



# GENERAL ASSEMBLY ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE ASSEMBLEIA GERAL جمعية عمومية

#CODESRIA14

**Creating African Futures in an Era of Global Transformations:  
Challenges and Prospects**

**Cr er l'Afrique de demain dans un contexte de transformations mondialis es :  
enjeux et perspectives**

**Criar Futuros Africanos numa Era de Transforma  es Globais:  
Desafios e Perspetivas**

**بعث أفريقيا الغد في سياق التحولات المعولمة :  
رهانات و آفاق**

**Women in Power Women Democracy and Human Dignity in non-capitalist  
Experiences led by Women in South-East Africa**

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## Introduction

My feminist and critical scientific work aspires to go beyond the acknowledgment of the patriarchal knowledge compulsion to oppress and confine women to subaltern ontological existences. In my view, it is necessary to take into account as well, the colonial and the capitalist constitutive character of the present hegemonic social and epistemological order, to understand better the women's agency against oppression. The post-colonial<sup>1</sup> feminist approach that I follow combines a deep critique of the persistent patriarchal, colonial and capitalist multi-tentacle power relations that feed and operate upon the invention of *the other of the other*, which have been, the victimized and *quasi* mummified women - *from ever and forever* - from the South. This paper results from my post-doctoral research project about how diverse women from Mozambique, South Africa and Brazil, living in diverse time-space and contexts, considered poor and oppressed, are narrating in their own terms, their knowledge and their emancipation, through non-capitalist modes of good living<sup>2</sup>.

The *Epistemologies of the South*<sup>3</sup> teaches us that the *South* is *the human suffering*, which is the massive consequence of colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism that is lasting since five centuries, all around the world. As the work of Ifi Amadiume<sup>4</sup> clearly shows there is an epistemic impossibility of totalitarian subjugation and complete destruction of the *other*, which the western and north-centric knowledge has created in order to dominate. Having said so, it becomes possible to identify great epistemic energies, discursive vigour and innovative resistances of the *so-called* female victims within the South.

My presentation intends to deal with the following questions: to qualify these women's knowledge, narratives and practices as critical and necessary epistemologies to question the current and hegemonic academic paradigms; to present and analyse the qualitative and intersectional methods that I am working with, such as, narratives, photography, tales and stories; and finally, to bring into the discussion the two concepts that I consider so far, as my key-findings: the economy of abundance and the economy of sobriety as ruptures with capitalist-patriarchal-colonial order, practices engendered and led by women.

Having as the epicentre the international research project, *ALICE. Strange Mirrors; unsuspected lessons*, directed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, the work that I am presenting is

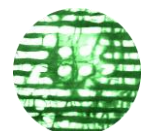
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<sup>1</sup> I follow the concept of post-colonial developed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Santos, 2009). The post-colonial does not refer to the period after political Independence of ex-colonized countries but is the ultimate vision of societies and epistemologies free from any colonial trace or characteristic of sociability.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cunha, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Santos, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1997.





my first piece of written reflexion and theorization on the overall theme: *other economies* one of the four addressed in this research<sup>5</sup>.

## **Chapter 1- Learning with the South using the Epistemologies of the South<sup>6</sup>**

One of the most important questions to the western knowledge, which has been at the service of colonial powers along this five centuries cycle, is who and how are defined the objects of knowledge. The colonizer defined itself as the reference term within the dichotomy *we – other* and, without surprise the further disqualification of the *other* became inevitable. Every society with which, it had contacts (violent) were classified as backwards, uncivilized, minors, traditional, without history and so, naturalized subalterns. One of the most relevant technologies to do so was the manipulation of memory that conducted a progressive erosion of languages, modes of recitation and all of their own collections of remembrance. Colonial powers worked hardly and efficiently to transform these people and civilizations into societies waiting for salvation, without inner and proper energies to go beyond their own atavism and primitive way of living. In other words, the colonial conquest drove to immanent societies, people, knowledge, wisdom, technologies, and horizons<sup>7</sup>. Indeed, European colonialism reinvented a complex hermeneutics and epistemology to legitimize the colonizers to exploit, dominate, oppress, dehumanize and affirm its ontological superiority.

This obsession for controlling and domination had a tremendous power against the *other* males but mainly against women who became *the other of the other*. They have been moved into a deformed and mummified mass of bodies, eternal victims of themselves, partners and their cultures. The proliferation of negative images of women shows bodies in suffering without identity, subjectivity and agency<sup>8</sup>.

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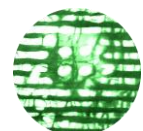
<sup>5</sup> The ALICE Project comprises of four main interrelated themes: other economies, human right and other grammars of human dignity, transformative constitutionalisms and democratizing democracy.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Santos, 2009.

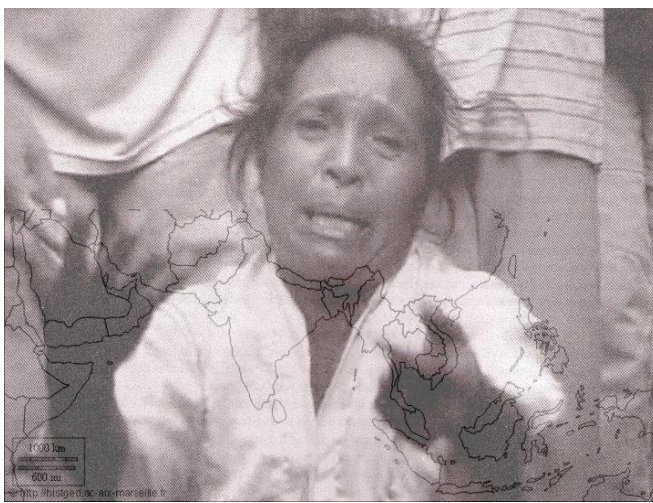
<sup>7</sup> Cf. Amadiume, 1998; Ufomata, 2002; Okome, 2001; Osório, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> *Mapas Tocolando* [em linha]. Disponível em  
www: <URL: <http://mapastocolando.blogspot.com/>>

Fonte das fotografias: Cf. *Guerra Colonial ...*, 1999: 24; *Comissão de Acolhimento... as mulheres e o conflito*, 2005: 11.



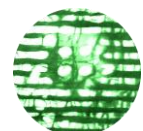




They exist in an extemporal world where reigns a repetitive irrationality. The colonial prerogative represents these *other of the other* as a mass ineluctably poor, ignorant, illiterate, curved over themselves, indistinguishable among them, confined to their stoves in permanent despair. They are represented to seem waiting for inevitable rape or prostitution as a natural way to survive males and misery; they are silent, mute, and obedient when they are ordered to be quiet and in silence inside or outside their homes; whenever they appear they exhibit their atavism and their subjugation<sup>9</sup>. The *other of the other* it is the way I try to express rhetorically this rational command to make women become unbearable lightness of beings who exist without any resource, no names, no identities, no force or power, no exegesis<sup>10</sup>. The women's oppression it is real, must be denounced and studied, within the North, South, West and East. The struggle for complete women's human dignity, equality, happiness must go on; and no violence anywhere by anybody. My thesis is that this struggle in epistemological, social and political terms cannot hide or actively forget the formidable agency of women ever since in the societal world.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Said, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Gandhi, 1998: 110.





### **Beyond abysses and wreckage**

I do not romanticize the life and death of the women that endured and endure European patriarchal, capitalist and colonial powers. I argue, nevertheless, that the conquest was not absolute and total. The genocide and the epistemicide were – and continue to be – brutal and massive but post-colonial feminist critique goes beyond those abysses and wreckage. Proceeding with the sociology of emergences<sup>11</sup> I am able to discern, within documents (oral and written), languages, food, clothes, contumacious sociabilities, artistic senses and resistant cognitive agencies which had been forced to disappearance.

Many feminists from the South<sup>12</sup> argue about the myth of full formal parity between women and men as the ultimate solution to self-determination and emancipation. They also point out to the diversity and sophistication of negotiation tools and manners women use to solve problems and coercive situations against them. They have their own associations and councils to influence or exercise their leadership in the communities. The motherhood is a source of power and not only a passive bio contribution to the male lineage. For instance in several Namibian societies, being a mother is not considered a domestic event but a status which implies power to demand, to challenge *status quo*, to accumulate effective power inside the community and family<sup>13</sup>. The social links that matter are much more structured between generations than between men and women like in Mozambique and South Africa<sup>14</sup>. In other African societies one born husband or wife in spite of his/her biological sexual identity. Being a husband or a wife is a locus of power and does not depend on biological determinism<sup>15</sup>. Many women have their own business and they engender and control production and commercial activities with full acknowledgement of their communities. They circulate in proximity and as well as in long-distances, establishing networks and perform many professions and ways of trading. They have their own means to save money and put it out of the control of their husbands or other member of the families<sup>16</sup>.

I argue in line with the proposal of Gaytri Spivak<sup>17</sup> that post-colonial feminism need to develop an *ethics of singularity*, which is a search for commensurability between culturally situated people; it is a quest for alterity face to face, and opening space for the existent polyphony dispensing abstraction and categorical examination. Creating critical knowledge<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Santos, 2002

<sup>12</sup> I underlie here the following: Pereira, 2005; 1998; MacFadden, 2000a;b; Karim, 1995; Amadiume, 1997; Mama, 2001; Ufomata, 2002, among many others

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nfah-Abbeny, 2005: 267.

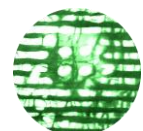
<sup>14</sup> Cf. Casimiro, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Adéèkó, 2005: 125.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Cunha, 2011; 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Spivak, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hoffman, 2014.





needs a deep plural-logical way of thinking, inspired in its own poorness, fragmentation, incompleteness and limitations<sup>19</sup>. Otherwise, it will be potentially genocidal.

My post-colonial feminist critique refuses to claim or share any centre. On the contrary it is constructed upon the desire of diversity, eccentricity and the amplification of complementarity, intercommunication of research fields, themes and agendas. In this sense, I am persuaded that the post-colonial feminism open a space for the assumption of my ignorance about the other of the other and give my self the possibility to face concepts, methodologies, narratives, epistemologies, social performances that prefigure decolonization of thought. I discuss that the post-colonial feminist perspectives are able to offer a subversive thinking, which put into question the remains of imperial and colonial order within the South and as well within as the North. With my work I aim to contribute to identify epistemic energies, discursive vigour and innovative resistances of the so-called female victims from the South, which are critical and necessary epistemologies, to question the current and hegemonic sociological and academic paradigms.

## **Chapter 2- Analytical fields and methodologies**

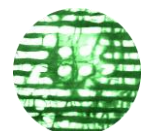
The profound imbrication between the contemporary neoliberalism and the erosion of democratic aspirations, social cohesion, emancipatory policies, justice and dignity for all is, in my view, one of the strongest causes and consequences of the new global economical adjustment made by an unprecedented compulsion of majority deprivation.

This statement would lead to an absolute sense of tragedy if, at the same time, we would not discern a pluriversal and rooted movements, at different levels of societies in the different continents, resisting, operating with alternatives and preserving democratic memories, practices, environments, educational strategies for participative common lives, connecting communities, forging true emancipatory emergences and infra-structuring the deep changes that are coming. It can be argued that it is all still quite blurred, difficult to understand in its all facets, hard to have a comprehensive picture of these emergences, or to evaluate their capacity to pull for another civilization and development. I agree and share this analytical and theoretical precaution. However, the post-colonial feminist critique have demonstrated that in hegemony' it is always a transitory time-space with a finite amount of power. This is where I root theoretically my analytical work:

Therefore, this research has three analytical dimensions as follows:

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. Santos, 2009; Khatibi, 2001: 76; Wiredu, 2003: 55.





- 1- The practices of production, management and distribution of the wealth, savings, loans and investments with a non-capitalist rationale led by women of considered subaltern communities:
- 2- The cognitive agency and its respective pragmatics narrated mainly by women (but also men) who are active in production, distribution of wealth, aggregation and management of social-economic resources considered eccentric or marginal for the hegemonic idea of development;
- 3- The participative and democratic exchange of knowledge among women and groups from the townships and rural areas of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces in Mozambique; Gauteng and Northwest provinces in South Africa and the state of Rio Grande do Sul and Mato Grosso in Brazil.

It is a comparative and a qualitative study that uses several research methods and instruments in the field of feminist economics and post-colonial sociology. Taking for my purpose the idea of intersectionality, I decided to articulate different research instruments and tools in order to be able to develop diverse types of outputs. My final works will be as canonical<sup>20</sup>, as more challenging of my academic training, done in co-operation with local artists, cinema directors and different communities' members. This methodology aimed to capture the complexity and the intensity of discourses and epistemological and heuristic value of their enunciation. These narratives spoken into Tsonga Portuguese and English languages, framed by sounds, aromas, gestures, forms and shapes are, to me, multiform of critical and reflexive thinking<sup>21</sup>. Beyond documental research, in a fieldwork journal I chose also to write in cooperation with some ladies, tales and stories. These tales and stories are, in a way, of a co-construction of a reflexive thinking, managed with imagination and creativity of a certain community of interpretation.

### **Chapter 3- Key findings and its circumstances**

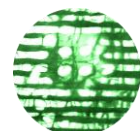
As I stated in previous essays, concerning economics and post-colonial feminist analysis, two of most popular dichotomies have to be dismantled: Productive – Reproductive work and Productive - Unproductive work<sup>22</sup>. My thesis is that all work is productive. The distinction and the dichotomization has been a strong tool to send women and their several works to an actively constructed invisibility. All women always work and their works always were productive in their different live and historical spheres. Having this in mind is easily conceivable that a great amount of social and economical relations did remain out of the capitalistic control. In spite of the multitude of their differences, women's experiences,

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<sup>20</sup> For instance, peer reviewed paper, oral presentation at scientific events, organizing seminars and colloquiums.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Bozzoli, 1991.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Cunha, 2011.





knowledge and initiatives; concepts of power and authority are, neither entirely dominated by colonialism nor by patriarchal and capitalist social relations<sup>23</sup>.

The second idea that comes to my mind after my two years of empirical fieldwork is the impossibility to distinguish completely economy and society. Economy is far more than projections, abstractions on how the markets will react and move, estimations, budgets, finances rules, control of prices and flows of wealth. I mean by this, that economy and society are an imbricated situated time-space. Having said so, economical relations are always social relations. In other words my first exercise is to amplify the analytical *campus* to be able to deal with what is classified, mostly, as mere survival modes of existence, ancestral idiosyncrasies and obstacles to development.

When I activate my feminist and post-colonial look I start to discern into the social tissue other vigorous strategies to govern, to manage resources, to produce, to redistribute, to trade and doing so, to guarantee the necessary wealth to the family, groups and communities. These concrete socio-economies are located and give sense and got sense from the space and time where they operate. It is important to underline their capacity to provide the essentials for the human living including their symbolic and transcendental needs. If we go through statistics like UNDP reports, it is secure to state that the majority of the people live with this capacity of creating their own wealth for living. I am in position to enunciate my second thesis: every economy is a situated socio-economy.

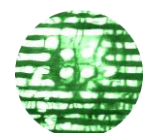
These socio-economies are not simply a piece of our contemporary world. They face and they deal, every day, with capitalism and create modes of resistance as they create functional and organic adaptations with it. They understand that capitalism is nowadays overwhelming but they seize to invent forms of resistance to avoid entire. All these socio-economies are mixed realities, permeated by many contradictions, refusing and accepting capitalism whenever is necessary or desired. My role is to assume this chaotic character as a fundamental epistemological providence.

### **- Women InPower Women: the economy of abundance, the economy of sobriety and good living**

I continue my argument discussing on the *socio-economy of abundance* and the *socio-economy of sobriety* empowered by the lessons that I got from this female non-imperial South and Boaventura's Sousa Santos theoretical affirmation that follows as: *we do not know what is and what will be the alternative to development but we know already that will be post-capitalist*. These two concepts emerged as a credible pattern within several women's narratives and their practices, which indicates that they inform, in several ways, the geography of knowledge of inedited but viable societal horizons. I argue that they are constitutive to the principle of non-separation, a compound of complex relations between

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*







spiritualties, beliefs, faith; values and identities, memories, rituals and symbols; knowledge, wisdom, practices and technologies operating together within very hostile circumstances.

The massive extraction of mineral and energetic resources; land grabbing by millions of hectares to give place to intensive mono-cultures with massive use of potent poisons; the forced displacement of entire populations; the privatization of vital natural resources as sea and river shores; the permanent deterrent to have access to water to consume, to irrigate, to accede to protein food and other vital uses of water; the slaughter of forests, the destruction of savannahs and corridors of critical biodiversity; restructuration of the land and the related speculation; financialization of the economy and the collapse of local markets or local ways of trading and exchange; the deepness of social inequalities; erosion of democracy and the representation political institutions; the *non-dit* but effective of the constitutional and juridical guarantees; the new speech on development, global order; the spread of armed conflicts; the civic insecurity; the persecution of intellectuals and social movements; assimilation politics as the new names to genocide and epistemicide; the increase of social conservative policies; the rise of more and more spread unbalanced power relations between men and women inscribed in the so called traditions, norms and laws; the brutal impoverishment of the majority of people and countries where the ‘tomorrow’ becomes a daily struggle to accomplish survival, are among many other, the concrete expressions of the current global economical adjustment carried out in Mozambique, South Africa and Brazil and in the rest of the planet.<sup>24</sup>

The women’s *situated narratives and knowledge* from townships and rural territories are permeated by, on one hand, injustice, suffering, active forgetfulness of them and, in another hand a wonderful energy to create, renovate and lead divergent manners to live and construct human dignity. The socio-economies of abundance and sobriety that I discern in it are complex epistemologies that *do not waste experiences* and they do not dispense the *ecology of knowledge and scales*<sup>25</sup>.

### **- The economy of abundance**

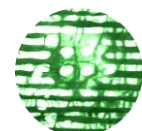
When I state for an economy of abundance I do want, first of all, to make a critical distinction with capitalism. In spite of the images of seductive opulence capitalism is the art of produce and control scarcity to ensure the maximum of profit for few.

On contrary, an economy of abundance supposes to recognize and value the diversity, richness, goods and wealth that exist and are at available of a certain community. On another hand, a socio-economy of abundance is that one that relies on the power of the community to define what is really useful, relevant and critical to trade, exchange or to possess for the sake

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<sup>24</sup> See the numbers at global scale and confirm that the richest are men and the most impoverished are the women. Cf. Chant, 2006. It is also interesting to see <http://www.celebritynetworth.com/list/top-100-richest-people-in-the-world/>;

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Santos, 2002; 2009.



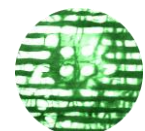


of all creatures. Within an economy of abundance there is a principal distinction between price and value and this implies to acknowledge other ways and social technologies to identify what being indispensable can not be translated into a price. The abundance creates spheres of impossibility of commodification like identities, memories, linkages, affections, sacred objects and sites or the assistance to who needs. The economy of abundance is how to provide space, time and voice to many elements from what we really depend to live and not merely survive: fruits of land; the manufactured products; the processed materials; the belonging sentiments; the memory; the trust; the services which are provide as a chosen gift; the cooperative work; the collaborative production networks; to create and define innovation; the shared knowledge by generations and groups for the sake of all. Within an economy of abundance there is no place and no sense to an infinite accumulation of objects, power, status and its exclusionary force.

By the UNDP standards the women living with HIV in the remotes villages in Mozambique are a community of poor who need, all possible help, to survive their state of vulnerability. It is probably true from a certain point of view. Nevertheless, the testimony of Mamã Hermínia stands for another analysis. The *Pfuneca* community is abundant in cohesion and the capacity of being constant in their struggle to dignify their lives and to honour their deaths is formidable and large. They speak several languages, they are competent to use their knowledge and create arguments, and solve problems.

*Mama Hermínia stood up to speak at the International Colloquium. She started to introduce herself by saying hers name and the name of her communitarian project in Chibuto, Gaza's province. The name of the project is Pfuneca, which means by her own translation: 'Come and help yourself'. The project is a local association compose by women, mostly, who live with HIV who do not access to medicaments. Specialized medicaments have to be bought in pharmacies. The little money they get, by selling their own garden products, they spend with food for their families. Mamã Hermínia commented that she had listen about an interesting manner to deal with the situation. She invited the some acquaintances to meet and discuss the problem. Those who accepted the challenge were five women who decided to built a common safe. The safe is a wooden box with two lockers which keys are given to two different persons chosen by the group. The project functions as follows: every woman is invited to put in the common safe, monthly, the amount of money she can. All the names, dates and amounts are systematically registered by an elected committee and scrutinized by the entire group.*

*One month later they were already thirty women participating in the safe process. Trust and discipline are the two main keywords in her explanation, to maintain a good and trustful project. After a wile, they had save enough money to raise another question: what to do, together, with those savings. They considered the problem and decided to create a fund of 5% of the accumulated money to attend emergencies related to their illness. The rest would be divided every week for four of them in a previously agreed order. She emphasized that one year gone and she is leading twenty groups of thirty-five people each constituted by an*





*expressive majority of women. The discussion, they are carrying out today, is two folded, said Mamã Hermínia. In one hand, is how to attend the claims from other villages and localities to be integrated into the association. They seem to be considering with precaution and doubts the enlargement of the network because they feel it can go wrong. In another hand, how to manage, collectively, the 5% Fund with effective justice and equity.*

It came to my mind some reflection challenging my theoretical framework. They continue living with HIV and they did not increase their personal wealth. They still belong to a considered very vulnerable and poor women group. The Pfuneca project made, effectively, any difference? In statistic projections the answer is no. In substantive terms I answer: yes it did. My argument is the following. First of all, they created their self-managed social and medical security. In consequence they are able to buy the medicines they need, and travel to hospital and see the doctors regularly. Secondly they construct a community of trust and mutual support. Thirdly they built up a desired space of women power and awareness. Their problems ended? No, but incredible steps were made in a positive way. There are no contradictions and conflicts? Of course there are. And the reason is obvious: any dynamic of change is more than a linear and flat process<sup>26</sup>.

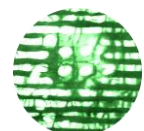
Within an economy of abundance the consumption becomes the reciprocal use of things and wealth. To save is not the same thing of capitalist accumulation. Economy of abundance, in my view, is the ethical, political and economical opposite of the current neo-liberal imposed austerity where only a few have a space to live without structural violence. Finally it is my argument that an economy of abundance is a critical procedure of the *sociology of absences* and the *sociology of emergences* that contract the future and amplifies the present and to make it a *locus* of good-living.

### **- The economy of sobriety**

The sobriety, as I have been theorizing it, is a set of social and economical practices that guarantee a fair redistribution of resources, whatever they are, to ensure a good living for all in all its dimensions. I understand the challenges of this statement once it appears to be a utopia never accomplished. Yet, within different scales I have been observing how it becomes concrete and credible. The sobriety is the opposite of the obsession for the new; in other words, it is the opposite of the vertigo that reduces the present to an evanescent entity of being always in the future. The economy of sobriety is the other side of the economy of abundance where greed and accumulation do not have sense or usefulness. The economy of sobriety is all the manners to extend all capacities of things to be at the service of humans and creatures. It is not miserliness but the opposite of waste. The sobriety implies a rationality of care instead a rationality of disposable. The economy of sobriety is the way to turn organic the relationship between creatures and objects toward contentment without any violence.

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<sup>26</sup> An excerpt of my fieldwork notes.





*After several diplomatic talks between ambassadors, from both sides, the first encounter was authorized. So, I went to see and chat with the Guarani community in the Lomba do Pinheiro. The first meeting, face-to-face, was just to inform me about the terms of further reunions. During my first conversation with the cacique<sup>27</sup> José Cirilo he performed strongly his American indigenous identity: few words, few gestures, great sobriety in the context and in arguments. He just said what he wanted and evaluated me all the time. The meeting took place and was confined to a little room. Some days after he sent me a message saying that the matriarch and women were ready to meet with me and I was waited in the Guarani village.*

Sharply punctual, Maria Eugénia the Guarani matriarch reunited the women to dialogue with me. They brought their crafts and their kids and we sat in circle. Maria Eugénia sat down looking firmly at one of their daughters-in-law eyes showing, to myself, just a half of her face and started the conversation in Guarani language. The young woman role was to translate to me into Portuguese. During quite a while, all of our talks were like that: she never looked at me and always expressed herself in Guarani. The eyes were not important in our communication. My first understanding of that situation was to identify a power relation over me. Yet, was it only a question of power domination?

Later they considered I passed successfully the test. They made clear that exercise of power did not pursue my humiliation, but a learning process. As a visitor I would to talk with respect and perform the Guarani sobriety in using words and eyes scrutiny. I did not made interviews, or had talks and meetings. I was an apprentice practicing the difficult exercise of an economy of sobriety<sup>28</sup>.

To end this brief reflection I want to propose another concept to complete my analysis. An economy of sobriety claims for a vital reduction of light. In other words, the epistemologies of enlightenment built upon the approbatory *logocentric eye* entitled to explain everything at all time and all space. The sobriety comes as a demand of amplification of the epistemological *campus* where more senses and knowledge come in and, dialogue.

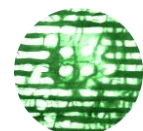
## **Final remarks**

In this paper I aimed to develop a post-colonial feminist theoretical framework giving a special epistemological attention to geopolitics of knowledge, the transversally patriarchal power relations between women and men in knowledge production and all types of social relations. Acknowledging the harms and invisibilities produced by long lasting colonial-patriarchal-capitalist hegemony, I moved toward the epistemological question to overcome a monolithic stand point of women victimization and further discern the continuous, vigorous and long lasting women agency in all spheres of live. In my argument, a post-colonial feminism pursues to dismantle a centre-periphery structure and build a polycentric system

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<sup>27</sup> Cacique means the leader of a certain indigenous community.

<sup>28</sup> An excerpt of my fieldwork notes.







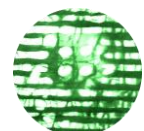
where women appear as subjects resisting being objects. I supplemented this theoretical framework with the *epistemologies of the south* and *ecology of knowledge* by Boaventura de Sousa Santos and the epistemic agency women from the ex-colonised world underlined by many post-colonial feminists.

The second chapter was dedicated to present briefly my analytical fields, and methodology. I also stressed the comparative, qualitative and partial character and of this research and findings.

In the third chapter I discussed the two socioeconomic entities that I argue to be my main findings, so far: the economy of abundance and economy of sobriety. This discussion was two folded once I used my fieldwork notes and reflections to theorize and propose a post-colonial feminist epistemology standpoint on this matter.

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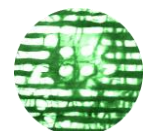
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