TOWARDS TRANSFORMATION THROUGH COMMUNITY AND CARE: THE CASE OF CIRCLE OF TRUST FELICITA CAMPOS FROM THE WOMEN'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT ESTAMOS LISTAS COLOMBIA

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TITLE

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1. Introduction

1.1. Problem area

The history of the women's movement in Latin America and the Caribbean is marked by a profound commitment to autonomy, challenging patriarchal norms, and advocating for gender equality. Emerging amidst shifting socioeconomic landscapes in the 1970s and 1980s, feminist activism flourished against the backdrop of neoliberal globalization, the cybernetic revolution, the demise of the socialist bloc, and the (re)establishment of democracy (Maier 2010)

At the heart of this movement was the exploration of the intricate relationship between the private and public spheres, encapsulated in the mantra "the personal is political." (Maier 2010: 28). Through consciousness-raising efforts, women shed light on the injustices of gender inequality, fostering a collective recognition of women's subordinate social position. This phase echoed the principles of the second wave of feminism, marked by an experiential exploration of female identity and the dismantling of patriarchal power structures. Activism across diverse sectors, including mothers, homemakers, and feminists, reshaped traditional gender roles and broadened the collective imagination to encompass new symbolic representations of womanhood. While initially focused on raising awareness of gender inequality and challenging traditional gender roles, this phase also laid the groundwork for more nuanced gender-equity strategies. However, the transition into the 1990s brought both opportunities and challenges. While new avenues for political intervention emerged, fractures in feminist discourse began to surface. Symbolic barriers arose, separating past strategies from present realities, underscoring the importance of preserving insights gained during the Women's Decade. Central to these insights was the theme of autonomy, serving as a foundational principle for feminist activism. Autonomy from patriarchal structures, political parties, and societal expectations empowered women to assert their rights and advocate for change. This autonomy manifested in the diversity of feminist movements, including popular feminism and other expressions, each with its unique focus and methodology (Maier 2010: 30-31).

Furthermore, the exploration of gender dynamics within the private and public spheres underscored the necessity for intersectional approaches to address the diverse

needs and interests of women. Mainstreaming gender in public policy provided a platform for integrating subaltern identity axes and advancing economic, social, and cultural rights from a gender perspective. Reviving methodologies such as consciousness-raising and popular education empowered women to articulate their needs effectively and challenge systemic inequalities. By adapting second-wave practices of autonomy and self-representation to contemporary globalized conditions, feminist activists bridged the gap between civil society and institutional gender politics. Ultimately, the history of the women's movement in Latin America and the Caribbean exemplifies the power of collective action and solidarity in advancing gender equity. Collaboration among diverse expressions of women's rights activism is crucial for enriching the notion of citizenship and democracy in the region, ensuring that all women have a voice in shaping their futures.

The case of Colombia stands as a poignant example of women's activism within the broader context of social and political turmoil. Entrenched in an armed conflict for over six decades, Colombia has disproportionately affected women from rural areas and marginalized communities. Despite their subaltern position, women within the feminist movement have not only advocated for peace but also resisted the gendered impacts of conflict (Oion-Encina 2022). The Women's Political Movement Estamos Listas Colombia (hereinafter referred to as 'Estamos Listas' or 'The Movement'; Estamos Listas, 2023: Título I, Capítulo I. Artículo 1), stands as a testament to the resilience and determination of women to transform society: "We are feminists with a vocation for power and we want to transform this country, making it just, egalitarian and democratic" (Estamos Listas 2023: Introducción). Founded in 2017 in Medellín, Estamos Listas seeks to contribute to Colombia's political and democratic transition, drawing from the rich legacy of the women's social movement and the defense of human rights (Alzate-Zuluaga et al. 2022: 39, Estamos Listas, 2022b)

In Colombia, women have played a significant role in the broader social movement for human rights and peacebuilding. Despite facing subaltern positions in society, the feminist movement has worked for peace, resisted the gendered impacts of conflict, and denounced violence against women. Through activism, research, and advocacy, they have increased the visibility of women's experiences in conflict, influenced legislation and peace agreements, and provided support to affected women (Oion-Encina 2022). Their

multifaceted resistance and agency exemplify the transformative potential of feminist activism within critical social work and feminism, challenging entrenched power structures and paving the way for a more just, egalitarian, and democratic society.

1.1.1 Research question

In what ways do women from the Circle of Trust Felicita Campos from the Women's Political Movement Estamos Listas Colombia experience their situation in society, and how does Felicita Campos' Circle for Healing methodology contribute to the constitution of healing and action on both individual and collective levels?

1. How do women from Felicita Campos experience their condition and position in a patriarchal society, and how do these experiences intersect to shape their practical gender needs (PGNs) and strategic gender interests (SGIs)?
2. How does the circle methodology employed within Felicita Campos' Circle for Healing contribute to the establishment of healing processes and the promotion of action, both at the individual and collective levels?

1.1.2 Defining concepts

In this thesis, I adopt the perspective of Latin American feminism known as *feminismo comunitario*, ("communitarian feminism"), which originated in Bolivia in the early 1990s as a political and theoretical movement and later expanded to the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean countries (Martínez 2019). Communitarian feminism emerged from the revolutionary struggle of Bolivia's native peoples against neoliberalism and North American imperialism in the region. In 2003, it advocated for a constituent assembly to rethink various aspects of the country, including politics and the role of women, with the aim of establishing a non-patriarchal order (Martinez 2019: 26). Its origin lies in the political struggle against capitalism and neoliberalism, as well as the necessity to decolonize thinking, including Western feminist thought, and to redefine its words, categories, and concepts (Martinez 2019: 26). The Bolivian activist, feminist, and lesbian of Aymaran origin Julieta Paredes is the leading exponent in communitarian feminism (Paredes, 2008). Paredes' contributions focus on rejecting of any oppressive framework and proposing the epistemological shifts (Paredes 2008; Paredes & Guzmán 2014). Communitarian feminism advocates for a reinterpretation and reconceptualization of hegemonic categories and concepts.

1.1.2.1 Feminism

In Paredes and Guzmán's reconceptualization of feminism, it is defined as:

> Feminism, for communitarian feminism, is the struggle of any woman, at any time in history, anywhere in the world, who fights or rebels against a patriarchy that oppresses her or wants to oppress her (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 67).

Feminism represents the universal struggle of women, transcending time, place, and background, against patriarchal oppression. It emphasizes solidarity among women in their collective fight for equality and liberation from oppressive structures. Recognizing the term "woman" within its complexity, feminists advocate for embracing differences while acknowledging shared struggles and aspirations at national, regional, and global levels (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 70). Central to this interpretation is the ongoing process of defining what it means to be a "woman" in the face of patriarchy, with an emphasis on women constructing their identities based on their unique bodily experiences. By reclaiming autonomy and agency and challenging oppressive structures, women can reconstruct and transform themselves on both individual and collective levels.

1.1.2.2 Patriarchy

According to the authors, the European definition of patriarchy as a system of domination, oppression, and exploitation of men over women is considered too simplistic (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 76, Martínez 2019: 30). In their reconceptualization of patriarchy, it is defined as:

> Patriarchy is the system of all the oppressions, all the exploitations, all the violence and discrimination experienced by all of humanity (women men and intersex people) and nature, historically constructed on the sexed body of women (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 76).

Patriarchy is a systemic oppression that encompasses exploitation, violence, and discrimination, historically constituted on women's bodies. It is identified as the universal system of oppression that subjugates all living, sustaining and condensing all other forms of oppression learned in women's bodies, and thus the origin of all problems (Martínez 2019: 28).

Communitarian feminism advocates for a revolutionary struggle to overthrow patriarchy and build a society free from capitalism, racism, and discrimination (Martínez 2019: 28). It emphasizes that there is no struggle that is more important than another; neither struggle comes before the other. The liberation of women is essential for the liberation of all humanity (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 77).

1.1.2.3 Gender

The authors criticize the shift of the feminist concept of "gender" towards the more superficial notion of "gender equity," highlighting the theoretical confusion and political demobilization it has caused (Paredes 2008: 4-5; Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 73). The authors emphasize the importance of revisiting and remembering the original feminist understanding of the concept of gender, which was developed for political purposes. With its critical and revolutionary aspects, it was intended to unveil and denounce the social subordination of women to men and to challenge the systemic inequalities ingrained in gender roles. According to the authors, gender is akin to the concept of class. It signifies a struggle against exploitation and injustice, with the goal of overcoming gender as an unjust historical reality. In their reconceptualization of gender, it is defined as:

> The prison on a man's body is called the male gender and the prison on a woman's body is called the female gender. But the most important thing about the concept of gender is that it is a relationship of interiorization of women, because although both are prisons, for the patriarchy, the prison of the man is worth more than the prison of the woman (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 74).

Gender is an approach that proposes to put an end to the socialization of women in the feminine gender and the socialization of men in the masculine gender. Women and men are neither feminine nor masculine but can name themselves. It involves moving beyond the existing gender roles and envisioning a society where socialization of children is done without gender, ultimately eliminating the power relations constructed based on gender (Paredes 2008: 7). The authors advocate for the transcendence of gender as a historical and cultural construction. Gender is not a descriptive or essentializing category, but a political concept that constitutes a relational-political category with the primary purpose of denouncing women's subordination to patriarchy or exposing the subordinate position

of women in relation to men. As a concept and category, it has the potential to be used to transform the material conditions of women's oppression (Paredes 2008: 4).

1.2   Reading guide

The thesis comprises six chapters. In this introductory chapter, I present relevant research on gender equality plans in the countries of Latin America and Caribbean, including Colombia, and discuss feminist contributions to critical social work. Following this, I introduce the Women's Political Movement Estamos Listas Colombia and the case study of Circle of Trust Felicita Campos. Chapter 2 outlines the methodological considerations, choices, and theoretical framework of the thesis. Chapter 3 details the analysis strategies employed. Chapters 4 and 5 contain the analysis parts one and two of the thesis, respectively. Chapter 4 explores how women from Felicita Campos experience their condition and position in society, shaping their practical gender needs (PGNs) and strategic gender interests (SGIs). Chapter 5 delves into how the circle methodology of Felicita Campos' Circle for Healing foster healing and action on both individual and collective levels.

1.3 State of the art

First, I will present a study conducted by the Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC 2019). To contextualize the socio-economic reality of women in Colombia and, consequently, their organizing efforts within Felicita Campos and Estamos Listas, I will draw upon the three autonomies proposed by the Observatory. Next, I will delve into international and Latin American research on feminist contributions to critical social work.

1.3.1 The Gender Equality Plans

The Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean, operated by ECLAC, conducted a comprehensive review of gender equality plans in the region (ECLAC 2019). These plans, initiated since the 1990s, serve as crucial policy instruments reflecting a commitment to women's rights and gender equality (ECLAC 2019: 7). They aim to overcome barriers hindering women's full integration into social, cultural, and economic life (ECLAC 2019: 7). Aligned with the 2030 Agenda, these plans recognize the necessity of women's autonomy across all societal spheres for sustainable development

(ECLAC 2019: 7). Integration with development planning tools is deemed crucial for achieving true and sustainable development (ECLAC 2019: 8-9).

Despite progress, unresolved historical problems persist, including violence against women, political underrepresentation, and unequal employment opportunities (ECLAC 2019: 8). Addressing these challenges requires sustained State commitment to upholding women's rights and autonomy (ECLAC 2019: 9). Further examination of measures is needed to discern progress and respond to women's diverse realities (ECLAC 2019: 24). While differing in approach, all equality plans share the foundational principles of autonomy. Autonomy, understood as an essential requirement for the full exercise of human rights and the achievement of equality, comprises physical autonomy, decision-making autonomy, and economic autonomy (ECLAC 2019: 11).

1.3.1.1 Decision-making autonomy

Decision-making autonomy, also known as political autonomy, encompasses women's presence at various levels of government branches and measures aimed at promoting their full participation on an equal footing with men (ECLAC 2019: 71). This includes two key components:

1.3.1.1   Women in power and decision-making

Equality plans strive to increase women's participation through legislative measures such as quota and parity laws, along with initiatives promoting women's leadership at local and national levels (ECLAC 2019: 25). In Colombia, despite comprising 51.2% of the population, women face significant disadvantages in decision-making roles compared to men of the same social group (DANE 2022: 8). Notably, no woman has held the position of president of the country to date (Oion-Encina 2022: 20). However, in 2018, the first female vice-president came to power, and in 2022, another woman was elected, becoming the first Afro-descendant woman to hold this position (DANE 2022: 73). Although the Quota Law mandates 30% female representation in high-level positions, compliance is inconsistent, and women's interests are not always adequately represented (ECLAC 2019: 72; Oion-Encina 2022: 20).

1.3.1.2   Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women

Many countries in the region have established mechanisms for advancing gender equality within the political hierarchy, though challenges persist due to ideological resistance and insufficient resources (ECLAC 2019: 26-27). Comprehensive gender mainstreaming and increased resource allocation, particularly at the local level, are necessary to ensure effective gender equality efforts (ECLAC 2019: 27-28). However, the absence of gender equality mechanisms at the local level remains a significant obstacle in many countries, closely tied to the goals of decentralization and participation (ECLAC 2019: 23, 28).

1.3.1.2 Physical autonomy

Physical autonomy encompasses women's ability to make decisions freely over their own bodies (ECLAC 2019: 69). This includes two key components, which are central concerns addressed in all equality plans:

1.3.1.2.1   Violence against women

Violence against women stands as one of the gravest violations of women's rights, preventing their full exercise of autonomy (ECLAC 2019: 69). Despite advancements in legislation and policies, indicators in the region show no decreasing trend, reflecting a perpetual state of emergency in equality plans (ECLAC 2019: 28). Efforts to combat such violence are primarily motivated by the demands of women and women's organizations seeking to address all forms of violence they encounter (ECLAC 2019: 29).

In Colombia, while comprehensive laws and specific plans against gender violence cover more than 80% of physical autonomy measures, issues such as domestic violence, sexual violence, and feminicides persist as pervasive challenges and are addressed as everyday violence against women (ECLAC 2019: 29, 70; DANE 2022: 139, 150).

Domestic violence disproportionately affects women. In 2021, 73.92% of domestic violence cases against women involved their partner or ex-partner as aggressors (Sisma Mujer 2022: 8). Additionally, 25.23% of these cases involved underage girls and adolescents as victimized by other family members, notably fathers and stepfathers accounting for 46% of such incidents (Sisma Mujer 2022: 12). While domestic violence predominantly affects male children in their early stages of life, as they mature, adolescent girls and adult women become the primary victims (Sisma Mujer 2022: 11). Highlighting the need to strengthen protective measures for girls and adolescents experiencing domestic violence is crucial, given the continuum of violence in the family

as the first space of socialization (Sisma Mujer, 2022: 10-12). Despite efforts to address underreporting, it persists due to social normalization of gender-based violence (Oion-Encina 2022: 22).

Cases of sexual violence, particularly against girls, adolescents and women, continue to rise (Sisma Mujer 2022: 15, 21). In 2021, the National Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences (INML-CF) conducted medico-legal examinations for alleged act of sexual violence, of which 18,726 were performed on women (87.37%) and 2,708 on men (12.63%). Sexual violence against girls and women is alarming, with a vast majority of reported cases involving minors. During 2021, 80.47% of the victims of sexual violence were minors (Sisma Mujer 2022: 15-16). The increase in pregnancies in girls should be considered and named as pregnancies resulting from sexual violence instead of child or teenage pregnancies, contributing to the invisibility of sexual violence against minors (Sisma Mujer 2022: 18).

Violence against women in politics presents another significant challenge, with numerous cases reported during recent local and regional elections in Colombia (Observatory on Violence Against Women in Politics 2023). Among the women identified as victims of political violence, 44.1% aspire to a mayoralty, 32.4% to a governorship, and 20.6% aspire to a departmental council or assembly. This highlights the various forms of violence against women in politics, encompassing cases of psychological violence through threats (88.2%), physical violence (17.6%), and sexual violence (2.9%). Instances of lethal violence, such as assassinations, specific threats like acid attacks, and insults and comments undermining women's capabilities and affecting their image and public credibility, have been reported. Candidates have been forced into withdrawal, directly impacting community projects. The report also delineates the demographics of women affected by political violence, including Afro, indigenous, and victims of armed conflict. Notably, it underscores violence against LGBTI+ candidates, which undermines women's political rights, participation, and democratic culture. This violence impacts women's leadership and access to political positions, underscoring the importance of monitoring, visibility efforts, and combating gender-based violence in politics through assertive media coverage and ending its normalization as a form of exclusion.

1.3.1.2.2 Health and sexual and reproductive health

Health measures are typically divided into general measures focusing on enhancing preventive health policies and care for women, while sexual and reproductive health measures predominantly concentrate on reproductive health, with an emphasis on general preventive measures (ECLAC 2019: 29-30). Raising awareness is part of the equality plans, together with the dissemination among women of their rights in relation to health, especially sexual and reproductive health.

In Colombia, these measures constitute less than 20% of physical autonomy. Efforts target preventing adolescent pregnancy, enhancing sexual and reproductive health programs for adolescents, and campaigns to prevent pregnancy and increase the use of contraception (ECLAC 2019: 30).

1.3.2.2 Economic autonomy

Economic autonomy encompasses women's ability to generate their own income and resources, based on access to paid work on an equal footing with men. This includes three key components:

1.3.2.2.1   Overcoming poverty

Most of the plans do not explicitly focus on overcoming poverty among women as a specific issue. Many plans include measures to promote and access paid work, which also applies to Colombia (ECLAC 2019: 31).

In Colombia, women historically experience higher rates of monetary poverty than men due to income disparities and unfavorable working conditions. In 2022, the incidence of monetary poverty, according to the sex of the head of household, was 33.1% for men and 41.4% for women (DANE 2023: 4). Similarly, the incidence of extreme monetary poverty, according to the sex of the head of household, was 11.6% for men 16.7% for women (DANE 2023: 5). The concept of poverty in Colombia encompasses physical subsistence, unmet basic needs, and relative deprivation of resources, with dimensions of the multidimensional poverty index (MPI) such as illiteracy, low educational achievement, barriers to access to health services, lack of health insurance, and informal work (ASP Colombia 2023: 3.1-5).

1.3.2.2.2   Women and the economy

The measures aim to enhance women's independence and economic rights, focusing on four key areas regarding access to: decent work, control over resources, training and technology, and time allocation for domestic and care work (ECLAC 2019: 32). Plans seek to promote women's rights, raise awareness, allocate resources, and drive legal and normative changes.

Regarding access to decent work, normative and legal measures are promoted, and plans are proposed in relation to access to employment and hiring, wages and other benefits, and job security for women. Especially wage equality is an important point (ECLAC 2019: 32). Plans also refer to the development of competences to enhance their employability, with measures aimed at literacy initiatives in the case of poor women and different levels of business skills-building (ECLAC 2019: 33). Colombia faces challenges in broadening women's employment opportunities, promoting and improving opportunities for poor women, and strengthen their entrepreneurship, with no specific measures to tackle wage equality. Instead, initiatives like the Gender Equality Management System Certification Programme aim to close gender gaps in organizations (ECLAC 2019: 31, 33). Further, Colombia has access to housing as a point of reference (ECLAC 2019: 34).

In Colombia, the women's employment rate in 2022 was 42.6%, with a notable gender gap of 25.9 points compared to men. Women also earn lower incomes than men, with a national average wage gap of 5.8% in 2020. The unemployment rate for women was higher than for men, reflecting challenges in labor market inclusion (DANE 2022). The wage gap is smaller as the level of education increases, but even so, women with higher education earn less than men with the same level of education. Although the informality rate for women and men is very close, the wage gap varies significantly according to this employment condition. In the formal sector, the gap was 4.4% and in the informal sector, it was 28.4% (DANE 2022). In 2022, the gender disparity in unemployment rates persisted, with women experiencing a rate of 17.1%, compared to 10.4% for men, highlighting a 6.7 point difference (DANE 2022: 26). Additionally, 69.1% of individuals outside the labor force were women, primarily engaged in household chores (70%) and studying (14.4%), illustrating the intersection of labor market exclusion and poverty (Oion-Encina 2022: 21).

1.3.2.2.3   Access to sufficient time for autonomy

Access to sufficient time for autonomy is a crucial aspect addressed in all plans, emphasizing the need for women to balance their economic activities with caregiving responsibilities, especially childcare, along with services and infrastructure that favor women (ECLAC 2019: 34). Efforts are directed towards promoting a fair distribution of domestic duties between men and women, with many countries working to measure total working time to highlight disparities (ECLAC 2019: 34). The economic instability associated with unpaid domestic work is a related aspect. In Colombia, despite the essential nature of domestic and care work for the production of life and social functioning, women still bear a disproportionate burden of unpaid domestic and care work, perpetuating gender imbalances (Oion-Encina 2022: 21). This imbalance reflects deep-seated societal stereotypes and discrimination, hindering women's pursuit of paid work and economic autonomy (DANE 2022: 54). Despite increased female labor force participation, unpaid care work remains women's responsibilities and is undervalued, continuing to impede gender equality, especially for disadvantaged women.

1.3.2 Feminist contributions to critical social work

Viviene E. Cree and Ruth Phillips (2019) aim to examine the role of feminism in contemporary critical social work. They argue that social work has always been a women's profession (Guevara & Beltrán 2021, Cree & Phillips 2019: 127). The authors use the three different 'waves' of feminism to investigate feminism's contribution to critical social work, culminating in the present day. The authors emphasize the reciprocal relationship between critical social work and feminism and how critical feminist theory and practices remain vital. Both in the global North, where gender-based oppression persists, and in the global South, where women are actively fighting for their human rights. However, they make a call for a renewed and reflective approach to critical feminist social work that considers power dynamics, engages in political discourse, and embraces a diversity of perspectives. Finally, they call for solidarity and the durability of feminist praxis.

1.3.2.1 Critique of feminism in the global North and gender mainstreaming

Cree and Phillips (2019) suggest that feminism in the global North has been mainstreamed and commodified, reduced to a lifestyle choice, leading to a loss of its revolutionary, radical potential for transformation. It has further become another

colonizing force in the global South. Nunes and Veillette (2022) argue that feminism is currently garnering significant attention globally, but despite its diversity, feminism in its academic form is still influenced and shaped by the coloniality of feminist reason. There is a process of westernizing Latin American feminism. They suggest that even as feminism evolves and diversifies, it remains important to critically examine and address the colonial legacies that continue to impact feminist discourse and practice.

Cree and Phillips further critique Western feminist strategies and highlight the importance of a critical global South perspective that responds to Northern feminist research literature. They suggest that a critical perspective from the global South is essential for a comprehensive understanding of feminist issues, as it may provide different insights, challenges, and considerations that are not adequately addressed solely from a Western standpoint. Thus, the authors advocate for understanding rather than imposing solutions, emphasizing the importance of solidarity and alliance-building across diverse contexts.

Gender mainstreaming (GM) has become a key strategy in policy-making towards gender equality in the countries of Latin America and Caribbean. It has been argued to be a means to the goal of gender equality with objectives of gender parity, gender equality, gender equity, empowerment, and transformation. It requires paying attention to gender perspectives, making them visible, and showing the links between gender issues and the achievement of development goals (de Waal 2006).

However, authors underscore the challenges of implementing GM (Madsen 2016, Mihrete & Bayu 2021). Madsen (2016) notes that despite over two decades of efforts by the Danish International Development Agency (Danida), there have been few tangible results. Danida appears to still overlook addressing the fundamental masculinist institutional structures with an organizational culture characterized by "gender fatigue" and negative personal attitudes toward gender issues. The technical guidelines require a level of professional expertise that staff members lack, making GM implementation burdensome and challenging. It is a hostile ministerial environment, hierarchically structured as one of the traditional ministries and with a male-dominated top-level management, which challenges GM. Madsen points out how learning processes require the existence of a cross-cutting sharing of experience and reflection, indicating the need for horizontal institutional structures instead of vertical institutional structures. Hence,

Madsen advocates for integrating theoretical insights from feminist institutionalism combined with the experiences of development praxis.

Mihrete and Bayu (2021) address similar implementation obstacles by highlighting the many challenges faced by the Women and Children Affairs Office of Bahir Dar City administration, Ethiopia, in supporting, monitoring, and evaluating the performance of public sector GM practices across all planned actions. Low commitment and respect for gender experts and discussions affect gender experts' motivation and actions and impedes their daily monitoring and evaluation efforts. The authors link it with the prevalence of patriarchal ideology among certain heads, resulting in a diminished attention to the issue. The authors identify the challenge of compartmentalization, underscoring how many heads and staff members perceive gender-related efforts as the sole responsibility of the Women and Children Affairs Office, due to a weak belief in the issue, resulting in a lack of comprehensive integration.

1.3.2.2 Feminisms in the global South

Cree and Phillips (2019) highlight how diverse feminist theories and practices in the global South resist hegemonic ideas. Postcolonial and black feminisms challenge universalist notions, emphasizing the importance of recognizing power dynamics inherent in the historical relationships between the North and South, socially, politically, and economically. This engagement with the consequences of colonization and its intrinsic racism and sexism has been central to the emergence and understanding of intersectional, anti-racist, and decolonizing practices within critical social work. Grassroots feminist movements in the South challenge inequality and various forms of oppression experienced by women, showcasing the rich diversity of feminist theories and practices that continue to emerge and contend for recognition and influence.

Intersectionality has been highlighted as a valuable framework, offering deeper insights into how unequal power distributions across social groups contribute to issues like poorer health outcomes (Ross, Congress & Matsuzaka 2018). It provides diverse approaches for analyzing complex identities and the impact of social structures on people's living conditions, while also serving as a tool for critical reflection in critical and anti-oppressive social work (Mattsson 2014).

Feminist resistance to hegemonic ideas manifests in various forms. Martínez (2019) underscores the theoretical and political contributions of communitarian feminism to emancipatory social work, advocating for a pluriversal, feminist, anti-patriarchal, decolonial, and anti-capitalist social work approach. Motta's (2017) aims to contribute to emancipatory pedagogical politics through collaboration with Brazilian and Colombian movement educators, reinventing emancipatory politics through the development of emancipatory pedagogies. Schild (2019) addresses the pervasive influence of capitalist modernity and its link to neo-extractivism, advocating for a deeper understanding of the relations between women, capitalism, and nature.

Conway (2021) examines the resurgence of popular feminism in Latin American feminist politics, tracing its historical emergence and calling for critical analysis of its political practices and relevance in contemporary contexts. Maier (2010) emphasizes the importance of redeploying patriarchy as an analytical-political category, and advocates for the revival of methodologies used during the sensitizing phases of popular feminisms. Maier proposes adapting second-wave practices to promote transparency in institutional gender and advocates for policies supporting diverse expressions of women's rights activism at local, national, and regional levels, leading to women actively continuing to enrich the notion of citizenship and democracy in Latin American and Caribbean societies.

Lastly, Oion-Encina's (2022) preliminary study has been a significant inspiration for this thesis, and it will be presented here. The study aims to establish a theoretical framework regarding the significance of symbolic language and art as particular forms of resistance developed by the feminist/women's movement in Colombia, which she has termed "triple gender resistance to the violence of the armed conflict." The purpose of the study is to broaden the understanding of gender vulnerability in the armed conflict of the country, explore the triple gender resistance that women have developed and exercised in response to various forms of violence, and analyzed how these actions have contributed to symbolic reparation, empowerment, and healing for many women.

Following this theoretical framework, it is crucial to contextualize the social position of women relative to men in Colombian society to comprehend the different forms of violence perpetrated against them and the strategies they have developed to resist such violence. Oion-Encina draws on the concepts of gender condition and position

developed by Kate Young (1988) and the concept of subalternity articulated by Gayatri Spivak (2011). Women occupy a subordinate and vulnerable position in society, characterized by greater exposure to violence, discrimination and poverty.

Oion-Encina conceptualizes violence against women as a multidimensional construct, incorporating Johan Galtung's (1969) concept of the "triangle of violence," which comprises direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. Direct violence perpetrated in armed conflict is the visible tip of the iceberg of violence. Underneath the tip are structural and cultural violence, as well as the social structures that reproduce social inequalities and the system of values that justify them. Thus, Oion-Encina makes an elaboration based on Galtung's (1969) concept of the triangle of violence (see fig. 1).

Figura 1
Triangulo invisible de la violencia de género en el conflicto armado
Elaboración propia a partir de Galtung (1969).
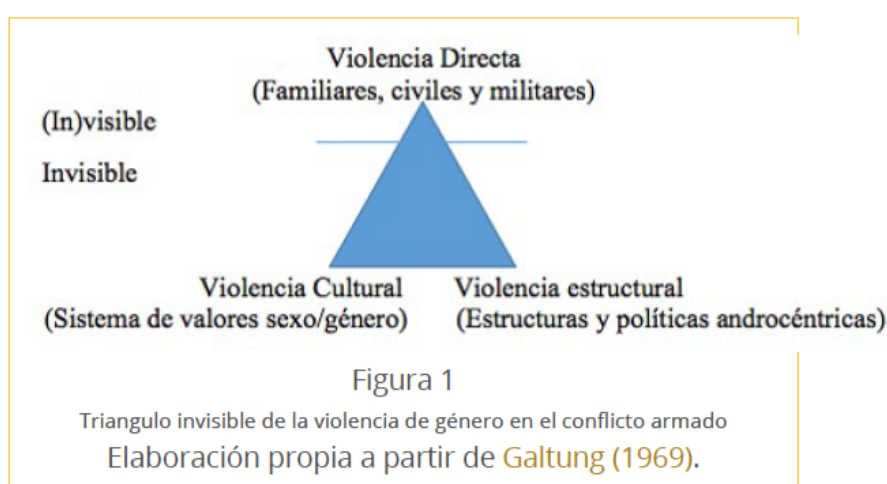
Fig. 1: Invisible triangle of gender-based violence in the armed conflict (Oion-Encina, 2022)

In Oion-Encina's elaboration, direct violence encompasses physical, psychological, and sexual violence perpetrated by family members, civilians, and armed actors in both private and public context, including public force, war, and displacement. Direct violence against women has long been undervalued and invisible. It is therefore both visible and invisible, while cultural and structural violence remain invisible. Cultural violence operates through the sex/gender value system, manifesting as symbolic violence that devalues women. It is sociocultural violence in everyday relationships. Structural violence, rooted in androcentric structures and politics, imposes structural conditions that restrict women's opportunities for full social participation. The concept of *continuum*

of violence coined by Cynthia Cockburn (2004) is further included to highlight how women live in constant violence, that cuts across time and space, periods of peace and war, due to the gender inequality that permeates all social structures, but has been exacerbated during the armed conflict.

Oion-Encina then makes an elaboration based on Galtung (1969) and ECLAC (Bárcena et al. 2017) (see fig. 2). By relating the triangle of violence to the three previously mentioned autonomies, Oion-Encina illustrates how women's exercise and development of triple gender resistance constitute their capacity to respond to cultural, structural, and direct gender-based violence.

Figura 2

Triple resistencia/agencia feminista ante el continuum de la violencia de género

Elaboración propia a partir de Galtung (1969) y CEPAL (Bárcena et al., 2017).
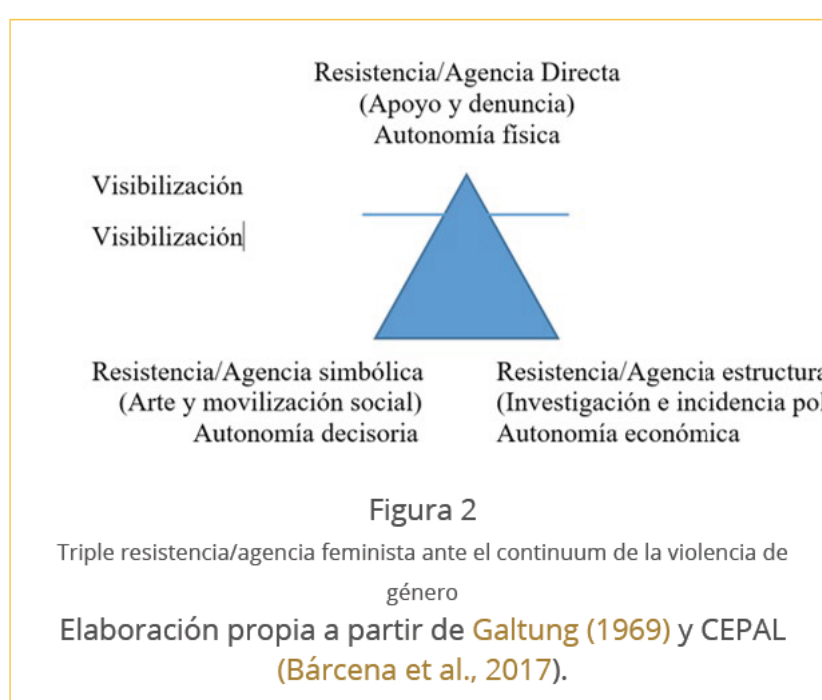
Fig. 2: triple feminist resistance/agency in the face of the continuum of gender-based violence (Oion-Encina, 2022)

This agency and resistance have enabled women to gain visibility, particularly in the context of symbolic denunciation and cultural violence, which underpin structural and direct violence. Thus, the women's agency and resistance to the war can be classified along these three axes. Oion-Encina's research focus on women's resistance and agency in the context of symbolic denunciation and cultural violence, as it is the basis of structural and direct violence, and it is essential to transforming this violence. Art and symbolism have played a fundamental role in women's mobilization and building

sisterhood, facilitating the dissemination of feminist discourses and agendas, and influencing peace negotiations.

In conclusion, Oion-Encina calls for further research to examine the diverse symbolic and artistic expressions created by women and their impact on processes of resistance, healing, resilience, empowerment, participation, agency, and social transformation. It is within this theoretical framework that the analysis of the case study Circle for Trust Felicita Campos will be conducted.

1.4 Women's Movement Estamos Listas Colombia and Circle of Trust Felicita Campos

In the following section, I will provide a brief overview of the Women's Political Movement Estamos Listas Colombia, outlining its declared aims, objective, and circles of trust. Subsequently, I will delve into the case study of the Circle of Trust Felicita Campos and their political advocacy initiative called 'Circle for Healing'.

Estamos Listas declare the aims of the movement:

> Estamos Listas aims at a Feminist, decentralized, plurinational, multicultural State that recognizes diversity. A State at the service of the people. That is why our priorities include democratic transition, economic, social and environmental justice, and the construction of a peaceful future from an anti-patriarchal stance.

> It is a bet that defends the commons and fights against inequalities, where our demands, which have been massive in the streets, continue to provoke a constant reconfiguration of the public, installing old/new issues such as care, violence, political participation, closing social and gender gaps in the quest to confront the growing conservatism and fundamentalism that are on the rise and are deepening the global economic and health crisis (Estamos Listas 2023: Título I, Capítulo I. Artículo 6).

As a women's-first movement centered around a feminist and an inclusive political agenda, Estamos Listas' political horizon is the construction of a Feminist State that prioritizes diversity and serves the people from an anti-patriarchal standpoint. Their political program revolves around these five key priorities, driving their efforts to reshape public awareness and influence societal agendas. These priorities encompass

longstanding concerns as well as emerging issues like care, violence, and political participation (Estamos Listas 2022c).

Furthermore, Estamos Listas declares the objective of the movement:

> To transform the country, making it fair, egalitarian and democratic, recovering it for life, collective well-being and the democratization of public affairs; through the occupation of spaces of power (…) towards a Feminist, caring, ecological and dignified State (Estamos Listas 2023: Título I, Capítulo II. Artículo 7)

Estamos Listas is not only critiquing existing power structures but also actively pursuing positions of power to effect meaningful change and advance feminist goals. Their vision encompasses political, social, and environmental dimensions, focusing on improving overall quality of life and fostering collective well-being, underpinned by the pursuit of equality. Their strategic approach involves actively participating in and occupying national spaces of power, organizing through women's circles, and growing from the periphery to the center. This strategy entails seeking to assume local, regional, and national spaces of power, with Circles of trust serving as foundational units in the periphery (Alzate-Zuluaga et al. 2021: 44-45, see fig. 3)
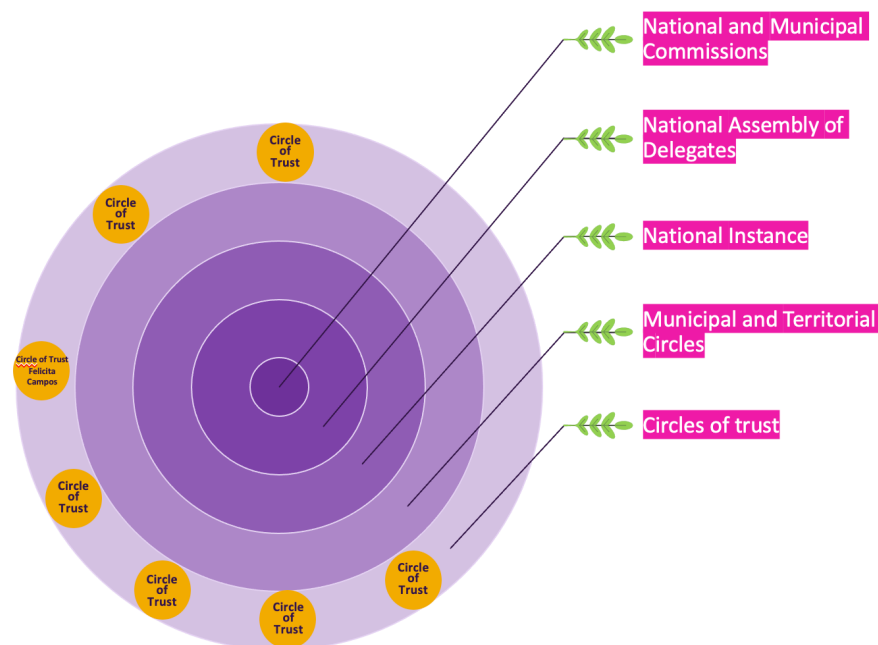

Fig. 3: Structure of Estamos Listas (Estamos Listas, 2022a)

1.4.1 Circles of trust

The Circles of trust, situated on the periphery, are delineated as follows:

> They are the basic and collective unit of deliberation, affiliation, trust, discussion, mobilization, study, and economic management where the necessary initiatives for the creation of a Feminist State will be developed (Estamos Listas 2023: Título II, Capítulo V, Artículo 3).

Any active member can initiate the formation of a circle, with each circle responsible for electing a facilitator and co-facilitator to mobilize it. These circles are mandated to propose political advocacy actions aligned with the movement's political horizon. They posses the capacity to interpret local contexts, address social and political needs, and initiate direct territorial actions, fostering mobilization and progress toward a Feminist State (Estamos Listas, 2022a). Designed to prevent the concentration of power, these circles promote collaboration built on trust, fostering collective progress and the realization of a political vision that originating at the grassroots level and extending to the national stage. Their approach embodies the principles of 'power to' and 'power with,' emphasizing collective action over control and domination (Oion-Encina 2022: 15). The Circle of Trust Bogotá serves as the case study.

1.4.2 Circle of Trust Felicita Campos

The Circle of Trust Bogotá has undergone several transformations, upon which this study is based, focusing on the Circle of Trust Felicita Campos, commonly known as Felicita Campos, which underwent transformation in the summer of 2022. The name was collectively chosen as it justifies an Afro-Colombian leader, a peasant from the Atlantic coast who advocated and fought for land rights in the 1920s, aligning with an intersectional perspective (Laurel 2). Felicita Campos envisioned bringing Estamos Listas to the popular territory of Alto Fucha[1], where some of them lived and engaged in community work. An in-person meeting was organized at the end of 2022, during which

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[1] The popular neighborhoods of informal origin have historically been home to the economically poorest families. Emerging from the 1950s onwards, these neighborhoods are self-built urban settlements characterized by individual properties grouped together with some shared spaces, primarily constructed by the residents themselves over several decades through collective and familial efforts. These neighborhoods represent a triad of illegal, informal, and popular aspects (Carvajalino Bayona 2019).

several Estamos Listas delegates visited Alto Fucha. In February 2023, Felicita Campos held their first meeting in the territory (Laurel 2).

Alto Fucha is situated in San Cristobal locality in the South, on the southeastern border of Bogotá (Guevara & Shields 2019: 229). Bogotá is generally divided between low and high socioeconomic strata, the South and the North[2], with strata 1 and 2 constituting 50% of the population and strata 4, 5, and 6 making up 15%. Strata 1, among other localities, is concentrated in the San Cristobal locality and the territory of Alto Fucha (Guevara & Shields 2019: 229; Rincón Castellanos & Reyes Muñoz 2022: 28, see fig. 4, fig. 5).

Felicita Campos has two facilitators and has proposed and developed ten sessions of the Circle for Healing as part of their political advocacy action in Alto Fucha. Four of the women from Felicita Campos were militants in Estamos Listas, including the two facilitators. The facilitators have been responsible for coordinating and executing the Circle for Healing, disseminating information, and convening the meetings (Laurel 2). However, the number of women comprising Felicita Campos or participating in the Circle for Healing has varied over time.

Photo: Bogotá and Alto Fucha.   **Houses from Alto Fucha. Photo: Author.**

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[2] The Colombian State has implemented spatial socioeconomic stratification as a means of managing its territory. This system classifies areas into six social 'strata' based on the socio-economic characteristics of neighborhoods and dwellings. It directly affects various aspects of life, including access to public services, land taxes, the cost of living, and social interactions (Guevara & Shields 2019).
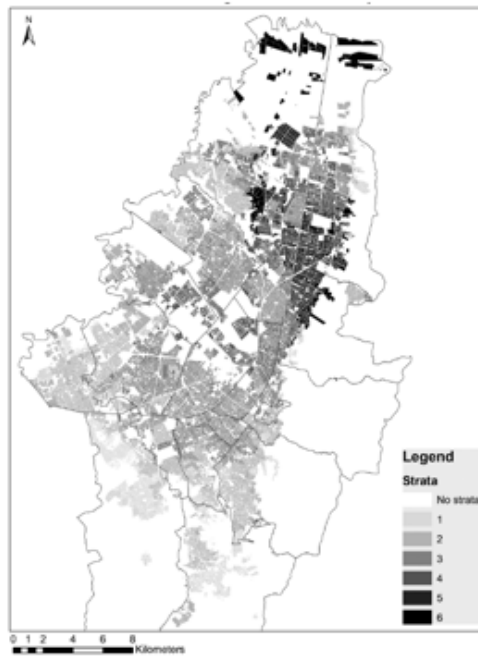
Fig. 4: Strata in Bogotá. Credit: Guevara & Shields 2019.
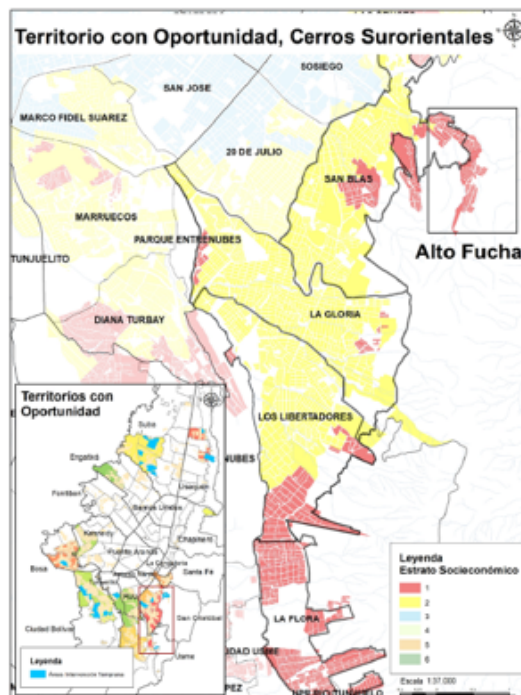
Fig. 5. Credit: Rincón Castellanos & Reyes Muñoz, 2022.

1.4.3 Circle for Healing

Felicita Campos has organized ten sessions of 'Circle for Healing' (Círculo para Sanar)[3]. The first session of Circle for Healing took place in February 2023, with the tenth session occurring in June 2023. Initially, Felicita Campos' aimed to convene weekly gatherings on Saturday afternoons from 3pm to 6pm in the territory of Alto Fucha, although this schedule was not always feasible. The objectives of Circle for Healing are as follows:

LITERACY CIRCLE FOR HEALING

Objective(s) To facilitate circular meeting scenarios with adult women of the Alto Fucha Ecoterritory, where knowledge and life experiences are reciprocally transmitted. With the aim of finding tools for discovering and/or strengthening one's own power and that of other(s) within a community context.

    Specific objectives:

1. To encourage circular spaces of *healing* and *action* at *individual* and *collective* levels through the reading of literary pieces created by women, having literary creations by the attending women as final results.
2. To build a space of emotional security so that women can give themselves permission to feel, name, and re-signify what they had experienced (Laurel, my emphasis).

The target group comprises adult women from the popular territory of Alto Fucha, also known as the 'Alto Fucha Ecoterritory'. The concept of Ecoterritory emerged within the context of conflicts over land use and urban development. In 2015, a collective called 'Siembra Luna' (Sowing Moon) developed the concept of Ecoterritory. Rooted in ecofeminist and ecosocialist ideologies, it advocates for a territorial model based on urban agroecology (Rincón Castellanos & Reyes Muñoz 2022: 27). Administratively, the Alto Fucha Ecoterritory comprises seven neighborhoods, forming the foundation of the territorial identity and collective action within the Ecoterritory framework (Castellanos & Reyes Muñoz 2022: 28).

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[3] Originally called 'Círculo de Lectoescritura para Sanar' (Literacy Circle for Healing).

Additionally, all women who have attended at least one Circle for Healing session gain access to Felicita Campos' WhatsApp chat group, where the facilitator extends invitations to upcoming sessions (Laurel 2). The sessions are mainly workshops, and revolve around topics such as 'Sex work', 'Alternative Maternities', 'Conversation with Wise Women', 'Gender Identities', 'Care Work', 'Ritual Body Territory' (Ritual Cuerpo Territorio), 'Community Minga' (Minga Comunitaria) and 'Weaving' (Laurel 2). Before each session, the facilitators convene to prepare, discuss, and plan the session. Topics are chosen based on requests from women in Felicita Campos and are incorporated into the preparation process. They facilitators have implemented a circle methodology, with pairs of facilitators rotating roles: one guides the reflective part while the other lead the corporal part. On occasions, alternative methodologies have been employed, such as during 'Ritual Body Territory,' where an apprentice in traditional indigenous medicine served as an external guest and guided the session. Example of an invitation:

Invitation to Circle for Healing: Care Work. Credit: Felicita Campos.

The meeting point is the urban garden 'Huerta[4] Ilusión' (Ilusión, meaning Dream or Hope), from where they also have access to each other's houses. In addition to Ilusión, they have held their meetings in different spaces: 'Dome' (Community Dome), 'Sentadero' (Sitting area) next to the fountain Fucha, and 'Río Fucha' (Fucha River).

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[4] Urban gardens are an activity that allows the production of healthy food through agricultural practices in urban spaces of the city, either on the ground or on the terraces of houses and buildings (Secretaría Distrital de Ambiente, 2021)

Ilusión. Photo: Author.

Community Dome. Photos: Author.

The Sitting area with fountain Fucha. Photo: Author.

Fucha River. Photo: Author.

2. Methodological considerations

The following chapter presents the feminist framework of the thesis. First, it introduces the thesis as an explanatory, qualitatively driven case study. Next, it discusses the theoretical considerations that underlie the design and approach of the study. Finally, it explores the methods for collecting empirical data, emphasizing participant observation and interview.

The study has integrated feminist approaches into its design, execution, and completion. However, despite the diversity of feministic approaches, it is argued that feminism in academia continues to be influenced by the coloniality of feminist reason. The phenomena, epistemological stances, and methodologies used by feminist researchers are still heavily influenced by the hegemonic feminist movement (Nunes &

Veillette 2022: 2). Therefore, I have paid attention to the westernization of Latin American feminism in conducting the study by engaging in critical reflection and reflexivity (Hesse-Bibber & Piatelli 2014; Mattsson 2014; Cocker 2022), accessing the field in Spanish, and incorporating perspectives from Latin American feminisms, among other considerations.

2.1 Explanatory, qualitatively driven case study

The thesis serves as an *explanatory, qualitatively driven case study* (Hesse-Biber 2017: 220, 224). Its research agenda aims to elucidate patriarchy and the intersections between various systems of oppression, drawing from Paredes' reconceptualization as a systemic oppression encompassing exploitation, violence, and discrimination experienced by all members of life (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 76). Patriarchy is understood as the universal system of oppression historically constructed on women's bodies, serving as the root cause of all problems (Martínez 2019: 28).

This reconceptualization informs the thesis's approach, as it opts for a case study methodology to achieve a nuanced understanding of patriarchy and its impacts within social contexts (Hesse-Biber 2017: 221). The case study approach enables the study of *systems* as well as a *holistic understanding* of patriarchy within its social context, facilitating an exploration of the systems perpetuating oppression while also allowing for the study of intersecting systems of oppression (Hesse-Biber 2017: 221).

This approach is particularly valuable given the historical harm caused by essentialist and context-free analyses, especially for disempowered groups such as women (Hesse-Biber 2017: 221). Furthermore, it complements communitarian feminism as a social theory, focusing attention during (un)learning, (de)construction, discovery, or problem solving, and investigating the case from multiple angles while considering the various dimensions of the issue (Hesse-Biber 2017: 221).

Aligned with communitarian feminism's call for a revolutionary struggle against patriarchy to build a society free from capitalism, racism, and discrimination (Martínez 2019: 28), the thesis seeks to contribute to this broader movement by deepening our understanding of patriarchy's mechanisms and impacts. Emphasizing the interconnectedness of struggles for liberation, the thesis asserts that the emancipation of women is integral to the liberation of all living (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 77).

Consequently, the research agenda seeks to contribute to this broader struggle by deepening our understanding of patriarchy's mechanisms and impacts, with the ultimate goal of advancing societal transformation towards equality and justice.

The thesis adopts a *single instrumental* type of case study (Hesse-Biber 2017: 224). I selected the Circle of Trust Felicita Campos as a bounded entity from the Women's Political Movement Estamos Listas Colombia due to its status as a woman's first movement that explicitly denounces patriarchy and strives for transformation. Limiting the study to one unit of analysis aligns with the feminist research principle of 'studying from the margins out' (Intemann 2014: 17-19), allowing for an in-depth exploration of women's experiences in their daily life.

The primary aim of this case study is to comprehend the case itself, without a focus on theoretical inference or empirical generalization (Hesse Biber 2017: 225). The thesis adopts an inductive approach, starting with the exploration of specific data – namely, women's richly detailed descriptions of their lives within the context of their communities and society. This process generates more generalized ideas and theories (Hesse-Biber 2017: 17). However, as a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the data from women in Felicita Campos emerged through intense depth exploration, I aimed to make empirical generalizations. This process yielded a nuanced and complex understanding of the data, offering transferable insights for a broader range of cases. These findings, derived from qualitative data, have the potential to enrich official statistics and institutional reports from Colombia.

To ensure the validity of the case study, a triangulated approach was employed, combining ethnographic fieldwork observations, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. This comprehensive exploration allowed for the convergence of thick descriptions with interpretations, facilitating a deeper understanding of the phenomena under investigation. Method triangulation played a vital role in addressing the research question and refining interpretations over time. Additionally, primary data was supplemented with information from documents, enhancing the depth and breadth of the analysis. Through this multifaceted approach, a robust foundation was constructed, capturing the richness of women's complex experiences while ensuring the credibility and reliability of the findings.

2.2 Theoretical considerations

In this study, my critical approach is rooted in Latin American feminisms, particularly the perspectives of *feminismo comunitario* ("communitarian feminism") and *feminismo popular* ("popular feminism"), which are evident in the empirical data concerning Felicita Campos and Estamos Listas. Additionally, I employ intersectionality to complement these perspectives (Ross et al. 2018: 52). Consequently, the study is conducted with a focus on dismantling gender inequality and uncovering women's subjugated knowledges with social justice purposes in mind (Hesse-Biber 2017: 32).

Conway advocates recognizing multiple forms of popular feminisms with diverse content (Conway 2021). In this study, I adopt Elizabeth Maier's formulation: "Popular feminism refers to a gender-perspective interpretation of low-income women's needs, interests, and demands" (Maier 2010: 41, n. 14). This perspective is characterized in the lived experiences of the popular sector, encompassing their everyday gendered struggles in their economically marginalized communities (Conway 2021: 28).

Intersectionality, originating in feminist theory and introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989, 1991), acknowledges that individuals hold multiple social identities that intersect and interact, resulting in complex and unique experiences of privilege and oppression. Intersectionality underscores that individuals are not defined by a single aspect of their identity; rather various social categories such as gender, race, and class intersect to shape a person's experiences (Crenshaw 1989). Although intersectionality is widely used, its conceptualization and application vary. Generally, it functions both as an explanatory conceptual framework and as a methodological approach (Ross et al. 2018: 52). In this study, it serves as both a framework and a methodological approach.

2.3 Methods for collecting empirical data

Data collection occurred over approximately six months, from March 2023 to August 2023. During this period, I engaged in introductory meetings with Estamos Listas and Felicita Campos, collected documents, and conducted formal and informal visits in the territory of Alto Fucha, which included participant observations and interviews. Access to Felicita Campos was obtained through the following steps:

1. Contacting Estamos Listas via Instagram and subsequently connecting with Laurel, a facilitator of Felicita Campos, through WhatsApp.
2. Participating in an initial meeting with Laurel.
3. Requesting formal permission from Estamos Listas to collect data from Felicita Campos.
4. Engaging in an initial online meeting with a militant of the National Commission for Knowledge Management and Production (CNGPC) of Estamos Listas, after which permission was granted.
5. Gaining access to Felicita Campos through Laurel as a facilitator, and commencing data collection through participant observations and interviews.
6. Concluding the empirical data collection upon leaving Colombia.

The collected empirical data:

The collection of the empirical data: March 2023 to August 2023		
Type of empirical data	**Description**	**Notes**
Two meetings	In-person introductory meeting with Laurel, facilitator of Felicita Campos	1 hour, a public place in the North
	Online meeting with a militant from CNGPC, Estamos Listas	1, 5 hours, Google Meet (online)
Four participant observations	Prior observation: Demonstration on International Women's Day March 8th 2023, Bogotá	6 hours, complete participant
	Circle for Healing: Care Work	6 hours, incl. transport to and from field, observer as

		participant Song: La Mujer by Amparo Ochoa (1985)
	Walking tour in Alto Fucha	2 hours, with Sarai and Matty, complete participant
	Circle for Healing: Weaving	3 hours, observer as participant – participant as observer
Five interviews **Two follow-up interviews**	Written expert interview with facilitator Laurel	Word Document, WhatsApp
	Interview and follow-up interview with Sarai	1.5 hours, 1.5 hours, in her home
	Interview and follow-up interview with Anita	1 hour, 2 hours, in her home
	Interview with Laurel	2,5 hours, in her home
	Interview with Matty	1.5 hours, Google meet (online), in our homes
Documents	Estamos Listas	

	• Statutes of the Women's Political Movement Estamos Listas Colombia • Website • Instagram	
	Felicita Campos • Instagram	Posts from Huerta Ilusión

Fig. 5: Overview of empirical data.

2.3.1 Participant observation

Participant observation serves as the primary research tool of ethnography (Hesse-Biber 2017: 183). Various feminist approaches to ethnography exist, but they are typically unified by a deep commitment to understanding women's issues from their perspective and paying special attention to their activities and doings in the research setting (Hesse-Biber 2017: 188). I upheld this commitment throughout the preparation and execution of observations, particularly given my role as a foreign student researcher.

During the ethnographic fieldwork, I conducted four participant observations in natural setting, each with varying level of participation depending on the context and purpose. These observations encompassed all roles, from complete participant to primarily observer, capturing events in real time and contextualizing the overall case of Felicita Campos (Hesse-Biber 2017: 192-196). While I participated as a complete participant in events like the International Women's Day demonstration and walking tour, I took on a primarily observational role during the Circle for Healing (see fig. 5). They provided insights into interpersonal behavior, emotions, motives, and cultural features and symbolism (Hesse-Biber 2017: 223).

Field notes served as a record of my experiences, capturing *on-the-fly* notes, *thick descriptions* of settings, *data analysis, interpretations and theories,* and *personal matters and reflexivity* (Hesse-Biber 2017: 206). These notes were made shortly after leaving the field and were recorded by hand, on various technical devices, or as voice recordings.

Additionally, photographs were taken to document settings, except during the first Circle for Healing.

2.3.2 Interview

Interviewing has been argued to be a way feminist researchers have attempted to access women's hidden knowledge. It is antidote, because women's ideas, along with those of other people of color and queer people, have been ignored for centuries altogether or having men speak for them (Hesse-Biber 2017: 110). Indeed, I also saw the interviews as an opportunity to let the women speak for themselves, teach me about life through their own words, ideas, thoughts, and memories, and guide the research process. In-depth interviews have been largely argued to be of undeniable value and interest in research on women, as the researcher can access subjugated voices and subjugated knowledge (Young 1988: 72, Hesse-Biber 2017: 110). Thus, in-depth interviews have been the preferred form of interviewing, with only one prior written expert interview to develop a relevant interview guide for the in-depth interviews. In total, I conducted seven interviews with four women from Felicita Campos: one prior written expert interview, four in-depth interviews, and two follow-up interviews (see fig. 5).

The written expert interview was conducted in collaboration with Laurel, Felicita Campos' facilitator, by using Microsoft Word and WhatsApp, and whom I later interviewed in-person. However, Laurel also shares personal information in the written interview, which I have supplemented with the information from the in-person interview.

I endeavored to conduct all in-depth interviews in person, which was successful, except for one that was conducted online through Google Meet, albeit with pictures and audio, where we were both at home. The in-depth interviews, including the follow-up interviews, have been conducted in-person in the women's homes and lasted an average of 1.5 hours. All interview situations went unexpectedly. The women had more time and engagement than initially estimated, and we had several delays for various reasons, including the language barrier. The follow-up interviews were conducted as a result.

2.3.2.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews are *issue-oriented,* and I have aimed to gain information and understanding about women's situation from their invisible experiences (Hesse-Biber 2017: 107). It can provide both descriptive and explanatory data, allowing the person to

speak from their experience and perceptions, where the descriptive data has been provided with thick descriptions (Hesse-Biber 2017: 15, 108-110).

Furthermore, the degree of division and hierarchy in the interview situation between the two parties is ideally low due to the process being a meaning-making endeavor that begins as a partnership between them (Hesse-Biber 2017: 106). We were in their own homes, so we sat comfortably and were at eye level. To illustrate the interview situations and highlight the findings of the study, I will briefly refer to the transcribed interviews. The two parties in the interview situation are referred to by name[5]. In other words, *we* are referred to by our names, the woman's chosen pseudonym, and my name[6]:

Speaker	Transcription
Sarai	[00:00:07]
Alondra	[00:01:21]

I arrived as Alondra, woman, and fellow feminist, with respect and compassion, aiming to create an equal partnership. During the interview, I strived towards active questioning and listening and is inspired by Felicita Campos' methodologies. For the following reasons, I do not refer to the woman in question as an "informant" throughout the study, but by her name or as "woman" to redefine the roles of informant/participant and interviewer/researcher and let the woman define herself. Additionally, the women helped me with my Spanish and read out the interview questions themselves if I mispronounced the words, which also illustrates our partnership.

2.3.2.2 Interview guide

The process of creating an interview guide is considered important preparation for the interview (Hesse Biber 2017: 115). The interview guide, theoretically anchored and inspired by Onion-Encina's framework (2022), ensures relevance and maintains a common thread throughout the interviews, despite each interview being highly personal. I have designed semi-structured interviews, incorporating elements of low-structure (Hesse-Biber 2017: 113). Essentially, this format grants us control when needed, but most importantly, it gives us the freedom to explore what is most at stake in the interview

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[5] In the analysis, they will be referred to with their first letter, e.g. 'S' for Sarai.
[6] Alondra is the author's name in Colombia.

situation. Drawing from the first two observations, initial coding, and emerging themes, the interview guide was developed with research and interview questions (Hesse-Biber 2017: 214-216; see appendix 1). It consists of the following main topics and subtopics:

1. Introduction.
    a. Briefing.
    b. Written exercise: introduction and socio-demographic characteristics.
2. The lived experiences of woman's condition and position in society, Colombia.
    a. Everyday life: household structure, gender division of labor, and women's triple role.
    b. Woman's condition and PGNs in a patriarchal society.
3. Experiences and perceptions of the invisible triangle of gender-based violence.
    a. The lived experiences of cultural violence: sex/gender value system.
    b. The lived experiences of direct violence: family members and civilians.
4. Felicita Campos: Circle for Healing.
    a. Circle for Healing: healing, corporeality, and sisterhood.
5. Debriefing (and my position as a foreigner)

The subtopic 'Written exercise: introduction and socio-demographic characteristics' offers unique insights into each woman's life, encompassing their name, gender pronouns militant status, and socio-demographic traits (see appendix 2). These open-ended questions allowed women to express themselves freely, for instance, '11. Where do you live?' permitted responses ranging from specific neighborhoods to broader territorial affiliations. Similarly, perceptions of number of children and occupation were subjective, offering nuanced perspectives.

These socio-demographic characteristics provide valuable individual insights and contribute to understanding Felicita Campos as a distinctive group within Colombian society. They assist analyzing various societal aspects such as inequalities, identities, social structures, patterns, disparities, and trends. Moreover, the study adopts an intersectional analysis approach, implementing *intracategorical approach* to unveil the diversity within social groups. By focusing on the women from Felicita Campos, I illuminate their lived experiences, multiple identities, and perspective, shedding light on the intersections of numerous oppressions (Mattsson 2014: 10).

Inspired by Estamos Listas' membership form, the chosen socio-demographic characteristics aim to test the tentative hypotheses and seek evidence, including negative cases (Hesse-Biber 2017: 224, Estamos Listas, 2022d). Notably, the exclusion of religious-spiritual beliefs as a category represents a missed opportunity for deeper exploration, which could have enriched my understanding of the women's experiences.

The written exercise during an interview situation. Photo: Author.

2.3.2.3 Selection and presentation of women

The four women from Felicita Campos who are part of the study are: Anita, Laurel, Matty, and Sarai. Three out of four of the women have an affiliation with the Movement and are registered as militants, while Sarai is not (see fig. 6). Three of the four women reside in Alto Fucha, while Matty resides in the North. The four women have known each other for a for some time. Sarai was born in the territory and lives there with her family. Anita is a newcomer who moved to Alto Fucha about twenty years ago from another popular territory in the western part of Bogotá. Laurel has been involved in community work in Alto Fucha for approximately eight years and moved to the territory two years ago. The

fourth woman is Matty, who became acquainted with the territory three years ago and has been visiting regularly. None of the women are from rural areas, nor have any of them been victims of the armed conflict in the country and forced into displacement. Furthermore, none of the women have a disability.

Introducing women from Felicita Campos				
Name	**Anita**	**Laurel**[7]	**Matty**	**Sarai**
Gender pronouns	She/her	She/her They/them	She/her	She/her
Age	67	34	40	56
Civil status	Single	Single	Married	Widow
Number of children	1	0 (kitten)	0	2
Occupation	Pensioner	Unemployed (activist)	Professor	Domestic worker
Educational background	*Bachiller* (finished upper secondary school)	Specialization in Feminist and Gender studies	Master in geography	Primary education
Ethnical-racial identity	No importance	Mestiza	Mixed race	No importance
Sexual orientation	Heterosexual	Bisexual	Heterosexual	Heterosexual
Gender identity	Woman	Woman	Woman	Woman
Residency	Alto Fucha	Alto Fucha	The North	Alto Fucha

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[7] '(…)' what she wrote on her page.

Militant status	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Fig. 6: Introducing women from Felicita Campos

Laurel facilitated my access to Felicita Campos and played a key role in communicating the study's objectives, including conducting interviews. As I considered whom and how many women to include in the study to address the research question, my selection criteria for women from Felicita Campos were straightforward: preferably, at least two women who have engaged in Circle for Healing at least once. While their affiliation with the Movement or consistency in attending the Circle for Healing, or their familiarity with Felicita Campos, were of secondary importance, their identities as women from Colombia allowed me to test the study's main hypothesis, inspired by Oion-Encina's findings, and to seek evidence for potential exceptions.

Having a minimum of two women enabled me to explore the core assumptions of intersectionality (Ross et al. 2018). With a single woman, I could investigate how an individual's lived experiences cannot be reduced to a single social identity category, and how these categories are intertwined, non-additive, and mutually constituted. Thus, I could delve into how individuals navigate life with complex combinations of intersecting identities and interact that shape their experiences. However, with two or more women, ideally from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, I could employ an intracategorial approach. This approach increases complexity and allows for an examination of how social identity categories are socially constructed and linked to unequal social relationships. It also highlights how these categories are inseparable from social processes and shaped by societal structures (Ross et al. 2018).

3. Analytical strategies

The following section outlines the analysis strategy employed in this study, serving as a *plan for the analysis work* (Olesen 2018: 146). It constitutes an explanatory study which aiming to address the research question:

> *In what ways do women from the Circle of Trust Felicita Campos from the Women's Political Movement Estamos Listas Colombia experience their situation in society, and how does Felicita Campos' Circle for Healing methodology contribute to the constitution of healing and action on both individual and collective levels?*

This study endeavors to explain why women from Felicita Campos experience their situation and subsequently organize themselves within Felicita Campos. Communitarian feminism proposes the construction of a social theory aimed:

> To search for the cause of the social problems that we are interested in solving, to design a way to solve them, and to make a proposal for a society where these problems will not be repeated (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 63-64).

This proposal not only aims to comprehend the causes of oppression but also strives to propose actions to dismantle the patriarchal, colonial, and capitalist order, offering a vision for a new societal order (Martínez 2019: 27). Aligned with communitarian feminism, which advocates for the construction of a social theory, the analysis is structured around two sub-questions and divided into two parts. The first part addresses patriarchy as the root cause of the social issues confronting women, while the second part explores how Felicita Campos designs different ways to solve these problems and proposes a transformed society.

3.1. First part of the analysis

The first part of the analysis addresses the sub-question:

> How do women from Felicita Campos experience their condition and position in a patriarchal society, and how do these experiences intersect to shape their practical gender needs (PGNs) and strategic gender interests (SGIs)?

In this context, women's condition and position in a patriarchal society serve as the dependent variables. Furthermore, the analysis examines how women's PGNs and SGIs are influenced by their experiences in a patriarchal society, reflecting their responses to the challenges and inequalities they face. PGNs and SGIs provide valuable insights into the dependent variables, namely women's condition and position in a patriarchal society. The analysis strategy for this part examines *robust dependence*, aiming: "To shed light on the independent variable that can explain a given dependent variable" (Olesen 2018: 166). Therefore, the strategy seeks to understand and justify patriarchy as the independent variable, the root cause of women's subordination.

Patriarchy plays a pivotal role in understanding the male-centered and male-privileged social order that underlies women's societal condition. It sheds light on the

myriad forms of gender oppression and exclusion perpetuating gender inequality, hindering women from living well (Maier 2010: 38). Redeployed as an analytical-political category in this study, patriarchy provides insights into the power dynamics shaping and perpetuating women's marginalization from equitable access to economic, social, and cultural benefits (Maier 2010: 39). Patriarchy elucidates various forms of oppression – violence, oppression, exploitation, discrimination – women face in relation to their condition and position in Colombian society and shape their PGNs and SGIs. Hence, it tends towards an analytical discussion of nuance and complexity.

Incorporating a gender perspective rooted in popular feminism formulated by Maier and drawing on Paredes and Guzmán's reconceptualization of feminism, patriarchy and gender, this study integrates glossaries on gender, including those formulated by the European Institute of Gender Equality (EIGE) and scholars like Kate Young (1988). These glossaries serve to provide clarity and depth to the discourse surrounding gender dynamics, enriching the analysis.

3.1.1 Glossaries on gender

Drawing from Maier's formulation, popular feminism is understood here as a gender-perspective interpretation of the needs, interests, and demands of low-income women. It emphasizes the importance of centering the experiences and voices of marginalized women in feminist discourse and advocacy efforts. By adopting this lens, I aim to shed light on the nuanced realities faced by women at the intersection of gender, class, and other intersecting identities.

Central to these glossaries is the distinction between women's practical gender needs (PGNs) and strategic gender interests (SGIs) (Silvestre Cabrera et al. 2023: 7), concepts originally attributable to Maxine Molyneux (1985) and further developed by scholars such as Caroline Moser (1989) and Kate Young (1988). PGNs encompass the immediate needs identified by women within their socially accepted roles, while SGIs address broader issues related to women's social status and challenge traditional gender norms and power structures (EIGE 2024; EIGE 2024).

Kate Young's conceptualization of women's condition and women's position provides a framework for understanding the material realities and social standing of women in society. She defines it as follows:

By *condition* I mean the material state in which women find themselves: their poverty, their lack of education and training, their excessive work burdens, their lack of access to modern technology, improved tools, work-related skills, etc. By *position* is meant women's social and economic standing relative to men (Young 1988: 1-2).

Women's condition refers to their tangible circumstances, such as poverty and lack of access to resources, while women's position encompasses their social and economic standing relative to men. By focusing on both condition and position, Young aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by women in development contexts. Thus, Young relates women's condition to PGNs and women's position to SGIs (Oion-Encina 2022: 10).

In this study, I interpret women's needs, interests, and demands, in the context their condition and position within society. By focusing on 'position' rather than 'social position', I highlight the interconnectedness of women's experiences and underscore the significance of addressing both material conditions and social standing as closely related issues in a patriarchal society. Additionally, the framework of intersectionality informs our analysis, allowing for a deeper understanding of how intersecting identities shape individuals' experiences of oppression.

3.2 Second part of the analysis

The second part of the analysis addresses the sub-question:

How does the circle methodology employed within Felicita Campos' Circle for Healing contribute to the establishment of healing processes and the promotion of action, both at the individual and collective levels?

The analysis strategy for this part examines *generative mechanisms*, aiming: "To shed light on the contexts, processes and mechanisms through which concrete conditions or circumstances are constituted" (Olesen 2018: 166). The strategy is oriented towards discussion rather than explanation, seeking to understand Felicita Campos and their established circle methodology in Circle for Healing, through which healing and political action manifest on both individual and collective level.

The basis of the analysis lies in the information provided by facilitator Laurel. Seeking knowledge about methodologies used by popular feminists, Laurel was searching for a Circle of trust aligned with popular feminism when she became militant in Estamos Listas. Consequently, the target group of the Circle for Healing comprises adult women from the popular territory of Alto Fucha. Additionally, research was conducted on methodologies proposed by communitarian feminists, as these are also reflected in the empirical data, such as the stated objectives of Circle for Healing outlined in section '1.4.3 Circle for Healing' and in the name of their action 'Circle for Healing'. However, the analysis primarily emphasizes the methodologies proposed by Paredes and Guzmán. As a result, the examination focuses on 'healing', 'action,' 'individual' and 'collective' experiences and perceptions of women in accordance with these methodologies and will be briefly presented.

3.2.1 Community: A circle path that leads to Vivir Bien

In the communitarian feminism's proposal to transform the patriarchal, colonial, capitalist order and to propose a way of life in this new order (Martínez 2019: 27), Paredes and Guzmán advocate for a methodology rooted in a circular path that leading to *Vivir Bien* ("Living Well") within the community (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 88). It is a transformative paradigm that redefines progress and well-being, placing human dignity, social harmony, and ecological sustainability at its core. Drawing on indigenous wisdom, it offers an alternative path to achieve a just and sustainable society where everyone can live well. The circle mentioned symbolizes a cyclical journey rather than a linear one, signifying a return to one's origins, an understanding of one's roots, and a forward movement with purpose and responsibility. This circular path emphasizes the importance of memory and learning from the past while also looking ahead to the future. By challenging pragmatism and the notion that "the end justifies the means," Paredes and Guzmán advocate for a holistic approach that values the process – the journey – as the objective (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 88). Instead of solely focusing on reaching a specific endpoint, this approach emphasizes integrity, ethics, and a deeper understanding of the consequences of one's actions along the way (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 88).

According to Paredes and Guzmán, community is a not solely a territory but a political proposal (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 89). It is conceptualized as a transforming political body for understanding and organizing society and life. The community serves

as both the point of departure and arrival for its transformation, embracing an inclusive principle that cares for life (Paredes 2008: 8) The authors elaborate:

> The community is not only the people, but also the space, everything that is above, *alaxpacha*, what is here*, akapacha*, and what is below, *manqhapacha*. The community is also the territory and the nature that lives in this territory, a territory that has limits, but not borders that divide it (Paredes & Guzmán 2014: 89, my emphasizes).

This perspective offers an alternative to individualistic societal norms, aiming to transform the Western understanding of the interactions between individuals, genders, and nature. In this view, the community is seen as an organism where each member is unique, necessary, and autonomous. It is not about women in relation to men, but about women and men in relation to the community. Consequently, individuals construct autonomous identities while also contributing to and shaping a collective identity (Paredes 2008: 10).

Paredes and Guzmán's contribution to building Vivir Bien in society extends further through their proposal of five fields of women's action and struggle. These categories serve as roads for political action, aimed at strengthening women's organizations where women can also thrive. Their conceptual framework is dynamic and interactive, comprising five fields of women's action and struggle: Women's bodies, women's space, women's time, women's movement, and women's memory (Paredes 2010: 97). This framework allows for an understanding of change as a multifaceted process, encompassing various aspects of life (Paredes 2008: 11). According to the authors, it enables women to address and transform the material conditions of women's subordination and exploration in communities and societies. They emphasize the interconnectedness of these fields, highlighting the need for them to be realized collectively (Paredes 2008: 11). While all five aspects are evident in the empirical data and intersect holistically among the women, the analysis focuses specifically on women's bodies, women's space, and women's time.

4. The lived experience of women's situation in society

The first part of the chapter illuminates women's collective mapping of the popular territory of Alto Fucha, where everyday life unfolds for them. It examines the living conditions, the circumstances, and environment of the working-class community in Alto Fucha live to contextualize the challenges and lack of opportunities faced by women and the community as a whole. Subsequently, the chapter delves into Sarai's and Laurel's lived experiences as working-class women, exploring their identities from their respective standpoints. It further examines Laurel's lived experiences as a bisexual activist, among other social identity categories. Finally, the last part of the chapter addresses Matty's mapping of her territory in the North and explores her lived experiences as an educated, middle-class woman navigating a 'white woman structure', focusing on how societal structures perpetuate inequality based on various identity categories and determine how resources, opportunities, and privileges are distributed within society.

It is essential to acknowledge that 'women' is not a singular, homogenous category, but intersects with other characteristics to shape individual experiences and challenges. Consequently, the concept of 'common women's needs and interests' does not exist (Young 1988: 3-4). This is evident in this study where the four women from Felicita Campos, Anita, Laurel, Matty, and Sarai perceive themselves as distinct from one another, each navigating life uniquely based on their different, intersecting social identity categories. Notably, Laurel is the only woman in the group who stands out from the other women in terms of her sexual orientation, while Matty stands out in terms of her residency. They thus experience their condition and position in society differently and, as a result, have different practical gender needs (PGNs) and strategic gender interests (SGIs).

Moreover, each woman's experiences are multifaceted, intertwined with various aspects of identity such as gender, civil status, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation. These intersecting social identity categories are associated with unequal power dynamics and social relationships, perpetuating inequality within societal norms and structures. Therefore, it is crucial to recognize and analyze these complexities to gain a comprehensive understanding of women's experiences and the broader social processes that have an impact on them.

4.1 The popular territory of Alto Fucha

In their collective mapping of the popular territory of Alto Fucha, they highlight various aspects of the living conditions in their community. This includes factors such as healthcare, education, infrastructure, income and economic factors, and the social and environmental quality of life, thus both material and non-material.

I ask Laurel what it means that her neighborhood in Alto Fucha is classified as a strata one neighborhood[8], to which she replies: "For me it is a popular, peripheral neighborhood that lacks some services, not basic services" (Laurel). Drawing from her own upbringing in a working-class family in Bogotá's western periphery, she notes distinctions between Alto Fucha and her former neighborhood, particularly in terms of service availability. Laurel attributes Alto Fucha's special characteristic to its southeastern geographical location in the highlands, which presents challenges such as difficult transportation, colder temperatures, and a more precarious community.

Laurel identifies the demographic characteristics of the territory, noting that residents are primarily employed in the informal sector as street vendors and domestic workers. This insight sheds light on various into economic factors and the financial resources available to residents, including employment opportunities, wages, and economic stability within the community. Despite this, she emphasizes the environmental quality of the territory, highlighting compensating elements like tranquility, the quality of air, the river, and the mountains that contribute to her and the community's well-being.

However, Laurel points out the lack of crucial services such as healthcare, education, and transportation. Access to healthcare services is limited, with the nearest hospital located far away. This poses challenges during emergencies, and effective attendance cannot be guaranteed. Similarly, the nearest public university is far away. When Laurel was enrolled at a public university, it required an hour-long bike ride to reach. While there are a few private universities closer, their costs are higher due to their private nature. There are only a few kindergartens and one primary school available. However, there is a notable absence of secondary school, which constitute the other half of basic education in the Colombian education system (Ministerio de Educación Nacional,

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[8] However, Laurel stated that her neighborhood was strata two.

2021). Consequently, educational opportunities are limited in Alto Fucha, with a lack of institutions providing basic education, high school education, and higher education.

Anita complements Laurel's observations by highlighting social amenities such as the park and the church. She underscores the territory's years-long struggle with the government, particularly concerning housing and territorial rights, which remains a central theme highlighted. This struggle includes the persistent treat of residents losing their homes to government entities for the construction of new buildings. Anita emphasizes the importance of housing and social environment, focusing on the nature of social relationships and community interactions, including aspects such as social cohesion and community support.

The ongoing struggle, stemming from the development of the 'Ecoterritory' in 2015, is primarily motivated by the community's social and political desire to defend their territory and ensure their continued presence and livelihoods within it. This defense is prompted by various forms of subtle expulsion from the territory, often justified through normative actions related to resettlement processes and the promotion of large-scale eco-tourism projects. These actions have resulted in the displacement, disintegration, and impoverishment of the local population (Castellanos & Reyes Muñoz 2022: 27). Efforts to defend the territory begin with practical actions such as clearing debris to establish community gardens, with activists from Alto Fucha, among others, leading these efforts.

Matty provides insights into the lack of educational resources, specifically libraries, in Alto Fucha. While are generally one or two libraries in the South of Bogotá, none are located in the territory, with the rest located in the North of the city. This highlights not only the absence of quality educational resources but also their availability within the territory. Additionally, Matty emphasizes transportation issues, further discussing the presence and adequacy of basic infrastructure in Alto Fucha. She notes a conflict in mobility within the city, with more people traveling from South to North in the morning for work, a trend that reverses in the afternoon. This raises questions about the redistribution of urban services and employment opportunities.

Lastly, Laurel addresses the safety aspect of the social environment in Alto Fucha, explaining how "fatal" security is and with the presence of three armed actors – gangs, police and military. The military is engaged in strategies of social control, including

instances of rape to instill terror where women's bodies are used as a battlefield (Oion-Encina 2021: 5). Moreover, the riverbank of Fucha River is utilized for drug trafficking, further exacerbating security concerns.

Despite Laurel's perception that the territory has been more dangerous in the past, exemplified by her involvement in the community struggle that began with the first community garden built around 2014 with a feminist approach, safety remains a pressing concern (Laurel 2, Castellanos & Reyes Muñoz 2022: 27). While Laurel has not personally experienced any incidents due to her community work in the territory and recognition as a teacher, nor has Anita, who has resided in the territory for forty years and lives a "calmly" life, Sarai and her family, long-time residents of the territory, were burgled three months prior to the interviews. They received some compensation through personal donations. Laurel emphasizes that violence is omnipresent in the territory, occurring in various forms of direct, physical violence such as conflicts, violent confrontations, shootings, robberies, murders, domestic violence and mistreatment. These incidents take place both in the private and public sphere, within households and in public spaces. She reflects on the normalization of violence within the country, highlighting its pervasive nature. In her analysis, she distinguishes between different forms of violence: physical and economic violence. However, this analysis suggests that while physical violence is visible and often evident in the territory, it represents only the tip of the iceberg. In contrast, economic violence, defined as any act or behavior which causes economic harm to an individual, operated below the surface (EIGE 2024).

4.2 Sarai María Cruz

I meet Sarai discouraged, in various pain, potentially still grieving during the interview. As we prepare to begin the interview, I notice a framed picture on the shelf. The situation takes an unexpected turn and Sarai shares that the picture is of her late husband, who passed away due to COVID-19 two years prior, along with their two daughters. Sarai opens up about her experiences as a domestic worker, detailing her working conditions, the pain she endures, and the difficulties she faces since the passing of her husband, and father of her daughters, including financial scarcity in the family. If the truth be known, she makes a hand gesture and looks up to the sky with tears in her eyes, and shares how she does not want to live anymore. According to Sarai, all days are bad. Sarai expresses her overwhelming sense of responsibility as the sole provider for her family, stating: "now

it's my turn alone" to "respond for everything alone" (Sarai). This loss has deeply affected her, compounded by the challenges of being a woman and domestic worker from the working-class in Colombia, where her situation has only worsened since his passing. Thus, Sarai's condition encompasses her material state, marked by poverty and the challenges of being a lone mother, leaving her with no positive future prospects.

Sarai, home-born and raised in the popular territory of Alto Fucha, resides alone with her daughters in their apartment. During the interview, her struggles with low education levels and reading and writing difficulties become evident, as her eldest daughter assists us. Sarai is in her fifties and works as a domestic worker. She endures intense physical pain, particularly in her back and shoulder, as a result of her demanding job responsibilities. These include caring for an elderly immobile man, referred to as 'grandpa', and performing extensive cleaning tasks in private homes and offices. She describes the care tasks for the elderly man: "(...) I have to carry grandpa and bathe him and feed him and everything like that, so my back hurts so much carrying grandpa and doing so much cleaning" (Sarai). At the end of the interview, reflecting her physical strain, Sarai receives treatment from her eldest daughter. She lies down on her bed while her daughter stands on her back, using her body weight to relieve Sarai's tension and physical pain.

After returning home from her paid work, Sarai takes a brief rest and watches some TV before tackling household chores such as cleaning, cooking, washing, further exhausting herself. Despite finding both her professional and private work exhausting, she considers her professional duties as more physically demanding due to the extensive chores involved. Sarai emphasizes: "there is a lot of household chores, a lot, a lot of household chores" (Sarai). The daily work in her own home is tiring, mainly because it is a continuation of her professional work. In addition to these working conditions that take a significant toll on Sarai's health, she also faces financial difficulties due to her low income, as her domestic salary falls below the national minimum wage. However, she sees no possibility of changing jobs due to her age. From this analysis, her level of education also restricts her employment opportunities and potential for higher-paying jobs, exacerbating her financial struggles and contributing to her overall sense of vulnerability.

Her daughters are enrolled as higher education students, with her oldest daughter impending graduation from a public university, while the youngest daughter is enrolled

at the National Training Service, better known as SENA (Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje – SENA)[9] in Colombia. However, the only thing Sarai desires in life is to get her youngest daughter to attend university as well, but as a sole provider, financing higher education is difficult. Thus, Sarai's daughters' education poses a financial challenge. Her husband and she shared the household chores equally at home and were both active in the workforce, which made it possible for the oldest daughter. However, Sarai notes: "he was the one who brought in the money more than anyone else" (Sarai). Sarai's financial struggles are exacerbated by the gender pay gap in society, as her late husband earned more despite both partners being active in the workforce. This reflects broader societal inequalities, such as the gender pay inequality in the country, and contributes to Sarai's financial insecurity. Additionally, it sheds light on the exacerbation of the financial condition of women (in poverty) after losing their (male) partner.

Consequently, Sarai's financial constraints severely impact her ability to afford nutritious food, healthcare, and other basic necessities. Despite her best efforts, after covering all the expenses such as rent, bills, and transportation, she can only afford food items like rice, plantains, and beans, lacking essential proteins like meat. This inability to access food exacerbated the family's health challenges if not threatening their livelihood.

Furthermore, Sarai finds her health care insurance, aimed at the 'poor population', both expensive and inadequate, covering only basic services. Similarly, public transportation, which they rely on daily, is costing, limiting access to essential services and worsening their financial burdens. This situation not only affects Sarai's well-being but also that of her family. For instance, when we were looking for a graduation dress for her oldest daughter, Sarai had to borrow money from her daughter's boyfriend to cover the cost. As a domestic worker, Sarai's income is insufficient to provide adequately for her family, perpetuating the cycle of poverty. These challenges highlight systemic inequalities, particularly the feminization of poverty and gender disparities in the workforce. Sarai, as a woman, faces lower salaries, fewer benefits, and limited job opportunities, potentially low pension, exacerbating her vulnerability and perpetuating structural discrimination (EIGE 2024).

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[9] SENA is a national public institution and a technical education I Colombia.

4.3 Laurel Fucha

I meet Laurel for the interview and she is not feeling well, physically or mentally. Laurel suffers from severe menstrual pain and has experienced irregular and unpredictable periods, including delays and missed cycles, causing her significant distress for a year. In addition to her menstrual issues, she has symptoms of depression, and is worried about the trajectory of her life in the future.

During the interview, Laurel shares that she has endured a significant amount of violence since childhood, encompassing various forms and contexts. She states: "All kinds of violence, everything". Among these experiences, she has been a victim of sexual violence on multiple occasions and has also faced political violence repeatedly. Notably, these incidents have also overlapped; for instance, she suffered sexual violence both within her family during childhood and in a political context when she was younger. This section aims to explore the different forms of violence Laurel has experienced, shedding light on how these experiences have shaped her perception of society and thus her situation within it. Specifically, it examines how her identity as an activist, a working-class woman, and a bisexual woman, among other categories, intersects with her experiences of violence, challenging her autonomy and dignity. Laurel's experiences have informed her SGIs, focusing on women's control over their bodies and their right to live free from violence and discrimination. The section will first delve into Laurel's experiences within the working class, followed by an exploration of her position in society with her sexuality and political position.

4.3.1 Working-class: Access to employment

Laurel is in her mid-thirties and is "unemployed". Her concerns revolve around her employment status, which impacts her economic well-being and, as a result, her overall well-being. She thus identifies access to employment as an immediate PGN and as a basic requirement for survival and well-being.

Laurel explains to me what the term "popular" means in her apartment: "When we talk about popular, we refer to the working-class [of Latin America]" A term that includes the multiple representations of the working-class that constitutes the Latin American societies (Maier 2010: 41, n. 13). Laurel then states the daily challenges faced by working-

class people in Colombia, characterized by economic inequality, and her own personal experiences:

> The only thing we have as working-class is the means to subsist, no more. We have no estate [herencia], we have no passive income [renta], we have no means of production. The only thing we have is our workforce. I have five academic degrees and I am unemployed. I have no constant income. I live on my savings and some occasional enterprises (Laurel).

Laurel, as a feminist where the notion of the popular is central, explains the economic hardship and limited opportunities for upward mobility within the working-class. Laurel touches on aspects such as lack of estate, passive income, and means of production, as well as personal experiences to shed light on the difficulties individuals face with underemployment and achieving financial stability, despite their qualifications and efforts. Lastly, Laurel reflects on her own economic position and emphasizes her personal struggle with the absence of a "constant income". Instead, she relies on savings and occasional enterprises to meet her financial needs. However, her current living conditions do not align with her aspirations, revealing her precarious financial situation and depicting the challenges faced by many in the working-class in maintaining a steady income, especially women. Despite her educated achievements, Laurel still finds herself "unemployed". According to Laurel, the unemployment illustrates broader issues within the Colombian job market. However, more significant is the examination of her social position within this sphere, exposing the underlying power structures that perpetuate inequalities and hinder women like Laurel from securing stable employment.

4.3.2 Working-class: Access to education

Laurels' parents migrated to the capital from the countryside of the Boyacá department in the Andean region. While her mother migrated due to poverty, her father's migration was driven by wealth. Laurel's mother came from a very poor peasant family, prompting her migration at the age of 12 to work as a domestic worker in a private household. On the other hand, father's father had become wealthy from living in an area with emerald mines and subsequently migrated to Bogotá with the intentions of buying properties. In their twenties, Laurel's parents married and established their household with four children, including Laurel, her sister and two brothers. Neither of her parents pursued

formal education, leaving them with low levels of education. Abiding by traditional gender roles, Laurel's father worked as an independent craftsman and jeweler, serving as the primary breadwinner, while her mother performed domestic responsibilities. Despite her father's efforts as an independent trader, providing for the entire family proved challenging, leading to financial strain. Her father experienced a childhood marked by scarcities in terms of food. Laurel does not recall experiencing hunger. However, she does remember facing challenges related to housing, clothing, footwear, and public education as she reflects: "we had, well, very sad situations related to housing, didn't we? Clothing, shoes. Education, yes, but public. Always public". Laurel had access to (public) education during her upbringing, as her mother, like many Colombian women, emphasized its importance:

> L: I think that women, we Colombian women, perhaps we identified very quickly that the social mobilizer was education. So, I have listened a lot to the mothers of the generations, insisting that their daughters should study. My mother always told me: Study, study, study. She told us all, but I was the one who copied her the most because I, of my siblings, was the one who liked to study the most (...) and I was very good, I was always among the best, I was very good. So I fulfilled the expectation (...)
>
> A: But why the expectations to you from your mother?
>
> L: Because she surely noticed that she had not had access to rights precisely because of her lack of educational possibilities, so to change that stigma, she told us to study (Laurel).

Laurel underscores the significance of education on both societal and personal levels. Firstly, education serves as social mobilizer for children, particularly daughters, enabling them to transcend their socio-economic circumstances and intersecting issues of class and gender. Laurel's mother recognized that her own lack of educational opportunities had limited her access to rights, motivating her to advocate for education for her children. In addition, she emphasized the importance of education in overcoming stigma. Laurel does not elaborate on the specific rights or stigmatization at stake. However, by mentioning 'rights' and 'stigma' in the same sentence, Laurel sheds light on the close interconnectedness of structural and cultural violence. She suggests that societal

prejudices based on categories like class and gender can perpetuate social immobility, contributing to structural and cultural violence. By overcoming such stigma through education, individuals not only enhance their opportunities for social mobility but also challenge the beliefs and norms that perpetuate violence. Laurel explains how individuals, particularly working-class people and women, face structural violence when their access to rights is restricted or lost due to societal prejudices based on categories like class and gender. This structural violence can lead to social immobility, making it difficult for individuals to improve their socio-economic status. The intersection of class and gender further highlights how women in Colombia may struggle to improve their social and economic condition, thus their position, due to systemic barriers rooted in societal prejudices. This suggests that one's condition and position in society are closely intertwined and can be influenced by factors like class and gender.

Laurel's demand for quality education at public universities reflects her belief, as well as other women from Colombia's belief, in education as a *transformatory potential* for social change (Young 1988: 15). She thus identifies access to quality education (at public universities) as a PGN, as educational opportunities can contribute to fostering greater social mobility in society, thus has the potential to foster societal transformation. Her frustration with unemployment can also be understood in this context, as education is expected to increase opportunities for social mobility. This frustration underscores the discrepancy between her aspirations and the realities of her socio-economic circumstances, prompting reflection on other factors other than class that prevent her from finding a paid job. Another frustration arises as this is the only time during the interview where Laurel feels she is meeting her mother's expectations, contrary to the more common experience of falling short. This prompts reflection on the daily expectations imposed by societal norms, including those set by her mother.

4.3.3 Well-being in a patriarchal society as an activistic community worker

The lack of stable income triggers several concerns for Laurel that challenge her current well-being. Along with the worries about mistreatment and precarious labor contracts within the labor market, Laurel faces two pressing issues: the prospect of moving back to her parents' home and the collidation between the identity as an employee in a capitalist context and her identity as an unpaid, volunteer community worker.

Laurel left her parents' house in her early twenties due to a history of violence and conflict, Laurel embarked on a life of working three jobs alongside her studies at SENA to support herself. Reflecting on this decision, she explains how the first struggle in life was: "how to leave my parents' house, because it was not my house, it was their house. So, when you start to adapt your safe space to your own needs, tastes, etc.", highlighting the discomfort caused by losing her independence.

Recalling an incident from when she was 18 years old, Laurel describes a particularly distressing episode where her family: "did something awful to me for being an activist", thus targeted this identity category of her. Amidst Álvaro Uribe's presidency in Colombia, Laurel was studying at SENA and actively involved in activism. During this time, there were persecutions against leftist individuals, including Laurel's student activist group. One day at school, Laurel received a personal threatening phone call. Laurel became frightened and sought advice and support from a friend affiliated with a leftist political party. Although she intended to file a complaint, several days passed before she could do so. However, her family's behavior was notably unusual on the night she received the call. Despite the passage of days, one evening upon returning home, Laurel found her family gathered together. They then informed her that they had made the threat, portraying it as a false threat. After the incident, Laurel called her then-boyfriend, who told her to pack her bag and leave immediately. Subsequently, Laurel left her home for the first time and was absent for an extended period. During this time, she recalls facing hostility from the management of SENA, who "hated her" and even went as far as sending her to the police station. These experiences contribute to her broader reflections on her life as she concludes that:

> Being an activist, all my life has been a constant struggle, because I have always experienced discrimination, violence, everything, and instead of causing the effect they expect, which is that I do nothing, it is much worse. On the contrary, it feeds the dignified rage I have, right? In my nature because I feel that this is what I do best, being an activist (Laurel).

The interview provides a raw insight into Laurel's life experiences, showcasing her emotions and "dignified rage". She grapples with the consequences of discrimination and violence she has faced simply for being an activist. This identity is integral to her, yet it has also been a constant source of struggle.

In this context, Laurel expresses her inability to rely on financial or emotional support from her family – a sentiment that resonates throughout her life. Despite receiving emotional and affective support from a newer circle of friends and work management, Laurel feels that she lacks support and assistance from anyone else, forcing her to manage her burdens on her own. Laurel recounts a period in her life when she found herself on the verge of depression: "due to different situations that happen to me, precisely because I live alone, what do I know", which occurred shortly after the passing of her grandmother and detonated very strongly in her life and family. The loss of her grandmother, a peasant from the countryside of Boyacá, served as a trigger, unearthing a history of child sexual abuse that lived in Laurel's maternal family. During the interview, Laurel references an investigation by Colombian sociologist, researcher, and writer Orlando Fals Borda (1975), which delves into feudal practices of the lord's right to bed a servant girl (*la práctica del derecho de pernada*) during the German colonization of Boyacá. Thus, a naturalized practice of sexual violence mainly against girls and women. Seeking psychological therapy from a feminist organization helped her navigate through this difficult period and avoid falling into depression. Laurel reflects on the generational transmission of trauma and hardship experienced by the women in her family:

> So, we have all that in our DNA, in our roots. We have also been victims of those circumstances, I am talking about those of my female lineage, my grandmother, my mother, my aunts, we have been victims of that type of violence, and when she died, that detonated very strongly in my life, in my family and I am on the verge of depression (Laurel).

Laurel describes it is as ingrained in their DNA and roots. She emphasizes that the women in her lineage, including her grandmother, mother, and aunts, have been victims of various forms of violence and adversity. Laurel implies that the women in her family have also experienced the consequences of the historical traumas and challenges faced by their ancestors. Thus, her acknowledgment of this collective experience highlights the profound impact that familial and historical traumas can have on one's mental and emotional well-being. Today, Laurel once again feels threatened by depression, this time due her occupation status. She reflects on the identity as an adult in a capitalistic society, stating:

Because the reality of an adult person is work, and if you don't have a job, how can you contribute to society? Everything has a limit, and community work at some point becomes unbalanced because it is giving, giving, giving, without receiving anything in return (Laurel).

Laurel articulates how capitalist norms and expectations, akin to gender norms, impact her mental health and well-being, particularly regarding conformity to or deviation from societal expectations. In her view, without paid employment, an individual's value diminishes as they are perceived as unable to contribute to society. This underscores the devaluation of non-paid work. Laurel highlights the tension between paid employment and volunteer work, such as community involvement, noting the imbalance between giving and receiving in the latter. Throughout her life, Laurel has prioritized her community role over her productive role in the labor market. However, she now reflects on the consequences of these choices. Laurel articulates the punitive measures she has faced, such as being banned or excluded from the labor market, underscoring the systemic challenges faced by individuals who prioritize activism over conventional career paths. Consequently, whereas Laurel previously attributed challenges in finding employment to her social identity as a working-class woman, she now identifies her political and social position – as a union member, radical (Marxist, socialist), defender of Alto Fucha, left-wing leader – as additional barriers to re-employment in traditional sectors.

4.3.4 Gender:

I ask Laurel if there is any information, she usually feels comfortable or uncomfortable sharing when meeting a new person for the first time. She explains that it depends on factors such as the person's intention and the context of the interaction. However, she concludes that:

I am very open (...) I like people to know from the beginning how I am, right? And the specialization [in Feminist and Gender studies] helped me to strengthen that, like my personality, because before I used to hide a little (...) I want to wear my hair short, but society tells me that I have to leave it long, because I am feminine (...) I don't want to have shorter and shorter hair, but rather less and less hair, and that is a personality trait because it means many things. It means that you are more connected to your masculine part, maybe I am sexy, right? (...) I am very open, I am

very extroverted, I show everything I am. However, if it is a person (...) [that] is very heteronormative, whose features are very conservative, then I prefer to listen (...) I want her to talk, and according to what she says I know how to behave (...) without having to make her uncomfortable, right? (Laurel).

Laurel addresses multiple gender-related issues, encompassing perceptions of gender, gender socialization, intersecting identities, power dynamics, gender identity and gender expression. Her insight provides a window into how gender operates within the sociocultural context of her time, highlighting gender as a historical and cultural construct.

Laurel perceives gender as a relational and political category, aimed at denouncing and exposing the oppression and exploitation faced by women within the patriarchal system. However, this perspective conflicts with the perceptions held by individuals who adhere to heteronormative and conservative norms, as this exemplified woman. For them, gender determine societal expectations, defining what is expected, allowed and valued in both women and men. It assigns specific attributes, opportunities and relationships associated with being female (EIGE 2024).

The conflict manifest on two levels for Laurel: in her meetings with others based on her gender identity and expression (EIGE 2024), and in the societal expectations that contradict her authentic self, such as being open, extroverted. Laurel's experiences are multifaceted, shaped by the intersecting complexities of her identity, including gender, sexuality, and political beliefs. She navigates through life by listening and trying to read the other person's perspective engaging, e.g. talking, illustrating how her multifaceted identity intersect and interact within a framework of unequal social relationships. The oppression Laurel faces as a woman is perpetuated by established power dynamics surrounding her various identity categories, including gender identity and thus her gender expression, influenced by societal norms and structures that perpetuate inequality.

4.3.5 Gender expression: Multiple identities and gender identity

Laurel's preferred gender pronouns are "she/her" or "they/them". Prior to her specialization in Feminist and Gender studies, she was exclusively "her". However, her sexual orientation was bisexual, but she began to recognize herself as (politically) lesbian

and adopted "they/them" pronouns as a means to challenge and dismantle heteronormativity and gender stereotypes, the masculine and feminine, promoting inclusivity and diversity.

In challenging societal expectations, Laurel deviates from traditional gender norms by choosing to have short hair, which has become a symbol of femininity. Her deeply felt experience of gender is not unambiguously feminine: "Gender identity, let's call it feminine". Instead, Laurel's identity encompasses both feminine and masculine elements, manifested in her gender expression through her short hair. This choice reflects her connection to her masculine side, among other aspects of her identity. Laurel embodies a multifaceted identity, embracing traits such as openness and extroversion. However, she acknowledges that various aspects of her identity challenge conservative societal norms. These include her sexual orientation (bisexual as opposed to heteronormative), her political beliefs as a left-wing, activist, radical, and a leader, and assertive personality, which clash with traditional notions of femininity. Despite her for authentic self-expression, Laurel faces discrimination and violence, particularly when she chooses to cut her hair. This internal Laurel conflict reflects Laurel's struggle to not only reconcile her desire to openly express herself with the societal pressures and prejudices she faces, but also her right to decide freely over her own body. She explains how she always receives discriminatory and violent comments every time she cuts it:

> Once I was riding my bicycle alone and a guy on the street shouted at me, like: *Machorra* [butch woman] He shouted that at me. That's an insult. Another time (…) some children told the same thing to me: Ay, it looks like a man (Laurel).

Laurel has also been subjected to the insult *arepea* [lesbian/arepa seller]. These insults constitute a form of direct and physical violence perpetrated by passersby, reflecting verbal discrimination. However, beyond their immediate impact, they also represent a form of cultural violence. Primary, they serve as an act of gendered social control, enforcing heteronormative standards on her body as a woman. While her short hair expresses her gender identity, not exclusively her sexual orientation, these insults also constitute a form of a cultural violence against sexual minorities, potentially intersecting with class dynamics embedded in language. Furthermore, Laurel's experiences highlight the ways in which children are socialized into gender norms, perpetuating societal expectations and attitudes associated with the concepts of femininity.

4.3.6 Sexual orientation

From Laurel's perspective, homosexuality remains a brutal taboo in society. This is evident in the differing reactions her romantic partners receive based on their biological sex. While her current boyfriend is considered and accepted as her 'boyfriend', her former girlfriend was often regarded with suspicion by neighbors in Alto Fucha, merely being labeled as Laurel's 'friend'. This observation sheds light on the pervasive influence of heteronormativity, which assumes heterosexuality as the norm and idealizes it above other sexualities.

However, Laurel's encounter with violence related to her sexual orientation originated within her own family. She recalls the strict prohibition against being homosexual or bisexual: "you are not allowed to be [homo-/bisexual]", describing it as: "It is unthinkable to come out of the closet like that. In the family it is unthinkable, unthinkable". Despite briefly sharing her sexual orientation with her parents once, she finds that they prefer to ignore it, particularly now that her sole partner is a male. Laurel characterizes her family as: "Conservative, ultraconservative, they are religious, they are conservative, they are anti-rights" (Laurel), emphasizing their opposition to rights without specifying which rights they oppose. This conservative outlook intersects with their religiosity and an anti-rights stance, shaping their attitudes on various issues, including LGBTQ+ rights. Laurel, as a militant of Estamos Listas, may also allude to the movement's mission to create for a dignified State that upholds the dignity and rights of all citizens and defends human rights, which may contradict her family's beliefs.

Laurel portrays her maternal and paternal as: "patriarchal, submissive and religious". She recounts how her cousin, upon coming out as lesbian, "was kicked out of the family for that" (Laurel). This highlights the severe consequences of deviating from heterosexual norms within their family. Although Laurel does not delve into further specifics regarding the incident, it is evident that her cousin endured significant adversity. The phrase "kicked out of the family"" suggests either expulsion from their home or a form of social ostracism, both of which signify a profound rejection by their family. Despite the lack of elaboration, Laurel expresses solidarity with her cousin. She declares her cousin's struggle as her own and stands as the sole supporter, and strongly condemns the family's rejection and advocates for acceptance and understanding.

Laurel explains the societal stigma directed towards lesbian women, often labeled as "vicious women", a perception she herself has encountered. Despite not having children of her own, Laura's "maternity quota" is fulfilled through her caring role for her nieces, whom she deeply cherishes. However, she reveals the discrimination she faces due to her sexual orientation, exemplified by the situation involving her previous sister-in-law:

> They only left my niece with me until she was eight years old, so... But my sister, on the other hand, they gave her to her (...) they left her alone with her when she was very young, because she followed all the family expectations (...) But in my case, not until she was eight years old (...) And I had been asking for it since she was a little girl. Like come on, I want to take her to such and such a place, and I asked her [the niece] once: Why, do you know why they don't let you? And she told me: "My mom says she doesn't know what kind of vices you have (...) So they consider that a person with a different sexual orientation can't take care of a child, or shouldn't (Laurel).

Laurel's family has a heteronormative worldview, wherein deviations from traditional gender roles and sexual orientations are met with prejudice. Her sister-in-law's assumption of her having "vices" reflects a deep-seated homophobia (EIGE 2024), falsely having an irrational fear to lesbians based on prejudice and thus equating Laurel's sexual orientation with an inability to care for a child. It also becomes a moral condemnation; Laurel indicates that a lesbian *should not* take care of a child. Laurel's experiences underscore the impact of social categories and power dynamics, such as patriarchy and heteronormativity, on individual experiences and familial relationships.

Laurel describes herself as: "(...) that incomprehensible person, the black sheep, yes. A person who always goes against what is normal, what is considered normal" (Laurel). She recounts a protest she made by herself in school when she felt threatened for the first time in life, an action her parents did not understand. This marked the beginning of strained relations with her family, particularly when she chose not to conform to their expectations: "Everything was completely broken. Yes, every time they see me, they say to me: What am I paying for, why did this happen, why did I make a mistake?" (Laurel). Based on the previous analysis points, Laurel does not only break with the whole idea of the alignment of biological gender, sexuality, among other categories,

but also clearly expresses and critically engages with it through her multiple identities, which is reflected, among other places, in her political positions, activism and gender expression. It is particularly her sexual and political identities that challenge her family's idea of 'normal' and their expectations for her.

4.4 Matty Suarez

I conduct an online interview with Matty at eight o'clock in the evening due to her busy work schedule, as an in-person meeting is impossible. Matty, a professor in her forties, resides in the North with her husband and dog. Currently pursuing her doctoral degree, she perceives herself as relatively privileged compared to the other women. Growing up with access to education, she has attained a satisfactory middle-class economic status, meeting her PGNs and allowing for discretionary spending. Matty's main concerns revolve around achieving a work-life balance, particularly in terms of time management and caregiving responsibilities related to her father.

4.4.1 Structures: Privilege and oppression

Matty's reflections touch upon in complex structures of society and the oppressive systems within it. She delves into the different forms of oppression present in society and how they intersect with her own experiences and perceptions. Acknowledging her privileged position, Matty identifies two key social structures in society. Initially, she mentions these structures in continuation of each other during the interview:

> Look, I feel that I have had difficulties, but I have not realized it because I did not understand that structure, and I think that I have a white woman structure which has given me certain privileges (Matty).

By distinguishing between "that structure" and "a white woman structure," Matty implies their contrasting impacts, illustrating their complexities by comparing and contrasting them with each other through her experiences. As the interview topic revolves around gender-related issues, Matty shares her own struggles within "that structure", recounting instances of gender-based violence and discrimination, including been abused by ex-partners: "Precisely I did not understand that my body should not be treated in that way," and exposed to phrases of mockery "and all these kinds of things" at her former workspaces, especially when she worked in the male dominated field of construction, as

well as mistreatment of words "and that kind of thing" within the family. From Matty's point of view, she feels that she has normalized it, because she previously has not been aware of "that structure", referring to the underlying structures of society that is oppressing her and other women based solely on gender, among other forces.

Later, Matty elaborates on the nature of "that structure" and introduces the concept of the "white woman structure," which she perceives as affording her certain privileges. While Matty does not emphasize her mixed-race identity, she acknowledges the protective aspects of the "white woman structure" in shielding her from further harm.

Despite been subjected to abuse, mockery, and mistreatment, discrimination, Matty recognizes her relative privilege. She acknowledges this during the interview: "You make me see that I have been very privileged, really" Matty contrasts her experiences with the harsh realities faced by many women, particularly in the armed conflict of Colombia, mentioning that she has not suffered from: "violence, rape or loss of house [displacement]". Later, we discuss Matty's experiences of sex- and gender-based discrimination in life to which she replies:

> Let's say that, from patriarchy, materialism, colonialism, they are generated, but let's say I, Matty Suarez, I cannot tell you a concrete situation of discrimination because I feel I have not lived it. I think it is because I am, I was born in a home that guaranteed me education, now I am middle-class, and I think that yes, this of looking very white may have been part of that comfort in which I have been (Matty).

Matty clarifies what "that structure" she previously referred to is. Reflecting on the broader societal structures, Matty addresses the interconnected systems of oppression such as patriarchy, materialism, and colonialism, highlighting how various forms of oppression intersect and compound each other. While Matty does not explicitly mention racism, she indirectly addresses the issue by referencing her "white" woman structure as well as focusing on her appearance "this of looking very white" and its potential influence to her perceived comfort in life. By recognizing these interlocking systems of oppression, Matty underscores the need to address power imbalances and structural inequalities for achieving social justice and equity. In summary, Matty's insights shed light on the complex

interplay of privilege and oppression within society, underscoring the importance of understanding and addressing these dynamics for fostering inclusivity and equality.

4.4.2 A patriarchal household: A cook is born

Matty grew up in a "very patriarchal household" in the department of Boyacá, the same department Laurel's parents came from. While her mother was educated as a teacher, upon marriage to Matty's father and the establishment their household, she: "dedicated her whole life to care tasks" (Matty). Performing unpaid care and domestic work, Matty's mother's role contrasted with her father's, who continued working as a paid teacher. It is within patriarchal household, characterized by domestic division of labor and reinforcement of gender norms and roles, that Matty's experiences were shaped, forming some of her SGIs.

Matty's father grew up in a rural patriarchal household in the department of Santander. As the only male child among five siblings, he was the only one who had access to education, a situation Matty notes as a "very frequent thing" due to his siblings born as female. During the interview, Matty recounts a family episode where her father, in a conversation with Matty and her sisters, refers to the reactions to his sister's sex at a 'gender reveal': "Ahh a cook was born". In this tone and delivery, Matty notes her father's perception of this as natural: "like when the dawn broke and the sun came out". Matty is clearly bothered by her father's insensitive representation of gender, particularly given the female audience. She reflects that addressing women's issues with him and discussing his invisible barriers, traditional assumptions, norms, and values that hinder women's empowerment and societal is "already a lost cause [with him]" (Matty).

According to Matty, her farther, a vastly patriarchal man from the countryside, believes that "it is in his nature that we women have to take care of him" (Matty). Despite separating from Matty's mother about seven years ago and living alone since, he still expects his daughters to live with him and fulfill domestic responsibilities such as cooking, cleaning, and caring for him and his apartment, even though they have professional jobs. Matty criticizes her father's lifestyle and reflects on his expectations for his daughters:

> I mean, you go to his apartment, and he has the bed, the dining room. It is not the appropriation that a woman can have of a space where you live (...) He does not supply that part, so he thinks that we have to do it. So, he had daughters, and they

are all scattered, so I imagine he will say: "I had five daughters, and none of them lives with me to take care of me, how is it possible? (Matty).

Matty articulates the gender dynamics between her father (man) and his daughters (women), highlighting a power imbalance where he enforces societal ideas about gender, reinforcing traditional norms of domestic labor division. He refuses to hire a housekeeper to fulfill domestic responsibilities, viewing it as the duty of his daughters due to traditional expectations that "being a good daughter is confused with doing care tasks" (Matty). In traditional households, women and girls are often expected to manage all household tasks without paid compensation (EIGE 2024a).

This expectation has led to tension within the family, as Matty and her sisters divide caregiving tasks among themselves, setting aside specific days to attended to their faither's needs. While they have autonomy in deciding how to fulfill these duties, whether through visits or phone calls, the arrangement has strained familial relationships: "So these are the arguments we have not only with my dad, but also between us because we have to take care of each other" (Matty). These arguments challenge traditional gender dynamics within the family and highlight the struggle to balance caregiving responsibilities with professional commitments and taking care of themselves, prioritizing time for themselves, thus their own well-being. Matty acknowledges the emotional toll of these dynamics on her own body:

As a daughter I also say that it is hard for him to understand. I mean, it is not the fight I should put up but emotionally. I do feel my body tells me that there is something wrong. My body tells me that something is wrong (Matty).

Matty's introspection underscores her body's relying information to her and her efforts to challenge cultural norms and advocate for a more inclusive and equitable society.

Matty reflects on how the situation has affected her parents differently following their separation. After the separation, Matty's mother fell into poverty as she had devoted her life to caregiving and raising their daughters. She had set aside her paid job to fulfill traditional gender role within the household. Consequently, she lacks any source of income today or health insurance, unlike their father who continued to work and now "has a pension and insurance for the rest of his life" (Matty). Matty articulates the feminization of poverty as a gendered issue, a phenomenon also experienced by Sarai.

In response to her mother's poverty, Matty and her sisters provide financial support. Despite mother accepting their support, Matty's mother struggles with feelings of unworthiness, as she believes she has not contributed through paid employment. Matty discusses the inequality within the household as a second burden of inequality. She describes her conversations with her mother regarding the issue of recognition and valuation of unpaid work (EIGE 2024).

Initially, Matty herself did not grasp the significance of this issue, having grown up in a patriarchal environment where domestic work was undervalued, as she puts it: "I grew up in a macho household where I was always told that there was only one salary and I believed that, and I never valued domestic work". Thus, Matty highlights the consequences of gendered norms that perpetuate the devaluation of unpaid labor. Moreover, Matty reveals that her mother had always desired to separate from their father but was unable to do so due to religious beliefs: "because even God is going to punish me if I abandon my husband (...) and until death do them part, and all that". However, as soon as their daughters graduated from higher education, her parents separated.

4.4.3 Work-life balance and women's multiple burdens

Matty and her sisters are all well-educated, yet only she and one of her sisters live close to their father, while the others are scattered across the country. Consequently, her father visits Matty once a week: "precisely to respond to these care tasks" (Matty). Given the concentration required for her research, Matty's husband takes on household chores such as cooking, washing, and ironing. A typical weekly schedule for Matty involves working from home from Monday to Friday, with her father visiting on Mondays from morning to afternoon. On weekends, she dedicates one day to research outside the home and the other as her weekly rest day. This rest day allows her to "disconnect from everything" she did during the week and engage in activities she enjoys, such as drawing, walking, and participating in dance or aerobic classes. Matty finds these dance classes: "to recover a little from the stress of the week", and is normally having lunch around 1:30pm on her rest day and after that she explains how: "I get so tired of everything that I either go to bed to sleep or I go to bed to embroider". Thus, her father's weekly visits disrupt her work-life balance. She describes the visit as a burden, noting the distraction it poses from her studies:

He arrives at about 10:30 in the morning, I feel that for me it is. Well, I am studying, but he also needs attention (...) to talk to him, well, the task of caregiver. I finally look at him, I leave him there alone, we have lunch and I have already been with him for a while, but that day is different for me because I feel that he distracts me a lot. Precisely there I do understand that he is a burden, a task to be done. So, I feel that he distracts me, he leaves around three in the afternoon, we send him home in a cab, and then I try to go back to work, to study (Matty).

Matty experience highlights the concept of "burden," a gender issue related to women's societal roles. Women often juggle multiple responsibilities, including reproductive, productive and community work, leading to longer and more fragmented workdays (EIGE 2024). These burdens can impede women's access to education, employment, and other aspects of public life. For Matty, the burden of caregiving interferes with her personal and professional development activities, challenging her autonomy and time for self-care.

4.4.4 The public and private spheres

Matty, despite growing up in a "macho home" with specific gender norms and roles, faces two significant challenges in her daily life: professional responsibilities such as public speaking and writing, and the fear of going out alone at night. Both situations evoke feelings of fear, insecurity, and physical discomfort for her. Matty reflects on the mental and physical toll her work as a researcher takes on her such as giving talks, doing seminars, applying for conferences, going to congresses, often leading her to decline assignments out fear that they would not be successful. She explains:

Every time I see a call, if I see that there is a lot of time to send the abstract, I think about it, but usually I say no. I say I don't have time, but it is more because I am afraid that it will not work out well. Well, for whatever reason, but then let's say it does affect that (Matty).

Matty shares that she suffers from impostor syndrome, which she defines as "fear and insecurities". This discomfort is so profound that her body reacts to it constantly: "Every time I sit down to write, every time I go to do something, there is something in my body that. Then I have to repeat myself, right, right." For Matty, both public speaking and writing require significant emotional and psychological preparation, as she fears exposing herself to judgment and evaluation by others. Matty also discusses the gendered aspect

of these challenges, noting that most attendees at the courses for public speaking and writing, she has attended, are women. She acknowledges that the percentage of women suffering from imposter syndrome is higher than men. She attributes this to societal expectations, stating: "Because I am a woman I have fears there, to speak in public, to make myself visible. Yes, let's say this thing of occupying a place, women are in the private sphere." Matty makes the distinction between woman/man, private/public and thus the matter of invisibility/visibility. According to Matty, women are supposed to be in the private sphere while man is in the public sphere and is thus articulating the unequal power-relations between genders.

When asked about her experiences as a woman in academia, Matty highlights instances of discrimination and the pressure to conform to patriarchal expectations:

> I think that, although I am in a privileged place, there is still a lot of this idea of, yes, that men are more efficient than women. There have been teachers who have told me that I have to learn to read. I mean, that is very violent, and there came a time when I normalized it, because I didn't understand much, if there have been cases. Well, now that you mention it. There have been cases with other female colleagues, that I have noticed that they have been more visible, then they tend to be more overshadowed in that sense, so I think that... I have had a strategy and that is that I do not make much noise. It can be a problem, as I do not make much noise, I feel threatened. So, I have not experienced much. I do not expose myself much to the public environment (Matty).

Despite her privileged position, Matty addresses various gender-related issues: the exposure to violent behavior, the normalization of it and the following survival strategy to avoid this. Matty acknowledges the pervasive patriarchal belief that men are more efficient than women, which has led her to adopt a survival strategy of avoiding public exposure. She also expresses insecurity about working under a male director in feminist research, fearing the need to justify her work to him: "he feels he has all the capacity to do it, and I feel scared that I to convince a man of everything I am doing, so there are certain insecurities."

Felicita Campos at the Sitting area for the final session of Circle for Healing: Weaving. Photo: Author.

5. The emancipatory project of Felicita Campos: Circle for Healing

In this chapter, I shift my focus from the diverse experiences of the women from Felicita Campos to their shared attributes, namely their sense of belonging to their communities of Felicita Campos and Alto Fucha, and their immediate identification with the gender identity of 'woman'. I explore how these women organize themselves within the collective of Felicita Campos in Alto Fucha to engage in healing and political action together. My exploration begins by examining perception of 'community' witin the territory of Alto Fucha and how it evolves into a transformational political body. Subsequently, I delve into the circle methodology employed by Felicita Campos in the Circle for Healing, elucidating how it facilitate the process of healing and action on both individual and collective levels.

According to Motta, diverse social movements and communities in Latin America are reinventing emancipation through the development of emancipatory pedagogies. At the heart of this reinvention are processes that both pedagogize the political and politicize the pedagogical, integrating education into political activism and politicizing educational practices. This pedagogical praxis draws upon rich heritages of radical and subaltern education, and cultural practices such as indigenous cosmologies, liberation theology, and popular education (Motta 2017: 6). Emancipatory pedagogical practice emerges from praxis at the collective level of lived experience and fosters processes of mass intellectuality and creativity. Furthermore, this politics embraces multiple forms of knowledge, including the affective, embodied, oral, cognitive and cultural. The intersection of the pedagogical and the political takes place not only in formal educational settings but also in spaces where various elements such as subjects, bodies, epistemologies, and spatialities converge in movement politics, community organizing, and informal situated-learning processes. Various emancipatory pedagogical practices employed by social movements striving for liberation from oppressive systems are exemplified in Felicita Campos' Circle for Healing, deeply intertwined with methodologies inspired by communitarian feminism.

5.1 The community of Alto Fucha

Anita Mantilla Castro emerges as a compelling woman whose experiences and perceptions challenge the initial hypotheses regarding women's reality in Colombia.

Unlike Sarai and Laurel, Anita maintains a positive outlook on life, perceiving her needs as fulfilled and advocating for self-empowerment. She emphasizes the importance of a positive mindset, creativity, and determination in overcoming challenges, discouraging passivity and victimhood. With an entrepreneurial spirit, she sells her own *masato* at local fairs, aligning herself with the popular economy of the territory, and aspires to expand her business globally. Upon deeper analysis, Anita emerges as the archetype of the 'autonomous woman' within Felicita Campos, actively resisting patriarchal societal structures. She upholds her spirituality and prioritizes her independence and autonomy, valuing her freedom and rejects the notion of being accountable to anyone, including a partner. Preferring to live alone, she finds solace and contentment in her way of life.

Transitioning from Anita's personal characteristics to her involvement in the communities of Alto Fucha and Felicita Campos, her commitment to their betterment becomes evident. Influenced by her strong spiritual beliefs and faith, she approaches social work with a holistic perspective that extends beyond individual well-being to encompass communal harmony and solidarity. Within these communities, she plays a multifaceted role, actively engaging in initiatives aimed at improving the lives of her fellow residents and the women of Felicita Campos.

Despite the challenges in Alto Fucha, Anita finds solace and joy in fostering camaraderie with her neighbors. Her compassion extends to local young men involved in drug sales, whom she perceives as friends and respectful individuals, deserving of support and encouragement. Anita actively encourages them to explore alternative interests and collaborates with local authorities to seek ways to support them beyond their involvement in drug sales. Emphasizing genuine altruism and love in social work, Anita remains steadfast in her commitment to serving others with sincerity and compassion,

Anita's sense of contentment and inner peace is deeply rooted in her spirituality, which she describes as "deep spiritual waters," indicating a profound reliance on faith as a guiding force in her life. In her home, she cultivates a sanctuary where tranquility and spiritual upliftment permeate the atmosphere, leaving visitors imbued with a sense of peace and love:

My well-being has been like that, all my life I've been rather calm (...) And that people (...) that come here to my house also leave with a beautiful energy (...) they feel peace, they feel that love (...) I tell you that this universe and all these mountains and all that surrounds me so beautiful, so green. May the people who come here feel that nature and feel that peace that surpasses all understanding, may they feel it, and may they be a light, may they not see me, but may they see that light of God, of Christ, I don't know. May they feel something beautiful; may they feel that peace, that tranquility (Anita).

Anita's profound connection to nature and faith underscores her belief in the transformative power of spiritual connection and the importance of fostering harmony between individuals and their environment. Moreover, within the framework of communitarian feminism, Anita's understanding of space takes on a multifaceted dimension, encompassing both physical and social aspects (Paredes 2010: 201).

The understanding of space is depicted in two dimensions: horizontal and vertical envelopes. The horizontal envelope refers to the extension of land and territory of the community, encompassing its boundaries. This aspect of space is associated with the physical landscape and geographical boundaries that define the community's territory. On the other hand, the vertical envelope comprises three vertically oriented places: the Above, the Here, and the Below. The Above represents the airspace and the realm of communication, including technologies like satellites. The Here refers to the space occupied by the community members and where their activities take place. The Below encompasses spaces below the surface, including ancestral resting places, natural resources like minerals and thermal waters, and the energy provided by the earth (Paredes 2010: 202).

Alto Fucha is more than the union of seven neighborhoods. The territory is an identity construction represented by the River Fucha, a Muisca word that means woman in the Muisca language, and that women have rescued and have called themselves the guardians who defend the territory, *las Fuchas* (the Fuchas), a symbol of self-recognition. The identity is not solely based on land ownership or physical presence but rather on the demand for the right to remain, to appropriate the territory, and to transform it collectively (Rincón Castellanos & Reyes Muñoz 2022: 31).

Anita's advocacy for dignity and respect within her community reflects a deeper understanding of space as a fundamental dimension for the development of life. She asserts the community's right to decent housing and autonomy, rooted in a sense of generational stewardship and a commitment to preserving their way of life:

> Because we are worthy of having decent housing and because for 40 and 50 and more years ago by our great grandparents, grandparents of many people here in this territory, the water has been taken care of, the flora has been taken care of, the fauna has been taken care of, everything that is here has been taken care of by the community, not by the entities (Anita).

Anita's actions and beliefs are intertwined with her spirituality, shaping her comprehensive approach to community involvement and social justice advocacy. Her steadfast determination in demanding equal treatment and recognition for her community is not merely a pursuit of material needs but a manifestation of her spiritual values and beliefs. Sarai shares a similar understanding and spirituality. Despite her challenging circumstances, she refers to the lush landscape as paradise. Sarai, like Anita, finds solace and connection in the natural beauty of the surroundings, viewing it as a source of spiritual nourishment and resilience in the face of adversity. Her appreciation for the landscape reflects a deep sense of belonging and identity with the territory, highlighting the intertwined relationship between spirituality, community, and personal well-being within the context of Alto Fucha.

Sarai teaching me about energies. Photo: Author.

5.2 Felicita Campos and Circle for Healing

Felicita Campos has organized ten sessions of the Circle for Healing in the popular territory of Alto Fucha, spanning from February 2023 to June 2023, as part of their political advocacy action. These meetings, aligned with specific objectives, aim to tackle various feminist issues, including the vital topic of care work.

Laurel introduces newcomers to Felicita Campos and the Circle for by emphasizing its role as a space for dialogue, creative expression, and healing. She recalls bringing her niece and father to one of Felicita Campos' spaces, the 'Sitting area' next to the fountain Fucha, where she describes the circle's activities:

> In this place I meet with my neighbors who live nearby, who are *mayores* [older women] and with female friends who come from other places. We meet to talk, to converse about what is happening to us. So, we talk, sometimes we dance, sometimes we sing and that is how we heal (Laurel).

Laurel description underscores the circle's focus on holistic healing through collective dialogue and creative activities. This pedagogical approach prioritizes embodied knowledge and experiences, aiming to address not only physical but also affective, cultural, and psychological dimensions. According to Motta, such multidimensional pedagogy – affective, cultural, psychological, embodied, physical and intellectual – has the potential to challenge and transform the multidimensional nature of (gendered) oppressions (Motta 2017: 16).

Additionally, Laurel emphasizes the importance of considering both individual and collective roles within the collective. She recounts a recent experience where she contemplated resigning but decided to discuss it with Felicita Campos first. The circle advised against resignation and encouraged her to stay, highlighting the space as one where conflicts can arise but also be resolved through communication and collaboration.

Similarly, Anita shares her role within Felicita Campos, particularly within the Circle for Healing. She emphasizes creating a positive and uplifting atmosphere for participants. Upon arriving at the circle, Anita brings joy, singing, and dancing, aiming to foster a welcoming and cheerful environment. She greets everyone warmly, hugs them, and showers them with affectionate words, ensuring they feel valued and loved. Her goal is to transform the mood of the gathering, especially for those burdened with problems

or feeling down, by creating a serene and joyful space where camaraderie and the sounds of nature contribute to the healing process.

5.3 Circle for Healing: Care work

The Circle for Healing at Felicita Campos exemplifies how methodologies rooted in popular feminisms of the 1980s and 1990s have been revitalized to address contemporary issues. Situated within a popular framework, these methodologies cater to the specific needs of Felicita Campos through their weekly gatherings, facilitating the exploration of shared knowledge among women regarding their needs, interests, demands, entitlements, and rights (Maier 2010: 39).

During the heyday of popular feminist methodologies, collective exploration, organization, analysis, and understanding of women's individual experiences formed the basis of shared knowledge about gender. These processes shaped political agendas with a focus on the intersection of gender and class, fostering self-discovery, bolstering self-esteem, and facilitating a better understanding of gender dynamics in everyday life. Moreover, they provided a platform for discussing and understanding gender-related experiences, including gender violence and sexual abuse, as societal issues undermining women's health, well-being, and freedom (Maier 2010: 39).

Contemporary popular feminism, exemplified by movements like the World March of Women, continues to prioritize popular education[10] as a means to build collective feminist identities. By focusing on educational processes and shared experiences, these movements foster feminist identity among participants, irrespective of explicit identification as feminists by member groups (Conway 2021: 39). This approach emphasizes accessibility through workshops and training, enabling active engagement by women with low educational backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses, while acknowledging and addressing various forms of oppression, including those based on race, class, sexuality, and ability. Operating within local communities and territories, contemporary popular feminism focuses on grassroots organizing and building

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[10] The methodology of popular education refers those political–pedagogical processes that seek to overcome relationships of domination, oppression, discrimination, exploitation, inequality, and exclusion. It refers to all educational processes that seek to build egalitarian and fair relationships that respect diversity and equal rights amongst people (Jara 2010: 290).

supportive networks while shaping political agendas with a gender-focused lens (Conway 2021).

In the context of Felicita Campos, the Circle for Healing embodies these principles, particularly in its approach to care work, which serves as a space for addressing and discussing various issues related to the care economy, such as unpaid care work, recognition and valuation of care work, informal economy and lack of social protection, and low wages and poor working conditions (EIGE, 2024).

Literary pieces are shared during the meeting, and within this emotionally secure environment, women take turns expressing their thoughts, feelings, experiences, and opinions, allowing them to heal by giving themselves permission to feel, name, and re-signify their experiences. Moreover, the Circle for Healing highlights the centrality of care and care work in human activity and articulates its importance at the core of our world. Moreover, Matty captures this shared identity the space of Circle for Healing Felicita constructs:

> It is interesting to be able to situate my daily life from her [woman from Alto Fucha's] daily life as a way of breaking with the class differences that separate us. In terms of gender, we meet again (Matty).

Despite coming from different social backgrounds or classes, Matty finds common ground with the women from Alto Fucha through their shared experiences as women, transcending the barriers imposed by class differences.

5.4 Circle methodology

Despite the pivotal role of popular education in historical and contemporary popular feminism, Laurel, drawing from her experience in popular education through her community work, leads the implementation of the circle methodology within the Circle for Healing. She emphasizes its uniqueness, stating:

> It is much more consensual; it is much more circular. It is not like popular education which is still hierarchical, because there is the educator and the educated, even if it is popular education, while with the circle it is different because we all contribute, we all learn, we all circulate the knowledge (Laurel).

This highlights the key distinction between the circle methodology and the popular education Laurel has practiced, with the Circle for Healing prioritizing equality. Felicita Campos implements a strategy to discover and strengthen one's own power, as well as that of others, within a community context by addressing power dynamics within Felicita Campos, fostering inclusive structures and processes. Marginalized women are uplifted, and diverse perspectives are heard and valued to shape the desired community.

Motta's conceptualization of pedagogy transcends traditional notions of learning methods, framing education as a political-pedagogical project of subaltern struggle, and encompassing both practices of learning and unlearning. This suggests that education is not just about acquiring new knowledge, but also about critically examining and questioning existing beliefs, ideologies, and power structures. In hegemonic educational paradigms the separation and alienation between the body and mind, the classroom and the community, and the knower and the known are evident. By doing so, it is possible to generate formal educational spaces in which dialogues of knowledge are fostered, teaching which resignifies and reconfigures the teacher and school, and creating embodied and affective pedagogical practices which are embedded in the spiritual and cosmological (Motta 2016: 5).

Laurel further emphasizes this shift in educational paradigms within Felicita Campos, where the roles of teacher and student are redefined to emphasize mutual learning and empowerment. The concept of the school is also reimagined to be more inclusive and responsive to the needs of the community. Moreover, Felicita Campos transcends physical locations and are occurring in multiple spatialities, mobilizing within Alto Fucha Ecoterriotry and utilizing various communal spaces for meetings and activities. Informal learning is integrated into daily experiences, with meetings like the Circle for Healing: Community Minga, where participating women engage in community work while exchanging knowledge and experiences. These spaces for learning exist outside formal and educational settings, emphasizing accessibility and inclusivity, while occupying public spaces.

5.5 Felicita Campos' time and body

In communitarian feminism, time is acknowledged as a fundamental aspect that permeates various dimensions of life and action, including women's bodies, space,

movement, and memory, functioning as a crucial component within each of these realms (Paredes 2010: 205). Time holds significance not only for self-care, healing, and enjoyment of the body, but also for participating in productive activities across diverse spaces. Furthermore, it plays a pivotal role in movement-building, memory preservation, and knowledge generation, all of which contribute to transformative processes in daily life and history. However, patriarchal constructs of time perpetuate inequalities, as men's time is consistently privileged and valued, while women's time is marginalized and consumed by men's time (Paredes 2010: 203). This disparity is evident in various aspects of society, such as wages disparities and the undervaluation of domestic labor performed by women.

Communitarian feminism places the body at the forefront of political action, aiming to challenge and transform the various oppressions stemming from patriarchal systems. By emphasizing the body as the primary site of struggle, it seeks to dismantle the mind-body dichotomy and decolonize the concept of the body. Within this framework, women's bodies are portrayed as intricate and multifaceted entities, encompassing biogenetic, energetic, affective, and creative dimensions. They are depicted not merely as physical vessels but as sites of experience, sensation, and expression.

Time also emerges as a crucial theme in personal experiences and struggles, particularly concerning Felicita Campos' bodies. Narratives like Matty's highlight the intersection with daily experiences and struggles manifested in the body. Matty reflects on the tension between work-life balance, normalized abuse in past relationships, and struggles with imposter syndrome, all of which impact her health and well-being over time. When asked about her thoughts or emotions regarding the Circle for Healing, Matty shares:

> Look, something that happens to me and that I think is very important is that time disappears, only when it starts to get dark is that I get the urge, but time, that timed time, that clock time, it is not a meeting to say it is a meeting of three hours, of such an hour (…) although there is a timetable to control, time disappears. It is another way of looking at time, that time begins to materialize more as if from the corporealities, then time is valuable, time exists only to the extent that I am with someone else, so that is what happens to me. (…) When you ask me about my thoughts, it's like that, it's like one enters a moment of great calm, even though I

may have a lot of worries at home, at that moment if I am there, I can forget about everything, then time is forgotten, time is forgotten, it's like time has another character, it has... It is reflected in the bodies, and I think that to achieve that in a world where time is money, yes modernity has imposed on us an accelerated pace of life, I think that is something that is very important to me, and I think that has allowed me to sustain my visits to the territory, which have been more constant this semester, and not to do research, but to share that space with them, to learn with them, so I always come with life lessons very, sometimes I forget that I have to go back (Matty).

Matty's perspective on time underscores its significance in her life. She describes moments when time seems to lose its structured, clock-driven quality, becoming more fluid and connected to her interactions with others and her surroundings. Conventional, scheduled time (such as meeting times or schedules) feels less relevant to her compared to the value she places on being present in the moment and experiencing a sense of calm and connection, even amidst life's worries and stresses. She also reflects on how the modern world, with its emphasis on productivity and the notion of "time is money," often imposes a fast-paced lifestyle that can detract from these more meaningful experiences. Despite this, she finds value in slowing down and engaging with others in a more authentic way, which she believes has enriched her experiences and relationships.

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