



'Manifiesto De Solidaridad Continental' Alliances and Inequalities: Inter-American Feminist Networks 1840–1948

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ABSTRACT

Conventional narratives of the emergence of the feminist movements in the Americas focus on the US and the Seneca Falls meeting. Most works separate feminist politics from anti-racist or class struggles, and also different feminisms from one another. By contrast, this paper focuses on the connected histories and genealogies and the simultaneous articulation of diverse feminist politics in the Americas. Focusing on feminist networks between Latin America, the Caribbean and the US, the paper zooms in on, first, the context of abolitionism, transnational, and imperial feminisms emerging between 1840 and 1880, and, second, on international feminist co-operations in the context of the International Conferences of American States 1880–1948. Shedding light on the entangled histories of strategic feminist solidarities as well as their intersectional dimensions and politics, the paper seeks to encourage a more manifold imaginary of past movements and their current successors such as the '¡Ni una menos!' movement 2017 Women's March.

KEYWORDS

Feminist networks; inter-American; feminism and abolitionism; feminist solidarity; intersectionality; feminist internationalism

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Abolitionist, transnational, imperial and oriental feminisms (1840–1880)

América había dado un alto ejemplo de solidaridad internacional, celebrando regularmente las conferencias panamericanas, que, dígase lo que se quiera, y aun cuando muchas veces ha sido torcido su espíritu por el veneno del imperialismo, de todos modos han venido siendo empeño palpable y manifiesto de solidaridad continental.

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(Robles de Mendoza 1931, 109)

[America has provided a high example of international solidarity by regularly celebrating the Pan-American conferences which, against all odds, and even if their spirit it has often been weakened by the poison of imperialism, have nevertheless been a palpable endeavor and a manifesto of continental solidarity.]

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Panamericanism will move a swifter, lovelier, more rhythmic pace, if men and women run together.

(Doris Stevens, Address, 1934 22)

In spite of their different notions of feminist aims and the racial, class and colonial hierarchies that marked their encounters, early feminists in the Americas formed strategic alliances to fight for their most basic common claims. This paper examines the interactions and entanglements between these different groups and locations and thus incorporates a perspective of 'internationalist feminisms' (Rupp 1997), following an understanding based on the 'maps, links and radical interruptions in the order of things as critics of gender and race know them' (Pinto 2013, 17).¹ Genealogies of feminist movements have long followed a linear and consecutive line – i.e. expressed in historicising feminism in form of different consecutive 'waves' (first, second and third wave). Thereby, one strand of feminism is represented as emerging in reaction to other feminisms, marginalising the simultaneous and entangled articulation of different strands of feminism on the one hand, and through close interaction with other national and international social movements on the other.² A less linear and more encompassing lens focusing on the simultaneities of different feminist practices provides a productive corrective.

The use of the term 'feminism' is, of course, debatable prior to the late nineteenth century, since it was coined only in the 1890s. However, I will use it in this essay in order to refer to practices and politics *avant La lettre* – that would today be called feminist such as the in the context of the women's suffrage movement and women's movement. Hence it is not always a self-descriptor by the actors, but rather serves in order to include formerly excluded predecessors and those involved in the women's movement prior to the term's usage.

A specific characteristic of early British and US organised feminist engagement was its close intertwining with the abolitionist movement against slavery. Since co-operations between British and US anti-slavery women's societies existed from early on, the two movements share an implicit transregional dimension (ibid. 17). Women were among the first abolitionists, even though they were often not accepted or given a voice or vote in abolitionist circles. In the contexts of the French Revolution and the emergence of notions of universal human rights and freedom, women's rights activists like Olympe du Gouge (1791) pointed at the exclusive character of such rights as being constricted to white male property owners. In Britain, writer and women's rights advocator Mary Wollstonecraft was one of the most radical thinkers in the abolition campaign. She included an anti-slavery message in her 1793 *Vindication on the Rights of Women* (see Shepherd 147), in which she stated that the institution of slavery was the anti-thesis to the doctrine of natural rights. Likewise, the Black and Brown revolutionaries in the French colony Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti and Dominican Republic) objected to the exclusion of non-white populations of the European colonies from citizenship and human rights. Their reimagination of the legal and political subject was important for abolitionist movements throughout the Americas. 'Haiti' hence became known among many abolitionist activists all over the continent – and feared by those who wanted to maintain the racialised power structures.

Verene Shepherd has emphasised the impact of enslaved women and Caribbean supporters of abolitionism, who usually go unmentioned in most official accounts and historiographies focusing on institutionalised abolitionism (and feminism).

Indeed, the established tradition of writing separate histories of black resistance and of British anti-slavery has been challenged by scholars [...] who offer a new understanding of abolition as product of the interaction between developments within Britain and events in

the colonies. [...] The first resisters were enslaved black women whose owners had taken them from the Caribbean to Britain, from the sixteenth century onwards[.] [...] White women became involved in campaigning against the trade from the 1780s onwards[.] (2008, 146) 80

As Shepherd illustrates, enslaved women in the Caribbean had been opposing their dehumanisation, exploitation and enslavement from the outset. In various ways in form of practices ranging from restraining their daughters from missionary schools, and continuing to confront violent and exploitative masters, to maroonage, participation in abolitionist groups and protest songs, they resisted the system all the way from the slave ports of the African West Coast throughout the existence of the regime of slavery.³ All over the Americas – above all in the US, the Caribbean, Central America and Brazil – numerous enslaved women also escaped and lived in hiding or as ‘cimarronas’ in maroon societies.⁴ 85 90

Abolition also had a deep inter-American dimension. Several feminist movements and practices emerged at the same time, while others such as the ‘cimarronas’ pursued feminist aims long before the term or the movement existed. When referring only to institutionalised forms or to broader movements, references to ‘feminism’/‘feminist practices’ exclude important historic predecessors. The experience of being refused the participation in the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, fuelled the conviction of US feminists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott to found the Women’s Movement at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 (see Moynagh 2012, Stanley Holten 2010) which was marked by transnational events such as the simultaneous US-Mexican war. According to Gabriele Dietze (2013), abolitionism forms the backdrop against which feminism unfolded in the US, and feminism actually emerged *from* abolitionism.⁵ Vice versa, what also often goes unnoticed is the support of a number of (male) black abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, Charles Remond, or W.E.B. Du Bois for the feminist cause, to whom Lemons (2009) rightly refers as ‘womanist forefathers.’⁶ 95 100 105

Women abolitionists fought the slave trade and plantation slavery also in the West Indies and Latin America. A respective relational lens as proposed here reveals a much broader perspective on the interrelated dimension of both movements. Despite the doubtless broad spectrum of multiple, overlapping stories of the movement, Forestell and Moynagh describe the story of the so-called first wave of feminism as one ‘of national distinctiveness within an international cause’ (Forestell/Moynagh, 2012b xix) and as ‘one of the first international social movements’ (Moynagh, 2012, 3). 110

Already before official international feminist meetings were held and feminists started intervening in international conferences, women resisted their oppression and exploitation and ‘feminists’ exchanged ideas and strategies across and beyond national borders in the Americas. Moreover, women simultaneously created and circulated (‘intersectional’) feminist knowledge in a wide range of literary, musical, artistic forms which they often published in the first feminist journals (such as the *Colored American Magazine* in the US or *Minerva* in Cuba). For example, the early ‘Blues Women’ like ‘Ma’ Rainey or Billie Holiday contributed to feminist knowledge production by expressing the experiences of Black working-class women, as Angela Davis (1999) has illustratively shown. Early trovadoras in Cuba or the originally Costa Rican singer of Mexican Rancheras, Chavela Vargas are today also seen as feminist role models. 115 120

Inter-American feminist meetings: strategic solidarities across borders

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At international meetings, white bourgeois Western women of wealth and from powerful countries were the main protagonists, since they enjoyed a privileged status regarding mobility and resources, as e.g. their numbers and roles at the conferences reveal.⁷ Moynagh speaks of the ‘imperial legacy’ of hegemonic feminism (4) and emphasises the Occidentalist posture of many US-American and European feminists who saw their positions as universal and demonstrated a great interest in liberating ‘oriental’ women (6), for whom they felt they could speak for and represent. These feminists articulated ‘their conviction in universal womanhood also gave evidence of a conviction in the superiority of Western political institutions, values, and beliefs, and in the notion that feminism itself originated in the West’ (Moynagh 5).

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US feminists were particularly prone to consider their Latin American and Caribbean allies as inferior and less ‘progressive’ feminists, whom they considered as requiring their instruction. As Wamsley underscores in her insightful analysis of private correspondences between major protagonists of the Pan American Women’s Movement, a dominant notion of Latin American and Caribbean feminists as ‘timid,’ ‘less progressive,’ and ‘conservative’ prevails (Wamsley 2007, 55). US peers criticised Latin American and Caribbean feminists’ struggle for ‘equality in difference,’ e.g. as mothers and caretakers, or for their politics being not in line with US claims for equality. However, Latin American and Caribbean delegates often surprised and confronted their US colleagues during the international meetings, proving they were anything but ‘timid’. In her study on *Pan-American Women: U.S. Internationalists and Revolutionary Mexico* (2014), Megan Threlkeld emphasises US feminists’ ignorance in the context of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), when she summarises that [US pacifist Ellen Starr Brinton and her colleagues in WILPF and in other US organizations] ‘saw themselves as leaders of a globalising women’s movement that originated in the United States and Europe but had reached most of Latin America only recently. They believed they had much to teach women throughout the Americas about their campaigns for international peace, women’s rights and other causes’ (Threlkeld 2014, 2). Differences and conflicts also marked differently positioned women and feminists within the respective societies. In a speech she delivered in Liverpool in 1859, African-American abolitionist Sarah Parker Remond highlighted the fact that while white women focused on equality, expanding their sphere to public and professional realms, black women in the US were scarcely considered human. As a result, the latter were excluded from the gender system of white Americans, an experience they shared with black men. Thereby, Black feminists rendered the idea of a feminist ‘universal sisterhood’ problematic by revealing the different oppressions Black women were exposed to leading also to more complex alliances than a single-issue one based on gender. Remond thus called for greater recognition of Black people’s humanity and gender:

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I appeal on behalf of four millions [sic] of men, women, and children who are chattels in the Southern States of America, not because they are identical with my race and color, though I am proud of that identity, but because they are men and women. The sum of sixteen hundred millions of dollars is invested in their bones, sinews, and flesh – is this not sufficient reason why all the friends of humanity should not endeavor with all their might and power, to overturn the vile systems of slavery. (Parker Remond 1859, n.p.)

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Both the differences between women and respective rivalries between bourgeois white and enslaved Black women, and the racist and inhumane treatment Black women share with Black men, demonstrate the ways in which gender in the Americas has from the start been constructed through multiple, interrelated axes of stratification such as racism and sexism. Gabriele Dietze speaks of the operation with ‘two different gender orders’ for white and enslaved Black women (2013, 61).⁸ Due to the experience of enforced mobility through colonialism, the trade in enslaved Africans and hence multiple axes of oppression, Black feminism has from the outset been marked by a profound international dimension – a sort of ‘transnational feminist Black Atlantic’ (Pinto) – as Keisha-Khan Perry emphasises in her essay ‘Grounding with my sisters’: ‘[B]lack women in Latin America are necessarily engaged in an international struggle because their histories, experiences, and cultures are international in form’ (Perry 2009, n.p.). Perry calls for an Inter-American approach to ‘Amerafican’ feminisms which would pay credit to the always already transcultural character of Black diaspora movements due to their transnationally related histories.

However, interventions by feminist groups that joined forces in order to achieve their common goals and their later organisation in the frame of transnational conferences of American states were also marked by a ‘tension between the ideal of inclusiveness and the reality of exclusiveness’ (Moynagh 4, cf. Rupp 1997). Oftentimes, the dividing line followed a colonial pattern, since US delegates usually considered their Latin American colleagues as unequal and their ways of doing feminism as the only and universal ones (Rupp 1997). Despite the mentioned differences, the so-called feminist ‘first wave’ in the Americas was characterised by a discourse and politics of a strategic ‘global sisterhood.’

A relational perspective as pursued brings into view the region’s entangled, or ‘shared and divided’ (Randeria 2006) histories and thus actors, practices, flows, spaces, and conflicts that are rendered invisible through a national or one-dimensional analysis. Feminists from South and North America participating, or, rather, intervening, in the International Conferences of American States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1880–1948) provide an insightful example of transnational feminist practices and politics.

Feminists at the international conferences of American states (1880–1948)

By the late nineteenth century, a large number of women had gained access to education throughout the Americas, many of whom worked as teachers and played an important role for the women’s rights movements (see OAS 2016, n.p.). In growing numbers, women were employed as teachers, and for emerging journals. Many promoted women’s rights and started organising locally to voice a feminist critique of gender inequalities. Early feminists soon realised that organising on the national level was not sufficient, since gender inequalities were omnipresent throughout the entire hemisphere. They thus sought to participate and gain a voice in international congresses and institutions, particularly at the Pan-American level (see OAS. Organización de los Estados Americanos/Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres 2016, n.p.).

Over 200 women from Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina met for the first Congreso Femenino Internacional in Buenos Aires in 1910 to discuss topics

including access to education, international law and social legislation to protect and support working women. Since women were officially excluded and allowed only at the galleries from the second Pan American Scientific Congress in Washington D.C. (1915–16),⁹ Latin American feminists organised a parallel Pan American Women's Auxiliary Conference at the ballroom of the Mayflower hotel (see OAS. Organización de los Estados Americanos/Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres 2016). The participants had issues about which they could agree, despite their great diversity, constituting issues aiming at social justice and equality alongside feminist topics like the education of women or social welfare. The first Pan-American Women's Conference took place in Baltimore in 1922 and resulted in the foundation of the Pan American Association for the Advancement of Women.

During the fifth International Conference of American States in Santiago, feminists struggled for the insertion of feminist issues of broad social reform into the programme. Feminist delegates formulated a resolution that recommended women be appointed as official delegates to future inter-American conferences and put their politics on the agendas of the international meetings.

At the next International Conference in 1928 in Cuba, however, still no official female delegates were allowed. However, the Alianza Feminina Cubana and the Club Femenino de Cuba hosted the meetings of representatives of the Consejo Feminista Mexicana, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Federação Brasileiro pelo Progreso Feminino, the National Women's Party of the United States, the Haitian Ligue Féminine d'Action Sociale (Feminine League for Social Action) and the Club de Madres of Buenos Aires among others. Only after a month of protest were women given a voice at a session during the conference – a first. The delegates successfully enforced the inclusion of women and of their claims on the agendas of inter-American meetings and the modification of the context of inter-American relations (see OAS. Organización de los Estados Americanos/Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres 2016, n.p.).

During the International Conference in Havana in 1928, pan-American feminists successfully lobbied for the creation of an officially designated body, the Inter-American Commission of Women/Comisión Inter-Americana de Mujeres (IACW/CIM), the first worldwide governmental organisation dedicated to the rights of women. The founding of the IACW reflects a growing cooperation between feminists of North and South America, bringing together the experiences of years of prior activism in the diverse localities and contexts (see e.g. Lavrin 1995). As Wamsley (2007) points out, the founding of the organisation also 'involved a struggle over who would control the direction of the women's program, US or Latin American women' (2007, 51). In Havana, chairwoman Doris Stevens, an US suffragist, women's legal rights advocate and author, was the first woman who intervened at the International Conference. The fact that the chairwoman was from the US hints at the power differentials and inequalities related to the conferences. Stevens claimed that women's rights were human rights and opted for the ratification of the Equal Rights Treaty. Stevens reminded her audience that since the idea of equality and equal rights was an (US) American one, the countries of the continent were obliged to implement an equal rights treaty for women's rights: 'It is fitting that the American Continent should be the first union of republics to be asked for an equal rights treaty. The demand for women's rights was born on this continent'

(13). In her address to the conference, Stevens furthermore opposed separatist politics regarding women's rights in the Americas and emphasised the necessity of transnational solidarity among feminists and stated that international feminism was born. 260

Despite the mentioned conflicts and hierarchies, the IACW/CIM functioned as a strategic (platform of) alliance for the fight for basic rights. The Conference was charged with the investigation of the status of women in the 21 member states. Representatives from Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, and the United States (chair) attended the organisation's first meeting in Havana in 1930 and drafted a resolution for the World conference for the Codification of International Law against any distinction based on sex relating to nationality.¹⁰ 265

However, only four member states ratified the Equal Rights Treaty brought in during the gathering. Still, throughout the hemisphere, the organisation successfully brought feminist issues to the centre of political debate. In addition to their individual foci on domestic agendas, feminists active at the inter-American congresses took strong stands on international issues. For instance, feminists supported the resolution of conflicts through arbitration, the principles of nonintervention, and the rights of small nations, yet they opposed the United States occupation of Nicaragua and protested the dismissal of the Haitian representatives. 270

The first inter-American Conference at which women had an official presence both within the Inter-American Commission of Women and as members of national delegations was the following seventh International Conference of American States in 1933 in Montevideo. The Convention on the Nationality of Women adopted during the conference served as a model for the Convention on the Nationality of Women that was subsequently adopted by the League of Nations. The document stated 'There shall be no distinction based on sex as regards nationality.' The world's first Treaty of the Equality of Women was only signed by four countries, Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay, and was not approved by the conference (see OAS. Organización de los Estados Americanos/Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres 2016, n.p.). 280

During the next International Conference of American States in Lima in 1938, the US dominated the conference with its effort to unite the hemisphere in the event of war. As a consequence, the IACW was disestablished as an autonomous entity during the conference and re-cast from an independent women's commission to a subsidiary unit of the inter-American apparatus. The commission had never been supported by the US and in the atmosphere of the late 1930s was seen as secondary. Still, feminist representatives in Lima passed the resolution that 'Women have the right to the enjoyment of equal civil status.' After IACW representatives insisted on putting it into the opening paragraph of the UN charter, this resolution was incorporated into the plans for the United Nations (Mexico 1945). 290

In sum, the IACW/CIM was instrumental in pushing for the debate the issue of female suffrage at national and international levels, and gradually – over the next 30 years – women throughout the Americas won the right to vote and stand for office. (OAS. Organización de los Estados Americanos/Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres 2016, n. p.) When the IACW/CIM was founded in 1928, women could only vote in Canada (since 1918, except Quebec) and the United States (since 1920). Between 1929 (Ecuador) and 1964 (Belize), women of all of the OAS member states were granted suffrage. Respectively, early feminists in Latin America 300

recognised the advantages in addressing the question of women's rights in an international forum and of the leverage provided through this inter-American body as crucial to the expansion of political and civil rights in their own societies. 305

Despite their formal marginalisation, the Inter-American Commission for Women (IACW/CIM) kept on initiating and pushing public debates on the status of women in the Americas. During the 1930s and 1940s, the IACW/CIM collected data and published and distributed numerous studies on gender inequalities. The institution turned into an umbrella organisation that represented a number of women's organisations in the Americas and offered them a forum for their efforts to fight inequality. In 1946, delegates of the IACW had a crucial influence on the creation of the Commission of the Status of Women at the United Nations. Feminists also organised the Primer Congreso Inter-Americano de Mujeres in Guatemala City in 1947, a meeting opposed to the Río Pact, which was in 1948 established as part of the organisation of American States.¹¹ The conference also adopted the Inter-American Convention on the Granting of Political and Civil Rights to Women, as well as the Organic Statute of IACW/CIM and the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Men in the course of the renewal of the Inter-American system through the adoption of the Charter of the Organization of American States in Bogotá in 1948. 310 315 320

As these examples indicate, the transnational arena had from the outset held a special appeal for feminist groups in the Americas, whose members shared the experience of being confronted with androcentric and patriarchal structures and excluded from leadership and basic citizenship rights. They continued to create a transnational space of political entanglements directed towards abolishing inequalities, an imagined community of interests based on but not reduced to gender inequalities. Parallel to such a politics of solidarity for achieving most basic rights, feminisms in the Americas have from the outset been marked by different forms of hierarchies and conflicts.¹² 325

In order to pay credit to the manifold forms of feminist practices of resistance, opposition and interventions, it is therefore crucial to take into account of the non-institutional, informal, artistic and activist forms of feminist politics and organising in the Americas. Despite the mentioned tensions, inequalities, and conflicts the majority of the so-called first wave of feminisms in the Americas of the nineteenth century was generally dedicated to a strategy and politics of 'global sisterhood' in order to claim basic human and civil rights such as suffrage and participation in international institutions. However, from the outset numerous feminists of colour such as Sojourner Truth addressed missing racial and class solidarity. Feminist claims and positions diversified gradually in the course of the so-called second wave during the following decades, which, once basic rights like suffrage were achieved, were marked by the diversification of claims and positions. The feminist movements of the Civil Rights Era in the US fought one of the strictest and most openly segregated racial regimes based on blatant racial inequalities, whereas many Latin American countries faced dictatorships and civil wars during this period. Facing such interlocking systems of oppression, transnational inter-American exchange continued. 330 335 340

From the civil rights movement to the women's March on Washington 345

Non-state/'extra-official' gatherings, such as those known as Latin American and Caribbean Feminist *Encuentros*, began to be held in 1981. The first decade of the *Encuentros* was marked by the negotiation of politics and the production of feminist

identities. Conflicts emerged predominantly between so-called *feministas* seeking autonomy from other social movements – and *políticas/militantes* promoting the *doble militancia* as feminists within other movements. Representatives of Brazil's emergent Black women's movement moreover voiced neglect of racism (see Alvarez et al. 2003, 545). Largely, the participants of the *Encuentros* put emphasis on the prospects for forging alliances across regional feminist movements based on minimum common values and goals. Feminist theory and historiography is marked by a strong focus on the United States, and on the most visible, predominantly white (and often bourgeois) feminism(s). However, feminist struggle was never solely practiced by or limited to 'bourgeois' white women, as hegemonic feminist theorising might suggest (see Roth 2004).¹³ By pointing at the 'whitewashing' of the so-called Second Wave feminism, Benita Roth claims that the Chicana/Latina and Black Feminist movements in the USA have not formed as a reaction to white feminists' ignorance and racism. Rather, different feminisms emerged around the same time in dialogue with and as a reaction to/part of leftist male movements and feminist movements. Distinct feminist groups have formed simultaneously along the lines of singular-gender oppression versus multiple oppressions and mutually influenced each other.

Interventions and theorising by African-American, Chicana, working-class, Communist, and lesbian and queer feminists – such as the Combahee River Collective (1981), Angela Davis (1981), Toni Morrison (1971), Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), bell hooks (1990), Patricia Hill Collins and Margaret Andersen (1992) in the US and the Mulheres Negras Brasileiras, the Zapatista Women of Chiapas or the collective Afrocubanas in Latin America and the Caribbean, to name but a few – contributed enormously to an interlocking understanding of different inequalities and the simultaneity (rather than the consecutive formation) of different strands of feminist practices and politics. Pointing at hegemonic feminisms' blind spots with regard to classism, racism and heterosexism/heteronormativity they claimed a perspective sensible to the interlocking and simultaneous articulation of different axes of oppression which Western academic feminists today label 'intersectionality'.¹⁴

However, most theorisation on intersectionality follows a US- and Eurocentric genealogy (see Roth 2012, 2013, 2014; Viveros Vigoya 2013). Addressing hegemonic feminist practices of exclusion, Marisa Belausteguigoitia emphasises the value of perspectives by women of colour to question binaries, since their experiences are necessarily based on multiple positionings and axes of discrimination. She underscores the value of the contributions by indigenous feminists at the southern border of Mexico, as well as by Chicana feminists to the North (Belausteguigoitia, 14) like Cherríe Moraga, Ana Castilo, or Norma Alarcón who have offered alternative perspectives and promoted the recognition of alternative knowledge and epistemes. Gloría Anzaldúa coined the concept of the 'Borderland' as a concrete physical space (the US-Mexican border), but also to define a 'Chicana identity' based on being located between various cultures. It is intended to represent ambiguous spaces and identities beyond established binary categories and signifies a new form of creating and understanding knowledge.

In a similar way, Caribbean feminist artists and thinkers have stressed the close entanglement between racialised, gendered and classed hierarchies on account of the global inequalities produced by colonial hierarchies, the legacies of enslavement and the persistent 'North-South' exploitation (see e.g. Lugones 2007, Wynter 1992, 2003). Caribbean feminist interventions such as the volumes *Engendering History: Caribbean*

Women in Historical Perspective (1995), *Daughters of Caliban* (1997), *Afrocubanas* (2011), and *Engendering Caribbean History: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (2011) administer a rich tradition of practices of resistance, negotiation and an intersectional and ‘multichronotopic’ (Shohat 2002, 2006; Shohat and Stam 2012) awareness with respect to thinking of new forms of conviviality and connectedness. 395

Afro-Brazilian feminists have outlined the fact that for them, the Third United Nations Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa (2001),¹⁵ has been equally as important as the UN Women’s Conference in Beijing (1995) (see Caldwell 2007). Furthermore, their NGOs¹⁶ (like the *Mulheres Negras Brasileiras*) have contributed immensely to the internationalisation of their local debates (see Perry 2009, n.p.; see also Dos Santos 2007). Safa (2006) underlines the importance of the 2000 Santiago declaration, in which Latin American states explicitly recognised Afro-descendent populations as victims of racism who had been denied rights to equal participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries and ‘engendered considerable activity in the Latin American and Caribbean region, particularly in Brazil’. 400 405

Currently, Latin American feminist groups like the collective *Mujeres Creando* in Bolivia provide another example of alliances of solidarity between differently positioned women from urban lesbians to rural poor and indigenous women.¹⁷ It is noteworthy that, while Black feminisms enjoy a comparative visibility in Canada, the US (see Gunn Allen 1986) and the Caribbean, decidedly indigenous feminisms have remained largely invisible. This is partly due to more inclusive ‘Afro-feminists’ who often include or are open to Indo-Caribbeans and say Native Americans positioning themselves within these movements. In contrast, in Mexico, Central and South America, it is rather the other way round, and white feminists increasingly seek collaborations with indigenous women.¹⁸ However, indigenous feminists often rightly criticise academic, mostly white and bourgeois feminists for their claim to speak for all women. 410 415 420

Since contributions by Black, Chicana, and indigenous feminists are oftentimes marginalised or rendered invisible and seldom quoted in Anglo-Euro feminist contexts, Keisha-Khan Y. Perry hence follows an ‘attempt to [...] restor[e] [...] the transnational Black feminist possibilities in the Americas’ in a quest for new forms of connectedness and solidarity. The diverse feminisms that have marked the hemisphere make a claim for creating knowledge and community/solidarity and look at cultural practices and artefacts as sites of respective politics of knowledge production and circulation for including and reaching a wider spectrum of contexts and experiences. Belausteguigoitia stresses that the overcoming of persisting inequalities on the level of knowledge and the production of theory requires a dialogue which critically reflects on disciplines, and, respectively, disciplinary histories, methodologies, and their entanglements with colonial power structures (Belausteguigoitia 2009, 12). 425 430

Outlook: towards radical translocational intersectionality practice

How do we get them to understand that their liberation is bound with ours?
(*Women’s March on Washington organizer Linda Sarsour, 2017 in Hess NYT*)

Despite severe inequalities and hierarchies between different positions and locations, feminist alliances in the Americas have often transcended differences between local (and/or national) feminisms as well as differences with non-American feminists to 435

achieve decisive aims. An entanglement lens helps zoom in on the described processes and practices of interactions, mutual exchange and influence, but also on inequalities, conflicts and the often parallel and simultaneous articulation of different feminist strands. The politics and the coalitions of feminist forms of organising in the Americas are rooted in entangled histories of sexual oppression and gendered exploitation, stigmatisation, and violence, and in blatant forms of institutionalised racism as a legacy of colonialism, the transnational slave trade, and plantation slavery. 440

Marked by the achievements of their predecessors like the delegates that intervened and participated in the Inter-American Conferences, feminist traditions in the Americas share an entangled history of feminist solidarities across differences and inequalities. This holds true for indigenous and decolonial feminist contexts as well as for a radical intersectional crosscutting movement like the one started with the 2017 Women's March on Washington. Notably, the Women's March seemingly revived a politics of coalitions and strategic alliances that some had mourned as having become absent from emancipatory discourses. Marked by a strong transnational dimension including Muslim feminist, Latina immigrants and Native Americans, this movement gives way to single issue identity politics focusing on recognition of minority identities rather than a transformation of an unjust society or system and describes itself as decidedly intersectional – as was noticeable from the banners visible in the televisionation of the march. What is more, the movement counts on international branches as indicated on its homepage, which lists 673 sister marches having taken place around the world in 2017, with 4,956,422 marchers, most of them in the Americas (see <https://www.womensmarch.com/>). The Latina actress with the appropriately resonant name of America Ferrera was the first speaker on the roster at the Women's March in Washington. In her powerful speech, Ferrera denied the new president the authority to represent and define 'America': 445 450 455 460

We are America. [...]. We reject the demonization of our Muslim brothers and sisters. We condemn the systemic murder and incarceration of our Black brothers and sisters. We will not ask our LGBT families to go backwards. We will not go from being a nation of immigrants to a nation of ignorance. We won't build walls and we won't see the worst in each other. 465

Ferrera's intervention paradigmatically emphasises solidarity and coalition building across differences in order to critique and oppose nationalist and populist ideology and hegemony and to claim a coalition to confront multiple axes of oppression. For that matter, the Women's March movement unites various forms of feminist knowledge, as the line-up of the 2017 March in Washington indicates, among them numerous famous artists and activists: actresses Ferrera, Janelle Monáe and Scarlett Johansson; singers and music groups like Alicia Keys, Madonna, the Indigo Girls, and MC Lyte; feminist icons like Gloria Steinem and Angela Davis. Artistic performances form a central part of the Marches. The movement has also been supported in an open letter by the Campesinas movement of female migrant rural workers. 470 475

Just like their Pan-American predecessors, by building a strategic imagined (counter-)community as formulated by America Ferrera, the activists of the Women's March render the myth of separateness, pureness, and linearity – which often goes unquestioned also in hegemonic feminist discourses – under severe scrutiny and thus raise the 480

hope for an effective counter-discourse to the current rise and revival of white supremacist and racist, sexist and homo- and transphobic right-wing populism internationally. However, there has so far been little reference to other feminist movements throughout the Americas such as the ‘Ni una menos!’ movement which started prior to the Women’s March in Mexico and Argentina. It remains to be seen how sustainable the movement will be and whether more transnational alliances will emerge in the future. A respective radical, intersectional, relational feminist approach can help to bring the multiple positioned workings of feminisms and the corresponding alliances into view and widens the scope towards thinking through new analytical categories and spatialities in the Americas based on solidarity and connectedness.

Notes

1. For an overview on transnational approaches to feminism and internationalist feminism (s), see Offen (2010), particularly the contributions by Holton, Rupp, Miller, and DuBois and Sandell 2015. 495
2. See e.g. Freeman (1973, 1975), Carden (1974), Buechler (1990), and Max Ferree and Hess (1985, 1995) who conceptualise the so-called ‘second wave’ feminists as predominantly white, straight, and middle-class, thereby obscuring the impact of African American, Chiacana feminists, socialist feminists and Lesbian feminists. Buechler (1990) depicts African American and Socialist feminisms as ‘Races and Classes: counter-movements’ in the chapter of the same title. 500
3. See Shepherd 137.
4. Shepherd points at the active resistance of women against their enslavement, shipping, abuse, and exploitation: ‘From what we know of the female role in the trade and slavery, it is safe to assume that women, who formed about thirty-eight per cent of each shipment, participated in these anti-slaving actions.’ (2008, 135) And further: ‘There is overwhelming evidence that enslaved women did not give their bodies for reproduction or productive labor willingly, neither did they accept passively the use of their bodies from brutal forms of enslavement [...]. [T]he records are full of examples’ (2008, 139). 505
5. As Dietze (2013, 45) points out, the abolitionist movement was divided over the ‘women question.’ While US feminism emerged from abolitionism in the sense that female abolitionists realised their participation was denied due to their gender, the supposedly similar oppression of women and enslaved Africans enabled political alliances (Dietze 47). Simultaneously, however, it nurtured the racial difference by scandalising white (mostly bourgeois) women’s being treated as bad as slaves. According to Dietze, the solidarity faded as soon as the situation of the (formerly) enslaved seemingly improved. On the emergence of the Women’s rights movement from the anti-slavery movement, see also Kish Sklar (2000). 515
6. On early male supporters of feminism, see also Fagan Yellin (1992), Sanchez- Eppler (1993), and Carrol DuBois (1978, 1998, and 2010). 520
7. See *History of the Equal Rights Treaty Signed at the VII International Conference of American States by Uruguay, Ecuador and Cuba*. Printed as a gift to the Inter American Commission of Women Central Headquarters Pan American Union, Washington D.C., 1934. 525
8. See also Lugones 2007 who elaborates on the ‘modern/colonial gender system’ that introduced colonial gender hierarchies that positioned colonised persons very differently.
9. The First International Conference of American States from October 1889 to April 1890 resulted in the foundation of the International Union of the Americas (later the Pan-American Union, today Organization of American States/OAS). 530

10. Also in 1930, the ‘International Equal Rights Campaign’ took place in the Hague, in the context of which women’s organisations claimed citizenship rights for married women independently from their husbands, see DuBois (2010).
11. The so-called ‘Rio Pact’ refers to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance – stating that an attack against one member is to be considered an attack against all. It is also known as the ‘hemispheric defense’ doctrine. 535
12. See St Hill (2011) for a ‘strategic universalist feminism’, questioning the “relevance and value of holding ‘difference,’ especially as it relates to culture and nationality, central to feminist theorising on gender inequality in the contemporary Caribbean” (191). Threlkeld (3) mentions that nationalism was important for Mexican feminists after the Mexican Revolution, but to be overcome by US feminists, or different conceptions of motherhood and equality vs. differences. 540
13. For the claim of a new historical record by Latin American women, see Miller (1991).
14. The concept intersectionality has been established in the context of African-American feminist legal and social studies and was inspired by the claims of social movements, in particular by African-American, ‘Third World’ and socialist feminism. For ‘intersectionality’ in the Americas, see Roth (2013), Roth (2015), Viveros Vigoya (2013), and Wade, Urrea Giraldo, Viveros Vigoya (2009). 545
15. Safa further underscores the importance of the 2000 Santiago declaration, in which Latin American states explicitly recognised Afro-descendent populations as victims of racism who had been denied rights to equal participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries. She states: ‘Santiago and the build-up to the Third UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances, held in Durban, South Africa in September 2001, engendered considerable activity in the Latin American and Caribbean region, particularly in Brazil’ (Safa 49). 550
16. Safa names two major national feminist networks active by the time of the Durban conference in 2001: the *Articulacao de Mulheres Brasileiras* (AMB) (Alliance of Brazilian Women) and the *Rede Nacional Femenista da Saúde, Direitos Reprodutivos e Sexuais* (National Feminist Network for Health, Reproductive Rights and Sexuality), which ‘assumed a racial perspective on gender and published demographic data on Afro-descendent women for the conference.’ (Safa 55). 560
17. For different feminisms and different feminist alliances of solidarity, see e.g. Suárez Návaz and Aída Hernández (2008), Espinosa Damián (2009) Espinosa Damián, Diricio Chautla, and Sánchez Néstor (2010), Espinosa Damián and Lau Jaiven (2011), Espinosa Miñoso, Correal, and Muñoz (2014), and Castillo, Dudley, and Mendoza (2014). 565
18. Suárez Návaz and Aída Hernández (2008), Espinosa Damián (2009), Espinosa Damián, Diricio Chautla, and Sánchez Néstor (2010), Espinosa Damián and Lau Jaiven (2011), and Roth (2013). Acknowledgements

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