

# Toward a Construction of the History of a (Dis)encounter The Feminist Reason and the Antiracist and Decolonial Agency in Abya Yala

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In this essay,<sup>1</sup> I attempt to advance, from a decolonial point of view, a construction of a genealogy of the relationship between feminist politics and black and indigenous antiracist struggles in Abya Yala.<sup>2</sup> I explore the late emergence of antiracist, decolonial, and ethno-racial movements and struggles in Latin America, understanding *mestizaje* (the process of racial mixing) ideology and the processes of broad Westernization as obstacles to overcome and face the *racist imperial reason*, even by feminism, in its attempt to decolonize such a reason. Finally, I analyze the toll that feminism in Latin America has paid by insisting on the country's fragmented view and in its treatment of oppression centered on gender.

In the introduction to the 2014 book *Tejiendo de Otro Modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala*,<sup>3</sup> which I edited with Diana Gomez Correal and Karina Ochoa Muñoz, we consider the complicated relationship between feminism and the struggles of indigenous people and African descendants in the place known by its colonial name as Latin America. Through a memory-building exercise we remember how, since the end of the 1980s onward, indigenous and African descendants' struggles began to take shape, increasingly challenging the nation-state with their demands for autonomy (political, cultural organizational, and epistemological) and with their critique of Eurocentric discourse of institutions, the international agenda of rights, the world of development, and the politics of local and international urban social movements that insist on the nation-state's universalist views and ideals of "good" centered on individual agency and consumerism.

Over the course of our work, we remembered the continent-wide campaign centered on the five hundredth anniversary of indigenous, black, and popular resistance juxtaposed against the official celebration the Eurocentric discourse has called "the discovery of America." We recall the 1990s as a decade marked by the Zapatista insurrection in Mexico, and the processes initiated in a good part of the region—Guatemala, Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela—that happened thanks to the great mobilization and countrywide awakening of indigenous and African descendants' landless peasant movements of peoples, and as well popular and urban movements. Finally, we recognize a part of feminism being present and accompanying these processes.

1 My thanks go to Dulce Reyes Bonilla and Daniella Avila for their assistance with the content editing of the first English version of this text.

2 Abya Yala, which in the Kuna language means "land in its full maturity" or "land of vital blood," is the name used by the Kuna people, an ancient Native American nation who used to inhabit the land known today as northwest Colombia and southeast

Panama, to refer to the American continent before the arrival of Columbus.—Trans.  
3 *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala* [Weaving from another world: Feminism, epistemology, and decolonial stakes in Abya Yala], ed. Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso, Diana Gomez Correal, and Karina Ochoa Muñoz. Popayán: Editorial de la Universidad del Cauca, 2014.

However, to keep from idealizing those processes, we acknowledge the difficulties and obstacles that have plagued these attempts of articulation between feminism and indigenous, black, and popular struggles. While we recognize the attempts toward the mutual recognition between feminists and women from indigenous and African movements, we also notice that the problems and dangers of trying to construct an agenda of common interests have become more evident. History shows the impossibility of a more equitable and horizontal listening to each other and the impossibility of feminism to abandon its pretense to produce a universal truth about gender-based oppression and the ways to reverse it.

Thus, articulations, complicity and alliances between women of indigenous, Afro-descendants, and popular movements' origin with feminists were not always easy. This was due, among other things, to the feminists' class and racial backgrounds, and although a ranking inside the feminist movement have shown that there were women descendants of native and African peoples, coming from the working class, the fact is that the great majority of feminists have been white-mestiza, urban, university educated, coming from the middle and upper classes. As it has been denounced and analyzed by black feminists and women of color in the United States (hooks, 2004; Lorde, 2003), these origins have conditioned their interpretations of women's oppression as well as the basic postulates of a program of liberation and development, that is, the strategies that could end this oppression bringing it toward the type of society to which we aspire. Saying this, the differences between feminists and organized women of subaltern groups are palpable. The latter therefore have not been attracted to or summoned by the feminist struggle, a struggle that they have seen quite far from their reality.<sup>4</sup>

Although more and more voices of indigenous and African-descended "women"<sup>5</sup> are capable of recognizing, observing, and making visible the sexism that operates in their communities and in their political organizations, there continues to be a border and a complicated relationship between feminism and "women" from organizations and/or communities and indigenous and African movements. To me, this has to do with some other reasons I would like to return to later in this essay.

The fact is that with the expansion of feminism into wider spaces of society, and the incorporation of racialized subjects and marginal communities, these problems were no longer expressed only in the relationship between movements but within the feminist's ranking or classification system. Disagreements arose about the unequal relationships "between women." Experiencing symbolic and epistemic violence, racism, meritocracy, and other forms of management and passing over of sites of prestige and power, as well as the management

of word and representation within Eurocentric feminist activism, has scarred many of us, and has propelled us to search for explanations that have allowed us to understand and account for our lived experiences. This was an experience of oppression that was systematically denied to us by feminism in its traditional form, one that did not allow us to see and analyze oppression in its right dimension.

And it is from there that several of us in Abya Yala have denounced and theorized these problems within feminists' organizations and in the wider movement. The first indictments based on class differences were formulated since the mid-1980s by the Latin American popular feminism that was committed to Marxism and left-wing politics against the privileges and prerogatives enjoyed by some women and reflected in the organization itself in terms of defining central issues, strategies, alliances, and forms of representation. Later, during the 1990s, these differences were formulated by the autonomous feminism movement in terms of the relationship with the state and the processes of institutionalization and bureaucratization of the feminist agenda. Parallel to this history, in the 1980s, the power of a black movement in Brazil emerged in the public scene from where the first voices of black women were ready to fight for their place within the mixed antiracist movement and within the feminist movement. The African-Brazilian movement will be paradigmatic in this history, ushering race consciousness and a broad struggle against institutional racism. African-Brazilian feminism became a pioneering force in the region in opening up thinking about the relationship between gender, race, and class.<sup>6</sup>

In Brazil, a country of African descent, the self-identified black women's movement was nurtured by the black feminists' intellectual production in the United States. Their dialogue, since the 1980s, has allowed them to grow some theoretical-methodological tools to better think of their own reality.<sup>7</sup>

4 *Tejiendo de otro modo*, 22. The two references that appear in the middle of this quotation refer to bell hooks, *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 2004); and Audre Lorde, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (London: Rivers Oram Press/Pandora List, 2003). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

5 I always use quotation marks when referring to women to point out how problematic (how inadequate) the term is when used in non-Western, nonwhite contexts.

6 Sonia E. Alvarez et al., "Encontrando os feminismos latino-americanos e caribenhos" [Encountering Latin American and Caribbean feminisms], *Revistas Estudos Feministas* 11, no. 2 (July–December 2003): 548, <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/ref/v11n2/19138.pdf>.

7 We should refer here to the theoretical and activists productions of black positions such as Luiza Bairros, Leila Gonzales, Sueli Carneiro, and Jurema Werneck, among others.

## The Difficulties of Producing a Decolonial and Antiracist Consciousness and the Influences of Black Feminists and Feminists of Color in the United States and in Abya Yala

It is impossible to deny the great influence that black and women of color feminism in the United States has had on antiracist feminists in Latin America and elsewhere. This is surely, in reference to the decolonial analysis, what I call the “geopolitics of knowledge,”<sup>8</sup> or, even better, a “political economy of knowledge.”<sup>9</sup> Concerns about the historical impossibility of Latin American feminism to produce a theory of its own to reflect on its own geopolitical configuration has already been expressed by authors such as Breny Mendoza,<sup>10</sup> Mayra Leciñana,<sup>11</sup> and, in my own work; this was the reason that motivated me with a group of students and activists to carry out an independent research on the production of knowledge within the gender and sexuality studies in Latin America.<sup>12</sup>

Our status as satellite countries of European and later US colonialism defines us as receivers, instead of producers of knowledge. This has enabled black and women of color feminist thinkers, despite their status of being subaltern in US academia, to achieve a certain level of reception and to become a voice of reference for racialized and “Third World” women. Such has been the importance of this thinking about the relation between race and gender in Latin America that we have had to face the awkward situation when local voices, contributing similar arguments, are replaced by representatives of European and Anglo North America. Thereafter continues the long tradition that systematically ignores local contributions while impeding the development of a theory of our own that is rooted in our own positions. This problem becomes obvious in a field of research such as the decolonial turn that has condemned the coloniality of knowledge, and yet when it comes to thinking about the relationship between coloniality and gender classification, the intellectuals and researchers of coloniality as well turn to the interpretations developed by voices from black, Chicana, and feminists of color in the United States, assuming that they also represent those of subalterns in Latin America and the Caribbean.<sup>13</sup>

I believe that the decisive influence that black and women of color feminists in the United States has had on the development of antiracist struggles in our region is due to certain conditions that have allowed a much earlier historical appearance of this thought in the United States rather than in Latin America. I propose that some of the conditions for the emergence of feminist antiracist activism and theories in the United States and Latin America might have something to do with what Antonio Guimarães explained as the historical construction of different models of state racism at a global level.<sup>14</sup> Following Guimarães’s hypothesis, the existence of a model of racial segregation, as in the United States, would allow the early emergence—within the temporality

marked by the configuration of nation-state and coloniality—of an awareness of “racial oppression” in the United States that is different from what would happen in Latin American countries where a type of “assimilationist” racism, derived from the strategy and ideology of *mestizaje*,<sup>15</sup> prevented or delayed the appearance of an awareness of racial oppression and of a politics deriving from it.

The ideology of *mestizaje* has installed the idea of the possibility of settling conflicts between different opposed cultural and epistemic traditions, though to do this it was necessary to abandon the local, native epistemologies and to replace them through the Latin American nation-state modern colonial matrix. Through a discourse that hides more than they show, “plagued by euphemisms

8 Walter Mignolo, “La geopolíticas del conocimiento y colonialidad del poder: Entrevista a Walter Mignolo” [Geopolitics of knowledge and the coloniality of power: Interview with Walter Mignolo], interview by Catherine Walsh, in *Indisciplinar las ciencias sociales: Geopolíticas del conocimiento y colonialidad del poder: Perspectivas desde lo andino* [Indisciplining social sciences: Geopolitics of knowledge and the coloniality of power: Perspectives from the Andean], ed. Catherine Walsh, Freya Schiwy, and Santiago Castro-Gómez (Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Ediciones Abya Yala, 2002), 17–44.

9 Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch’ixinakax utxiwa: Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores* [Ch’ixinakax utxiwa: A reflection on decolonizing practices and discourses] (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón, 2010); see also her “Ch’ixinakax utxiwa: A Reflection on the Practices and Discourses of Decolonization,” *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Winter 2012, 95–109, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-1472612>.

10 Breny Mendoza, “Los feminismos y la otra transición a la democracia de América Latina” [Feminisms and the other transition to democracy in Latin America], in *Rebeldes Ilustradas* [Enlightened rebels], ed. María Antonia García de León (Barcelona: Libros de Revista Anthropos, 2009).

11 Mayra Leciñana Blanchard, “Feminismo filosófico en el contexto latinoamericano: ¿Quién habla y cómo? Subjetivación política y subalternidad” [Philosophical feminism in the Latin American context: Who speaks and how? Political subjectivation and subalternity], *Clepsydra*, no. 4 (January 2005): 23–32.

12 Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso and Rosario Castelli, “Colonialidad y dependencia en los estudios de género y sexualidad en América Latina: el caso de Argentina, Brasil, Uruguay y Chile” [Coloniality and dependence in gender and sexuality studies in Latin America: The case of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile], in *Feminismos y Poscolonialidad: Descolonizando el feminismo desde y en América latina* [Feminisms and postcoloniality: Decolonizing feminism from and in Latin America], ed. Karina Bidaseca and Vanesa Vázquez Laba (Buenos Aires: Godot, 2011).

13 See Breny Mendoza, “La epistemología del sur, la colonialidad del género y el feminismo latinoamericano” [The epistemology of the south, the coloniality of gender and Latin American feminism], in *Tejiendo de Otro Modo*, 91–104.

14 Antonio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães, “El mito del anti-racismo en Brasil” [The myth of antiracism in Brazil], *Nueva Sociedad*, no. 144 (July–August 1996): 32–45.

15 There is a wide range of work that analyzes the *mestizaje* as discourse of the Creole elites in Latin America, including those written by Breny Mendoza, Mary Louise Pratt, and Peter Wade, among others.

16 Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch’ixinakax utxiwa*, 19. Breny Mendoza, “La desmitologización del *mestizaje* en Honduras: Evaluando nuevos aportes” [The de-mythologization of *mestizaje* in Honduras: Evaluating new contributions], *Revista Mesoamérica* 22, no. 42 (2001).

17 Ibid.

that veil reality instead of presenting it,"<sup>16</sup> national elites offered to nonwhite populations a mystifying discourse of integration while broadly whitewashing to turn us into the type of advanced and developed nations that would emulate Europe. This process of whitening has been fundamental to the formation of both the dominant classes and the middle class and urban-working class formed under the ideals of modernity. Communities of resistance were systematically subjected to extermination and exclusion or, if not, forced to forget their origin and to ascribe themselves to the modern Western ideal through the proposal of integrative *mestizaje* (the process of race mixture).<sup>17</sup>

It should be said that the predominantly bourgeois and white/mestizo origin of feminism in Latin America has been a given, but also has a compromised relationship with emancipatory ideals of progress, equality, individual, and sexual freedom.<sup>18</sup> This has involved the production of a Eurocentric view that cannot observe the effects of racism as an episteme on which the Latin American liberation program itself is based and our contemporary forms of our political and social organization. And so has been difficult for feminism in Latin America to admit to its complicity with the expansion of the modern colonial view, racism, and the racialized gender system that derives from it.

This historical particularity has differentiated us from what has occurred in other geopolitical contexts such as in Africa and the United States, where constitutive racism was evident because of direct experiences of segregation and the apartheid.<sup>19</sup> Because of this, a first contemporary movement of antiracist feminists in the United States had a chance to emerge from the early 1970s, thanks to the combination of two strong movements that appeared simultaneously in that decade: the feminist movement and the civil-rights movement, later radicalized in black nationalist movements, many of them adhering to Marxist analysis. It is from the experience of activism in these two movements and the Marxist militancy that the voices of black and women of color feminists emerged in the United States.

The change that inaugurates this subaltern feminism of racialized working-class "women" in the United States was only possible because they managed to conceptualize and introduce the concept of race as a historical category that plays a crucial role in capitalist accumulation and expansion and that makes it possible to understand the oppression suffered by a large number of "women," an oppression the Eurocentric feminist theory has failed to account for.

Black and women of color feminists, encouraged by the experience of separatism, nationalism, and black and Chicano revolutionary militancy, imbued by radical and revisited Marxist theory, could effectively relate to class and race. This relationship created, in the subaltern subject—produced by the expansion of capital and through a colonizing expansion—a racialized subject that was

here to justify white superiority and that which the Marxist thought could not fully theorize because of its strong commitment to the program of modernization.

This political subject produced from a race consciousness disputed both the epistemic Eurocentrism and the expansive colonialist project of Europe, was already denounced by key authors of the mid-1930s Negritude movement, such as Frantz Fanon<sup>20</sup> and Aimé Césaire.<sup>21</sup> From there, it was possible to start thinking about a "difference" in regard to the European subject of emancipation in connection with the political program of international socialism. This difference or specificity will be thematized by black feminists who will carry out a work of revision of the basic premises that explain the subjugation of women within the patriarchy—premises that had been formulated and sustained by bourgeois white feminism, even the one committed to the class struggle.

For Latin American feminism, on the other hand, we have needed more time for voices of racialized women and feminists that are aware of racist and sexist oppression to appear. Furthermore, much has been needed for Latin American feminism as a whole to become aware of the necessity to articulate concern for racism. Although at the beginning of the 1990s we witnessed the birth of a Latin American movement of black women led by black feminists,<sup>22</sup> many of which, by the way, were lesbians, such a movement has developed in direct challenge to the interests and sensibilities of the local *mainstream* feminists.

As I have pointed out in a previous paper,<sup>23</sup> it is a fact that despite the permanent consumption in Latin America of feminist theories produced in the United States and Europe, the critical production developed by the Third World fem-

18 See Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso "El futuro ya fue: Una crítica a la idea del progreso en las narrativas de liberación sexo-genéricas y queer identitarias en Abya Yala" [The future already was: A critique of the idea of progress in the sex-gender and queer identity liberation narratives in Abya Yala], in *Andar erótico decolonial* [Decolonial erotic walking], ed. Raul Moarquch Ferrera-Balanquet (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Signo, 2015).

19 See Guimarães, "El mito del anti-racismo en Brasil."

20 See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

21 See Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972).

22 During this period, different organizations of black women have emerged in the region, including the House of African Women in the Dominican Republic and the Latin American Network of African Women.

23 Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso, "Los desafíos de las prácticas teórico-políticas del feminismo latinoamericano en el contexto actual" [The challenges of the theoretical-political practices of Latin American feminism in the current context], in *Crisis y movimientos sociales en nuestra América: Cuerpos, territorios e imaginarios en disputa* [Crisis and social movements in our America: Bodies, territories and imagery in dispute], ed. Mar Daza, Raphael Hoetmer, and Virginia Vargas Yuderkys (Lima: Programa Democracia y Transformación Global (PDTG), 2012).

inist movement and in the United States, as well as the first local efforts, were not given particular attention by Latin American feminism as a whole. I had warned that “we had to wait until these contributions had been collected and valued by white US academics to enjoy some level of [minimal attention and] legitimacy in Latin America.”<sup>24</sup>

In any case, black and women of color feminists in the United States have been for us, the antiracist feminists in Latin America and great theoretical-political reference points. Their demands and criticisms have been essential in helping to shape a voice of their own from subaltern gender positions. This voice in its full production, without overlooking of course the exposed genealogy that nurtured it, must, nevertheless, continue down its own path. That includes contributing writings from real experience as subjects of coloniality of power, being, and knowledge in order to form a critical support coming from the racialized subalterns of the world.

The experience of coloniality is not something that Anglo North American anti-racist feminists have lived and/or theorized. This is despite the fact that they have been attentive to colonialism and imperialism they knew because of the history of enslavement and internal colonialism, as well as because of the experience of migration that many have experienced as Latinas in the United States. Antiracist feminists in Abya Yala have much to contribute to a framework that effectively interprets the relationship between women’s oppression/domination and racism. This framework that, from my point of view, is the analysis of coloniality and the modern colonial gender system allows us to deepen and improve the criticism of antiracist feminists in the United States and the first very much appreciated segment of antiracist feminists in Abya Yala. At the same time, it gives new routes to overcome the epistemological obstacles that the theory of intersectionality contains, which as we know is considered to be the fundamental contribution of the so-called black feminism.

### On the Limits of a Theory Centered on Gender Oppression and Its Negative Implications in a Unified Struggle

The emergence of gender awareness is quite new in the history of broad social movements in Latin America. We have witnessed how, over time, feminist discourse in Latin America has succeeded in making an impact at the level of ideas in certain spaces of broad anticapitalist, popular, and ethnic-racial movements. This can be observed in some analyses that originate from such discourses and where we see a growing concern to do with sexist oppression. The discourse on rights by the state, achieved with difficulty, is here thanks to the pressures of the feminist movement and the systematic work of feminism

on the level of the state, through NGOs and the development agenda. It also has to do with years of work and entering communities of popular and leftist feminism. Part of the work of autonomous and radical feminists in Latin America has been to maintain and commit to what has been considered “other struggles” that have taken place on the continent.

Finally, we should affirm the influences of academic feminism in terms of its expansion in Latin American universities and the emergence of positive action programs through which indigenous and African-descendant women have been able to access professional studies on gender and sexuality. All of this has contributed to the expansion of feminist ideas and to a certain level of popularization of feminist ideas and interpretations about gender oppression (or of women as women).

As a result of these broad anticolonial, anti-imperialist, and antiracist movements in Latin America, we started to incorporate, timidly, but much more rapidly than we were willing to admit, a concern for the reproduction of hierarchical relations between women and men and between genders and despised sexualities and those that are seen as normative bodies, which are part of the communities and the movements themselves. But we should be suspicious of the kind of truth about “gender” that Latin American feminism continues to advance in its expansion, trying to explain it as a kind of historical interpretation that is defined as “a common oppression against women by the fact that they are women.” In spite of the attempt from different fronts of feminist theorization to show the deep issues of a fragmented and universalist conceptualization of oppression, the feminist reason in Latin America persists, while moving forward, in proposing an homogenizing analysis.

Here it is important define the concept of “reason” in relation to feminism and the way I am conceptualizing it. I argue that there is a universal feminist reason that consists of a set of principles in which feminists of all times and of the most diverse contemporary currents in the United States as well as in Europe, Latin America, Asia, or Africa partake. This reason has been characterized by its commitment to occidental modernity and, therefore, with coloniality being the hidden face of modernity.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 217.

<sup>25</sup> According to the characterization developed by Mario Blaser, I say that there are at least three issues that are substantive to the modern myth and that the feminist program reproduces: “The great separation between nature and culture, the colonial difference between modern and non-modern, and a linear, unidirectional temporality that runs from the past to the future.” See Mario Blaser, *Un relato de*

*globalización desde el Chaco* [An account on globalization from the Chaco] (Popayán: Universidad del Cauca, 2013), 24. These ideas are developed more closely in my text for the book *(An)danzas de los feminismos descoloniales y anti-coloniales en Abya Yala* [Endeavors of decolonial and anticolonial feminisms in Abya Yala], ed. Karina Ochoa, María Teresa Garzón, Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso, Aura Cumes, and Breny Mendoza (Madrid: Akal, 2017).

The limits of such theorization are expressed daily in Latin American feminist strategies—which are focused on gender, or what others call “the feminine condition”—that pretends to influence all women in groups and communities to which they belong through social, cultural, and economic circumstances. As I have pointed out before,<sup>26</sup> this assumption is productive for women who enjoy class and racial privileges, while benefiting from a politics that leaves unchanged those areas of social life in which these same women occupy hierarchical positions and are part of those dominant groups that have historically exercised power.<sup>27</sup>

This has direct consequences on the type of feminist politics that takes place and on the type of value it places on the racialized “women” of marginal urban and peasant communities. When they are required to overlay a gender alliance over class and race alliances, they do not hesitate to decide with which they will side. They know that choosing gender alliance proposed by feminism means losing, since the cost required is a willingness to abandon or to relegate historical antagonisms that define them as part of a community or as a type of people. Once they reach those goals that are announced as “common goals,” they will be left alone again to face the harsh reality of a life condemned to historical forms of institutional and state violence—conditions they face daily.

This awareness of resistance and survival as people, community, and ethnic-racial group or class is the one that intervenes in considering the pros and cons of whether to call themselves feminists. These are the cautious reasons why, with or without a great theory that supports them, they know that feminism is not their place, and that while the feminist proposal can open up some questions regarding their own resistance and liberation, it is nevertheless not their fight.

Once I was told by Julia Ramos, an Aymara leader of the Bartolina Sisa Confederation of Bolivia, the reason for her decision not to call herself a feminist. She said: “I will not save myself alone.”<sup>28</sup> This was not just about the name, but about the objectives of the struggle. While for the consensual feminist ideology the struggle is a gender-centered struggle and it is done “among women,” racialized women and feminists think and make the effort to theorize oppression in a complex, multidimensional, and defragmented way. For us it is fundamental that we have a common struggle with the men of the community, because we know that their bodies, as much as ours, are produced by the matrix of oppression existing for exploitation and violence.

Such a position can still not be assimilated by the great majority of mainstream currents of Latin American feminists produced within the colonial matrix and the Eurocentric gaze. Insofar as the antiracist and decolonial thinking in the continent is strengthened and deepened, we encounter strong resistance against abandoning the centrality and productivity of gender as a dominant

category to explain oppression. Latin American feminism today may be more willing to pay attention to racism and the effects of colonialism, though its view of racism remains superficial, particularistic, and, above all, fragmented and summarized. Their understanding and treatment of racism and the modern colonial capitalist world system maintain the view that the dominant categories of oppression were of a different nature and historical matrix. In the end, even the most well-meaning feminism continues to think of these issues as separate issues, as an addition to gender domination and thus less fundamental for women’s struggles.

As long as we are unable to change this point of view of oppression in Latin American feminism, it will be doomed to be the struggle of a few; what is more, it will be the struggle for the emancipation that will only benefit a small number of people, and not against the widening oppression of racialized subjects, regardless of gender.

Translated from the Spanish by Marina Gržinić

26 See Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso, “Y la una no se mueve sin la otra: descolonialidad, antirracismo y feminismo: Una trieja inseparable para los procesos de cambio” [And the one does not move without the other: Decoloniality, antiracism, and feminism; Inseparable threesome for the processes of change], *Revista Venezolana de Estudios de la Mujer* 21, no. 46 (2016).

27 This is what I have named gender racism, when it becomes the principal category of feminist analysis: “An impossibility of feminist theory to recognize its privileged place of enunciation within the modern colonial matrix of gender.” In Espinosa Miñoso, “Y la una no se mueve sin la otra,” 50.

28 Julia Ramos, in discussion with the author, La Paz, Bolivia, 2010.

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