# Necropolitics, Postmortem/ Transmortem Politics, and Transfeminisms in the Sexual Economies of Death

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***Abstract*** This article proposes two specific interventions, utilizing a critical transfeminist positioning to critique a transexclusionary perspective in writing and research on the crucial problem of necropolitics and the murder of women in Mexican society: (1) the term *postmortem/transmortem politics*, to reflect on the forms that imagination and political practice developed inside a Mexican trans community to deal with the necropolitics that murders trans and cis women on an everyday basis with complete impunity—in this sense, the process of mobilization, here called *postmortem/transmortem*, builds bridges of transfeminist alliance since it reactivates and embodies struggles against femicide and transfemicide from communities of care and vulnerability; and (2) the goals of the transfeminist movement as a source of feminist repolitization and greater inclusivity for the subject of feminisms, considering those subjects left outside or energetically moved away from the neoliberal reconversion of the critical devices of the white heterosexual and institutional feminisms that we know today as gender politics or "women's politics," managed and operated by the state.
***Keywords*** transfeminisms, necropolitics, transpolitics, postmortem politics

This is a reflexive text that inserts itself in a larger research project about necropolitics and its production of violence against minoritarian becomings.[1] The basis of its methodology is participatory action research. This article argues for the need to build strategies and alliances in the extremely bloody context that sieges cis, trans, and nonbinary women in Mexico.[2] From a critical position against the trans-excluding and transphobic perspective, the text is written by a Mexicanx *fronteriza cuir* cis-gender woman, who participates actively both in academia and in transnational transfeminist activisms.[3]


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The focus of this proposal draws from the transfeminist perspective, understood as the incorporation of transgender discourse into feminism that becomes an epistemic tool: "Transfeminism encompasses much more than the inclusion of trans people in feminist politics or their depathologization in the field of psychiatry. It is an epistemology—a theory of knowledge and power—that guides a diverse array of transfeminist activist political practices" (Garriga-López 2019: 1621). In this sense, transfeminisms are articulated as nonidentitarian networks of care and transnational dialogue, where the historic memory of the minoritarian becomings intersects with strategies of resistance and social transformation to build communities of emotional support and survival in a necroliberal context. To exemplify this, I present two interventions:

1. I propose the neologism *postmortem/transmortem politics* to think about the imagination and political practices that take shape inside a Mexican trans community that decides to protest publicly with the body of a murdered trans friend present among them, to confront the necropolitics that murders trans and cis women every day, with impunity, and that excludes them from the possibility of being read in a socially dignified way even after their death. In this sense, the process of mobilization that I here call postmortem/transmortem creates bridges of transfeminist alliance while at the same time reviving the struggles against femicide in communities highly exposed to social and state necropolitics.
2. I propose we use the goals of the transfeminist movement as a bridge for feminist repolitization and expansion of the subject of feminisms, considering the subjects left outside of or that strongly move away from the neoliberal reconversion of the critical devices of the feminisms that we now know as gender politics or that are reduced to "politics of women" to perform a token function (Kanter 1977) of these struggles against the neoliberal state.

## Transfeminisms and Strategic Alliances as a Response to Gender-Based Violence and Necropolitical Masculinity

I say the word *death* and I shiver; I shiver in a country full of dead and disappeared people.[4] I say the word *death*, and then the word *feminisms* appears as one of the strongholds that still makes sense to think about life and sustainability politics against this binary, heteropatriarchal, and necro-neoliberal *cis-tem*.[5] However, saying the word *feminisms* is not an easy act, since it means talking about multiple currents, historical perspectives, situated strategies, locations, embodied experiences, and world views, on a political and personal level, that cannot be grasped or standardized to a definite version. Maybe in this difficulty to be standardized

resides the key to the survival of the feminist movements; their having not just a name but multiple surnames activates their strategies and turns them into a highly networked movement full of processes and strategically situated actions.

To date, in Mexico, every four hours a girl, a young or adult woman, is killed. Women are being killed gruesomely, with extreme violence. Some of the causes of death described in the media and international reports are "mutilation, asphyxia, drowning, hanging, or with their throats slashed, burnt, stabbed or with gun wounds" (Muedano 2017). Women are killed, raped, displayed, and erased from the world with rage, with hatred from the patriarchy and the fraternities, with social ambush and judicial advantage.

Trans and gender-variant women are not only killed as women, with overflowing sexual brutality, but also killed socially for disobeying the biologist mandate of conforming to live in a body whose gender has been assigned medically and with which they do not identify. They are erased from the conceptual map of the possible and what can be enunciated. So far this year, the Trans Murder Monitoring Project has reported "325 cases of reported killings of trans and gender-diverse people" (Proyecto Transrespeto versus Transfobia en el Mundo 2017).

I started this section about transfeminisms with this reminder of numbers and deaths to talk about the state of emergency and the necropolitical and necroadministrative context in which trans women, cis-gender women, and other minoritarian becomings have to survive. I remember death because, unfortunately, it seems to be the common thread among dissident people, and because it is around this radical act that other ways of claiming visibility and justice are manifested.

It is important to reflect once again about systematic murder as the persistent center of the organization and spread of Western modernity-coloniality, because the expansive necropolitics displayed in our ex-colonial territories is not an exception to the biopolitical contexts where the life of the population is managed without expressive violence but a continuum of neocolonial governance, where death is a kind of civilizing technology that persists until today and connects the current context with colonial intermittency through the technologies of murder as a way of indoctrination. Thus, death is a driver of surplus for necropolitics and continuous plunder in our territories and people, which also activates sexual economies whose surplus is generated through the suppression of certain people produced as disposable or unwanted, radically denying them their "right to appear" (Butler 2015).

Thus, violence and death are common elements of the coloniality of gender (Lugones 2008), whose extreme consequence and ultimate aim are precisely the elimination of indigenous populations that have nevertheless endured settler colonialism (Kauanui 2016) and its five-hundred-year-long massacre against

them. As Patrick Wolfe (1999) notes in his work on settler colonialism, populations that have been ravaged for being potentially unruly, populations whose intersections dismantle sexual dimorphism and denaturalize their oppression, also contradict the ideological architectures that construct the project of plunder, dominion, and exploitation of the modern West.

In the current context, it is urgent to make alliances among the feminist movements, since we are in a period where political mobilizations seem to make sense only in a postmortem way, where the main feminist slogans in circulation in Latin America and the Caribbean center around the demand to not be killed, as evidenced by the transnational movements represented on social media with the hashtags #NiUnaMenos and #VivasNosQueremos, and where the tools and discourses of our struggles are expropriated by fascist-like democracies through the cosmetic commodification of our political demands. In this social space of convergence between markets and protests, necropolitics expands as the "constitutive outside" (Butler 1993: 197) that fences us and wants us lifeless and segregated.

Nonetheless, some strands of contemporary transnational feminisms are related to the neoliberal lobby that appropriates feminist discourse to justify conservative, racist, and imperialist arguments. On the other hand, we find the trans-excluding movement, whose main argument is to essentialize cis-women as the only subject of feminism, excluding from feminism everyone who does not conform to its model of biological womanhood. It is important to highlight that the goal of this text is not to deny the predatory violence suffered today and historically by cis-gender women inside hetero-necro-patriarchy. On the contrary, we recognize this violence, and we know that it is not haphazard but part of the binary gender structure. Thus, the present text places the need to form alliances between cis and trans women to create strategies of common resistance against it.

That is why it is urgent to place ourselves, coming from different feminisms, as a common front, since, as Audre Lorde (1983: 99) set forth, "Without community, there is no liberation"; moreover, without community there is only "the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression." In this regard, it is necessary to resume the project of creating the common good, which considers that "community must not mean a shedding of our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist" (99). On the contrary, the creation of a *sumak kawsay* is based on an attitude of self-criticism and redefinition where the different political issues that have preoccupied earlier iterations of feminisms are put on the table, such as equal rights and access to citizenship, as well as new forms of feminisms that are more attentive to everyday sexism, femicide, harassment, and violence on social media, and multimodal violence.[6] In this context, transfeminism emerges as a movement centered on the destigmatization of sex work, the depathologization of trans people,

and the expansion of the political subjects of feminism, intersectionality, and decoloniality.

The call of transfeminisms is to perform a self-criticism that does not exclude as subjects of feminism those who "stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference; those of who are poor, who are lesbian, who are black, who are older" (Lorde 1983: 99); who are indigenous, who are trans, who do not participate in the Western aesthetic canon, who have functional diversity, who are refugees, migrants, undocumented, precarious, "who speak in tongues" (Anzaldúa 1988: 219); who precisely because of their subjectifying and desubjectifying intersections participate in the physical, psychological, and medial consequences brought by the growing globalization of explicitly morbid, that is, the gore violence that has real effects on trans and cis-gender women's lives.

Transfeminism is more than a dissenting gesture or the adoption of a certain aesthetics and prosthetics, tied to the gender performances represented by queer theory, since it appeals to the construction of a social and political common front that renders account of the violence established and naturalized artificially as a "narrative strategy that is deliberately fractured" (Villaplana and Sichel 2005: 269), that concerns all the discursive fields and that can be identified, with special vigor, in the way the media represents sexist violence. Transfeminism as a political front positions itself in "the defense of the anti-normative and anti-assimilationist practices and experiences" (Flores 2017: 37) to de-necropoliticize our existence.

## Necropolitics, Neopolitics, and Postmortem/Transmortem Politics in the Sexual Economies of Death

I take the term *necropolitics* from the Cameroonian theoretician Achille Mbembe (2012: 136), who defines it as "the type of politics where this is understood as the labour of death in the production of a world where the limits of death are finished." Mbembe uses this concept to refer to three questions addressed (1) "to the contexts where the state of emergency has become normal;" (2) "to the figures of sovereignty whose main project is the generalized instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of the bodies and human populations judged as disposable or redundant"; and (3) "to the figures of sovereignty where power or government refer or appeal continuously to emergency and to a fictionalized or phantasmal vision of the enemy. All of this as a way of ending with the idea of prohibiting widespread killing, that because we are under the threat, we can kill without distinction whoever we consider to be our enemy" (135).

I use Mbembe's definition of necropolitics as a reference point to talk about violence as a link between the colonial and the contemporary project of modernity through the systematic and continuous elimination of dissenting populations. In this sense, it is important to expand the scope of the term

*necropolitics* beyond race and class to the governability of cis and trans women and those others that embody dissenting genders and sexualities, such as trans masculinities, that defy the hetero norm and the binary *cis-tem*, thus being produced in the collective imaginary as aberrant populations that may/must be demarcated as enemies to be brutally and violently destroyed.

In this sense, I propose necropolitics as the management and capitalization of the death processes that are highly tied to sexism and necropatriarchy in the Mexican state. Necropolitical power expands in a metastable way, among classes, races and generations, regularly leading against those who are nonbinary, queer, racialized, poor, renegade, and/or people living in conditions of precarity.[7]

I understand necropatriarchy as the privilege of exercising the techniques of necropolitical violence proffered by the patriarchy to the figure-body of the individual man (as microsovereign of the populations in his charge). So men have among their gender privileges the knowledge and cultural socialization in the use of the techniques of necropolitics, and legitimacy in the handling and use of violence as a key technique of rule. That is, in case of the Mexican patriarchal pact, as in many similar arrangements, the executors of violence, usually heterosexual cis men, act as armed soldiers of the "sovereign." Their crimes occur with impunity, and there is a persistent lack of justice for trans and cis women, as well as minority populations. Due to their race/ethnicity, sexuality, and class, they possess a monopoly over the techniques of death, ruling over gender, class, race, sexual dissent, and functional diversity.

The most visible face of this necropatriarchy is the (trans)femicidal machine that up to this day accounts for more than 53,000 femicides committed against women from 1985 to 2016 in the Mexican territory (Echarri Cánovas 2017).[8]

I use the concept of neopolitics to define the occupation of a political field populated by minoritarian becomings that do not hoist a common flag but that apparently debate with their presence "an embodied claim for a more livable life" (Butler 2015: 119), that is, a demand of public intersectional dignification, that appropriates the right to speak and appear in public: to do politics. But it is a politics that does not call on the simple representation/representativeness that articulates under the old binary mandates of the male sovereignty understood, and whose common cause leaves out of the democratic frame the intersections and the differences since they defy "the technological construction of the 'natural truth' of the sexes that is done with the support of a binary and visual epistemological regime of the hetero-centered conception of the human" (Flores 2017: 35). On the contrary, under a multiplicity of demands that configure a political constellation that cannot be subsumed to the neoliberal ideals of normalization, this neopolitics presents itself with multiple faces and geopolitics that speak in tongues (Anzaldúa 1988) and not only in the official protest language. This

multitude seeks for other interlocutors to make practical alliances to avoid enclosure, dispossession, and the massacre.

In this sense, transfeminisms are forms of this neopolitics, since they aspire not to become citizens-consumers but to transit through other nonbinary circuits where the agendas of insurrection do not put identitarian or national limits.[9] On the contrary, they make us share practices of dissent, survival, and interdependence in the face of the unrestrained massacre of necroliberalism.

Transpolitics emerges as a radical epistemic paradigm shift of the traditional definition of the political, where survival strategies appeal to the disobedience of established rules to be "good savages" and "good minorities" by reworking embodiment with the "body present" the lexicon of insubordination,[10] thereby making possible the reorganization of the political from little traveled areas in spaces where vulnerability and damage to the bodies of women and nonbinary people and injustice are the norm.[11]

## The Case of Paola Sánchez Romero, Example of Postmortem/Transmortem Politics

Sarah Nuttall (2012) asks: "How and in what terms do we go back to the question about the dead body now, as a body, mourned life and form of mortality, desert and void in the political body?" (93). I contemplate the possibility of answering from a transfeminist framework that seeks to name death not only as an act that closes and deletes life but also as a process that happens in stages inside the continuous massacre that many minoritarian populations experience. It isn't my intention to deny the fact that murder radically cuts life; however, before this radical denial and appalling privatization, political responses have arisen, using the presentation of the dead body to dignify it and avoid its erasure. It is this mobilization of the murdered and present body that I call *postmortem/transmortem politics*.

In the early morning of September 30, 2016, in the Puente de Alvarado Avenue, in Mexico City, Paola Sánchez Romero, a trans woman, was murdered while working. The murderer, Arturo Delgadillo, the alleged armed escort of a public official from Naucalpan, asked for her sexual services and a few minutes after twenty-seven-year-old Paola got in his car, he shot her twice in the heart.

The facts were told by her coworkers, who ran to her rescue on hearing the gunshots. The killer was captured by the sex workers and handed over to the police, who transferred him to the offices of the Fiscalía Desconcentrada en Investigación (Decentralized Prosecutors Office of Investigation) in the Cuauhtémoc Delegation, where Kenya, one of the trans women who witnessed the events, recognized him and also the gun he wielded that night: a 9mm Pietro Beretta. However, despite having overwhelming evidence and eye-witness accounts, the

judge, Gilberto Cervantes Hernández, set the murderer free on October 2, 2016, two days after the arrest, arguing that there wasn't evidence enough to incriminate Delgadillo (Gilet 2016).

After the exculpatory sentence, Paola's friends wondered during her funeral, Where is the justice for those that cannot pay for it? Their question poses an accurate critique of the Mexican state, where law and justice are not the same thing—on the contrary, where the state and its agents claim the power to apply the law discretionally, or not apply it at all. Paola's friends decided not to resign themselves in the face of this injustice, and on the way to the cemetery, they removed their dead friend's body from the coffin at the site of the murder, as a protest and call for justice. This justice is no longer being claimed only from the state; rather, it is a call for others to empathize with the rage and impotence generated in the Mexican population by the inattention and the lack of follow-up of crimes and all type of offences, especially the ones committed against trans and cis women, which lead to daily transfemicides and femicides (*El Gráfico* 2016; Cultura Diversa 2016). In this context, this community of trans sex workers decided to display their dead friend's body to call for the production of an alliance, even if it is an spontaneous one.

They decided not to stay only in the obituaries or accept these as the only legal and allowed way in the modern West to manifest their mourning. On the contrary, they displayed a postmortem/transmortem politics that refutes, transgresses, and disobeys necropower, since, as Martín De Mauro Rucovsky (2017: 154) reflects, "what necropower achieves, and the corresponding femicidal violence, is to dislocate the 'sepulchral pact,' inasmuch it destroys the ties of that body with the community."

So the objective of the politics of the present (dead) body, that is, postmortem/transmortem, activated by the act of this community of trans Mexican women in answer to Paola's transfemicide, is precisely the rearticulation of the strength of the community for "re-construction of a biographical frame of (trans)femicidal violence in dispute with the judicial-police narrative and also the journalistic chronicles written from ontological presuppositions that were individualizing and personalistic [and stigmatizing]" (De Mauro Rucovsky 2017: 151).

This act of displaying a dead body is the inverse of the exhibition and trashification of the bodies of the women killed violently in a femicide done by the media.[12] This dignified act of displaying a dead body nullifies its disappearance, its oblivion; it rebels against the indifference toward another death, prohibits mutism, and forces estrangement, since as B. Ianina Moretti (2017: 26) argues, "the bodily exhibition enables alliances, illuminates an interdependence that allows agencies that challenge this normative violence." This act, organized from worthy rage, can be considered spontaneous, minimum and isolated, but its occurrence in fact moves the structures of Mexican social anesthesia around

(trans)femicide, since society has become used to daily counting dead cis and trans women at the hands of necropatriarchal violence.

Thus, this demonstration against the corruption of the justice system displays a political dimension that transgresses the nominalist regulations, giving voice and body to other forms of struggle and resistance, even after death, exemplifying cruelly and starkly the conditions in which certain trans populations live and die every day. Beyond a visibilization of the murder and the impunity, the act of displaying Paola's body after its death inaugurates a displacement of the exercise of the political through postmortem/transmortem politics.

This postmortem politics manages to overcome the saturation of spectacle and trivialization of dead bodies, challenging the official visual narrative produced around femicide and the political, where a fragmented narrative is portrayed, where violence is not assumed as inattention or a breach of the state commitments to guarantee the security and protection of the populations the state is in charge of, and where the media revictimizes or disqualifies the facts, blaming the murdered women through moral judgments about their sexuality, their gender, and their class.

This gesture of transmortem activism shifts the scope of collective agency, positioning itself as a methodology of mourning from agency and from the construction of a memory that does not revictimize. This act calls out for the mobilization of communities and alliances where the transpolitical not only circumscribes to living bodies but also claims alliance with the murdered bodies, dead bodies, and disappeared bodies that integrate the necropolitical and grieving map of contemporary Mexico.

In this sense, the political body of transfeminisms is characterized by making strategic alliances that exceed the limits of traditional politics. These alliances articulate a complex social ontology; that is, they unify coherently a social body in constant modification, which constructs performatively an ethics and a politics that suspend the emotional precariousness, dignifying life. In this way, Transfeminisms enable the construction of a memory that is still fragile but not peremptory.

A memory where postmortem/transmortem politics represent an unsettling act that changes the rules of the game and of decoding violence against us: queer people. This postmortem memory breaks the pacts with the language of grieving imposed by the sexual elite and its promises of safety and well-being for all, which are the basis of contemporary democracies.

Finally, this deeply disobeying and intricately political gesture links transpolitics to a dissenting way of production of signs, syntax, languages, and what is involved in the process of subjectivation and the ways of producing and reproducing life in an extremely violent context. The presentation of a dead body

is an interruption of the social anesthesia in the face of the ever-present massacre, producing affective answers that modify the structures of social perception about trans people and the minoritarian becomings as worthy and with a right to live. It is also inspiring, inasmuch as they are capable of gaining agency from unexpected political imaginations, creating routes and maneuvers to act and appear in a way that is not comparable to the logics of normalizing-devouring of institutional politics.

## Conclusions

In this article I have reflected about the postmortem/transmortem politics executed by a Mexican trans community that, in displaying the murdered body of one of their community members, exceeds the limits of the political in its traditional sense. With this action, the surviving women of this community become trans Antigones.[13] They refuse to obey or transit through the circuits of conventional political claims because Paola is all of us, because she is saying from the afterlife: "I do not want to die this death" (Mbembe 2016). The postmortem politics is this "present body" that comes back to challenge the visual anesthesia that is produced by the mediation and reproduction of the catastrophe and the (trans)femicide through mass media and cultural devices linked to reproducing sexist, chauvinist, racist, heteronormed, and necropatriarcal narratives and values.

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## Notes

1. I take inspiration from Félix Guattari and Suely Rolnik's (2006) perspective, which defines *minoritarian becomings* as a process that does not essentialize the identities but is performative; that is, one is not essentially minoritarian but becomes so because of gender, race, class, sexual orientation, functional diversity, migration status, and so forth, such as becoming black, becoming woman, or becoming migrant. However, the potential

of these becomings translates not to a passive reproduction of subalternization but to the creation of other imageries and political potencies that build queer alternatives that create networks of affection and survival in highly normative and violent contexts.

2. Given the length and approach of the article, it focuses on the reflection about transfeminist connections between cis and transgender women besieged by femicide. However, this does not mean that I do not consider it important to think about the connection of transfeminism with transmasculine people. I suggest consulting important transmasculine thinkers that have addressed this topic, such as Paul Preciado (2018) and Jack Halberstam (1998).

3. "*Cuir* represents an *ostranienie* (de-familiarization) of the term *queer,* that is, a de-automation of the reading glance, and it registers the geopolitical inflection towards the South and from the peripheries as a counteroffensive to the colonial epistemology and the Anglo-American historiography. Thus, the movement from *queer* to *cuir* refers to a locus of enunciation with a decolonial inflection, both playful and critical" (Valencia 2015: 34).

4. The queer perspective considers that the process of standardization/normalization of sexed bodies in a gender-binary categorization is violent in itself, hence the term *gender-based violence*, not *gender violence*.

5. I use the term *necro-neoliberalism* to talk about the use of necropolitical techniques applied by the capitalist neoliberal regime to generate economic, political, or social capital, through violence and death, which in other works I have called gore capitalism (Valencia 2018).

6. In Andean communities in Latin America, development is expressed through the notion of *sumak kawsay*, the Quechua word for *buen vivir*, "good living," or "living well." *Sumak kawsay* has been proposed as an alternative conception of development and has been incorporated into the constitutions of Ecuador and *suma qamaña* (*vivir bien*) in Bolivia. It connotes a harmonious collective development that conceives of the individual within the context of the social and cultural communities and his or her natural environment (Houtart 2011).

7. Celia Amorós (1994: 27) defines this pact as follows: "Patriarchy could be considered as a kind of interclass, metastable agreement that becomes the heritage of the generic of the males, who institute themselves as the subjects of the social contract against women, who are the 'agreed.' Said like this, it is very schematic. . . . But normally patriarchy would be this—interclass—pact by which power constitutes itself as the heritage of the generic of males. In this pact, of course, the covenant parties are not in equal conditions, because there are different classes, and those class differences are not irrelevant. But it should be remembered, as Heidi Hartmann very appropriately does, that the family wage is a patriarchal pact among males of antagonistic social classes to socially control women."

8. I take the term *femicidal machine* from the Mexican writer and journalist Sergio González Rodríguez, who suggests it to analyze the femicide in Ciudad Juárez in his book *Huesos en el desierto*, published in 2002, and reedited in 2005 by the Barcelonian press house Anagrama.

9. The term *transfeminism* seeks to enunciate a critical update of the traditional way of interpreting and managing the sex-gender system and the sexuality that affect the political subject of feminism. That is, transfeminism puts in the center of the debate the need to articulate intersectionally the heterosexual norm as a political and economic regime that unleashes the sexual division of labor and originates the structural inequalities between the genders, crossed by specificities of race/ethnicity, class, and

sexual dissent with new elements, such as the nonexclusion and the depathologization of trans bodies, the legalization of sex work, the reappropriation of pornographic representation (feminist postpornography), the critique of romantic love, functional diversity, and the body-decolonial critique of the fat power movement, as well as the intensive violence where the dissenting bodies are located in highly neoliberalized and/or excolonial countries. This incorporation of elements to the feminist agendas has been claimed for more than a decade by different activist collectives in Latin America and Spain; to mention only a few, in Spain, Guerrilla travolaka (guerrilla-travolaka.blogspot.com), Colectivo Hetaira (www.colectivohetaira.org), and Post Op (archivo-t.net/post-op/), and thinkers/writers/artists such as Paul Preciado (2009), Itziar Ziga (2009), Diana J. Torres (2011), and Miriam Solá and Elena Urko (2013); in Ecuador, Ana Almeida and Eli Vázquez (2010); in my own Mexico, (Valencia 2010, 2012, 2014; Valencia and Sepúlveda 2016); in Argentina, Laura Milano (2014) and Nicolás Cuello and Laura Contrera (2016); in Chile, Colectivo CUDS (disidenciasexualcuds.wordpress.com/about/); in Colombia, Nadia Granados "La Fulminante"(www.lafulminante.com).

10. I am referencing the two meanings of the Spanish expression *de cuerpo presente*, which, on the one hand, refers to a living person, someone who is really present, not through a representative or otherwise; on the other hand, it also references a corpse, which is exposed and ready to be taken after the burial.
11. I use the term *gore capitalism* (Valencia 2010) to reference the reinterpretation given to hegemonic and global economy in (geographically) border spaces, where the processes of giving death are more visibly capitalized.
12. On this topic, you can review the contributions of such feminist theoreticians as Rita Segato (2003), Mariana Berlanga (2018), and Julia Monárrez (2009).
13. With this metaphor, I am linking the act of transmortem politics and the story of Antigone, a character from Greek mythology who disobeys the order of King Creon, who prohibits her to give a proper burial to her dead brother. In the myth, Antigone transgresses the prohibition and buries her brother with the proper funeral ceremonies of the Greeks, and because of it, she is condemned to death. However, with this disregard, Antigone creates a new ethical parameter above blind obedience to authority, establishing a frame of political action that privileges the value of dignity and affection above laws based on authoritarianism and injustice.

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