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Feminists Confront Neoliberalism: Lessons from DAWN and Articulación Feminista Marcosur

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Feminists Confront Neoliberalism: Lessons from DAWN and *Articulación Feminista Marcosur*

by

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Abstract

Neoliberalism, which is the dominant economic and political paradigm, is associated with trade liberalization, deregulation, austerity, and precariarization of the labour market. While the neoliberal and feminist logics may seem incompatible, there are several ways in which feminist movements can accidentally collude with neoliberalism. Nancy Fraser describes this as "the dangerous liaison between feminism and marketization." This thesis aims to contribute to the debates around Fraser's charge of feminist co-optation, and examines if feminist networks in the Global South are susceptible to any degree of complicity with neoliberalism. I have analyzed the campaigns and activism of two major feminist networks from the Global South — *Articulación Feminista Marcosur* (AFM), and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) to see if they have been successful in resisting any form of collusion with neoliberalism. In order to do so, I conducted theory-driven participant observation, supplemented with analysis of academic and grey literature, at the 2018 World Social Forum in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil. AFM's Campaign Against Fundamentalisms faces the issue of lapsing into the "problem of displacement" as they tend to focus on cultural issues, while sidelining the economic ones. However, while moving beyond the "problem of displacement," their "Our Bodies Our Territories" campaign continues to operate within an ultimately problematic Westphalian nation-state framework. While DAWN does conduct an intersectional analysis, it adopts an "add and stir" approach, and fails to make adequate connections between the neoconservative cultural and neoliberal economic forces. This thesis attempts to provide some lessons and strategies that feminist networks, and the WSF in general, can adopt in the face of neoliberal, and other related crises such as the rise of right-wing authoritarian governments, and the global COVID-19 pandemic.

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List of Acronyms

ABONG	Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
ATTAC	Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens
AFM	*Articulación Feminista Marcosur*
AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development
BDS	Boycott, Disinvest, Sanction
CAF	Campaign Against Fundamentalisms
CBJP	Brazilian Justice and Peace Commission
CIVES	Brazilian Business Association for Citizenship
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
IC	International Council (of the WSF)
ICE	US Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IFI	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, gay, transgender, queer, intersex + community
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OBOT	"Our Bodies, Our Territories" (Campaign)
REPEM	Popular Education Network Among Women of Latin America and the Caribbean
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SOS CORPO	Feminist Institute for Democracy
TNC	Transnational Corporations
UFBA	Federal University of Bahia
UN	United Nations (Organization)
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WEF	World Economic Forum
WSF	World Social Forum
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter One

Introduction

Since the late twentieth century, neoliberalism, which champions free market competition and extreme individualism, has been the world's reigning economic and political paradigm (Peet and Hartwick, 2015, p. 78). Neoliberalism is the most widely used framework for understanding and critiquing development in the Global South[1]. As an economic system, neoliberalism was conceived at the University of Chicago by economists like Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, and spread through an extensive network of institutions, foundations, research centers, scholars, publications, and public relations experts who worked in tandem to promulgate this doctrine worldwide (Peet and Hartwick, 2015, p. 83). The doctrine's global hegemony began in the 1970s and 1980s, and can be traced in particular to the regimes of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 24). Neoliberal hegemony has involved: deregulating corporations and markets to remove government restrictions around environment, affirmative action, and banking; privatizing public goods and services; delegitimizing the welfare state that had been established through practices like progressive taxation under the Keynesian economic model; dismantling labour unions and attacking workers' rights to organize and collectively bargain; and devaluing the government's role in securing high employment levels, providing social security benefits, and stimulating economic growth (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 24-25). Neoliberalism has valorized individualism and demonized welfare policies, insisting that the latter compromise self-determination and individual liberty (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 25).

[1] In this thesis, I use the term the "Global North" to refer to Western, industrialized, "First World" states, and the term "Global South" to refer to the states in the developing world.

Many economic and political factors contributed to neoliberalism's quick spread in the Global South. During the 1970s and 1980s, neoliberal policies made markets and competition at local and international levels the primary form of economic and social interaction (Leiva, 2008, p. 1). During these decades, international organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) used structural adjustment programs (SAPs) to promote an agenda of market liberalization, deregulation, and privatization across countries in the Global South, including Latin America and the Caribbean (Leiva, 2008, p. 23). The debt crisis of the 1980s provided new opportunities for imperial powers to exploit the Global South (Webber, 2011, p. 182). By 1982, Latin American countries had borrowed $300 billion from banks in the Global North (Cupples, 2013, p. 57). The United States and other core imperialist countries used commercial banks and multilateral lending institutions to push the SAP agenda, imposing the Washington Consensus, which refers to conditions and demands imposed on the countries of the Global South. These conditions forced them to reduce their deficits, cut spending on social services like food subsidies and education, deregulate their industries and markets, liberalize trade, and strengthen private property rights (Peet and Hartwick, 2015, 98; Webber, 2011, p. 182).

Economic stagnation and inflation led to the rise of right-wing governance in Latin America, which also paved the way for neoliberalism's introduction in the 1970s and early 1980s (Peet and Hartwick, 2015, p. 77). Neoliberalism's spread in Latin America was accompanied by violence and suppression of the political left, popular uprisings by activists, labour unions, and so on (Webber, 2011, p. 182; Webber, 2017, p. 10). Neo-Marxist literature that situates neoliberalism in an international frame describes it as a neo-colonial project extending Western hegemony (Venugopal, 2015, p. 175). Rita Abrahamsen (2001) argues that Eurocentric

development discourse tends to portray the Global South as underdeveloped, creating a hierarchical relationship between the Global North and the South, and legitimizing Western intervention (p. 1, 42). Though weak democracies in the Global South are a product of external as well as internal influences, the West tends to overlook those external influences, such as the impact of SAPs, which facilitated the imposition of neoliberal policies in underdeveloped and developing states. Currency devaluation led to an increase in the cost of goods, deflation, privatization, and deregulation, weakening the economic and political stability of Global South states and leading to growing disparity between the rich and the poor in those countries (Abrahamsen, 2001, p. 132). However, Western rhetoric continued to portray the Global South as a monolith in need of aid and intervention from the North to facilitate its development. The SAPs, implemented with the help of international financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, limited financial and political growth and intensified economic inequality in underdeveloped and developing countries, further destabilizing them (Abrahamsen, 2001, p. 43-46).

Neoliberalism is not just a new economic system that encourages privatization, deregulation, and corporatization; rather, it is a different mode of governance, an alternative to the Keynesian state (Rottenberg, 2014, p. 420). According to Wendy Brown (2015), neoliberalism is based on the notion of "governing without Government," and has systematically diminished the state's power (Brown, 2015 p. 123). Multiple private, non-profit, and faith-based actors have taken on roles that were previously occupied by the state, delivering personal and family-related services and resources (Cooper, 2017, p. 315). Brown argues that neoliberal rationality is based on a central paradox, in that while neoliberalism is supposedly predicated upon the notion of freedom — free markets, free states, and free individuals — it destroys the

grounding of freedom based in the sovereignty of states and subjects (Brown, 2015, p. 108-110). Under this rationality, states are subordinate to, and legitimated by the market, and a state's growth and development are reduced to primarily economic terms.

The World Social Forum

My thesis is rooted in participant observation research conducted at the sixteenth edition of World Social Forum (WSF) that took place in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, from March 13th to 18th, 2018. Although I attended a variety of the Forum's workshops and seminars, I focused on workshops conducted by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), and Articulación Feminista Marcosur (AFM), two major feminist networks that were present at the Salvador WSF. Since my research focuses on critically analyzing the feminist campaigns and programs, associated with these organizations, vis-à-vis neoliberalism, understanding the history and the role of the global platform where these campaigns are organized and presented is essential.

The WSF was created in 2001 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, simultaneously and as an oppositional response to the World Economic Forum (WEF), which is an International Organization for public-private cooperation (Sen, 2005, p. 10). The values of the WSF are best reflected in its Charter of Principles, which describes it as "an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and interlinking for effective actions, by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neo-liberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism" (WSF 2002a). The Charter effectively frames the WSF as a civil society space that is diverse, plural and non-confessional, as well as free of governments, political parties, and those who support violent means to achieve social change (Conway, 2013, p. 71). Since the WSF emphasizes

strengthening civil society, political parties and military organizations are forbidden from participating (Smith et al., 2008, p. 90). Moreover, the Charter places the WSF in direct opposition to the "neoliberal empire," which is represented by the Bretton Woods institutions of the IMF, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, corporate banks, and the G8 (now G7) (Buckley, 2013, p. 21; Fisher and Ponniah, 2003, p. 6-7).

Efforts to organize the first WSF were led by Francisco Whitaker, a member of the Brazilian Justice and Peace Commission (CBJP), Oded Grajev, coordinator of the Brazilian Business Association for Citizenship (CIVES), and Bernard Cassen, the director of the Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC) (Patomaki, Tevainen, and Ronkko, 2002, p, 120). It was decided that the WSF should be held in the Global South, and should be named the World Social Forum in response to the World Economic Forum, and that it should be held at the same time as the WEF (Patomaki, Tevainen, and Ronkko, 2002, p, 120). However, as the years passed, less emphasis was placed on attempts to interact with the World Economic Forum (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004, p. 145).

The WSF has served primarily as a global focal point, and an open space where social movements, groups, organizations, and individuals can meet to discuss and formulate alternatives to neoliberal globalization (Buckley, 2013, p. 1; Conway, 2013, p. 2). The WSF can be described as a "vibrant, and potentially productive articulation of an emergent global civil society." It arguably provides a fertile ground for networks of organizations and activists, marked by heterogeneity, transformation, and fragmentation, to take a firm stance against (neoliberal) globalization, and to assert that "another world is possible," which also happens to be the WSF's best-known slogan (Fisher and Ponniah, 2003, p. 1-3; Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004, p. 145). Since its inception, the WSF has successfully established roots in almost every

continent. Moreover, the forum serves as a promising site to advance the development of networks and campaigns that challenge neoliberalism, and potentially contribute a new political modality (Conway, 2013, p. 3). The WSF is not just an event, but "a participatory … collective process of networks, campaigns, alliances, coalitions, and movements to construct a new political culture, to map new paths toward emancipation" (Conway, 2013, p. 78).

The first WSF attracted over 15,000 participants; since then, the WSF has consistently grown in complexity and diversity, and during the first decade of its existence, forums in India and Brazil hosted about 100,000 participants (Conway, 2013, p. 6). Global WSF gatherings usually last five to six days and include 1,000 to 2,000 events, largely participant-organized. These are open to all attendees, who are welcome to mingle and are granted access to all WSF events. Activities include workshops, seminars, conferences, speeches, marches, political protests, film festivals, arts and crafts displays, fair trade and local vendors, kiosks, and dance and musical performances, all of which combine together to saturate the Forum with an infectious, joyful energy (Allahwala and Keil, 2005, p. 409; Conway, 2013, p. 6).

Anti-colonial and leftist movements in the Global South, including the global socialist, communist, and anarchist movements and representatives of worker, peasant, and student organizations, have undeniably impacted the WSF's founding and its principles (Conway, 2013, p. 13-14). Additionally, 500 hundred years of anti-colonial resistance by indigenous peoples in the Americas have been a source of inspiration and energy for the WSF, and for global movements resisting neoliberalism. In particular, the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas in the mid 1990s, with its unique blend of Mayan cosmovisions, democracy and Marxism, and an unyielding demand for autonomy and territory served as prototypes for the WSF (Conway, 2013, p. 13-14). The Latin American left, and especially the Brazilian left, has had a disproportionate

influence on and presence at the WSF and its founding International Council (IC) (Conway, 2013, p. 12; Fisher and Ponniah, 2003, p. 4). A number of Brazilian civil society organizations played a crucial role in forming the Organizing Committee for the first WSF. These organizations included the Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (ABONG), ATTAC, CBJP, CIVES, the Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Studies (IBASE), and the Social Network for Justice and Human Rights (Fisher and Ponniah, 2003, p. 4). Apart from the Latin American left, the Western European lefts, especially from France and Italy, have dominated the IC (Conway, 2013, p. 14).

Neoliberalism and Gender

Brown (2015) argues that neoliberalism both intensifies and fundamentally alters gender subordination. Neoliberalism's individualistic approach demands that individuals bear the cost of adjustments, rather than the state (Cupples, 2013, p. 160). Privatizing, reducing, and/or dismantling public infrastructure that supports families, children, elderly people, people with medical needs and so on, places the cost of providing these services upon individuals, mainly women, in both the Global North and Global South (Cupples, 2013, p. 160).

Gender subordination is also transformed by neoliberalism. Women have been forced to not only carry out the bulk of domestic labour, but also to join the workforce at an unprecedented rate (Cupples, 2013, p. 162). This phenomenon is also linked to the global gender wage gap. In most parts of the world, men are assumed to be the provider for their families; even when a woman's income is essential to sustain a family, it is considered secondary to a man's income. This means that, even as more women than ever enter the workforce, persistent cultural and social norms subject them to various forms of discrimination, including being paid less than men for the same amount of work (Cupples, 2013, p. 162-163). The gender wage gap is not just a

problem in the states of the Global North; it persists in Western industrialized states as well. Furthermore, under neoliberalism, the feminization of labour has led to a decline in permanent wage employment among both women and men, and to an increase in informal, part-time, and lower-waged labour positions, leading ultimately to higher rates of unemployment (Chase, 2002, p. 148). Neoliberalism has suppressed labour unions and deregulated industries, eroding environmentalist movements and enabling the creation of workplaces where workers endure unhealthy, unsafe conditions while earning salaries that are insufficient to support their families (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 19).

The world market is sustained by women workers everywhere. Considered more hireable due to their "docile" nature, "nimble fingers," and cheaper labour, women have become the main labour force under neoliberalism (Wichterich, 2000, p. 2). From sweatshops in Bangladesh to maquilas in Mexico, women face precarious working conditions; they often work long hours in factories with unsafe infrastructure, making meager wages, under constant threat of sexual and physical violence. In addition to working outside the home, women also bear the burden of carrying out domestic duties (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 26, 63; Wichterich, 2000, p. 19, 26). As the state shrinks state due to austerity and welfare programs such as education and healthcare are cut, the burden placed on women, and working-class families more generally, is exacerbated.

The Neoliberal Co-optation of Feminism

While neoliberalism poses a grave threat to feminist movements worldwide, there are also ways in which feminist theory can unwittingly collude with neoliberalism. Nancy Fraser (2020) refers to this phenomenon as a "dangerous liaison" between feminism and marketization (p. 3). While some second-wave feminists have thrived in the atmosphere of privatization, deregulation, and austerity created by neoliberal policies, this does not reflect women's

experiences in general (Fraser, 2009, p. 218). More subtly, neoliberalism has resignified feminist ideals. Fraser highlights four different ways this resignification occurs.

Firstly, in the context of state-organized, welfare-state capitalism, many early second wave feminists increasingly rejected more radical forms of feminism and their inclusion of Marxism's focus on class. With the rise of neoliberalism, feminism's anti-economism was resignified to fit the trend of "claims of justice [being] increasingly couched as claims for recognition of identity and difference" (Fraser, 2009, p. 219). Rather than calling for wealth redistribution as well as recognition of various forms of (benign) cultural difference, political economy critiques were overshadowed by cultural critiques, which was very convenient for neoliberalism.

Secondly, in the context of welfare state capitalism, second-wave feminists opposed androcentrism, pointing out the sexism perpetuated by the New Left, which failed to prioritize gender equality (Fraser, 2009, p. 215). They identified this problem with the Fordist family wage, which was based on the ideal of the "male breadwinner," and identified the gendered division of labour as the core of the New Left's androcentrism (Fraser, 2009, p. 216). With the rise of neoliberalism, this feminist critique of the "male breadwinner" model came to romanticize the influx of women into the labour market. However, while emancipation for middle-class, professional women may be accompanied by meaningful opportunities, for many women, especially those in the Global South, it entails low wage service work, employment in export processing zones (EPZs), and attempts to access micro-credit to open their own tiny businesses earning barely enough to allow them and their families to survive (Fraser, 2009, p. 221).

Thirdly, second-wave feminists opposed *étatism* (statism), critiquing the state's masculine, professional, top-down institutions. They stressed the importance of building "a

horizontal counter-ethos of sisterly connections." Their aim was not to dismantle state institutions completely, but rather to inject them with feminist values to create a more participatory-democratic approach that would empower citizens (Fraser, 2009, p. 216). However, under neoliberalism, feminist objections to *étatism* were resignified to critique public spending by the welfare state, which provided critical support to vulnerable communities. Neoliberal policy outsourced these services to private actors, and NGOs in the Global South (Fraser, 2009, p. 220).

Finally, during capitalism's welfare-state stage, most feminists remained relatively ambivalent to Westphalianism[2]. Although feminists, especially those in the Global South, were sensitive to transborder issues, demands for justice were largely bounded by territorial politics (Fraser, 2009, p. 217). In an encouraging turn of events, however, many feminists are no longer neutral about Westphalianism. They often display solidarity that moves beyond nation-state borders, made possible by advances in technology, and challenge state institutions on a post-Westphalian level (Fraser, 2009, p. 222). But this transnational turn faces challenges, such as the NGOization of feminist movements, the widening gap between professional and grassroots organizing, and the disproportionate influence of English-speaking elites (Fraser, 2009, p. 222-223).

Fraser's charge regarding feminism's co-optation by neoliberalism has generated much debate among feminists across the spectrum. Cultural feminist[3] Ariel Salleh has accused Fraser of being a "White feminist," arguing that the neoliberal co-optation of feminism mostly occurs in

[2] The term "Westphalian" originates from the Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648, which aimed protected state's internal sovereignty against the interference from outside actors (Philpott, 2020).
[3] For more information on cultural feminism, radical feminism, and other forms of feminism, refer to Valerie Bryson's *Feminist Political Theory* (1992).

the Global North, and that feminists in the Global South have been considerably more critical of state capitalism, as well as global capitalism rooted in colonial legacies (Salleh, 2013). She argues that Fraser's analysis is US-centric, and that feminists from the Global South have not prioritized concerns of "cultural sexism" over economic redistribution (Salleh, 2013). On the other hand, Marxist feminists Joan Sangster and Meg Luxton (2013) argue that Fraser's charge regarding homogenized second-wave feminism's complicity with global capitalism is limited to liberal, cultural and postmodern feminism, all of which were seduced by neoliberalism. Sangster and Luxton suggest that Fraser herself has moved in a poststructuralist direction (p. 299). Iris Marion Young (2008), though, takes the opposite stance, accusing Fraser of championing class politics against identity politics (p. 90). Distinguishing her position from those ascribed to her, Fraser refuses a dichotomizing perspective and instead insists that she does "not treat the material processes of political economy as 'entirely opposed' to the symbolic processes of culture" (p. 108). Indeed, Young is actually one of a number of feminists who complicate this scenario. In a chapter-length evaluation of her work, Judith Evans (1995) describes Young's theoretical trajectory as having "moved from a revolutionary socialist feminism" to a "group and identity politics, concerned with differences between groups of women (and others), though again not with those of class," (p. 112-113) which has been "influenced in part by poststructuralism" (p. 118). Catherine Eschle and Bice Maiguashka (2013), by contrast, argue that Fraser valorizes a socialist feminist position, while ignoring the work of other feminists — likely postmodern and left-liberal feminists — who also challenge neoliberalism. They maintain that all feminists are, or at least have the potential to be, progressive (p. 648).

Fraser's charge that second-wave feminists became complicit with neoliberalism has generated much debate, including Salleh's claim that feminists in the Global South are

supposedly immune to such co-optation. Therefore, in this thesis I will be examining two major feminist networks from the Global South — *Articulación Feminista Marcosur* (AFM), and Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) — to see if they have been successful in resisting/avoiding complicity with the neoliberal project. Given that neoliberalism has had a disproportionately greater impact on people in the Global South, particularly women, I will investigate to what extent, if any, AFM and DAWN have been drawn into complicity with neoliberalism, despite their attempts to challenge it.

Thesis Overview

Following this introduction, chapter two will detail the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. Given that I will be using a socialist feminist framework to critically evaluate both AFM's and DAWN's campaigns, I will briefly detail the origins and the main principles of socialist feminism. This chapter will also examine the methodology I have used to gather data for this project — primarily theory-driven participant observation and an analysis of grey literature distributed at the 2018 WSF in Salvador.

In chapter three, I will analyze AFM's two main campaigns — the Campaign Against Fundamentalisms, and "Our Bodies, Our Territories"— using Fraser's redistribution, recognition, and representation approach to social and global justice. I will highlight AFM's tendency to fall into what Fraser refers to as the "problem of displacement" in the former but not the latter campaign, and question their focus on the concept of Westphalian sovereignty.

In chapter four, I will examine and critically evaluate DAWN'S main WSF-related activities and campaigns. While DAWN maintains a strong economic focus that more successfully avoids Fraser's "problem of displacement," I will subject their intersectional feminist stance to critical scrutiny and attempt to uncover the limitations in their analysis, and the

effect of these limitations on their approach to the 8M campaign. With this in mind, I will seek to provide critical feedback on how DAWN can improve their reach in the face of neoliberal.

The fifth and concluding chapter will summarize the challenges neoliberalism poses to feminist movements and activism by comparing and contrasting AFM's and DAWN's approaches. This will also lead to a short critique of the WSF, and of Fraser's approach. Finally, I will highlight recent challenges faced by feminist movements worldwide during the global COVID-19 pandemic, the rise of right-wing authoritarianism, and their links to neoliberalism.

Chapter Two

Contemporary Socialist Feminist Theory

As critics of neoliberalism, feminists at the WSF espouse political views that range from liberal — to be strongly distinguished from *neoliberal* — feminism to postmodern/postcolonial to socialist feminisms, with some minor representation of Marxist, cultural, and anarchist feminisms. Indeed, the feminist networks analyzed in this thesis can be roughly categorized as encompassing both left-liberal feminists and either weak postmodern/postcolonial — i.e., AFM — or socialist — i.e., DAWN –feminists. Thus, this thesis will adopt, as its political framework, a very broad and open version of socialist feminism, including both social democratic perspectives as well as more radical but non-economistic versions of socialism. This broader version of socialist feminism is capable of including and also challenging the political stances of the feminist networks under consideration.

In this chapter, I will first trace the origins of socialist feminism, which evolved from a synthesis of Marxism and radical feminism, and expand on its critique of capitalist patriarchy. As welfare-state capitalism has been superseded by neoliberal capitalism, socialist feminism has expanded to better critique neoliberal patriarchy. Next, I will consider two contemporary socialist feminist approaches to social and global justice, which are central to this thesis' theoretical framework: Nancy Fraser's redistribution-recognition-representation model of social and global justice, and Linda Gordon's framework of intersectionality theory. Finally, I will close this chapter with a broad discussion of the theory-driven participant observation methodology I used in my field research for this project.

Introduction to Contemporary Socialist Feminism

In the 1960s and 1970s, there was optimism in left-wing circles about the possibility of a political revolution in the industrialized world. However, this was soon replaced by an approach centered on challenging elitism, sexism, and the hierarchy that existed within the New Left, as well as demanding reforms to state institutions (Bryson, 2003, p. 222). At this time, socialist feminists began forming grassroots networks in order to create more participatory and democratic approaches to resisting all forms of oppression (Bryson, 2003, p. 223). These networks and organizations began to impact some political organizations, such as left-leaning political parties, which started to become more "woman friendly," creating more space for women to join. However, many socialist feminists saw this as a compromise that failed to tackle the root cause of structural inequality (Bryson, 2003, p. 223). An understanding of socialist feminism's contribution to theory and politics requires tracing its origins.

The main project of socialist feminist theory was the development of a theory and practice that synthesized radical feminism and Marxism. However, the goal was to integrate only the useful parts of radical feminism and Marxism, while leaving more problematic elements of these theories behind (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). Like radical feminists, socialist feminists believe older versions of feminist theory cannot provide an adequate account of women's oppression, and thus it is necessary to develop new economic and political categories to supplement feminist analysis (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). Socialist feminists work to understand issues such as gender oppression, sexuality, and reproduction from political and economic perspectives (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). However, while radical feminists often opt for more universalistic explanations for gender-related issues, socialist feminists frame these issues in a "deliberately historical" way (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124).

Socialist feminists reject the radical feminist notion that the struggle for women's liberation should take primacy over all other types of liberation (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). At the same time, they do not subscribe to the traditional Marxist belief that the struggle for gender equality must be subordinate to class struggle (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). Instead, socialist feminists believe they must focus on resisting capitalist patriarchy since "a full understanding of the capitalist system requires a full recognition of the way in which it is structured by male dominance, and, conversely, that a full understanding of male dominance requires a recognition of the way it is organized by the capitalist division of labour" (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). Marxists believe that human nature is shaped by society and that specific historical conditions create distinct human roles. Within the capitalist mode of production, there are two distinct human roles: the capitalist and the proletarian (Jaggar, 1983, p. 125). However, contemporary socialist feminists recognize that people are also subject to other systems of oppression, such as colonialism, racism, patriarchy, homophobia, and transphobia (Jaggar, 1983, p. 126).

One of the primary points of focus in socialist feminism is the sexual division of labour. Socialist feminist theory is concerned with "the social construction, not of the masculine and feminine physical types, but rather of masculine and feminine character types" (Jaggar, 1983, p. 126). The most common manifestation of the sexual division of labour is the division between the private and the public sphere (Jaggar, 1983, p. 127). The private sphere, which is considered the "natural" sphere, is associated with sexuality and reproduction, which are culturally identified with women and femininity (Brenner, 2000, p. 103; Jaggar, 2009, p. 36). However, unlike some cultural feminists, socialist feminists reject biological determinism, instead holding that women's role as mothers is, in part, culturally constructed (Jaggar, 1983, p. 128). On the other hand, the public sphere is associated with men and masculinity. Though women make up

the majority of the workforce, women's construction as primarily mothers and/or sexual beings conceals the fact that, in addition to performing most of the labour associated with homemaking, women are also entering the public sphere at an unprecedented rate (Jaggar, 1983, p. 129). Socialist feminists emphasize that this doubling up of women's labour is an essential feature of neoliberal capitalist patriarchy.

As neoliberalism has risen to a hegemonic position as the dominant political and economic paradigm, socialist feminist theory has evolved, expanding its critique of capitalist patriarchy to a critique of neoliberal capitalist patriarchy. This critique highlights the fact that while women's unpaid work contributes enormously to the state and the market, low wages, precarious work, and slashing of public infrastructure increasingly force women to take on work in the public sphere, in addition to their duties in the private sphere (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 33; Jagger, 2009, p. 34). As noted in chapter one, women, especially in the Global South, are forced to migrate to urban centres to search for jobs that are by and large lowly paid, insecure, and that lack adequate labour protection (Jagger, 2009, p. 34). These jobs often require workers to relocate to EPZs, with unsafe working conditions that disproportionately affect the health and wellbeing of women workers (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 26). Free trade, and the opening up of economies in the Global South allow corporations to relocate to countries where they can pay lower wages, avoid enforcing regulations meant to ensure safe working conditions, and avoid taxation (Eisenstein, 2009, p. 118). Furthermore, neoliberalism has led to the feminization of work as the deterioration of conditions on the labour market mean that many men now work jobs that were previously considered women's work (Jagger, 2009, p. 35).

Migration in search of underpaid work does not just occur within countries, but also across international borders. Jagger (2009) suggests that the systematic dismantling of the

welfare state in the Global North, and the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) with the attendant deregulation, privatization, and downsizing of the state in the Global South, has vastly increased women's domestic burden due to a lack of welfare provisions such as food subsidies, affordable education, childcare, and public infrastructure (Jagger, 2009, p.40). As a result, women from the Global South have been forced to seek employment as domestic workers in the countries in the Global North, where they are in high demand. Migrant domestic workers caught up in this "maid-trade" often face exploitation and abuse, discrimination based on racial, ethnic, and linguistic grounds, and isolation (Jagger, 2009, p. 40). Socialist feminist critiques of these conditions emphasize that these domestic workers are not just vulnerable because of their gender. Rather, their vulnerability is a product of the interplay of their gender, class, race, and ethnicity.

Fraser's Redistribution/Recognition/Representation Approach to Social and Global Justice

As a socialist-feminist, Nancy Fraser's theory of social justice initially aimed to identify and rectify two analytically distinct kinds of injustice: socioeconomic injustice and cultural injustice (Fraser, 2008, p. 14). According to Fraser (2008), socioeconomic injustice arises from a society's political and economic structure, and includes issues such as economic marginalization via class, the exploitation of proletariat labour for capitalist profit, and deprivation through denied access to decent material standards of living (p. 14). Economic class is rooted in political economy, and its eradication is contingent on restructuring political economy (p. 20).

By contrast, cultural injustice[4] is entrenched in social and cultural patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication. Cultural injustice includes cultural domination (non-recognition) via the social construction of a particular group or culture as

[4] For Fraser (2008), struggles for recognition, or cultural justice, are mobilized by groups under the banners of nationality, "race," ethnicity, gender, and sexuality (p.11).

hostile to one's own, and rendering a culture socially invisible, unimportant, and unworthy of respect, e.g. maligning a group through stereotypical representations (p. 14). An example of cultural injustice can be seen in the conception of despised sexualities. Gays and lesbians suffer as a result of heterosexism, an authoritative construction of norms privileging heterosexuality. This can be distinguished from socioeconomic injustice because LGBTQI+ people are not confined to any one particular class in society, but rather are evenly distributed throughout the socioeconomic spectrum (p. 21).

Fraser stresses that even though socioeconomic and cultural injustice are analytically different, they interact, dialectically reinforcing each other (p. 16). Fraser (2008) points out that bivalent categories, like gender and "race," are influenced by both a given society's economic and cultural structures (Fraser, 2013, p. 219). Hence, bivalent categories can suffer from both economic maldistribution and cultural misrecognition, and both of these injustices are primary and "co-original" (Fraser, 2013, p. 219; Fraser, 2008, p. 23). Fraser outlines her recognition and redistribution model, noting that in order to remedy economic injustice, "redistribution" is necessary via processes ranging from redistributing income and reorganizing the division of labour to transforming a given society's basic economic structure (p. 17). Addressing cultural injustice, on the other hand, would require a symbolic change favourably revaluing disrespected groups and identities, and presenting cultural diversity as positive. Recognition can also include a more radical societal transformation of representation, interpretation, and communication to improve every member of society's sense of self-worth.

While recognition strategies tend to celebrate diversity and affirm the value of specificity in groups and identities, redistributive claims tend to encourage group de-differentiation, calling for strategies to abolish the economic arrangements underpinning group specificity (p. 18). This

creates what Fraser terms the "recognition-redistribution dilemma," the risk that these two approaches may undermine each other, given that one promotes plurality, while the other attempts to suppress it (p. 16). Despite this tension, Fraser emphasizes that justice requires both recognition and redistribution, and neither is less crucial than the other (p. 12). In fact, one of the key factors in solving the recognition-redistribution dilemma is engaging with the fact that these two approaches, and the two forms of injustice so far considered, are fundamentally intertwined.

Fraser realizes that recognition based on identity politics is potentially problematic, treating misrecognition as an independent, cultural harm and obscuring its entanglement with economic inequality. Thus recognition based on such identity politics tends to displace the struggle for redistribution, a phenomenon Fraser calls the "problem of displacement." Identity politics can also lead to the freezing or "essentializing" of group identities, and thus also to the "problem of reification." This reification of identities undermines groups' shared humanity, leading to problems like "repressive communitarianism," conformity, and separatism (p. 83).

It is important to note that the 'redistribution-recognition dilemma' can be solved through transformative remedies. On an affirmative level, redistribution involves the liberal welfare state, multiculturalism, which takes on the task of surface-level reallocation of goods among the existing groups, and this supports group differentiation, and can lead to backlash misrecognition (p. 34). On the other hand, transformative strategies would require democratic socialism, which entails thoroughly reconstructing the economic system, to make it more egalitarian, and relations of recognition. This would also deconstruct or blur group differences, and help fix some forms of misrecognition (p. 34).

According to Fraser, the most common understanding of justice is in terms of parity of participation. In order to achieve justice, the institutional obstacles that impede participatory

parity and prevent members of society from interacting with each other as peers must be overcome (Fraser, 2008, p. 277). Maldistribution and misrecognition can hinder parity of participation. People may suffer from maldistribution when a capitalist society's class structure and other economic structures result in their being denied equal access to the resources required for full, equal participation in that society (p. 85). On the other hand, people may also be denied participatory parity by institutionalized cultural hierarchies, such as those of heteronormative patriarchy, that result in their facing misrepresentation or status inequality (p. 277). Fraser stresses the equal importance of misrecognition and maldistribution, and the urgent need for both recognition and redistribution (p. 12). Both maldistribution and misrecognition interact causally to impede participatory parity. However, these two injustices are not the only factors in Fraser's framework.

Fraser ultimately expands her theory of justice with a third dimension, functioning alongside the economic distribution and cultural recognition (Fraser, 2008, p. 276). Justice, in contemporary globalized capitalist societies, cannot be explained solely through economic and cultural lenses. The redistribution-recognition framework is only sufficient if the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is regarded as valid (p. 278). However, the world today is faced by issues that transcend borders and individual nation states. Fraser's third dimension of justice is the political, which encompasses issues like the nature of the state's jurisdiction, who is included and excluded when state structures are contested, and who is entitled to just redistribution and reciprocal recognition. The political is the platform where disputes about the economic and cultural dimensions are set and resolved, informing who can make claims in these disputes, and how such claims can be resolved (p. 278).

Representation is the key concern of the political dimension, relating in particular to issues of membership and procedure. One level of representation concerns issues of inclusion and exclusion, determined by the boundary setting that takes place in the political sphere. On this level, representation is a matter of social belonging, a question of who is included in a society and thus permitted to make justice claims on the other members of that society. On another level, representation is the decision-rule aspect including procedures that structure public processes of contestation. In this case, the central issue is the terms on which those included in the political community can resolve their economic and cultural disputes (p. 279).

The political dimension of justice is conceptually distinct from the economic and cultural dimensions, and is not reducible to either of these; rather, it involves a conception of justice as participatory parity. Hence, a distinct form of political injustice, misrepresentation, can exist independently from but connected to economic and cultural injustices. As Fraser describes it, "[m]isrepresentation occurs when political boundaries and/or decision rules function to deny some people, wrongly, the possibility of participating on a par with others in social interaction-including, but not only, in the political arena" (p. 279). Representation is inherent in all redistribution- and recognition-based claims (p. 282). Therefore, a deeper theory of justice must be three-dimensional, since there can be "no redistribution or recognition without representation" (p. 282, 283).

According to Fraser, ordinary-political misrepresentation occurs when political decisions are made wrongly to deny some people or groups — i.e., the question of the "what"— the opportunity to participate fully as peers alongside their fellow citizens (p. 274, 280). The issues here are the debates over intra-frame representation. Thus, questions related to ordinary-political justice are confined to the Keynesian-Westphalian state frame. Ordinary-political

misrepresentation often involves denying representation to oppressed or excluded groups, and this type of misrepresentation often involves questions regarding the inadequacy of the first-past-the-post system, which can result in denying representation to ethnic, racial, or religious minorities, and/or to those living in electoral districts where boundaries have been gerrymandered, or altered, for political purposes. (p. 280). A question then arises about whether a proportional representation system is an appropriate response to this level of misrepresentation. However, this remedy for ordinary-political misrepresentation is also confined to the Keynesian-Westphalian frame.

Ordinary-political misrepresentation often goes hand-in-hand with maldistribution and misrecognition. In fact, there are debates about whether gender/race/ethnicity blind legislation denies parity of political participation to racial and ethnic minorities, and especially women from these communities. A ban on religious attire and symbols in public places, for example, may serve only to deny political participation to people affected by these bans (p. 280). Affirmative measures to address ordinary-political misrepresentation, such as multicultural rights and ethnic and gender quotas, aim to "remove the political obstacles to participatory parity for those who were already in principle in the political community" (p. 281). These affirmative measures' efficacy is highly debatable, as "[a]ffirmative remedies of injustice [are] aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them." (p. 28). They often do not address the underlying problems that result in some groups being underrepresented in certain public spheres. These affirmative strategies address injustices that are often related to mainstream multiculturalism. In these cases, the "disrespect" is redressed by revaluing unjustly devalued and undervalued group identities. However, these affirmative strategies leave those identities' contents and the group differences that highlight and

reify them intact (p. 28). Moreover, these remedies still fail to contest the Keynesian-Westphalian frame, working within that framework to solve the problem of ordinary-political misrepresentation.

Misframing, the second level of misrepresentation, is increasingly visible in the globalized world. As a form of political misrepresentation, misframing is often both deeper and more inconspicuous than political injustice at the ordinary-political level, and is associated with the boundary-setting that takes place in the political dimension (p. 280). In some instances, political boundaries are drawn such that some people or groups are completely denied the opportunity to participate in authorized contests regarding claims of justice. Fraser claims that frame-setting is crucial to every question about social justice, and therefore, "frame-setting is among the most consequential of political decisions" (p. 280). Misframing determines both members and non-members of a community at multiple levels — i.e., the question of the "who" by effectively excluding non-members from consideration of making claims for distribution, recognition, and ordinary-political representation. Political injustice due to misframing will remain intractable so long as some aspect of justice is beyond the reach of those excluded from the political community, even if they are included in some other community (p. 280). In more extreme cases of political injustice, individuals or groups may be refused membership in any political community, effectively denying them "the right to have rights," reducing them to objects of charity, non-persons incapable of authoring any first-order claims to justice (p. 281).

As misframing as a form of misrepresentation has risen to prominence, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame has come under scrutiny. The nation-state frame enables the suppression of the despised "others," and prevents them from challenging their oppression by partitioning the political space in particular ways (p. 280). Many offshore transnational actors, such as powerful

predator states, foreign investors and creditors, transnational and multinational corporations, and international currency speculators, take advantage of misframing to exploit weak and failed states and avoid critique and censure from the international community. Misframing as political injustice demonstrates how the Keynesian-Westphalian state model is a "powerful instrument of injustice, which gerrymanders the political space at the expense of the poor and despised," especially now, in the age of globalization (p. 282).

Neoliberal globalization creates a global assembly line as lower paid manufacturing and service jobs are dispersed to areas of the world where labour can be more easily exploited for profit. In this context, the Keynesian-Westphalian framework is insufficient to address the concerns of victims of injustice, as transnational actors play a major role in shaping patterns of advantage and disadvantage worldwide. The grammar of the state-territorial frame does not account for structural causes of globalization that are not state-territorial in character (Fraser, 2008, p. 284). Examples of such causes include, but are not limited to: financial markets, offshore regimes, global economic investment regimes and governance structures responsible for determining who works and who does not, cyber-technology, global media, diseases, biotechnology, climate politics, and so on (p. 284).

Fraser argues that political justice must go beyond the two levels of ordinary-political misrepresentation and misframing and prioritize a transformative approach to democratize the frame-setting process (p. 283). For Fraser, it is not the geographical territory of shared citizenship that determines how people form a collective subject of justice. Rather, converging and overlapping structural and institutional frameworks determine the ground rules governing social interaction and the formation of collective subjects of justice (p. 285). Thus, a

transformative approach to frame-setting often demands the creation of new democratic areas and transnational public spheres to host debates over frame-setting.

The transformative democratization of frame-setting is related to the third level of political injustice, concerned with the question of "how." This level of misrepresentation is meta-political because the process that constitutes first order political space is at stake. The undemocratic frame-setting process leads to injustice because of a failure in institutionalizing parity of participation at the meta-political level, in deliberations and decisions concerning the "who" (p. 288). Meta-political injustice occurs when frame-setting is monopolized by transnational elites, and access to arenas where injustices can be considered and discussed is blocked, denying victims of injustice a fair voice and parity of participation . This profoundly undemocratic approach to "how," and a shortage of institutional, transnational arenas in which to discuss justice claims and opportunities for participation, means most people are not given an chance to participate in decision-making regarding the "who" (p. 288).

Nancy Fraser considers the World Social Forum (WSF) to be one such transnational public sphere, an institution of post-Westphalian democratic justice, offering parity of participation to those who wish to engage with this issue (p. 288). Fraser argues that many proponents of alternative globalization use the WSF's platform to discuss the Keynesian-Westphalian frame's unjustness, and how it denies the poor and despised a chance to challenge the forces oppressing them, thus ensuring that transnational elites and strong predator states are insulated from justice (Fraser, 2008, p. 408). Transnational spheres like WSF aim to build "counterhegemonic centres of opinion and will formation, far removed from circuits of institutionalized power…[by aiming] to evade the hierarchical logic of administrative rule" (Fraser, 2014, p. 138). However, Fraser notes that it is difficult to hold transnational,

decentralized organizations accountable for their actions and decisions without any formal structure in place. Moreover, these transnational public spheres require that all actors within them make unified decisions on matters concerning them. In many cases, however, this is not a reasonable expectation (Fraser, 2014, p. 141).

Gordon's Socialist Feminist Approach to Intersectionality

The term "intersectionality" was coined in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a Black feminist legal scholar, to highlight the limitations of treating sex-based discrimination and race-based discrimination as two separate wrongs (Gordon, 2016, p. 341). Crenshaw used the concept of intersectionality to critique identity politics, which suggests one particular orientation or social position is dominant, "[disaggregating] social problems into discrete challenges facing specific groups" (Crenshaw in Gordon, 2016, p. 341). Socialist feminists do not prioritize gender struggle over other forms of liberation. Rather, for socialist feminists "capitalism, male dominance, racism and imperialism are intertwined so inextricably that they are inseparable; consequently the abolition of any of these systems of domination requires the end of all of them" (Jaggar, 1983, p. 124). Therefore, socialist feminism recognizes many vectors of domination, all of which interact, even fusing into new forms (Gordon, 2016, p. 340). Socialist feminism complemented the New Left so well because the New Left not only critiqued the authoritarianism of the Old Left (orthodox Marxism), but also rejected the traditional Marxist notion of economic class as the root cause of all oppressions (Gordon, 2016, p. 342).

Socialist feminist analysis lent itself to expansion, compelling feminists to engage with issues that were previously outside the realm of their concern. Gordon (2016) claims that in addition to being a theoretical stance, intersectionality also served as a perspective on activism. The refusal to "rank injustices," to prioritize one over another, provided socialist feminist

activists with the freedom and spontaneity to develop coalitions and projects with other activists, and to expand their movements (p. 343-344). Socialist feminist analysis also taught white feminists to learn from their black counterparts to challenge the discourse of normative or "proper" family constructions, and seek justice for all household configurations, including single mothers with children, gay couples, extended families, and communes (Gordon, 2016, p. 344). Furthermore, socialist feminists expanded on ecofeminist ideas to suggest that, apart from a "macho master-over-nature attitude," environmental degradation is being caused by the activities of transnational corporations, imperial and colonial forces, racist politics protecting upscale neighbourhoods at the expense of the others, and the consumer capitalist ethos that encourages people to buy more goods than ever (Gordon, 2016, p. 345).

There are several problems with contemporary approaches to intersectionality as a theoretical concept. Gordon (2016) claims that intersectionality tends to focus on some social positions more than others, and class inequality in particular is often neglected (p. 348). This is in part because it is very difficult to identify class today, especially in the US, as the working class has been systematically decimated by deindustrialization and union-busting, forcing many workers into precarious and temporary jobs (p. 348). Furthermore, postmodern theories, which have become increasingly popular in academia, often neglect class analysis because it is difficult to present economic positions as fluid, especially in the US where class mobility is very rare. Thus, it becomes convenient to exclude class-based oppression from an intersectional analysis, especially in a postmodern academic context.

Bhavnani (1997) suggests that white women often focus on their experiences as women, ignoring differences related to race, class, age, and sexuality (p. 32). She argues that by failing to conduct an intersectional analysis, white women academics avoid acknowledging whiteness as a

racialized category that perpetuates racial inequalities (p. 34). This logic can be extended to the failure to recognize privilege in categories like class, age, and sexuality as well. Gordon (2016) further stresses that a non-intersectional approach is insufficient, as it suggests one could generalize or even universalize about women as a whole, united by an imagined common experience (p. 346). However, when attempting an intersectional analysis, it is important not to take intersectionality to be synonymous with diversity, as diversity can be understood as a form of representation similar to tokenism (p. 347). Intersectionality based on diversity can perpetuate essentialist assumptions. It is important not to assume an innate homogeneity in each category, based on underlying assumptions about that group (p. 347). These categories are not monolithic, and unequal power relations can exist within them.

Methodology: Theory-Driven Participant Observation

Many socialist feminists are closely involved in activism and social movements, and work to make their research as non-intrusive and non-hierarchical as possible. Scholar-activists often utilize methodology "that stems from [their] normative commitments, the privileges and limitations of [their] social locations and identities, and the people, events, and ideas with which [they] engage prior to and throughout the research process itself" (Reitan, 2007, p. 26). With this in mind, I have chosen to use theory-driven participant observation[5] as the primary mode of data collection for this research (p. 44).

In the context of this research, I will be as transparent as possible about my normative commitments, position(s) of privilege, and my limitations. I was born and raised in New Delhi, India, in a Sikh family. I immigrated to Canada at the age of fourteen, in 2010. I consider myself

[5] Even though interviewing some feminists associated with AFM and DAWN would have provided a more in-depth look into the organizations' activities, I was unable to do so because of the critical nature of the subject matter of the thesis. Hence, participant-observation was the most appropriate methodology to explore the topic pertaining to the collusion between neoliberalism and feminist movements.

a socialist (intersectional) feminist and I am therefore invested in exploring issues of social and global justice in my research. My gender, age, class, and profession all influence how I selected my research topic, interpreted the data, and how I interacted with my research overall. With all this in mind I have attempted to adopt a participatory and reflexive approach in this project (Hoonard, 2015, p. 25, 156; Reitan, 2014, p. 26).

This thesis' methodology is based in qualitative research. There are several advantages to qualitative methods in the context of my research. Qualitative research methods allow participants to determine what concepts are central and most important to their experiences, which is essential in research that revolves around social movements and activism in the Global South. Further, qualitative research methods allow a more in-depth and detailed inquiry into topics like social justice and feminism (Hoonard, 2015, p. 2, 3). Qualitative research is usually inductive: the researcher starts with a broad topic or question and narrows their focus as themes and patterns emerge. Qualitative research is also flexible, allowing researchers to modify preliminary assumptions about data gathered during the course of their research.

The primary work of this thesis is analysis of the main campaigns associated with AFM and DAWN. As noted earlier, the methodology relies on theory-driven participant observation, supplemented by a textual analysis. The textual analysis involves a literature review and critical analysis of both academic and "grey" literature, such as websites, reports, and flyers published by DAWN and AFM. I conducted participant-observation research at the 2018 Social Forum in Brazil, where DAWN and AFM offered workshops that have allowed me to include significant input from the participants, resulting in a more in-depth, critical examination of their programs than is presented in their literature. As a participant observer, I took part in workshops and seminars organized by the two networks without obstructing them in any way, which allowed me

to collect field data (Hoonard, 2015, p. 83). I recorded my observations in the form of "jottings," and photos while participating in various workshops, gatherings and marches, and while viewing special exhibits and displays (Hoonard, 2015, p. 92, 03). Through this research process, I identified and selected the themes and information critical to my research. This inductive process also helped me develop a clearly focused research topic and identify a unifying, overarching thesis for this project.

Although there are a number of advantages to my approach in this project, there are certain disadvantages associated with this methodology as well. At the 2018 WSF, workshops were organized in several different languages, but primarily took place in Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, Spanish. Translation services were not always available for these workshops and while I had taken several Spanish language classes in preparation for this research project, my Spanish comprehension skills were somewhat limited in 2018. In addition to attending workshops, I also consulted a small body of literature published in Spanish to deepen my understanding of the WSF and feminist campaigns associated with it, and to examine a wider variety of perspectives (Lincoln, González, 2008, p. 784). It is important to note that the translation process inevitably involved some loss of information, meaning and context (Lincoln, González, 2008, p. 787, 788). To minimize this loss, I have tried when discussing some concepts to include the original terms and phrases, along with my best approximate translations. Lincoln and González (2008) suggest writing bilingual theses and dissertations in order to avoid this problem (p. 788). Unfortunately, a fully bilingual thesis was well beyond the scope of this research project.

Another issue I encountered while working on this thesis was the uneven quality of literature available. Unsurprisingly, activist organizations often lack sufficient resources to

employ professional writers and editors to assist in the production of their literature. As a result, it can sometimes be challenging to use this literature for academic purposes, especially if the translation provided is confusing and/or of dubious quality. However, including both academic and non-academic literature in this project allowed me to include more perspectives from a wider variety of actors. In spite of its limitations, theory-driven participant observation complements socialist feminist theory, which I use to critically evaluate the feminist networks AFM and DAWN, and their campaigns, in the following chapters.

Chapter Three

A Fraserian Analysis of Feminist Campaigns of *Articulación Feminista Marcosur*

Feminist networks have been active at the WSF, and have made continuous efforts to highlight issues such as the struggle against neoliberal free trade agreements, the debt crisis in the Global South, militarism, and Western imperialism (Wilson, 2013, p. 10). One such feminist network is the *Articulación Feminista Marcosur* (AFM) or Marcosur Feminist Network. The "Marcosur" — the mark of the South — group was named as such to position it in direct opposition to the principles and activities of the South American trading bloc, the Mercosur. AFM, created in the year 2000, describes itself as a feminist political network, functioning both at regional and global levels. Since then, AFM has been committed to developing "communication campaigns" that generate dialogue and debates engaging "a diversity of feminist political subjects" (*What We Are - AFM*, n.d). AFM played a key role in organizing the 2002 and 2003 editions of the WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and is represented on its International Council (Wilson, 2007, p. 10). At the 2002 WSF, AFM organized workshops, such as "Migrant Women: Broad, Alien Borders" (with REPEM and UNIFEM), "Sex, Lies, and International Trade," and a panel entitled "Combating Discrimination and Violence." However, it was their creative Campaign Against Fundamentalisms (CAF) that attracted the most attention (Celiberti, 2002).

In this chapter, I will critically analyze the two AFM campaigns, the Campaign Against Fundamentalisms, and the more recent, "Our Bodies, Our Territories campaign." In addition to noting the ways in which each of these campaigns in turn, attempt to prevent collusion with neoliberalism, I will use Fraser's (2008) redistribution-recognition-representation model of social

and global justice to identify their limitations, and suggest some ways in which AFM can strengthen these campaigns.

The purpose of this thesis is not to cynically criticize efforts by feminist networks and activists from the Global South, but rather to demonstrate that there are varying degrees of co-optation of all forms of feminism by neoliberalism. Despite best efforts of resistance, it is often easy to be unwittingly seduced by neoliberalism. I aim to examine the strategies adopted by the feminist networks of the Global South, especially AFM and DAWN (chapter four), to prevent this co-optation, and determine whether these strategies are adequate. Furthermore, I attempt to offer strategies to avoid such co-optation, using a socialist feminist lens.

AFM and the WSF: The Campaign Against Fundamentalisms

The Campaign Against Fundamentalisms (CAF), with the slogan, *"Tu boca es fundamental contra los fundamentalismos"* or "Your mouth is fundamental against fundamentalisms," was launched by AFM at the second WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2002 (Reuch, 2002, p. 46; Chejter and Laudano, 2003, p. 576). Since 2002, AFM has been actively involved in the WSF, organizing feminist workshops, further developing its CAF, and participating in other WSF projects such as the Feminist Dialogues and Inter-Movement Dialogues. The long standing CAF is centred around the issue of various forms of fundamentalisms — political, economic, religious, scientific, and cultural. It was launched by a group of women's organizations from Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. This campaign was not only aimed at women, but rather the participants from the entire forum (Reuch, 2002, p. 46). The campaign kicked off in 2002 with a document of testimonies of ten women denouncing the presence of fundamentalisms from different parts of the world, including

Colombia, Brazil, the USA, Algeria, Afghanistan, Palestine, Israel, and Nigeria (Reuch, 2002, p. 46).

In addition to patriarchal domination, AFM's CAF identifies a diversity of issues as the cause for global inequality and subordination (Chejter and Laudano, 2003, p. 576). AFM argues that fundamentalisms, whether religious, economic, scientific, or cultural, are always political. These fundamentalisms prosper in societies that deny humanity its diversity, and legitimize violent mechanisms of subjugation of one group of people by another, and of individuals by other individuals (Chejter and Laudano, 2003, p. 582). Such fundamentalisms, which are essentially exclusionary and violent, deny basic human rights, primarily women's rights, and legitimize violence and oppression. At their most extreme, these fundamentalisms sacrifice human lives, especially women's lives (Reuch, 2002, p. 46; Chejter and Laudano, 2003, p. 582). The CAF promotes peaceful and democratic forms of struggle against oppression that help reconcile differences and affirm solidarity. It aims to value diversity and equality, and searches for negotiated solutions in the "public, private, and intimate spheres of human coexistence" (Chejter and Laudano, 2003, p. 582). This campaign "[amplifies] voices which express their firm opposition to the discriminatory practices, discourses and social representations, that subject people to situations of oppression or vulnerability" (Celiberti, 2002, p. 1).

AFM considers neoliberalism to be a form of *pensamiento único* (singular thought), and refers to it as "market fundamentalism" or "economic fundamentalism," which promotes homogenizing tendencies (Celiberti, 2002, p. 1). Neoliberal globalization aims to impose its singular voice and truth, and, as such, resonates strongly with the extreme dogmatic tendencies of Protestant neoliberalism (Cochrane, 2011, p. 84). Moreover, class polarization and the growth of Western consumer culture play a part in fueling the growth of religious fundamentalisms.

AFM contends that the rise of globalized neoliberal capitalism enables and promotes religious and cultural fundamentalisms that wish to "dominate, control, and violently subject the bodies, sexualities, subjectivities and lives of women" ("Articulacion Feminista Marcosur" in Cochrane, 2011, p. 87).

AFM's CAF places a particular focus on advancing the sexual and reproductive rights of women. This campaign directly links various fundamentalisms to the loss of women's rights, especially their reproductive rights, with the campaign's explicit focus on the restrictions on access to abortion [6](Klugman, 2007, p. 90). Indeed, the World Social Forum on Health, which was held in 2005 in Porto Alegre, declared its primary goal to be the promotion of establishment and strengthening of various public health facilities (p. 89). Echoing the AFM's CAF, the final declaration of this Forum insisted on recognizing the negative effects of "different kinds of religious fundamentalism, which restrict full sexual and reproductive rights and sexual orientation rights; and the persistence of institutionalized racism, which excludes and discriminates black and native [*sic*] populations" (p. 89). This final declaration also stressed that the human right to health includes sexual and reproductive rights, and must take into account the specific needs of people of different races/ethnicities, ages, sexual orientation, and abilities (p. 89). Due to the efforts of the Feminist Dialogues, to which AFM has significantly contributed, the World Social Forum on Health also recognized the need to participate in the efforts to reduce maternal mortality, and to combat the negative effects on women's health caused by unsafe abortions that mainly affect young, poor, black, and indigenous women. The Declaration also

[6] Abortion was legalized in Uruguay in 2012. Furthermore, there was a legislative push in early 2020 for the legalization of abortion in Argentina, which was ultimately halted due to the lockdown following the COVID-19 pandemic (Anderson, 2020). The success of the legalization policies in Uruguay and (to some extent) Argentina could potentially be attributed to the consistent activism of AFM around this issue, especially since a couple of their co-ordinators are located in Montevideo, Uruguay.

mentions the efforts to develop strategies to specifically address the sexual and reproductive health of adolescents and young people (p. 89-90).

AFM was also an active participant in the Feminist Dialogues, which originated in 2003, and were cross-sectoral discussions among major feminist organizations from different parts of the world, in response to the frustration due to the lack of the presence of feminist concerns at the WSF (Klugman, 2007, p. 88). The Feminist Dialogues aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the impacts of fundamentalisms, globalization, and militarization on women's lives and bodies, and how feminist organizations and groups that deal with these issues can collaborate with one another (p. 88). Apart from AFM, other leading key organizers of the Feminist Dialogues included DAWN, International Gender and Trade Network, Isis International and the National Network of Autonomous Women's Groups (India). These organizations have been credited with playing critical roles in expanding the WSF's processes and agendas to include women's rights, reproductive rights, and sexual rights (p. 88).

One of the particularly notable features of the CAF is its use of creative and artistic paraphernalia. When the campaign was launched in 2002, AFM distributed colourful masks, T-shirts, and raffle tickets to spread awareness about the campaign, leading to what is likely the most visible message and image from the 2002 WSF (Reusch, 2002, p. 46). The campaign was internationalized at the 2004 WSF in Mumbai, India, where the participants were supplied with scarves and colourful masks with the campaign slogan: "Your Mouth is Fundamental Against Fundamentalisms" (Klugman, 2007, p. 90). The imagery of mouth specifically symbolizes the importance critiquing all forms of fundamentalisms. According to Lucy Garrido (2006), one of the chief architects of this campaign, the symbols are critical in accumulating participants' empathy as they give them an opportunity to feel included and to relate to one another. While

feminist networks and organizations are interacting at the WSF and participating in panels and discussions, the "mouth strategy" allows AFM to engage more directly with the individual participants (Garrido in Klugman, 2007, p. 90).

AFM has also produced several short, but captivating, videos to promote their Campaign against Fundamentalisms. Beginning with footage from the 2002 WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil, "You are Fundamental Against Fundamentalisms" depicts enthusiastic people donning masks, emboldened with bright-red lips, and t-shirts, with the campaign slogan, and participating in marches, seminars, and workshops organized by AFM. Hence this video conveys the clear message that, by joining in this campaign, people are protesting not only against religious but also cultural, political, economic, and scientific forms of fundamentalism which employ violence to deny human diversity. A second video entitled, "The World Upside Down is Possible," features AFM's *barco de la diversidad* – its "diversity boat" – which was painted with the campaign's logos and slogans and used to host AFM workshops and seminars at the 2005 WSF, as well as at the Feminist Dialogues gathering which preceded this WSF. Extending the themes broached in the earlier production, this video included a strong focus, as well, on issues like same-sex relationships, gay marriage, racism, militarism, imperialism, genocide, and corporate greed. Both videos ended by urging people to use their voices to speak out against all forms of fundamentalism, given that "a better world is possible."

AFM was a very active participant at the 2018 WSF in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil. Without a doubt, their CAF stood out as the most artistically and visually stimulating campaign present at the Forum. AFM organized several informative workshops and seminars, solo, and in collaboration with other feminist networks such as DAWN. Here, the most recent addition to the CAF was their "Circo Fundamental," or Fundamentalist Circus, which was an actual circus tent

placed at the campus of Federal University of Bahia, the main venue of the WSF (Observation, March 14, 2018). This quirky tent featured artwork and informative videos to educate the WSF participants about how the "fundamentalisms" propagate patriarchy, misogyny, homophobia, racism, and classism. The displays included their signature prop for this campaign — bold red lips with the slogan, "your word is fundamental against the fundamentalisms" — and artwork depicting women's bodies in different colours, shapes, and sizes, and collages of messages in support of AFM's campaign from the visitors and participants. The display also included pop art portraits of several global political and religious leaders with some of their characteristic racist, sexist, homophobic, and transphobic remarks. These quotes included lines such as Putin, "I do not have bad days because I'm not a woman," Reira (Paraguay), "the only family is traditional: father, mother and children;" Netenyahu, "peace is brought from force, not from weakness and unilateral withdrawals;" Brazil's president Bolsonaro, "I'm favourable to torture, and so are 90% of the people of Brazil;" Juan Luis Cipriani (Peru), "The ideology of gender deceives by saying that women can be men, and men can be women;" and Monseñor Agüer (Argentina), "The femicides are related to disappearance of matrimony." Through these quotes, AFM tried to highlight the widespread prevalence of fundamentalist patriarchal, homo/transphobic, racist conservative, religious discourses around the world, and the importance of supporting secularism (Observation, March 14, 2018).

Analyzing AFM's Campaign Against Fundamentalisms

Fraser's theory of social justice ensures the incorporation of two analytically distinct types of injustices: misrecognition, which consists of cultural or symbolic injustice, and maldtribution, which is socioeconomic injustice (Fraser, 2008, p. 14). Despite being analytically distinct, these categories are essentially intertwined, and dialectically reinforcing.

Misrecognition, for Fraser, can manifest in three distinct ways: by interpreting cultures as being hostile or alien to one's own (cultural domination); by using representation, interpretation, and communication to render a cultural group invisible (non-recognition), and by disparaging a cultural group in everyday interactions, and stereotypical public cultural representations (disrespect) (p. 14-15). Fraser describes gays and lesbians being subjected to prejudicial attitudes rooted in notions of "despised sexualities." In other words, LGBTQI+ individuals suffer from cis-heterosexism; however, they do not constitute a particular economic class. Instead, they are spread out throughout the socio-economic spectrum, and therefore, they constitute as a misrecognized group (p. 21). Fraser contends that misrecognition does not simply include psychological harm caused by being marginalized. Instead, it means "to be denied the status of full partner in social interaction and prevented from participating as a peer in social life … as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of interpretation and evaluation that constitute one as unworthy of respect of esteem" (p. 58).

Maldistribution, on the other hand, is created through economic and political structures that enable economic marginalization in the form of class oppression. It can be understood as the exclusion of groups from accessing the material resources needed for a suitable standard of living (deprivation), the economic exploitation entailed in other profiting off one's labour (exploitation), and the denial of access to income generating labour, or confinement to poorly paid or undesirable work (economic marginalization) (p. 14). In order to address redistribution, the economic changes that disadvantage certain groups need to be transformed. Furthermore, group specificity, which is class, needs to be transcended as there is a need to abolish class differences, rather than recognizing them (p. 20). For Fraser, gender and "race" categorize as bivalent collective groups that suffer from both cultural misrecognition, and economic

maldistribution, given that they are impacted by both negative cultural validations, and economic inequality (p. 23). Women and people of colour disproportionately take up menial positions, and are affected by both cultural and economic injustice. Cultural revaluation of women and people of colour would threaten the economic order, as racial and gender differences are essential to maintaining this order, given that such groups are considered as "inferior but useful class of menial labour" (p. 65).

AFM's CAF attempts to address a variety of fundamentalisms — religious, economic, scientific, and cultural — which apply to both cultural injustice or misrecognition, and economic injustice or maldistribution. Cultural and religious fundamentalisms can be safely attributed to Fraser's misrecognition category. However, AFM addresses the maldistribution category by including neoliberalism in their campaign, which they consider to be a form of economic fundamentalism that generates exclusion and violence. Using Fraser's analysis, it can be understood that, in order for the campaign to be successful, AFM would need to devote equal focus to both the problem of misrecognition and maldistribution. To address misrecognition, there needs symbolic changes to make (benign) cultural diversity favourable, and to favourably revalue disrespected groups and identities. Furthermore, recognition can also entail improving individuals' sense of self-worth by more fundamentally transforming representation, interpretation, and communication (Fraser, 2008, p. 18). On the other hand, redistribution would require addressing the socio-economic structures that underpin the class system. Affirmative redistribution can involve reformative efforts such as reorganizing the division of labour, and modifying income distribution via welfare state programs, or transformative alternatives which fundamentally change the economic class structure of capitalist society (p. 17).

In fact, affirmative approaches to redistribution and recognition end up by creating what Fraser refers to as the "redistribution-recognition dilemma," especially for bivalent categories like race and class (Fraser, 2008, p. 18). This dilemma originates from the fact that, while recognitional strategies promote the celebration of diversity and plurality of benign cultural differences related to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and religion, redistribution encourages de-differentiation by abolishing economic structures that underpin the group specificity of class (p. 18). Consequently, on the affirmative level, these approaches can undermine each other, given that while the former aims to promote diversity, the latter aims to suppress it. This dilemma disappears, however, at the transformative level, given that the socialist approach to class differences resolves the problem of economic diversity while the deconstructive approach to cultural differences blurs the identity category. At the affirmative level, Fraser insists that in order to achieve social justice, one needs to equally address both cultural and economic injustices, and not prioritize one over the other. If this is not done, it could potentially lead to what she refers to as the "problem of displacement." AFM's circus tent was a blatant representation of the problem of displacement in the CAF as the circus tent was full of displays depicting various forms of cultural "fundamentalisms," while the economic "fundamentalisms" of neoliberalism was not addressed at all.

For Fraser, the problem of displacement arises when the struggles for redistribution end up being sidelined, or displaced by recognition efforts. This can occur when recognition is rooted in an affirmative identity politics, and misrecognition is interpreted as an independent, cultural harm, or "cultural monism," that ignores its essential relation with maldistribution (Fraser, 2008, p. 83, 130). Instead of addressing economic issues, which are being rapidly exacerbated by neoliberal globalization, economic problems are attributed to culture: the problem for poor and

dependent people is not the just the lack of money, but entails more issues that can be located in factors such as "psychology, upbringing, neighbourhood influence … [which can be] cast as a cause or an effect of poverty, or even as both simultaneously" (Fraser and Gordon, 1994, p. 105).

AFM's CAF also defeats its own purpose by promoting a form of fundamentalism itself. AFM presents cultural and religious fundamentalisms as anti-pluralist. Cochrane (2007) argues that there is a need to move beyond "a dualistic understanding of fundamentalisms as merely monolithic systems intolerant of diversity" (p. 96). AFM presents religious fundamentalisms as anti-pluralist. By conflating religious fundamentalism with other types of fundamentalisms, most notably economic fundamentalism, AFM ends up subscribing to the problem of *pensamiento único*, by not recognizing the diversity between different forms of fundamentalisms; hence they end up defeating their aim by adopting a type of fundamentalist thinking themselves (Cochrane, 2007, p. 96). In addition, AFM's focus on uncritical promotion of diversity also runs the risk of the problem of displacement in another way. Advocating the case for uncritical pluralism and diversity to combat all forms of fundamentalism can also support for difference and pluralism in the economic realm, defending class-based, capitalist society over the economic "homogenizing of mankind" entailed in a class-free society (Cochrane, 2007, p. 95).

Although she did not use the term "the problem of displacement" at that time, Fraser's analysis of the issue dates back to her famous debate with post-structuralist feminist philosopher Judith Butler, in the late 1990s. Ultimately, this same debate has implications for explaining why the same issue has arisen in the AFM's CAF. In critiquing Fraser, Butler accuses the orthodox Marxist/socialist left of dismissing new political movements as being "merely" cultural, insisting that the economic harms faced by gays and lesbians are material, and not just symbolic (Butler, 2008, p. 42). According to Butler, the oppression of LGBTQI+ community is due to both

injustices of redistribution and misrecognition, which are integrally interlinked — "overlapping, mutually determining, and convergent fields of politicization" — and both are materialist (p. 46). Orthodox Marxists consider queer politics as the extreme manifestation of the postmodern cultural turn, complains Butler. They deem it "merely cultural" or mostly stripped of the economic aspect, unlike the politics associated with class struggle. Butler cites one such example in Nancy Fraser's *Justice Interruptus* (1997). Butler argues that Fraser enforces this binary, assigning some oppressions to the political economy while others are seen as being exclusively cultural (p. 48). On this spectrum, Fraser assigns LGBTQI+ movements to the cultural end of the spectrum, and argues that homophobia does not have its roots in the political economy, as gays and lesbians do not occupy a distinctive position in the division of labour (p. 49). In other words, LGBTQI+ persons transverse the class spectrum and do not form an economically exploited class. For Butler, Fraser believes that LGBTQI+ struggles are for cultural recognition rather than against material oppression. Therefore, the injustices faced by them are a matter of recognition, and not redistribution (p. 49).

Fraser (2008), in response, agrees that gays and lesbians do face serious economic disadvantages and suffer other material setbacks, such as being dismissed from employment in civil and military services. Such economic harms are not merely symbolic or cultural (p. 61). However, if the economic harms faced by gays and lesbians, as Butler suggests, are a direct expression of the economic structures of the society, then remedying them would require fundamentally transforming the relations of production. Fraser argues instead that the economic harms faced by gays and lesbians are an indirect (mal)distributive consequence of the fundamental injustice of misrecognition. "Relations of recognition" are thus at the root of heterosexism (p. 61). The material harms cited by Butler reflect material consequences of

heterosexist norms and constitute misrecognition, rather than maldistribution per se (p. 61). This oppression of LGBTQI+ community could be resolved by changing the relations of recognition only.

Butler understands Fraser's normative distinction between redistribution and recognition as being based on the distinction between the material and the cultural. Moreover, Fraser does concede that injustices of misrecognition are also material. But she argues that Butler conflates the material with the economic. Hence, Butler misunderstands Fraser's normative distinction between redistribution and recognition as being based on the distinction between the material (which actually encompasses cultural materiality, as argued by McLain and Landry, 1993) and the cultural, rather than the distinction between the economic and the cultural. Indeed, Cooper (2017), supports Fraser, on this point, by arguing that the LGBTQI+ community does not experience maldistribution because "non-normative sexual practice is clearly not sufficient criterion to constitute a class" (p. 159). Rather, queerness cuts across the stratifications of race and gender, and incorporates people from across the income and wealth spectrum (p. 158).

Another major criticism of the CAF is their approach to the issues of access to safe abortion and contraception, which is framed as a matter of "reproductive rights." A woman's right to abortion is a negative right: the right to terminate pregnancy (Cochrane, 1998, p. 120). Instead, from a socialist-feminist perspective, this issue should be framed as reproductive freedom, which includes free access to abortion and contraception, sexual freedom, as well as social autonomy. People need to be able to have freedom to choose their sexual as well as reproductive preferences (p. 120). This reproductive freedom not only includes the freedom to make the decision to terminate pregnancy, but also the freedom to choose to have children. This issue is also integrally linked to the economic dimension of injustice as the economic

precariousness that comes with the neoliberal system often makes it very difficult for individuals to raise children as they might not have the economic security to do so. “Social autonomy for women, in the context of reproductive politics, necessitates that they have access to those material and social requirements [such as shelter, food, healthcare, education, daycare, stable work, social relationships, and participation in political life] that would allow for the practice of true “choice” and sexual liberation in the first place” (p. 120). Therefore, it is important to understand how the issues of cultural and economic justice are fundamentally intertwined, and the problem of displacement would be very detrimental to the pursuit of equality and justice.

Getting back to the WSF and Marcosur’s CAF, arguments similar to Butler have been raised by post-structuralist and post-development thinkers associated with the Forum. In her book on the WSF, Janet Conway, for example, describes it as pointing beyond “liberal capitalist modernity, and its emancipatory traditions” (p. 31), and embodying a “multi-sited cultural process” and “a global political and cultural project” (p. 7). Post-development theorist, Arturo Escobar, in turn, insists on the necessity of distancing ourselves from the West’s “civilizational model of modernization” in order to open up space for culture. The ideas of Conway and Escobar resonate strongly with themes displayed in the “Cartographies of the Future” seminar at the 2013 WSF — a seminar in which AFM also participated. This suggests that the AFM has also been influenced by some of the same postmodern assumptions associated with the problem of displacement in the WSF (Cochrane, 2014, p. 593). However, in contrast to Conway and Escobar, AFM is not totally rejecting modernity. While Conway (2013) calls for a “non-dominating dialogue with alterity ... in civilizational, cosmological, and religious terms” (p. 157), which challenges the problematic character of WSF’s “putative secularism” (p. 8, 157), and Escobar commends the call for a “cognitive and spiritual revolution that … [leads to]

disappearance of the modern self" (p. xxii-xxiii), AFM firmly embraces the resolutely modern stance of secularism (AFM, *n.d.*).

"Our Bodies, Our Territories" Campaign

The second, more recent AFM campaign, "Our Bodies, Our Territories" (OBOT), seems to have emerged out of the discussions held at the 2012 thematic social forum titled "Capitalist Crisis and Social and Environmental Justice Social Forum" in Porto Alegre, Brazil (Cartographies of the Future, 2013, p. 5). These discussions were continued at a series of five seminars entitled "Cartographies of the Future," which were held at the 2013 WSF in Tunis. Of particular interest in this series were the workshops entitled, "Crisis of Civilization: territories, commons and people's resistances," and "Political Bodies: production, reproduction and sexuality, which were organized by Gina Vargas and Lilián Celiberti of AFM (International Seminar Crisis, Democracy and Development, 2013). In the former seminar, participants discussed how the convergence of climate, economic, political, and social crises threaten all lives on Earth. Proceeding from the advent of "modern society," this "civilizational crisis" promotes domination based on race, gender, and ethnicity, together with capitalist production patterns. The "Political Bodies" workshop organized by AFM, in contrast, focused the body as "an object of domination and suffering as a territory for trade and domination [and] … a mechanism for regulation and social control" (p.11). In keeping with the thematic of the selves as cartography, "the body had become a territory that has rights, citizenship, and the ability to decide. Therefore, it expresses meaningful political struggle to enforce and expand rights and autonomy" (p.11). Ultimately, this establishes "relations … between bodies in mobility (migrants, refugees, and transsexual bodies), bodies that cross both physical and symbolic borders" (p. 12). Indeed, the

idea of a civilizational crisis is rooted in "modern society and the body as a territory" sets the basis for the assumptions underlying the OBOT campaign.

The Feminist Forum against Free Trade and the Great Feminist Assembly was held during the Peoples' Summit "WTO Out, Building Sovereignty" and concurrent with the eleventh Ministerial Conference of the WTO, in Buenos Aires, between December 11 and 13, 2017. This forum focused on the erosion of state-sovereignty by TNCs that promote free-trade via setting up industries in countries with weak market regulations in order to maximize their profits. This leads to environmental degradation and loss of natural resources, forcing people, especially rural, indigenous, and poor communities, to migrate in search for better living conditions ("Declaration of the Feminist Forum against Free Trade and the Great Feminist Assembly," 2018).

In a workshop, entitled "International Campaign in Defense of Our Bodies and Our Territories," held at the Salvador WSF on March 15, 2018, AFM distributed poster-format copies of its manifesto for its OBOT campaign. This manifesto begins by drawing attention to the systematic threat posed by the neoliberal, colonial, racist patriarchy that affects the lives of women in Latin America, the Caribbean, and other parts of the world. Tying OBOT to its Campaign Against Fundamentalisms, the Marcosur group argues that women and "feminised bodies" are actively resisting the political, cultural, religious, and economic fundamentalisms that criminalize gender equality, the right to sexual and gender diversity, access to contraception, safe abortion, and sex education. With the OBOT campaign, AFM advances the CAF one step further by taking a firm stance against the fundamentalisms that threaten people's ancestral cultures and their vision of a world free of violence and oppression.

Linking the concepts of sovereignty over territory and sovereignty over one's body, the OBOT manifesto highlights how the neoliberal, capitalist, patriarchal system exploits land,

water, natural resources, and even women's bodies without any regard for the lives, cultures, and cosmovisions of indigenous peoples. In this process, extractivist TNCs have generated social conflicts, leading to the criminalization of indigenous protestors – especially women – and the imprisonment, disappearances, and/or assassinations of indigenous peoples. Indeed, the most widely known example of the latter, which is directly cited in this manifesto, is the case of the murdered indigenous activist Berta Cárceres[7], from Honduras. In the face of such exploitation and oppression, AFM's OBOT campaign challenges the fundamentalisms that threaten human lives and ways of living. Calling for solidarity with indigenous people's sovereignty over their traditional territories, they conjoin this call with one for a woman's right to sovereignty over her own body – including her sovereignty over its reproductive functions.

Most extractivist projects do not consult the mainly indigenous, local populations, who have been historically excluded from the development projects in their regions (Svampa, 2019, p. 32-33). In the rare cases that there is actually some consultation, it is mostly with indigenous men who have more political power compared to women. This is because women are rarely the legal owners of land and, therefore, their issues and interests are not taken into account (DAR, 2018, p. 5). Consequently, the management and ownership of extractivist industries undermine democracy by blocking the participation of indigenous people, especially women, and perpetuating discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, as well as class (Svampa, 2019, p. 11). Such extractivist activities often lead to water shortages, deforestation, the pollution of flora and fauna, and the loss of biodiversity. This, in turn, further perpetuates poverty and violence, leading to deterioration in the quality of lives of local populations (Acosta, 2010, p. 24; MFE,

[7] Berta Cáceres, an indigenous, environmentalist activist from Honduras, was shot dead on March 2, 2016. Her assassination was ordered by the executives of the Agua Zarca dam company Desa because of her protests against the mega-projects of the company. The company's president, David Robert Castillo, who was convicted of being the mastermind of the assassination plot was a US-trained former military intelligence officer (Lakhani, 2019).

2018, p. 4). Moreover, this undermines access to secure sources of food and water, which is typically the responsibility of the women (*Afectaciones diferenciadas*, *n.d*., p.1).

Due to the poor access to land, food, and water, many indigenous people, especially women, are forced to migrate to other, often urban, areas in order to secure better living conditions for themselves and their children. In many cases, men abandon their families, and it is the women who are left with the burden of ensuring the survival of their children (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.,* p.5). In urban areas, these women often face extreme discrimination, exploitation, poverty, prostitution, and sexual violence (*Afectaciones diferenciadas*, *n.d*., p. 2). Often, the extractivist industries end up offering temporary and precarious employment to the people in the community. When men leave to work for these industries, the women end up assuming the jobs that were initially carried out by the men, while continuing their traditional roles as well. However, when it is women who work for these industries, men do not assume the traditional, caretaking responsibilities of women. Under these circumstances, it is very common for children to work to support their families. They are forced to take up activities such as animal herding and spinning yarn in order to secure an income (DAR, 2018, p. 4). In addition, in the absence of mothers, young girls are disproportionately forced to leave school in order to take up familial duties such as cooking and cleaning (*Afectaciones diferenciadas*, *n.d*., p. 5).

In many cases, it has been documented that extractivist industries end up hiring police officials, under the table, to protect their possessions and interests. As a result, the national police officials are converted into mercenaries by private enterprises for their benefits (DAR, 2018, p. 20). In Peru, several women and some men, who protested against extractivism have stated that they were detained and subjected to physical, even sexual, abuse by the police. Often, indigenous women protesters are scapegoated, and charged by the police, while being denied access to

information, and/or resources to defend themselves (Afectaciones diferenciadas, *n.d*., p.6). Hence, the extractivist industries can end up deepening inequality between men and women, and exacerbating the conditions that make women more vulnerable to discrimination and abuse (DAR, 2018, p. 4).

AFM, in association with organizations like Flora Tristán, Grupo Impulsor, and *Derecho a Defender Derecho* (the Right to Defend Rights), has recorded testimonies, revealing the types of violence faced by indigenous women engaged in protests to defend their autonomy, their land, and even their own bodies. In Chile, several cases of violence against indigenous Andean women have been documented, such as the case of Lorenza Cayuhuan, who was imprisoned, humiliated, and tortured when she was six months pregnant (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.*, p.3-4). Máxima Acuña, a poor, indigenous woman, became a symbol of resistance in Peru as she constantly faced physical, psychological, and sexual violence. She was one of the women who protested local extractivist projects that violated the territory, natural environment, and the cultural heritage of her community (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.,* p.7). The authorities used legal mechanisms to displace her from her land, consequently endangering her means of subsistence. At the same time, a hate campaign was launched against her on social media, and certain members of the public openly harassed and assaulted her, and threatened her family (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.*, p.10-11). One of the most infamous cases, emblematic of this problem, was that of Berta Cáceres, a Honduran indigenous activist, feminist, and environmentalist, who was assassinated in 2016 for being a vocal protestor against the construction of a hydroelectric project (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.*, p. 12). She was a victim of constant threats and harassment, and had to endure several false charges against her, including the charge of possession of an illegal firearm. Three of the eight people arrested for her murder were linked with the military, highlighting the

complex relationship between state institutions and extractivist industries (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.*, p.12).

Extractivist industries, supported by the national governments, maintain a "clientele" relationship with the local populations, prioritizing economic benefits, while paying lip service to "social peace" and well-being of the community (DAR, 2018, p. 5). However, in order to create effective policies aimed at eradicating oppression, governments and private enterprises need to recognize how extractivist practices are impacting local populations, particularly women, who are more vulnerable due to their indigeneity and class, and thus at a greater risk of experiencing physical and sexual violence, and economic harm (DAR, 2018, p. 14-15). Therefore, government policies need to be aimed not just at the conservation of biodiversity, but also at the promotion of cultural diversity, while protecting the rights of women, indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, and labourers (Acosta, 2010, p. 36-37).

Based on these testimonies of violence against indigenous environmentalist activists, who are mainly women, AFM and allied organizations have demanded that state governments in Latin American upgrade their laws in order to halt such oppression and violation. In the case of Chile, for example, AFM demanded that the state revise its anti-terrorist legislation, which criminalizes the struggle of Mapuche for their territorial rights, and recognition of their indigenous culture. In addition, they insisted that the Chilean government investigate the use of torture and other punitive measures against the incarcerated activists (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.*, p. 4). Since indigenous environmentalists are subjected to disproportionately high rate of imprisonment in Latin America, AFM has asked governments to decriminalize protest and abolish laws allowing prosecution of protestors (Svampa, 2019, p. 35; *Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.*, p.12). In some other cases, governments were also urged to investigate and redress the

human rights violation of women, especially those forced into prostitution and sexual slavery (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.,* p.8). AFM has also advised governments to develop a national plan to prevent gender based violence in social conflicts (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.*, p.10). Targeting the assassination of Berta Cáceres, AFM has demanded that the Honduran government conduct an exhaustive, independent, and transparent investigation in order to identify and prosecute the culprits (*Veredicto del Tribunal, n.d.,* p.12).

Analyzing the "Our Bodies, Our Territories" Campaign

AFM's Our Bodies, Our Territories attempts to be more inclusive of rural women from lower classes and diverse ethnicities, particularly indigenous women. Therefore, this campaign aims to move beyond the concerns of white, urban, middle-class women of Latin America, targeted by their CAF, by amplifying the voices of arguably the most oppressed people of society. With OBOT, AFM endeavours to tackle the interrelated issues of gender subordination and economic exploitation in the face of neoliberalism, and the loss of cultural heritage, Hence, OBOT seeks to address both economic and cultural injustices, moving beyond the problem of displacement, which limited the reach of AFM's earlier campaign. However, there are several issues with the extension of CAF into the OBOT campaign, particularly with AFM's use of the concept of sovereignty to revamp the earlier campaign and to develop the second one.

Sovereignty, one of the key features of modern politics, is concerned with the authority vested in modern polities or states. This suggests that the holder of sovereignty possesses "supreme authority within a territory" and has the legitimate right to govern the constituents of the state associated with this territory (Philpott, 2020). This source of legitimacy can be a natural law, a divine mandate, a constitution, a legislation, or even an international law. Given that territoriality is often taken to define the members of a community, most modern sovereigns draw

their authority from the simple logic of geographical borders. However, it is important to note that membership within Westphalian state borders may not correspond with one's identity or nationality. The concept of sovereignty, moreover, can also lead to political power being transferred to a centralized government and its leader. In this case, rather than representing citizens and being accountable to them, the sovereign can end up holding "the supreme and inalienable right to rule over the people, independently of them" and in contradiction to their will. Hence, where the principle of Westphalian sovereignty is concerned, power can be concentrated at the top, leaving citizens alienated from any right to meaningful political participation.

However, for states in the Global South, sovereignty is also becoming increasingly eroded and/or bypassed, due to the current hegemony of neoliberalism. Free trade is reducing citizen's capacity for national self-determination, given the adoption of neoliberal policies by IFIs like the World Bank and the WTO (Acosta, 2010, p. 10). Economic decisions and development strategies are thus being directed by the policies and "recommendations" of the Washington Consensus, resulting in the deregulation of economies and rendering them vulnerable to exploitation by TNCs and other private actors (p. 12-13). This, in turn, has allowed for widespread exploitation of land, water, and biodiversity, and the exploitation of natural resources. This external control over natural resources, in countries of the Global South, has directly or indirectly led to wars, civil unrest, interference in state politics, and international tensions. For all of the reasons above, this undermining of state sovereignty, by neoliberalism, has become a major concern for political movements and activists in the Global South (p. 22).

Fraser (2008) also addresses the problematic of sovereignty through her post-Westphalian, transnational framework. The redistribution-recognition framework is sufficient

only if the assumption of the Keynesian-Westphalian states is regarded as valid (p. 278). However, the world today is faced by several issues that transcend borders, and cannot be contained within the nation-state. Therefore, Fraser adds a third dimension of justice, which is the political level. This political dimension encompasses the issues like the nature of the state's jurisdiction, inclusion and exclusion from participation in the contestation in the state structures, and the entitlement to just redistribution and reciprocal recognition. According to Fraser, the political dimension is also the platform where the disputes about the economic and cultural dimensions are set and resolved as this dimension informs us about who can make the claims of the disputes in the first place, and how such claims can be resolved. One level of this representation is the issue of inclusion and exclusion, as determined by the boundary setting aspect of the political. In this case, representation is a matter of social belonging as it is a question of who is included in a society to make justice claims on the other members of the society. Representation also deals with procedures that structure the public processes of contestation (p. 279). In this case, the central issue is the terms on which those who are included in the political community resolve their economic and cultural disputes.

The political dimension of justice is conceptually distinct from the economic and the cultural dimension, and is not reducible to either of them; instead, it sees justice as the parity of participation. Therefore, it addresses a distinct form of political injustice, misrepresentation, which exists independently, but can be connected to economic and cultural injustices (Fraser, 2008, p. 279). Such injustices arise from the political constitution of society, and not from either the class structure (maldistribution) or the status order (misrepresentation). "Misrepresentation occurs when political boundaries and/or decision rules function to deny some people, wrongly, the possibility of participating on a par with others in social interaction — including, but not

only, in the political arena" (p. 279). According to Fraser, representation is inherent in all claims of redistribution and recognition; hence, the political dimension of injustice cannot be sidelined (p. 282). Therefore, justice needs to be three-dimensional because there is "no redistribution or recognition without representation" (p. 282-283).

Due to the injustices of misrepresentation rising to prominence, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame has come under scrutiny. Problems like first-past-the-post electoral system and gerrymandering enable the suppression of "the despised," and prevent them from challenging their oppression by restricting their political autonomy within the nation-state (Fraser, 2008, p. 280). However, many offshore transnational actors such as powerful predator states, foreign investors and creditors, transnational and multinational corporations, and international currency speculators, also take advantage of weak and failed states to ensure that they are not affected by the critique and interventions of the international community, which is the key concern of OBOT campaign. Hence, Fraser extends political justice beyond the "ordinary-political level" of the Westphalian state to include two transnational, post-Westphalian levels of political representation — misframing and meta-political representations. Misrepresentation, as political injustice, demonstrates how Keynesian-Westphalian state model is a "powerful instrument of injustice, which gerrymanders the political space at the expense of the poor and despised," especially in the current age of globalization (p. 282). It is at this level that the problem of sovereignty comes into play.

AFM highlights how local indigenous communities are often left out of discussions pertaining to the entry of transnational extractivist industries into their regions. These extractivist industries, emboldened by the support of the state, often employ local populations in low-waged, precarious, and temporary jobs, while subjecting them to food and water insecurity due to the

environmental impacts of their operations. In such cases, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is not sufficient to address the concerns of the victims of injustice. The transnational corporate actors involved in such situations have a significant role to play in shaping the patterns of advantages and disadvantages suffered by impoverished local populations in the neoliberal, globalized world (Fraser, 2008, p. 284). It is also worth noting that the states of the Global North also release higher levels of carbon emissions, contributing to climate change, which further leads to extreme climate catastrophes that are faced by the states of the Global South at a disproportionate rate.

According to Fraser, a transformative approach to the politics of framing contests these injustices even though the state-territorial principle is still relevant; however, this Westphalian principle cannot inadequately determine, in each and every case, the question of the "who" and the "how" of justice (Fraser, 2008, p. 284). Therefore, the proponents of this approach do not want territorial states to be eliminated entirely. "But they contend that its grammar is out of sync with the structural causes of many injustices in a globalizing world, which are not territorial in character" (p. 284). Issues of transnational injustice are fundamental to human well-being but the causes of these injustices cannot be limited to the "the space of places;" rather, they belongs to "the space of flows." Fraser argues that confining such problems to the state-territorial principle is akin to committing an injustice in itself, as in doing so, extra-territorial and non-territorial powers are granted an immunity from the reach of justice, and they will not be answerable to the claims of justice within a state-territorial framework. Framing the issue in such a way shows that the Keynesian-Westphalian frame can serve to inflict and perpetuate injustice, rather than address and remedy it (p. 285).

The notion that the territorial-state framework is inadequate for determining the subjects of justice, and cannot serve as the proxy for it, is becoming more widely acknowledged (Fraser, 2008, p. 286). Even though the territorial-state frame remains relevant, its effects are mediated by the significant impacts of extra-territorial and non-territorial actors. Therefore, the practitioners of the transformative approach to political frame-setting are attempting to apply the all-subjected principle to the framing of justice (without neglecting the principle of state-territoriality that partitions the political space). Efforts are being made by international feminists, indigenous and environmental activists, and development activists, who are defending and asserting the right to make claims against the structures inflicting and perpetuating injustices, even if these structures cannot be located within territorial states, by arguing that political subjectivity takes primacy over the principle of state-territoriality (p. 287).

AFM's OBOT Campaign operates within the Westphalian model of sovereignty. It aims to apply the principle of sovereignty to indigenous land and territories, without challenging the essence of the principle itself. The problems caused by the extractivist industries in the neoliberal, globalized world, such as contamination of land and water, migration due to environmental pollution and food and economic insecurity, and climate change, cannot be adequately addressed within the Westphalian state model. A post-Westphalian approach based on the "all-subjected" principle would be much more appropriate for addressing the concerns raised in the OBOT campaign. This would amplify the struggles of politically oppressed and disfranchised peoples — indigenous peoples, rural and poor people, and migrants and refugees. AFM could adopt the post-Westphalian framework proposed by Fraser to strengthen the OBOT campaign, which requires a more radical approach to deal with post-Westphalian issues such as

extractivism, environmental pollution and degradation, climate change, and migration, which transcend nation-state borders.

It is appropriate to suggest that AFM's OBOT campaign might deal more effectively, with territories and peoples impacted by neoliberalism, extractivism, and climate change, by moving from a Westphalian to a post-Westphalian frame; however, this solution is not applicable to the issue of sovereignty over the body, the second theme addressed by OBOT. The call for sovereignty over the body acknowledges the many factors that threaten individuals' autonomy over their bodies and lives. Indeed, this sovereignty is regularly violated for indigenous and rural peoples — and, particularly, women — who are often faced with beatings, imprisonment, torture, and rape when they attempt to defend their territory, resources, and their traditional ways of living. As the most extreme example of denial of sovereignty over the body, environmentalists and indigenous activists even face the threat of assassination, as seen in the case of Berta Cáceres.

At a more specific level, though, the concept of sovereignty over the body has clear implications for sexual and reproductive politics. By insisting firmly on the right for women to be sovereign over their own bodies, AFM is linking its CAF with its OBOT campaign and extending the former's strong emphasis on reproductive and sexual rights to OBOT. As noted earlier in the discussion of the CAF, AFM tends to narrow reproductive rights to abortion, which can be especially problematic when it is applied to rural, indigenous women, who tend to be poor. Reproductive freedom defends the right to abortion; however, it does not limit this right to the right to terminate a pregnancy. Instead, it extends this negative right to the substantive right to give — birth if that is what a woman freely chooses to do — by linking it to policies providing social and economic assistance. Given the complicated history of indigenous, African-American,

and poor women's involvement with draconian population policies and the use of involuntary sterilization as a racist mechanism for mass "birth control," this is an issue of vital importance (Davis, 1981, p. 118). In fact, in keeping with the long history of eugenics, there have been recent whistleblower reports of illegal, mass hysterectomies being performed at ICE migrant detention centers on the US-Mexican border, which have prompted a national inquiry (Dickerson, 2020; Donegan, 2020). Therefore, it is apparent that AFM needs to re-assess their approach to reproductive rights so that it is more sensitive to issues facing poor, racialized, and indigenous women.

Conclusion

While AFM attempts to address both the "fundamentalisms" of both the cultural and economic dimensions of injustice through the CAF, and the extension of CAF to OBOT, their hyper-focus on sexual and reproductive rights, which does not make sufficient connections with economic injustices rooted in neoliberalism and capitalism, more generally, leads directly to the problem of displacement of economic issues by cultural ones. In order to have a comprehensive understanding of social injustice, Fraser stresses that it is important to integrally interlink economic and cultural injustices, in order to avoid the trap of economic displacement. Moreover, she insists on the need for a post-Westphalian framing for political injustices in order to resolve conflicts that transcend nation-state borders. It is only by utilizing a post-Westphalian lens that issues such as the rise of TNCs under neoliberal, globalized capitalism, environmental degradation, climate change, and economic and climate-related migration can be tackled. The concept of sovereignty, in a Westphalian sense, is incapable of doing this.

Chapter Four

DAWN and the Importance of Intersectionality

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is an international feminist network comprised of feminist researchers, activists, and policymakers, that is currently active in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific (Sen and Grown, 1987, p. 15, p. 1). DAWN aims to amplify the voices of women and oppressed minorities, especially from the Global South, and reflect "an ethos that respects diversity, breaks down hierarchies and competition, and fosters sharing and reciprocity" (Sen and Grown, 1987, p. 11). The organization first emerged in Bangalore, India, in 1984, in response to the international conferences marking the United Nations Decade for the Advancement of Women (History, *n.d.*). DAWN was formed by a group of women from a number of countries around the world, who were interested in collaborating and sharing their experiences with development policies and strategies, theories, and research (History, *n.d.*).

This chapter aims to outline DAWN's history, its involvement with the World Social Forum, and the current major campaigns that are being undertaken by the organization, especially the 8M campaign. DAWN's approach to women's issues is intersectional as they focus on both economic and cultural dimensions of social justice. Therefore, in order to strengthen their analysis, and broaden the reach of the 8M (International Women's Day Strike) movement, DAWN has employed, as their main strategy, an intersectional perspective toward this campaign. However, DAWN's application of intersectionality to the 8M merits deeper examination in order to evaluate the potential success of this strategy.

DAWN was established at the time when neoliberal policies were being rapidly exported to, and implemented in the countries of the Global South. Therefore, since its inception, DAWN

has been extremely critical of neoliberalism and its development strategies and their adverse, gendered impacts. Therefore, the initial focus of DAWN was particularly economic, and it centred on issues related to international development and the poverty experienced by a large number of people in the Global South, especially women. Consequently, DAWN began to develop a new feminist framework to analyze regional crises such as the mounting debt of Latin American countries, Africa's severe food crisis, and the high rates of poverty in South Asia (History, *n.d.*). During this period, the UN encouraged a variety of its own agencies, as well as private groups, and governmental and non-governmental organizations to create development projects aimed at improving the social and political standing of women (Sen and Grown, 1987, p. 15). The fundamental assumption of these strategies was that global gender inequality existed due to insufficient participation of women in the otherwise benign and competent development strategies. Hence, the answer to gender inequality was to increase women's participation in the public sphere, their share of land and resources, and their incomes (Sen and Grown, 1987, p. 15-16). DAWN presented their platform outlining strategies for alternative development at the UN Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985, by "[putting] macro-economic issues firmly on the agenda of the women's movement" (History, *n.d.*). Departing from the UN's basically liberal, reformist stance on women and development, DAWN's alternative framework and methods aim to integrate a strongly intersectional analysis which is capable of addressing interrelated forms of gender, race, class, and sexual oppressions (Sen and Grown, 1987, p. 9).

Gender Mainstreaming and DAWN

Moving into the 1990s, "Gender Mainstreaming," which ultimately had neoliberal underpinnings, became the strategy adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, in 1995 (Mukhopadhyay, 2007, p. 136). The stated purpose of the stance is to bring

gender to the center-stage when creating and assessing development policies and programs. There are two types of gender mainstreaming: integrationist and transformative (p. 136). Integrationist mainstreaming aims to integrate gender equality concerns into the analysis of problems faced by all sectors of development. Such analyses should subsequently then inform all development policies, and programs, with assessments being conducted to ensure that specific targets to achieve gender equality are being met (p. 136). Transformative — or agenda-setting — mainstreaming, in contrast, refers to transforming the agenda of the mainstream development projects by introducing women's/feminist concerns. Transformative mainstreaming aims to include in the development agenda considerations related to social justice, equality, and human rights so as to transform this agenda politically (p. 136). However, in practice, only the integrationist form of gender mainstreaming was recognized worthy of consideration, and even that more limited strategy ended up mired in problems.

Along with the advance of neoliberalism, society's focus on women's rights increased due to the efforts of international women's movements in the 1990s. However, there has been a deep backlash and resistance towards the notion of equality between men and women (Mukhopadhyay, 2007, p. 138). Given that most societies have deep patriarchal roots that are still strong today, it is often difficult for men to view women as citizens, rather than as only mothers, wives, or daughters. Moreover, development institutions, communities, and families are threatened by the idea of men losing their power and dominant social status. Hence, both at the level of discourse and material practice, gender mainstreaming, in its integrationist form, has been rendered an apolitical, ahistorical, and decontextualized project that fails to recognize and address the root cause of the inequality between genders (p. 138).

Integrationist gender mainstreaming strategies largely fail because they refuse to adopt a targeted approach to alleviate gender inequality. In practice, mainstreaming strategies that are directed specifically at women are deemed to be unsuccessful because they fail to take into consideration the gendered division of labour, and thus the need for policies to empower and emancipate women specifically (Mukhopadhyay, 2007, p. 143). Moreover, gender mainstreaming, as an approach, has proved to be not very effective because it ignores the need for an intersectional framework that takes into account other axes of oppression such as class, race, sexuality, and ethnicity (Sen and Growth, 1987, p. 24). DAWN articulately summarizes this notion by stating that "equality with men who themselves suffered unemployment, low wages, poor working conditions and racism within the existing socioeconomic structures [does] not seem an adequate or worthy goal" (Sen and Growth, 1987, p. 25).

In many instances, integrationist gender mainstreaming projects are also met with technical problems like the cessation of funding in cases where it is determined that no resources are needed to be spent on women's needs due to existing gender-related policies (Mukhopadhyay, 2007, p. 143). Due to lack of funding, gender mainstreaming projects are therefore often also met with poor implementation and management practices. While recognizing that existing gender inequality is important, current development strategies are therefore failing to actually implement a gender analysis in all policies and programs. Since nobody is given the job specifically, it is very difficult to hold anyone accountable in development institutions for the failure in achieving gender equality. Instead, gender mainstreaming requires everybody to be committed to gender equality, hence, absolving anyone specifically from the responsibility of carrying out the task (p. 140).

Often, the integrationist approach to gender mainstreaming strategies fails to precisely convey its concrete objectives. Without any clear vision of end goals, it becomes very difficult to carry out the process of gender mainstreaming, and the projects often end up getting slashed. Moreover, gender mainstreaming can be a very "top down" approach that is strictly controlled by political and economic elites who have neoliberal interests. It can then become very difficult to control and hold the economic and political managers accountable for their actions while they are implementing these policies (Diaz, 2013, p. 250). Local concerns of a region can subsequently end up being sidelined by experts and gatekeepers, partly due to the funding that is required to carry out these policies. This can lead, in turn, to gender mainstreaming policies being shaped to suit the vested political and economic interests of individual donors and donor organizations (Palmary and Nunez, 2009, p. 76). Indeed, even though awareness of gender inequality is important for setting up programs and policies to promote gender equality, these programs can often remain ineffective and inaccessible due to being addressed only at the abstract level of unimplemented goals. Such goals, moreover, can generate hostility among people from within and outside the region concerned (Molyneux, 2007, p. 288). Furthermore, there are huge discrepancies between gender equality guidelines and actual practice as most of these guidelines are simply advisory, and failure to meet them comes with no penalties. In fact, a general assessment of gender programming made by the World Bank found that these guidelines are often badly designed and poorly implemented (Molyneux, 2007, p. 228-229). Even when improvements had been made in including gender issues in project design and supervision, there were often only very limited efforts made to implement the improved programs and policies. For example, while evaluating poverty, gender analysis was largely ignored, and genuine efforts to

carry out even integrationist forms of addressing poverty gender mainstreaming were extremely limited (Molyneux, 2007, p. 229).

Added to all these problems, conventional approaches to mainstreaming, i.e., integrationist gender mainstreaming policies, can be very paternalistic. In many cases, the experts and gatekeepers falsely claim to represent the women in a region and understand their concerns in order to gain funding for mainstreaming strategies (Palmary and Nunez, 2009, p. 76). Instead of understanding the needs of the particular region or culture they address, such mainstreaming strategies tend to reflect the priorities and gender roles of the West, and aim to "teach" Western ways to the local communities (p. 76). Evaluating gender equality policies using rigid frameworks, checklists, and toolkits developed according to Western standards, they fail to take into account the needs of the specific societies to which they are applied (2009, p. 77). To be effective, gender mainstreaming policies have to be sensitive to the social, economic, political, and cultural context of the region.

All in all, DAWN has been particularly critical of the integrationist gender mainstreaming approach, claiming that women's socio-economic status has largely declined, beginning with the UN Decade of Advancement of Women, as their relative access to economic resources, income, employment, their health and education resources has worsened (Sen and Growth, 1987, p. 16). Indeed, the abstract goals, the lack of funding, the issue of accountability, and the absence of evaluation all point to the neoliberal origins of the policy, and is linked to the erosion of the development state in the Global South. Moreover, gender mainstreaming continues to remain ineffective in dealing with the issue of gender inequality as it seems that the strategy of diverting the focus away from addressing "women's issues" is not the correct approach. This is a

concern that DAWN has addressed at the workshops on gender mainstreaming which it has offered at the WSF (personal communication with Dr. Cochrane, August, 2020).

DAWN and Neoliberalism

In its earlier years, DAWN laid out a plan to transform its grassroots projects into concrete strategies that would help consolidate the limited and fragmented efforts of smaller networks around the world (Sen and Growth, 1987, p. 78). More specifically, DAWN was seeking to "actualize [their] visions and strategies through the empowerment of individual women and their organizations" (Sen and Growth, 1987, p. 79). In line with this, DAWN stressed the idea that in order to be truly inclusive of women from different backgrounds — race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality — it needed to avoid any dogmatic assertions of the one "true" meaning of feminism (Sen and Growth, 1987, p. 80). Hence, it has been important for them to form alliances and work with local organizations that are challenging the various forms of oppression, and to link their efforts, as far as possible, with such local groups (Sen and Growth, 1987, p. 80).

While DAWN tackles a wide variety of issues that affect women and vulnerable populations around the world, their focus has primarily been addressing the inequalities created by the global economic system of neoliberal capitalism, via deregulation, privatization, and trade liberalization (Sen and Durano, 2014, p. 6). IFIs such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have imposed conditionalities on the money loaned to the countries of the Global South, especially in Latin America and Africa, in order to more closely monitor their development initiatives and enable neoliberal reforms in those states (Sen and Durano, 2014, p. 9). The salaries of workers around the world have stagnated, and unions' negotiating power has decreased substantially. Private multinational companies have been the beneficiaries of trade

liberalization as they are more easily able to move their production units to countries with weaker regulations for protecting workers' rights and salaries. Needless to say, these reforms have the most negative impacts on racialized minorities in the Global South, especially women (Sen and Durano, 2014, p. 7, 10). Another factor contributing to the growing economic inequality is the systematic cuts being made to the public sector, to support physical and social infrastructure, and to programs oriented around education, health care, and agriculture, all of which are necessary to improve the standard of living (Sen and Durano, 2014, p. 8).

One of DAWN's most important recent activist commitments, outside of the WSF, was its involvement, in 2017, in "The Convergence of Movements, WTO Out" coalition which organized The Feminist Forum Against Free Trade and the Great Feminist Assembly, during the WTO Ministerial Conference held in Buenos Aires from December 11 to 13. This forum and assembly represented the people who were excluded from participation in the eleventh Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization that was held in the city during this same period (Laterra, Enriquez, and Partenio, 2018, p. 3). The forum included women, members of the LGBTQI+ community, Afro-descendants, immigrants, refugees, displaced persons, indigenous peoples, members of ethnic minorities, peasants, and self-managed workers. Aligning itself with the marginalized and the oppressed, it examined how free trade affects local people and how participants could contribute to building grassroots, feminist strategies that could lead ultimately to "deep, structural transformations" and the creation of an "alternative, anti-patriarchal, anti-racist, anti-capitalist development model with environmental justice" ("Declaration of the Feminist Forum against Free Trade and the Great Feminist Assembly," 2018). Hence, the forum firmly rejected the WTO's Joint Declaration on Free Trade and

Women's Empowerment, citing its clear alignment with neoliberal principles that permitted the exploitation of the environment and deepened the cleavages of social inequality.

Writing for DAWN, Sengupta (2018) asserted that "the current approach in the WTO indicates instrumentalization and misuse of women's rights groups' genuine concerns on gender impacts of trade by using them as a Trojan horse" (p. 12). Hence, it is crucial to ensure that in any forum, women's rights groups need to be at the forefront of discussions focusing on the impacts of trade liberalization (Sengupta, 2018, p. 12). The forum also denounced the related neoliberal violence inflicted on indigenous populations, displaced people, immigrants, and refugees and its despoliation of indigenous territories. Furthermore, it demanded that the WTO and state governments decriminalize movement of people, and consider migration, both internal and external, to be a human right rooted in the principle of universal citizenship ("Declaration of the Feminist Forum against Free Trade and the Great Feminist Assembly," 2018).

DAWN, the Salvador WSF, and the 8M Campaign

Prior to the 2018 WSF in Salvador de Bahia, DAWN held a two-day workshop, on March 11 and 12, entitled "Fundamentalisms, Militarization and Corporate Power." The participants in this workshop included feminists and activists from more than ten countries from Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific. During this workshop, DAWN organized sessions focusing specifically on issues such as the following: the erosion of human rights, the dismantling of public services, the growing influence of corporate power and religious fundamentalisms, the criminalization of protests, and environmental degradation. Participants, in turn, contributed by discussing their experiences and expertise with advocacy and activism, workers' and LGBTQI+ rights, education, and conflict resolution. In preparation for the Salvador WSF, DAWN attempted to critically reflect on their current organizing and to evaluate the

success of their campaign strategies. Moreover, they also examined ways to make the women's movement more inclusive of black and indigenous feminists, and of members of the LGBTQI+ community. By means of such discussions, DAWN aimed to facilitate novel forms of analysis and envision new approaches to long-term, international collaboration among feminist networks, and between feminist movements and other social movements. The workshops concluded with the conviction that the WSF is an important platform that allows feminist networks to collaborate and form coalitions. Hence the conclusion was reached that DAWN should continue participating in the WSF ("DAWN Dialogue," 2018).

DAWN is one of the founding members of the WSF; however, the work it has been doing is being supplemented by the tremendous growth in the number of feminist movements and activists now involved in the WSF sphere. WSF's agenda now encompasses many feminist concerns. Given that the 2018 forum included such relevant themes as "Feminisms and women's struggles" and "LGBTQ activism and gender diversity," this constituted a very relevant space for participant observation research on feminist social and global justice activism. Indeed, among approximately the 20,000 self-organized activities at this WSF, that was held from March 13th to 17th in Salvador de Bahia, there were discussions and workshops held on key topics such as: the right to legal and safe abortion, labour reforms for women, struggle against gender based violence and discrimination, and women and environmental justice (Scampini, 2018, p. 14).

One of the major points of discussion at the Salvador Forum, held between March 13 and 17, was the global 8M strike, which has been held in more than 150 countries across the globe. The 8M strike commemorates the International Women's Day, which is celebrated annually on March 8th. Originating in October 2016, the first strike was led by Polish women responding to a bill attempting to criminalize abortion in their country (Women's Global Strike,

n.d.). In a disturbing turn of events during the same month, seven femicides occurred in Argentina, a week following the National Meeting of Women in Argentina (Women's Global Strike, *n.d*.). This mass murder of women in Argentina led to several feminist organizations, including the *Ni Una Menos* (Not One Less) collective, to call for a one-hour strike and mass mobilizations on various social media platforms. A number of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean participated in this second strike, which was then quickly followed by a second women's strike in Poland ("History of IWS/ Historia de PIM," n.d.). Polish women's groups then connected with groups across South Korea, Russia, and later Argentina to form a global movement that dubbed itself the "International Women's Strike," adopting as their slogan, "solidarity is our weapon" ("History of IWS/ Historia de PIM," n.d.). It was quickly decided that the movement would embark on the project of organizing annual strikes on the International Women's Day. By February 2017, feminist groups from thirty-five different countries across the world, including Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, France, Ireland, Mexico, Russia, Spain, Turkey, the UK, and the US, had committed to participating in the first official 8M strike on March 8, 2017. The principal aim of the strike was to highlight the issues of physical, sexual, and verbal violence faced by women around the world, and put pressure on legislators to establish severe penalties for gender-based crimes ("History of IWS/ Historia de PIM," n.d.).

The 8M campaign encourages women, and members of the LGBTQI+ community to participate in this March 8 global strike, highlighting issues such as women's rights, gender and LGBTQI+ based violence, labour issues, environmental conflicts, and racism. Based on the premise "we [women] are the invisible motor that moves the world," the 8M movement insists that "if we [women] stop, the world stops" (Observation, March 14, 2018). In 2018, there were marches, in multiple cities in Argentina, attracting women from a variety of backgrounds and

walks of life, while emphasizing their shared identity as workers. The overall theme of the 8M march in India was combating different types of religious and political fundamentalisms. In Colombia in turn, the aim was to include women and factory workers in peace negotiations and agreements, and to ensure that the left was united against the ultra-right wing's efforts to overturn the legalization of adoption by gay and lesbian couples (Observation, March 14, 2018). The 8M participants in Morocco encouraged the formation of international labour unions, and discussed the issue of sexual harassment against women in the workplace (Observation, March 14, 2018).

Focusing on the 8M marches, one of the most important workshops led by DAWN, in collaboration with organizations such as AFM, SOS CORPO (Brazil), and Gender and Trade Network, which also participated in the Salvador forum, was entitled "Evaluation of the International Strike of 8M," and was held on March 14, (Scampini, 2018, p. 14). The speakers at this session included women from various parts of the world such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Morocco, Taiwan, India, Bolivia, Uruguay, Colombia, and Brazil, who had participated in the 2018 8M strike. Led by the participants' chants of "feminism is the struggle and the revolution," the speakers emphasized that under neoliberalism, feminist actions need to be connected with worker's rights, unionization, the struggle against TNCs, and action on the global climate crisis. Some of the more specific issues that were brought up at the workshop included: labour issues such as the need for policies to prevent workplace harassment and violence; violence against transgender women and lesbians, and other members of the LGBTQI+ community; the detrimental effects of extractive industries on the natural environment and local workers; the erosion of democracy and the occupation of land and territory in the Western Sahara; and the proposal for coordinated social media campaigns to promote women's rights and interests.

Despite its diversity, however, it is important to note that there was very little participation of women from Asia and Africa in this workshop (Observation, March 14, 2020).

After highlighting issues relating to the contemporary feminist movements, the workshop concluded by stressing the need for international solidarity and an activism that proposes radical policies centred around justice. Participants insisted that feminist struggle needs to be global as well as local because, while civil disobedience at the local level can be effective, it is not always a viable option. Hence, there is a need for networking and solidarity in order to create a united front against imperialism and capitalist, patriarchal neoliberalism (Observation, March 14, 2020).

Given that the 8M campaign has continued on since the 2018 Forum, it is worth pausing here for a few quick updates on the past year's activities before returning to the discussions of DAWN's engagements in the Salvador forum. In March 2020, DAWN, together with other feminist groups affiliated with the WSF, including AFM, ATTAC France, Centro Flora Tristan, and REPEM, published agendas for the then upcoming 2020 8M strikes. Planned in a number of countries, these strikes aimed to highlight the precariousness of the labour market, especially for women, leading to growing unemployment, stagnant and declining wages, and weakening labour rights and welfare measures, both in the Global South and North. The message from the WSF-affiliated groups stated that "This #8M2020, our struggle is for dignified, valued, visible work, with economic, social and cultural rights and justice and for the right to decide where we live, against forced migration, and the forced fracture within families." These groups also expressed their solidarity with indigenous, rural, black women, and labourers who continue to fight to defend their territories against the ongoing ecocide that has monopolized nature and reduced it to "an exploitable resource and monetary exchange." Pushing further, these groups denounced the ongoing waves of femicides in Latin America, and the sexual and physical violence inflicted on

the members of the LGBTQI+ community. Demanding sexual and reproductive rights as one of the core agenda items of the 8M strike, they also called for participation of women, and feminist networks and organizations in the 2020 Thematic World Social Forum of Transformative Economies, held virtually from June 25 to 28, to share their experiences and reflections from the 2020 8M strike, and to further discuss proposals for the 8M actions in the future (*#8M International Feminist Strike*, 2020).

Despite concerns caused by Covid-19, the 8M strike went ahead in a number of countries in 2020, and they were particularly successful in Spain and in Latin America. Marches and protests were held in several Spanish cities, and a call was issued for a consolidated feminist movement across borders to raise concerns about violence against women, sexism in the economic realm, and discrimination faced by the members of the LGBTQI+ community (Quesada and Diego, 2020).In addition to women's organizations and networks, and members of the public, all major political parties in Spain, except the far-right party Vox, took part in the 8M protests (Quesada and Diego, 2020). Approximately 5.3 million women, including Spain's top women politicians, joined in, and the strike was supported by ten major Spanish unions (BBC, 2020).

Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile also participated in the 8M strike this year. Indeed, the strike was especially successful in Chile, given that the country had already experienced the ongoing economic protests against the neoliberal reforms implemented by its current government. In fact, the 8M strike in Chile was followed by another general strike demonstrating dissatisfaction with the Piñera government (TeleSur, 2020). Another country where the 8M protests were followed by a national general strike was Mexico. Here, *El Paro Nacional* (the national strike) (9M) was the first women-led

general strike in Mexican history. Protests were also held in several border cities like Tijuana, where indigenous, migrant, and rural women are particularly vulnerable to violence and discrimination, and are rarely at the forefront of feminist movements (González, 2020). Highlighting the voices of women who are victims of femicide, disappearances, police brutality, rape, and torture at a disproportionately high rate, these Mexican protests are contributing to the efforts to build a consolidated feminist uprising in Latin America, which is united in the struggles against patriarchy, capitalism, and state violence (García, 2020).

Getting back to the workshops at the Salvador WSF, one more key session, entitled, "From WTO to G20: Feminist Alternatives and Strategies Challenging Corporate Power," focused on the global political economy. This workshop highlighted the need to promote economic equality for women at all levels, by challenging trade liberalization, privatization, austerity, and the feminization of economy and poverty. It also promoted collective organizing and unionization, climate action, and access to basic necessities such as water, food, shelter, security, health care, and education for people around the world. Addressing DAWN's campaign against the (then) upcoming G20/W20 forum, the workshop also discussed the proposed women's/feminist gathering in Buenos Aires in fall 2018, during this G20 summit. Given that it aligns itself with the interests of transnational corporations and financial markets, the G20's agenda of economic empowerment of women, represented by the W20 group within the G20 is based the neoliberal model of entrepreneurship, competition, corporate leadership, and individualism that cannot solve the economic problems faced by the majority of women. Hence, networks such as DAWN, AFM, ATTAC, and REPEM (Popular Education Network among the Women of Latin American and the Caribbean) planned to provide an alternative to the G20's/W20's discourse. Their aim was to organize a "feminist forum of women," including

women workers, members of the LGBTQI+ community, migrants, refugees, Afro-descendants, and Latin American indigenous peoples, in order to defend women's interests in the face of the corporate agenda of the G20. Activists planned to bring together women before the G20/W20 summit and provide a space for them to share their knowledge with others. Here, they would be able to highlight urgent issues that were affecting them, including femicide and violence against women, the criminalization of women's sexuality, the impact of austerity on people's lives, the need to challenge corporate authority, and the vilification of social movements and protests (Observation, March 14, 2018).

Given that it addressed many of the concerns encompassed by the 8M strikes and the 2017/2018 feminist actions in Argentina, it is worth devoting some attention here, as well, to the Women's Assembly at the Salvador WSF on March 16. The theme of violence against the favela-dwelling Afro-Brazilians ended up becoming a central focus of this Assembly and the Salvador WSF due to the tragic assassination of Marielle Franco, an Afro-Brazilian socialist-feminist politician, and LGBTQI+ rights activist on March 14, 2018, shortly after the opening of the Forum. Franco was raised in Maré, the largest favela in Rio de Janeiro, and was a vocal critic of former President Temer's policy of deploying the Brazilian army in militarized operations in favelas that had been linked to the extrajudicial killings of poor, Afro-Brazilian people. Their assassination generated a massive outcry, not just at the WSF but in Brazil, at large, and around the world, re-invigourating condemnation of Temer and the Brazilian coup that ousted former president, Dilma Rousseff. As soon as this news broke, the chanting of slogans "Marielle Presente (Marielle is present)" and "Fora Temer (Temer out)" erupted everywhere at the WSF, and another pink cross in the name of Marielle was added to a display commemorating the victims of recent femicides and political murders in the country (Observation, March 15, 2018).

Marielle's assassination thus became the focal point of the Women's Assembly, held in the Historic Centre of Salvador on the third day of the Forum. Coordinated by DAWN and other local and international women's networks, including AFM, this Assembly met in a central plaza in Pelurinho, where musical performers and capoeira dancers provided the backdrop to more than three thousand people — mostly women — pledging their support to a movement against gender violence, racism, capitalism, and other related oppressions. Also in attendance were activists and politicians: Manuela D'Avila, the then vice-presidential candidate for the Workers' Party; Sonia Guajajara, Socialist and Liberty (PSOL) Party pre-candidate for the vice-presidency; Fábia Reis, Secretary of Promotion of Racial Equality for the government of Bahia; and Nora Cortiñas of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (Scampini, 2018, p. 15).

Reading from a feminist manifesto, consisting of ten "non-negotiable" demands in four different languages — Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English — activists called for equal rights for all genders, sexes, and sexualities, and the recognition of all women as workers, whether productive or reproductive, and/or community context (Scampini, 2018, p. 15). Added to this was the insistence on equal pay for equal work for all, and the need for legislations and policies addressing sexual assaults and harassment in the workplace, and the elimination all forms of violence against women (Scampini, 2018, p. 15). Other points raised by the manifesto included the importance of women's autonomy over their own bodies, free from any form of interference by the state, religious authorities, or corporate powers. In order to complement the published demands, the activists also called for an access to democratic, transformative and liberating education for everyone, including indigenous peoples, minorities, migrants, and refugees (Observation, March 15, 2018). The assembly then concluded with one unifying final

plea: “there is an urgent need to unite all struggles for economic, social and cultural emancipation, without violence” (Scampini, 2018, p. 15).

DAWN, Intersectionality, and the 8M Campaign

DAWN insists that one of the central aims of its analysis is to integrally interconnect the themes of sexual and reproductive rights, political economy and globalization, and political ecology and sustainability (Sen and Durano, 2014, p. 11). Hence, for DAWN, an analysis of the intersecting inequalities affecting women is crucial to understanding the location of particular women in the existing structures and hierarchies of domination and subordination (p. 12, 17). “When supplemented with an analysis of how gender power intersects with power in other spheres, this [intersectional] approach can become a powerful method for understanding and advocating against social inequality in many dimensions” (p. 17). Therefore, in its struggle against neoliberalism, DAWN attempts to amplify the voices of marginalized communities trying to reclaim space, including black, indigenous, ethnic minority, and poor women, plus individuals belonging to the LGBTQI+ community, and people with disabilities (p. 7).

However, Rosalind Petchesky (2000) contends that there exists a “compartmentalization [or fragmentation] of women’s movement work into discrete ‘issues’,” such as violence, reproductive rights, sexuality, and economic and labour conditions of women, while sufficient stress is not put on the *intersection* of these issues (p.). Citing Petchesky (2012), Sen and Durano (2014) argue that it is important to view every domain or issue of politics — markets, poverty, growth, militarization, climate change — as being profoundly gendered and sexual from the start (p. 26). “Opening up the panorama of these complex intersections … is the only way forward to a politics that moves beyond rhetoric and legalism toward social transformation,” she contends (Petchesky, 2012, p. 32).

An intersectional analysis is a key aspect of contemporary socialist feminism, as discussed in chapter two. Emphasizing the importance of intersectionality, Sen and Durano (2014) argue that "gender power relations intersect with class, race, ethnicity, caste and other markers of socio-economic inequality to create a complex lived reality" (p. 21). Indeed, in noting how gender relations interact, not only with class, but also with "race, ethnicity, gender, caste, and other markers of socio-economic inequality," they make an argument that is similar to Fraser's notion of bivalent categories. Like Fraser, they view the coming together of the economic and cultural spheres as creating the conditions for the subordination of women. However, moving in a somewhat different direction than Fraser, they cite the concept of intersectionality, which they attempt to employ in order to explain how an analysis of intersecting inequalities is crucial for understanding the location of individuals in different power hierarchies.

Hence, unlike AFM, DAWN therefore views both fundamentalist religious institutions and neoliberal governments as standing in the way of women achieving full sexual and reproductive rights. "It was the Reagan era in the United States that saw the consolidation of a new alliance within the Republican Party between economic conservatism [i.e., neoliberalism] … and religious mobilization against gender equality and women's reproductive rights," contend Sen and Durano. This, they continue, "culminat[ed] in the formation of the Tea Party … [and the] instigat[ion] and promot[ion] [of] anti-gay legislation" (p. 11). Commenting in more detail on this "regressive combination of neoliberalism and religious fundamentalism" (Sen and Durano, 2014, p. 10-11), they observe:

> Different social movements all have their particular focus, and connecting the dots is not easy as the relations among different movements across issues have not always been

> inclusive or harmonious. Thus, in the throes of the struggle for sexual and reproductive rights, the challenges of integrating global economic justice (the main concern of many South governments, and organizations) with gender justice (especially sexual and reproductive rights) became apparent (Sen, 2006). Religious conservative organizations, with support from the Holy See and some conservative governments*, have taken advantage of these tensions to attempt to drive a wedge* (p. 13, emphasis added).

Although DAWN insists that they are conducting an intersectional analysis, and suggests that one cannot "add women and stir" (Sen and Durano, 2014, p. 21) to understand gender power dynamics intersect with neoliberalism, they fail to completely draw links between these different forms of oppressions. By stating that religious conservatives "have taken advantage of these tensions" between movements challenging neoliberalism and movements for gender justice, DAWN ends up assuming that the alliances forged between the neoliberals and religious conservatives were merely convenient or contingent. In actual fact, however, these alliances were directly related to the *mutual* agreement, by these economic and social conservatives, to transfer welfare functions from the state to the family. Therefore, in ignoring the crucial economic role of the family under neoliberalism, DAWN's attempted intersectional analysis is incomplete. Moreover, in erasing the central part played by the family, this analysis tends to obscure the complicity of social movements and social movement actors with neoliberalism. Although she does not directly cite the concept of intersectionality, one example of a much deeper feminist intersectional examination of the links between neoliberalism and religious conservatives is demonstrated by Melinda Cooper in her book, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (2017).

Cooper (2017) suggests that even with neoliberalism's focus on individualism and personal responsibility, the idea of family responsibility moves to the forefront when it comes to the idea of economic dependence in the cases of care of children, the elderly, the disabled, or the unwaged. Hence, the assumption of personal responsibility is always extended to that of familial responsibility (p. 71). Under neoliberalism, gender subordination encompasses the unpaid gendered labour, which supports family households, and volunteer work, in schools and communities. However, this analytical category disappears when the focus is solely placed on capital (human, corporate, finance) (Brown, 2015, p. 106). Whether as full-time homemakers or as employees also working outside home, women continue to be responsible for the care and nurture of the family. Cooper (2017) suggests that decoupling the economic and cultural aspects of gender-related issues obscures the complexity of gender and sexual politics, and results in protecting the institution of family against any kind of criticism (p. 23). "Once we restore the question of family to its central place within the neoliberal critique of social welfare, we are in a much better position to understand the nuance of the neoliberal position on sexual freedom" (Cooper, 2020, p. 109).

Using the example of post-war United States, Cooper shows how the Keynesian-welfare state system was strongly divided along the lines of gender and race. Welfare benefits in the form of family wage were provided to married women, as well as increasingly to single and divorced mothers, especially African-American women, who faced disproportionately higher rates of poverty and unemployment (Cooper, 2017, p. 35). However, there was a push-back against such welfare policies by the neoconservative political elites who argued that the welfare system undermined the traditional family structure (p. 35). Hence, they insisted that, in order to allow the traditional family to re-establish itself, government interference in the welfare sector

should be halted. Allying themselves with neoliberals in their critique of the family wage, both groups argued that the "private paternalism of the family" should replace state paternalism as the main source of welfare in the free-market order (p. 62). Hence the neoliberal rhetoric of personal responsibility was transformed into the assumption of family responsibility when it came to the issue of the economic dependence of children, the elderly, the disabled, and the unwaged (p. 71).

Converging on the issue of family responsibility, neoliberals and neoconservatives see the "family as the foundation of moral and economic life" (p. 90). In contrast to post-war Keynesians who saw the family as a public responsibility and supported the welfare state, the neoliberal and neoconservative opponents of social insurance wanted to turn economic responsibility into a strictly family matter. Neither side questioned the centrality of family within their version of economic responsibility (Cooper, 2017, p. 91). With neoliberal slashes to the welfare state, and welfare converted into a private responsibility, the family becomes more important than ever.

In addition to being sensitive to the economic injustices stemming from neoliberalism, Cooper (2017) is also very sympathetic to cultural injustices such as the oppression of the LGBTQI+ community. She points out that the demands for the recognition of same-sex marriage became more popular around the time when the LGBTQI+ community was being welcomed into the market for credit consumers (p. 163). At the time when the welfare state was rapidly eroding, the LGBTQI+ community had fought not for preservation but for their inclusion within the already exclusive system of private, work-based, health insurance. Moreover, most proponents of same-sex marriage adopt the neoliberal argument that giving LGBTQ+ marriages the same status as heteronormative marriages would allow same-sex couples to be self-sufficient, and be able to live independently of any assistance provided by state (Cooper, 2017, p. 211; Lewis, 2016, p.

226). Hence they supported the argument that, "legalization of same sex marriage will [end up saving] the state more money than it loses in increased Social Security payments" (Cooper, 2017, p. 213).

Rosemary Hennessy[8] (2002) argues a similar point to Cooper (2017) by suggesting that "gender foundation of heteronormative sexual identities is directly related to the extraction of surplus value through the gendered division of labour, both in a family's role of reproduction of labour power and in the workforce" (p. 105). However, capitalism does not require the heteronormative family or gendered division of labour; rather, it requires unequal division of labour (Hennessy, 2002, p. 105). If LGBTQI+ people are willing to take up the roles that conform that unequal division, which means supporting a family, bringing up children, and caring for the elderly, "new family" arrangements, including non-nuclear and non-heterosexual families, will be accepted (Hennessy, 2002, p. 105). Lewis (2016) describes this as "homonormativity," which is the pressure for gay people to conform to the heterosexist norms in order to blend in, and live up to the ideal of a mainstream, white, Euro-American family. This concept has even been extended to include "transnormativity," as well. (p. 224). Hence, in this way, the proponents of equal marriage can end up becoming complicit with neoliberal norms.

There is no doubt that 8M is a very successful movement, which has seen the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of people around the world. However, Cooper's analysis of the convergence of neoliberal and neoconservative values, and her critique of the institution of family potentially provides important lessons for the 8M movement, and for DAWN. Although DAWN does make connections between the neoliberal and neoconservative values, this connection seems to be more contingent than causal, as they fail to explain exactly how these

[8] For more discussion on the alliance between neoliberalism and neoconservatism, and critique of the institution of "family," refer to Rosemary Hennessey's (2002); and Holly Lewis' (2016).

two connect. As such, DAWN and the 8M movement fail to offer a deep critique of this neoliberal economic and neoconservative cultural alliance. This is potentially detrimental to the 8M movement's ability to attract more participants, because it fails to offer an explanation as to why "deviant" family structures, such as single mothers, LGBTQI+ couples, divorced women, and women and people affected by domestic abuse and battering in relationships, do not have the luxury of depending on traditional family for economic and social support, in the absence of state's welfare policies. In order for the 8M movement to truly be representative of all women and members of the LGBTQI+ community, it needs to especially be attentive of the concerns of the most marginalized people within these groups. In order to do so, therefore, DAWN, and the 8M movement, need to conduct a proper intersectional analysis that directly links neoliberalism and gender/sexual oppressions. This will involve making adequate connections between the two so that the family is viewed not only as a cultural relationship, but also as an entity that fulfills important economic roles under neoliberalism.

Conclusion

DAWN is an important participant in the WSF, and plays a critical role in advocating for the inclusion of feminist debates in the WSF sphere. It has been successful in creating a network of feminist activists and scholars in the Global South, and creating global campaigns, such as the 8M movement, which seek to advance feminist struggles around the world. However, while the 8M movement has attracted a following in certain regions of the world, it has generally failed to impact women and feminist movements on a global level. Even in Latin America, the protests seem to occur mainly in urban centers. Hence, they fail to address the needs and demands of indigenous and rural women.

Undoubtedly, the 8M movement, and DAWN, in general, should adopt a more adequate intersectional perspective, and focus on highlighting the links that are being forged between neoliberalism and social conservatism. Cooper's work could be a valuable resource in helping to clarify this important but problematic new alliance between neoliberalism and social conservatism in order to defend the traditional family. Not only DAWN, but AFM could also benefit from adopting an adequate intersectional perspective in developing their campaigns.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Many feminist movements, not just in the Global North but around the world, unwittingly fall victim, to a greater or lesser extent, to what Fraser calls "the dangerous liaison between feminism and neoliberalism." However, the neoliberal co-optation of feminist movements is not uniform. AFM and DAWN, two major feminist networks from the Global South, exemplify the difficulty of escaping neoliberalism's more seductive aspects. Simultaneously, though, they also demonstrate some ways in which feminist networks can minimize this co-optation.

Although AFM and DAWN often collaborate, their core campaigns and messages demonstrate the differences in how they approach the issues contemporary feminist movements and activists face. AFM's Campaign Against Fundamentalisms attempts to highlight different types of fundamentalisms — cultural, religious, scientific, and economic — and how they enable the oppression of already-marginalized groups of people. In contrast, AFM's Our Bodies, Our Territories campaign focuses instead on issues faced mainly by indigenous, rural, and poor communities, and especially the women in those communities. DAWN, however, is more concerned with issues related to the global political economy, and the struggles confronting women under the current neoliberal hegemony, especially in the Global South. DAWN's activism, including their engagement in the feminist 8M movement, tends to target the policies of international organizations, IFIs, and states and to improve social and economic conditions affecting women, gender/sexual minorities, and racial/ethnic communities.

While the activist strategies employed by AFM and DAWN have their strong points, both of these networks' analyses have limitations. By lumping different types of fundamentalisms together, AFM's CAF lapses into what Fraser (2008) refers to as the problem of displacement (p.

83). This problem arises when the struggle for economic justice is sidelined in favour of the struggle for cultural justice. To effectively address social/global justice issues, issues of redistribution and issues of recognition must both be addressed. Additionally, by grouping multiple different fundamentalisms together, AFM promotes its own form of *"pensamiento único,"* or monolithic thinking, and falls into the trap of promoting uncritical diversity to combat these fundamentalisms. In addition to homogenizing different economic and cultural fundamentalisms, AFM inadvertently ends up promoting diversity in the economic realm — i.e., class diversity — as well. This framing of their message risks being understood to promote class-based hierarchies.

With their OBOT campaign, AFM attempts to tackle issues created by extractivist transnational corporations' exploitation of indigenous "bodies" and land, which leads to human and labour rights violations, migration, environmental pollution and degradation, and climate change. In order to oppose these extractive industries, AFM suggests that indigenous peoples, especially indigenous women, must assert their sovereignty over their land, and their bodies. However, the challenges posed by extractivist industries that lead to migration, climate change, and environmental destruction cannot be addressed within the framework of Westphalian nation-state sovereignty. Rather, a post-Westphalian, transnational analysis is required to frame these issues beyond a nation-state model, in order to address problems that transcend nation-state borders. Fraser's political dimension of justice — representation — is necessary to deal with the issues the OBOT campaign attempts to address, such as inclusion and exclusion in the political sphere, entitlement to economic redistribution processes, and reciprocal recognition. Moreover, when applied to the issue of reproductive rights, the concept of sovereignty reduces such rights to abortion, rather than embracing a wider notion of reproductive freedom.

Regarding the 8M campaign, DAWN attempts to address both economic and cultural aspects of the struggle for justice by amplifying the voices of people facing multiple systems of oppression, including patriarchy, racism, class-based injustice, homophobia and transphobia. However, the connections and interactions between the economic and cultural realms remain somewhat obscure, and DAWN fails to show how neoliberalism takes advantage of these interactions to substitute family relations for the welfare state programs it undermines. Instead of a truly intersectional analysis, they adopt what Bhavnani (1997) refers to as the "add and stir" approach. While keeping "women's issues," such as sexual and reproductive rights, lack of representation of women in the public sphere, economic conditions of women, gender-based violence, and family relations compartmentalized, adequate connections are not made to understand how these issues intersect with one another. Importantly, AFM can also draw lessons from this critique of DAWN's attempts at intersectionality, and apply those lessons to its own activism on reproductive and sexual rights.

However, the lack of proper intersectional analysis is not limited to DAWN or AFM. Cooper's (2017) critique of Fraser makes it apparent that Fraser's own redistribution-recognition model fails to truly integrate the problems of economic and cultural injustice. Although Fraser is careful not to uncouple the economic from the cultural, Cooper (2017) suggests that Fraser does precisely that with her approach to social justice. She argues Fraser unwittingly ends up in a position resembling the Marxist base-superstructure model she so strongly rejects when she fails to truly interlink neoliberalism with a deeper critique of how it ties in to cultural issues related to the family, such as gay marriage. As a result, Fraser obscures the complex connections between neoliberal economics and sexual politics, and the institution of the family escapes critical analysis. (Cooper, 2017, p. 23). Fraser raises concerns about the lack of the kind of economic

security that would allow women to support their families, and which is compromised by neoliberalism's commitment to eliminating welfare policies. Cooper (2017) states that while Fraser would argue that sustaining a family is not a purely private matter, and requires state assistance, she still fails to question the family's centrality, and the overwhelming reliance on women to nurture and sustain the family (p. 91). Whether they work solely as homemakers or are also employed outside the home, women continue to take on the lion's share of this labour. Cooper highlights this failure to critique the institution of family itself as a lacuna in Fraser's work. By contrast, Cooper's intersectional analysis demonstrates how neoliberal and neoconservative values converge to promote the heteronormative and "homonormative/transnormative" nuclear family structure.

While both AFM's and DAWN's approaches have shortcomings, both networks can learn from each other to strengthen their campaigns. AFM employs a variety of artistic and creative approaches to popularize their message. Using circus tents, pop-art inspired posters, bold imagery and catchy slogans, and short but captivating films, AFM captures people's attention, leaving a lasting impression. DAWN might benefit from a more artistic approach to make their campaigns more attractive and expand their reach. Furthermore, with the OBOT campaign, AFM addresses issues specific to indigenous and rural communities in the Global South. DAWN could also improve their message by paying more attention to issues affecting indigenous peoples, such as the problem of extractivist industries, which pose a particularly grave threat to one of the most marginalized communities in the world. Indeed, both AFM and DAWN need to use a post-Westphalian, transnational framework to deal with transnational issues like corporate globalization and climate change, that cannot be contained within a nation-state framework.

On the more practical side, AFM can learn from DAWN to address economic justice and global political economy more seriously, as these issues are an essential part of the global feminist struggle. Although its approach is not perfect, DAWN arguably does a better job of reconciling the cultural with the economic and avoiding the problem of displacement than AFM does. Furthermore, DAWN has more effectively resisted the post-development elements that seem to affect AFM. However, DAWN needs to revisit the way it links neoliberalism to social conservative understandings of sexual issues. Drawing lessons from Cooper's work, it needs to replace the contingent connection it draws between neoliberalism and family values, and show how neoliberalism utilizes family values discourse to replace publicly-funded welfare services.

The Future of the WSF

Even though the WSF is an important transnational space for feminist activism and networks, especially those based in the Global South, it is not without its problems. One of the most prevalent debates regarding the WSF is its utility and effectiveness as an open space, rather than a deliberative process. One of the workshops that I attended at the WSF in Salvador de Bahia, aptly entitled "The Future of the WSF," focused on the opposing positions of some prominent members of the International Council. The crux of the problem is a fundamental split within the WSF itself (Smith et al. 2015, p. 85-86). One camp is led by Chico Whitaker, who maintains that the forum should serve exclusively as an open space for global civil society, allowing activist groups and networks to come together and exchange ideas on how to challenge neoliberalism, and propose alternatives for a more just and democratic world. This position rules out the possibility of any person or group speaking on behalf of the entire forum, even in cases of humanitarian injustice that clearly warrant unified condemnation (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004, p. 146). Critics of Whitaker's stance, in particular IC member Francine Mestrum (2018), argue

that dogmatic adherence to "horizontality" in the forum has led to a complete lack of organization, structure, and practical outcomes.

Other members of the IC have also pointed out that the WSF displays an inherent lack of coordination, as it fails to build on conversations and ideas from one year to next (Observation, 2018). Highlighting this frustration, at the Salvador WSF, an attendee from Iran lamented spending thousands of dollars to travel to Brazil, only to discover that the latest forum was still discussing the same issues as the previous one (Observation, March 16, 2018). Many critics of the WSF argue that the concept of open space is "wrong-headed, liberal, depoliticizing, and deradicalizing" (Conway, 2013, p. 35). In the changing social and political landscape, the WSF needs to move beyond debating alternatives to neoliberal globalization, and begin taking steps to translate those imagined alternatives into reality. Rather than simply "performing" resistance and solidarity, the WSF needs to act on its slogan and contribute to the actual building of "another world [as] possible" (Patomäki and Teivainen, 2004, p. 151). It seems Hugo Chavez may have had it right when he famously called the WSF "a Woodstock of the left," suggesting the open space had degenerated into a festival (Conway, 2013, p. 35).

Another valid critique of the WSF as an open space rests on the fact that the WSF is not as democratic as it claims to be. Despite the emphasis on its supposed horizontality, vertical relations do exist within the forum, and inevitably, certain groups and individuals shape the forum's structure and narratives more than others (Pleyers, 2010, p.7; Sen, 2005, p. 39). While the WSF aims to create an open space for all sorts of emancipatory movements, it continues to produce and reproduce contradictions, hierarchies, and exclusions. Despite efforts to include marginalized populations such as indigenous peoples, *adivasis* (tribal peoples), dalits, and members of the LGBTQI+ community, numbers from the WSF show that this particular battle

has not yet been won, as elites from the Global North and the Global South continue to dominate the space. (Conway, 2013, p. 2, 3).

There is also a dispute between the more radical, grassroots organizations and movements — or "horizontals" — that participate in the WSF process, and the more mainstream organizations — or "verticals", such as NGOs, that operate within more conventional and institutionalized political realms (Byrd and Jasny, 2010, p. 358). The WSF is constantly working to diversify its voice and encourage collaboration between the verticals and the horizontals within the forum (p. 359). However, Pleyers (2010) insists that many of the larger internal actors have been reluctant to embrace a democratic approach (p. 13).

Since the WSF's events are self-organized, large NGOs and organizations with more resources tend to dominate simply because they possess greater capital and hence, they can afford to build a stronger presence (Buckley, 2013, p. 99). Additionally, NGOs with ties to prominent liberal institutions, and the NGOization of the forum, in general, can limit the WSF's radical potential (p. 99-103). As such, the WSF may unintentionally produce a "free market" of ideas, where those with greater capital and organizational capacity can overpower and outshine those with fewer resources (Conway, 2013, p. 35). One example worth noting here is that organizations with ties to anti-choice groups have been present at certain forums in the past, which concerned feminist participants, given that their presence runs counter to the WSF's claim of being an emancipatory, progressive process, free of hatred and misogyny (Buckley, 2013, p. 88). Analyses of gender, class, sexuality, race, and ability, need to be integrated into mainstream discussions, so that these issues are not separated from one another and relegated to smaller factions of participants, leading to further fragmentation (Desai, 2016, 884).

Many of the concerns just discussed played out in practice at the Salvador WSF, which was chaotic from day one. The program was not available in hard copy or online, and attendees struggled to read the agenda from two or three posted copies near the registration area at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). Many attendees complained that a larger than usual number of workshops were moved or canceled without notice, and there was a dearth of translation accommodations for non-Portuguese speakers in most workshops. However, as one attendee pointed out, at the time of the forum (and currently) Brazil was undergoing serious political turmoil, stemming from the recent coup which removed Dilma Rousseff from the presidency, and the then impending imprisonment of Lula da Silva (Observation, March 16, 2018). Under these circumstances, the limited attendance and (human) resources put into the Salvador WSF is understandable.

In fact, the dwindling numbers at recent WSFs reinforces the critiques and concerns regarding its future. Most of those who attended the forum in Salvador de Bahia were Brazilian. While there was some representation from the rest of Latin America and from North Africa, there was a marked lack of attendance from people, organizations, and scholars from North America (with the exception of Quebec), Europe, Africa, and Asia. Several key networks that usually participate in the WSF — La Via Campesina, a global organization of peasants, and the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), to name just two — were absent from the Salvador Forum, and representation from other important groups, such as the World March of Women, was drastically reduced.

However, despite these failings, the WSF gave me a unique opportunity to attend seminars and workshops on a wide range of topics. This WSF hosted hundreds of workshops on themes such as: land and territory; democracy and democratization of economies; social and

environmental justice; right to citizenship; free media and technology; science and education for emancipation and sovereignty of the peoples; feminism and women's struggles; LGBTQI+ and gender diversity; migration and anticolonial struggles; the world of work; indigenous peoples; a world without racism, intolerance, and xenophobia; Black Lives Matter; and the future of the WSF.

One of the standout workshops at the WSF, which did not overtly allude to feminism but which nevertheless ended up being central to the feminist analysis of Brazil's current social and political situation, highlighted parallels between the oppression of Palestinians in Gaza, and the oppression of Afro-Brazilian inhabitants of favelas (Brazilian slums). The panel of presenters included Latin American BDS (boycott, disinvestment, sanctions) activists, Palestinian activists and scholars, and anti-militarization favela activists. The Israeli (and US) occupation of Palestine violates the Palestinian people's right to independence and self-determination. Supporting the BDS movement is one way to condemn the violence of the Israeli state. However, Brazil is the fifth largest importer of Israeli arms, using the weapons to arm police forces in favelas, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The panel at the workshop insisted that "[their] struggles are connected because [their] oppressors are connected." With the aid of imported guns and armed vehicles, police brutality against poor Afro-Brazilians is rampant in the favelas. In many cases, the police have been observed planting evidence on slain men and women to justify their murders. The workshop also included personal testimonies from family members of victims of state and police brutality in Palestine and in Brazil's favelas (Observation, March 16, 2020).

Feminist Futures: WSF at the Crossroads

With the threats posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, worldwide lockdown, and economic recession, life seems to be at a standstill for many people around the world. DAWN, AFM, and

the WSF have expressed grave concerns about this situation, and what it means for the future of vulnerable peoples across the world, especially in the Global South. Writing for AFM, Carla Guagliardi (2020) points to the uneven response to the pandemic, which exacerbates the economic inequality created by neoliberalism. Citing the case of a coronavirus outbreak in a refugee shelter in Berlin, Marly Borges (2020) describes how the German public's primary response was not to call for improved public health services for the refugees, but rather, to call for their deportation. These refugees, who were already living in precarious housing situations, facing isolation and constant attacks by neo-Nazi groups, were left to fend for themselves against the virus, without substantial assistance. Meanwhile, in Canada, some indigenous communities live on reserves that still lack access to clean water, public health facilities, and adequate housing that would allow residents to maintain social distancing, placing them at similarly elevated risk of viral infection (Starblanket and Hunt, 2020).

Women make up three-quarters of the global workforce, and the International Labour Organization has predicted that hundreds of millions of workers worldwide will also suffer as a result of the pandemic and the attendant economic crisis (English and Pike, 2020). Needless to say, besides financial insecurity, women are susceptible to more physical and emotional stress as the primary caregivers for their families, responsible for the elderly and children, both groups vulnerable to infection. Added to this, a surge in the incidence of domestic violence has been reported during lockdown (English and Pike, 2020). Given that "[class] injustice is interlaced and intensified by the complex and specific oppressions of gender and sexuality, ethnicity and race, disability, homelessness, incarceration, and migration." (Webber, 2020), the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic will only intensify the many problems oppressed groups already face. Decades of austerity policies, leading to the systematic gutting of the public health system, have

further weakened states' ability to respond to this pandemic, compounding the crisis of neoliberalism (Maher and Khachaturian, 2020).

The WSF will mark its twentieth anniversary in 2021, and plans are currently under way to organize a WSF in Mexico this January (Tibúrcio, 2020). In addition to the global pandemic, the last few years have been marked by a resurgence of right-wing, and even far-right governments, as well as civil unrest fueled by racial and economic inequalities, and an ongoing, deepening economic recession. This means that, in addition to existing problems related to the WSF's structure and organization, the upcoming forum faces a new, urgent set of challenges. On a more hopeful note, however, the current socio-political atmosphere may be an opportunity to reinvigorate the WSF, as it is now more important than ever to provide a platform for oppressed and marginalized people, to amplify their voices and struggles, and to develop effective strategies in the fight against neoliberal racist patriarchy. In this struggle, feminist global justice networks like AFM and DAWN have the potential to play an important role.

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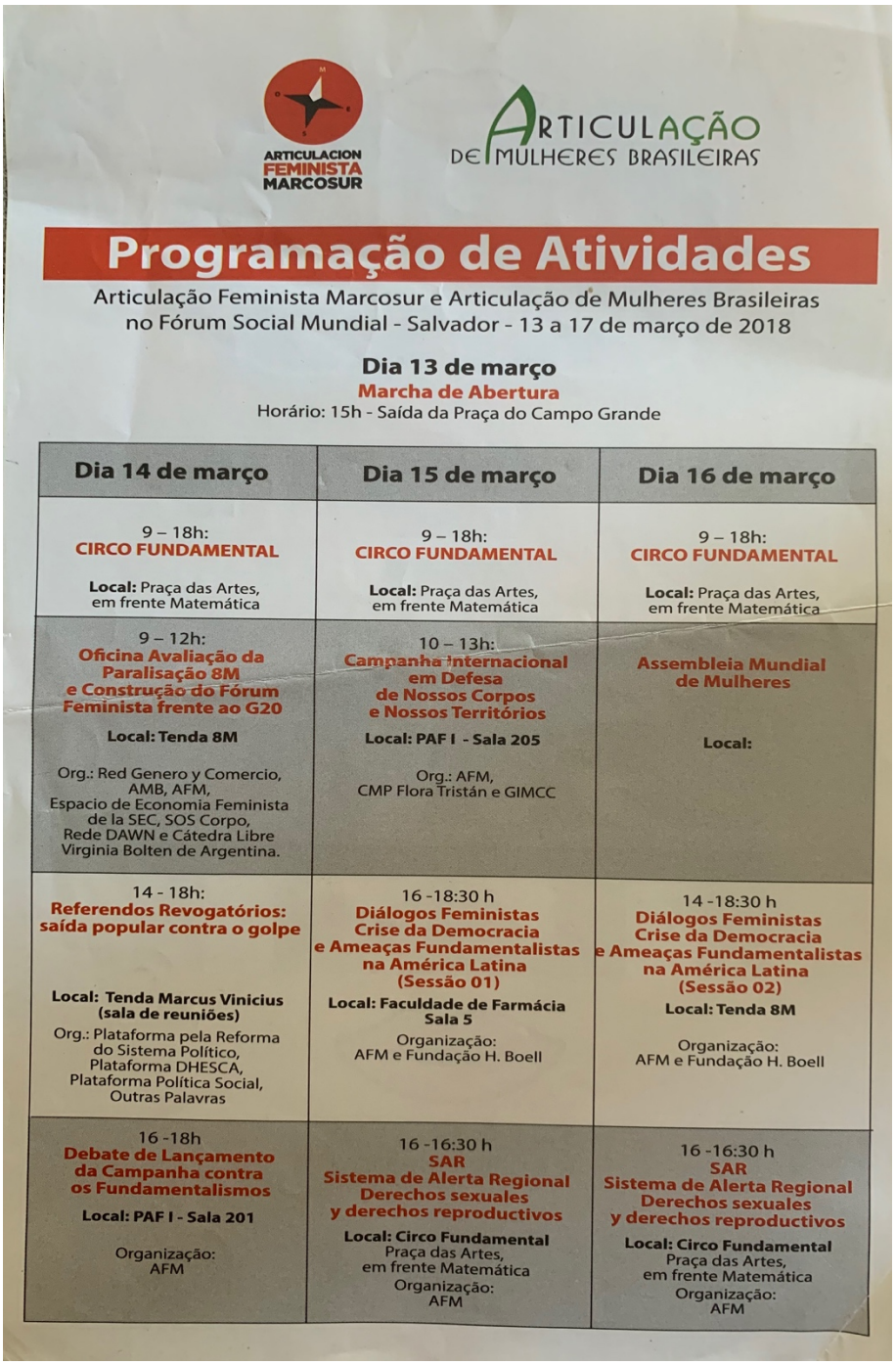
Appendix

Flyer for AFM's "Circo Fundamental"



ARTICULACION FEMINISTA MARCOSUR

ARTICULAÇÃO DE MULHERES BRASILEIRAS

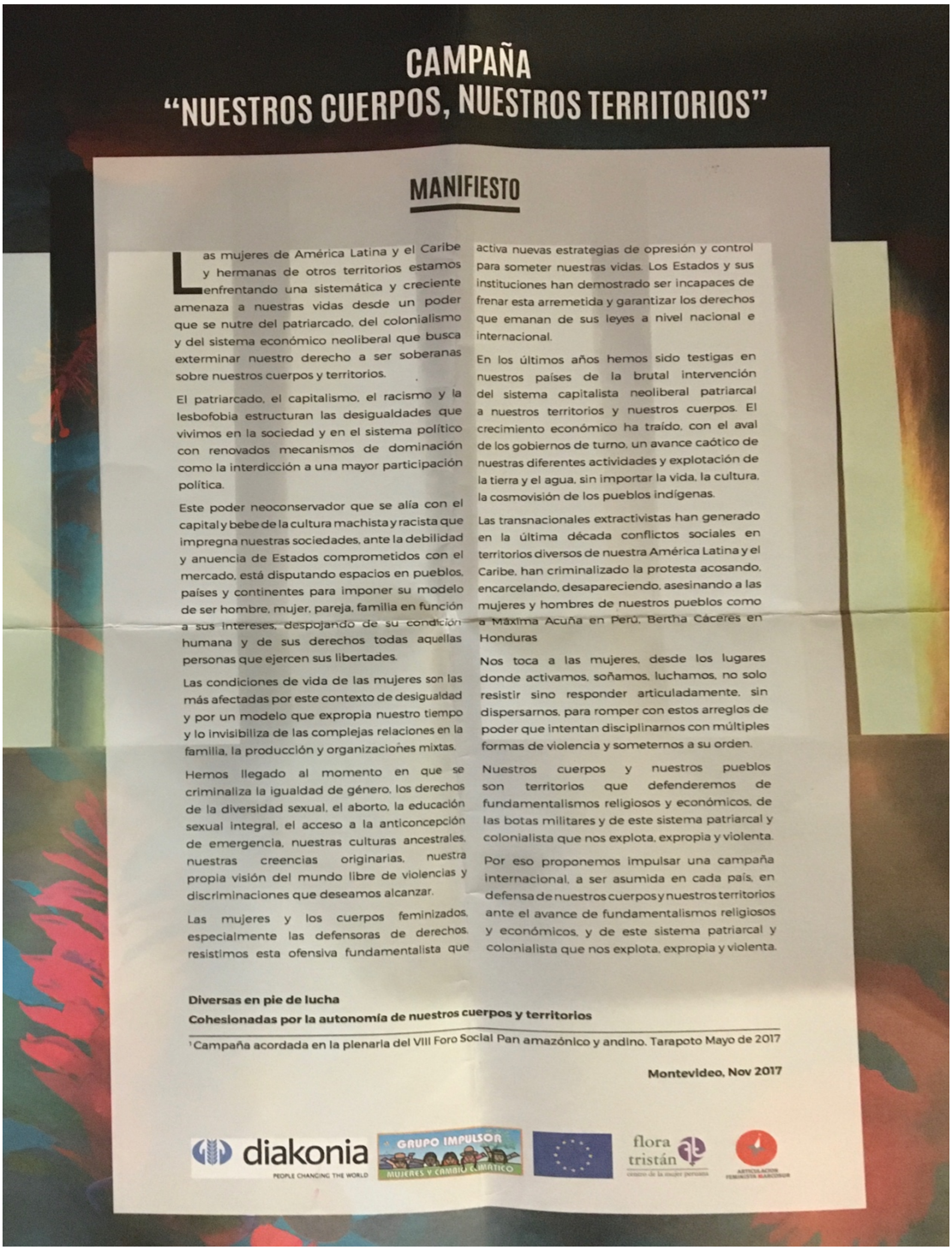
Programação de Atividades

Articulação Feminista Marcosur e Articulação de Mulheres Brasileiras
no Fórum Social Mundial - Salvador - 13 a 17 de março de 2018

Dia 13 de março
Marcha de Abertura
Horário: 15h - Saída da Praça do Campo Grande

Dia 14 de março	Dia 15 de março	Dia 16 de março
9 – 18h: **CIRCO FUNDAMENTAL** **Local:** Praça das Artes, em frente Matemática	9 – 18h: **CIRCO FUNDAMENTAL** **Local:** Praça das Artes, em frente Matemática	9 – 18h: **CIRCO FUNDAMENTAL** **Local:** Praça das Artes, em frente Matemática
9 – 12h: **Oficina Avaliação da Paralisação 8M e Construção do Fórum Feminista frente ao G20** **Local: Tenda 8M** Org.: Red Genero y Comercio, AMB, AFM, Espacio de Economia Feminista de la SEC, SOS Corpo, Rede DAWN e Cátedra Libre Virginia Bolten de Argentina.	10 – 13h: **Campanha Internacional em Defesa de Nossos Corpos e Nossos Territórios** **Local: PAF I - Sala 205** Org.: AFM, CMP Flora Tristán e GIMCC	**Assembleia Mundial de Mulheres** **Local:**
14 - 18h: **Referendos Revogatórios: saída popular contra o golpe** **Local: Tenda Marcus Vinicius (sala de reuniões)** Org.: Plataforma pela Reforma do Sistema Político, Plataforma DHESCA, Plataforma Política Social, Outras Palavras	16 -18:30 h **Diálogos Feministas Crise da Democracia e Ameaças Fundamentalistas na América Latina (Sessão 01)** **Local: Faculdade de Farmácia Sala 5** Organização: AFM e Fundação H. Boell	14 -18:30 h **Diálogos Feministas Crise da Democracia e Ameaças Fundamentalistas na América Latina (Sessão 02)** **Local: Tenda 8M** Organização: AFM e Fundação H. Boell
16 -18h **Debate de Lançamento da Campanha contra os Fundamentalismos** **Local: PAF I - Sala 201** Organização: AFM	16 -16:30 h **SAR Sistema de Alerta Regional Derechos sexuales y derechos reproductivos** **Local: Circo Fundamental** Praça das Artes, em frente Matemática Organização: AFM	16 -16:30 h **SAR Sistema de Alerta Regional Derechos sexuales y derechos reproductivos** **Local: Circo Fundamental** Praça das Artes, em frente Matemática Organização: AFM

Flyer for AFM's "Circo Fundamental"



CAMPAÑA
"NUESTROS CUERPOS, NUESTROS TERRITORIOS"

MANIFIESTO

Las mujeres de América Latina y el Caribe y hermanas de otros territorios estamos enfrentando una sistemática y creciente amenaza a nuestras vidas desde un poder que se nutre del patriarcado, del colonialismo y del sistema económico neoliberal que busca exterminar nuestro derecho a ser soberanas sobre nuestros cuerpos y territorios.

El patriarcado, el capitalismo, el racismo y la lesbofobia estructuran las desigualdades que vivimos en la sociedad y en el sistema político con renovados mecanismos de dominación como la interdicción a una mayor participación política.

Este poder neoconservador que se alía con el capital y bebe de la cultura machista y racista que impregna nuestras sociedades, ante la debilidad y anuencia de Estados comprometidos con el mercado, está disputando espacios en pueblos, países y continentes para imponer su modelo de ser hombre, mujer, pareja, familia en función a sus intereses, despojando de su condición humana y de sus derechos todas aquellas personas que ejercen sus libertades.

Las condiciones de vida de las mujeres son las más afectadas por este contexto de desigualdad y por un modelo que expropia nuestro tiempo y lo invisibiliza de las complejas relaciones en la familia, la producción y organizaciones mixtas.

Hemos llegado al momento en que se criminaliza la igualdad de género, los derechos de la diversidad sexual, el aborto, la educación sexual integral, el acceso a la anticoncepción de emergencia, nuestras culturas ancestrales, nuestras creencias originarias, nuestra propia visión del mundo libre de violencias y discriminaciones que deseamos alcanzar.

Las mujeres y los cuerpos feminizados, especialmente las defensoras de derechos, resistimos esta ofensiva fundamentalista que activa nuevas estrategias de opresión y control para someter nuestras vidas. Los Estados y sus instituciones han demostrado ser incapaces de frenar esta arremetida y garantizar los derechos que emanan de sus leyes a nivel nacional e internacional.

En los últimos años hemos sido testigas en nuestros países de la brutal intervención del sistema capitalista neoliberal patriarcal a nuestros territorios y nuestros cuerpos. El crecimiento económico ha traído, con el aval de los gobiernos de turno, un avance caótico de nuestras diferentes actividades y explotación de la tierra y el agua, sin importar la vida, la cultura, la cosmovisión de los pueblos indígenas.

Las transnacionales extractivistas han generado en la última década conflictos sociales en territorios diversos de nuestra América Latina y el Caribe, han criminalizado la protesta acosando, encarcelando, desapareciendo, asesinando a las mujeres y hombres de nuestros pueblos como a Máxima Acuña en Perú, Bertha Cáceres en Honduras

Nos toca a las mujeres, desde los lugares donde activamos, soñamos, luchamos, no solo resistir sino responder articuladamente, sin dispersarnos, para romper con estos arreglos de poder que intentan disciplinarnos con múltiples formas de violencia y someternos a su orden.

Nuestros cuerpos y nuestros pueblos son territorios que defenderemos de fundamentalismos religiosos y económicos, de las botas militares y de este sistema patriarcal y colonialista que nos explota, expropia y violenta.

Por eso proponemos impulsar una campaña internacional, a ser asumida en cada país, en defensa de nuestros cuerpos y nuestros territorios ante el avance de fundamentalismos religiosos y económicos, y de este sistema patriarcal y colonialista que nos explota, expropia y violenta.

Diversas en pie de lucha

Cohesionadas por la autonomía de nuestros cuerpos y territorios

[1] Campaña acordada en la plenaria del VIII Foro Social Pan amazónico y andino. Tarapoto Mayo de 2017

Montevideo, Nov 2017

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AFM's "Our Bodies, Our Territories" Manifesto

Booklets circulated by DAWN in their workshops at the 2018 WSF