Facing Patriarchic Whiteness in the Commons and

Solidarity Economy Movements: Embracing Decolonial Feminism

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Introduction

This conference convenes scholars and activists to exchange ideas and experiences around the central theme of Decolonizing the Solidarity Economy and Commons: Enacting the "Pluriverse". I hope to contribute to this exchange by raising the profile of the modernity/coloniality critique and associated decolonial praxes within (and beyond) the commons and solidarity economy movements. As a white, male, scholar activist I have come to see the intersection of patriarchy and whiteness as both problematic and largely silenced in our movements. I will discuss this problem and then offer my emerging grasp of decolonial feminism as a corrective and restorative critique and praxis to remedy this situation.

The Modernity/Coloniality Critique

The theory and praxis of decoloniality centered in Latin America offers critical perspectives of exceptional importance that can inform movements that counter our current hegemonic global colonial capitalist political economy. This critical school of thought was forged in the 1990's by a group of scholars known as the modernity/coloniality group. They "denounce[d] the conquest of the Americas in the 16th century as the starting point of a global pattern of power that came to structure modernity/coloniality through race, gender, and class" (De Souza and Selis, 2023, 5). The critique, with it's emerging praxis, has been extended beyond its Latin American roots and has engendered calls for decolonial transformations grounded in the political struggles for resistance and re-existence of Afrodiasporic, black, indigenous, and Third World communities (Bernardino-Costa et al., 2020). Significantly, decolonial thinkers have "brought to light the continuity of coloniality in different dimensions (particularly, even if not only) of Latin American realities, long after the territorial colonization was over" (Rodrigues, 2023, 148).

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These critiques are so profound, so compelling, that I believe movements countering today's conditions and systems, especially in Euro influenced regions of North America and Europe itself, must engage the critiques and in doing so must reexamine their praxis accordingly. To do this with an integrity to decolonial principles we must of course situate and interpret the nature of a decolonial critique within the socio-historical conditions of the particular region outside Latin America.

The serious consideration of decolonial analysis and strategies is only recently gaining some traction in North American and European counter colonial capitalism movements. There are many challenges that confound efforts to incorporate and center a decolonial perspective in today's counter/alter movements, including those of the commons and the solidarity economy. My presentation will focus on challenges associated with recognizing and undoing a white and patriarchic centricity that pervades significant aspects of these movements. I will first address this white patriarchal centricity concern and then propose decolonial feminizing as a vital corrective.

Long History of Patriarchal Systems

I begin by noting the long history of patriarchy. It has been a central organizing principle seen across the globe in the dominant political economies of their time since at least the early city states in Mesopotamia. This domination occurs in many ways, including economic, legal, and political means and through language, stereotypes, religions, culture, traditions, the media and more (Bruneau, 2018). It operates in various forms across differing geo-social-historical contexts. Some scholars focus on patriarchy as a form of family structuring, others see it as an entire social system according dominance to men and based on oppression and exploitation of women. I approach patriarchy as a gendered, male dominant overall social system and one that utilizes the patriarchal family as a necessary, but undervalued, reproduction system and as a buffer for economic fluctuations.

A significant shift in European patriarchy occurred with the transition from the Middle Ages through to the development and expansion of capitalism. During this period economic changes arose in the 15th century including the merchant economy, mechanization, urbanization and manufacturing. A rising bourgeoisie, linked with commercial and maritime expansion, in association with some of the nobility, acted to expropriate land of the peasantry. These changes disrupted the "traditional" patriarchal family model, in which the authority of the father/husband was central, but women performed important roles in production and subsistence. The changing economy deprived the worker/producers of control of their means of production. The household became a consumption unit, separated from production (Bruneau, 2018). With this separation of places of production from places of reproduction(home) the roles and status of women were substantially devalued and exploited in ways continuing to the present. These home centered shifts were both affected by, and contributive to, a more entrenched overall patriarchy in Europe, and in time, emerging resistance by women.

Patriarchic Whiteness

During the early gendered restructuring of the economy in Europe patriarchy was not explicitly associated with whiteness. That link emerged in the process of European colonization of major regions of the world outside Europe commencing in the 16th century. The construction of racial classifications and stratification was, and continues to be, central to all forms of colonialities (Rodrigues, 2023). A classification imposing racial hierarchies was established by colonizing Europeans "who placed themselves at the center of the world and who impose[d] their own paradigms as a way of controlling power relations and forms of being and knowing" (Rodrigues 2023, 149, referring to Quijano, 2005). This coloniality "legitimized Eurocentric racial classifications through … myths… forging a historical narrative of linear progress and development in which Eurocentric rules, laws, values, and ideas will supposedly benefit all humanity" (Rodrigues, 2023, 149). This places cultures that do not follow such ideology as naturally inferior.

Moreover, in this racialization, whiteness has a gender. To fully grasp the gendering of racial classification we must turn to the decolonial feminist analysis. Lugones (2010) argues that a

distinction and hierarchy between human and non-human was imposed during the colonization of the Americas and beyond. Humans (white men and reproducing women) were distinguished from non-humans through race and gender. The gendering of European whiteness subjugated men and women of color and justified their exploitation. Gendered European whiteness was established as the physiognomic and sociological norm of the human condition. Conversely colonized and enslaved people were understood as animals of labor and raw sex (Lugones, 2020). "To be white was to be civilized, rational, moral and in command of one's emotions. Of course, these are also gendered characteristics [of males]. The absence of these characteristics was stereotyped as definitive of lesser races" (Torres and Pace, 2005, 130).

The specific nature of racial patriarchy, of course, varied across differing colonial regimes, racial groups and places. As one illustration, however, I will cite Spencer-Wood's (2016) summary of Stoler (2006, 2-4) regarding the impacts on indigenous women:

> "Patriarchy undermined indigenous women's sources of power through actions such as limiting them to the domestic sphere, exploiting and classifying their unpaid domestic labor as "unskilled" and therefore low status, denying women's land rights, not allowing women to exercise public or religious powers and positions, imposing the institution of patriarchal monogamy, outlawing extramarital sex, and lowering the status of children born out of wedlock as illegitimate." (478)

Alastair Bonnet (2000) declares that: "the earliest and most fully widespread employment of "white" to refer to a European people, or European peoples, is to be found within colonial settings". (17) Earlier European associations of whiteness with purity and privilege set the stage, but in the main, whiteness came to refer to ethnicity and in reference to Europeans during the 17th century as both Southern and Northern European states became engaged in colonization (Bonnet, 2000). Whiteness claimed the top position in a racial hierarchy with other non-whites as less human and as sub-citizens. "The Otherness and the sub-humanity of non-whites allowed the invasion of indigenous territories with 'discovery' and 'salvation' narratives, just as they

legitimized slavery by transforming Black peoples into objects of [property]." (Rodrigues, 2023, 156)

As a key component of this racialization, whiteness has been overlooked since colonial times. For example, while slavery became associated as a natural condition of blackness, the dominant narratives forgot those who did the enslaving (Cardoso, 2020). This forgetting operated through a tacit pact between white peoples to not recognize the role played by their whiteness in establishing and enforcing slavery so that they might avoid any form of accountability (Bento, 2002).

Presence/Absence of (Gendered) Whiteness

Yet, despite the centrality of race (and it's gendering implications) Rodrigues (2023) notes that "whiteness" is rarely mentioned in decolonial discourses. While her analysis derives significantly from the Brazilian context, I believe it has a broader import. She contends that the absence/presence of whiteness is problematic for at least three reasons: "On the one hand, the absence of [consideration of] whiteness in decolonial debates limits considerably the depth and argumentation on different dimensions about coloniality and race. On the other hand, the absence of such discussions serves to conceal whiteness' presence in the fabrics of our everyday lives, helping to enable its continuity, with its privileges, benefits, and licenses." (152) Whiteness is also "present" in the "lack of centrality of Black and indigenous authors in decolonial works...Despite race, racism and slavery being central in decolonial debates, Black and indigenous authors and works are many times absent, or, when visible, appear as secondary and in a homogenous way." (153)

Rodrigues (2023) takes care to insist that whiteness cannot be discussed without context. To widen the decolonial gates she proposes adopting a socio-historical approach to understanding whiteness and bringing the topic forward in decolonial analyses. This approach recognizes that "White peoples are not all the same, are not always oppressing in the same way, are not in the same circumstances and realities, do not have the same culture, religion, language, or values.

Also, even 'white' peoples can be racialized, oppressed, and silenced in determined circumstances." (154) In addition, whiteness is a dimension that must be considered in intersection with other dimensions.

The argument thus far has sought to expose the presence/absence of (gendered) whiteness as a continuing strategy to preserve coloniality while evading accountability for such. This is a strategy that preserves white superiority implicitly in contemporary times, but not explicitly as in the past. However, we are now also seeing a revival of unfettered white nationalism in global politics. This resurgence serves to expose the more nuanced and hypocritical whiteness of modern coloniality. Conversely, for decolonial movements the resurgence heightens the importance of a clear analysis and rejection of white coloniality within such movements. Lacking such an analysis, our movements are handicapped in fully confronting the resurrection of this pernicious, tragically resilient, mythic ideology which has such known and destructive consequences.

Whiteness, Patriarchy and Eurocentrism in the Commons and Solidarity Economy Movements

I have presented the critiques of decoloniality regarding racial patriarchy as a central component of European colonization. And I have highlighted the presence/absence of (gendered) whiteness in these critiques. While these analyses bear directly on understanding the current hegemonic colonial-capitalist systems that are devastating global peoples and ecologies my more specific reason for raising them is to consider and address how white patriarchal coloniality also infects our countering movements, the commons and the solidarity economy. Briefly the argument is that significant aspects of each movement carry on with white centric, often tacit, and unrecognized, beliefs and practices. These include implicit patriarchic tendencies despite feminist critiques and the rising influence of generic feminizing in these movements.

To herein firmly establish this argument would require substantial reasoning and evidence beyond the scope and purposes of this paper. Hopefully a few observations will suffice to uncover at least some dimensions of the problem. One dimension is the prevalence of white Euro-centric conceptions of core models that are universalized across broader movements. Within the

commons movement Iborra and Montáñez (2020) show how, despite some useful connections of the Eurocentric idea of the commons with indigenous conceptions, extension of this idea to regions outside Europe has both imposed an alien idea onto local histories and on contemporary renewal of the communal. It has also obscured the history of racism within commoning efforts in the west. Likewise, eco-villages proliferate globally based on evolving utopian experiments also originated in Europe. They are often developed by white communities, serving white memberships, and often in white exclusive geographies. Scant attention is given to their white spatial and economic privileges, nor to the lack of viability of their models for communities of color. In similar fashion the cooperatives component of the solidarity economy movement is traced by many leaders back to early initiatives and models in Britain and France in the 19th century. In each of the cases we see an absence of whiteness discourse and a privileging of European values and history despite the adverse impacts of European colonization.

As a second dimension we find that aspects of the theorizing of both the commons and the solidarity economy movements in Europe and the U.S. have a predominance of white male and female scholars. This is especially true where the commons as a universalized framing is concerned. For the solidarity economy movement which originated in the multi-racial contexts of Latin America a greater diversity in racial and gender makeup of scholarship is evident, at least in the U.S. Nonetheless significant segments of the movement, including those populated and led by women and nonwhite communities are underrepresented in theorizing about, and characterizing of, the solidarity economy. As an example, Caroline Hossein (2019) referring to the need for a black epistemology of the solidarity economy states: “The silencing of scholars drawing on the Black radical tradition is an affront…. It is thus colonizing to continue to study non-White people using European ideas and to ignore the ideas from the culture of the subjects of study that can explain their experiences.” (np)

These conceptions and practices also exhibit a gendering shaped by patriarchic whiteness. For example, Guérin and Nobre (2014) find that solidarity economy initiatives may reproduce gender inequality by establishing and reifying some domains, those that are nonmarket and

nonmonetary as feminine. Safrin (2015) asks whether such a (racial) feminizing is occurring in the NYC solidarity economy which is enrolling increasing numbers of women of color. Her findings show that supportive structures focus on formation of worker cooperatives with women of color within traditionally feminine sectors and occupations. Going further, SolidarityNYC (2019) recognizes recurring sexism in worker coops, food coops and solidarity economy organizing. With regard to the commons movement, Nightingale (2019) discusses inequalities along gender lines in aspects of this global movement. My forthcoming discussion of feminism, intersectionality and decolonial feminism will consider theory and research showing significant aspects of white gendering in counter movements, including the commons and solidarity economy.

In the next section of this paper I will discuss existing steps in our counter movements that can build toward a fuller incorporation of decolonial feminism. In particular, I will consider the feminization of politics that is coming forward in the municipalist movement, the challenges of intersectionality recognition and application in counter movements and the role of decolonial feminism in bringing a deeper analysis and praxis around race and gender.

Feminizing Politics

We are now seeing the advent of important work around feminizing of politics occurring in Spanish, broader European and South American municipalist projects. Laura Roth and Kate Baird (2017), feminists based in Barcelona, describe this orientation as composed of three attributes:

> "First, gender equality in institutional representation and public participation. Second, a commitment to public policies that challenge gender roles and seek to break down patriarchy. Third, a different way of doing politics, based on values and practices that put an emphasis on everyday life, relationships, the role of the community and the common good." (np)

The first attribute, equality of gender participation, has been a long-standing aim of feminism, but it is not enough. The second two are newer and have important substantive contributions to

make to our movements. Scholars like Susan Paulson and others (2020) in the DeGrowth movement stress the significance of the second attribute, public policies. They stress the need for policies that focus on the social reproduction of life, building on the work of Silvia Frederici (2018) and others. On the other hand, Spanish feminists in the guidebook, Feminize Politics Now (Regelmann & Bartolomé, 2020) and others (Panico, 2018) stress the new forms of organizing that feminists are bringing to politics, in order to counter and change the long standing hierarchal and competitive politics of men.

I affirm the value of these substantive and process emphases. I hope, however, to carry the feminization of politics idea further toward a fuller decolonial emphasis. To do this I will first consider the concept and practice of intersectionality which is central to both new formulations of life policies and systems, and to new ways of organizing and distributing power.

Challenges Enacting Intersectionality

Kimberly Crenshaw, (1989) an American black feminist formalized the concept of intersectionality in 1989 drawing on discourses of black women going back to the nineteenth century regarding interactions of race, class and gender. She, and others since, show that systems and positioning of oppression are not mutually exclusive, but interact with one another. This became evident in the experience of women of color who are positioned at the juncture of more than one oppressed category and system. For example, black women have very different experiences and power from white women, and also from black men. While navigating these intersections they gain insights, much less accessible to both white women and black men.

As Celeste Montoya (2021) an American scholar notes “this intersectional positioning, often serves as a source of marginalization even within social movements aimed at overcoming oppression, because of a tendency for movements to be organized along or around a single axis of identity or oppression.” (1) She contends that “appeals for a universal interest tend to be framed in a manner that favors the interests of dominant social groups and marginalizes those of others.” (3) She adds that “intersectionality not only explains the dominance and marginalization

of intersecting identities it also addresses the power dynamics that are entailed… [importantly, it] is also a generative tool for creating new democratic institutions, identities, and practices." (5)

Most of the study and application of intersectionality has occurred in regard to feminist movements by women. In a broad survey, Evans and Lépinard, (2020) found that the original black feminist concept of intersectionality has proliferated broadly across varied movements. However, it is important to note that they found that adopting a discourse of intersectionality has not always meant enacting effective intersectional practices. Citing Evans and Lépinard, Marina Muñoz-Puig (2023) states "Feminist movements still fail to engage thoughtfully in organizing intersectional strategies and in improving accessibility, while minoritized women are frequently included in a tokenistic manner… Quite often, minoritized women are not present in discourse and are excluded from movements." (4) Situating this critique closer to the commons and solidarity economy movements, the authors of Feminize Politics Now (2020) are quite frank about problems municipalist initiatives are experiencing in the enactment of intersectionality, a declared core commitment.

Decolonial Feminism

The preceding discussion of the challenges of enacting intersectionality in counter movements brings us foursquare to the vital role of decolonial feminism, already introduced earlier in this paper. Decolonial feminism further develops the analyses of oppression given by intersectionality. Emma Velez, an American scholar, tells us that this occurs by adding the "coloniality question" to "unveil how coloniality buttresses the oppressive categorial logics that intersectionality identifies" (2019, 392). Buscemi (2021) asserts that:

> "hegemonic feminism is intrinsically exclusionary and elitist, as it relies on ethnic, racial, class and gender premises that are considered to be all-inclusive and all-encompassing. Moreover, critiques from the Souths of the world (including the Souths of the North) have addressed how hegemonic feminism operates within the structures of capitalism and coloniality." (np)

In my view such hegemony is evident in feminizing movements that lack a determined application of intersectionality. In addition, the experiences, perspectives, and actions of women living at these intersections and pursuing decolonial projects are highly generative for understanding and changing systems of oppression.

To demonstrate the vital contributions available from decolonial feminists I will tap into race-related feminisms that have implicit or explicit decolonial underpinnings. I will draw on Latinx decolonial feminists, black feminists and indigenous feminists recognizing there is significant overlap as well as differences in these lived categories. I also note that the feminist label is not without contention among women of color activists. In some indigenous women's movements the feminist term is perceived as unhelpfully divisive. I use the term across black and indigenous movements to convey the concerns for adverse impacts on women specifically, along with demands and change aims informed by women specifically, in some mix of congruence and or opposition to conditions and aims of men.

My demonstrations will also center on impacts of, and responses to, violence. Historic and modern coloniality and the systems of capitalist political economy that coloniality undergirds are inherently violent to groups they subjugate. In the words of Dutta and Atallah (2023) "Coloniality governs who has the right to exist and belong, and who is disposable and deportable. It determines who has the right to express the full range of their humanity, while others are relegated to realms of subhuman invisibility. For colonized communities, this normalization of violence and suffering unfolds within everyday existence, which becomes a site of trauma and resistance." (1) I see racialized feminist resistance and transformation work as central to countering this everyday violence. Thus, I concentrate on movements focused on violence. I will first consider the resistance of indigenous women to the violence of resource extraction and then the resistance of black feminists to the prison industrial complex. Each of these realms of praxis shows a profound engagement with violence, that includes and goes beyond gender violence. Each also shows a crucial transformative decolonial response.

Indigenous Women Defenders of the Environment

Across the global south we are seeing an intensification of capitalist natural resource extractivism including mining, fracking, forest harvesting, and more. This activity is reinforcing patriarchal, racist, and other societal oppressions. In an article about women on the frontlines of resistance, Cirefice and Sullivan (2019) write that "Rural and indigenous communities are disproportionately impacted by … extractive industries, with severe negative consequences on local livelihoods, community cohesion and the environment. These impacts are especially felt by indigenous communities who rely on natural resources for their subsistence economy…" (84) Resource extraction is also often accompanied by sexual violence to women.

Conversely, "women are … stepping outside of traditional gender roles to be leaders in movements fighting destructive extraction" (Cirefice & Sullivan, 2019, 78). In many of these threatened territories, "women have led…reactions in defense of collective life that push back and block the expropriation of common goods…" (Gago & Aguilar, 2018, 366). These struggles have arisen regardless of, and often against, the agreements that some men from these communities have made with extractive consortiums in return for promises of waged labor or other individualized economic benefits (Gago & Aguilar, 2018). At the same time women who resist extraction are often subjected to gender specific threats and violence. (Barcia, 2017).

Yazzie (2018, 35) cites the Guatemalan activist Sandra Moran who writes, "Women resist because they defend life. The extractive model kills life, impedes it, transforms it. The defense of life is in the center of resistance and as women we have always been at the center of taking care of life" (quoted in WEA and NYSHN 2014: 12). In their resistance these women manifest a dual politics of life. They defend life against the destruction of extraction and they caretake life through an ethos and practice of human-environment kinship. In addition, actions of indigenous feminists are often informed by larger indigenous cosmologies and aims for restoring sovereignty.

Barcia (2017) writes that: “While opposing extractive industries, women human rights defenders are advancing alternative economic and social models based on the stewardship of land and common resources in order to preserve life, thereby contributing to the emergence of new paradigms.” (12) As an example, Indigenous feminists seek a renewed form of sovereignty based on indigenous cosmologies and principles. They contrast their view with those of today’s nation-states that are governed through domination and coercion, (Smith 2005, 129). D'Archangelis (2010) identifies relationality, interdependence and responsibility, as a set of traditional principles that serve as the underpinnings of indigenous feminist views of sovereignty. She proposes four features: “1) human subjectivity as relational, enacted through a spiritual encounter with land/creation; 2) sovereignty as extended beyond the human; 3) land held in trust for future generations; and 4) the restoration of balance between women and men; individuals and the collective; and human beings and the Sacred (the whole of creation).” (131)

I will now turn to a second nonwhite feminist movement which has a more urban focus.

Black Feminists Demanding Abolition of Prison Systems

The statistics in the U.S. regarding white versus nonwhite incarceration, and especially with regard to black males, are shocking decade after decade. Racial incarceration disparities are also present in Europe, Brazil and other countries. In the U.S. the combination of disproportionate police surveillance and violence combined with disproportionate incarceration has devastating effects on black males, families, and communities. In response we have been seeing, especially in the U.S., black feminists resisting direct police violence, primarily to black males, which reverberates across black families and communities. They also resist the institutionalized violence of incarceration.

In a recurring cycle black males live in degraded social and physical environments that are highly policed. They are incarcerated at horrific rates, receive little or no rehabilitative support in prison and return as ex-offenders to the same deprived communities with even greater challenges of completing education and gaining employment. The diminished presence of black males in

communities disrupts black families severely. It also reduces support for ex-offenders (Crutchfield and Weeks, 2015).

Black feminists have been leading the movement to abolish the prison industrial complex. In part, they do this, like indigenous feminists by protesting immediate instances of police violence. In the US we are experiencing an epidemic of such violence and associated protests. In my city of 200,000 we have had instances of white police officers shooting and sometimes killing black males. In one instance, strong protests arose when a black teenager was shot and killed under very questionable circumstances and then our district attorney declined to prosecute the white officer.

Black feminists begin by addressing immediate issues on the ground. This approach is based in paying careful attention to experienced harm and its aftermath, addressing the needs of survivors, and holding people who have perpetrated harm accountable in ways that do not degrade, but seek to reintegrate, while understanding the root causes of wrongdoing and working to address them. Their work also aims to change the world as it is so that those affected have greater resources to heal and so that harm is less likely to befall others in the future (McCleod, 2019).

In a more systemic sense, black feminist abolitionists work to fundamentally transform ostensible justice systems, what some call the prison-industrial complex. Lowe (2020) states "in order to abolish the prison system, we must eliminate the conditions that lead to and produce prisons; it is necessary to radically transform our present social and economic order, and, moreover, to create new social relations bounded neither by the nationalist terms of the current political order nor the global terms of the capitalist order." (219)

<u>Concluding</u>

I have argued that women at the intersections of oppression have a distinctive lens regarding the operations of coloniality. They also manifest alternative ways of living and conceptions of future

societies. Indigenous and black feminists each reside at such intersections. Each also exhibits creative, courageous resistance, alternative ways of living and conceptions for fundamentally dismantling and transforming the conditions and structures of coloniality. I submit that they demonstrate forms of intersectional, decolonial, feminist praxis.

I am calling on activists in the commons and solidarity economy movements to pay special attention to the perspectivists of decolonial feminists. I do this in part out of concern for significant dimensions of white patriarchic centricity in our movements. In this regard I believe that attending to decolonial feminists can serve as an important step toward recognizing and unsetting this whiteness centricity. For white men, I see attending to the emerging feminizing of politics and going deeper by engaging with decolonial feminism, as very positive steps, among other essential efforts, toward such unsettling and change. And for white women I see the feminizing thrust as both positive and affirming of women's vital perspectives, but one with colonial vestiges that must be further addressed via intersectional, decolonial feminism.

Decolonial feminism can contribute by way of vital critiques of existing systems rooted in colonial patriarchy and racial dehumanization and by transformative conceptions of better future realities. I have focused on two demonstrations of decolonial feminism, the actions of indigenous and of black feminists resisting colonial capitalist violence. Taken together these two realms show the rural and urban dimensions of the violent, underlying processes of our hegemonic colonial capital-state political economies. In both rural and urban contexts these feminists expose deliberate uses of systemic power to violently degrade resident communities, and their ways of life and survival. In indigenous cases, this occurs while extracting profit. In black oppression cases this occurs to contain the social damages of capitalist systems. When our movements marginalize or omit consideration of these realms of praxis, they indirectly allow and enable these overt manifestations of the systematic destruction of continuing coloniality.

Second, these two realms of praxis reveal the indispensable contributions of racialized feminisms, to deepening the aims, and praxis of our movements. These women show exceptional courage

in leading nonviolent resistance against great odds, in the pursuit of saving and regenerating life worlds. More specifically their work in these two realms shows a necessary continuum from immediate, persistent, resilient acts of resistance, to recovering and formulating conceptions of fundamentally different futures, to formulating intermediate demands for policy changes, to acting innovatively, iteratively, and persistently to building alternative, pluriversal, futures.

These two decolonial feminist movements, like the commons and the solidarity economy movements, are based on organizing outside of formal politics and governance, but proactively challenge government systems to change. Our commons and solidarity economy movements have greater latitude, than does government centered municipalism, to make special efforts to support and include populations with interacting oppressions, to take the time needed to build intersectional relationships, and to build a bottom-up foundation for fueling larger system change.

Our movements are facing daunting challenges and doing vital work. At the same time, we can unwittingly constrain or omit utilization of potential partners and their vital perspectives, including the impetus to essential unlearning their collaboration requires. Coming to know this, in spite of, and due to, my white male centricity, I invite readers to also embrace decolonial feminism and its transformative opportunities.

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