesbian activism. The reasons why they chose to respond individually rather than on behalf of one or more organizations have not been investigated. However, the prevalence of collective organization among activists in lesbian communities is strikingly high.

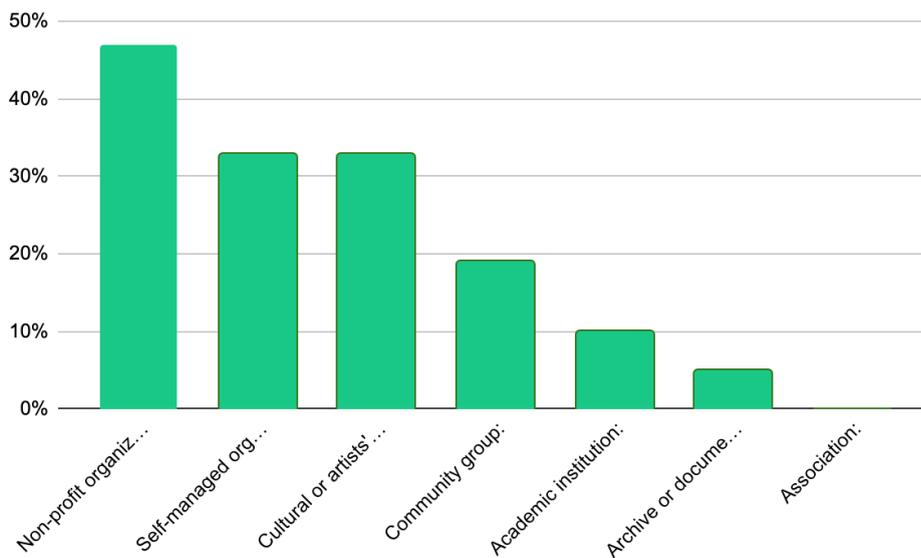# Notable Aspects of Participation

1.1. TYPE OF ENTITY/ORGANIZATION

Of the participants who responded on behalf of an entity or group, the quantitative analysis of the data yields the following results:
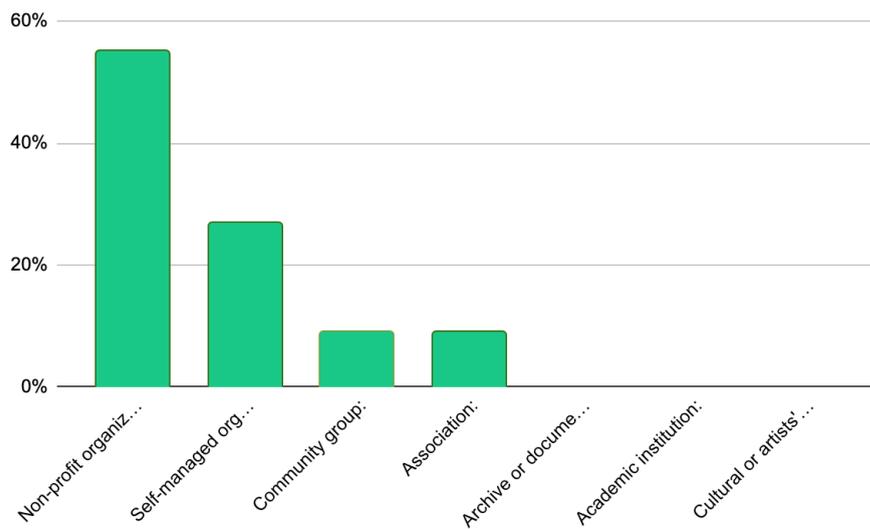
Variables and Corresponding Percentages

➜ Non-profit organization: 6 – 55%

➜ Self-managed organization (unregistered): 3 – 27%

➜ Community group: 1 – 9%

➜ Association: 1 – 9%

➜ Archive or documentation center: 0%

➜ Academic institution: 0%

➜ Cultural or artists' collective: 0%

Of the participants who responded in a personal capacity, many selected more than one item. The quantitative analysis of the data yields the following results, calculating the percentage of each item based on the total responses received from individual activists:

Variables and Corresponding Percentages

➔ Non-profit organization: 47%

➔ Self-managed organization (unregistered): 33%

➔ Cultural or artists' collective: 33%

➔ Community group: 19%

➔ Academic institution: 10%

➔ Archive or documentation center: 5%

➔ Association: 0%

1.2. YEARS OF EXPERIENCE

Considering both the responses from entities and individual activists as a whole, the quantitative analysis yields the following results:

Less than 1 year:
6.0%

1-5 years:
25.0%

More than 10 years:
44.0%
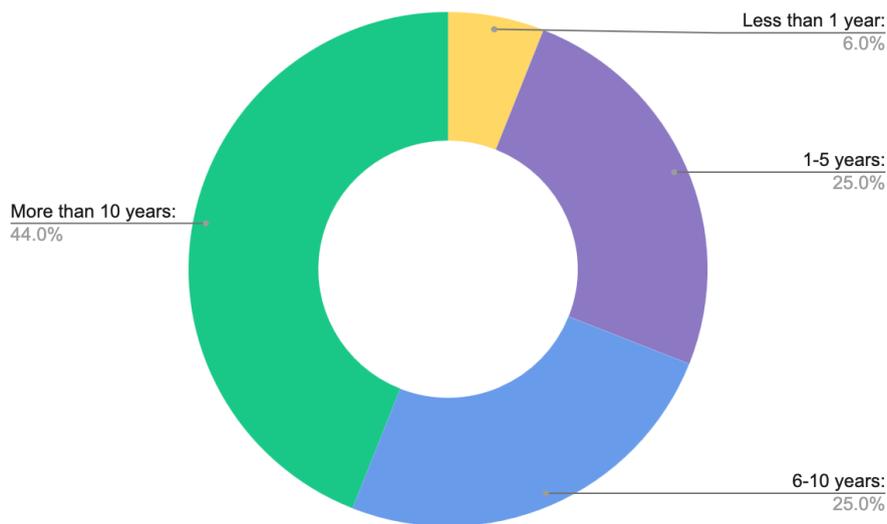
6-10 years:
25.0%

➔ **Less than 1 year**: 6%
➔ **1-5 years**: 25%
➔ **6-10 years**: 25%
➔ **More than 10 years**: 44%

1.3. PRESENCE OF MIGRANT INDIVIDUALS IN LESBIAN* ACTIVISM IN EUROPE

Of the participants who responded on behalf of an entity or group, the quantitative analysis of the data yields the following results, showing the percentage of migrant individuals who are part of the organization:

0%: 1
9.0%

100%:
27.0%

1-25%
37.0%
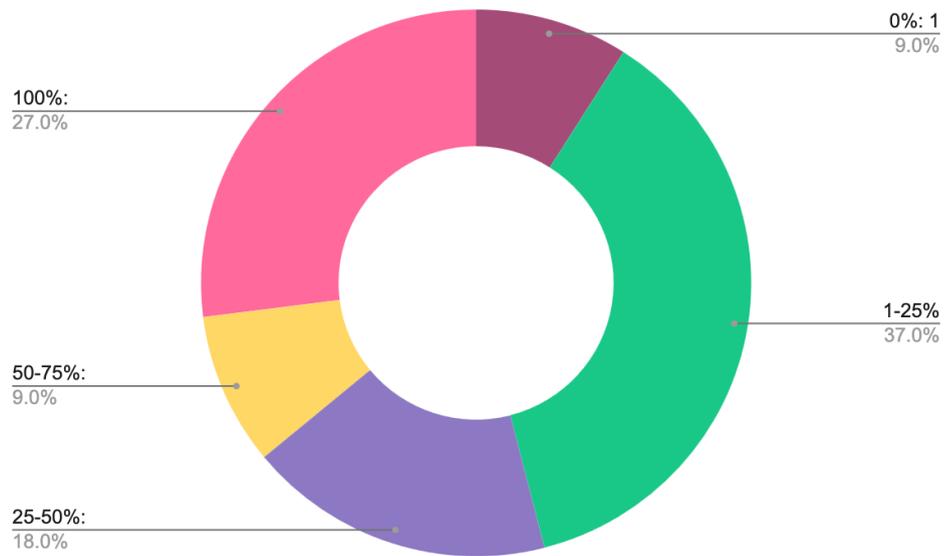
50-75%:
9.0%

25-50%:
18.0%

➔ 0%: 9%
➔ 1-25% 37%
➔ 25-50%: 18%
➔ 50-75%: 9%
➔ 75-99%: 0%
➔ 100%: 27%

Of the participants who responded in a personal capacity, the quantitative analysis of the data yields the following results:

Migrants:
28.0%
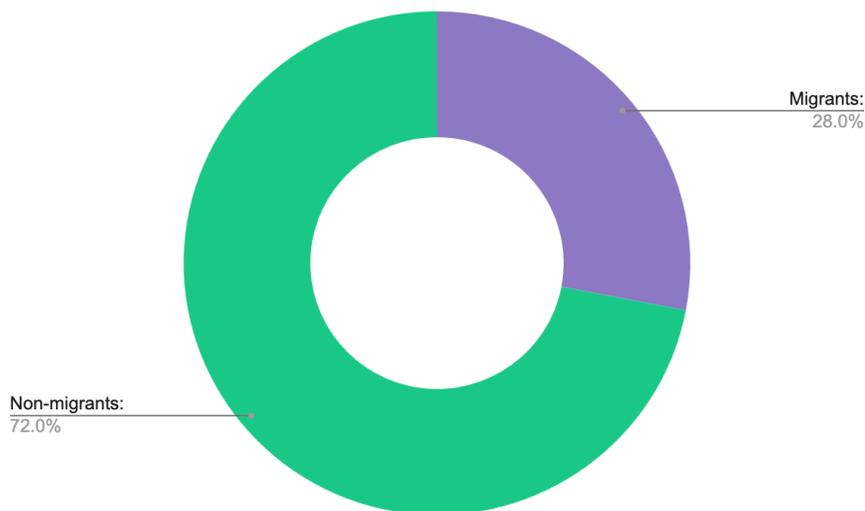
Non-migrants:
72.0%

➜ **Migrants**: 28%
➜ **Non-migrants**: 72%

1.4. TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS

When examining the territorial distribution of participants, it was considered essential to distinguish between data related to their place of residence/base and data related to their areas of intervention. As we will see, this distinction allowed us to analyze the trends of the territorial reach of lesbian* activism (local, national, international) and their overlaps.

Residence/Base of the Group or Activist

The analysis of the places of residence or organizational bases shows a strong concentration in the Spanish State, which accounts for approximately 75% of the total responses received. Within this set, there is a marked presence in Catalonia, especially in the city of Barcelona and its metropolitan area, which form the core of the territorial location.

The remaining 25% is distributed among various European countries, including Germany, Portugal, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Greece, Latvia, Romania, and

Belgium. This geographical diversity, although minority, suggests a transnational dimension in the origin of participants and entities.

The high territorial concentration of responses in Catalonia is a telling indication of how networks within the lesbian* community function: although the survey dissemination campaign was exhaustive and extensive in territorial terms, it was the activists and entities with whom there was some form of contact (first, second, or third degree) who felt more called to participate.

Territorial Scope of Activism

Approximately 66% of responses reflect activism that is exclusively local, meaning it is focused on the same territory declared as their place of residence or organizational base. This level of action is associated with community projects, educational and cultural initiatives, neighborhood activities, and participation in civic spaces within the city or region of residence—projects characteristic of many lesbian* activist movements.

Around 22% of responses combine local activism with activist practices that extend to the national level, participating in state networks, federated actions, or projects that require transversal coordination.

Out of the total, 12% declares international practices, revealing the existence of a sector of activism that operates in transnational—particularly European—frameworks, or in relation to global struggles such as lesbian memory, migrant movements, or human rights advocacy.

Territorial Reach of Activism

Together, the data indicate the predominance of a strong local anchoring, complemented by national and international practices. The majority presence of the local level confirms the centrality of community spaces, care, cultural creation, and everyday articulation. The national level broadens the capacity for influence and

connection between diverse territories within the same country. The international level, while minority, constitutes a relevant node in terms of European alliances, knowledge exchange, and cross-border collaboration.

The coexistence of these levels shows that the lesbian* activism analyzed is not articulated in isolation but is part of a multi-scaled framework where the local coexists with broader networks. This structure allows both the preservation of situated memories and participation in shared global struggles.

1.5. APPROACHES TO INTERVENTION WITHIN LESBIAN* ACTIVISM

Based on the total number of participants, the quantitative analysis of the data provided by the responses yields the following result:
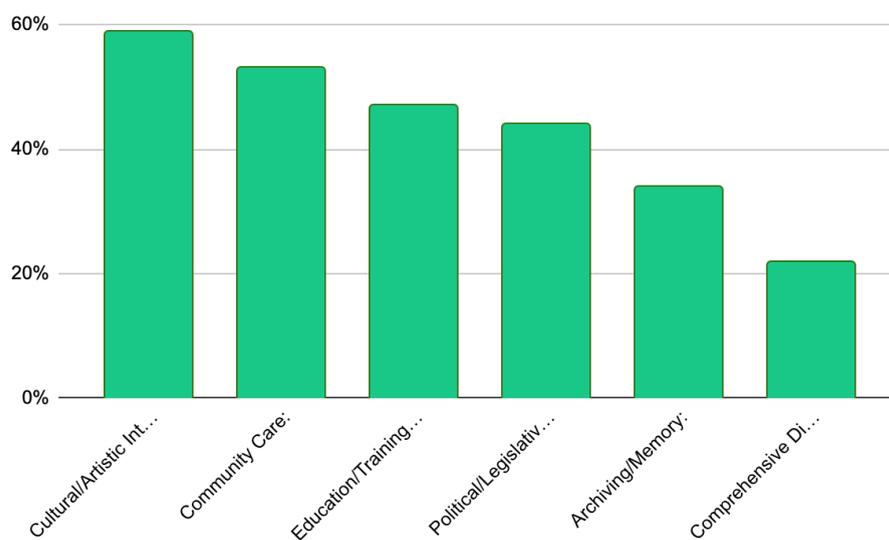
→ **Cultural/Artistic Intervention**: ≈ 59% of the total responses

→ **Community Care**: ≈ 53% of the total responses

→ **Education/Training/Research**: ≈ 47% of the total responses

→ **Political/Legislative Advocacy**: ≈ 44% of the total responses

→ **Archiving/Memory**: ≈ 34% of the total responses

→ **Comprehensive Direct Assistance**: ≈ 22% of the total responses

Predominant Approaches within Lesbian* Activism

The responses show a marked diversity of approaches within lesbian and lesbian-queer activism, with a strong presence of cultural, educational, and community care practices. The most widespread approach is cultural and artistic intervention, which confirms the historical significance of creative, performative, and expressive spaces as territories for lesbian* politicization and resistance. This approach is present both in formal entities and individual activists, ranging from cultural production to working with living archives, workshops, and community practices linked to art.

Second, around half of the participants are involved in community care for the LGBTTTIQ+ collective, a broad category that includes support services, emotional support, reflection groups, and actions related to collective well-being and the sustainability of activism. The strong presence of this approach reveals a solid trend toward community sustaining practices and structural self-care, which is expressed in both established militant spaces and more informal initiatives.

Education, training, and research are also quantitatively notable approaches. This indicates a strong orientation toward the production and transmission of knowledge, community pedagogy, and documenting lesbian* experiences. This area appears both as a tool for advocacy and as a mechanism for community empowerment, and is especially prominent among entities with cultural, educational, or archival backgrounds.

Political and legislative advocacy, while not the majority trend, has a significant presence, revealing a sustained interest in intervening in institutional agendas, public

policies, legislative frameworks, or struggles over rights and recognition. This approach is more prominent in entities.

The least frequent, yet relevant, approach is comprehensive direct assistance. This includes actions such as supporting LGBTTTIQ+ individuals, providing assistance in cases of rights violations, psychosocial care, and therapeutic spaces. Its lower presence does not indicate a lack of need, but rather that such interventions are usually concentrated in entities that have resources, specific training, or institutional frameworks that allow them to maintain these tasks.

Finally, archiving and memory preservation, a central axis of contemporary lesbian* activism, reveals concrete efforts to document genealogies, preserve materials, maintain community archives, and contest historical memory from feminist and queer perspectives. However, the percentage recorded also suggests a certain difficulty in sustaining these practices.

Differences Between Entities and Individual Activists

The comparative analysis between entities and individual activists allows us to observe some significant contrasts:

a) Entities show a greater tendency towards the diversification of approaches. Most of them combine between three and five lines of work, integrating culture, education, political advocacy, and community care. This suggests a higher degree of institutionalization and organizational capacity.

b) Individual activists are more focused on cultural, educational, and care practices, while legislative advocacy and direct assistance are less frequent in this group. This is consistent with the structure of autonomous activism, where resources and specialized functions are often more limited.

c) Archiving and memory preservation are particularly notable among entities, which have documentation, curatorial, or preservation projects. Among

individual activists, this approach is also present, but in a more scattered and less systematic manner.

d) Comprehensive direct assistance is significantly more common among entities, which reflects the need for trained teams, protocols, care systems, and professional resources.

e) No marked differences are observed in cultural intervention, which is transversal and widely shared by both groups.

1.6. NETWORKING/ARTICULATION WORK

do not engage in…
31.0%

engage in networ…
69.0%
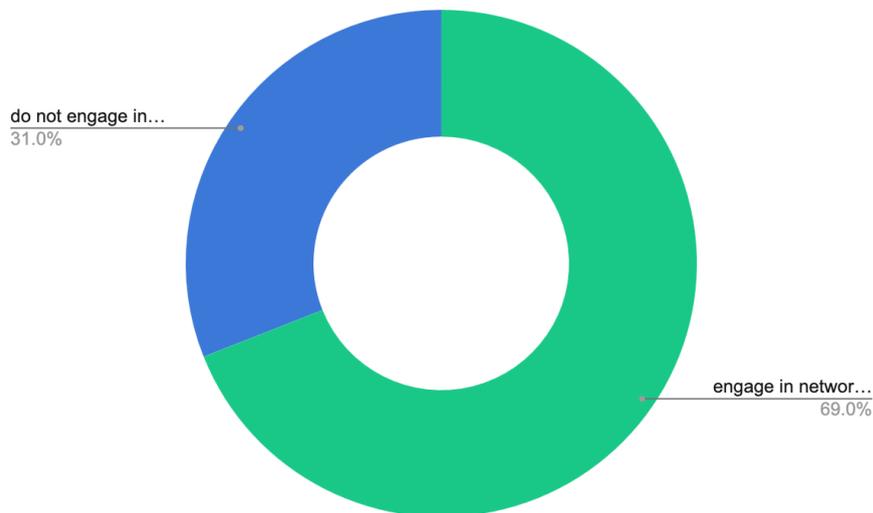
→ **69%** engage in networking.
→ **31%** do not engage in networking.

From the analysis of the responses, it is possible to conclude that there are five key areas of action regarding articulation with other entities and/or activists:

Articulation with Migrant and Racialized Collectives

- Migration and the rights of migrant individuals.

- Racialization, racial justice, and anti-racism.

- Intersection between anti-racist and lesbian*-queer activisms.

- Community work with migrant individuals.

Articulation with LGBTIQ+ Organizations and Collectives

- Actions with a queer approach to lesbian* activism. Crossings and permeability with trans*, non-binary activisms.

- Alliances with local and international LGBTIQ+ organizations.

- Promotion of non-formal education and training for LGBTQIA+ individuals.

Articulation with Feminist Organizations

- Creation of lesbian* archives within feminist archives.

- Articulation with transfeminism for political advocacy.

- Lesbian*feminist research.

Articulation with Cultural, Artistic, and Community Collectives

- Promotion of community culture.

- Production of dissident and critical arts.

- Promotion of mental health from transfeminist and migrant perspectives.

Articulation with Grassroots Social Movements and Territorial Activisms

- Struggle for climate justice.

- Anti-fascist struggle.

- Struggle against touristification.

- Struggle against the precarization of the working class.

3.
Interlude: Objectives of the Activities Undertaken by the Participants

The question of the objectives of the actions and practices developed by the participants within lesbian* activism serves as a fundamental bridge between the description of the profile of those who responded to the survey and the broader analysis of contemporary forms of lesbian* activism in Europe. This section introduces how activists conceptualize their purposes, what horizons drive their interventions, and what political priorities formally or informally organize the current lesbian* field, in order to begin outlining suggestive trends.

Since the question provided an open-ended space for responses and allowed each participant to freely define their objectives, the formulations varied considerably in length, vocabulary, and level of detail. To carry out a rigorous and comparative analysis, a process of semantic grouping was implemented: words, expressions, and statements functionally equivalent were identified and organized into broader analytical categories.

This procedure allowed for translating a great linguistic heterogeneity into a coherent interpretative structure. Based on this, eight broad semantic fields were defined:
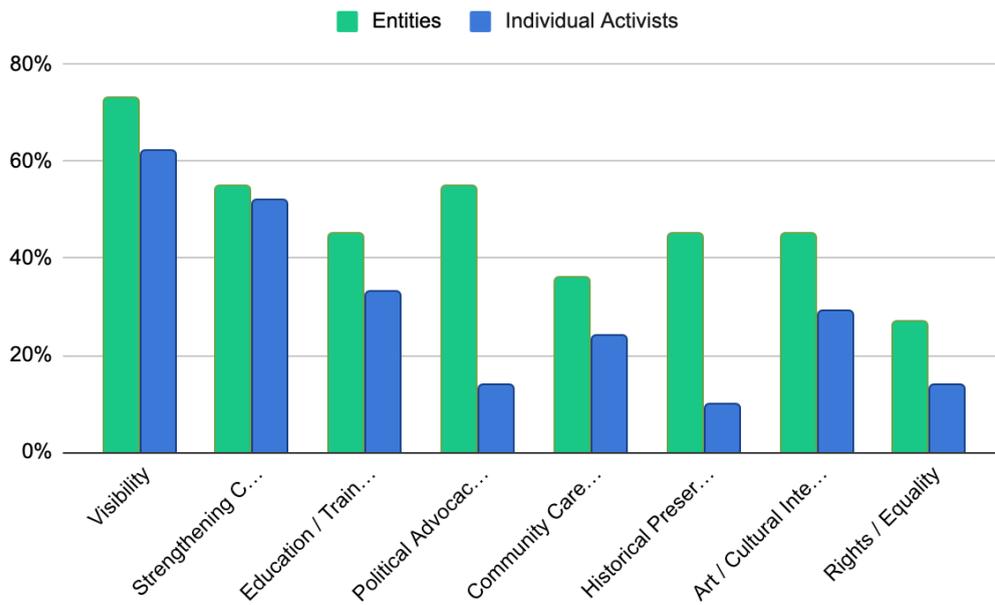
Semantic Field	% Entities	% Individual Activists
Visibility	73%	62%
Strengthening Community	55%	52%
Education / Training	45%	33%
Political Advocacy / Direct Action	55%	14%
Community Care / Direct Assistance	36%	24%
Historical Preservation / Archiving	45%	10%
Art / Cultural Intervention	45%	29%
Rights / Equality	27%	14%

→ **Visibility as a Structuring Axis of Contemporary Lesbian* Activism**

Visibility operates as a condition of possibility: many participants conceive it as the starting point to transform imaginaries, counteract social lesbophobia, and create spaces for public existence. This objective ranges from symbolic actions (events, artistic interventions, celebratory spaces) to strategies of denunciation and political communication. Its transversality explains why it appears both in entities and individual activists. The visibility of

lesbian* communities often also involves making visible other socially stigmatized forms of corporeality, such as the visibility of non-normative bodies, racialized individuals, and neurodivergent people.

➜ **Community Creation: Politics of Connection**

Community strengthening is expressed in the creation of safe spaces, support networks, reflection and politicization groups, practices of reciprocity, and accompaniment systems. This category reflects a shared concern to build environments of affective sustainability, especially in the face of the institutional fragility that many feminist and queer movements in Europe are experiencing. Specific needs of migrants, trans* people, young people, and racialized communities are highlighted here.

Education and Awareness: Pedagogy as a Political Tool

Education appears in workshops, training activities, intergenerational spaces, sexual education for the prevention of violence, and editorial projects. In many cases, it is used to question structural violence, promote rights (e.g., through training healthcare personnel on lesbian* health), strengthen community ties, and generate new narratives around what is lesbian*.

➜ **Art and Cultural Intervention: Imaginaries, Affections, and Social Critique**

Cultural practices function as vehicles for visibility, critical reflection, and collective creation. These include cinema, visual arts, festivals, performances, reading spaces, and other forms of cultural production. This objective appears both in entities and individual activists, showcasing its transversal nature.

➜ **Formal Political Advocacy: A More Institutionalized Field**

Although minor in number, formal political advocacy is concentrated in entities with more formalized strategies aimed at influencing public policies,

local governments, or legislative frameworks. These practices include advocacy, participation in organized networks, intervention in institutional debates, and alliances between different movements.

➔ **Community Care and Direct Assistance: Material, Economic, and Emotional Support**

This objective manifests in mental health interventions, accompaniment, comprehensive support, and broad-based wellness practices. It is often linked to empowerment and education, particularly in collectives working with vulnerable populations. It highlights the importance of care as a political strategy and not merely an assistance-based one.

➔ **Historical Preservation and Archiving: Contending with Memory**

Although a less frequently mentioned category, its presence is significant: archival, documentation, and memory practices appear mainly in entities linked to culture or education. This objective not only seeks to preserve histories but also to contest the absence of lesbian* narratives in official accounts and institutional memory spaces.

➔ **Rights and Equality: The Structural Dimension of Social Justice**

Although less frequent, references to rights and equality are associated with the pursuit of dignified living conditions, social recognition, and institutional justice. They are typically articulated with practices of advocacy in public policies and empowerment. The low percentage of participants who explicitly mentioned this category as an objective of their activist practices is a notable emerging trend from this survey. It is not a minor detail that certain words like "rights," "equality," and "political advocacy" almost did not appear in the responses to this question in the survey. In the last section of this report, we will reflect on this emerging trend, contextualizing it and highlighting some key characteristics of contemporary lesbian* activism.

CONTRAST BETWEEN ENTITIES AND INDIVIDUAL ACTIVISTS

This comparative analysis shows relevant differences that help to understand how objectives are distributed within contemporary lesbian* activism.

a) Entities: Greater Structuring and Strategic Orientation

Entities tend to:

- Simultaneously combine visibility, education, political advocacy, and archiving.

- More frequently incorporate objectives related to institutional transformation and public policy (formal political advocacy).

- Work with broader frameworks, and at times transnational ones.

- Sustain practices that require infrastructure, such as archives, educational programs, or direct assistance.

This suggests that entities operate with a more strategic and multidimensional logic.

b) Individual Activists: Greater Flexibility and Community Focus

Individual activists prioritize:

- Public visibility,

- Empowerment, community creation, and strengthening affective networks,

- Cultural intervention.

Their approach is more horizontal, relational, and linked to situated experiences. Advocacy related to transformation at the public policy level appears as an exception among individual activists, as does historical preservation, which requires more specialized archival structures.

However, as previously mentioned, it is worth noting that 86% of the people who responded to this survey as individual activists also belong to some type of entity or collective.

c) Significant Convergences

Both groups share two fundamental priorities:

- Visibility,

- Strengthening the community.

These commonalities sustain a shared political field, beyond differences in resources, action scales, or organizational formalization. They constitute the common core of contemporary lesbian* activism.

4.
Actions, strategies, and territorial events gathered

In this section, we will analyze six fundamental aspects of the actions and projects of lesbian* activism highlighted by the participants in the survey: the trends and patterns of the actions; the recording and/or documentation of them; the elements that made these actions possible; their political impact; the rights associated with these activist practices; the risks and preventive and/or care measures during the actions.

Additionally, we will present a compilation of the actions gathered, in order to socialize and circulate the valuable information we have collected.

Due to the characteristics of the survey and the heterogeneity of the responses, this gathering does not aim to be exhaustive but to outline some perceptions, impressions, and insights from contemporary activists in lesbian* activism regarding the movement's lines of action.

4.1) NOTABLE TRENDS AND COMMON PATTERNS OF THE ACTIONS GATHERED

a) **Intersectionality and Diversity:** Many actions combine struggles for the sexual and gender rights of lesbians* with a strong focus on intersections with migration, anti-racism, and other sectors of the LGBTIQA+ community, especially with trans* identities.

b) **Combination of the Cultural and the Political:** Festivals, exhibitions, and fanzines are used as tools for visibility, community strengthening, awareness-raising, and resistance.

c) **Strengthening Transnational Networks:** Some initiatives have international reach, especially through research activities, publications, and cooperation.

d) **Persistence Over Time:** Some projects have decades of experience, consolidating a remarkable community memory.

e) **Balance Between Local and Strategic Actions:** Narratives include self-managed local events to collaborative projects with established institutions, as well as funded projects, which allow the actions' impact to have various scales.

4.2) RECORD AND/OR DOCUMENTATION OF THE MENTIONED ACTIONS

No Response:
19.0%

Undocumented A…
16.0%

Documented Acti…
65.0%
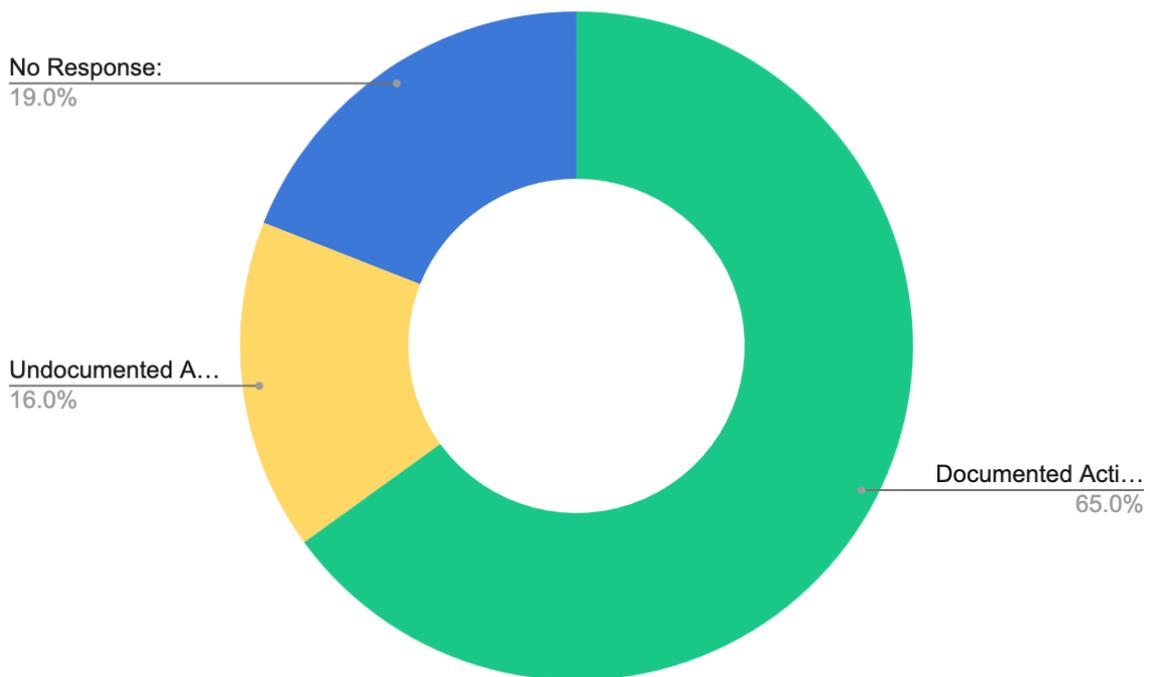
➜ **Percentage of Documented Actions: 65%**
➜ **Percentage of Undocumented Actions: 16%**
➜ **No Response: 19%**

As indicated by the results of the analysis we carried out, the actions gathered have been primarily documented in: Websites of organizations, projects, and collectives; Blogs and personal pages; Social media; Feminist archives, community archives, and documentation centers; Media, press coverage, TV; Internal documentation or personal/archive (individual or collective); Publications of books, fanzines, presentations.

4.3) COMPILATION OF GATHERED ACTIONS

Below, we present actions of lesbian* resistance gathered in the survey. These have been organized into four thematic categories, and within each category, they are sorted by the country in which they were or are carried out.

→ **Actions and Interventions in Public Spaces**

Spain

- **Asociación Creación Positiva** has carried out urban murals and visual campaigns under the slogan "Against lesbophobia and other sexist violences, #saca tu pluma" (2022-2023), combining art and visibility.

- **Non-mixed Night March every 7th of March.** The collective "La Gorda" has autonomously organized this march in Barcelona since 2011, aimed at women, lesbians, and trans people to take to the streets in defense of their rights.

- **Intervention on the Miquel Biada Statue.** A street action in the city of Mataró to highlight the city's colonial past and bring visibility to forgotten lesbian and queer histories.

- **28J March.** A march held every 28th of June as a critical alternative to Pride. Additionally, the recent first participation of a float at Barcelona Pride, which exclusively represented women, lesbians, and trans* people, has been highlighted as an act of lesbian* resistance.

Germany

- **Assembly in Solidarity with Argentina.** In Berlin, in 2024, lesbians and bisexual migrants gathered to denounce the triple lesbian murder in Barracas (Argentina), raise funds to send to Argentina, and build transnational networks.

- **Dyke March**. A public space action offering an alternative space to the commercial Pride, bringing visibility to the lesbian-queer community and advocating for political autonomy.

→ **Cultural and Social Events and Spaces**

Spain

- **La Nostra Illa.** Located in Barcelona, it is a historic meeting space for feminist lesbians since 1986, dedicated to culture and community strengthening. The importance of opening and maintaining this site, and the constitution of La Nostra Illa as an Association, is highlighted. The space is self-sustained through community fundraising, concert organization, direct contributions from members, and crowdfunding. Additionally, through international lesbian* community solidarity, they have managed to keep the space open and active for four decades.

- **La Raposa.** Vegan bar and feminist bookstore run by lesbians and trans* people.

- **Us, The Lesbians.** Creation of safe spaces (flinta*, non-mixed) for the community; promoting visibility, debate, and identity building; implementing strategies such as crowdfunding, bartering, and collaborations with other lesbian* collectives.

- **Fundación Enllaç.** In Barcelona, the foundation seeks to defend the dignity of LGBTI people, especially the elderly or dependent, ensuring that they do not receive discriminatory treatment.

- **Zinegoak Festival.** International Festival of Gay, Lesbian, Trans, and Queer Cinema and Performing Arts in Bilbao, created in 2004 as a tool for raising awareness through culture, cinema, and performing arts. This annual event is typically held in February in Bilbao and March in various Basque towns, becoming an international reference in LGTB festivals.

- **Sorotech.** Self-managed electronic music festival for and by women, lesbians*, and trans people.

- **Asociación Nos Mesmas.** Participation in organizing a festival for Lesbian Visibility Day (Vigo, April 2025).

- **Meeting for Argentine Lesbian Visibility.** Organized by La Tortiteca in Barcelona, La Raposa, 2024.

- **Festival Agro Cuir.** A festival for sexual, affective, and gender diversities in the rural area of Ulloa. It is funded through self-management with contributions from the community that supports it.

- **El Árbol Bollo.** A tree that served as a meeting point for lesbians and trans people in Plaza Catalunya (Barcelona). For several years starting in 2005, it became a community reference, now inactive.

- **La Sal feminist bar-library.** A bar-library and feminist publishing house created in Barcelona between 1977 and 1978, pioneering in offering space and voice to women. It became a center for feminist training, socialization, and activism in the last years of Francoism, in the face of social and cultural repression against women.

- **Member's.** A nightlife venue in Barcelona for lesbians*.

- **Festival "Orgullo de Arona."** In Tenerife, during the Pride week of 2025. Arona Vive con Orgullo 2025 is a commitment to visibility, diversity, and respect as pillars of a more egalitarian society and a commitment to the rights of the LGTBIQA+ community.

Portugal

- **Clube Safo.** The group participates in organizing LGBTI marches in Lisbon and Porto and a lesbian festival in April, promoting socialization and visibility of the local community.

Italy

- **Campo lésbico Ágape**. An activism and political debate space for lesbians*. This event aims to strengthen the lesbian community, build networks, and discuss relevant topics for political and collective action. It has over 20 years of experience.

Amsterdam (Netherlands)

- **Spiegelruimte.** A lesbian* support and meeting space held every two months for LBTQI+ women and non-binary people, with a special focus on trans women, non-binary people, queer people of color, and marginalized women.

- **Queer Party - Amsterdam Lesbique.** A queer community party. Several events are organized throughout the year, creating a platform where people gather to celebrate, meet, relax, and enjoy the work of queer and underground artists.

- **Winter Pride.** A festival celebrating queer culture for two weeks in December, aiming to decentralize activities. It is part of the WinterPride foundation, whose mission is the visibility, safety, and emancipation of queer women and non-binary people.

Latvia

- **Project "Spot the L."** In Riga, Latvia, in 2025, organized by Active Rainbow. As part of this project, the team is organizing a series of pioneering lesbian* events in the country, mostly attended by local lesbian* people, though not exclusively. Part of this project involves conducting interviews with local lesbian* individuals and collectives and

organizing the first lesbian* festival, still under preparation.

→ **Artistic Productions**

Spain

- **Creación Positiva.** An association that produced the documentary Lesbofobia, un documental y diez respuestas (with over 200 screenings, also outside of Spain in Latin America, Portugal, and Italy); it also organized the collective exhibition "Lesbofobia: verso y reverso de una violencia patriarcal" (2021), which led to the production of a fanzine.

- **Recuerda que estás soñando by Macarena Asensio**. In Barcelona, this exhibition took place from March 2nd to 23rd, 2024. It highlights lesbian identities and affectivities through painting and self-portraiture.

- **Documentary ALTERITATS.** An audiovisual production that gathers the testimonies of four generations of lesbians in Catalunya.

- **Muestra marrana** (now inactive). In Barcelona, organized by Diana J. Torres and Lucía Egaña among others. The goal was to make pornography visible from a non-heteropatriarchal perspective, with other bodies and practices from a transfeminist standpoint.

France

- **"Little Miss Soccer";** a film, documentary episodes, and a book. Three productions made by Little Miss Soccer, a sports, social, and cultural association mainly working with young audiences to raise awareness of

gender stereotypes and help them recognize the barriers that lead to the invisibility of women and gender minorities. The film, documentary episodes, and the book "Little Miss Soccer" are real tools to deconstruct stereotypes, fight discrimination, and envision a more inclusive society.

Romania

- **Romnja Magazine.** A feminist magazine supported by the Romnja Feminist Library, where publishing articles is seen as a political and cultural act, celebrating creativity, activism, and the experiences of Romani lesbian women. It features a collection of new articles, each offering new perspectives and viewpoints that contribute to an intersectional narrative.

➔ **Training, Debate, Research, and Archive Spaces**

Spain

- **Bollos en Teoría.** A study group on lesbian/queer thinking and theories, a space for lesbian-feminist theoretical debate that emerged from the climate created by the Jornadas Radicalmente Feministas in 2016. They meet monthly at Ca la Dona (Barcelona) to theorize based on feminist and/or lesbian texts and politically pronounce themselves. They also organize joint cultural activities for socializing.

- **La Electrodoméstica.** Neighborhood meetings in an occupied space in Barcelona, where knowledge is shared among lesbian bolleras (many migrants).

- **FEM La Base.** A space for political incidence, transfeminist, and bollero action.

- **La Creatura.** A group focused on training in trades, self-management, and cultural production, formed by bolleras and trans people, Spaniards not from Catalonia, and migrants.

- **Ca La Dona.** A space for all women, lesbians*, and trans* people where political experiences, reflections, and critical thought production converge, with the desire to share exchanges, discussions, and activism from a feminist perspective in relation to the political and social context we live in. It is currently located in the Gothic Quarter of Barcelona, the result of a long struggle for space. In 1987, convinced that they had the right to a space of their own and tired of fruitless negotiations with the city council, they decided to occupy a municipal building on Carrer Font Honrada, in the Poble Sec neighborhood. A hundred women occupied the space for eleven days until the Guardia Urbana intervened using tear gas. Finally, in 1988, an agreement was reached with the City Council, which committed to funding a space, and Ca la Dona was born in an apartment on Gran Via.

- **El fons GAM.** The documentation fund of activist Gretel Ammann, housed in the Ca la Dona Documentation Center (Barcelona).

- **FeminismoPornoPunk.** A program structured around research and post-pornographic production, criticizing traditional codes of sexuality representation and the multimedia representation of subaltern bodies and sexualities. It includes various materials on feminism generated during seminars at Arteleku (Donostia), MACBA (Contemporary Art Museum of Barcelona), and UNIA (International University of Andalusia, Seville).

- **Asociación Alliberem-nos.** Now inactive. In Olot, the association conducted workshops on sexual diversity and lesbianism in educational institutions.

- **Artemisa**. Migrants and Refugees. A group of Nicaraguan activists in exile in Spain working to raise awareness about lesbian activism in coordination with public asylum and refugee policies for migrant lesbian women.

- **Archivo Masculinidrag.** The archive aims to recover and preserve the memories of transvestite/travesti masculinities in Spain, questioning and deconstructing the traditional dynamics of archives that perpetuate hegemonic historical narratives.

- **Congress and sessions of the Federación Estatal LGTB (FELGBT).** A meeting point to share experiences, pedagogical strategies, and practical tools aimed at promoting diversity, inclusion, and equality in all educational environments, especially in rural areas or those far from large urban centers.

- **Feminist Sessions 2009, Granada.** Organized by the feminist coordinator. For the first time, a transfeminist manifesto was read, making explicit that the political subject of feminism goes beyond the category of woman, giving space to lesbian* and trans* identities.

Greece

- **FAC - Feminist Autonomous Center.** A transfeminist collective that archived Greek lesbian* histories through interviews, aiming to communicate the different struggles of Greek lesbian histories from the late 20th century, in a politically difficult time. The presentation of this work took place in Athens in 2021, where participants learned together, debated, and began to network.

4.4) ELEMENTS THAT MADE THE RELEVANT LESBIAN* RESISTANCE ACTIONS POSSIBLE

To identify the elements that made the relevant lesbian* resistance actions possible, the survey provided several options to be marked, allowing one or more responses. In this sense, the percentage of each item was calculated based on the total number of responses received.
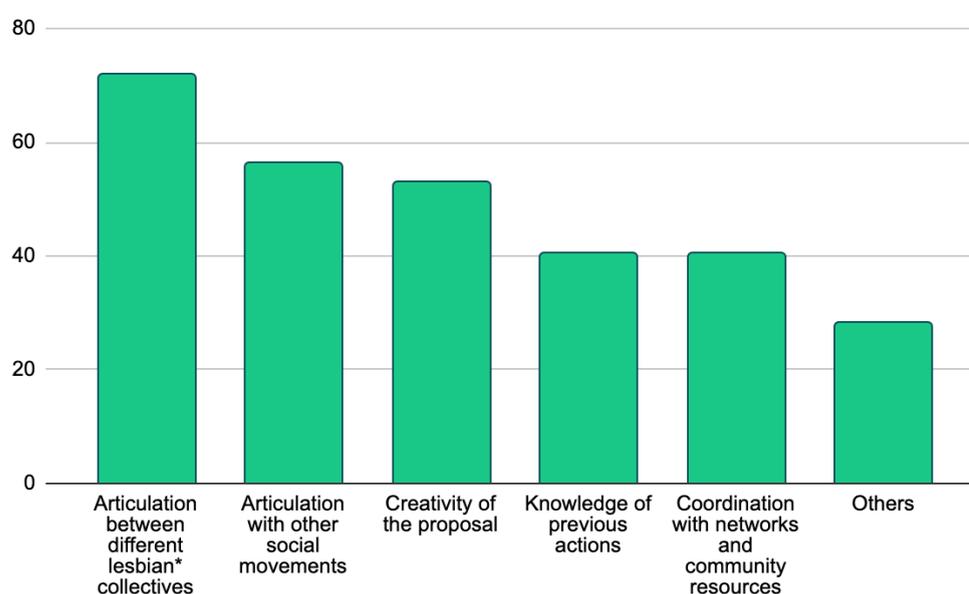
→ *Articulation between different lesbian* collectives (71.9%)*

→ **Articulation with other social movements (56.3%)**

→ **Creativity of the proposal (53.1%)**

→ **Knowledge of previous actions (40.6%)**

→ **Coordination with networks and community resources (40.6%)**

→ **Others (28.1%)**

The data collected allow us to identify some key factors that make lesbian* resistance actions possible in the different territories represented. The most prominent element is the articulation between lesbian* collectives, noted by more than two-thirds of the participants. This data confirms a central trend in contemporary activism: the ability to sustain initiatives largely depends on internal cooperation, the interconnection between groups, and the creation of mutual support infrastructures. Following closely in importance is the articulation with other social movements, which shows that lesbian* struggles do not develop in isolation but in constant dialogue with transfeminist, antiracist, migrant, labor, and neighborhood agendas, among others. This practical intersectionality broadens the capacity for territorial and institutional political impact.

The creativity of the proposals, highlighted by more than half of the responses, emerges as an indispensable resource: from artistic interventions to flexible and ephemeral organizational formats, innovation functions as a driver for attracting attention, overcoming material limitations, and generating new forms of collective expression. The knowledge of previous actions and coordination with networks and community resources is also mentioned by a significant percentage, underlining the importance of historical learning and continuity between generations and experiences. Understanding past genealogies and practices facilitates the transmission of tactical and political knowledge, allowing current actions to build upon past experiences.

The most relevant and recurring contributions in the "Others" category include:

➔ The creation of alliances between lesbian* activists and self-organized neighborhood collectives, such as cultural spaces, feminist collectives, and LGBTTIQ+ groups.

➔ Participation in film festivals and film forums, including dialogues with protagonists of lesbian* documentaries, to reach audiences outside the LGBTIQ+ community.

→ Developing a political agenda among sex-disident lesbian* communities.

→ Intergenerational and transcultural meeting and interaction experiences.

→ Institutional funding sources.

→ Identifying unmet needs within the community.

4.5) POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE RELEVANT ACTIONS

The actions gathered in this compilation reveal a diverse, plural, and multiscalar map of contemporary lesbian* activism, where street interventions, cultural productions, community spaces, archival projects, and mutual support strategies coexist. Although these practices are highly heterogeneous — in terms of their forms, geographical contexts, and political environments — and while in most cases it is difficult to measure their impact, clear patterns emerge regarding the political impact and effects these experiences generate, as reported by the participants themselves.

In sum, the political impact of the actions can be broken down into the following recurring trends:

→ **Increased Visibility and Public Presence:**

The most frequent impact reported in the responses is visibility, both in the public space and in cultural and media spheres. Many participants highlighted that marches, urban interventions, festivals, projections, and nocturnal demonstrations allow for contesting meanings in the streets and demonstrating the political and emotional presence of the lesbian* community. Actions like the 7M (March 7) nocturnal march in Barcelona, the Dyke March in Berlin, or the critical 28J (June 28)

initiatives were noted as moments when activism collectively interrupts, draws the attention of institutions and political agents, and generates feelings of belonging within the community, as well as social and political recognition. In the cultural sphere, productions like *ALTERITATS* or *Lesbofobia, a Documentary and Ten Responses* expand the representation of lesbian* affectivities, bodies, and genealogies, helping to counter decades of invisibility and homogenization of lesbian* communities.

➔ **Community Strengthening:**

Another significant axis of impact — equally recurrent — is community strengthening, expressed in various ways: the creation of safe spaces, the consolidation of care networks, the emergence of friendships, intergenerational support, the expansion of role models, and the generation of social and emotional infrastructure sustained over time. In this regard, self-managed spaces like *La Nostra Illa*, which has been sustained for over four decades, were highlighted as concrete examples of the organizational power and internal solidarity of the movement. The role of community libraries and archives, such as the *Masculinidrag Archive* or the *Romnja Feminist Library*, was also emphasized in creating a stable sense of continuity and belonging. Community strengthening, understood in this way, leads to the proliferation of spaces for political, emotional, and cultural experimentation, keeping lesbian* movements vibrant and dynamic.

➔ **Creation and Expansion of Networks:**

A third transversal type of impact that emerged is the creation, maintenance, and expansion of networks, both local and transnational. This is strongly evident in experiences like the *Assembly in Solidarity with Argentina* in Berlin, where the articulation between migrant lesbians and

bisexuals not only allowed for the denunciation of specific violence — such as the triple lesbian murder in Barracas (Argentina) — but also generated new forms of political organization, cooperation, and mutual support. These networks not only connect individuals but also link collectives, activists from different countries, and allied movements, broadening horizons for shared action and generating a sustained political infrastructure. In fact, one of the most marked trends in the experiences and actions gathered is the high degree of intersectionality regarding other marginalized groups (racialized people, sex workers, migrants, socially stigmatized communities, etc.) in the formation of networks.

→ **Sociocultural, Institutional, and/or Public Policy Transformations:**

Another significant set of impacts relates to sociocultural and institutional transformation processes. Some actions directly influenced public policies, such as the use of the documentary *Lesbofobia* in legislative proposals to amend Law 11/2014 in Catalonia to explicitly include lesbophobia as a distinct form of violence. Other audiovisual productions — like *ALTERITATS* or *PETJADES INVISIBLES* — were awarded, disseminated by national platforms, and placed in formal public communication circuits, thus expanding their educational power, intergenerational reach, and symbolic capital. In the field of research, the actions highlighted show that research outcomes are intended to be used to promote lesbian* rights from a transinclusive and antiracist perspective, focusing on the specific issues of the groups they work with and their intersections. However, it is important to note that few responses highlighted actions directly linked to the transformation of public policies, and the perception of the political impact of the lesbian* activist practices gathered are more associated with the indirect transformation of public policies through the impact axes proposed here. In fact, in some cases, it was stressed that there is a need to challenge

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pinkwashing, the institutionalization of the LGTBQA+ struggle, and advocate for maintaining a political agenda from grassroots movements.

➔ **Production and Transmission of Lesbian* Memory:**

Another frequently noted impact is that of archival work, memory, and historical transmission. Several participants emphasized that projects documenting genealogies, past experiences, life stories, or concrete struggles allow for "filling gaps," reconstructing erased histories, and offering vital references for new generations of activists. This is seen both in projects explicitly dedicated to archiving and in cultural actions that rescue marginalized paths or histories. These processes of recovering lesbian* memories are described as tools for strengthening collective belonging, intervening in current debates, and critically sustaining the continuity of the movement.

➔ **Mobilization of Resources:**

Finally, another noted impact is the material support and mobilization of resources. Many of the actions gathered demonstrated a stable ability to organize fundraisers, crowdfunding campaigns, solidarity networks, and economic support campaigns. In some cases, this impact was very concrete, such as raising €2,000 in Berlin to support survivors and families of the triple lesbian murder in Barracas (Argentina), or the self-management that has kept *La Nostra Illa* alive since the 1980s. This type of impact combines practical efficacy, community care, and the consolidation of non-institutional forms of political self-sustainability.

On this last point, it is striking that a very low percentage of responses in the survey referenced the use of external funding. This does not mean that funding does not exist or that it is not seen as necessary.

Instead, we consider other hypotheses to be more plausible: the difficulty for lesbian* collectives to access funding may be due to the limited availability of resources directed at these communities, on one hand; to the lack of awareness about these resources, on the other; and to the bureaucratic barriers that most often prevent access to these resources. It is possible that these and other variables hinder lesbian* collectives from imagining scenarios where the request for external funding for their projects is feasible.

4.6) RIGHTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE RELEVANT ACTIONS

Although the responses to the survey show a notably reduced semantic field related to "rights" and "legislation" (a phenomenon we will analyze in the sections "Interpretative Considerations on Political Impact" and "Conclusions and Emerging Issues"), the actions gathered do have, as their backdrop, the demand for certain basic rights for lesbian* communities.

In the repertoire of rights that emerge from the analysis, two grammars coexist and are in tension:

1. **The traditional grammar of rights:** protection, equality, political participation, security, education, health, culture.

2. ***The lesbian* and transfeminist political grammar***: situated visibility, community, memory, autonomy, archives, affections, dissidence, desire, care, resistance.

As is well known, lesbian* activism expands the classic notion of "right" by incorporating dimensions that are often left off the institutional radar: the need for

community, the legitimacy of desire, the centrality of memory, sovereignty over spaces, criticism of the state and neoliberal logics, and the defense of our own genealogies.

To provide more rigor and clarity to the analysis, we decided to distinguish between those rights that are directly and unambiguously mentioned and those that can be inferred as such because they are present as aspirations, practices, needs, or structural demands.

→ **Explicitly Mentioned Rights**

1.1. Sexual, Reproductive, and Bodily Autonomy Rights

- The right to live free from sexual and gender-based violence, including lesbophobia and LBTphobia.
- The right to access specific lesbian and LBT+ health services, including mental health.
- The right to comprehensive, inclusive, and non-heteronormative sexual education.

1.2. Political Participation and Freedom of Expression Rights

- The right to political influence, to be heard in institutions, parliaments, and decision-making spaces.
- The right to protest, demonstrate, take direct action, and occupy public space.
The right to produce and circulate culture (editorial, audiovisual, artistic, sports).

1.3. Equality and Non-Discrimination Rights

- The right to equality before the law and to non-discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, ethnic origin, or migration status.
- The right to protection against hate crimes, police institutions, and public authorities.

1.4. Asylum, Refuge, and Migration Rights

- The right to seek asylum for persecution based on sexual orientation or gender identity.
- The right to international protection for lesbian migrant and refugee women.
- The right to accessible, non-discriminatory, and intersectional administrative processes.

1.5. Cultural and Memory Rights

- The right to preserve and transmit lesbian*, queer, and transfeminist historical memory.
- The right to create and protect archives, research, fanzines, and personal heritage spaces.

1.6. Labor and Economic Rights Against Precariousness

- The right to live and work in conditions free from precariousness.
- The right to equitable public and private funding for LBT+ community projects.

1.7. Security-Related Rights

- The right to protection against institutional violence (police, municipalities, restrictive regulations).
- The right to care protocols, privacy, and anonymity.

→ **Implicit Rights**

Right to Existence, Visibility, and Recognition

- The right to be named.
- The right to symbolic and material occupation of public space without fear.
- The right to non-stereotypical and non-heteronormative representation.

Right to Build Community

- The right to safe, non-mixed or FLINTA* spaces when necessary.
- The right to community life, intergenerational encounters, mutual support, and affective networks.
- The right to create community culture: parties, marches, art, workshops, care spaces.

Right to Organizational Autonomy

- The right to non-institutional, self-managed, cooperative, dissident organizational models.
- The right to autonomously produce knowledge, theory, and political discourse.

- The right to decide internal participation protocols, admission, and self-care.

Right to Epistemic Justice

- The right for lesbian* and transfeminist knowledge not to be erased, diluted, or appropriated.
- The right for specific intersectional experiences not to be subsumed into the generic "LGBT+" label.

4.7) RISKS AND PREVENTIVE AND/OR CARE MEASURES DURING THE ACTIONS

In this section, we analyze the responses received to the question about the existence (or lack thereof) of risks associated with the actions and practices described earlier, as well as the preventive and care measures implemented.

In the responses gathered, exactly half of the participants stated that there were risks during the described actions, while the other half responded that there were not.

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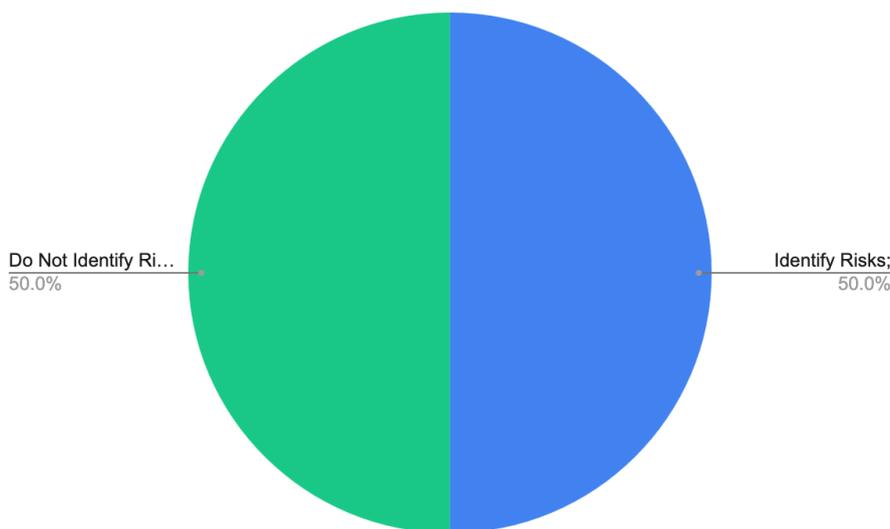
Identify Risks;
50.0%

→ 50% Identify Risks;
→ 50% Do Not Identify Risks

Explicitly Mentioned Risks:

  a) Interaction with Society:
  - Lesbophobia and transphobia linked to public visibility in artistic productions.

  - Physical assaults and complaints from right-wing and far-right groups.

  - Ostracism, both at the collective and individual levels.

  - Psychological abuse.

  - Aggressions and threats on social media.

  - Direct attacks on lesbian-led infrastructures.

  b) Interaction with the State:
  - Persecution/Identification/Search/Police repression (especially during protests).
  - Economic fines.
  - Obstacles to lesbian activism from local government and public administration bodies. Inaccessibility to municipal resources.

Measures to Address and/or Prevent Risks:

  - Personalized support and care for individuals attacked by lesbophobia or transphobia.

- Training activists to respond in case incidents occur.
- Creation of economic resistance funds to cover fines.
- Carrying out actions in private spaces or "LGBTIQ+ friendly" spaces.
- Creating FLINTA* non-mixed spaces.
- Data protection and privacy measures regarding images.
- Closed communication circuits (though this reduces the ability to reach more lesbians*).
- Development of protocols for external violence.
- Preventive formation of security circles during protests.
- Collective and community care organization for public events.

Interpretation of Risk Perception in Lesbian* Communities:

Regarding the high percentage of negative responses to the question about the risks of the described actions, it is important to highlight some of the responses received, as they are relevant and indicative for asking: What do we, as groups systematically exposed to risks, perceive as "risks"?

- "Apart from the generic risk of organizing non-heteronormative events, no other specific risks were identified."

- "Only as a threat to the collective."

- "There were no real risks."

In these small fragments, noteworthy phenomena can be identified:

- Normalization of risks associated with organizing sex-disident events.

- Undervaluation of the threats received collectively.

- Implicit distinction between real risks and other types of risks that might not be considered as such, for example, aggressions in virtual spaces.

While it is true that many of the actions may not have posed visible risks for the people and/or collectives involved, it is also evident from many responses that there is a normalization of the risk that still comes with being visible as lesbians*. In many cases, lesbophobia/lesbo-hate and associated violence are no longer recognized as risks; instead, they are part of the daily experience of our activist practices.

In this sense, we consider it important to highlight, as an emerging point from this work, the need to rethink self-perceptions of the risks associated with lesbian* activist practices: recognizing the risks, understanding their scale, naming them, and articulating appropriate responses to them.

5.
Future of Lesbian* Activism

5.1) FORECAST OF CHALLENGES AND LINES OF ACTION

Another aspect of interest in this work is the perception that activist entities and individuals engaged in lesbian* resistance and struggle actions have regarding the current and future challenges of the movement, as well as the activist practices to address them. In this regard, the survey had two separate questions (one aimed at gathering information about challenges, and another about future actions). The decision to separate these two aspects in the survey was to later assess whether the identified challenges corresponded with the actions that participants considered urgent and necessary for the near future. As detailed below, the analysis reveals strong and consistent correlations between the identified challenges and the lines of action that should be sustained and/or promoted by lesbian* activism in the coming years.

a) Challenges Facing Lesbian* Activism in Europe

The challenges faced by lesbian* resistance communities in Europe form a complex landscape, where structural, political, and cultural factors intersect. The survey responses reveal a set of tensions that can be grouped into five main areas, all deeply interconnected with one another, as well as with the forms of struggle that participants consider urgent (developed in the next section, **B**).

The first and most repeated challenge is the *erasure and devaluation of lesbianism.** Participants indicate that invisibilization operates simultaneously on both historical and contemporary levels: incomplete archives, absence in public policies, cultural representations that omit lesbians*, and even internal erasure within feminist and queer movements.

The second area of concern points to the **rise of the far-right and the proliferation of hate speech**, a challenge described as affecting all of Europe. Participants mention the electoral rise of far-right forces, setbacks in previously won rights, increased violence against minority groups, and media manipulation that fuels confusion and polarization. This threat is not only perceived in the institutional realm but also in the digital sphere, where disinformation and algorithmic capture of debates affect the construction of community.

The third challenge highlighted is the **lack of material resources, stable funding, and own physical spaces**. Many memory and resistance projects are sustained through volunteer work, self-management, or the precarization of those involved. This fragility affects archives, libraries, community centers, and meeting spaces, whose continuity depends almost exclusively on collective effort. Urban gentrification intensifies the difficulty of maintaining stable and accessible spaces.

The fourth area of concern deals with **internal tensions and fragmentation within the movement**. Some participants describe a climate of division between feminist, queer, and lesbian* collectives, as well as dynamics of finger-pointing that inhibit political action due to fear of making mistakes. The invisibility of specific voices—migrant, refugee, or racialized lesbians* and non-binary and trans* people—is also mentioned, along with the difficulty of creating spaces where intersectionality is genuinely practiced.

Finally, the fifth block concerns the **risk of memory loss and generational rupture**. Participants express concern about the scarce transmission of knowledge between generations, difficulty preserving archives, and the low institutional value placed on lesbian* memory. The risk is not limited to the past: it also affects the ability to project a future, consolidate own narratives, and sustain resistant practices over time.

b) Urgent Forms of Struggle for Lesbian* Activism

Survey responses show that, in the face of the rise of the far-right and the current political climate in Europe, lesbian* activism identifies a set of urgent lines of action that combine community, cultural, communication, and political strategies. Far from being isolated tactics, these proposals reveal a systemic perspective: defending lesbianism as a political practice requires building alliances, sustaining memory, protecting spaces, and strengthening collective life.

The **first** and most repeated **line of action is strengthening networks and broad alliances.** Participants insist on the need to articulate with migrant, trans*, anti-racist, decolonial, or anti-capitalist LBT* collectives, while maintaining the specificity of lesbian*/dyke struggles. They propose simultaneous connections at local and international levels and strategies that allow sustaining the network "in one form or another", avoiding both isolation and sectarianism. This insistence directly responds to the challenges of internal fragmentation and political erasure mentioned earlier.

The **second** priority line focuses on **public visibility and the fight against hate speech.** Participants consider it urgent to develop media campaigns, educational actions in schools and universities, and counter-information projects. There is a focus on actively highlighting the specific discriminations faced by lesbians*, counteracting fake news, and generating their own narratives through accessible archives, community media, and cultural productions. This strategy explicitly engages with concerns about media manipulation, disinformation, and the symbolic erasure of lesbian* communities accompanying the rise of the far-right. This also includes, as part of contemporary hate speech, TERF (trans-exclusionary radical feminism) narratives and lesbian* exclusionary discourses.

A **third** unavoidable focus is **recovering genealogies and producing historical memory.** Given the risk of memory loss and generational rupture, participants propose preserving their own archives, writing, publishing, and generating records. They suggest reinforcing the transmission of knowledge across generations and territories, learning from tactics used before the age of social media, and understanding that memory is not merely a cultural exercise but an essential political tool for resisting fascism.

The **fourth** line emphasizes the need to **create and defend own spaces,** both physical, community-based, and public. This point directly responds to gentrification, lack of stable resources, and invisibilization. Participants stress the urgency of sustaining intergenerational spaces and building community refuges, cultural centers, or non-consumerist meeting places. They also call for the occupation of public space as a historical form of struggle, essential for affirming territorial presence and creating shared daily practices.

Another strong focus is the commitment to **collective care and mutual support as political practices.** Responses highlight the importance of building communities that foster rest, tenderness, accompaniment, and affection—not just urgent actions. They propose spaces for cooking together, playing, dancing, or simply being, recognizing that emotional life and mental health have collective effects. This line appears as a concrete response to exhaustion, precarization, lesbophobic, transphobic, racist, classist, colonial violence, and internal divisions: "combating emotional devastation is also combating fascism."

The **sixth** line concerns formal **political advocacy and the defense of rights,** a field mentioned less frequently than community strategies but still relevant. Some participants emphasize the need to participate in public policies and legislative processes, defend rights such as bodily autonomy or inclusive education, and demand structural funding for lesbian* projects. This approach is seen as necessary to prevent institutional setbacks and ensure minimum material conditions for activism.

Finally, a set of responses places the fight against the far-right within a broader **critique of contemporary capitalism and corporate power.** This seventh line proposes anti-capitalist strategies, which include questioning technological concentration and the privatization of public space, developing models for dignified self-employment, and building feminist economies that sustain projects without reproducing neoliberal or consumerist logics.

As we can see, the responses draw a coherent picture: lesbian* resistance movements in Europe face a scenario of erasure, fascistization, precariousness, and fragmentation, exacerbated by intersectional inequalities. However, the strategic proposals that emerge are notably consistent: the struggle is conceived on multiple levels—subjective, community-based, territorial, institutional, and international, both formally and informally, with a strong historical awareness and a deep emphasis on the collective.

6.
Interpretative Considerations on Political Advocacy

The analysis of the responses revealed a significant tension between the traditional notion of "political influence" and the actual practices carried out by lesbian* entities and activists. While the phrase "political influence" initially appeared with little appropriation—indeed, with a certain conceptual distance—when asked to explain it, terms associated with the institutional repertoire of the political-bureaucratic field emerged: public policies, rights, equality, non-discrimination. This semantic shift reveals something deeper than a mere terminological difficulty: it exposes a structural disconnect between how institutions conceive of political influence and the ways in which lesbian* collectives effect transformation.

In the analyzed responses, there is a wide and heterogeneous combination of meanings. On one hand, some participants name classic institutional spaces: the legislative arena, the formulation of public policies, and the incorporation of demands into governmental agendas. For example: "influencing social transformation, public policies, and laws that guarantee equality and non-discrimination"; "getting an issue that affects us onto the political agenda"; "changes in legislation and the expansion or preservation of rights." But, simultaneously, meanings arise that go beyond this framework: political agendas of the organizations themselves, direct action in public space to make urgent struggles visible, actions in the cultural and community sphere, practices of visibility, creation of lesbian* spaces, production of lesbian* memory, and forms of social influence that do not recognize the rigid boundary between "the political" and "the everyday."

This breadth of meanings does not reflect a conceptual dispersion but rather an epistemic repositioning from certain lesbian* activism where political transformation occurs both within institutional frameworks and—sometimes especially—in

micropolitical, affective, cultural, and territorial processes that sustain lives. In fact, when interpreting the references to rights, health, or housing, it becomes clear that these are not merely demands made to the state, but a sex-disident reading of access to the common good, shaped by community and self-managed practices that avoid the historical and normative logics of liberal citizenship.

This distancing from institutional frameworks deepens when examining responses related to resource mobilization. Only a small proportion mention external funding, which should not be interpreted as a lack of interest or indifference. Instead, the analysis suggests alternative hypotheses: limited availability of specific funds; lack of awareness of existing calls; or, more significantly, bureaucratic barriers that make access difficult for collectives operating without formal structures, in precarious conditions, with self-management and community networks. This not only limits the possibility of obtaining resources but also inhibits the capacity to even imagine such funding as a viable option.

These findings highlight a critical aspect: the distrust in the political-bureaucratic system as a primary tool for transformation. This is not just an ideological stance but a situated response to the historical experience of exclusion, pathologization, and institutional neglect. For many lesbian* collectives, political influence is not necessarily about direct dialogue with the institutional sphere, but about creating the material and symbolic conditions that make life possible: networks, care, memories, accompaniment spaces, cultural production, and community survival technologies.

In this sense, the analysis invites us to **broaden the notion of political influence beyond traditional definitions.** If influence is only defined in terms of its ability to impact public policies or state structures, it invisibilizes—and thus defunds—the practices that make the very continuity of movements possible: community sustainability, the construction of collective meaning, visibility as a vital and political strategy, the production of discourses and memories that enable futures. From this perspective, political influence should also encompass sociocultural transformations,

organizational processes, and the affective infrastructures that sustain everyday life in contexts of marginalization.

Consequently, rather than demanding that lesbian* collectives adapt to institutional requirements to be recognized as **agents of political influence**, it would be more pertinent for funding policies to adapt to the realities and needs of these communities. This implies, among other things, relaxing formalization criteria and valuing as acts of influence those practices that have historically been excluded from funding sources. If the conceptual framework of political influence is not expanded, the risk is that highly transformative practices—those operating at the margins and producing root-level changes—will continue to be neglected by mechanisms that should precisely support them.

In summary, the data makes clear that **political influence,** as conceptualized by lesbian* activism is not limited to influencing state decisions: it is also the everyday construction of habitable worlds. Recognizing this plurality of forms of political influence not only expands the semantic field but also reorients the focus on what counts as legitimate political action and which transformations we must learn to see, value, and fund.

7.
Appendix

Other Projects, Organizations/Entities, and Activists Mentioned in the Responses:

→ **Entities/Groups:**

- **Spinnboden Lesbenarchiv** (Germany, Berlin)

- **Lesbian Group of Athens** (ΛΟΑ - Λεσβιακή Ομάδα Αθήνας): Has archived some issues of a lesbian magazine post-1980s. Athens, Greece.

- **Autonomes Frauen Lesben Zentrum** (Austria, Innsbruck)

- **LesGirls** (Barcelona, Spain)

- **Espigoladors** (Spain)

- **Eurocentralasian Lesbian Community (ELC)*:** Europe and Central Asia

- **Psicomigra** (Barcelona, Spain)

- **Movimiento Psicólogas y Psicólogos Migrantes**: International

- **La Tortiteca**: Barcelona, Spain and Rosario, Argentina.

- **Equinox for Racial Justice:** European Union

- **European Roma Rights Center:** European Union

- **Kuumba**

- **Weaving Liberation:** European Union

- **E-Romnja:** International

- **Amuge** (Euskadi, Spain)

- **Veus Gitanes** (Spain)

- **Romaniphen** (Berlin, Germany)

➔ **Key Activists:**
- Vera Kurtic (book: Džuvljarke: Roma Lesbian Existence)
- Radicalesbians
- Sheila Jeffreys
- Revolutionary Leeds Feminists
- Gretel Ammann
- Fabiola Cardoso
- Anastasija Laizāne
- Cathy Manousaki

➔ **Projects:**

Gender Hacker Project: A repository of productions, events, and initiatives that challenge the gender binary. Gender Hacker Website

L'Armari de la Memòria: A public service of the Generalitat Valenciana (Spain) dedicated to recovering, conserving, digitizing, and disseminating documents that build the memory of sex-gender dissidence. It also supports research and dissemination projects through exhibitions, publications, workshops, and other cultural activities. The project focuses particularly on the history, struggles, and culture of the LGTBI community, with a special focus on the Valencian reality. L'Armari Website

La Calumnia (Barcelona, Spain): A project compiling content on the representation of TransMaricaBiBollo in audiovisual productions. It investigates and produces workshops on genealogies and authorships of TransMaricaBiBollo

in cinema, as well as narrative and formal strategies. [La Calumnia Instagram](#)

Comunidad de Escritoras Peligrosas (Spain): A writing community workshop for cis and trans women that rejects traditional formulas. Instead of prioritizing technique, the focus is on exploring personal voice, sharing within the community, and accompanying each person's creative process.

8.
Conclusions and Emerging Issues for the Future

Rather than offering a definitive closure, this section gathers the main findings from the analysis and frames them as starting points for new questions. It synthesizes the most relevant trends, challenges, and strategic opportunities that have emerged from the study, with the intention of providing not just an accurate reading of the present but also insights for thinking about—and sustaining—the possible futures of lesbian* activism.

Below, we summarize the key conclusions and emerging issues organized around interconnected thematic axes identified in this work.

➜ **LESBIAN* CATEGORY:**

A transversal trait that emerges from the study is how participants understand "lesbian*" not as a fixed or closed identity, but as a political and experiential stance that is open and porous, deeply intertwined with the struggles of trans* people, migrants, racialized individuals, and other sex-disident communities. This relational understanding of identity—more akin to a situated practice than a normative category—reveals an activism that views itself through interdependence. "Lesbian*" does not appear as a separate territory but as a strategic node within a broader intersectional constellation. From this perspective, identity borders function less as closed frameworks of belonging and more as political tools to make specific violences and alliances visible.

On this point, it is worth mentioning that only one of the responses explicitly positioned itself as TERF in its lesbian* activism. From La Tortiteca, we decided not to include their input as it violated the rights of trans* collectives, who are key and historical allies in lesbian* struggles. This mention serves to clarify our stance and

highlight that, although a minority in this survey, some sectors of lesbian* activism still hold trans-exclusionary views.

→ **ACTIVIST CATEGORY:**

A methodological insight that would not appear in the charts, but was decisive in the dissemination of the survey, is that many of the people who participated did not initially identify as activists, even though their practices clearly fit the criteria of the study. This frequent and revealing phenomenon raises questions about the very definition of activism within the lesbian* field: What imaginaries persist that prevent everyday, community-based, relational, artistic, or caregiving work from being perceived as political action? What historically feminized, low-visibility forms of activism, sustained in the affective sphere, are still not recognized as activism—even by those engaged in them? The insistence on not labeling oneself as an activist underscores that much of the political work within lesbian* communities continue to operate in discreet, informal, and autonomous registers, far from the conventional grammar of political militancy.

→ **ACTIVIST GOALS OF THE PARTICIPANTS:**

The survey data shows that contemporary lesbian* activism in Europe is centered around a common political core—visibility and community-building—through which diverse, situated, and highly creative strategies unfold. The breadth of identified semantic fields reveals a movement that thinks beyond conventional political categories: critical pedagogies, archiving practices, collective care, and cultural production intertwine, forming an intervention field that rejects rigid separations between the institutional, the everyday, and the affective. The differences between entities and individual activists do not represent a fracture but rather a political ecology where various forms of activism complement and support each other. However, the lack of

explicit focus on notions like "rights," "equality," or "political incidence" invites reflection: What does this absence tell us about how lesbian* collectives relate to institutions, legality, or hegemonic notions of citizenship? What alternative forms of justice and transformation are these activists producing when they prioritize existence, memory, creativity, and care over direct appeals to the state? In this sense, the goals expressed by the participants not only describe current practices but also sketch a political horizon in transformation, where cultural struggle, emotional sustainability, and the preservation of lesbian* genealogies are affirmed as strategic practices of resistance and future-building.

→ **RELEVANT ACTIONS, PROJECTS, AND STRATEGIES:**

The analysis of the actions, strategies, and territorial projects reveals that lesbian* resistance is built at the intersection of creativity, internal cooperation, and alignment with other social movements*, forming support networks that sustain both ephemeral projects and long-standing initiatives. Intersectionality does not appear merely as a theoretical framework but as a daily practice: actions are designed and deployed with attention to migration, anti-racism, the diversity of trans* identities, and other social agendas, amplifying their political and cultural impact. Creativity, knowledge of previous experiences, and community coordination serve as catalysts, enabling them to overcome material limitations and ensure generational continuity, while the coordination between collectives and local and cultural spaces ensures that territorial incidence is not confined to the institutional sphere.

This panorama raises critical questions for the future: How can innovation and organizational autonomy be sustained without overly depending on external funding? What tensions emerge between the need for public visibility and the preservation of safe spaces? How can historical genealogies of resistance be transformed into strategic tools to combat new forms of erasure

and precarization? Ultimately, the lines of action revealed in lesbian* activism shows that the strength of activism lies not only in its ability to generate communities of care and collective learning but also in its boldness to imagine and experiment with new forms of political and cultural presence in contexts that remain hostile and invisibilizing.

➔ **PERCEPTION OF RISK AND VIOLENCE:**

The analysis reveals a complex and paradoxical phenomenon: while half of the participants stated that their actions did not involve risks, many responses reflect an implicit naturalization of the danger and violence associated with lesbian* visibility, collective action, and the occupation of public or digital spaces. Risk perception is not only centered on visible episodes of physical or legal violence but also permeates the everyday: lesbophobic aggression, threats to activists and collectives, and structural precarization, which are rarely recognized as "real" risks in the activist narrative. This tension suggests that the subjectivity of those acting from the margins redefines what is understood as risk, often minimizing it.

A key emerging conclusion is the need to articulate more systematic self-perception frameworks, enabling collective risk assessment, strengthening preventive protocols, and ensuring that care and accompaniment measures are not only reactive but strategically embedded in activist practices.

➔ **FUTURE OF LESBIAN* ACTIVISM:**

The analysis reveals that lesbian* activism in Europe faces a complex landscape marked by historical and contemporary erasure, violence, and disinformation associated with the rise of the extreme right, material

precariousness, and the risk of losing collective memory. These structural tensions are not perceived as isolated problems but as an intertwined network that shapes action capacity, community sustainability, and political visibility. The coherence between the diagnosis of challenges and future lines of action indicates a deep, situated understanding of the relationship between vulnerability and resistance strategies.

In response to these challenges, participants outlined a multidimensional activist future: strengthening local and international networks, preserving and transmitting historical memory, creating and defending physical and community spaces, collective care as a political practice, public visibility and counter-information, formal political incidence, and anti-capitalist strategies that recognize the limits of existing institutional systems. The centrality of the collective, intersectionality, and emotional and cultural sustainability demonstrate that lesbian* resistance practices cannot be reduced to formal political action; their power lies in the combination of community, cultural, and territorial tactics that together form a holistic mode of social intervention.

➔ **POLITICAL ADVOCACY:**

From this analysis, it is clear that the traditional notion of political incidence is insufficient to describe the actual scope of practices driven by lesbian* collectives. While references to public policies, legislation, and institutional agendas appear when explicitly asked for, most of the actions surveyed operate in another register: one where transformation occurs in networks, care, memory, visibility, and the creation of safe spaces that sustain everyday life and weave deep community infrastructures. This gap between the institutional narrative of incidence and situated ways of producing political change presents an urgent challenge: How can recognition and funding frameworks be adjusted to avoid excluding precisely those who transform material and symbolic conditions from the margins?

To address this, a key emerging point is the need to broaden the concept of political incidence to include practices that, although historically invisibilized by bureaucratic parameters, constitute the very foundation of lesbian* political power: self-management, memory production, territorial organization, the creation of safe spaces, network articulation, and the creation of cultural frameworks that enable future possibilities. Recognizing these practices requires revising definitions and asking what institutional transformations would be necessary to adjust funding models to these organizational realities rather than the other way around. Ultimately, these conclusions open rather than close the debate, highlighting the urgency of rethinking how we understand, value, and sustain the forms of politics that emerge from bodies and communities historically displaced from the center of public decision-making.

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