

## **Not just no step back, but at least one step forward? How can we still conceive of an emancipatory transformation in the face of the rise of the New Right?**

In view of the rise of the global right, it seems increasingly difficult to imagine an emancipatory socio-ecological transformation. Instead, the transformation strategies of the New Right now seem so threatening to many of us that simply maintaining the admittedly unsatisfactory status quo has become the primary goal. How can we still think about ways to achieve an emancipatory society in the face of this challenge of responding to right-wing narratives and policies?

In this article, I would like to explore how the approaches of Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci, as well as the ideas of anarchist thinkers, can help us in this endeavor. Freire's concept of “conscientização”—critical consciousness-raising that encourages people to question their social realities—serves not only to impart knowledge, but is also to be understood as an act of liberation. At a time when many are overcome by feelings of powerlessness, Freire's approach offers the opportunity to break through the veil of passivity and intervene in the discourse in a self-determined manner. This also resonates with anarchist principles, which focus on self-organization and a society free of domination.

Gramsci's analysis of hegemony gives us tools to expose the mechanisms of power and oppression that permeate the social fabric and help us develop our own narratives. In contrast to constantly reacting to right-wing narratives, which forces us onto the defensive, Gramsci calls on us to formulate forward-looking, counter-hegemonic narratives that present an alternative vision.

This article aims to explore the connection between Gramsci's theoretical concepts, Freire's thinking, and anarchist ideas, and to further develop their potential for emancipatory transformations (also) in times of growing authoritarian forces.