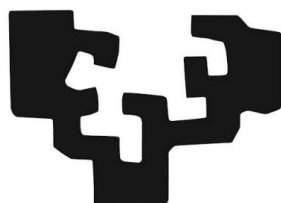


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**RECLAIMING THE THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF
SOUTHERN FEMINISMS:**

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITARIAN AND
DECOLONIAL FEMINISM**

EGILEA: Cata Gómez Etxegoien
ZUZENDARIA: Jule Goikoetxea Mentxaka

**RECLAIMING THE THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF SOUTHERN FEMINISMS:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITARIAN AND DECOLONIAL FEMINISM**

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I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the people who, in one way or another, actively or indirectly, have contributed to making this work possible. First of all, I would like to remember all the women who fight every day for the dignity of their communities and peoples, who fight for the freedom and empowerment of their bodies and territories. In this way I want to thank my mentor, Jule, for the opportunity she has given me by letting me do this work and for the time she has dedicated to it. I want to thank the generosity of Anabel Sanz del Pozo and Maite Asensio Lozano for lending me a very precious resource, their time for the interview, and a family friend, Lesley Lee, for her dedication and commitment to the correction of the work, thank you very much for your time and patience. To all the indigenous leaders, land defenders and women who left their lives to defend their bodies and territories, this will be for you.

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to analyze the main substantial and theoretical differences and similarities between decolonial feminism and communitarian feminism. Taking into account the purpose of this research, I have chosen the meaning that has been made of Decolonial Feminism and Community Feminism, applied to the following concepts such as patriarchy and gender. The feminisms of the South have problematized, in a holistic and comprehensive way, the multiple patriarchal violence that women¹ experience, so I consider it to be of great interest to try to recover their theory and practices. One of the most interesting contributions it offers is that of the depatriarchalization of sexual bodies, a deconstruction that is intimately linked to the processes of colonization and the establishment of the original processes of accumulation². The feminisms of the South can contribute epistemologies, experiences of common processes and perfectly exportable feminist practices within the Basque Autonomous Feminist Movement. Throughout this work, I will try to highlight the most interesting aspects that both feminisms can contribute to the Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista.

KEY WORDS: Communitarian feminism, decolonial feminism, patriarchy, gender, bodies, colonialism and territory.

¹ When we talk about women, we are not talking about women as a mere essentialist and biological category. Throughout the world of work, the word "women" will refer to a political category in which relationships of oppression, subordination and violence over sexual bodies are lived (Paredes, 2012). Gender is a social construction that is based on the genitals of the human body, and the antagonistic and dichotomous categories of man and woman are established by their type of genitals. This differentiation and subsequent categorization is assigned to a system of hierarchy in which the category of woman is subordinated to the category of man, the category of woman transforms her body into a sexed one intended for reproduction. Within this construct, the patriarchy is fed and reproduced.

² The concept of original or primitive accumulation is a term that Marx developed throughout the first volume of *The Capital*. The term refers to the historic processes of privatization of the means of production. As these means were privatized, thousands of poor and landless people were forced to work for large landowners and sell their labor force, and this process of privatization of communal lands affected thousands of rural people who were violently dispossessed of their rural means. Colonialism is totally intertwined with the processes of capitalist accumulation of origin. The "extermination, enslavement and burial" of "the native population" of "America". The "conquest and pillage of the East Indies" and the "African continent" turned into a "slave hunting ground" are, in such a way, part of the "dawn" of the bourgeois society and its "world market" (Espinosa, 2013)

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RESUMEN

El objetivo principal de este trabajo es analizar las principales diferencias y similitudes sustanciales y teóricas entre el feminismo decolonial y el feminismo comunitario. Teniendo en cuenta el propósito para realizar esta investigación he elegido el significado que se ha hecho del Feminismo Decolonial y el Feminismo Comunitario a los siguientes conceptos como patriarcado y género. Los feminismos del Sur han problematizado de manera holística y comprensiva la múltiple violencia patriarcal que viven las mujeres por lo que considero de gran interés tratar de recuperar su teoría y prácticas. Uno de los aportes más interesantes que ofrece es el de la despatriarcalización de los cuerpos sexuados, una deconstrucción que está íntimamente ligada a los procesos de colonización y al establecimiento de los procesos de acumulación original². Los feminismos del Sur pueden aportar epistemologías, experiencias de procesos comunes y prácticas feministas perfectamente exportables dentro del Movimiento Autónomo Feminista Vasco, a lo largo de este trabajo intentaremos destacar los aspectos más interesantes que ambos feminismos pueden aportar al Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Feminismo Comunitario, Feminismo Decolonial, patriarcado, genero, cuerpos, colonialismo y territorio.

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“Nosotros, nosotras, somos el resultado de muchas luchas, llevamos en la sangre la herencia guerrera de nuestras abuelas, nuestras raíces nos lo exigen y nuestras hijas, nos lo grita”³

Bety Cariño(2010)

1.- INTRODUCTION AND JUSTIFICATION

The main point of this project is to try to fully understand the significance of the concept and the development of the patriarchy and gender regarding non-Western European Feminisms. It is an attempt to learn about and understand these concepts and to investigate to what extent women's bodies and territories experience colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism as well as to comprehend the logic and how these systems interrelate in women's lives.

Based on the premise that knowledge is power, and knowledge will free and empower us, I want to try to decolonize both concepts of gender and patriarchy of all Eurocentric and Western Centric reasoning / rationality - something which I am not sure I will be able to carry out. It is also a personal exercise of knowledge and healing, an attempt to depatriarcalize and decolonize our bodies of this savage capitalist system, which impales us, drowns us, judges us and marginalises us, depriving us of being active subjects and condemns us to be slaves to certain body types, made to the image and likeness for the pleasure and exclusive enjoyment of men (Heterosexual, white, western, middle-upper class...).

Body and territory are two concepts / categories which are totally connected to each other. Both belong to and have been formed by the prevailing capitalist, patriarchic and colonial system, which operates from knowledge, relationships, world views and specific places as a unique, universal and totalizing knowledge. (Unique though, unique knowledge, free market based economy, globalized world, unique culture, accumulation by dispossession, North / South logic).

The interest in this research comes from a personal experience of having studied in Colombia and having had contact with other currents of feminism in Latin America. The Communitarian and Decolonial Feminist have so much to contribute to the Basque Feminist Movement (Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista). Both (the) Communitarian and (the) Decolonial feminisms provide analytic tools to confront and resist this sick and decaying patriarchal capitalist system that we face and which robs us of our bodies and territories from a thousand angles and in an infinity of ways and shapes.

³ This phrase is part of the last speech given by Mixtec leader Bety Cariño, who was brutally murdered along with the participants of the Observation Caravan on April 27, 2010. Bety Cariño fought all her life for the dignity and freedom of the villages and their inhabitants, for which I would like to pay a small tribute to her.

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2.- MAIN PURPOSES:

In order to carry out this research on the contributions of decolonial and community feminism, the following objectives have been set:

1.-Come to understand Communitarian and Decolonial Feminism

1.2.- Compare the main characteristics of the two feminisms: study the similarities and differences.

2.- Compare or analyze the meaning of the concepts of gender and patriarchy that both feminism have.

2.1.-Furthermore, examine the link between these two concepts within colonialism.

3.- Understand what the Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista can learn from Comunitarian and the Decolonial Feminism

4. Try to do a final degree project in which the majority of contrasted sources have been written by women, not Westerners, and in which that knowledge does not come only from academic sources

3.-HYPOTHESIS

Once the objectives have been established, the following hypotheses have been put forward:

- The feminisms of the South provide an analytical tool to confront and resist the new challenges that the capitalist, patriarchal and neo-fascist system presents to the lives of all women, men and people on the planet.

- Feminisms of the South are an indispensable tool for the depatriarchalization of sexual bodies, only by decolonizing can we depatriarchalize ourselves.

- It is not possible to analyze the origin and configuration of patriarchy without analyzing the origin and functioning of colonialism and the process of original accumulation.

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4.-METHODOLOGY

When the subject of the TFG was raised, one of the objectives that was kept in mind was to try to ensure that the vast majority of the information sources consulted, i.e. articles, magazines, books... came from female authors. On the other hand, I also tried to move away from Western academic epistemology and consult the works of Latin American thinkers.

In order to develop the first two objectives of this research, reliable sources of information and material found on the internet and in printed books were used. The sources of information used to carry out the research and to obtain information and quotations are the following

- Databases: The UPV/EHU library, ADDI, Dialnet, ResearchGate, Google Scholar.
- Libraries: In which books, academic articles, doctoral theses and reports have been consulted. Among the libraries are the central library of the UPV/EHU in Leioa and the municipal library of San Nikolas in Algorta and the Municipal Library/Kultur Etxe in Romo.
- Books: For the realization of this work and the achievement of the objectives set, books have been used. The books consulted were mostly written by women specialized in this area of knowledge and most of them are of non-European origin. All the books have been consulted in the ex-law libraries and have been recommended or facilitated by my tutor. Also, some books have been consulted in electronic format due to the present coronavirus crisis and the subsequent closure of the libraries.
- Articles: For the realization of this work I have also made use of a large number of articles written by authors and experts in the field. Some of the articles have been provided by my tutor, others have been recommended by experts in the field.
- Websites and blogs: For the realization of this investigation and to obtain more information, media and web portals have been consulted frequently, like El Salto, Viento Sur and Pikara Magazine, among others. Likewise, several consultations have been made to blogs and Latin American websites in which various articles about the subject are written.
- Videos: Finally, I have also made use of multimedia and videos broadcast on Youtube and Vimeo. Some of the videos correspond to conferences and academic debates that have been recorded and uploaded to digital platforms such as Youtube or Vimeo. Others are explanatory videos recorded by authors, thinkers and intellectuals who are experts in the field of TFG.

In order to achieve the third objective, apart from the documentation techniques, two interviews have been carried out. In principle, two more interviews were going to be conducted regarding decolonialism, one by email and the other in person. But unfortunately, it was not possible due to a lack of time caused by the coronavirus crisis.

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The two interviews that were conducted were semi-structured, in which a script was followed with a series of specific questions, but throughout the interview, questions were modified and some changes were made in their order because some questions had already been answered as the interview progressed. On the other hand, emphasis was placed on the questions that were relevant to the present work. All of the interview questions were open-ended, so that the interviewees could discuss them at length.

The two interviews were conducted simultaneously, so that both interviewees answered the questions and were able to discuss the questions with each other. The first person contacted was Anabel Sanz del Pozo, a militant feminist historian at FeminisTalde, an equality technician at Basauri city council and an anti-racist and internationalist militant with many links to Latin America. The second person, the journalist Maite Asensio Lozano, was contacted by Anabel. Maite is a journalist from Berria and an expert and writer on gender issues. She was also one of the founders of the online magazine Pikara Magazine (2010) together with June Fernandez, Lucía Martínez Odriozola and Itziar Abad. In 2014 she was on the jury of the Emakunde Equality Awards and the same year she was awarded the Argia Written Press Award for all her contributions to gender equality as a journalist, for her commitment and for the great importance of her work in the fight for equality between women and men.

The choice of these two women for the interview is due to a multiple number of reasons, one of which is the militancy of both women in the Basque feminist movement, which makes the contributions they can offer very interesting for this work. The second reason is due to the knowledge and links with Latin American women that both interviewees have, but especially Anabel who has traveled and lived for many years in different countries of the Latin American continent, having woven networks of contact, militancy and solidarity with autonomous feminist groups. The third is for reasons of proximity and means, since both women reside in Bilbo and due to the lack of resources, mobility and the current circumstances, it was possible to contact and conduct the interview.

The interviews were held on July 20th 2020 in the Old Quarter of Bilbo. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the summer period, it was not possible to carry out the interview earlier. The interview took place in a cafeteria but due to the noise, we moved to a quieter place in the middle of the interview. The interview had a duration of 90 minutes. It was relaxed and very interesting contributions were made for the realization of the present work. Throughout the interview, topics such as the origin and historical path of the Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista, the debates that took place on decolonialism in the V Feminist Days celebrated in Durango, the presence of non-Eurocentric women in the feminist movement, the agenda of the EHMF, the contributions of the feminisms of the South and the lessons learned, among others, were discussed.

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5- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Through the theoretical framework I will introduce and contextualize where decolonial and communitarian feminism comes from and from which places, territories and contexts it is spoken about and constituted.

5.1- Brief contextualization of decolonialism

Postcolonial epistemology/theory/thinking has problematized the knowledge-power relationship, in which knowledge is power but not all people can access this knowledge. The analytical construct created by the French thinker Michel Foucault made the close interaction between power and knowledge visible, subtracting from knowledge its budget of neutrality. Knowledge requires a network of power for its realization and vice versa, while being a product of power. Starting from this analytical construct, decolonial thinkers study the emergence of America as a product of modernity in the construction of the world system when Europe constitutes itself around its peripheral reference: America (Dussel, 1999). The subject constitutes itself in opposition to the other. Continuing with this approach, as Foucault would say, the normal is constituted, conforms and defines itself in opposition to the abnormal, first, what is abnormal is defined and then what is normal is constituted. In order to construct and define the male, white, European, upper-middle class heterosexual and educated subject, the other American, poor, Indian, indigenous and wild is needed. This relationship has encouraged a structure of domination and exploitation regarding race, class, the regime of heterosexuality that begins with colonialism and extends to the present day (Quijano, 2000). This world pattern is called the coloniality of power by Aníbal Quijano .

In Latin America, modernity has always occurred through coloniality, a situation that continues to this day. Members of the group often make a categorical distinction between colonialism and coloniality. "Colonialism" refers to military occupation and legal annexation of a territory and its inhabitants by a foreign imperial force. "Coloniality", on the other hand, refers to the "cultural logic" of colonialism, i.e. the kind of colonial inheritance that persists and multiplies even after colonialism has ended. It is said that in Latin America colonialism ended in the 19th century but not coloniality, which still persists.

This coloniality of power has traversed the hegemonic feminism of Latin America and other Third World countries. This has caused many women of the Global South to have been represented as objects and not as active, transforming subjects of their own history and particular experiences (Mohanty, 2008). This representation has systematically placed feminist women of the Global South 'outside' social structures, seen as victims and not as political agents and subjects of their own history, bearers of important experiences of resistance and struggle and theorizations (Curiel, 2009).

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5. 2- Colonialism and decolonization processes

Frantz Fanon, one of the most brilliant thinkers of the 20th century and the greatest exponent of the theory of post-colonial studies who devoted his life, apart from his work as a psychiatrist, to examining the functioning corpus of colonialism, claims that the colonial world is a world divided into watertight compartments. The world governed by colonialism is a world divided in two (Fanon, 1999) – a world organized into two areas, the colonialists and the colonized, which are opposites. Both areas obey the principle of reciprocal exclusion; there is no possible conciliation between these two worlds, and one of the two is surplus. Colonialism plays within dichotomous antagonism, the colonized. The other wild part, the beast, the object, are configured in relation and subordination to the colonizing subject or settler. In this Manichean, immobile world of statues, there is no possible conciliation, one of the two sides is the loser, and thus a logic of permanent war against the other, the enemy, is established. As a metaphor for the colonial system, there was the city of the settlers, clean, white, classic, full of bars, nightclubs, luxury food, pretty dresses, good taste... while the city of the colonized would be a black city, dirty, full of smells that intermingle, a city cowed, on its knees, a city covered in mud, a city of blacks (Fanon, 1999). The colonial context is characterized by the dichotomy it inflicts on the world.

Fanon says that colonialism writes and produces history (colonial, Eurocentric, patriarchal). The history that colonialism writes, produces and disseminates, however, is not the history of the country it dispossesses, but the history of its nation, as it pillages, rapes, starves, steals and destroys (Fanon, 1999). Colonialism is a systematic denial of the other, a furious decision to deprive the other of any attribute of humanity. Colonialism pushes the dominated people to constantly ask the question: 'who am I?' (Fanon, 1955:196). Colonialism denies the recognition of the colonized as subjects, denies them the right to recognize themselves as people and condemns them, humiliates them, denies them their history and classifies them as beasts and savages. In other words, it dehumanizes them by denying them the category of human beings.

Fanon explains that decolonization is an inherently violent process in itself since it is the substitution of a "species" of man by another "species", thus affirming that: "*decolonization is really the creation of new men*" (Fanon, 1999:28). But this creation does not receive its legitimacy from any supernatural power: "the colonized "thing" becomes man in the same process by which it is liberated" (Fanon, 1999:28). For Fanon, this process is the one that will return humanity to those who had lost it due to colonization and that can only be realized by means of violence: "*Colonialism is not a machine of thinking, it is not a body endowed with reason. It is violence in a state of nature and can bow only to greater violence.*" (Fanon, 1999:47) In this quote, Fanon indicates that the violence seen in the film made by the Algerians is necessary and is the only way to win over colonialism, that is, to recover its humanity. With this logic, Fanon explains that the process of decolonization homogenizes the world, since it ends the antagonistic division that the colonial system has imposed. (Fanon, 1999).

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In his work 'Discourses on Colonialism', Aimé Césaire, a thinker from Martinique, defines colonization as the bridgehead of barbarism in civilization, which can happen at any moment with the pure and simple negation of civilization. In the words of Césaire: "*colonization dehumanizes man, even the most civilized; that the colonial action, the colonial enterprise, the colonial conquest, founded on the scorn of the native man and justified by this scorn, tends inevitably to modify those who undertake it; that the colonizer, when speaking to himself to see the other as a beast, when treating him like a beast, to calm his conscience, tends objectively to transform himself into the beast*" (Césaire, Aimé 2006:19). In this way, Césaire claims that colonialism as a structure of domination is in itself a beast, a kind of exterminating machine.

The colonisers established that the indigenous people who inhabited the colonies were not human beings, but beasts. By doing this, a scheme is established in which the beast, the colonized, is nothing more than an animal to be exterminated, made to disappear. The colonial system thus creates a logical dichotomy-antagonism in which the colonists are people, men with values, civilized, with knowledge and good taste... while the colonized are no longer regarded as anything more than objects, but are called wild beasts to be exterminated (Césaire, 2006). Therefore, the settler does not feel that he is doing anything immoral when he kills, exterminates or rapes groups of colonized people. He feels that he is doing a good job, that he is fulfilling his moral obligations and imposing a social order in a society of wild beasts. This mindset has both legitimized and fuelled all the genocides and exterminations committed by European countries in the context of wars of liberation of African, Asian and Latin people. When I say that this way of thinking has legitimized it, I mean that in seeing the colonised as a beast, the colonisers and European society do not find the crimes, the genocides carried out by the colonisers towards the colonised ethically unacceptable. And it is not morally unacceptable to them because they do not even consider them to be people, just objects.

5.3-Decolonization:

The decolonization process means rescuing the diverse epistemological and political proposals relocating thought and action to reject universalization, which is a fundamental characteristic of western modernity (Curiel, 2009)⁴ Therefore, to rescue the different epistemological and theoretical proposals of women that occupy spaces of the Global South means decolonizing the Eurocentric and western feminist thought while decomplexing and deconstructing the paradigm of modernity.

Colonization, for Ochy Curiel and decolonial feminists, 'is a political position that cuts across individual and collective thought and action, our imaginations, our bodies, our sexualities (not a specific one), our ways of acting and being in the world, and that creates a kind of intellectual 'maroonage' of social practices and the construction of one's own thought according to concrete experiences' (Curiel, 2009). Decolonization deals with the questioning

⁴ Part of this paper was presented at the First Latin American Colloquium on Feminist Praxis and Thought held in Buenos Aires in June 2009, organized by the Latin American group of Feminist Studies, Training and Action (GLEFAS) and the Institute of Gender of the University of Buenos Aires.

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of the unique subject, of Eurocentrism, of Westernism, of the colonality of power, while at the same time recognizing proposals such as hybridization, polysemy, and other, subordinate, borderline thinking (Curiel, 2009). To all that Ochy Curiel states, I would also add that all knowledge does not emanate from abstract scientific knowledge, such as poems, stories, tales, paintings and diverse spiritualities. Latin American decolonial feminism is a feminism that thinks and responds to itself in the need to build a political practice that considers the overlapping of systems of domination such as sexism, racism, heterosexism and capitalism. Considering that matrix of domination, the African-American feminist thinker, Patricia Hill Collins, (Collins, 1999) suggests that this is what gives feminism a sense of radicality.

Decolonization, as a broad concept, refers to the independence process of Latin American people and territory, which had been subjected to colonial domination in political, economic, social and cultural terms. Some examples of this are what happened in America between 1783 and 1900 - from which the United States of America and the Latin American republics emerged. Also, what took place between 1920 and 1945 in relation to the dependent territories of the Ottoman Empire and which brought about the independence of the Middle East and Maghreb States, as well as those that took place between 1945 and 1970, as a result of which, the African continent, important areas of Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean were structured into independent political units. Ochy Curiel places special emphasis on the final period of the decolonization processes because of the impact they had on the critical consciousness of not only intellectuals and activists from these continents, but also on many other territories of the planet, such as Latin America and the Caribbean. These processes have given rise within the academic sphere to post-colonial, cultural and subaltern studies that place the construction of subjects in post-colonial contexts at the centre. One of the collectives of critical thought in decolonial studies is the group of Coloniality/Modernity, founded at the end of the 20th century. Their work is characterized by the postulation of a decolonial perspective, which situates the discussion on power relations installed in 1492, with the conquest of what we now know as America. This implies a racialization that is at the base of the installation of a capitalist economic system and with European modernity.

Returning again to Fanon's approach, for Martinique's way of thinking, decolonization is "*a program of absolute disorder, a historical process, the process of congenitally antagonistic forces that extract their originality from that kind of sustenance that segregates and feeds the colonial situation*" (Fanon, 1995:28). Decolonization never passes unnoticed, since it affects the being, fundamentally modifying it. It introduces a rhythm of its own, contributed to by new men, people, a new language, a new humanity. Decolonization is really: "*the creation of new men, the colonized thing becomes man, person, woman in the same process by which it is liberated*" (Fanon, 1999:28). It passes from being seen, treated, considered as an object to self-determination as an active transforming subject of its reality and of the becoming of its history. The decolonization process demands an integral rethinking of the colonial situation. Fanon admits that on a descriptive level, any process of decolonization is a triumph in itself, since it ends the dichotomy that prevails, humanizes and liberates the colonized population, elevating them to the category of human beings, of revolutionary subjects. (Fanon, 1995)

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The process of decolonization means for the colonized to discover and recognize themselves as active subjects, as human beings who produce their own history and live their own life. As Fanon explained in the following lines:

‘He discovers that his life, his breathing, his heartbeat are the same as those of the colonist. He discovers that the skin of the colonist is not worth more than an indigenous skin. This discovery introduces an essential shock into the world. All the new and revolutionary security of the colonized is derived from this. If my life has the same weight as that of the colonist, his gaze no longer fulminates me, no longer immobilizes me, his voice no longer petrifies me. I am no longer disturbed in his presence. I practically annoy him. Not only does his presence no longer affect me, but he has prepared such ambushes for him that soon he will have no other way out but to flee’ (Fanon, 1999:35,36).

This discovery and observation of being equal to the settler and not subordinate, brings about a change of no return, when the colonized discover themselves to be a person, with their own voice, bearer of their ancestors, history and customs, not only do they not feel inferior to the colonized, but seek to expel him from their land which they recognize as having been stolen from them and deprived of. It is that recognition from which every revolution or decolonization process begins. If the colonial world imposes and sustains itself in the dichotomy that it inflicts on the world, the decolonization process unifies the world, tearing out the heterogeneity of this in a radical way, the world becomes floodable compartments. The process of decolonization unites the world on the basis of being one nation (Fanon, 1995)

5.4.-Decolonial Feminism

Decolonization is particularly important for Latin American feminist thought (Southern feminisms) because it points to the intersection of very diverse elements of economy, corporeality, politics, liberation and difference. Latin American decolonial feminism is a feminism that thinks and responds to itself in the need to build a political practice that considers the overlapping of systems of domination such as sexism, racism, heterosexism and capitalism.

Latin American feminism is a movement and a radical political theory (Gargallo, 2007). Ochy Curiel, Dominican activist, thinker and singer, defines feminism: *'as any struggle of women that opposes patriarchy. For that, we would have to build its genealogy considering the history of many women in many places and times'* (Curiel, 2009). Decolonial feminists understand decolonization as a concept, as an epistemological proposal, as a policy to make explicit and share certain critical positions and also proposals from various feminists that come from autonomy and radicalism. Decolonial feminism articulates a proposal from a concrete perspective which articulates race, ethnicity, class and sexuality as central pillars of a policy located in a particular region (Curiel, 2009). Following this logic, Ochy Curiel proposes a feminism of decolonial epistemology that is born and told from a particular and concrete reality, through a history and voices that have been silenced by Western feminism, colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism.

Ochy Curiel (2009) presents a feminism told by Latin, indigenous, poor, lesbian women, by women who have been expelled and condemned to the margins. It could be said that this epistemological, theoretical and practical proposal corresponds to all those women who did not fit into the bigger picture. It is a feminism that counts, especially from the perspective of reality, historicities and specific moments, which does not seek to universalize or impose itself as hegemonic.

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Decolonial feminism studies and tries to understand how colonialism and patriarchy are related, that is to say, it tries to see the interrelation of these two systems of oppression as a double oppression. The indigenous and gender condition are added, not only because being an Indian woman means being subjected to multiple forms of oppression, but because the gender and indigenous condition are both fruits of the same technology of hierarchization that always confer to women and Indians the place of the defeated, taking away their voice and the possibility of recognizing themselves positively in the knowledge that is incorporated in men and Westerners (exactly as the defeated are excluded from history). (Gargallo, 2007) It is here that the categories of colonialism and patriarchy, with the axes of race and gender, are related and fed together. In the words of the Dominican writer, poet, activist and theorist Ochy Curiel: *'the category of 'woman' is a political category that articulates us, with stories and centuries of subordination and proposals. It is not a self-defined identity, it is a social construction'* (Curiel, 2009) that must be deconstructed to give way to "historical, autonomous, political bodies". Defending women's lives, for Curiel, implies defending the spaces of lesbians: *'As long as heteronormativity is assumed as the model of erotic-love-sexual relations... we, from a radical position, will continue to defend autonomous political spaces, although open to articulation with other social and socio-sexual movements'*(Curiel, 2009).

Francesca Gargallo states that it is impossible to dissociate contemporary patriarchy from racism, colonialism and capitalism because all rational absolutized forms necessarily make different thoughts subordinate and create hierarchies, they denounce the way of living, women's politics and the violent encounters with the West, with patriarchy, with racism, with capitalism, with individualism and with heterosexism, as a constituent part of an oppressive whole (Gargallo, 2007).

5.5. *Communitarian Feminism*

Julieta Paredes, an Aymara lesbian and feminist, is one of the creators of the political theory of communitarian feminism. She describes this movement in the following words: *"un movimiento social orgánico y organizado, orgánico porque es un compromiso práctico y no es teoría, y organizado porque hay tareas que cumplir, no hay jerarquías pero sí hay responsabilidades."* (Paredes, 2015)⁵ Adriana Guzman describes feminism as: *"the resistance of any woman, anywhere in the world, at any time in history, who resists and tries to confront patriarchy"*. (Guzman, 2015:2).

The objective of communitarian feminism is to create an alternative to traditional feminism, part of which is called counter-hegemonic feminism, which is also part of the feminisms of the South, which questions the representation of the feminist subject within feminist theories and praxis within the axes of white, middle class and heterosexual women. Furthermore, it hopes to help it to become an instrument of thought and action integrated in the culture, where the history of the community and the country where that community comes from is recognized. It helps materialise the invisibility of those communities as well as the centuries

⁵ This definition is part of a conference that Julieta Paredes gave during her tour in 2013 in Madrid. The summary of this can be found at the following link:
<https://www.diagonalperiodico.net/saberes/21005-historia-y-memoria-del-feminismo-comunitario.html>

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of domination and conquest. It makes collective rights visible, adding the rights of women and recognition of the search for equality and equity. Communitarian feminism represents women who are not taken into consideration within traditional feminism, peasant and indigenous women, who also live in multicultural and multilingual environments (Escobar Gutierrez, Fortunata; Quisbert Quispe, Lidia; Toro Rojas, María Angélica; Eyzaguirre Valenzuela, Adiva 2009)

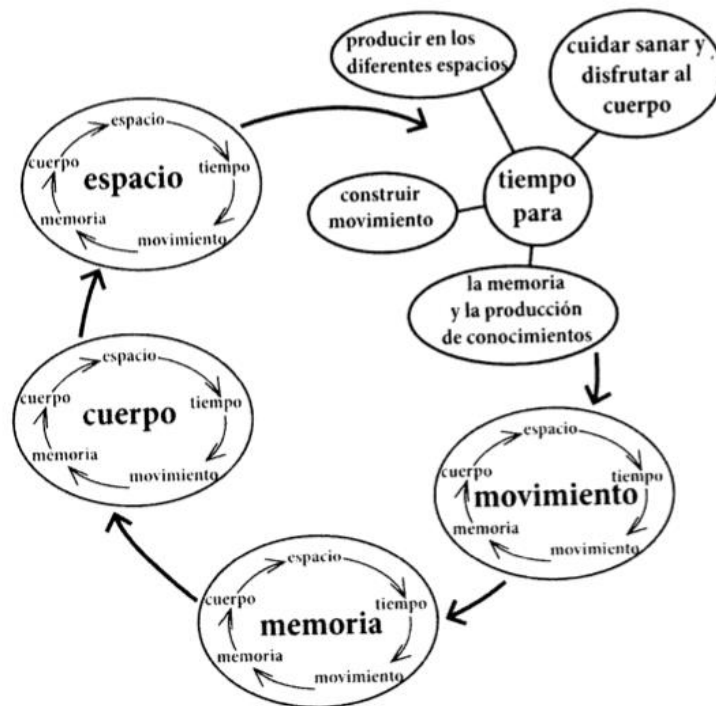
Communitarian feminists define patriarchy as: *'a system of universal oppression present in all cultures of the world'.* In other words, they affirm that *'patriarchy is the system of all oppression, all exploitation, all violence, and all discrimination experienced by the whole of humanity (women, men and intersex people), and by nature, as a system historically built on the sexual body of women'* (Cabnal, 2012:15,16). Adriana Guzman is one of the greatest exponents of the theory/practice of communitarian feminism, feminist, activist, Bolivian fighter. For her, communitarian feminism is not a theory, it is a political action that has a name, it is an active movement that fights for territory, in the streets, with words, and that disputes the hegemony of the senses and the signifiers of Eurocentric thought and epistemology. Communitarian feminism was born as a movement, as a way of thinking and action in Bolivia. It is an approach that fights for dignity, that questions and points an accusing finger at the patriarchal, capitalist, neoliberal, colonial, transnational system. It is a way of thinking committed to the depatriarchalization, decolonization and autonomy of the original, indigenous peoples. (Guzman, 2015). Communitarian feminism is a tool for articulation and struggle.

Communitarian feminism highlights the need to decolonize feminism, which for years, and still to this day, maintains a hegemonic, Eurocentric, white, academic and upper-middle class logic. It is not possible to speak of feminism without relating to all the indigenous, black, Asian women who live in colonized countries, because then the feminism that they claim from the West has and exercises an excluding and oppressive logic, which denies thousands of women and their realities. For communitarian feminism, feminism is the struggle of any woman, anywhere in the world, at any time in history, who fights, reveals herself and stands up to a patriarchy that oppresses her or that tries to oppress her. (Guzman, 2015).

Communitarian feminism is not just about exposing oppression. Communitarian feminism presents a political agenda. It presents the need to propose and build a political project, which necessarily implies recognizing that being black, lesbian, Latin, young and/or indigenous is a political position. It rejects Western-centric articulations or proposals that reduce feminism to gender equity, equality or difference, when the reality of many people in Latin America and the Caribbean is to fight for another way of life. The categories of feminism that observe and understand reality in a segmented way, in watertight compartments, must be overcome. This implies, among many things, overcoming the vision of the feminist struggle that is disjointed from the struggle of the people. It is the struggle of these people that can make patriarchy visible as a system of oppression. Communitarian feminists demand a feminism that stands up for and represents the struggle of the people.

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In summary, communitarian feminism speaks and is constructed from a decolonized feminism, and has constructed concepts, categories and useful actions to dismantle patriarchy and has, at its core, the community as a way of life, a community that, in the words of Adriana Guzmán, is constructed day by day and is the way to guarantee that patriarchy does not continue to reproduce itself. Communitarian Feminism is based on five fields of action: body, memory, time, movement and space. The fields of action are interrelated with each other. In the following table they are explained in a synthetic way.



Source: Paredes, 2014:97

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6.-ANALYSIS:

Returning to the objectives that were set out at the beginning , the first aim that this research set itself was to try to understand and comprehend communitarian feminism and decolonial feminism. The aim of this objective is to have read different texts from authors of both feminist currents and to try to summarize the main characteristics of each current, in order to try to build a comparative genealogy of both feminisms. The latter is related to the 'sub-objective' which refers to the comparison of the similarities and differences of these feminisms. Therefore the first objective is to try to contextualize and define the main characteristics of both decolonial and communitarian feminism, and at the same time to study them in a comparative perspective.

The feminisms of the South, which include communitarian and decolonial feminism, offer integral approaches and answers to the question of the body and the territory, two concepts that are in turn intimately interrelated. Both feminisms are configured in a logic of destruction and appropriation of bodies and territories, of a history of war of more than 500 years and in this resistance and struggle they have developed their feminist approach, which is traversed by the axes of colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. The definitions that both approaches offer about the concepts of body and territory are much more integral, complete and above all, radical than the approaches taken by European feminism.

Communitarian feminism is an earthly feminism, which emanates from the land for and by the land, and is constituted within its territory. Communitarian feminism, therefore, is a feminism that is born, drinks from the conquest and the colonized lands, a feminism that is rooted in the original lands, in the lands that are despoiled and inhabited by poor indigenous women. It is a feminism that is constituted through the bodies of women, of indigenous women who are blighted by all forms of patriarchal violence, by colonialism and by the present forms in which the capitalist system operates. Communitarian feminism is linked directly to its own epistemology, to its forms of knowledge, to its own knowledge, to its indigenous Weltanschauung cosmovision, to its spatial conception and to its particular conception of time and non-linear temporality. It is an approach rooted in the lands and bodies of indigenous tribes that have been resisting genocide for more than 500 years, and it is in that resistance and struggle that they have built this feminism, through their ancestral and cosmological knowledge.

It is relevant to explain that the forms of knowledge and know-how do not come from the same spaces as the Eurocentric-academic forms of knowledge. Communitarian feminists speak and expand their knowledge and feminism through literature, prose, poems, ancestral dances, stories, rituals... These forms of knowledge do not emanate from analytical bases and academic literature, which is one of the most interesting aspects of this feminism. In contrast, it contributes a conception, a cosmovision of knowledge, which is radically different from the rational-scientific academic knowledge and production constituted and produced in modern society that is constituted as an analytical framework and paradigm of knowledge.

The knowledge and the forms of knowledge of this feminist approach do not arise from scientific knowledge or the modern episteme. All knowledge comes from literature, art, prose, poetry, stories, from the oral tradition of generation to generation, from songs, rites and rituals, from the observation of nature... all these multiple forms of knowledge and know-how are not contemplated within modern epistemology and rationality. Modern rationality is

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structured around the myth of scientific knowledge, which in turn develops a scientific method, a positivist epistemology and empiricist logic in which an object or process is studied in an objective, neutral way with a given scientific method and logic. Therefore, it automatically excludes all forms of knowledge that are not situated within this paradigm of abstraction. Communitarian Feminism drinks from all the forms of knowledge previously mentioned, it is a theory and praxis that is made up of the knowledge of the land, of the community, of the women who live in the territories and Latin indigenous communes, of the healers, the mothers, daughters, granddaughters, of the indigenous leaders... it is a much more holistic epistemology, integrated within a social, historical, cultural and particular context.

Decolonial feminism is closer to epistemology or European forms of knowledge. The language is much more technical and academic, which sometimes makes it difficult to understand the texts. It is an academic feminism because it is written by women who live in the territories of the Global South but who have had access to higher and university education. The majority of writers, theoreticians or colonial ideologies have been studied in the universities of South and Central American cities and who have had the opportunity to travel and train in western institutions. It is from there that they articulate their approach, elaborating a decolonial criticism of modern western feminism that has imposed itself as hegemonic, decolonial feminism, elaborating a critique of centralized, modern, linear, heterosexual and upper-middle class Western thought that has been erected as objective, unique and universal knowledge. But the critique of decolonial feminists also focuses on colonial thought, theory, philosophy and worldview. In order to carry out this criticism and approach, decolonial feminists make multiple references to German philosophy, which makes it more complicated or even excludes many women who either do not know or do not understand modern German philosophy.

Decolonial feminism, in spite of being a feminism that defends and vindicates the feminist epistemology of the Global South and the knowledge and forms of knowledge of the peripheries, through the deconstruction of modern Western-centric thought, epistemology and knowledge, is a feminism by and for women who, because of their class, have had access to higher education, such as universities, and who live in large cities or towns. I would therefore dare to say that despite its efforts to decolonise, it remains a middle-class, Eurocentric feminism with high social capital.

However, communitarian feminism gives greater relevance to the questions of the body and territory because it considers them to be two central causes and the original oppressions, so in order to decolonize a territory, first it is necessary to depatriarchalize and the first step means assuming the female body as a place of knowledge of history, of pleasure... and as an original territory. Depatriarchalizing the body can decolonize the territory and liberate indigenous women and men from more than 500 years of structural oppression.

Decolonial feminism, on the other hand, focuses on the decolonization of thought and the imposition of epistemology and centralized Western knowledge, as the only knowledge, universal and neutral, so that the history of humanity is the history of the European upper middle classes. In the face of this, decolonial feminism claims to decolonize thought and epistemology and to build indigenous forms of Latin American knowledge and know-how which were erased and prohibited during the 500 years of conquest. Decolonial feminism has its space of action in academic institutions, universities and academic epistemology, while communitarian feminism has its place of action in indigenous villages, towns and native tribes.

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Finally, one of the important criticisms that communitarian feminists make of decolonial theoretical feminists is that it is impossible to decolonize from academia, the process of decolonization is carried out with action. Creating theories, writing academic articles and informative books is important, but it must always be accompanied by practice and action. In this sense, Julieta Paredes, an Aymera community feminist, admits the following: “*What has been written up to now as decolonial and postcolonial theory are academic lucubrations that are ultimately neo-colonizing. Decolonization implies concrete actions for the liberation of the original communities*”. (Paredes, 2015:112)

The second purpose of this work is the comparison or analysis of the meaning of the concepts of patriarchy and gender and the relation between them that have been built up from each feminism as well as to study their link or relationship with colonialism. For both de-colonial and communitarian feminism, the question of body and territory has become a problem. For both southern feminisms, the body and the territory are intimately linked to the conquest of Latin America and the subsequent colonial processes that were imposed. Body and territory are two concepts that have studied in detail by the feminisms of the South, due to the relationship they have with colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism. The second objective that I set out was how the issues of body and territory are related to colonialism and the relationship they have with the patriarchal system. Likewise, these two concepts acquire concrete meanings within this system of triple oppression that I would like to unmask, and for this reason communitarian and decolonial epistemologies are unquestionable.

In the conquest of Latin America, the land and space of the native people were colonised and appropriated, but the first massacre, colonisation or 'penetration' was the multiple sexual violence carried out against Latin, indigenous and native women. Colonization was a process of appropriation, usurpation, accumulation, theft, massacre and Western expansion that took place over the centuries but is still going on today. When Europe 'discovered' Latin America, it carried out a series of processes to establish and impose a system, annihilating many cultures, knowledge, civilizations, buildings and carrying out massacres of the original population. They raped, robbed and killed women and thus established a system of universal oppression, patriarchy.

Colonialism and patriarchy are two systems of social, political, economic, cultural and systemic oppression and subordination that are intimately related to each other. Furthermore, colonialism needs patriarchy to maintain and reproduce its conquest and subordination of the conquered territories, and patriarchy implies the first colonization of all, the penetration of women's bodies and their ways of thinking and relating. The philosopher, Sueli Carneiro, the activist, Ochy Curiel and the indigenous leader of the hñahñu, Macedonia Blas Flores, explain that every situation of conquest and domination creates conditions for the sexual appropriation of the women of the defeated groups in order to assert the superiority of the victor. These conditions are historically maintained and are fed back into violence against all women in general, but in particular against indigenous, black and poor women (Gargallo, 2007). In other words, colonialism needs patriarchy to impose itself as a system of domination, but above all to survive and for that system of communication to endure over time. The Brazilian philosopher, Sueli Carneiro, describes the mutual relationship between colonial and patriarchal violence very well in the following paragraph she wrote in 2001 for the International Seminar on Racism, Xenophobia and Gender held in South Africa:

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'La violación colonial perpetrada por los señores blancos a mujeres indígenas y negras y la mezcla resultante está en el origen de todas las construcciones sobre nuestra identidad nacional, estructurando el decantado mito de la democracia racial latinoamericana. Esa violencia sexual colonial es también el cimiento de todas las jerarquías de género y raza presentes en nuestras sociedades configurando lo que Angela Gilliam define como 'la gran teoría del esperma en la conformación nacional' (Carneiro, 2017)⁶

Decolonial feminism and communitarian feminism make a different analysis of the origin and configuration of patriarchy. In general terms, decolonial feminists defend the thesis that patriarchy, as a system of universal oppression, is a construction of Modernity and was therefore established with colonialism. On the other hand, communitarian feminists admit that violence against women began with the arrival of the colonizers in Latin America, but they also affirm that before the arrival of the colonizers, an original, ancestral patriarchy existed. This original patriarchy created the conditions for the western patriarchy and colonialism to strengthen and take hold. One of the most significant differences between both feminisms is the approach and definition that they make of the origin and configuration of patriarchy. In the following lines I will try to compare the different contributions that both feminisms make about patriarchy and the interrelation of this system of oppression with colonialism.

Maria Lugones, a decolonial feminist, explains that with the conquest of Latin America a dichotomous distinction was imposed between the human and the non-human. Within this distinction, the colonized were non-human while the conquerors were human. This distinction between human and non-human is accompanied by the hierarchical distinction between the categories of man and woman (Lugones, 2010). Decolonial feminists admit that the origin of the structural and material inequalities of women is colonialism. Modernity brought about a series of processes and substantial changes, which made the conquest and massacre of Latin America and the subsequent reproduction of the colonial model possible. The colonial model is a way of categorizing, of ordering the world into hierarchical and dichotomous categories, in which the colonizer is the human and the colonized are not.

Colonization as a process began with the massacre of Latin America, and it is from this historical event that the male, white, European, middle class and heterosexual subject emerges in juxtaposition to the non-human, beast, savage, crazy colonized (Lugones, 2010). The original women, Latin, indigenous or afro-descendant from the conquest of the Americas and the subsequent process of colonization, do not even achieve the category of women within this oppressive system, since within the logic that is imposed, they are not considered as people / human. According to Lugones' thesis, the first dichotomous and hierarchical categorization that the colonizers made of the colonized people was to categorize them as non-human/persons. The second dichotomous, antagonistic and hierarchical categorization was the assignment of gender roles to the colonized referring to the sexed bodies as men or

⁶ This paragraph is based on Sueli Carneiro's lecture at the International Seminar on Racism, Xenophobia and Gender organized by Lol- apress in Durban, South Africa, August 27-28, 2001. The conference is included in pages 109-115 of the book *'Mas alla del decenio de los pueblos afrodescendientes'* published by the coordinators Rosa Campoalegre Septien and Karina Bidaseca in 2017.

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women. Lugones argues that before the conquest and ordering of Latin America, gender as a category of ordering and subordination did not exist in the original societies, and in the case of a sign of a gender on the sexual bodies, this assignment did not constitute an oppression or bribery of women (Lugones, 2010).

For decolonial feminists, gender is a social construction that is based on the type of genitals of the human body, establishing the antagonistic and dichotomous categories of men and women. The differentiation and subsequent categorization is assigned to a system of hierarchy in which the category of “woman” is subordinate to the category of “man”. The category “woman” transforms her body into a sexed one intended for reproduction. Gender is a social construction that establishes two antagonistic categories in which the patriarchy is fed and reproduced. The domination of men and the subordination of women is a social construction that has similar characteristics to the racial system that developed in the conquest of Latin America and the subsequent enslavement of the colonized. Within this logic, Francesca Gargallo explains that the "gender system" and war, as well as colonialism not only accompany but also reinforce and feed off each other, since both have the same mechanism of common hierarchy at their base (Gargallo, 2007)

In order to synthesize what has been explained in the previous lines, decolonial feminism questions the existence of gender and patriarchy in Latin America in pre-colonial societies, communities and tribes, for which they sustain the thesis that the assignment of gender as an oppressive and subordinate category and the existence of patriarchy are social constructs that become unsaturated with the conquest of Latin America.

Pastora Filigrana, an activist lawyer and gypsy mestizo thinker, defends the thesis published in her latest work, "The Gypsy People against the World-System" (Editorial Akal, 2020), that there is only one patriarchy and that it is white and Western. This means that patriarchy as an oppression or system of universal domination was born and shaped in Europe when Latin America was conquered. Therefore, patriarchy and colonialism are intimately related according to the author's thesis. The concept of patriarchy refers to a specific form of social organization, which is structured around the structural domination of women by men. In her book, Pastora Filigrana explains that although, before the conquest of Latin America, there may have been societies in which violence was exercised against women or in which women were limited to domestic and care work, it is after the conquest of Latin America with the expansion of the capitalist system through the process of colonization that patriarchy is constituted as a system of universal oppression (Filigrana, 2020). It is from the conquest of Latin America that the different forms of pre-colonial male domination or violence that occurred in different places and spaces are subordinated to the patriarchal system that is imposed and expanded from the West. It is from this historical moment onwards that a universal system of oppression, of social and economic order built around gender, is constituted.

Pastora Filigrana maintains that the patriarchy must be understood as a global and universal socioeconomic structure. Following this logic, it is not possible to speak of an Arab, Muslim, Indian, American or gypsy patriarchy, since patriarchy is a structure of domination and global order, it is a system of economic and social order that is configured in the West with the conquest of Latin America. Therefore, it is not possible to speak of patriarchy without speaking of racism and coloniality (Filigrana, 2020), because both systems are intimately intertwined and need each other to be established.

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Communitarian feminists, however, maintain that before the conquest of America and the establishment and universalization of colonialism, what they call ancestral and pre-colonial patriarchy existed. Communitarian feminists affirm that an ancestral native patriarchy existed, which shaped a series of customs, roles, values and habits creating a system of oppression and structural subordination against indigenous women, Latinas and Afro-descendants. In this way, communitarian feminists admit that the western patriarchy that arrived in Latin America with the conquest of the continent, united and re-united itself with the original ancestral patriarchy. Although there were substantial differences between the western patriarchy and the ancestral patriarchy, both were united and fed back into the colonial penetrations, which substantially increased in the lives of the indigenous communities, but those who especially suffered were the women who had to endure patriarchal and colonial oppression.

For communitarian feminists, patriarchy is the origin of all oppression. Therefore, when the original ancestral patriarchy was reconfigured with the western patriarchy through the process of colonization, practices and dynamics were developed that led to the emergence of racism and capitalism, which have been re-formed into neoliberalism and globalization. Although the western patriarchy was introduced and the conditions for the emergence of colonialism and capitalism were generated with the conquest of Latin America, the communitarian women admit that there have to have been material preconditions in their indigenous communities so that the western patriarchy could impose itself. Colonial expansion violently and abruptly attacked the bodies of women and the ways of life of the native people. The violence brought about by the western patriarchy that was re-founded with the ancestral patriarchy, had a high component of sexual violence that lashed out against the bodies of women and their sexuality and desire, imposing obligatory heterosexuality and monogamy on women through the institutions of heterosexual marriage and family. Indigenous women were forced to confine themselves to private spaces and were prohibited from participating in public life. They were assigned tasks such as the care and maintenance of the family, so that women's lives and activities became limited to the care and cleaning of the home, eating, caring for and raising children, providing sexual pleasure for their husbands, becoming their emotional container and the dumping ground for patriarchal and colonial violence.

With all of this, communitarian feminists admit that the intersection between the patriarchy that originated and the patriarchy exported from the West with the conquest of Latin America meant that the lives of indigenous women were submerged in oppression, violence and subordination to men, while suffering from colonial violence at the same time. But contrary to the decolonial feminists, they affirm that before the conquest in the indigenous and ancestral communities, an ancestral patriarchy that generated unequal relations between men and women existed. Therefore, communitarian feminists admit that in pre-colonial societies there were situations of oppression and violence against women, and with the arrival of the colonists, this ancestral patriarchy became intertwined with Western patriarchy, configuring a system of oppression that permeated the lives of women.

Following this logic, communitarian feminists defend the idea that patriarchy is the system of universal oppression that has been present throughout history in all parts of the planet (Cabnal, 2012). Therefore, patriarchy is older than colonialism, capitalism and neoliberalism. For communitarian feminists, patriarchy "is the system of all oppression, all exploitation, all violence, and all discrimination experienced by all of humanity (women, men and intersex people) and nature, as a system historically built on the sexual body of women, that is, a

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system of death" (Cabnal, 2012: 15,16)⁷. Although the conquest of Latin America substantially worsened the lives of native women and men by exercising a double patriarchal-colonial oppression, native women lived in situations of inequality and violence within the communities beforehand. This is why communitarian feminists focus on patriarchy, because it is necessary to end it in order to improve the lives of both women and men.

Patriarchy was the first historical system of subordination and domination that existed, but according to Julieta Paredes (2014), the original patriarchy of the pre-colonial indigenous societies had nothing to do with the forms of patriarchy that were exported from the West. In the pre-conquest communities, women had a certain degree of political and social relevance, an importance that at that historical moment women in Europe did not possess. The political and social power that indigenous women had disappeared radically with colonization. With the coming of patriarchy and the violence that the conquest brought with it, which was later shaped by colonialism, the lives of indigenous, Latin and Afro-descendant women and men were permeated by an infinite amount of violence. This is how the triple universal oppression of patriarchy, colonialism and capitalism came about.

In short, one of the debates between communitarian feminists and decolonial feminists is about the category of patriarchy and gender. Community feminists argue that before the conquest of the American continent, an ancestral patriarchy existed in their communities that predated the conquest. Although women had a higher standard of living and quality of life prior to the massacre, there were conditions of violence and subordination of women to men. The western patriarchy was linked to the original patriarchy with the arrival of the colonizers, which meant that the lives of thousands of women during the following generations would be affected by violence that would make their lives substantially worse, but the communitarian women emphasize that there was an original patriarchy and a dichotomic-antagonistic gender system, within which the sexual bodies of women suffered violence and discrimination within their communities. The communist feminists therefore vociferously defend that women make up half of each community as well as men and that they have to live together in harmony, creating a space without hierarchy or sexual division.

On the other hand, Decolonial feminists, defend the fact that patriarchy is a system of oppression that was exported from the West with the conquest of Latin America. This is to say that the colonial regime divides the world into watertight categories that are dichotomous-antagonistic like settler and colonized and man and woman. This antagonistic hierarchical division which is in permanent tension and which is violent in itself did not exist before the arrival of the colonisers on the American continent. Decolonial feminists defend the thesis that inequalities, oppression, violence and the subordination of women to men arise and are cemented by the expansion of colonialism. The oppression of women is based on the existence of gender as an antagonistic category; gender is the social construct assigned to sexual bodies as women or men. Decolonial feminists criticize the fact that the gender system, or the imposition of gender as they call it, did not exist before the arrival of the colonizers. Moreover, they say that the gender system is a condition without equals for the imposition of a whole system of subordination of women and the native population and lands.

⁷ Paredes Carvajal, Julieta, "*Las trampas del patriarcado*", *Op. Cit.*, P. 101.

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The third objective of this work is to try to analyze what Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista (EHMF) can learn from communitarian and decolonial feminism. In order to achieve this objective, as explained in the methodology, two interviews have been carried out with two women activists and militants of EHMF. On the other hand, research has been done and information has been gathered on the debate that took place in the framework of the V Feminist Days held in Durango last November on decolonial feminism and the need to decolonize. Likewise, I will try to observe the influence of decolonial thought within the EHMF.

The Basque feminist movement is a social movement, deeply rooted in the land and in the reality of a very specific social, political and historical context, in which the bodies and sexuality of women have had a great relevance. Likewise, it is an internationalist movement that seeks to liberate and improve the lives of all women in all places of the planet and is integral within a political program. The feminist movement of Euskal Herria was born during the dictatorship in the 70s. The EHMF is organized in an autonomous way both in the Basque Country and in Spain from left-wing organizations and sectors. The feminist movement was created with objectives related to the situation at that time, when many women were in fascist prisons for crimes against women, that is to say for carrying out abortions - for making decisions about their own bodies. Because of this, one of the first things that the EHMF defends is the right to sexuality, to one's own body, to economic independence, to autonomy, because at that time there was a very strong coercive patriarchy. At that time, women were the property of their husbands or fathers, and they needed their permission or consent for everything.

Since its birth, for the Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista, the right to one's own body, to abortion, has been fundamental, sexuality, the autonomy of sexual freedom, lesbianism, are part of the first claims. The right to one's own body has been a central theme within EHMF. Everything that has to do with image, breaking the binary model, questioning and denouncing the model of femininity, ideologically, politically and physically. In EHMF there has been a very intense struggle for the right to one's own body (corporeality). The issue of having the right to your own body has been a central theme within the movement and there has been a very powerful struggle to fight for those rights.

It can be observed that for the Basque feminist movement, as well as for decolonial and community feminism, the issue of the body and the right to the body are central issues, but for the Basque autonomous feminist movement, the body is linked to the right to decide on one's sexuality, to plan one's life, to abortion, while for decolonial and communitarian feminism, the right to one's body is an exercise in sovereignty and autonomy, the first step in the long process of depatriarchalizing and decolonizing.

The Basque autonomous feminist movement understands that the basis of the capitalist system is fed by inequalities and oppression, colonialism and patriarchy. Therefore, it is very difficult to speak of colonialism and patriarchy as oppression or watertight systems, since both are closely related and feed off each other. In theory and discourse, the EHMF is clear about this, and believes that it is essential to incorporate a decolonial vision within Basque feminism, since colonialism and racism constitute one of the fundamental pieces of the puzzle in which the heteronormative colonial capitalist patriarchal system is structured, but, in practice, how this discourse is translated into concrete actions and militancy within the movement is not always the same thing. Anabel Sanz del Pozo, a militant in FeminisTalde

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and an anti-racist activist, admits the following: ' *A nosotras (feministas vascas) nos falta una vision colonial y una lucha antiracista. La triple opresión (machismo, racismo, clase) con la que conviven en lo cotidiano las mujeres racializadas, es algo que nosotras (feministas vascas) no nos podemos llegar ni a imaginar*' (Personal interview with Anabel Sanz del Pozo and Maite Asensio Lozano, 2020). Sanz adds that the focus should be on institutional racism, since in our daily lives we can try to deconstruct our colonial thinking and beliefs, but the real change occurs when the institutions of the public authorities promote a series of anti-racist measures and public policies.

The V Jornadas Femnistas that were held in Durango brought together some 3000 feminists from different places and representatives of different groups or associations. In Durango, decolonial feminism had a great presence and there was a lot of discussion about racial oppression and racist and colonial thinking within the feminist movement, of which there were painful debates and conversations, but which needed to be reflected on. As I mentioned before, the decolonial discourse and thoughts the EHEMF have are very internalized, but how they are managed, shaped into action and put into the practice of decolonial thought is an entirely different thing. During the conference in Durango, there was a great debate about decolonialism and how to put it into practice in daily life, not only as discourse and theory. The Durango Conference was especially emotional in relation to the debate on decolonial thought. In the interventions of the Latin American comrades, there was a lot of anger and pain. This showed once again that despite EHEMF having made a great effort to integrate the axis of race and colonialism into their demands and discourse, there is still a long way to go and that white feminism can still learn a lot from the feminisms and knowledge of the South.

Although the EHEMF is an autonomous movement, very much rooted in the earth, in which the demands for the freedom to decide on the bodies of women, sexuality and solidarity and internationalism with women all over the planet are central, I consider that the feminisms of the South, in particular communitarian and decolonial feminism, have great contributions to offer. Although the EHEMF in its theory and multiple vindications, strikes, comunicués and actions, demonstrates and describes itself as antiracist and anti-colonial, it is difficult to introduce this image into daily life, so it is necessary to consciously think about putting on not only the 'purple' glasses, but the anti-capitalist and anti-colonial glasses, especially since the basis of the patriarchal, capitalist, colonial, heteronormative system feeds on these inequalities and oppressions, colonialism and patriarchy. Therefore it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to speak of patriarchy and colonialism as oppression or watertight systems, because both systems are intimately related and feed off each other, that is, they need each other to shape a system of universal oppression, based on the sexual division of labor, on slave labor, and on the appropriation of land and common goods.

The EHEMF can learn many things from decolonial and communitarian feminism, from experiences to put in motion, alternatives in different places and experiences of women in revolutionary processes that have been followed closely from the Basque Country. The defence of the land and ecology have also been very well received. Maite Asensio Lozano, a journalist from Berria and a feminist, expresses the following in relation to what can be learned from the feminisms of the South: *``esa cosmovision cuerpo territorio en EH, que hay mucha gente que es como una farola que vive fuera del cuerpo, esos discursos de cuerpo territorio se hacen duros o dificiles de entender, pero hay que aprender a vivir dentro de nuestros cuerpos no fuera. Otra de las cosas que se puede aprender del decolonial es el tema del euskera y nazio zapalkuntza, sobro todo el tema de euskera que vivimos en una sociedad en la que hay toda una cultura colonizada, y hay otra cultura imperialista que está robando*

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todo el patrimonio cultural lingüístico por lo que hay mucho que aprender del decolonial''
(Personal interview with Anabel Sanz del Pozo and Maite Asensio Duran, 2020)

I believe that both communitarian and decolonial feminisms have great contributions to make to the autonomous Basque women's movement. The first fundamental contribution is that both feminisms contribute an epistemology and form of decolonial knowledge, both feminisms criticise the Eurocentrism and elitism of the academy, offering some knowledge, rooted and anchored to the places and territories from where they are configured. Communitarian and decolonial feminism have a much more complete and holistic vision and knowledge of modernity and its evolution, since these feminisms have been created in a permanent dispute and struggle with modern Eurocentric knowledge and know-how.

Historically, in the Basque Country, the thoughts and decolonial proposals around the question of territory have had great depth due to the struggles for liberation and independence of the Basque people. But, although Basque Country is in a permanent struggle with the Spanish empire, we cannot forget that it is geographically located within Europe, the west. Both feminisms have emphasized the liberation of the land, the liberation of conquered and subordinated territories, but both currents claim that colonialism was fed by patriarchy in order to articulate an oppressive system built on difference, supremacy, power and control. Communitarian feminists fervently defend that if you want to liberate the territory, the first step is to liberate the first place you penetrate, and that place constitutes the bodies of women. Communitarian feminists advocate the importance of reappropriating bodies, of 'assuming individual corporeality' as a fundamental process for the recovery of peoples and the defence of territory. The first step towards the liberation of territories means an absence of any violence or oppression that women's bodies go through. Lorena Cabnal, a community feminist, indigenous Guatemalan, explains that it is not possible to defend the people or the land without integrating in that defense a feminist proposal that vindicates the defense of women's bodies, in her words: *"the defense of the territory, land, is a guarantee of concrete territorial space where the life of the bodies is manifested"* (Cabnal, 2010:23)

Decolonial thought is a piece of the fundamental puzzle, to unravel the whole fabric of modernity which is where the origin of the capitalist, patriarchal and colonial system was forged. If the EHMF seeks to end all forms of oppression and violence against women and people, it has to be radically decolonial, because it is not enough just to be anti-capitalist, it has to be anti-colonial, and this implies taking all forms of knowledge that one has into consideration, and starting to recognize all the violence, discrimination and systemic invisibilizations that make up the system. To decolonize means to recognize all the discriminations against Latin, black, and Indian sisters, to decolonize means to start thinking in non-binary, non-European, non-academic terms and to start listening to the comrades of the South, to let them be the ones who carry out their demands, protests. Decolonizing means to accept and assume other new forms of knowledge, which do not explicitly come from the academy and academical institutions. To decolonize means to recognize and introduce domestic workers, carers of children and elderly people, women of all colours, races and religions...into all discourse. But to decolonize means that they can speak with their own voices of their problems, of their reality, of their rage and to be able to carry out their own demands.

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Furthermore, to be decolonized can also mean to place ourselves in the second or third row, so that our Latin and African colleagues can occupy the front rows and the center of the debates that directly concern them. To decolonize does not only mean to speak of their oppressions and realities, but perhaps to be silent and listen to them, to what they have to say and their proposals. To decolonize means to take into account the indigenous, Latin, and Afro-descendant women who have been resisting conquest, extermination, dispossession, and wars against their own bodies and territories (patriarchal and colonial penetration) for more than 500 years. To decolonize is to think of all of them as women who fought and resisted with their own bodies, so that their communities would not be destroyed, so that they would not be killed, so that their knowledge, culture, and language would not be forgotten. Understanding indigenous, Latin and Afro-descendent women as fighters, bearers of knowledge and resilient, and not victims of colonial massacre, is what community feminists call 'consciously internalized deconstruction'⁸. 'Consciously internalized deconstruction' understands the women of the conquered territories as political subjects, who think and act, not as mere victims of colonial barbarism. This way of thinking is very relevant, because it does not relegate women to the role of sufferers, victims and passive subjects, but understands that women have been active subjects with a central role in the processes of resistance, struggle and defence of the original territories and of life.

This is the first step in trying to understand the different structural oppressions that make up this system that attacks people's lives, which is neofascist, colonial, patriarchal. Anabel Sanz said in the interview that: *“La base del sistema patriarcal, capitalista, colonial, heteronormativos se alimenta en estras desigualdades y opresiones, colonialismo y patriaracado. Es muy muy difícil hablar de colonialismo y patriaracado como opresiones o sistemas estancos, ambos van muy unido y se alimentan entre ellos”* (Personal interview with Anabel Sanz del Pozo and Maite Asensio, 2020). So if EHMf seeks to fight the roots of this system and overthrow it, it has to be explicitly anti-colonial, and this implies an exercise in deconstruction, that is, decolonization, and this is one of the things that can be learned from both decolonial and communitarian feminism.

A second question that the EHMf can learn from communitarian feminism as well as from decolonial feminism is the forms of struggle and resistance of both approaches. Latin women have been fighting, resisting and at war for more than 500 years, since the conquest and destruction of Latin America and the growing forms of modern domination and colonialism and imperialism of our times. After all those years, Latin women, Andean women, and women of African descent have developed a series of struggle and forms of community resistance that are of great interest. Communitarian feminists have strengthened their identity as women and indigenous people in the struggle, in resistance against invasion, dispossession, and massacre, and have been organizing forms of community resistance, in which each is a fundamental part of the community, since they are the supporters of the community, creators of life and defenders of it, while the community supports each of them. Communitarian feminists have learned to transform their pain, their loss and their anger into resistance, struggle and activism and defense of the community, and this is undoubtedly the path through which they have channeled all the pain of colonization, transforming it into resistance and community. Anabel Saenz del Pozo, a feminist from FeminisTalde, admits that

⁸'*Consciously internalized deconstruction*' is a concept coined by communitarian feminists, invites to transcend the situated victimization of women to become political subjects, who think and act and are the producers of their own lives, individually and collectively (Cabnal, 2010)

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one of the most interesting things that communitarian feminists can offer is that the state (neoliberal, capitalist, patriarchal) as it is known, is not going to solve people's lives. Therefore, she admits that the EHMF must begin, while fighting against the extractivist, patriarchal, neoliberal and colonial system, to put into practice its own experiences of resistance, of its own ways of life and of living. Anabel indicates that these experiences and these projects that communitarian feminists have put into motion are of great importance and that they can mark the path of different autonomous projects that will emerge in the future. Communitarian feminists have opened the way for us, so perhaps it is time to start building our own experiences of resistance and struggle here in the Basque Country.

Communitarian feminism is a theory/practice that is taking shape in the movement, which seeks to recover the ancestral and pre-colonial knowledge and struggles of indigenous and Latin women, but at the same time weaves community in what they call 'the woman is half of every community'. Communitarian feminists defend and build community because the community is the space in which to resist, to be safe, to live with dignity - which is what Julieta Paredes defends as the realization of 'the place where they dreamed', the Good Living (*Buen Vivir* or *Sumak Kawsay*)⁹ of the people and of nature. The construction and defense of the community constitutes a space of resistance, struggle, autonomy, political participation, women's emancipation and resistance to patriarchy, capitalism and neoliberalism. The concept of creating or weaving community that communitarian feminists propose can be something that white feminism can import in an autonomous manner and is rooted in the socio-historical processes of the land and the local situation, since the community proposes an alternative of life and resistance, it takes for granted that living itself is an act of militancy. Creating community is radically disruptive, an act of civil disobedience, but it is also a form of resistance against the systemic and structural oppressions that are the backbone of the current capitalist, patriarchal, neoliberal, racist and genocidal system. Building a community means protecting yourself and all women against the patriarchal penetration that runs through our lives.

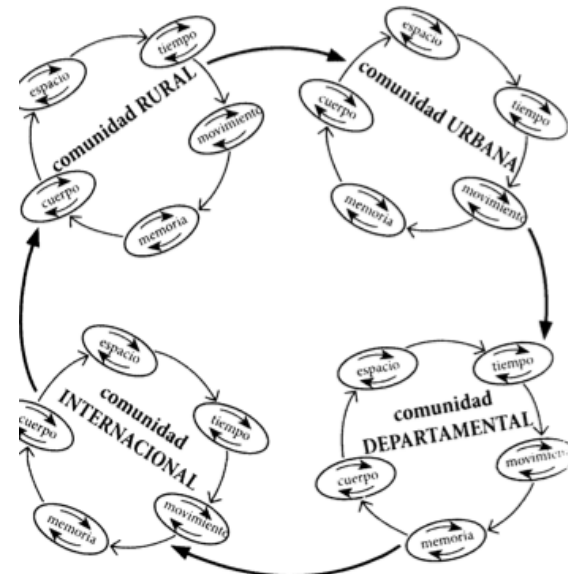
The concept of community does not have to be explicitly rural or indigenous. When communitarian feminists talk about communities, they mean all kinds of communities, applicable everywhere on the planet. They can be urban communities, rural communities, religious communities, educational communities or educational communities. Living in a community is a way of organizing, living and understanding life. Any social group composed of people can weave and build community, creating community is a radically different action from the patriarchal and individualistic neoliberal capitalist society. Living in a community means living with men and women, because as communitarian feminists say 'women are half of the community'¹⁰, and men and women are two indispensable halves, necessary for the creation of a community, but they are complementary halves, non-hierarchical and autonomous from each other. Living in a community does not imply having to live with a heterosexual couple or in a family, it implies living in a community. The drawing below

⁹ *Sumac Kawsay* or *Buen Vivir* describes a way of life that is community-centric, ecologically-balanced and culturally-sensitive. The concept is related to tradition of legal and political scholarship advocating legal standing for the natural environment. The rights approach is a break away from traditional environmental regulatory systems, which regard nature as property. (Balch, 2013)

¹⁰ One of the mottos of communitarian feminism is that we women are half of each community. We want half of equality and mutual respect. To build a horizontal complementarity without hierarchies (Paredes, 2014:84)

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illustrates very clearly what living in a community means for communitarian feminists. I consider it to be a very exportable alternative of life, struggle and resistance in the Basque Country (and all places on the planet) where common self-management projects such as “gatzetxes” and occupied lands have had great impact and legitimacy in a good part of Basque society.



*Es la Comunidad de comunidades lo que
queremos para la humanidad*

Source: Paredes, 2014: 90

I therefore believe that one of the most interesting lessons or contributions that communitarian feminism can make to the EHMf is that of community processes. The exercise of weaving, creating community is an alternative way of life and a way of resisting the patriarchal, capitalist, colonial, neo-fascist system that we barely survive in. It is necessary for people to support each other, to put care at the centre and to socialise. Common, autonomous, delocalised projects of an internationalist nature that are profoundly anti-patriarchal, anti-capitalist and anti-racist.

Finally, one of the aspects that I consider has been worked on a lot within communitarian feminism, but also by the decolonial, is the aspect of corporality, given the violence that the patriarchy exerts on women's bodies. The feminisms of the South have problematized this question, since they observe that the processes of conquest of Latin America and the multiple rapes, murders and violence exercised towards native women are intimately related. Communitarian feminists speak of double penetration, firstly, the patriarchal one and secondly, the colonial one. The history of the colonization of Latin America has been written on the basis of multiple violations and violence against indigenous, black and Latin women and girls. Violence against women meant the colonization of the bodies and territories of women and girls throughout the Latin American continent. The multiple forms of violence of colonialism on the body of indigenous women was a way of attacking them and the people, and this is how patriarchy and colonialism are fused.

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Because of this history of violence, rape and penetration, for the feminisms of the South, the issue of the defence of corporality is a central element for the depatriarchalisation and decolonisation of women because it is in women's bodies that the first violence, this patriarchal violence that was retrofitted with colonial violence, was poured. If we make a brief historical review of the feminist struggle and social movements, we can observe that many of the demands and mobilizations carried out have been made by physically putting themselves into the fight. Let's remember the example of the British suffragettes who literally put their bodies in front of the horses in the derby to claim the right to vote for women, or the dignity marches held by the indigenous communities where they were living and who defended themselves from the attacks of the police and the army by putting their own bodies on the frontline. Collectives of trans people, gays, lesbians and non binary people have historically carried out forms of protest, resistance and struggle through their bodies.

Turning now to the autonomous Basque feminist movement, since its inception, it has claimed and defended the right to one's own body, to sexuality, to abortion and to pleasure. Although the right to planning and sexuality have been very central themes, I believe that the question of the body, corporality and the violence exercised by patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism have not been so well worked out and I consider it to be of great importance that the feminist movement begins to speak about our bodies, about the violence that is exercised over them, in public spaces, in intimacy, in the media. Our bodies have been and are still being taken away from us since we are children. We are humiliated, we are shouted at, we are desired and many of us are raped. But our bodies are also subjected, shamed and enslaved by the female beauty industry, the media, magazines and medicine. Our bodies are the home that has been taken away from us, the space that we have to reappropriate and politicize. The vindication of the body as ours, as spaces of resistance and struggle is the first act of depatriarchy. Recognizing the violence that women's bodies go through is a political act of struggle and resistance and an anti-patriarchal, decolonial and anti-capitalist one. Julieta Paredes (2014) talks about the oppression and violence that are experienced in sexualized bodies as feminine from birth, but also that bodies can be a place for awareness, empowerment and freedom. Therefore, if it is true that bodies are spaces and places where a multitude of violence is experienced, they can also be a space of resistance and struggle, a space for the construction of new images and a space through which patriarchy, colonialism and classism can begin to be deconstructed.

As mentioned earlier, our bodies can then be places or physical spaces where all the violence that patriarchy, colonialism and capitalism pour out on people is catalysed, but at the same time they can be a place from which to begin to deconstruct the whole idea of patriarchal and colonial beauty, a space of emancipation, of reappropriation of our place on the planet, of empowerment, of resistance and of struggle. The body is the place from which affection, love and care are given and received; all of this is built from the bodies themselves.

Given the above, the action of starting to speak about and recognize the violence against sexual bodies and to begin to deconstruct it, is a disruptive and subversive exercise in itself, and is the first step to begin to re-appropriate our bodies, but at the same time it also means an anti-patriarchal, anti-colonial and anti-classist struggle. If we want to put our bodies to use in social movements that defend life, freedom and people's rights, we have to understand that the body, like physical space, is the first field of action and is, as Julieta Paredes says: '*the basis of existence itself*' (Paredes, 2014:100).

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7.-CONCLUSIONS

“Ni la tierra ni las mujeres somos territorio de conquista”

When the subject of this work was raised, several objectives and hypotheses were kept in mind. On the one hand, I wanted to try to produce a piece of work in which the epistemologies and knowledge of the South would stand out. On the other hand, I wanted to try to understand and offer an integral, holistic and multidimensional definition of the concepts of patriarchy and gender, and in this effort to understand, the feminisms of the South are essential. Finally, returning to our country, it was considered that community and colonial feminism had very interesting contributions to make to the Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista.

Taking as a starting point the first hypothesis that was put forward at the beginning of this work, it is clear that both decolonial and communitarian feminism provide an analytical tool when it comes to understanding the configuration, functioning and construction of the patriarchal system. Indigenous, Afro-descendent, Latin, and rural women have been surviving and resisting patriarchal and colonial violence in their own bodies and communities for more than 500 years. Both feminisms analyze how patriarchy operates and how the capitalist system works from its racial and patriarchal birth, because it needs on the one hand, to usurp land and on the other, to establish a dichotomous system of genders built on sexual bodies categorized as men and women so that capital can continue to function and expand.

For hundreds of years, women in the Global South have been confronting the multiple forms of violence produced by the extractivist system, colonialism, patriarchy and neo-fascism. Due to these multiple oppressions and forms of violence with which they live on a daily basis, feminists in the South, specifically decolonial and communitarian feminism, have developed an analysis of how this triple patriarchal oppression operates, colonial and capitalist, so that in their proposals they present an analytical tool that is very useful and valuable to face the challenges and changes presented by the current patriarchal and neo-fascist capitalist system that threatens to attack the lives of all people on the planet.

Therefore, communitarian and decolonial feminism offer theoretical and practical tools to understand the functioning of this triple oppression and show the way to resist it. Therefore, it is considered that the theoretical and practical contributions can be of great interest and exportable within the Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista.

If we want to confront the violence that patriarchy perpetrates on our bodies and lives, we must first begin by decolonizing ourselves. To decolonize ourselves means to assume that there is more knowledge and understanding than that of the academy and the West, to assume that there are no universal subjects, to assume that the lives of all people on the planet have the same value, it means to recognize that the forms and standard of living of the Global North is maintained at the cost of death, blood and violence. But only by decolonizing can we depatriarchalize ourselves.

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9-APPENDIX

Entrevista realizada a Anabel Sanz del Pozo y Maite Asencio Lozano

Bilbo, el 20 de Julio de 2020

Primero de todo quiero agradecer vuestra disponibilidad y vuestro tiempo, vuestros aportes van a ser de gran interés para la realización del Trabajo de Fin de Grado.

Estoy realizando una investigación sobre los significados que se le han dado a los conceptos del cuerpo y territorio desde los feminismos del Sur, en concreto desde el feminismo decolonial y el comunitario. Para ello he comparado ambos feminismos, además voy a tratar de analizar cómo estas categorías están atravesadas por el colonialismo, el patriarcado y el capitalismo. Así mismo, volviendo a la tierra, quiero tratar de entender lo que tiene que aprender el EMF de los feminismos del sur, porque considero que para liberar nuestros cuerpos y de construirnos, tenemos que primero de todo descolonizarnos, para poder despatriarcalizar nuestros cuerpos.

-(Entrevistadora) Podríaís definir cómo y porqué surge Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista? con qué fin surge?

(Anabel) El movimiento feminista de Euskal Herria nace durante la dictadura, en los 70. Se organiza de manera autónoma tanto en EH como en el Estado Español desde las organizaciones y sectores de izquierda. El movimiento feminista nace con unos objetivos que tienen que ver con la situación del momento, en el momento en el que surge hay muchas mujeres en cárceles fascistas por delitos de mujeres, es decir por realizar abortos por decidir sobre sus cuerpos... Con todo esto una de las primeras cosas que defiende el EHMf es el derecho a la sexualidad, al propio cuerpo, a la independencia económica, a la autonomía, porque en aquel momento existía un patriarcado coercitivo muy duro. En aquella época las mujeres eran propiedad de sus maridos o de sus padres, y necesitaban su permiso o consentimiento para todo. Desde su nacimiento para el EHMf el derecho al propio cuerpo, al aborto ha sido fundamental, la sexualidad, la autonomía de la libertad sexual, el lesbianismo., forman parte de las primeras reivindicaciones. El derecho a la propia corporalidad ha sido un tema central dentro de EHMf. Todo lo que tiene que ver con la imagen, el romper el modelo binario, poner en cuestión y denunciar el modelo de feminidad, en lo ideológico, político y físico. En EHMf ha habido una lucha muy fuerte por el derecho al propio cuerpo. El tema corporal el tener el propio derecho a tu cuerpo ha sido un tema central dentro del movimiento y se ha llevado a cabo una lucha muy potente para luchar por esos derechos.

(Anabel) La base del sistema patriarcal, capitalista, colonial, heteronormativos se alimenta en estas desigualdades y opresiones, colonialismo y patriarcado. Es muy muy difícil hablar de colonialismo y patriarcado como opresiones o sistemas estancos, ambos van muy unido y se alimentan entre ellos.

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A nosotras (feministas vascas) nos falta una vision colonial y una lucha antiracista Algo en lo que hay que poner el foco es en el racismo institucional, la triple opresión(machismo, racismo,pobreza/clase) con la que conviven en lo cotidiano las mujeres racializadas, es algo que nosotras(fem.vascas) no nos podemos llegar a imaginar. Como que te persiguen en cualquier tienda el guarda de seguridad o tener que llevar un libro para que hacer como que leer y no se te siente al lado ningun tio y te pregunte cuanto cobras.

(Maite) Esto puede ser comparable al terror sexual con el que a duras penas convivimos las mujeres en lo cotidiano, el terror racial.

(Anabel) Las compañeras latinoamericanas tienen mucha rabia. El discurso decolonial y las ganas el EHMf lo tiene super claro, otra cosa es que gestionar la diversidad es muy complicado. Durango (refiriéndose a las Jornadas V) fue muy duro porque se veía mucho dolor, y es verdad también que a un montón de gente que estábamos ahí donde había de todo, pero en general había gente que estaba muy metida en la lucha antiracista, se ‘vomitaron’ cosas que no le correspondían al mov.femí,vasco, porque parecía que eran las representates de las transnacionales, y eso fue duro, pero lo que hay detrás es un dolor muy grande y quizás un poco complejo de peter pan y eso es un poco peligroso dentro de los MS. El EHMf han trabajado en internacionalismo con AL y esa crítica no les corresponde.

-Las jornadas feministas de durango reunieron más de 3000 mujeres de todos los lugares de EH para tratar de definir las líneas estratégicas, en la V jornadas el eje de la raza tuvo una gran relevancia y formó parte del debate teórico, cuáles fueron las aportaciones del feminismo decolonial en esto?

- EHMf en los últimos años ha bebido mucho de los vientos y aportes del feminismo decolonial, es interesante ver que en las jornadas feministas que se celebraron en Durango durante el 1-3 de noviembre la presencia que tuvo el feminismo decolonial, porque creéis que EH y el movimiento feminista tiene y ve pertinente el pensamiento decolonial?

(Maite) Mucha gente lo vivió como algo que tenía que pasar porque había tensiones y se tenía que visibilizar ese enfado. Parece a veces que las feministas blanca tienen la culpa del patriarcado el colonialismo y de todas las opresiones, pero el EMF desde que Maite tiene uso de razón ha pedido siempre la derogación de la ley de extranjería, se ha hecho un gran trabajo con todo el tema del trabajo de las trabajadoras del hogar, es más ha habido muchos momentos en los que la agenda del EHMf has sido las mujeres racializadas. Ejemplos de ello son las acciones y manifestaciones en solidaridad con las mujeres kurdas, participación en las jornadas de América Latina, solidaridad con las mujeres nicaragüenses, salvador, México...

(Anabel) Cuando se habla de privilegios y de feminismo blanco, se ha convertido en una especie de consigna, pero no se sabe muy bien de lo que se habla, es como una frase hecha muy desubicada del lugar y del contexto histórico. Creo que hay muchos discursos situados a los cuales les falta un análisis de clase que es fundamental, y Anabel cree que hay un feminismo que viene de EEUU y en España se ha dado con las mujeres de PSOE que representan a un feminismo más liberal, al que se le pueden echar más cosas en cara, un feminismo liberal, socialdemócrata, que defiende este modelo al que se le pueden echar muchas cosas en cara, que no está en contra de la ley de extranjería..., pero eso no es el HMF,

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el PSOE lo que está viendo que el feminismo organizado es anticapitalista, antirracista y está poniendo en duda el modelo organizativo que ellos tienen y representan, aquí en EH ese modelo de feminismo socialista es inexistente, tanto entre las socialistas y entre las mujeres del PNV. En EH las mujeres

feministas son de izquierdas y de organizaciones independientes y son las que organizan las huelgas

(Maite) Todo esto que dice Anabel se nota también en el propio discurso. El EHMF se nota que es un feminismo muy enraizado en EH se nota en las propuestas de las clases en euskera, la desaparición de las figuras internas, la derogación de la ley de extranjería... el feminismo liberal es una cosa que aquí (EH) no ha existido, eso es un modelo que se ha exportado de EEUU.

-¿Qué tiene que aportar los feminismos del Sur al EHMF? ¿qué podemos aprender de ellos?

(Anabel) Yo creo que muchísimas cosas, desde experiencias que poner en marcha, alternativas en un montón de lugares, alternativas de proyectos en marcha, experiencias de mujeres en procesos revolucionarios que hemos seguido de cerca. Todo el planteamiento que hacen las mujeres kurdas del modelo de estado, de sociedad todo el modelo organizativo, yo creo que todo eso. A Anabel le sorprende un montón porque siempre han ido a AL con admiración pero siempre han creado redes y han tenido problemas con el orden establecido por crear lazos con las mujeres de allí. Cada vez que han viajado a AL siempre han tenido conexiones muy fuertes con las mujeres de allí,

La conciencia política es lo que iguala, el reconocimiento, el vernos así, hay mucho que aprender de los proyectos que tiene en marcha. El tema ecológico, de la tierra que en EH se ha acogido muy bien.

(Maite) Esa cosmovisión cuerpo territorio en EH, que hay mucha gente que es como una farola que vive fuera del cuerpo, esos discursos de cuerpo territorio se hacen duros o difíciles de entender, pero hay que aprender a vivir dentro de nuestros cuerpos no fuera. Otra de las cosas que se puede aprender del decolonial es el tema del euskera y nazio zapalkuntza, sobre todo el tema de euskera que vivimos en una sociedad en la que hay toda una cultura colonizada, y hay otra cultura imperial que está robando todo el patrimonio cultural lingüístico por lo que hay mucho que aprender del decolonial.

(Anabel) Yo creo en estos momentos, una de las cosas que se ven con mayor claridad es la importancia del neocolonialismo, partíamos de unos países decoloniales y cuando ves que todo absolutamente todo está fundado en ese sistema esclavista que permanece que todo AL está constituido así, que permanece igual que el patriarcado, la importancia que tiene eso ponerse las pilas con lo que significa. En EE UU hay personas que están en una situación de esclavitud total en lepe.. todas estas aportaciones del femi,decolonial que dice que no os habéis dado cuenta. Estamos aprendiendo, es el momento en el que es super necesario ese discurso. El movimiento feminista vasco está deseando que entren y que hagan lo que quieran. Maite se está acordando de una cosa que se ha que revisar, de como nosotras tenemos actitudes racistas más o menos conscientes que nos tenemos que revisar por lo que es importante que ellas están allí para recordarnos que es lo que hacemos más y hacernos la crítica de manera constructiva, estamos aprendiendo y nunca dejaremos de hacerlo. El discurso antirracista y la presencia de mujeres racializadas dentro del movimiento feminista es imprescindible, porque son el sujeto político. Es complicado, porque las mujeres

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racializadas se han sentido utilizadas con la presencia y la lectura de manifiestos en manifestaciones.. la dificultad tremenda que tiene en gestionar la diversidad.

-¿Qué supone para vosotras el decolonizaros?

(Maite) Descolonizarse(me) para mí supone tratar de hablar todos los días en euskera que me cuesta no me sale como mi lengua materna, intentar mirar a gente de diferente manera, porque prejuicios racistas tenemos todas, tener otras gafas, gafas sobre gafas.

(Anabel) Para mí el descolonizarse es y supone una necesidad, es algo que quiero hacer y que es un proceso porque quiero tener todas las piezas que componen esta sociedad y que son opresión y que compone el neofascismo. Para mí el descolonizarse es tener que renunciar a cosas, cosas de la sociedad capitalista, como por ejemplo el tema de la ropa que me gusta mogollón. Por otra parte es el ser capaz de ponerte en la situación de todo el mundo que tienes alrededor de ti.

(Maite) Para mí el descolonizarse tiene que ver con la parte de clase y es un ejercicio totalmente anticapitalista. Una cosa heavy para mí ha sido el cuestionarme todo el tema de la movilidad, sobre todo después de una pandemia mundial y de estar acostumbrada a moverse y viajar a otros lugares. Esto me ha hecho cuestionarme qué actitud voy a tener cuando vaya a Londres, México o al Caribe a tomar el sol igual no tengo que ir nunca más al Caribe a tomar el sol.

-Cómo se entrelazan para vosotras el patriarcado, el colonialismo y el capitalismo?

(Anabel) Se entrelazan de manera que configuran un único sistema que se retroalimenta continuamente, no existiría uno sin otro, todo lo que tiene que ver con el modelo capitalista está basado en la división sexual del trabajo, en la esclavitud, en la mano de obra esclava, en la expropiación de la tierra y de los bienes comunes, en la codicia... es super importante ser capaz de entender que está entrelazado, es muy difícil ser feminista y no ser antirracista y anticapitalista, es fundamental entender eso. Esos son los pilares fundamentales de este modelo neofascista que se está imponiendo, y que no necesita poner en marcha nuevos modelos coercitivos, porque se encarga de que hay un mini capitalista y racista en nosotros. ¿Que no me puedo ir de vacaciones? ese no es problema es que estamos a 4 días del colapso, de donde sale todo eso? de donde sale? No hay posibilidad de que exista uno sin otro, son diferentes pilares de un mismo sistema.

(Maite) Hoy en día casi cualquier análisis del movimiento feminista tiene este análisis, el movimiento feminista es el organizador de una huelga internacionalista
Anabel- la importancia de los procesos y de que se construye, lo que se dice está todo dicho.

-¿Para vosotras que supone el hacer frente a las violencias patriarcales y capitalistas desde la corporalidad? puede ser una forma de resistir? desde la corporalidad?

(Maite) Ese discurso creo que aquí, en Euskal Herria no lo tenemos todavía interiorizado, tendría que escuchar mucho para poder entenderlo.

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(Anabel) Yo creo que es algo super importante dicho desde sus palabras y primas, pero creo a la vez que es algo que se ha hecho históricamente desde la desobediencia civil, las sufragistas

ponían su cuerpo, se tiraban a los caballos, el feminismo ha sido muy pionero en este tipo de discursos y acciones donde se ponía el cuerpo. Lo han hecho todos los maricas, las personas trans, las bolleras, las personas no binarias con su corporalidad diciendo aquí estoy. A mi en especial me interesa el feminismo comunitario por sus prácticas comunitarias y el recuperar prácticas que históricamente se han utilizado.

Uno de los aspectos más interesante de las redes comunitarias de que el estado tal y como está no nos va a solucionar la vida, hay que empezar a la vez que se lucha contra el sistema a poner en marcha experiencias propias de resistencia de vivir de vida y eso es algo super importante del feminismo comunitario y del comunitarismo. como las feministas comunitarias cobran protagonismo con ese programa

Con el tema del covid, cómo transformar el dolor la rabia en resistencia lucha y activismo, hay muchas experiencias que tienen que ver con la resistencia y la corporalidad, yo lo he vivido de joven, en los ochenta, con cómo nos vestíamos. Ahora en este momento histórico, el capitalismo se ha hecho más difícil con la globalización y homogeneización. El sistema además es muy hábil y no nos deja tiempo de organizarnos y de que los procesos y proyectos sociales tengan sus tiempos y ritmos.

(Maite) Yo sigo diciendo que seguimos viviendo fuera de nuestros cuerpos y lo de tejer comunidad es un ejercicio totalmente anticapitalista super consciente, un ejercicio activo de quitarnos parte del ocio, es general más trabajo de muchos tipos que algunos mas agusto y otros más a disgusto y como solo puede construirse desde lo local no son proyectos muy exportables es muy complejo construir de manera comunitaria pero es algo muy interesante .

-Pastora Filigrana sostiene en el último libro que acaba de publicar el cual se titula 'El pueblo gitano contra el sistema mundo', que el patriarcado es solo uno, y es blanco y occidental. ¿Estáis de acuerdo con la siguiente tesis?

“El capitalismo no ha creado estas desigualdades, o al menos no siempre, pero sí las ha institucionalizado y universalizado su sostenimiento y desarrollo. Han existido prácticas de opresión de género precapitalistas, pero nunca antes con una pretensión de universalidad. Hablar, por tanto, de distintos patriarcados o de grados de patriarcalidad es una falacia que nos lleva a invisibilizar lo obvio: el patriarcado es sólo uno, un modelo de ordenación de la economía y la sociedad capitalista ideado en el Occidente blanco y universalizado a través de la colonización” (Extracto del libro de Pastora Filigrana)

(Anabel) Estoy bastante de acuerdo con Pastora, es más ella me gusta mucho, el patriarcado se reproduce en todos los lugares, pero donde está ideado es en occidente el nivel de racismo internalizado que tenemos es brutal, nuestro racismo más grande

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-El patriarcado, como institución social, es decir, como estructura de dominación social, nace con el colonialismo? con la conquista y destrucción de América Latina?

(Anabel) Las sociedades previas eran absolutamente racistas y patriarcales, en estos momentos el patriarcado BBVA eso no quiere decir que en las comunidades indígenas no existieran, existe porque es la ley del más fuerte y una manera de organizar el mundo. Para el análisis actual lo que importa es porque está.

(Maite) En relación al debate de Durango, Itzi Gandarias decía que a las mujeres migradas hay que darles la bienvenida. Cuando se está con las migradas no se pueden dar por hecho cosas que saben, la claves darle la bienvenida . Estamos tan agobiadas que no nos da tiempo a tomarnos el tiempo, y estar agusto en los grupos