



CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF FEMINICIDE VIOLENCE









This text will analyze the concept of feminicides and its association with organized crime within Colombia in 2020. Of all feminicide cases within this timespan, only those with a similar *modus operandi* have been selected, being its association with freelance hitmen-for-hire, or so-called Sicarios, who work for crime organizations to collect debts via extortion. Infamously, the "paga diario" (credit promoted by criminal gangs at daily interest rates usually ranging between 15% and 20%) is established as one of the most prominently illegal activities that generate wealth and power for many lawless organizations.



Feminicides for the benefit of criminal capital describes the illegal accumulation of wealth under the system of debts acquired by low-class, impoverished populations, with the focus being women who take care of-, and are responsible for third parties by exploiting their position, usually their job, in commerce or in the informal economy.

These debts, obtained in most instances to maintain their lives and these of different dependents (health, food, public services, lease payments), exhibit once once more the silent burden that women lift in relation to reproductive work and lifestyles care. The indebtedness that female accumulate beneath the mandate to care for or aid others with criminal gangs, is reflected in the figures of feminicides, which take place under this monetary context the place neoliberal insurance policies operate.

Another point for our evaluation is the deregulation of formal work under labor contracts that are replaced through informal jobs based on precarious day by day earnings and survival. In the midst of the shortage of money, in the casual sector, they find a credit score machine associated with their reality. The alarming aspect is that this multitude is not below the formal indebtedness of banks and credit score funds, but underneath the financial insurance policies dictated by using crook gangs that imitating the work of banking, make a substitute in the each day lifestyles of those who work every day to survive, where they can get into debt and pay under that modality (dagadiario). This relationship between debts, feminization of poverty and feminicides has been taken up once more in the financial vision of Silvia Federici, Verónica Gago and Luci Cavallero¹, adjusting it to the dynamics of the crook financial system in Colombia.

^{1.} Federeci, S.; Gago, V. and Cavallero, L. (Eds.) (2021). Who owes whom? Transnational essays on financial disobedience. Tinta de Limon.



How does a woman enter the system of paga diarios? When does this debt become unpayable? Who are these women?



The system of paga diarios is an imitation of what has always existed for decades, promoted by illegal moneylenders, mostly male figures who lend at 5% or 7% maximum of what a bank normally lends (1% to 2%).

This gadget used to be regulated with the aid of a few commercial figures such as payments of exchange or promissory notes. But the change of modality, such as the huge exchange of the activity rate by way of the illegal activity in Medellín after the demobilization in 2005, implied the introduction of an extensive debt network (loan facility) and a sufficiently efficient collection system to multiply profits quickly. This collection device is finished through armed men who are section of the criminal gangs. At the identical time, these who got here into the loan device independently also commenced to use the armed men to pay off money owed that were hard to collect.

The cycle of debt and feminicide

A woman informal vendor regularly earns \$15,000 a day, and her daily debt starts with \$100,000, which she needs to pay the rent and not be thrown out on the street with her children and elderly mother. The \$100,000 is loaned to her at 20% interest, which means that she has to pay 4,000 pesos every day for 30 days. In conclusion, she has

\$11,000 to survive every day. If she's is late one day, she must pay \$8,000 the next day plus the late payment fee, which makes the payment system very difficult. Thus, you may have to go without food to pay the fee. The problem is not only in the percentage of interest, but in the precariousness of income, in a country where there are no rights but services; if you don't have money, you die of hunger or by a bullet from whoever lent you money.

There is another modality related to what the police have called "dispute resolution", when referring to a woman, who apparently works for criminal gangs in the modality of selling drugs. In this modality we are going to put two cases that are recurrent, one for work linkage and the other for cohesion.

A woman who sells drugs is murdered by members of the criminal gang who provided her with narcotics in the first place. Why? Especially because in this way of selling women some products of low value that make them precarious, such as a gum for \$ 200 or a lollipop for \$ 500, are linked with the sale of drugs. This allows them to increase their income, even at the risk of being arrested (in Colombia, arrests are focused on the consumer and the provider of the drug in question). In this situation, the woman is immediately criminalized, but at no time is her precariousness discussed, much less how and for what purpose she acquired the debt.

The other modality is by putting pressure on informal woman workers who have a fixed place of sale and a certain infrastructure. Many of these women are blackmailed or forced to set up a distribution point in their businesses. These women are killed when they refuse to cooperate or when the criminal gang accuses them of being a moul because the police seize some goods from them. In these cases, feminicides fall into the same cycle of the criminal economy.



During 2020, according to the information system of the Colombian Observatory of Feminicides, there were 114 feminicides by hired killings in 22 of Colombia's 32 departments. The department with the highest number of feminicides by hired assassination was Antioquia with 26 cases, followed by Valle del Cauca with 15 and Bogotá with 14. The number of feminicides by hired assassination in the department of Quindío, one of the smallest in extension and population, is striking, with 6 cases.

For the Colombian Observatory of Feminicides, the definition of feminicide by a hired killing was evaluated for its *modus operandi*: contract with a third party by a man who is affectively linked to a woman and from a rational will plans the feminicide through armed men. A second *modus operandi* is the mandate of an armed structure to end the life of a woman, whether for territorial control, defiance of power, refusal to pay extortion or for debts².

114 FEMINICIDES BY HIRED ASSASSINATIONS
Colombia - 2020

From this last description, 37 cases were selected with a *modus operandi* that shows that under the modality of affecting the income of armed gangs a feminicide is committed.

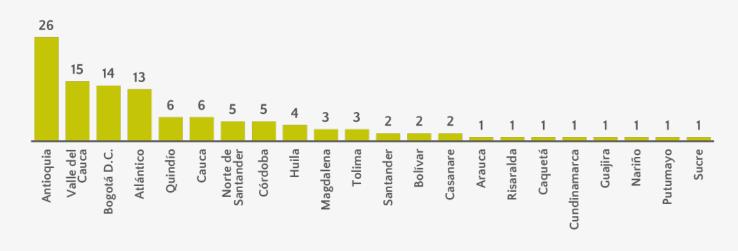


Figure 1. Feminicides by hired assassinations by department.

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.

^{2.} Castano Roman, A. (2019). Feminicide by a hired killer en Colombia 2019. Paren la Guerra contra las mujeres magazine.

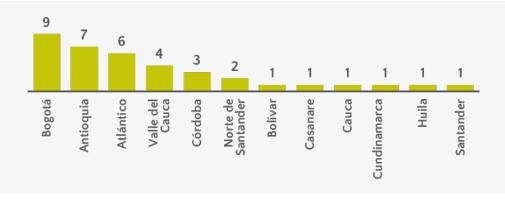


Figure 2. Feminicides for criminal economy by department.

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.

As the diagram shows, the first location in the classification via a *modus operan-di* of feminicides for the criminal financial system is Bogotá with 9 feminicides, observed by means of Antioquia with 7, Atlántico with 6, Valle del Cauca with 4, Córdoba with three and Norte de Santander with 2 In the classification of the crook economy, its essential maintain in idea the configuration, consolidation and enlargement of armed gangs; in every branch the shape of control is now not the same, and a whole lot much less the hegemony they hold. It is no longer the same to analyze the consolidation of the crook mafia in Medellín as it is to analyze the way in which paramilitarism, centered in some localities of Bogotá, is modified into mafia-like criminal gangs or armed guys grouped into historical gangs in a local or locality.



It's evident, that the criminal financial system marks some varieties of motion of the murderous action in phrases of the way in which a girl who "robs them in business" is killed, in particular in the sale of hallucinogens to a debt series or extortion.

Bogotá

Bogota being the capital of the country, and taking into account the territorial organization by localities, feminicide for the criminal economy are reported with the following behavior:

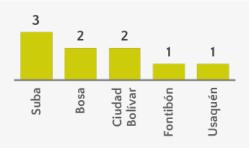


Figure 3. Feminicides in Bogota by criminal economy - Locations.

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.

The three instances in the territory of Suba befell in the neighborhoods of Santa Cecilia Alta and San Pedro, the place mom and daughter have been murdered. In the case in Santa Cecilia Alta, four assassins have been concerned and in the double feminicide, two assassins have been involved. Initially, in the second case, the objective used to be to kill the mother, however when the daughter went to assist her mother, the hitman shot her directly. The mom was a home worker.

In the locality of Bosa, in the local of La Paz, two girls from informal works had been murdered in a employed assassination The girl had been pushing a fruit cart in which, after a search, bazuco cigarettes were found. This unique case, as described above, displays the way in which the crook economy operates. Even if the way matters work in the capital is now not same to the extent of manage in Antioquia, these murders of women also cannot be reduced only to the reality that they are drug dealers. It should be targeted at what it means for female to earn their day by day earnings on the streets, the place armed guys rule and impose themselves on women in differentiated ways. Their non-compliance or failure to comply with the monetary agreement is a demise sentence for the women. In this case, one of the murdered ladies leaves at the back of two minor children.

In the locality of Ciudad Bolivar, in the neighborhoods of Sector Potosi and La Estancia, at the bus stop. The first feminicide took place in the domestic of the victim, who used to be murdered with her husband. The five year old son witnessed everything. In both feminicides a hitman acted, one on foot and the other on a motorcycle.

In Fontibón, a girl was once murdered internal a Fruver Store save while she was once with her ten-year-old nephew. The assassination attack was aimed directly at the victim and was once carried out by way of two killers on a motorcycle.

In summary, the 9 feminicides that occurred in Bogota were carried out in 7 hired killings, and 17 hired killers acted to murder 9 women.

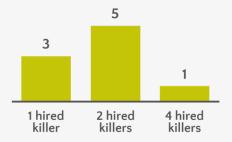


Figure 4. Number of feminicides in relation to the number of hired killings. Bogota, 2020

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.

It is worth noting that usually two killers are involved in the execution of a feminicide, one driving the motorcycle and the other one shooting. There are three cases where a different *modus operandi* was used. In one case, a single killer came to the victim's house and left on foot; in another feminicide, four men were involved9.

Of the 7 female victims of feminicides, 4 were mothers who left 5 orphaned minor children. And in one case, mother and daughter were killed in the same assassination.

Antioquia

Antioquia is the department where a criminality with parallel power to the state is consolidated, especially in territorial control, in the creation of justice and in the scandalous accumulation of money or through the sale of drugs, extortion, the system of daily wages, raffles, control of consumer goods and others.

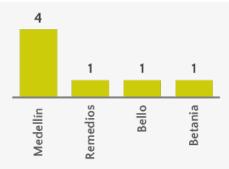


Figure 5. Feminicide for a criminal economy by municipality, Antioquia,

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.



Of the four feminicides that occurred in Medellin, three occurred in commune 7 and the fourth in commune 11, which was directly against a femal trader. The remaining three were executed in open space. Two of three women were going to enter their homes.

In Bello, a street vendor was killed by hired killers; this municipality, similar to Medellín, has an illegal parallel government that controls every street in the city. In their daily lives, street vendors face this control in different ways: they are forced to keep drugs or become dealers, they are also forced to pay extortion money if they do not join their drug trafficking network, and they are in debts, whether for the sale of narcotics or for not having enough money to pay back the loans they make to the armed structures in the form of pagadiarios. In Remedios and Betania, the feminicides took place in rural areas and against women over 45 years of age. Twelve hitmen acted to carry out 7 feminicides.

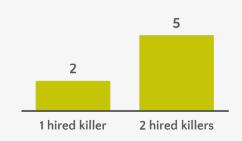


Figure 6. Number of feminicides in relation to the number of hired killings. Antioquia, 2020

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.

In all four cases, the crime reports state that there were no threats or that they were related to what the police are almost certain to call "settlements." According to the analysis of the Colombian Observatory of Feminicides (Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios), there are several hypotheses for these types of feminicides, but all of them are linked to debt or, as in the article on feminicides by contract in Medellín³, also to known men with whom the women have or had a relationship.

By analyzing these four cases, we will take a closer look at what it means for many women to be involved as debtors for money loans belonging criminal gangs in the city.

Atlantic

In the department of Atlántico, specifically in the municipalities of Soledad and Barranquilla, the level of criminality has been significantly structured, which translates into an articulation between microtrafficking, mafias and accumulation of capital through extortion, pagadiarios and microtrafficking debts of the vending machines.

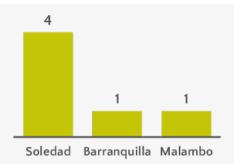


Figure 7. Feminicides for the criminal economy. Atlantico, 2020

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.

The 6 feminicide occurred in Atlántico were concentrated in Soledad with 66%, Barranquilla and Malambo with 17% each.

In a hired assassin a woman was murdered together with her husband, she was an informal vegetable seller in a cart; a 55 year old woman was murdered in the same municipality inside her house by two men on a motorcycle; a 26 year old woman was murdered in an open space by four hired killers, and a second woman, 32 years old, on a soccer field. Of these four feminicides, two were mothers and left two orphaned children.

In Barranquilla, a 27-year-old female lawyer who worked as a party decorator was murdered, and in Malambo, a 42-year-old woman was shot multiple times. The number of hired killers to carry out these 6 feminicides was 13.

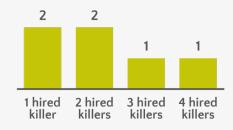


Figure 8. Number of feminicides in relation to number of hired killers.
Atlantico, 2020.

Source: Red Feminista Antimilitarista. Information processed by the information system of Observatorio Colombiano de Feminicidios.

^{3.} Roman, E. (s.f.). Feminicide by a hired killer enMedellín. Paren la Guerra contra las mujeres magazine.

Commonly, feminicides involving more than 3 armed men are defined as "revenge" or "accounting" in the criminal news, but, as analyzed in previous paragraphs, behind the ultimate fact of feminicidal violence, such as feminicides, there is a story that makes a difference in the number of killers, there is a history that makes a difference in the way the criminal world punishes women when they do not comply, for example, with debt payments (pagadiarios), with the delivery of money from the sale of hallucinogens or, in the case of small businesswomen, in refusing to pay for a vaccination or not allowing themselves to be extorted. The number of hired assassins not only shows the strength with which a gang composed of men exposes its power, but the message it leaves on the rest of a community and, concretely on women. "Debts and robberies to the capital of a gang are paid with life".

Valle de Cauca

The consolidation of cartels inherited from the mafia practices of the Cali cartel and, later, the northern cartel, related to the paramilitarism that this department suffered, complicates the relationship of militarization in this department and, at the same time, also allows analyzing the behavior of feminicides that occur under the logic of the criminal economy, since territorial control is not only guaranteed by the production and marketing of coca, but also by circulating a part of the money, which is not only accumulated, but multiplied under legal business or money lending.

The four women that were victims of feminicides resided in Cali. Ana María Gallo was murdered inside her luxury car, only one hitman acted and fled the scene. A young woman was killed while she was at work in a fast food cart. A third was killed with her husband, and a 52-year-old woman was killed in a parking lot with her partner. A hitman participated in each feminicide.

Córdoba

In Córdoba, under the modality of feminicide by criminal economy, there were three cases in the municipalities of Cereté, Montelíbano and Tierralta.

This department, in the geography of the armed conflict, played a leading role in terms of permanent paramilitary bases until the demobilization of these groups; also, with the presence of the FARC-EP until the signing of the peace agreement in August 2016. The number of armed men and the illegal economy in the department have changed, but its control continues.



To this extent, the circulation of business money of these armed men, changes and affects women to the extent of what we have been exposing: debts for the sale of micro-trafficking, refusal of extortion payments or debts for daily pay.

The three feminicides were carried out inside the victims' homes, where the perpetrators arrived with the direct intention of murdering them. One of the victims was 24 years old and of Venezuelan nationality. Four hitmen participated in the execution of this assassination, in one of them two and in two of them only one hitman.

Remaining departments

In Norte de Santander occurred 2 feminicides and in 6 departments more than 1 feminicide. A total of 12 hired killers were involved in the execution of these 8 femicides. Of the 8 feminicides, one of the women was an informal worker, another was a sex worker and one was a domestic worker.



The concept of the war against women was coined by Rita Laura Segato to understand the dimension of how patriarchy functions in a individual and collective form of men under the mandate of domination over women. This mandate has been studied in depth in relation to feminicidal violence, that is, violence that not only corresponds to a concrete act, but to a sum of actions that aim to dominate, control and disappear, in this case, women.

But in this conception of violence against half of women there is an element that occurs in societies where the States do not achieve total control of weapons, but that these swarm daily in the lives of people, especially women who work in the world of informality.

In neoliberal cities, the street becomes a daily struggle to generate income to survive, to try to eat, pay rent, utilities, pay a fare. Inequality is much more palpable in the world of informal work, and it is there where the transformation of men in arms at the service of legal and illegal armies that in the past fought a war to control

the State, ended up transforming into groups that do not dispute, but exercise almost absolute control in some territories of Colombia. This absolute control is not only through death as the first retaliatory action in the new confguration of these groups, but also through obedience, links or favors established in the framework of survival with these groups.

To this relationship between informal work-extortion-daily pay, criminality has turned it into an economic cycle from which it easily multiplies its profits; it is not only about the sale of drugs, but also about circulating the money from these sales and multiplying it through the usury they exercise on the amount of interest on loans to the entire informal working class. This informal working class is composed of almost 60% women, who also work to take care of others, mostly children, where there is an absence of the paternal figure.

There is also economic differentiation among women in the informal economy; some women who work in street vending earn less than those who work independently in commer-

ce. But regardless of the work, many of them end up trapped in loans that are difficult to repay, which means they have to work three times as hard and continue to get into debt until at some point they may end up being killed in this cycle of indebtedness to crime.

In the words of Silvia Federici, and not only placing her analysis in the world of the informal economy left by the capitalist economy (neoliberal for Colombia), women are increasingly indebted, when they are lucky, to banks, but in the Colombian case these debts are acquired with criminals who charge with the lives of women. Women get into debt to live, and if the work in the informal world is not enough to pay the armed groups, they pay with their lives. "The debt obligation, the mandate that leaves us with no other option but to go into debt in order to live. It shows us that debt works as a productive tool. It puts us to work. It forces us to work more. It leads us to have to sell our time and effort in the future. It has the utopia that we pay until we die," says Silvia Federici.



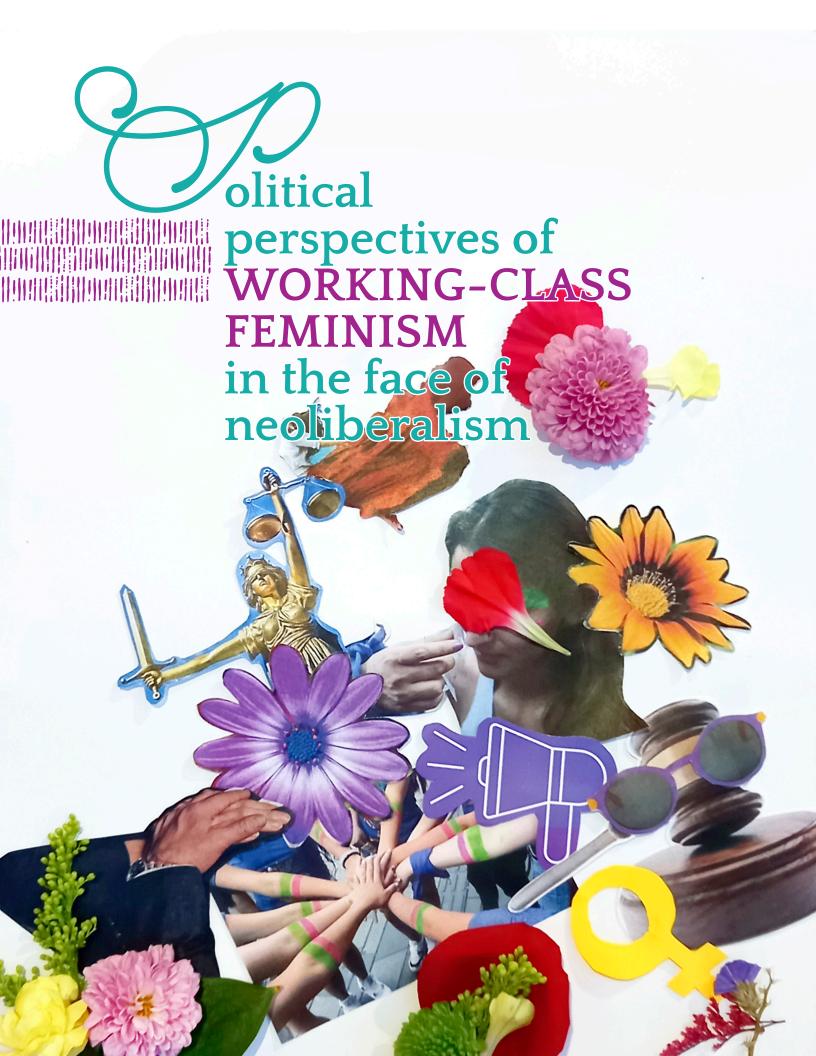
Feminicides by criminal economy have a history of violence associated with inequality, dispossession and impoverishment of wages that force women to get into debt, not with banks, with which they do not meet the criteria to lend them money, but with criminal gangs, who have understood very well how to multiply their capital: circulate the cash that comes from the sale of drugs.

Some feminicides, when executed by more than three hitmen and where the victim receives more than five impacts, are catalogued by the criminal chronicle as a settling of scores, but this settling of scores has everything to do with the conditions of precariousness, indebtedness and desperation of women who also take care of others.

The women lend money or sell hallucinogens as a way to increase their income, however, the precariousness inserts them in the unpayable cycle of a debt acquired with criminal gangs, whose cost is not only the high interest, but is paid with their lives.

Criminality, by extending its ways of generating capital accumulation, also does it on certain subjects, who in the midst of a precarious economy end up linked in loans around the money of criminality.

At the same time, as feminist theorists such as Silvia Federici, Verónica Gago and Luci Cavallero have argued, women today are the ones who get into debt the most, not on the logic of consumption to maintain the status quo, but to survive and support those in their care. In this logic, a criminal economy that takes up the principles of neoliberalism to indebt a part of the population, specifically working women, does it under the method of collection, which implies compromising life if you do not manage to pay them.





"We, as the people, must defend, our territories, our lives today and the lives we want to life in the future, joint struggles with our brothers [..] who are also fucked [..] It's not like they're having a great time, they aren't the privileged white man, but nevertheless they oppress their sisters, are sexist, discriminatory, anti-lesbian, violent with their partners, bossy, little bosses and bourgeois white men in their houses. We fight against those bosses, but they are the bosses in the house, the communities and any social communities. We'll never achieve a deep revolution, if we continue to maintain the relationship between Brothers and sister. "Julieta Paredes.

"Systematic sexual feminicide: is the codified murder of girls and women for being women, whose dispossessed bodies have been tortured, raped, murdered and dumped in transgressive scenarios by men who use misogyny and sexism, to cruelly delineate gender boundaries through state terrorism, supported by hegemonic groups, which reinforces male dominance and subjects victims' families and all women to chronic and profound insecurity, through a continuous and unlimited period of impunity and complicity." Julia Monárrez Fragoso.

"Femicides mainly affect women who, for different reasons, are partially outside the marital institution and the logic of conjugal life and are emblematic figures of neoliberal globalization. Systemic sexual femicides particularly affect the type of woman who do most of the work necessary for the reproduction of human beings (inside but also outside the family institution), and a large part of classic (agricultural)-industrial production, while they are also precisely those whose way of life has been most transformed by the new organizations of labor and from whose labor the greatest surplus value is extracted. In other words, the murders target a segment of the labor force that is central to the neoliberal reorganization of production [..]." Jules Falquet 3

We have quoted these three feminist authors with the intention of emphasizing feminist analysis of lethal violence against women in Medellín. For the last three years we have defined this violence as NEOLIBERAL FEMINICIDE VIOLENCE.

This definition is the product of observing, analyzing and understanding the murders of women within a matrix of domination, in which there are patterns of oppression and exploitation that call the universalism of "gender violence" into question, confronting the culturalist explanations of the violence in every murder of poor, racialized, working-class and subaltern women.



Speaking of NEOLIBERAL FEMICIDE VIOLENCE IN

MEDELLIN means to formulate a political definition of lethal violence against women in the city from a class position, which takes as its starting point the history of the murdered women, the local sexual division of labor, accumulation and territorial dispossession, the community of origin/location, the racialization of bodies, the complicity of the state in the impunity of the crimes and the re-victimization of the murdered women.

The process of analysis of neoliberalism and the political development of our organization has allowed us to develop a political position from the practice of working-class feminism, which denounces the effects of neoliberalism and the international sexual division of labor on the lives of working-class women and their communities, while at the same time we state the urgency of confronting and stopping neoliberalism in the most NEOLIBERAL city in the country, as we have been expressing:

"We maintain that MEDELLÍN IS THE MOST NEOLIBE-RAL CITY IN COLOMBIA. Like no other city, Medellín has privileged business, profit and security so that the richest and their representatives in local power remain in an economic bubble, which gravitates above widespread poverty, violence and marginalization. This

affects in a generalized way poor, racialized women and men, victimized by the quarrel for rural land, who are now re-victimized in the modern and segregate city, which only offers consumption and merchandise as a fictitious form of social equality". (Statement by the RED FEMINISTA ANTIMILITARIS-TA on the approval of the Medellín Land-Use-Plan. October 2014).

We always start from the position of being part of the class of popular, working, racialized, subaltern women. It is from our history as urban dwellers that we understand capitalism and its violent domination. It is from the history of mothers, grandmothers, ancestors and ancestresses that we have seen the continuity of violence in the dispossession of land, urban settlement, deindustrialization, neoliberal adjustment, the recomposition of capital, plutocratic government, militarization, the sexual division of labor, the marginalization of the impoverished majorities, among other features of capitalist violence.

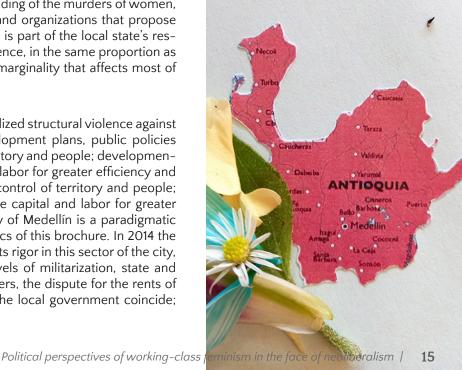


It is our decision as working-class feminists to maintain and expand the debate, the analysis and the fields of political action to confront/brake neoliberalism. In this sense, we propose some ideas/forces that allow us to unite in thought and action, strategies for the emancipation of women with the peoples.

The knowledge that we produce and that we translate into political action is our contribution to the struggle for the emancipation of the people.

With this clarity, we can only deepen our analysis of state violence that defends the reduction of murders of women and minimizes their collective effects with measures and speeches that seek to regularize violence, because it is assumed that these are isolated events that do not affect the whole social construct, that it is not a matter of state, nor is it harmful in general terms that poor women are murdered, because these are only some women, some women who are easily replaceable. This depoliticization in the understanding of the murders of women, also sometimes endorsed by feminist currents and organizations that propose cultural analyses and social inequality measures, is part of the local state's responsibility for neoliberal women murderous violence, in the same proportion as its responsibility for the poverty, inequality and marginality that affects most of the city's population.

We see the local state as responsible for a generalized structural violence against subaltern people, violence concretized in development plans, public policies and spending on militarization and control of territory and people; developmentalist policies that seek to reorganize capital and labor for greater efficiency and profitability and spending on militarization and control of territory and people; developmentalist policies that seek to reorganize capital and labor for greater efficiency and profitability. The center of the city of Medellín is a paradigmatic case in this sense, as expressed in the infographics of this brochure. In 2014 the NEOLIBERAL FEMINICIDE VIOLENCE expressed its rigor in this sector of the city, where the reorganization of the center, high levels of militarization, state and parastatal control, precarious and informal workers, the dispute for the rents of legal and illegal trade, the financial sector and the local government coincide;



35% of all deaths in the city occurred, 134 people were killed, 17 of them were women and transsexuals. It should be noted that this homicide rate in commune 10 (center of Medellín) of 134 people murdered is one of the highest rates in the world in proportion to the number of inhabitants.



However, we chose the path of describing the historicity of the subjects murdered in this territory to see there a specific profile of a violence that aims to exert force and terror among those who live/transition/work in the center of the city and who represent an obstacle to the plans to privatize the center and monopolize it in order to realize the expansion of capital.

Therefore, high or low numbers only tell us about the actions taken by the state and the para-state to legalize violence, in accordance with the established pacts for the moderation of violence, used politically and proportionately to reorganize labor and to guarantee the production of added value.



The reorganization of global capital and the forms of extension of the imperialist war against the peoples for the capture of common goods in order to maintain political, economic and cultural hegemony is the reality from which we observe the murders of women perpetrated by one or more men, also racialized and impoverished, economic and cultural hegemony; it is the reality from where we observe the murders of women perpetrated by one or more men, also racialized and impoverished (whether they are "men with weapon" or precarious workers) as the concentration of all the violence of the system against those who occupy a subordinate and dependent place in the capitalist civilization project.

We do not intend to obviate the responsibility of men in the murders of women or in the continuum of violence exercised by them. What we intend is to name that the production of gender, dichotomy, binarism, subordination as we see it today in global capitalism and militaristic imperialism, has not always existed, has not always been the universal norm of all peoples.

We thus criticize the universalist, civilizing and progressive analyses of human rights, since we affirm that in capitalism, poor, racialized, subaltern women are afflicted by violence, exploitation and domination on a global scale, without modernity representing a transformation of the conditions of excluded peoples. Rather, modernity imposes itself as a dominant structure that erases the history of social and economic organization of colonized and enslaved peoples, imposing a single reason and form of white western life, where women have been appropriated and dispossessed of their knowledge and work.

Our positioning: working-class feminists



Coming to terms with our history has challenged us in feminist practice. We have developed in understanding how systems of oppression operate and constitute the hegemony that organizes life subordinated to capital.

The contributions of autonomous feminism, of decolonial anti-racism, of socialist and Marxist feminism has been valuable and enlightening. The challenge has been just to elaborate a discourse and an action that accounts for this movement of consciousness and the generation of collective praxis. This challenge brings us here, named as working-class feminists, historical subjects who assume the need for power to transform, to carry out emancipation. In general, we define ourselves to signify our historical position, the history that has produced us, the history not only plagued with words of pain and defeat, the new history that we are telling, the new becoming that is to come.



