

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**

Erasmus

**INTERROGATING WHITENESS AND BUILDING PLURAL
COALITIONS: KEY STEPS TOWARDS DECOLONISING
FEMINISMS IN *EUSKAL HERRIA***

A Research Paper presented by:

MAIALEN AGINAGALDE CATALÁN

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Social Justice Perspectives (SJP)

Specialization:

Women and Gender Studies (WGS)

Supervisor:

Silke Heumann

Second Reader:

Lisa-Marlen Gronemeier

The Hague, The Netherlands

November 2025

Acknowledgments

Eskerrik asko, a todas las compañeras que me he cruzado en este camino y que generosamente me han abierto sus mentes y sus corazones, sin esperar nada a cambio.

Itziar, Larraitz, Ainhoa, Lady, Garazi, Nadia, Victoria, Karina, Cristina, Irantzun, Fatima, Begoña, Ivanna, Maryam, Mariana, Izadora, Eneritz, Palmira, eta Hajar.

A aquellas que, bajo el anonimato, también han puesto el cuerpo.

Sin vosotras, ni yo ni este trabajo estaríamos hoy aquí.

Mila esker, zuen beldurrak eta ilusioak partekatu dizkidazuen lagunei.

Gracias, a aquellas que me habéis hecho reflexionar y aprender.

Todo mi respeto y admiración a quienes lucháis a diario, cada una desde vuestra trinchera, por un feminismo liberador para todes.

Eta esker mila, bidelagun eduki zaituztedan pertsona guztiei, bihotzez.

“El feminismo es luchar por otras aunque eso no te implique directamente, que la injusticia de otra sea un motivo para seguir luchando” – Mariana

Abstract

This research explores practices to dismantle the colonial structures of power and to fight the struggles of a plural feminist subject that represents Basque society on the road towards decolonising the feminist movement in the Basque Country. It aims to examine the advances of the movement since the 2019 Feminist Conference, the current challenges in terms of interrogating whiteness and the potential futures in building plural coalitions. The analysis draws on 28 semi-structured interviews with racialised local, racialised migrant, and local white women in the territory examined through the Narrative Production Methodology. Findings reveal an erasure of the intermeshed oppressions of migrant and racialised women, and multiple mechanisms of exclusion that deny their agency. Despite the advances in discourse and theoretical reflections, caring and trusting spaces for having uncomfortable discussions, finding common ground, and building coalitions based on mutual recognition, identification, and interdependence are still lacking, as well as decolonial practices through which white feminists share their privileges with racialised comrades and cultivate a feminism liberating for all. This research aims to draw lessons from the experiences of racialised and white feminists to address these absences and seize the opportunities towards radically transforming feminism through a decolonial gaze.

Keywords

feminism, decoloniality, coalition, social movement, Basque Country

List of Acronyms

IWD: International Women's Day

NPM: Narrative Production Methodology

WMBW: World March of Basque Women

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Abstract	iii
List of Acronyms	iv
Table of Contents	v
1. Problem statement	1
2. Relevance of this research	5
3. Positionality and ethical considerations	8
4. Research questions and objectives	10
5. Analytical framework	11
6. Methodology	14
7. Research findings	19
Recent milestones and internal conflicts in the feminist movement	19
7.1 ACTIVELY LISTEN: Struggles and demands of migrant and racialised women in Euskal Herria	21
7.2 DISMANTLE: Mechanisms of exclusion of migrant and racialised identities from Basque feminist spaces	28
7.3 ACKNOWLEDGE: White privilege and plural identity as oppressors and oppressed	34
7.4 HEAL: Conflict resolution, creation of brave spaces, and embracing differences within the movement	37
7.5 ACUERPAR: Practising decolonial coalition building	41
8. Conclusions	46
9. References	50
10. Appendix	57

1. Problem statement

This research aims to problematise the Eurocentric and modern-colonial thinking of the hegemonic feminist movement in the Basque Country and to understand its evolution in dismantling the structures of colonial domination in its actions and political agenda. Through dialogue with white and racialised, migrant and local women¹ from feminist groups, the goal is to understand the evolution of the Basque feminist movement towards fighting for the rights of migrant and racialised individuals, to learn about the individual and collective reflection undertaken so far by local feminists on their white privilege and to identify potential strategies towards building plural coalitions between different identities within the movement.

The Basque context

The Basque Country, Euskal Herria in Euskara², is one of the oldest stateless nations in Europe and is located within the official borders of Spain and France. The Basque nationalist movement, founded at the end of the 19th century, understood Basque tradition in terms of purity, aspiring to preserve race, language, morals and customs (Sánchez-Prieto, 2002). This nationalist sentiment became more widespread during the 20th century because of the repression that the Basque nation suffered during Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), when Euskara was prohibited and autonomous rights were suppressed (Funes, 1998). The Basque social movements born in the 20th century were and still are heavily influenced by the historical oppression and nationalist sentiment of the Basque people, who stand in solidarity with other oppressed people and their political struggles (Komite Internazionalistak, n.d.). In the 1970s, the Basque Country welcomed thousands of exiles from Latin American dictatorships, while their people had also welcomed Basque exiles from the civil war and the dictatorship a few decades earlier.

Despite being known for international solidarity, our Basque ancestors have also oppressed other communities, particularly following the Spanish colonisation of Abya Yala in 1492. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Basques travelled to the American continent to profit from trade, often using slaves. The coffee and cocoa brought from Venezuela by the Royal Guipuzcoan Company of Caracas, for example, originated from plantations where African slaves were

¹ Throughout this paper, the term 'women' refers inclusively to all who identify as women, including both cisgender and transgender women, as well as non-binary and gender-diverse people who experience gendered oppression under patriarchal norms.

² Euskara is the Basque language that is spoken in the Basque Country. It is a minority and genetically isolated language, which means that it is related to no other known language family, and therefore has no similarity with Spanish or other languages in the Spanish state.

employed. Historians deliberately hide the link to slavery while studying the most important people of this company as illustrious Basque personalities, similar to how Columbus is viewed in Spain. There are also chronicles of the imprisonment of slaves in Basque cities, and evidence of Basque families buying slaves at auction (Ramirez, 2022). However, this side of history is neither taught in schools nor present in the collective memory.

The evolution of the political subject of Basque feminism

During the democratic transition that followed Franco's dictatorship in the late 70s, the struggle for the decriminalisation of abortion and personal emancipation was fundamental (Beorlegui Zarranz, 2020). Due to the context of violence in the Basque Country, coupled with a patriarchal state, *abertzale*³ feminists framed the feminist struggle within the overall battle for the national liberation of the Basque Country. KAS Emakumeak⁴ — later named Aizan and Egizan — supported the theory of 'triple oppression', arguing that Basque women suffered patriarchal oppression for being women, national oppression for being Basque and capitalist oppression for being working-class (Gurpegui Cotado, 2021). They also challenged the idea of the universal woman, differentiating their oppression from that of women from other countries (Castillo, 1986).

The hegemonic feminism of the 80s was characterised by an anti-capitalist framework, focusing on the intersection between gender and class oppressions (Fernandez Sobrado and Aierdi Urraza, 1997). In the 90s, the Spanish institutions monopolised feminist demands, weakening the feminist movement engaged in popular struggle. The feminist debate became increasingly elitist, academic and NGO-oriented, following an institutionalising trend connected to the expansion of neoliberalism, and therefore less accessible to ordinary militants (Zabala González, 2008). At the beginning of the 21st century, in a context of illegalisation of Basque nationalist left organisations, *abertzale* women built Euskal Herriko Bilgune Feminista, one of the largest and most influential groups within the current feminist movement (Fernandez, 2022).

Following the rise of institutional feminism, the movement was marked by a uniformity centred on equality and based on Western rights. In 2008, during the Fourth Feminist Conference of the Basque Country, Emakume Internazionalistak critiqued a homogenising, global and excluding feminism that essentialised being a woman from a Western perspective and advocated for addressing interrelating oppressions (Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista, 2008). They held debates from an internationalist feminist perspective on issues related to development, Islam, war,

³ *Abertzale* is a Basque term referring to people or groups associated with Basque nationalism.

⁴ The feminist branch of KAS, a group of political and social organisations united under the same objective, the independence and socialism of the Basque Country.

sex work, care workers, etc., with their own protagonists, so they had relationships with women from different religions and nationalities and recognised them as political subjects.

At the Fifth Feminist Conference in 2019, migrant and racialised women highlighted that Basque feminism's focus on patriarchy and capitalism reflected white privilege, as it overlooked how racism and coloniality shaped their bodies, experiences, and knowledges. They urged including their rights in the feminist agenda, breaking the stereotypes related to non-Western identities and creating new narratives that recognise their agency to build bridges in a non-paternalistic and non-instrumentalising way (Salda Badago Jardunaldiak, 2019). Came to light the 'white tears' of some attendants who could not disguise their discomfort as they were urged to recognise themselves as oppressors (Nguissani, 2019).

Migrant and racialised women have gained representation in demonstrations and manifestos of the feminist movement over the past few years. Around 2017, discourses began to address intersectionality, but they still portrayed migrant women as victims, depicting them as passive beings without agency (Coordinadora Feminista, 2017). In 2018, racism and colonialism were more explicitly mentioned (Euskal Herriko Greba Feminista, 2018), and in 2019, racialised care workers gained voice and representation, building new alliances with the feminist movement (Irureta Azkune, 2019). In 2020, the feminist movement released a document confronting the COVID-19 crisis and patriarchal and colonial neoliberalism, recognising racism as a structural violence, and calling for improved conditions for migrant women (EHko Koordinadora Feminista, 2020). The statement of the Global Feminist Strike of 2023 recognised that "there is a historical debt to the peoples of the South. The people who arrive in Euskal Herria [...] must be welcomed without discrimination and with full access to rights; it is a reparation and justice exercise". Besides improving the labour conditions of care workers, it called for the abolition of the Spanish Aliens Act and for making accessible to all the right to registration and other basic rights (EHko Koordinadora Feminista, 2023).

Current groups and platforms within the Basque feminist movement

The Basque feminist movement is made up of multiple groups, which may be feminist associations/organisations, NGOs or trade unions. The majority group themselves according to their age (young women, pensioners), political identity (Basque nationalists), gender and sexual identity (lesbians, trans people), occupation (farmers and peasants, care workers, sex workers), ethnicity (racialised, Roma), religion (Muslims), nationality (country-based) and geographical location (feminist assemblies in towns and cities). Some of these groups work at the municipal

level, in their towns, and each capital city has its feminist assembly that meets regularly and where several local groups participate.

In addition, some organisations work both at the national level through a steering group and at the municipal level. This is the case of Euskal Herriko Bilgune Feminista and Euskal Herriko Gazte Feministak, primarily composed of local white women. The former has historical links to the Basque nationalist left, and the latter is a network of young Basque women. NGOs and trade unions are not exclusively dedicated to feminism, but still participate in feminist platforms in large cities — Bilbo, Donostia and Gasteiz — and at the national level. Their representatives participate in feminist assemblies as part of their jobs, unlike the vast majority of feminist activists. Trade unions and national feminist groups are often linked, directly or indirectly, to political parties, which can create tensions with autonomous feminist groups in shared spaces.

There are currently three national-level and inter-organisation platforms:

- (1) Euskal Herriko Emakumeon Mundu Martxa (World March of Basque Women – WMBW). This platform was established in 2003, following a global women’s movement with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist framework that addresses other issues affecting women beyond gender-based violence. It is one of the first constant spaces in which groups of local and migrant women have articulated alliances since 2014. An International Action is arranged every five years at different levels, including one in the Basque Country.
- (2) Denon Bizitzak Erdigunean (Everyone's Lives at the Centre). This platform was born during the pandemic through a process of reflection on care led by the feminist movement. In February 2022, several feminist groups met to begin defining the Basque Public and Community Care System. Later, more organisations joined the discussion, and assemblies were organised in each province to map out a Global Feminist Strike in November 2023 with the participation of both white and racialised women.
- (3) Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista (Feminist Movement of the Basque Country). This network organises at the national level the two main marches of the year, the IWD and the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. It also coordinates the organisation of the Feminist Conferences that occur every 10 years, and is driven by long-standing feminist groups, primarily white, that have the necessary infrastructure to coordinate this work.

This research will consider the advances and conflicts arising from the first two platforms, but the third one remains to be analysed.

2. Relevance of this research

Social relevance

Faced with a systemic crisis that forces people to leave their home countries, the racialised migrant community in the Basque Country is increasing. Non-Western migrant women primarily come from Abya Yala and, to a lesser extent, from Africa, particularly Morocco (Soro, 2025). There is also an increasing number of children of migrants, racialised Basque people, who were born in Euskal Herria. The collective anti-racist resistance, which is growing stronger and more organised, has put the spotlight on white privilege and social and institutional racism, exacerbated by media manipulation and the rise of anti-immigration right-wing discourses. Increasingly, the Basque feminist movement emphasises the intersection between class, race and gender struggles in its discourse, but some believe that identity politics fractures movements, losing strength against the ‘real enemy’: capitalism and patriarchy.

It is essential that the feminist movement questions the colonial system at its roots and understands its intersection with patriarchy, challenging its white Eurocentric narratives and actions. In an increasingly individualised capitalist and neoliberal society, feminist spaces must defend the collective struggle, acknowledge the distinct realities of migrant and racialised women, and challenge the power hierarchies to build plural coalitions. White women need to ask ourselves how we have responded to the challenge of decolonising feminism and what our role is in the struggle for the rights of migrant and racialised women.

Academic relevance

The debate about the intersection of race and gender oppressions in the European feminist movements may serve as a guide for this research. In 2018, the year of the rise of feminism in Spain, the struggles of migrant and racialised women were mentioned but within a universalising discourse that downplayed the inequalities generated by race or ethnicity, ‘othering’ migrant and ethnic minority women (Sandu and Fernández, 2021). They argue that “the lack of representation is a consequence of the country's structural racism” (p. 217) and that addressing the connection between patriarchy and racism is essential to recognise white privilege, identify power inequalities and create alliances based on “strategic solidarity”.

In France, Black, Arab, or Muslim feminism triggers much less opposition from political figures and the media than the anti-racist movement, provided it supports liberating narratives that understand working-class migrant men as inherently barbaric and patriarchal, and “weaponise

immigrant women's living conditions in working-class neighbourhoods for racist purposes" (Noël, 2023, p. 188). The convergence of the agendas of neoliberal white feminism and far-right Islamophobia perpetuates femonationalism and neoliberal anti-sexist discourses, a very pressing issue in Catalonia, near Euskal Herria, where the ban on the hijab in public spaces has been framed as liberating for Muslim women (Oukhouya Ali, 2025).

German white feminism has similarly sought to universalise the experiences of white women over the realities of non-Western individuals, silencing those who shed light on the colonial system and its accomplices (Gronemeier, 2021). However, there are also intersectional feminist solidarity spaces, such as the anti-racist feminist collective International Women* Space (IWS). Both refugee and German members acknowledge the multiple oppressions women face based on gender, race and sexuality and created a space to share them. They empower women, highlighting the voices of refugee women through conferences and reading groups and organising demonstrations and providing legal advice to refugees (Bhimji, 2020).

Scholars note that while migrant- and minority-led feminist groups are growing stronger, true solidarity and coalition spaces are lacking at a European level, and broader feminist agendas do not yet fully prioritise the anti-racist struggle. The most recent and relevant work on the Eurocentric gaze of Basque feminism and the potential of plural coalitions as an intersectional and decolonial strategy is that of Itziar Gandarias Goikoetxea, who studied the opportunities for a feminist articulation of differences in the Basque Country between migrant and feminist women (Gandarias Goikoetxea, 2016). She argued it is not only a matter of acknowledging differences within the movement but also questioning the material inequalities and positions of power that those differences generate. The author experienced the construction of articulation spaces between local and migrant women and argued for the need to cultivate more mixed spaces⁵. Three years later, during the Fifth Feminist Conference, migrant and racialised women called for building bridges between women and decolonising the movement, in similar terms to those of Gandarias Goikoetxea, which seems to indicate that such coalition-building based on differences has not yet taken place.

Personal motivation

When I learned about this conference at the time, I did not pay enough attention to the demands that the migrant and racialised women were making. If I had done so, I would have been

⁵ For the purpose of this research, 'mixed spaces' are those where local white and racialised women and gender non-conforming people participate, while 'non-mixed spaces' are composed of only racialised women and gender non-conforming people.

one of those white feminists facing the uncomfortable truth of my privileges. I believe it is urgent for me and other white middle-class cisgender women in the Basque Country to understand how we benefit from colonial structures, which struggles faced by migrant and racialised women are being erased by the movement, and how we can start building the plural coalitions that racialised women have asked for. Even more so, I would like this research to be a humble contribution to the movement that can help continue discussions on decolonisation and coalition-building in feminist groups nationwide.

This research aims to comprehend whether the call for decolonisation that occurred almost 6 years ago, because of an intense migrant struggle to bring the issue to the table, has led to a process of reflection on our white privilege, if feminist spaces have put into practice the intersectional discourse, and what challenges and opportunities lie ahead towards dismantling power structures based on whiteness and decolonising the movement to build plural coalitions. Decolonisation understood as the “struggles, movements and actions to resist and refuse the legacies and ongoing relations and patterns of power established by external and internal colonialism” (Walsh, 2018, p. 16). Particularly, for dismantling the power dynamics established by race as an axis of oppression.

3. Positionality and ethical considerations

Given that I belong to the hegemonic group within Basque feminism — that of white middle-class cisgender women — it is essential to reflect on my positionality while doing academic research for a Western institution, understanding it as a dynamic and layered process that involves active reflexivity (Soedirgo and Glas, 2020). Feeling addressed as a privileged subject has taken me through the uncomfortable journey of recognising myself as complicit in the oppression of migrant and racialised individuals (Roshanravan, 2018).

The movement is currently very fragmented, and personal disputes have taken centre stage over dialectical disagreements. I have struggled to challenge this binary thinking of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ positions, constantly self-aware of who I sympathised with most, worrying that if I sound too permissive or empathetic in my mind with local white feminists, it is because of my positionality as a white middle-class woman. My critical reflection on Basque feminism comes from a privileged and outsider position because I am not an active part of the feminist movement; it is therefore harder for me to recognise the movement's decolonial advances. In any case, decolonial feminism suggests that there is no objective knowledge and challenges us to centre the perspectives of those most harmed by oppressive systems. Eurocentric white feminism historically dominated knowledge creation in Basque feminism, and non-hegemonic feminist knowledge must take its rightful place. In times of struggle, “the pretense of neutrality is a position ignoring reality” (Esteva, 2022, p. 147); the Western academic aspirations towards objectivity and neutrality must be revisited.

Despite having very personal conversations with the participants, my research methodology has allowed them to review and validate the text derived from our conversation, reducing the possibility of interpretations on my side. It is still difficult to find the legitimacy to discuss this issue because of my unwillingness to speak for others. In parallel, I feel compelled to use my white privilege to devote time to doing this work in depth and review it with other local feminists so that we do not get paralysed by our ‘white guilt’ but share our privileges through collective practices. I constantly ask myself the question ‘Why This? Why Me? Why Now?’ (Patel, 2016), so as not to lose sight of my place in this issue and remember the ethical and relational responsibilities and accountability I have towards the participants and myself. I have also learned that, no matter how much I empathise, I can never fully understand someone’s pain if I do not share it, so I tried to recognise and respect everyone’s experiences without over-identifying with them.

The timings of my master's and my own Western productivity and efficiency standards touch this research process, as decolonial as I want it to be. Balancing slow and meaningful collective knowledge cultivation with practicality concerns during this academic journey has been challenging. The more conversations I had, the more I understood the impossibility of building plural coalitions before tackling the unresolved conflicts, even more so within the established timeframes.

A decolonial positionality goes beyond questioning our biases and accompanying each other; it seeks epistemic autonomy and disobedience from Western rationality (Gronemeier, 2021). Self-reflection on white privilege has been rightfully critiqued for reaffirming a self-centred individual agency of the white subject and presuming a superior intellectual activity (Roshanravan, 2018). Instead of an individualist "preoccupation with the self", Jacqui Alexander (2005, p. 282) calls for a "job of changing the self" that requires work and practice. That is, intentionally and critically understanding oneself through sustained work to enable collective action towards social justice. While I asked white feminists how they understood white privilege and how to dismantle the colonial patterns within Basque feminism, I also examined my own attitudes that perpetuate power inequalities and looked for ways to move from self-reflection to decolonial practices that change people's material lives.

4. Research questions and objectives

Main question: What are the past advances, the current challenges and the potential futures in building a decolonial feminist movement in the Basque Country?

Sub-questions:

1. What are the main struggles and demands of migrant and racialised women in the Basque Country?
2. To what extent are migrant and racialised identities included or excluded in Basque feminist spaces?
3. How have local white feminists reflected and recognised their white privilege and plural identity as oppressors and oppressed within the movement?
4. In which ways can we resolve current conflicts and create brave spaces for militancy where we address differences and reduce power dynamics?
5. How can local white women transform reflections on coloniality and whiteness into white privilege dismantling and plural coalition building?

Objectives:

1. Making visible the non-Western bodies, knowledges and experiences that are currently ignored by the hegemonic Basque feminist movement and contributing to the creation of plural, inclusive and decolonial feminist spaces.
2. Understanding how primarily white feminist groups are reflecting on coloniality and whiteness and collectivising these experiences to move from white guilt to dismantling white privilege.
3. Exploring the possibilities for decolonising the Basque feminist movement and building plural coalitions based on differences among diverse identities.

5. Analytical framework

The starting premise of this research is the call to decolonise the Basque feminist movement. However, during the conversations, participants sometimes overlapped and interchanged the terms anti-racism, intersectionality, and decoloniality. It is therefore necessary to understand them critically to comprehend the progress of the feminist movement.

Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) states that both the feminist and antiracist movements have historically marginalised women of colour because their discussions address either women or racialised people, but not their combined identity as both women and people of colour. Intersectionality serves to understand the multiple factors that shape the lived experiences of individuals and collectives in “diverse and mutually influencing ways” (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016, p. 14), such as the intersecting oppressions that migrant and racialised women face in the Basque Country. Beyond challenging essentialism, the key to intersectionality is understanding how the multiple oppressive dimensions interact with each other to build our multiple identities. Instead of adding intersections of marginalisation and making it a competition of who is more oppressed, Crenshaw (1989) and Hill Collins (2000) argue for understanding intersectionality as a co-constituted or inseparable lens. Including migrant and racialised women in the existing analytical structure and activism dynamics will not challenge Eurocentric feminism, but it urges rethinking the framework used to translate the ‘women's experience’ into concrete feminist actions.

Local white feminists already used the argument of intersecting oppressions in the 70s, considering their triple-oppression based on gender-nation-class, but ignoring the intersecting oppressions of migrant and racialised women. Applying intersectionality requires analysing women’s and gender non-conforming people’s experiences through every oppressive axis, and understanding how certain characteristics, such as race, class, gender identity, sexuality, nation, or ability, mitigate some aspects of sexism for certain individuals and privilege them over others, contributing to power inequalities and dominance practices. If differences between women and the intersection of categories of oppression are unseen, the feminist movement will continue to revolve around a single axis, that of gender, and there will be no perceived need to build coalitions.

Yet, the same authors who suggested this framework warn that it could be reduced to a theory of identity, absorbed into institutionalised politics and manipulated to support ‘business as usual’, without really questioning the power relations that arise from the intersections it analyses

or addressing social injustices provoked by oppressive systems such as capitalism, racism, heterosexualism or ableism (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). In fact, Crenshaw (1991) herself proposed intersectionality as a “provisional concept”.

When discussing intersectionality, María Lugones (2005) highlights that the conditions of our lives are connected to and shaped by the living conditions of others and the power relations that arise from this connection. This contributes to effectively seeing women of colour under the oppression that white feminism has always erased through the category of ‘women’. However, intersecting oppressions that are supposedly separate can prevent us from understanding and resisting them as an intermeshed whole. “Gender oppression and race oppression affect people without any possibility of separation” (p. 69), and since there is a multiplicity of genders, not simply ‘men’ and ‘women’, racialised women are not considered the same gender as white women. Furthermore, Ochy Curiel (2021) notes that intersectionality recognises differences through “liberal multiculturalism” and diversity models, but may not always investigate the origin of these differences or the reasons for dismantling power inequalities.

While both Lugones and Curiel recognise the validity of intersectionality as a diagnostic tool for understanding the intersection of categories of oppression and denouncing logics of fragmentation, such as the universalism of white feminism, they argue that this diagnosis does not directly lead to resistance or dismantling of these oppressions. Lugones rejects the intersection as a representation of racialised women, but rather as “an index of their invisibility”, revealing “the absence of concepts adequate to the lived experience of simultaneous oppression(s)”. Seeing racialised women actually means re-conceptualising the oppressive axes to avoid separability, understanding them as intermeshed or fused (Carastathis, 2019, pp. 89-90). Therefore, this framework falls short when it comes to discussing coalition building, according to several scholars.

Decoloniality

While intersectionality refers to understanding the relationality of the categories of oppression that intersect our lives, and anti-racism refers to dismantling power relations based on race, decoloniality challenges the role of domination of white middle-class women and makes us rethink our responsibility in the struggles of migrant and racialised women the most. Decolonial feminism “implies understanding that race and gender, as well as class, heterosexuality, and related categories, have been constitutive of the modern colonial episteme” (Curiel, 2021, p. 53). It contributes to an intermeshed understanding of the multiplicity of oppressions, without separating them, so that fighting patriarchy also means fighting racism, colonialism, capitalism, ableism, and more. Because decolonisation is about liberation, decolonial feminism calls for a radical

transformation of the feminist fight so that it is liberating for all through coalitions based on differences. For this research, decolonising feminism will be focused on the intermeshed oppressions of gender and race, while acknowledging that it encompasses many other intersecting categories.

María Lugones (2012) stresses the need for thinking of the self in relation to others through decolonial feminism. She defies the logic of dichotomies because they split and divide identities; instead, the logic of coalition rejects those dichotomies and embraces a plural reality made of differences. During her conversation with Elizabeth Spelman (1983), Lugones claims the importance of using plural voices within feminism and is hopeful for a future in which “you will talk to me in my voice and I will talk to you in yours” (p. 573), meaning that within feminism we should not only listen to each other but also see each other and identify with each other. Lugones criticises how non-Western women end up having to talk white women’s language, which is insufficient to articulate their experiences, because we do not understand their language. We make non-Western women in our own image when they are in our world, but we do not make the effort to travel to their world. The less white Basque women know or understand about migrant and racialised women, the more power we hold over them.

Lugones and Spelman (1983) argue that a decolonial feminism requires that white feminists make “a real space for [racialised feminists’] articulating, interpreting, theorising and reflecting” (p. 576) and refer to our obligation to abandon universal claims and modernist views of non-Western bodies and knowledges. The authors emphasise the difference between building ideas collaboratively from the beginning with the participation of every woman concerned with the matter and a dominant group developing theory through their own experiences and then revising it slightly to introduce other groups’ feedback. The former is what migrant and racialised women in the Basque Country ask for, and the latter is what has been happening in the last few years. However, developing theory is not enough; it must be accompanied by resistance and change in day-to-day practices.

6. Methodology

This research has been approached through qualitative methodologies and relies on the experiences and knowledge of women and gender non-conforming individuals from feminist groups in the Basque Country. The Narrative Productions Methodology (NPM) is a methodological tool that draws inspiration from Donna Haraway's epistemological notion of situated knowledge, arguing that knowledge is produced from a specific standpoint and location; it is not objective or universal, but marked by power relations and social constructs. The NPM consists of the joint production of a hybrid text built from the discussion between the researcher and the participants on the topic, a reflection on the positions and arguments shared, translated into an organised text, and the recognition of the agency of the participants to review this text until the narrative is validated. The researcher does not pretend to be a representative of the voice of the participants, but aspires to be a joint work between the participants and the researcher. This methodology aims to conduct the meetings with the participants through a conversation from which the researcher elaborates a story with narrative meaning. This draft is shared with the participants so that they can expand it and modify it as required (Gandarias Goikoetxea and García Fernández, 2014).

The information-gathering process of this research was conducted through semi-structured interviews of approximately one and a half hours each. The participants began by providing a brief introduction of themselves, their relationship with feminism, and how they became involved in their group. Then, the following topics for each of the sub-questions would be discussed: (1) The priority struggles and actions of migrant and racialised collectives; (2) The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in hegemonic feminist spaces and the alliances between white and racialised feminists; (3) The mechanisms for reflecting on white privilege and for practicing the dismantling of race-based power structures; (4) The strategies to recognise and address power relations and hierarchies; and (5) The keys to transforming Basque feminism and to building coalitions (see Appendix). The participants had the freedom to discuss other issues related to the research, and the context of the feminist movement I learned about during the initial conversations helped me reframe some questions.

Following the NPM, after each conversation, I would listen back to the recording and write a narrative piece that reorganises the ideas around the research sub-questions, highlights the most important points, and recounts the experiences and thoughts of the participant. Then, I shared the narrative with the participant through a collaborative work platform that would allow them to read

the text and rewrite it to their liking, making any additions, deletions, or modifications that helped them feel a sense of ownership over the text. The participants showed a predisposition to review the text and expressed gratitude for being an active part of the knowledge cultivation process. The researcher's role in the narrative writing is to contribute to the participant's voice, not to invalidate their ideas, even if they think differently. This practice helps the researcher review disagreements, understand different positions, and critically test opinions. The critical engagement with the issues expressed by the participants is done later when analysing the findings.

Decolonisation is not a metaphor (Tuck and Yang, 2012), and I do not want to use the concept of decolonial methodologies lightly, but certain concepts have helped me navigate the dialogues with the participants in a slightly less extractive way. Knowing with others (Icaza and Solera, 2022) has meant learning from the participants and their plural knowledges, challenging Eurocentric and academicist knowledge ownership standards and questioning the colonial assumptions that erase other ways of knowing. This research precisely aims to centre the experiences and knowledge of those who are willing to dismantle the power structures arising from coloniality and collectively build a decolonial feminism. María Lugones' (1987) concept of 'world-travelling' is essential to understanding and revising the arrogant perception through which white women otherise migrant and racialised women. Travelling to each other's worlds becomes indispensable to building coalitions, and each of these conversations has been a modest and imperfect attempt to travel to the participant's world.

I have conducted 28 semi-structured interviews⁶ with 29 participants located in Euskal Herria, 23 in person and 5 online, with the aim of understanding and recognising the multiple realities experienced by women and gender non-conforming individuals in Basque society. I focused on feminist groups and on organisations whose work isn't explicitly feminist activism but contributes to the fight for women's rights. Participants are divided into three categories according to their race and origin: racialised locals, racialised migrants, and local whites. Although race and migration status overlap in certain identities, racialisation proves to be one of the central axes of oppression in this research. During this research, there will be many references to 'migrant and racialised women', since that is how they often define themselves as a collective.

⁶ The conversations were conducted in Euskara and Spanish, and all translations of the quotations are my own.

The criteria used to select the participants are as follows:

- (1) Groups mainly made up of migrant and racialised women who participated in the 2019 decoloniality panel, as they have been fighting the decolonial struggle for some time. Their members are mainly from Abya Yala.
- (2) Groups of mainly white women working at the national level, due to their representativeness in hegemonic white feminism.
- (3) Groups representing care workers, a sector where migrant women from Abya Yala are overrepresented and face particularly precarious working conditions. Efforts were made to interview live-in care workers and racialised sex workers, but this was not possible.
- (4) Groups that bring together identities, either local or migrant, with particular axes of oppression that intermesh with race, such as religion — Muslim women — or gender identity — trans bodies.
- (5) Groups of Basque racialised women who were born and/or raised in the Basque Country, to understand how they experience racism and colonialism, such as Roma women.
- (6) Groups representing African or Asian women, because they don't have as much representation in the Basque feminist movement as women from Abya Yala. Attempts to interview Asian women were unsuccessful.
- (7) Intercultural mixed groups of racialised and white women, to understand and learn from the dynamics of encounter, to build coalitions.
- (8) Local white women who have connections or alliances with racialised migrant women and have undergone some kind of reflection on whiteness, willing to learn from their experiences.

The following is a list of the participants in this research and the groups to which they belong. Certain elements have been omitted to protect the anonymity of those who wished to remain unnamed.

Name	National identity	Group	Characteristics	Interview date
Interviewee 1	Peruvian	-	Non-mixed group	03/07/2025
Larraitz	Basque	Arexabaletako Asanblada Feminista	Municipal and primarily white group	11/07/2025
Ainhoa	Basque	Euskal Herriko Bilgune Feminista	National-level primarily white group	11/07/2025
Lady	Colombian	Wayra Emakumeen Elkartea	Intercultural mixed group	14/07/2025
Interviewee 5	Basque	-	Care worker group	14/07/2025
Interviewee 6	Ecuadorian	-	Care worker group	16/07/2025
Garazi	Basque	Marimatraka Santurtziko Talde Feminista	Municipal and primarily white group	16/07/2025
Nadia	Colombian	Mujeres del Mundo Babel	Mixed group	16/07/2025
Victoria	Ghanaian	Asociación Asundwe Nkabom	Association of Ghanaians (men and women)	16/07/2025
Interviewee 10	Venezuelan	-	Intercultural mixed group	17/07/2025
Interviewee 11	Basque/Indian	-	Anti-racist group (men and women)	23/07/2025
Karina	Peruvian	Alas y Raíces	Intercultural mixed group	28/07/2025
Cristina	Peruvian	Alas y Raíces	Intercultural mixed group	28/07/2025
Interviewee 14	Abya Yala	-	Mixed group	28/07/2025
Interviewee 15	Nicaraguan	-	Intercultural mixed group	29/07/2025

Name	National identity	Group	Characteristics	Interview date
Interviewee 16	Basque	Sare Lesbianista	Mixed lesbian group	31/07/2025
Irantzun	Basque	Mujeres del Mundo Babel	Mixed group	31/07/2025
Fatima	Guinea-Bissauan	Flor de África	African women group	01/08/2025
Begoña	Basque	Emakume Internazionalista k	Primarily white group	01/08/2025
Ivanna	Argentinian	Wayra Emakumeen Elkartea	Intercultural mixed group	04/08/2025
Maryam	U.S. citizen	Mujeres en la Diversidad	Muslim woman at an intercultural mixed group	05/08/2025
Mariana	Nicaraguan	Trabajadoras no Domesticadas	Care worker group	05/08/2025
Izadora	Brazilian	Mujeres en la Diversidad	Trans woman at an intercultural mixed group	05/08/2025
Interviewee 24	Basque	-	National-level primarily white group	22/08/2025
Eneritz	Basque	Arrasateko Mugimendu Feminista	Municipal and primarily white group	28/08/2025
Interviewee 26	Basque/Moroccan	-	Muslim women group	02/09/2025
Interviewee 27	Basque/Roma	-	Roma women group	04/09/2025
Palmira	Basque/Roma	KERA Elkartea	Roma women group	23/09/2025
Hajar	Basque/Moroccan	Mujeres Musulmanas Bidaya	Muslim women group	05/10/2025

7. Research findings

Recent milestones and internal conflicts in the feminist movement

Everyone's Lives at the Centre

This platform was born out of the care crisis that the pandemic brought to light and organised the Global Feminist Strike in November 2023 to demand a Basque public care system and a rethinking of care practices. Approximately 20 migrant and racialised feminist groups agreed with the strike's arguments and sought to build coalitions — many participated in the 2019 decoloniality panel — but they believed that there was not adequate time for reflection and debate. They did not consider the strike to be an appropriate tool because going on strike is usually for privileged people who at least have the right to employment, unlike many migrant and racialised women, who could only contribute symbolically. They suggested rethinking the deadlines and redesigning the process to respect everyone's needs, so that the movement belonged to all, but they felt unheard and with no margin for discussion. Online meetings due to the pandemic did not help to create a space for care after disagreements, leading to greater tensions. The platform continued with a plan led by the local white feminists, and with the support of some racialised groups (Txintxurreta, 2023). Those who disagreed with how the reflection process was carried out, including some white feminist groups, distanced themselves from the strike.

Some racialised participants who did not support the strike argued that migrant and racialised women who endorsed it were being exploited by white feminists and wanted to go on strike because of their connections to trade unions. They claim that there were political interests behind the strike, meaning that certain political parties could benefit from the mobilisation, given that elections were coming up soon. The migrant participants who supported the strike deny this idea and were hurt by it because they wanted to contribute their experiences to a new model of public and community care and assert their presence as political subjects. They reflected on the strike, participated in the preliminary assemblies, and agreed to support it because they felt part of it (Ecuador Etxea, 2023). An autonomous space for migrant and racialised women, care workers and sex workers was also created from the strike.

These contrasting positions caused pain on both sides. Women who did not support the strike feel excluded from the process, with their concerns unacknowledged, while racialised women who joined the strike felt delegitimised to make their own decisions. Since then, those who did not support the strike left the Everyone's Lives at the Centre platform, while those who did kept working in that network until today.

World March of Basque Women

Local and migrant feminist groups built alliances on this platform for several years. During the 5th International Action in 2021, structural racism and white responsibility for the violence experienced by migrant and racialised women were recognised. The steering group generated a dossier for collective action to weaken the racist, capitalist, colonial and heteropatriarchal system, which allowed many local white feminist groups to reflect on their privileges and to forge alliances with migrant and racialised women's groups. Gandarias Goikoetxea (2016, p. 183) defines the WMBW as a “practice of encounter for the articulation of differences that allows participants to come together”.

The World March of Women has a clear anti-capitalist, anti-racist, decolonial and anti-imperialist positioning at the international level; the challenge is to translate these ideas onto the Basque platform. After completing the 5th International Action, members changed and disagreements emerged in the steering group over which struggles to prioritise. Because trade unions, NGOs and hegemonic feminist groups have always led the steering group with full-time employees, and smaller autonomous groups do not have the same level of resources, institutionalisation and representation, significant power hierarchies and different working paces emerged. White and racialised participants from autonomous groups felt that no progress was being made on the issues that interested them. In contrast, other white participants commented that it was difficult to discuss issues other than anti-racism. In 2023, given the disagreements of the Global Feminist Strike, the remaining migrant women left the steering group, leaving the white groups at the forefront. Discussions are underway to reinstate a mixed feminist group, but challenges persist in incorporating more autonomous groups from other territories outside Bilbo.

The 6th International Action took place this year, but some participants argued that its impact was not as significant as the previous one. A local feminist worried that it condemned renewable energy structures but did not offer local solutions to meet our energy needs without exploiting the resources of the Global South, reproducing colonial narratives. A lack of excitement and activation in some regions also caused the drop in participation in this action, which is a symptom of the current situation in the movement.

Next, I will attempt to answer the five research sub-questions, each in a separate section and linked to a verb that I consider important for us, local white feminists, to take as the key steps towards building a decolonial feminist movement in the Basque Country: *Actively Listen*, *Dismantle*, *Acknowledge*, *Heal* and *Acuerpar*. Although this is not a linear process but a cyclical one in which we are constantly moving, advancing and retreating, verbs can help us understand our responsibility in this transformative journey.

7.1 ACTIVELY LISTEN: Struggles and demands of migrant and racialised women in Euskal Herria

“Listening is the door to dialogue, which, in turn, is the foundation of coexistence” (Esteva, 2022, p. 146). Dialogue is not simply hearing the other, but allowing oneself to be transformed by the other. Entering a dialogue for *vivires* means recognising that knowledge is constructed in concrete contexts, so there is not a unique or permanent way of knowing. Being open to questioning one’s own knowledge and changing continuously and profoundly.

Actively listening to the issues faced by migrant and racialised women in Basque society, understanding their daily struggles and acknowledging the intersecting oppressions they experience is key to building a plural subject in feminism, as without this, we run the risk of homogenising a diverse group and falling back into universalising practices. This chapter will explore some of the distinct realities or *vivires* faced by migrant and racialised women in the Basque Country.

Colonial structures of power and gender

The participants' realities are not isolated or punctual; they are an intrinsic part of the current social, economic, and political system. Aníbal Quijano (2000) coined the term ‘coloniality of power’ to explain the social classification that arose at the beginning of the colonisation of Abya Yala in 1492 and exists today. This classification, based on the idea of race, has permitted the creation of hierarchical relations of domination. Coloniality of power locates the discourse of development within the context of a racist, Eurocentric, Christian-centric, patriarchal, capitalist, heteronormative global power structure. Therefore, the project of modernity, based on the rhetoric of salvation and progress in terms of European and colonial values, is a technology of domination.

From here, Walter D. Mignolo (2012) proposes the Modernity/Coloniality framework and adds that “there is no modernity without coloniality and that coloniality is constitutive, and not derivative, of modernity” (p. ix). This framework challenges modern theories of capitalist expansion and development that do not consider race and capitalism as intersecting axes of oppression. However, feminist theorists point out that the Modernity/Coloniality framework often includes women under broader categories of subalternity, ignoring the specific ways in which gender shapes experiences of coloniality. The analysis remains superficial and male-centred, sidelining women’s distinct oppressions and agencies (Escobar, 2007).

María Lugones (2008) develops the term coloniality of gender and the framework ‘modern/colonial gender system’ to address this gap. She claims that race and gender are “powerful fictions” and that the modern/colonial gender system “understood race as gendered and gender

as raced in particularly differential ways for Europeans/'whites' and colonized/'non-white' peoples" (p. 12). The 'light side' applies to the Europeans/whites, who were fully human according to the colonial order, but created the binary man/woman, based on biological difference, within patriarchy and heterosexuality. Although they are subordinated to men, white women are still recognised as women. The 'dark side' applies to colonised and racialised people, who were not seen as gendered humans but as animal-like; they were dehumanised, and therefore the man/woman categories did not apply in the same way. Indigenous or Black women were considered female but without the characteristics of Western femininity and "turned from animals into various modified versions of 'women' as it fit the processes of Eurocentered global capitalism" (p. 13). Gender itself is racialised; those on the 'light side' are within gender and humanity frames, and those who are on the 'dark side' are outside of those imaginaries, de-gendered.

Power structures such as patriarchy, heteronormativity, colonialism and capitalism are constructed from specific power relations such as race, gender and more; they allow for the emergence of dominated subjects as well as resistance and transformation. Knowing the prism of coloniality of power and gender is essential to understanding and dismantling the structures of domination present in the Basque Society and the inequalities that they generate among different identities within the feminist movement.

Institutional racism

One of the main challenges faced by racialised migrants when arriving in the Basque Country is the lack of basic rights because of their irregular administrative status, which pushes them to a situation of violation of rights, human trafficking and exclusion from essential public services such as education, healthcare and housing. Some local employers take advantage of the precarious situation of their migrant employees to violate their labour rights and profit at their expense, but reporting it can exacerbate the situation because of legal costs, distrust of the police and fear of expulsion (Lady).

The absence of mechanisms to regularise people's status is "*immoral and inhumane*" (Mariana) and produces an absence of recognition of racialised migrants. The coloniality of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) refers to how colonialism has shaped what it means to be human, privileging Western/European forms of being and rendering disposable or invisible those who don't fall into those categories of being. While 'unwanted migrants', usually racialised, are subjected to dehumanisation on European borders and territory under the coloniality of being, Ukrainian refugees are welcomed, receive residency and work permits, exposing a clear difference in treatment based on racialisation (Interviewee 15).

Although regularisation is not a guarantee for accessing better working conditions, as exploitation and exclusion from the labour market still happen, it reduces vulnerability and extends certain rights as individuals. The RegularizaciónYa movement organised in 2022 a collection of signatures for a Popular Legislative Initiative (PLI) that would grant legal residence to 500,000 migrants. Migrant women and the “self-organised youth” supported the collection of 70,000 signatures of the PLI in Euskal Herria, despite the violence targeting them (Basterretxea Barea, 2024). In smaller towns, some white feminist groups actively contributed to the signature collection, thanks to the support of the WMBW, although they acknowledge that at the Basque Country level, it was not a priority on the hegemonic feminist agenda. In fact, white feminists neglected racialised feminists when they tried to collect signatures on IWD in Bilbo (Interviewee 6). The feminist movement has also been conspicuous by its absence in certain cases of institutional racism, such as Silvia’s case (Eneritz), a racialised migrant woman, victim of a violent assault by the police, who has been involved in a six-year legal battle (Ecuador Etxea, 2024).

In addition, many racialised migrants argue that they face many other obstacles, such as the difficulty of finding a decent place to live because of rising rents, access requirements, abusive clauses and direct discrimination based on skin colour. Moreover, having somewhere to live does not guarantee proof of registration, and without it, one cannot regularise their status. Carrying out procedures for people in an irregular administrative situation becomes even more complicated when there is a shortage of staff and appointments, which creates conditions for all kinds of mafias that charge migrants up to €300 to carry out a procedure (Ecuador Etxea, 2020).

Exploitation through care work

Today, the majority of care workers in the Basque Country are racialised migrant women and face particularly challenging working conditions. Former migrant care workers fight for the abolition of live-in care work⁷ as an exploitative and colonial work system that perpetuates racist violence, humiliation, and economic and social violence (Interviewee 6, Mariana), while some white women believe that banning it would only drive it underground (Interviewee 5). Because many migrant women arrive in the Basque Country with an agreement to work in households to secure accommodation, care worker groups opt for understanding the problem systemically and not only report workplace violence but also fight for the right to be registered and access to community housing. White participants emphasise the need to acknowledge our responsibility in

⁷ Care workers who live in the home of the person they care for and have precarious working conditions and very few or no hours of rest per week.

the exploitative model of live-in care work, because many white families take advantage of the needs of migrant care workers (Interviewee 5).

Beyond the precarious working conditions, there is a whole discussion around “*caring for people differently*” (Mariana) and on rethinking the entire care system, supporting the creation of a Basque public care system. The feminist movement has recognised the importance of care and embraced the ‘Decalogue for the rights of care workers’ (LAB, 2025), but there is much discussion left (Mariana). While care issues are now central in Basque feminism, they do not consider the Roma people knowledgeable in the topic, despite their experience in community building and care. White society devalues the community, solidarity and family values that the Roma people have always protected, and non-Roma recognition is individual, while for Roma people it is communal and depends on how they treat their family and community. Because the Roma community does not leave their elders in nursing homes, the goals of the Basque feminist movement for a public care system do not correspond to their interests (Interviewee 27).

Stigmatisation and stereotypes

The Basque society generally relates racialised women to care work or sex work, but ignores their prior academic training or work experiences. For example, in job placement programs, they are only offered cleaning and care jobs, without career guidance to continue their studies or work in their professional sector (Lady).

Generalising about someone based on their nationality also perpetuates stereotypes; non-Western bodies, in general, are exoticised. For example, Latin American women are hypersexualised, assumed to be extroverted and know how to dance (Lady). African women are stereotyped as poorly educated and submissive subjects who endure violence (Victoria). Because Africa is a continent of many countries, where women live in different situations, they “*don't like people telling a single story about African women because [they] have a voice to tell [their] true stories*” (Fatima).

Because of the criminalisation in media representation, racialised migrant participants explain their need to constantly prove that they are polite and know how to get along (Mariana). When a certain isolated violent incident involving racialised individuals occurs, the entire racialised population is put in the spotlight, leading to increased violence and rejection towards them (Maryam, Palmira).

The migratory grief

Several migrant women emphasise the importance of welcoming and empowering themselves through networking to enhance their self-esteem and autonomy and help them feel more at ease in a new environment. Understanding that their emotions of isolation, depression, and fear are not individual struggles but part of the migratory grief is essential. There is a lack of empathy and privilege recognition by some white women when they compare their migration journeys with the migratory grief of racialised migrant women, because they have different bodies, reasons for migration, jobs to do, etc. (Interviewee 15).

Women who have migrated as adults share a common reality: leaving their homeland, and usually their loved ones, behind (Cristina, Karina). Uprooting could also be part of the migration process if one cannot experience the culture of their country or they lose ties with their roots of origin (Interviewee 11). *“Migration depersonalises you in a way”* because you cease to be yourself, with your own references and experiences, and become ‘la chica’ or ‘la morena’, a label that stays with you forever (Mariana).

Identity questioning racialised Basques

Local racialised participants argue that their Basque identity and belonging are constantly questioned or denied because of their skin colour, even if they are born and/or raised in Euskal Herria. One can have several identities, either religious, national or cultural, but the system is not designed for someone to belong to two or more places (Interviewee 26). Gloria Anzaldúa (1987, p. 76) precisely refers to a ‘mestiza consciousness’, arising “from a racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross-pollinization”. Through *Nepantla*, an Aztec word for being in-between, explains that people living between cultures, languages, and identities experience a constant negotiation of belonging, often feeling excluded from both sides and lacking spaces for plural, border-crossing identities. For example, being racialised and wearing a traditional costume is a contestation to those who assume that a woman is not Basque because she is non-white (Interviewee 11).

Many Roma children in Euskal Herria grow up without knowing their Roma roots and being denied their Basque identity, even when they speak Euskara. Flamenco art, of Roma origin, has been ‘de-Romanised’ and labelled as Spanish, which has contributed to considering Roma people less Basque. However, the struggles of the Roma and Basque peoples have similarities, since both have suffered oppression and want to protect their identity (Palmira). A Roma woman feels *“de-Romanised for the good”* or considered Basque when singing a Basque song or attending a demonstration, but *“Romanised for the bad”* in non-Basque contexts (Interviewee 27).

More realities or *vivires*

Racialised women face, through their intermeshed oppressions, diverse realities and struggles stemming from the ‘modern/colonial gender system’. Roma people, for example, are the “*eternally invisible*”, because they have not been listened to or recognised during the 600 years they have been in the peninsula. Anti-Roma racism has permeated society after 5 decades of anti-Roma laws; Basque and Spanish societies have a historical debt to them. Their rights to quality education, decent work, housing and health, with a 20-year lower life expectancy than the average non-Roma citizen, are violated. Roma feminists highlight social segregation in cities and schools and argue that many Roma children do not complete their compulsory education because of strong discipline and a lack of references, making it difficult to find a job and become financially independent (Palmira, Interviewee 27).

Many Ghanaian women in the Basque Country stay at home while their male partners work, making it difficult for them to study, learn languages, or attend local events. They sometimes remain silent about psychological and physical violence because of a lack of economic independence, the absence of a support network, or the impossibility of returning to their countries of origin (Victoria). African women face a double struggle in the Basque Country: gender equality — aimed at eradicating violence such as forced marriage, FGM and human trafficking — and social and institutional racism (Fatima). African women want the Basque feminist movement to echo and support these struggles, recognising their resistance to patriarchy and racism.

Women with visible functional diversity encounter many architectural barriers, both in Basque society and in feminist spaces. Nadia argues that there is a pending dialogue between feminism and anti-ableism. She fights to demystify the normality of the human body and to make Independent Living a reality, a disability rights model that advocates for the self-determination, autonomy, and full social participation of people with functional diversity, emphasising equal access, choice, and control over their own lives.

Gender-based Islamophobia generates discrimination in the Basque Country against Muslim women due to the intersection of gender and religion, focusing on their appearance and practices (Hajar). Some examples given are being fired, losing friends and family, and suffering rude comments and physical abuse from neighbours and strangers for being Muslim and wearing a niqab (Maryam). Muslim participants are constantly fighting against the Western racist stereotypes that see them as submissive, uneducated, and oppressed individuals who must be rescued from their violent, sexist and misogynist culture. An example of resisting these stereotypes is wearing the hijab when running or cycling (Interviewee 26). Femonationalism (Farris, 2017) occurs when feminist or nationalist discourses exploit the figure of Muslim women to reinforce

stereotypes or justify exclusionary policies in the name of women's rights; *“when women who call themselves feminists are forcing other women to be and think like them”* (Interviewee 26). Although Basque feminism has excluded Muslim women for not following the guidelines of Western feminism, it has not replicated femonationalist rhetoric as strongly as in Catalonia or France, according to Muslim interviewees.

Racialised trans activists argue that people at the intersection between being migrant, racialised, and “sexual dissident” need to fight both against racism and queerphobia (Gutiérrez, 2018). Suffering discrimination for being trans and racialised, both on the street and in shops, is Izadora’s reality in the Basque Country when someone assumes she is going to steal or that she is a sex worker. She has been discriminated against through uncomfortable looks or gestures that made her feel out of place.

7.2 DISMANTLE: Mechanisms of exclusion of migrant and racialised identities from Basque feminist spaces

There is a common feeling of exclusion among racialised women within the Basque feminist movement because they are not recognised as political subjects. As they have abandoned some spaces, white feminists should question why and take steps to transform their dynamics to avoid talking about ‘them’ without ‘them’.

The call for making feminism more inclusive and diverse has been recurring during the conversations. However, many participants have argued that making migrant and racialised women only be physically present, or say whatever they have been asked to say, lacks any transformative character. In fact, diversity and inclusion are considered the ‘happy point’ of intersectionality in institutional spaces, and are frequently used to legitimise something through someone, regardless of whether that person’s opinion has actually been included, and for appearing to be committed to equality and anti-racism (Ahmed, 2012).

Therefore, dismantling the barriers to participation of migrant and racialised women is not an isolated move that maintains the status quo, but rather another step towards a transformative goal. Spaces for coalition must be built from scratch, on equal terms, based on plurality and mutual identification, and addressing the current mechanisms of exclusion.

The language barrier

Euskara is one of the fundamental barriers mentioned by the participants of this research, since many who do not understand it feel excluded from Basque-speaking feminist spaces. Although the *xuxurlaris* method is used in assemblies, involving small groups in which one person informally and simultaneously translates into Spanish, many participants claim this does not ensure real participation, since the translations are imperfect, disrupt the flow of the debates and nuances are lost. Euskara also poses difficulties in leisure spaces deriving from assemblies (Interviewee 1). At the same time, many white participants point out their need to militate in Euskara because they are not used to speaking Spanish in their day-to-day, and it is a political decision to defend the language as part of our identity, after being persecuted by the dictatorship and still unprotected today. *“If feminist spaces are spaces to free ourselves from oppression, we should put language at the centre, because language is another axis of oppression”* (Interviewee 24).

Most racialised migrant participants support the personal and political decision to speak Euskara. Some have learned it over time and recognise Euskal Herria as a nation without a state (Interviewee 1, Interviewee 6); others express their sense of belonging to this nation, embracing

Basque culture and incorporating traditional symbols (Karina, Cristina). Local white participants recognise the struggles that racialised migrants face in Euskal Herria and attribute the decline in Euskara usage to structural issues rather than individual choices. However, they also acknowledge that because of the “*diglossical situation of Euskara*” (Eneritz) — when in a society two languages coexist, and one is more used than the other — migrant women might not understand the struggle or have an interest in learning Euskara because everyone can understand each other in Spanish.

Learning Euskara is currently very costly in economic and time consumption terms because it is government-subsidised but subject to certain attendance and level completion conditions. Euskara acts as a classist barrier, creating a divide that prevents those who do not speak it from accessing better jobs, and as a racist barrier motivated by nation-building, following the idea that people of a certain nation should speak the same national language (May, 2023). Euskara, as a minority language, should be protected and its usage promoted, but we must also be aware of its exclusionary potential.

Many racialised and white participants agreed that to create inclusive feminist spaces, it is necessary to be flexible with the language. Among the Basque-speaking participants, some place more importance on its use than others. For some, it is a constant struggle; for others, something that worries them but don’t prioritise over militating with Spanish-speaking comrades. A common agreement is that learning Euskara should be unconditionally free. Some participants from autonomous white feminist groups admit that, once the current conflicts are resolved and coalition spaces of trust are built, they would like to explain more in depth to their migrant comrades the conflicts experienced in Euskal Herria, what the language means to them and what their needs are. Yet, the Basque struggle cannot be used as a counterargument when white feminists are questioned about racism and white privilege (Interviewee 16).

Different time availability, pace and space

“Migrant women have to work twice or three times as hard to achieve a similar quality of life to that of local women” (Nadia), which explains why it is more complicated for migrant colleagues to attend meetings regularly, particularly those who work in the hospitality or care sectors. Roma and African participants shared that the usual assembly meeting times do not match their reality, since they are at home by 8 p.m. Because many migrant and racialised women have care responsibilities or administrative issues, they have different levels of involvement, and some non-mixed spaces prioritise discussing these issues collectively to unburden themselves and sometimes find a solution together. Everyday situations slow down the achievement of other objectives, so the pace cannot be that of others with different living conditions.

White feminist groups exhibit varying pace, with some younger groups operating at a faster pace for organising activities, while others meet less frequently due to additional responsibilities (Larraitz, Garazi). White participants call for slowing down and listening to the needs of racialised comrades instead of expecting them to adapt to our *“automatic mode, which is racist and colonial”* (Eneritz). With a few aligned participants who know each other, actions come out faster, because they share the starting point and know what to do; if there are people with completely different baselines, making decisions will require a new tempo. Grind culture has taken hold in social movements, connecting our worth to how much we produce as activists. Under the pressure of fighting every battle, resting is also resisting, “because it is a counternarrative to the script of capitalism and white supremacy” (Hersey, 2022). When the priority, instead of being productive and efficient, is to get closer and enjoy the moment, the dynamics will naturally be slower. Although in the short term this might entail fewer actions, in the long term, it can lead to more transformative practices.

A few white participants also reflect on the need to *“review why we have constant access to some spaces and others don’t”* (Interviewee 24) and work through different meeting formats with certain collectives, such as attending their activities or meeting them in an informal setting. Reflecting after each assembly on who is present or not in the space, whether they speak, and how power dynamics develop takes time and effort (Irantzun). They have experienced higher participation of racialised women when holding meetings at different times and adapting to their schedules. However, it is necessary to follow up after specific activities to ensure that coalitions are built horizontally and last.

The spaces where feminism operates should also be rethought and decentralised. Organisers should hold assemblies and demonstrations in more neighbourhoods apart from the city centre, especially where more racialised people live (Interviewee 11, Interviewee 27). A couple of migrant participants proposed carrying out activities outdoors, in public spaces, to inspire other migrant women and raise awareness that individuals of different nationalities, religions and cultures can share spaces for leisure and reflection (Maryam, Izadora).

Academicism and coloniality of knowledge

Many racialised participants have felt unrecognised when approaching hegemonic feminist spaces because their agency is invalidated, their opinions and religious practices are questioned, and complex set phrases and technical terms are used. They fight against the stereotype of *“cleaning ladies”*, to the extent of some white women offering jobs in their relatives' homes to a racialised woman when she approached a feminist assembly (Interviewee 15). A participant who was told

that she does not understand because she is a migrant argues that *“there is no capacity for ideas from other worldviews to permeate”*, despite the extensive knowledge and experience of some women in community movements (Interviewee 10).

The coloniality of knowledge (Quijano, 2000) reproduces the dominance of Western feminist thinkers and delegitimises and erases other ways of knowing. Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003) precisely criticises the colonising Western feminist scholarship that represents women from the Global South stereotypically, assumes that feminism is going to liberate and erases their particularities and their movements of resistance. Some white women believe, from a colonial and ‘arrogant perception’ (Lugones, 1987), that racialised migrant women are not feminist because they are *“depoliticised”* or *“they are not as radical”* (Eneritz, Lady). Perceiving someone arrogantly means not seeing the other person fully; a dominant way of seeing others, rooted in self-certainty, that reinforces systems of oppression and denies their agency. White women not identifying with racialised women makes the latter feel uneasy, ‘otherised’ and instrumentalised.

Challenging the coloniality of knowledge requires breaking with the dichotomy of Western ideas being liberating and non-Western ideas being backward, as well as learning how our comrades envision the liberation of women through equally legitimate forms of emancipation. According to racialised participants — particularly African, Muslim and Roma women — white women should dismantle paternalistic stereotypes and learn about the realities of racialised women, their countries and cosmologies, their own feminist battles, and how coloniality impacts them. We should stop presenting atheism as a place to arrive at from a Eurocentric and white-privileged position, and relegating Muslim women to objects of debate, denying their agency to participate in public discussions or develop feminist agendas (Interviewee 26). We can use our white privilege to contribute to their struggles and fight for their rights to housing, education, health and decent work, acknowledging their strength, their agency and respecting their ways of living. All these collectives have their own feminist references, so it is essential to respect the plurality of ways of being a feminist and to build horizontal relationships based on mutual recognition instead of white saviourism and assimilation.

Power hierarchies and instrumentalisation

In most hegemonic feminist spaces, and even in some mixed groups, spokespersons tend to be white women; *“there is a hierarchy in which [the migrant voice] is silenced”* (Interviewee 1). The logic of the majority gives apparent legitimacy, but if the majority are white, and a racialised women disagree, their opinion will not carry weight in a vote. Migrant and racialised women are often underrepresented in feminist spaces, making it difficult for their voices to be considered in

assembly decision-making (Interviewee 10). When deciding on the Global Feminist Strike in 2023, more white people showed up to vote for it, “*whitewashing a participatory process that does not exist*” (Interviewee 27).

Many of the white and racialised participants have participated in Bilbo Feminista Saretzen, a feminist network in the biggest city of Euskal Herria, to organise activities and marches. Some feel the oppressions experienced by non-white or non-heteronormative bodies are not prioritised, so they do not attend anymore (Interviewee 6, Interviewee 16). For example, when an anti-racist slogan was suggested for IWD, some white attendees left the meeting, arguing that it did not speak to feminism (Interviewee 27). The burden of speaking out about racism currently falls on the racialised women left in the group (Irantzun). A few racialised participants felt welcomed in the space and consider it enriching because they are building the movement collectively, but admit it is complex and more racialised women are needed (Nadia, Mariana).

Several white and racialised participants acknowledge that hegemonic white feminism does not make an active effort to ensure that racialised women participate in assemblies regularly or are involved in the organisation of actions from the beginning. Yet, they are called for particular days of the year to read a manifesto, be in the picture, or discuss an experience — usually within the framework of anti-racism — just to fulfil the black/brown quota and appear inclusive. At a feminist event, a Basque racialised woman was handed a script, and when she declined to take part in such an instrumentalised performance, white women suggested that racialised women should refrain from insisting on their presence within such spaces (Interviewee 11). While some racialised participants are “*tired of validating the work of white people*” and would rather not be in those spaces (Interviewee 10), others attempt to use them to their advantage to voice their demands (Palmira, Interviewee 26).

Audre Lorde (1984) challenges feminist movements that homogenise their subject, arguing that “there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives” (p. 138). She advocated for a ‘house of difference’ (1982) — a space where differences are embraced as sources of strength, creativity, and coalition; where everyone is accepted in their uniqueness; and encourages dialogues based on recognition and respect to resist systemic oppression. Basque feminism should recognise differences among women living in Euskal Herria and make them strengths through coalition building. This means building from scratch a ‘house of difference’ for collective encounter and dialogue, based on active listening, to understand migrant and racialised women’s fights and priorities, and find action lines to address them (Hajar). Always questioning ourselves, as some white participants did, why we want racialised women to come to primarily

white spaces and if we are willing to cede power and privileges. Not reflecting on this can perpetuate instrumentalised relationships (Garazi, Interviewee 10).

Several white and racialised participants emphasised the need for common struggles and the urgency of reconsidering our priorities, taking *“a step back to catch up with the rest of our colleagues”* (Interviewee 6). One common struggle is the fight for social rights that, faced with a rise in far-right politics, are at risk of disappearing, such as the right to housing, employment, and care (Cristina). Many racialised and white participants also argued for *“treating the difficulties and limitations of others as our own”* (Mariana), such as the fight for the regularisation of migrants, which should be a common feminist struggle.

7.3 ACKNOWLEDGE: White privilege and plural identity as oppressors and oppressed

Given that coloniality is based on unequal structures of power that began during the colonial era, as migrant and racialised women have pointed out, for feminism to advance towards decolonisation is essential to recognise the Basque colonial past and how white Basque women benefit from whiteness. This chapter explores how white feminists have reflected on and acknowledged these issues since 2019.

Embracing our plural selves

A large part of the audience became defensive during the panel, as if they had been placed in front of a mirror and forced to look at themselves (Garazi). Lugones (2003) argues that racialised women are “faithful mirrors” in which white women see ourselves; we are revealed a self that we are not keen on seeing. We deny that self because it is not consistent with the idea we have of ourselves; we “block identification because remembering that self fractures [us] into more than one person” (p. 97). White Basque women block identification with our colonial self because it is inconsistent with our understanding of our oppressed identity, which led to the attendees reacting aggressively to the interpellations of the speakers.

To know our oppressor self, we need to know and identify with others; despite being afraid of plurality because it entails an unknown logic that we cannot understand. Lugones calls for challenging our fear of duplicity, acknowledging our plural selves as oppressors and the oppressed. This ‘mirroring’, though extremely uncomfortable, is essential to transform the colonial dynamics of Basque feminism.

Some women in the conference showed ‘white innocence’ (Wekker, 2016), emphasising the oppression experienced by Euskal Herria and our solidarity with other peoples, but minimising our colonial past and our role as oppressors, erasing the violence, exploitation and imposed racial hierarchies. While some participants believe that there was a lack of recognition of the oppressed nature of the Basque people (Interviewee 24), others argue that it was not the time to talk about our oppression but to listen and understand their thoughts and pain (Eneritz).

Even though our nation and our language remain oppressed, every white participant agreed that our history cannot be compared to that of Global South countries. Yet, there is resistance to acknowledging our colonial responsibility due to fear of being identified with Spain or France. Having a colonial past does not erase our history as an oppressed nation, but we must acknowledge the consequences that derive from it. It is not a matter of guilt but of responsibility to challenge

our Western views, ask ourselves uncomfortable questions, and use our privilege to fight for others' rights.

Reflecting on coloniality and whiteness

“Reviewing privileges, both our own and those of others, is a slow process, full of contradictions” (Interviewee 14). It is a path of constant reflection on our benefit from colonial structures of power and questioning the multiple racist attitudes that we have normalised. It is the responsibility of white feminists to inform ourselves, reflect, unlearn and relearn, as many participants have argued. The educational materials of the 5th International Action of the WMBW in 2021 were useful to carry out this reflection, as well as reading non-Western authors with a critical view of the European civilisational model; even more so when the readings were discussed with racialised women (Larraitz, Eneritz).

Taking the time to go through these materials requires a prior sensitivity towards the issue, which explains the different involvement levels in the WMBW Action. Some factors that could determine it include the number of people in the group, age, time availability and material conditions. One of the common denominators is sharing or having shared spaces with racialised women. However, racialised participants claimed to be tired of educating white women because this means constantly exposing their pain, so if they are asked to contribute to this reflection, they should be socially recognised and financially remunerated.

In mixed groups, reflections emerge through everyday interactions, as participants recognise each other's situations and understand the diverse realities they come from. For example, because lesbians challenge the singular subject of feminism together with migrant and racialised women, this contributes to building activist alliances and personal connections more easily. They have in common being excluded from feminist spaces that don't address their intersectional struggles and challenging the colonial imposition of binaries and gender roles (Interviewee 16). The level of collective reflection on whiteness within the feminist movement varies according to the participants. Some invest time and effort in it; for others, it comes naturally through their interactions, but for many, the recognition of plural selves seems to be a long way off.

Co-opting the decolonial discourse

Many racialised and white participants agree that there is a risk of assimilating decoloniality and concealing implicit racism, because of white women's belief that the reflection work is done. Some white feminists recognise their position of power but do not give up their privilege to change it (Larraitz), what remains in a “‘whitewashing’ gesture of ‘come-outing’ as privileged through a

ritualized itemization of one's entitlements" (Dhawan, 2017, p. 151). A real recognition of being colonial must bring a change; otherwise, feminist manifestos and events use 'decolonial' as a tagline, but lose its transformative and disruptive nature. For example, organisers described the last Basque Lesbian Feminist Conference in 2024 as decolonial, but only white Basque-speaking people participated, so migrant feminists felt out of place (Interviewee 16).

Some white feminists benefit from events related to decoloniality, instrumentalising the struggle to make a career out of it (Interviewee 16). Epistemic racism occurs when non-Western world-views are considered inferior, but later gain validity within the Western academic community and become worthy of exploitation by white people (Grosfoguel, 2013). Racialised individuals have long criticised the impact of coloniality in Europe, yet their voices were largely ignored by social movements in the Basque Country until recently. With the mainstreaming of these discussions, white individuals have increasingly spoken on these issues, often overlooking the contributions of racialised people as sources of knowledge. The same goes for the Popular Education methodology from Abya Yala; it faced scepticism in feminist circles decades ago, but now social movements value it, and some use it without acknowledging its authorship (Interviewee 10). White women can contribute to the conversation, but it is crucial to recognise the subjects of the decolonial struggle.

7.4 HEAL: Conflict resolution, creation of brave spaces, and embracing differences within the movement

Many participants emphasised the need to ask for forgiveness and seek redress to heal the pain caused by the conflicts of recent years within the Basque feminist movement⁸. Only this way can these platforms — or new ones — finally become spaces for building plural coalitions based on mutual recognition. Intersectional feminist activists developed the healing justice framework (Doetsch-Kidder and Harris, 2023) to connect well-being to social change and address the needs not considered by mainstream forms of political organisation. It prioritises collective wellbeing and care over efficiency, understanding that pain can “lead to discomfort and deep-seated conflicts that can make activism emotionally draining” (p. 4).

This framework also emphasises community accountability and well-being as key to long-term activist commitment. It argues for the need to build trust within the movement, both in those who have been harmed to determine their needs and in those who have caused the harm to correct their mistakes. This requires developing a process to clarify how the conflicts arose and why, address the harm caused and hold people accountable. Healing justice fosters a transformative vision for a future feminist movement with a culture of care and support.

Repairing the damage

The bridge that began to be built after the 2019 conference broke during the 2023 strike, so today we are further behind in terms of building coalitions, according to some participants. The hegemonic feminist movement invited racialised collectives as speakers to the 6th International Action of the WMBW, but were unwilling to participate without repairing the damage first. There is a need for recognising, repairing and resolving after almost 2 years of no mention of the conflict. White feminists cannot expect the pain to go away or wait for other racialised women to substitute the ones who were harmed. Several participants believe the positions on both sides are not comparable; white and racialised feminists were not offended in the same way because of colonial power hierarchies (Interviewee 27, Eneritz). Some argued for restorative justice, an approach where the offender takes responsibility towards the harmed person and the community (Goodmark, 2018). The lived experiences of racialised women must be centralised so they can express their pain and ways to remedy it. Some of them mentioned a potential return to national platforms if an apology and a commitment to addressing hierarchies and fostering horizontal alliances are made.

⁸ Conflicts outlined at the beginning of Chapter 7 (pages 19-20).

Overcoming the fear of messing up

A common fear of white feminists is making mistakes in front of racialised feminists. The problem arises when this fear becomes paralysing instead of pushing for action. Chris Linder (2015) discusses young white women's hyperawareness of their privilege and feeling stuck and unable to act as a result, leading to a lack of authentic relationships with racialised individuals, which hinders the reproduction of anti-racist actions. The participants in Linder's research questioned themselves constantly but failed to act, leading to over-analysis and fear for the white person and perpetuating racism and white privilege through a "self-indulgent concern with one's own feelings" (Kruks, 2005, p. 183). Guilt must mobilise rather than paralyse, and we must draw energy from it to change our practices.

Several local white participants argue for the need to express themselves freely, make mistakes, and have room for rectification instead of being cancelled. When a local white feminist group posted a video featuring blackface, Eneritz's group wanted to engage with them to address the racism and facilitate repair, while other white feminists preferred to publicly condemn the act and dissociate from it. The risk of making a mistake and harming someone is present, but addressing differences involves being open-minded and receptive to constructive criticism one may receive about colonial patterns rooted in society. The key is to abandon victimisation, guilt and shame, so that when racist behaviour is called out, we accept and learn from it (Eneritz). No matter what our intentions are, we must take responsibility for the impact of our words; the harmed person does not have to put up with it or mediate with the person who has hurt them (Irantzun).

Encouraging healthy debates and braver spaces

Spaces where feminists can engage in genuine debate and healthy discussions are needed, where one is open to changing their mind, "*listening, trying not to judge, feeling that the other person also transforms me, that we all learn and we all contribute*" (Interviewee 14). Some believe that, even if we disagree or do not get along, we can still work together and decide what is good on a collective level (Interviewee 5, Interviewee 15).

Increasingly, activists are aiming for 'brave spaces' rather than 'safe spaces' because safety is often confused with comfort, which can hinder certain uncomfortable reflections that we, as privileged individuals, must undergo to challenge the colonial structures of power (Arao and Clemens, 2013). If we prioritise safety, we risk remaining on the surface without having difficult conversations that question our Eurocentric values, create contradictions, put us on the defensive and make us acknowledge white privilege. For migrant and racialised individuals, we can never

guarantee a space free from violence, as seen in subchapter 7.2. Hence, the authors propose embracing our vulnerability and discomfort to dismantle power hierarchies.

Embracing differences within and between groups

“Interdependency between women is the way to a freedom which allows the I to be” (Lorde, 1984, p. 111). Lorde suggests a dialogue that acknowledges and values an equal interdependency between women, one that recognises differences. She argues that in a capitalist system based on the exploitation of the ‘others’ — the marginalised — difference is socially and institutionally rejected and used to separate, leaving society without the tools to engage with it on equal terms. Hence, differences are translated into oppressions through unequal power dynamics.

Almost every participant agreed that power relations are reproduced in their group. Because privileges materialise in many ways and not all of them depend on migration status or skin colour, but also on administrative, economic and social conditions, they also arise in non-mixed spaces. When that occurs, internal facilitation, reviewing one’s own privileges, and creating ground rules for speaking and listening have contributed to finding solutions and better coexistence (Interviewee 1, Interviewee 14). Fatima also highlighted the need to recognise diversity, with each member contributing something unique from their country (Fatima).

In certain mixed groups, there are still deeply ingrained colonising forms of activism that require sustained reflection to be eliminated (Interviewee 14). Many participants emphasise the need to build trust to reduce power relations and solve disagreements together, taking personal care towards and listening to others. To cultivate this trust, more privileged members should adapt to those who have limited resources to engage in activism, without imposing Basque culture and customs as the ideal (Interviewee 16). Non-violent communication is key to building more equal relationships, and creating ‘areas of possible agreement’ on issues that generate conflict, giving opinions with respect and kindness, trying not to let it get personal, respecting everyone’s time needs and ways of processing things (Nadia, Irantzun).

Changing the recipe

White and racialised feminists agree that there are ego clashes within the movement and that people sometimes pursue activism to gain recognition. A racialised participant calls women who have occupied positions of leadership to take a step back and let unfamiliar faces lead the movement to create a space where we can see each other and overcome disagreements (Interviewee 14). Ainhoa agrees with sharing the power with smaller collectives so that they can become a reference through the spaces that emerged from the strike. However, some racialised

participants rightfully question the usefulness of this platform for them to meet and for racialised and white women to cultivate coalitions. Everyone must legitimise both the people who lead and the spaces they occupy, building new collective spaces from identification and recognition, based on differences and reducing power hierarchies. Those who participate in national platforms should be willing to reflect on whiteness and build common agendas from an anti-racist and decolonial perspective, translated into sensitivity towards intersectional struggles (Eneritz). Others suggest that there is no need for idealised icons and that rotating positions of power contributes to the recognition and empowerment of everyone (Interviewee 10).

A room of their own

There is a biased narrative of social rupture in feminism, arguing that racialised women are against white women because they seek non-mixed spaces (Interviewee 10). Among participants, however, only one white woman (Interviewee 5) argued that some non-mixed groups see white women as the enemy and that migrant women are not in feminist assemblies because they choose not to be. There are parallels between white women's behaviour towards racialised women and men's behaviour towards women, manifested, for example, when white women include racialised women only for representation or when we justify our own racist acts.

Doloridad, a concept coined by Vilma Piedade, reflects the connection that racism represents for racialised women and their mutual understanding without judgment or victimisation. It explains their motivation for creating non-mixed spaces to share a pain they feel in a way no white woman does, to put a name to unpleasant experiences that racialised women face in their day-to-day lives (Interviewee 1). Fills a gap left by the concept of sisterhood, which, according to Piedade, ignores blackness (Mundo UNTREF, 2021). Some racialised participants show discomfort with sharing spaces with white women and recognise the value of 'a room of one's own', referring to non-mixed spaces where they strengthen their community and organise collectively to cope with common struggles (Interviewee 1, Interviewee 14).

7.5 ACUERPAR: Practising decolonial coalition building

One conclusion reached in most conversations is that there is no point in taking the above steps if one gets stuck in inaction. Although the feminist movement has made progress in terms of discourse, racialised and white participants admitted that there is still a long way to go. Trying to put theory into practice, into the realisation of the rights of migrant and racialised women and gender non-conforming people, is key to coalition building, which could be translated into *acuerpar*, a term coined by Lorena Cabnal, which can be understood as ‘embodied solidarity’ (Interviewee 6). “The personal and collective action of our bodies outraged at the injustices experienced by other bodies; to provide each other with political energy to resist and act against the multiple patriarchal, colonial, racist, and capitalist oppressions”. The act of *acuerpar* — *acuerpamiento* — “provides us with closeness, collective outrage, but also revitalisation, and new strength, to regain joy without losing our outrage” (Méndez, 2023, p. 37).

Putting decoloniality into practice

Some white participants committed to intersectional or anti-racist feminism, hoping that it would translate into concrete actions, and because they find decoloniality more academic, distant and difficult to implement. “Incommensurability is an acknowledgement that decolonization will require a change in the order of the world” (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 31); a realisation that decolonising feminism might be unachievable in the short and medium terms.

However, many racialised locals, racialised migrants from Abya Yala, and some white participants, advocated for it because it challenges hierarchies imposed by colonialism and encompasses anti-racist and intersectional feminisms. Based on their contribution, decolonial feminism in the Basque Country is about: (1) Recognising our colonial past and our benefit from it today; (2) Acknowledging migrant and racialised women as political subjects of feminism and their intermeshed oppressions; (3) Assuming responsibility for reviewing our privileges and using them to dismantle whiteness; and (4) Fostering a point of intersection with other women to forge relationships, share spaces, and organise activities differently. This involves rethinking our theoretical and relational frameworks and agendas in feminist spaces and revisiting colonial dynamics for transforming our relationships and consumption patterns, acknowledging the contribution of migrant and racialised women in every sector and challenging the exploitation of bodies and resources from the Global South that shapes our material existence. Several racialised participants also pointed out the need to decolonise their minds, shaking off the feelings of inferiority caused by the colonial discourse that claims to have “discovered” them, and to strengthen their network and empower themselves to build coalitions with white women.

Turning reflection on white privilege into action

Some racialised participants argue that coalition building with primarily white women is easier when they have turned their reflection of privileges into specific actions to improve the conditions of racialised colleagues (Interviewee 1); that is, practice *acuerpamiento*. Being part of a coalition without taking a space that is not for us and avoiding the reproduction of relations of domination and exploitation is essential (Gronemeier, 2021). Some racialised women argue that sometimes white feminists “*take on responsibilities in struggles that are not theirs*” and decide for others on behalf of the movement (Interviewee 15). Local white women should understand our position regarding migrant and racialised women as being “*in front when other white people harm them; behind when they have to take centre stage; and always by their side*” (Interviewee 27), to which many white participants agreed.

Signing manifestos issued by racialised groups and physically and materially supporting key demonstrations are some examples. National-level white feminist groups argue for using their power to mobilise for migrant and racialised women's struggles (Interviewee 24). Several white and racialised participants collectively call for civil disobedience to share our privilege and urge white women to join the fight for the right to regularise and register (Interviewee 16, Larraitz). White citizens can pressure public institutions to offer solutions to the lack of regularisation and registration possibilities. People should normalise collective complaints against racist attacks and anti-racist protocols in party venues, just as those against sexist attacks (Lady, Interviewee 11). In some anti-racist organisations, white people's role is to look after their racialised colleagues during meetings and demonstrations, to reinforce security and talk to the police, “*putting their bodies on the line*” (Irantzun). White women should intervene in the face of other examples of racist violence as well, such as when a racialised woman is chased in a store due to the preconception that she is going to steal (Interviewee 27).

We must raise the issue of racism and coloniality outside the feminist movement too; “*pass the decolonial filter*” through our daily lives (Eneritz), constantly question our practices and revise what type of relationships we have with racialised women (Larraitz). We can be a point of reference in our circles and lead changes in the workplace or at the children's school.

Breaking our ‘white bubble’

María Lugones (1987) understands ‘world-travelling’ as a radical openness to others, a way to identify with them and to challenge our ‘arrogant perception’. She embraces the dependency on each other, arguing that “only when we have travelled to each other's ‘worlds’ are we fully subjects to each other” (p. 17), and we can really understand what it is like to be the other. To practice

acuerpamiento and build a decolonial feminist movement, white women must travel to racialised women's worlds and vice versa. Gandarias Goikoetxea (2016) concluded that building coalitions meant overcoming the opposing positions of us/them or locals/migrants, which are manifested in women's daily lives through the construction of internal boundaries. This remains one of the greatest challenges facing Basque feminism today, but world-travelling could be the beginning of challenging these boundaries. Many participants believe that it becomes easier through interpersonal relationships in smaller settings that allow breaking mental barriers and understanding the reasons behind many realities. For example, Maryam felt that her identity as a Muslim woman wearing a niqab was normalised and respected in a small town because she coexisted with her neighbours, whereas in a larger city, stereotypes prevailed. After all, they lacked meeting spaces, leading to increased verbal and physical violence against her.

White women need to "*endure the discomfort*" of leaving our 'white bubble', not only in activist spaces but also in our daily interactions, sharing spaces with people we would not normally do so (Interviewee 14). Many participants pointed out that leisure spaces to get to know each other and talk about things outside the movement are as necessary as assembly meetings, which can feel too bureaucratic, formal and serious (Interviewee 11). Sharing spaces without any agenda, for the sake of enjoyment, through talking, reading, dancing or eating, is key because that humanises relationships (Eneritz). If we know each other, we understand better how the other person lives and what they need to live better.

Decolonial practices need close relationships and lived experiences that dismantle hierarchical logics and enhance community relations. Lugones, with Spelman, (1983) suggests some actions for white feminists: recognising that non-mixed spaces are necessary; understanding that we must learn from their different cultures and experiences; learning to become "unintrusive, unimportant [and] patient" (p. 580); and accepting that our world will be criticised and examined from the perspectives of those it has harmed. Engaging in these tasks should not be driven by self-interest or guilt, but by what the authors describe as 'friendship'. A friendship based on reciprocal care and respect, a commitment to mutual understanding and accountability, rejecting appropriation or tokenism, and using white privilege to collectively challenge the patriarchal forces of modern-colonial domination.

World-travelling through interculturality

Several participants argued in favour of intercultural associations for exchange between women from different origins and backgrounds, as key spaces to break the 'white bubble' and 'world-travelling'. Their goal is to empower migrant women, accompany them in forming bonds,

and break down stereotypes. Local white women attend because they are interested in the activities and in interacting with other women, and find a space where power dynamics are usually reversed: racialised women moderate and white women learn. Through activities such as *macramé* or dance workshops, seemingly less political spaces provide moments of recognition and world-travelling. For example, a candle-making workshop became a space where local women learned about the migration process of migrant women, getting closer to their reality (Interviewee 10). Maryam and Izadora discuss the feeling of recognition by both white and racialised colleagues, emphasising how they challenged stereotypes by engaging with them and travelling to each other's worlds.

Neoliberalism co-opted the concept of interculturality and implemented it as an inclusion policy to perpetuate colonial relations, despite its transformative character. Interculturality from a critical decolonial perspective is a decolonial practice that aims to “transform, reconceptualise, and refound structures and institutions in ways that put in equitable (but still conflictive) relation diverse cultural logics, practices, and ways of knowing, thinking, acting, being, and living” (Walsh, 2018, pp. 57-59). Differences are acknowledged in collective terms and recognised as a contribution to new paradigms of coexistence, such as in intercultural mixed spaces.

However, sharing spaces alone does not guarantee world-travelling. A Muslim women's group engaging in cultural activities with non-Muslim women illustrates this; while the latter recognised the complexities of Muslim women beyond media stereotypes, they maintained generalisations about Islam, viewing their Muslim colleagues as exceptions (Interviewee 26). This indicates a persistent arrogant perception stemming from non-Muslim women's reluctance to challenge their beliefs, highlighting the need to question Eurocentric views that prioritise Western values over non-Western ones.

Building coalitions through non-dominant differences

“As an oppressed nation, we should be able to empathise with other oppressed collectives” (Ainhoa). The idea of ‘Euskal Herria Harrera Herria’ refers to the concept of *barrera herria*, ‘shelter nation’, and is based on the premise that the erasure of the precolonial cosmologies of the Global South populations who migrate to Euskal Herria resembles, in some way, the violence that has been inflicted on the Basques in relation to our identity and culture. The argument is that, since Basque people have also been oppressed and condemned to migration in times of poverty and wars, we can sympathise more with migrants who have suffered that oppression and erasure. This framework rejects the theory that migration is a danger to Euskara and opposes any attempt to justify, in the name of protecting Basque culture and language, the exclusion of migrants. Instead,

it advocates for building a welcoming Basque society grounded in our shared struggles against oppression (Areitio et al., 2025).

María Lugones (2005) advocates for Audre Lorde's concept of 'non-dominant differences' to build plural coalitions based on resistance struggles of different collectives. Each merging of oppressions is understood and lived in relationality; it appreciates how others have resisted their multiple oppressions, and can try to understand how these resistances support or undermine each other. When Lorde celebrates the interdependence of non-dominant differences, she is not celebrating a coalition that arises from the denial of differential powers, but praising what we create within those different resistant circles.

Building coalitions based on non-dominant differences in the Basque Country would entail uniting the forces of resistance of the Basque people against Spanish and French colonialism⁹ and the racialised people against European colonialism. Every step forward in incorporating decoloniality into our feminist practices brings us closer to making this welcoming nation a reality. However, following Lugones' logic, Basque resistance is currently undermining racialised people's resistance; there are dominant differences. As many white and racialised participants emphasised, we still need to define the actions that will contribute to building coalitions on equal terms. To do so, it is essential to challenge the colonial structures of power and gender, recognise the plural selves of Basque citizens and challenge the current Eurocentric feminism that hierarchises struggles and invisibilises racialised women.

Finding the balance between mixed and non-mixed spaces

Places of encounter between white and racialised women have proven to be extremely useful for the former in questioning their colonial narratives, relearning from other standpoints and carrying out practices of *acuerpamiento*, as well as for both in terms of sharing experiences that bring them closer together. However, these spaces are not a right but an opportunity that must be earned through recognition, respect and individual and collective work. They can be hurting and tiring spaces for migrant and racialised women as well, and even if they are not, their legitimacy to gather in their own spaces is equally valid. Both white and racialised participants have shared that their goal is not to make all spaces for everyone, but rather to grow and strengthen those spaces in which they feel comfortable, whether this means having racialised locals, racialised migrants or Basque-speaking people — and any of its possible combinations — and then to cultivate new collective spaces for building plural coalitions.

⁹ This word is used in this context to exemplify Lugones' theory but without intending to argue that the oppressions experienced by the Basque people or by racialized people are comparable.

8. Conclusions

This research has aimed to understand the advances, current challenges, and potential futures of the Basque feminist movement, with a focus on interrogating its whiteness and analysing its attempts to build plural coalitions with migrant and racialised women and gender non-conforming individuals. Through in-depth conversations with strong and inspiring women, I have come to understand their fears and hopes, while also inhabiting the discomfort of recognising myself as an oppressor, and navigating a process of reflection on my white privilege and on how to use it in favour of the rights of migrant and racialised women. As white Basque women who benefit from the coloniality of power and gender, we could consider the following steps as non-linear and complementary clues for moving towards the decolonisation of the movement.

Actively listening to migrant and racialised women entails allowing ourselves to be transformed, to challenge our Eurocentric understanding of feminism and to understand realities different to our own. The hierarchical relations of domination in terms of race and gender are the foundational basis of the current colonial, racist, patriarchal, capitalist, heteronormative and ableist system. Violence and dehumanisation result from this 'modern/colonial gender system' in the daily lives of racialised women, whose intermeshed oppressions should be part of the Basque feminist agendas. The exploitation, stigmatisation, marginalisation, victimisation and invisibilisation of migrant and racialised women is systematic, but their plural knowledges, experiences, and resistance fights are part of a decolonial feminist struggle.

To actively listen and allow those experiences to resonate within us, we must aim for recognising and **dismantling** the mechanisms of exclusion that prevent migrant and racialised women from being political subjects of Basque feminism, even if this means rebuilding spaces from scratch. Euskara is the primary mechanism of exclusion, a complex and close-to-heart issue for many. If Basque women want our language to be welcoming, the fight for more resources for learning it is necessary, as is building spaces of trust to discuss the issue with our migrant comrades. The pace of feminist spaces should slow down to build this trust and adapt to everyone's needs while also revisiting meeting formats, locations, and working and leisure dynamics to foster less hierarchical and lasting relationships. Challenging the coloniality of knowledge involves informing ourselves about non-Western feminisms and recognising the plurality of ways of being a feminist to make our migrant and racialised comrades' struggles our own. To avoid essentialising the feminist struggle and instrumentalising racialised women's voices, we should embrace differences through dialogue and recognition. Redefining the priorities of the feminist agenda is necessary through addressing common struggles, such as the fight for basic rights and the regularisation of migrant colleagues.

The recognition that white women must make is not only towards migrant and racialised women but also towards ourselves. **Acknowledging** our white privilege and questioning whether we use it for our own benefit or that of others is essential for interrogating whiteness, advancing towards decolonising feminism and building plural coalitions. White Basque feminists were shaken at the last feminist conference, forced to look in a mirror that reflects our plural selves as oppressors and oppressed. Since then, some white women have identified with their 'colonial self' through reading, reflective exercises, and daily interactions with migrant and racialised women, as a first step toward dismantling their white privilege. The recognition by some white feminists of their intermeshed oppressions has proven useful in finding common ground with racialised women as they challenge the singular subject of feminism. However, it is challenging to determine to what extent the feminist movement has navigated the discomfort of recognising privileges to the point of feeling the urge to dismantle them. Decoloniality is clearly present in the discourse of hegemonic Basque feminism, but there are also warnings about its potential co-optation if it does not translate into radical transformation.

Some deep-rooted conflicts within the Basque feminist movement are hindering its progress toward decolonisation. Hence, the urgency of repairing the damage caused by the 2023 strike and seeking **healing** justice by apologising, acknowledging mistakes, and assuming responsibilities. However, this is unlikely to happen without recognising the power hierarchies and the coloniality of knowledge that lie at the root of these issues. White feminists must transform the fear or guilt of making mistakes from paralysing to a driving force to revisit our colonial attitudes. It is essential to accept the discomfort that emerges when migrant and racialised women expose the power structures from which white women benefit, enabling accountability rather than defensiveness. It is not a matter of migrant and racialised women coming to our spaces, but of collectively building trust and care through new, braver spaces with fresh leadership to revitalise the movement and prevent it from falling into personal grudges. At the same time, the legitimacy of non-mixed spaces must be recognised, as they provide migrant and racialised women with comforting environments to process collective pain, build resistance and reinforce their political agency within the feminist movement.

Acuerpar encompasses quite accurately what our migrant and racialised comrades have been asking from white feminists in Euskal Herria for a long time. Enraging at the violation of others and acknowledging their struggles as our own are driving forces for practising a decolonial feminism that transforms theoretical reflections on whiteness into the realisation of the rights of migrant and racialised women. It is essential to keep in mind the incommensurability of decoloniality in order not to lose its radical and transformative character, which aims to dismantle the colonial hierarchies that underpin our lives as white women. Putting our bodies on the line, questioning everyday practices, and sharing our privilege in every possible way is key to building plural coalitions based on reciprocal liberation struggles. We must break our white bubbles and travel to migrant and racialised women's worlds because identifying with them and valuing the enriching nature of our interdependency contributes to building plural coalitions based on differences, striving to bridge the gap between 'them' and 'us'. Mixed intercultural groups have proven to be an interesting space for world-travelling, but finding a balance between non-mixed spaces and mixed spaces has been deemed necessary as well.

These findings illustrate the complementarity of these steps and highlight the need for the hegemonic Basque feminist movement to remain attentive to all of them. This research demonstrates that decolonising feminism is a long-term goal that entails much more than self-reflection and revisiting the discourses. It is important to acknowledge that this research is subject to several limitations. The sample of participants reflects an interest in the topic that cannot be extrapolated to the movement as a whole. Moreover, as an external researcher, my perspective on it has necessarily been partial. Yet, after learning about the experiences and feelings of several relevant racialised feminists in the movement, and without diminishing the commitment and accountability of many white feminists involved in the matter, we have everything to do in terms of decolonial practice.

One of the most pressing short-term challenges is resolving the conflicts generated by the 2023 strike in order to heal the wounds and rebuild relationships. In the medium term, two key goals are: to bring uncomfortable discussions around white privilege and Basque plural selves into more feminist spaces, specifically into national-level platforms and networks with decision-making power; and then, to build brave and trusting spaces from scratch that embrace our differences and interdependencies, reduce hierarchies and cultivate a common agenda that represents the plural subject of feminism. In parallel, strengthening non-mixed spaces as well as potentially building bridges with anti-racist groups and platforms to contribute with more white allies to the already existing organised migrant network. A long-term ambition would be advancing on the idea of ‘Euskal Herria Harrera Hiria’ to actually become a welcoming nation and build coalitions based on non-dominant differences, recognising and embracing the plurality of Basque society and interrelating the Basque struggle with the struggle of migrant and racialised collectives to mutually support each other in our resistance.

“Estar organizada requiere mucho cuerpo y ganas, pero aunque sean tiempos difíciles, no nos pueden quitar la ilusión” – Compañera migrante de Abya Yala (Interviewee 14)

9. References

- Ahmed, Sara (2012) *On Being Included. Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Alexander, M. Jaqui (2005) *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. New York: Duke University Press.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria (1987) *Borderlands : the new mestiza = La frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.
- Arao, Brian and Clemens, Kristi (2013) ‘From Safe Spaces to Brave Spaces’, in Landreman, L.M. (ed.) *The Art of Effective Facilitation*. New York: Routledge, pp. 135–9150.
- Areitio, Irati et al. (2025) ‘Euskararen herria, harrera herria’, *GARA*, 5 January. Available at: https://www.naiz.eus/eu/hemeroteca/gara/editions/2025-01-25/hemeroteca_articles/euskararen-herria-harrera-herria (Accessed: 10 October 2025).
- Basterretxea Barea, Garazi (2024) ‘La reforma de extranjería, un parche que obvia la lucha de Regularización Ya’, *Pikara Magazine*, 11 December. Available at: <https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2024/12/la-reforma-de-extranjeria-un-parche-que-obvia-la-lucha-de-regularizacion-ya/> (Accessed: 13 September 2025).
- Beorlegui Zarranz, David (2020) ‘Rememorando el devenir feminista. Memoria y subjetividad política de la segunda ola del feminismo en el País Vasco’, *Arenal. Revista de historia de las mujeres*, 27(1), pp. 33–63. doi:10.30827/arenal.v27i1.11447.
- Bhimji, Fazila (2020) ‘Intersectional feminist solidarity and activism amongst refugees and migrants at International Women’s Space in Berlin’, in *Border Regimes, Racialisation Processes and Resistance in Germany*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 131–179. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-49320-2_5.
- Carastathis, Anna (2019) ‘Beyond the “Logic of Purity”: “Post-Post-Intersectional” Glimpses in Decolonial Feminism’, in DiPietro, P., McWeeny, J. and Roshanravan, S. (eds.) *Speaking Face to Face/Hablando Cara a Cara: The Visionary Philosophy of María Lugones*. Albany: SUNY Press, pp. 85-102.
- Castillo, R. (1986) ‘Entrevista con Aizan! : “Queremos ser mujeres libres en un pueblo libre”’, *Punto y Hora de Euskal Herria*, (430), pp. 86-87. Available at: <https://catalogo.sanchoelsabio.eus/Record/269385/Description> (Accessed: 19 May 2025).

- Coordinadora Feminista (2017) '8 marzo 2017, Bilbao, Iruñea, Gasteiz, Donostia', *Coordinadora Feminista*. Available at: <https://feministas.org/8-marzo-2017-bilbao-irunea-gasteiz.html> (Accessed: 5 May 2025).
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1989) 'Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics', *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989(1), Article 8. Available at: <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8> (Accessed: 17 October 2025).
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1991) 'Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color', *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), pp. 1241–1299. doi:10.2307/1229039.
- Curiel, Ochy (2021) 'Constructing feminist methodologies from the perspective of decolonial feminism', in Espinosa-Miñoso, Y., Lugones, M. and Maldonado-Torres, N. (eds.) *Decolonial feminism in Abya Yala: Caribbean, Meso, and South American contributions and challenges*. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, pp. 43-59.
- Dhawan, Nikita (2017) 'Which issues and imperatives of feminist political sciences are still topical even after 20 years?', *Femina Politica*, 26(1), pp. 151-153. doi:10.3224/feminapolitica.v26i1.12.
- Doetsch-Kidder, Sharon and Harris, Kalia (2023) 'Healing Justice as Intersectional Feminist Praxis: Well-being Practices for Inclusion and Liberation', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 25(1), Article 4. Available at: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol25/iss1/4> (Accessed: 16 October 2025).
- Ecuador Etxea (2020) 'Denuncian la imposibilidad de conseguir una cita en la Oficina de Extranjería de Bilbao', *Ecuador Etxea*, 30 September. Available at: <https://www.ecuadoretxea.org/denuncian-la-imposibilidad-de-conseguir-una-cita-en-la-oficina-de-extranjeria-de-bilbao/> (Accessed: 13 September 2025).
- Ecuador Etxea (2023) '¿Por qué la huelga feminista general es también de las trabajadoras de hogar migradas?', *Ecuador Etxea*, 8 November. Available at: <https://www.ecuadoretxea.org/por-que-la-huelga-feminista-general-es-tambien-de-las-trabajadoras-de-hogar-migradas/> (Accessed: 13 September 2025).
- Ecuador Etxea (2024) 'Un "olvido" del procurador obliga a cerrar el caso de Silvia, mujer migrada agredida por la Ertzaintza en 2018', *Ecuador Etxea*, 25 November. Available at: <https://www.ecuadoretxea.org/un-olvido-del-procurador-obliga-a-cerrar-el-caso-de-silvia-mujer-migrada-agredida-por-la-ertzaintza-en-2018/> (Accessed: 13 October 2025).

- EHko Koordinadora Feminista (2020) *Bizitzak erdigunean: Propuestas para hacer frente a la crisis del Covid-19 y al neoliberalismo patriarcal y colonial*. Available at: <https://www.feministas.org/IMG/pdf/bizitzak-erdigunean-2020-04-09-gaz.pdf> (Accessed: 14 May 2025).
- EHko Koordinadora Feminista (2023) *Herri Akordia: A favor de un derecho colectivo al cuidado*. Available at: https://feministas.org/IMG/pdf/herri-akordia_cas.pdf (Accessed: 14 May 2025).
- Escobar, Arturo (2007) 'Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise', *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), pp. 179-210. doi:10.1080/09502380601162506.
- Esteve, Gustavo (2022) *Gustavo Esteve: A Critique of Development and other essays*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Euskal Herriko Bilgune Feminista and Emagin (2022) *Araka ditzagun gure bazterrak Kritika dekonoliaka zeharkaturiko ibilbide bat*. Donostia: Susa Literatura.
- Euskal Herriko Greba Feminista (2018) 'Euskal Herriko Greba Jardunaldiaren Balorazioa // Valoración de la Huelga en EH', *Euskal Herriko Greba Feminista*. Available at: <https://grebafeminista.wordpress.com/2018/03/12/euskal-herriko-greba-jardunaldiaren-balorazioa-valoracion-de-la-huelga-en-eh/> (Accessed: 14 May 2025).
- Euskal Herriko Mugimendu Feminista (2008) *IV Jornadas Feministas de Euskadi*. Portugalete. Available at: <https://www.emakumeak.org/web/jornada/3> (Accessed: 7 May 2025).
- Farris, Sara R. (2017) *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv11sn2fp> (Accessed: 26 May 2025).
- Fernandez, June (2022) 'Euskal Herriko Bilgune Feminista: bi hamarkada emakume* independentisten etxea eraberritzen', *Pikara Magazine*, 29 June. Available at: <https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2022/06/euskal-herriko-bilgune-feminista-bi-hamarkada-emakume-independentisten-etxea-eraberritzen/> (Accessed: 7 May 2025).
- Fernandez Sobrado, Jose Manuel and Aierdi Urraza, Xabier (1997) 'Entramado organizativo del movimiento feminista en el País Vasco', *Reis*, 80, pp. 183–201. doi:10.2307/40183922.
- Funes, María. J. (1998) 'Social responses to political violence in the Basque Country: peace movements and their audience', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(4), pp. 493-510. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/174440> (Accessed: 2 May 2025).
- Gandarias Goikoetxea, Itziar (2016) *Hasta que todas seamos libres: encuentros, tensiones y retos en la construcción de articulaciones entre colectivos de mujeres migradas y feministas en Euskal Herria*. PhD

- thesis. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Available at: <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/174976> (Accessed: 15 March 2025).
- Gandarias Goikoetxea, Itziar and García Fernández, Nagore (2014) 'Producciones narrativas: una propuesta metodológica para la investigación feminista', in Mendia Azkue, I., Luxán Serrano, M., Legarreta Iza, M., Guzmán Orellana, G., Zirion Landaluze, I., and Azpiazu Carballo, J. (eds.) *Otras formas de (re)conocer: reflexiones, herramientas y aplicaciones desde la investigación feminista*. Bilbao: UPV/EHU, pp. 97–110. Available at: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7619917> (Accessed: 18 May 2025).
- Goodmark, Leigh (2018) 'Restorative justice as feminist practice', *The International Journal of Restorative Justice*, 1(3), pp. 372–384. doi:10.5553/IJRJ/258908912018001003003.
- Gronemeier, Lisa-Marlen (2021) 'On feminist entanglements and white politics of knowledge', *Convivial Thinking*, 23 October. Available at: <https://convivialthinking.org/index.php/2021/10/23/on-feminist-entanglements-and-white-politics-of-knowledge/> (Accessed: 15 March 2025).
- Grosfoguel, Ramón (2013) 'The structure of knowledge in Westernized universities: Epistemic racism/sexism and the four genocides/epistemicides of the long 16th century', *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, XI(1), pp. 73-90. doi:10.1057/9781137292896_2.
- Gurpegui Cotado, Adrián (2021) 'Emakumeak borrokan. Feminismo y nacionalismo en el País Vasco en los años 80. (1977–1988)', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie V, Historia Contemporánea*, 33, pp. 161–196. doi:10.5944/etfv.33.2021.27416.
- Gutiérrez, Icíar (2018) 'Migrantes y “disidentes” sexuales: “Nuestros cuerpos hackean al Estado racista español”', *elDiario.es*, 20 March. Available at: https://www.eldiario.es/desalambre/migrantes-disidentes-sexuales-cuerpos-hackean_1_2774144.html (Accessed: 26 May 2025).
- Hersey, Tricia (2022) *Rest is resistance: a manifesto*. New York: Little, Brown Spark.
- Hill Collins, Patricia (2020) *Back Feminist Thought. Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Hill Collins, Patricia and Bilge, Sirma (2016) *Intersectionality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Icaza, Rosalba and Solera, Agustina (2022) 'Knowing with others: Dialogues across the plurality of perspectives' [Recorded lecture]. 3211: *Decoloniality in the Development Research Context*. International Institute of Social Studies. Available at: <https://eur.cloud.panopto.eu/Panopto/Pages/Viewer.aspx?id=1a559ac9-5761-42b7-8755-ae1500db4537> (Accessed: 18 May 2025).

- Irureta Azkune, Onintza (2019) 'Martxoak 8, greba feminista: Mobilizazio anitzak, aldarrikapen politiko zehatzak', *Argia*, 14 March. Available at: <https://www.argia.eus/argia-astekaria/2636/martxoak-8-greba-feminista> (Accessed: 14 May 2025).
- Komite Internazionalistak (n.d.) [*Homepage*]. Available at: <https://www.komiteinternazionalistak.org/> (Accessed: 2 May 2025).
- Kruks, Sonia (2005) 'Simone de Beauvoir and the politics of privilege', *Hypatia*, 20(1), pp. 178-205. Available at: <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/177733> (Accessed: 17 September 2025).
- LAB (2025) 'LAB llevará ante el Tribunal Constitucional la defensa del derecho a la negociación colectiva de las trabajadoras del hogar y pedirá al Gobierno Vasco y al de Navarra medidas para mejorar la situación', *LAB*, 14 July. Available at: <https://www.lab.eus/es/lab-llevar-ante-el-tribunal-constitucional-la-defensa-del-derecho-a-la-negociacion-colectiva-de-las-trabajadoras-del-hogar-y-pedira-al-gobierno-vasco-y-al-de-navarra-medidas-para-mejorar-la-situacion/> (Accessed: 6 October 2025).
- Linder, Chris (2015) 'Navigating guilt, shame, and fear of appearing racist: A conceptual model of antiracist white feminist identity development', *Journal of College Student Development*, 56(6), pp. 535-550. doi:10.1353/csd.2015.0057.
- Lorde, Audre (1982) *Zami: A new spelling of my name*. New York: Crossing Press.
- Lorde, Audre (1984) *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. New York: Crossing Press.
- Lugones, María (1987) 'Playfulness, "World"-Travelling, and Loving Perception', *Hypatia*, 2(2), pp. 3–19. doi:10.1093/oso/9780190867614.003.0006.
- Lugones, María (2003) *Pilgrimages = Peregrinajes: Theorizing Coalition Against Multiple Oppressions*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Lugones, María (2005) 'Multiculturalismo radical y feminismos de mujeres de color', *Revista Internacional de Filosofía Política*, (25), pp. 61-76. doi:10.25058/20112742.n30.08.
- Lugones, María (2012) 'Methodological notes toward a decolonial feminism', in Isasi-Díaz, A. M. and Mendieta, E. (eds.) *Decolonizing Epistemologies: Latina/o Theology and Philosophy*. New York: Fordham University Press, pp. 68–77. doi:10.5422/fordham/9780823241354.001.0001.
- Lugones, María and Spelman, Elizabeth V. (1983) 'Have we got a theory for you! Feminist theory, cultural imperialism and the demand for 'the woman's voice'', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 6(6), pp. 573-581. doi:10.1016/0277-5395(83)90019-5.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson (2007) 'On the coloniality of being: Contributions to the development of a concept', *Cultural Studies*, 21(2–3), pp. 240–270. doi:10.1080/09502380601162548.

- May, Stephen (2023) 'Linguistic racism: Origins and implications', *Ethnicities*, 23(5), pp. 651-661. doi:10.1177/14687968231193072.
- Méndez, María José (2023) 'Acuerpar: The decolonial feminist call for embodied solidarity', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 49(1), pp. 37-61. doi:10.1086/725839.
- Mignolo, Walter D. (2012) *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (2003) "'Under Western Eyes" revisited: Feminist solidarity through anticapitalist struggles', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28(2), pp. 499-535. doi:10.1086/342914.
- Mundo UNTREF (2021) 'Referentes del feminismo negro presentaron nuevas nociones para revertir las violencias', *Mundo UNTREF*, 5 August. Available at: <https://www.untref.edu.ar/mundountref/referentes-del-feminismo-negro-presentaron-nuevas-nociones-para-revertir-las-violencias> (Accessed: 17 September 2025).
- Nguissani, Rebeca (2019) 'Cuando se pican es porque duele', *Pikara Magazine*, 13 November. Available at: <https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2019/11/cuando-se-pican-es-porque-esta-doliendo/> (Accessed: 15 March 2025).
- Noël, Fania (2023) 'Paris is burning: Intersectionality, localization, and circulation in France', *Kohl: a Journal for Body and Gender Research*, 9(1), pp. 184-200. Available at: https://kohljournal.press/sites/default/files/content/noel_paris_is_burning_0.pdf (Accessed: 17 September 2025).
- Oukhouya Ali, Hajar (2025) 'Prohibir no es liberar: una reflexión feminista sobre el uso del hiyab', *El Salto Diario*, 28 May. Available at: <https://www.elsaltodiario.com/opinion/prohibir-no-es-liberar-una-reflexion-feminista-uso-del-hiyab> (Accessed: 16 September 2025).
- Patel, Leigh (2016) 'Research as relational', in *Decolonizing Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability*. New York: Routledge, pp. 48-70.
- Quijano, Aníbal (2000) 'Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America', *International Sociology*, 15(2), pp. 215-232. doi:10.1177/0268580900015002005.
- Ramirez, Xalba (2022) 'Esklabotzatik lortutako diruarekin egindako eliza eder bat dugu Parte Zaharrean', *Irutxuloko Hitza*, 12 October. Available at: <https://irutxulo.hitza.eus/2022/10/12/esklabotzatik-lortutako-diruarekin-egindako-eliza-eder-bat-dugu-parte-zaharrean/> (Accessed: 2 May 2025).
- Roshanravan, Shireen (2018) 'Self-Reflection and the Coalitional Praxis of (Dis)Integration', *New Political Science*, 40(1), pp. 151-164. doi:10.1080/07393148.2017.1418545.

- Salda Badago Jardunaldiak (2019) *LIVE | SALDA BADAGO | Azaroak 1* [Online video]. YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/live/bX6GGhbzKVM?si=InZgZaWKMPAmrKQM> (Accessed: 5 May 2025).
- Sánchez-Prieto, Juan María (2002) 'La patria de los vascos: orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1903): reseña', *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos (RIEV)*, 47(1), pp. 227–230. Available at: <https://www.eusko-ikaskuntza.eus/es/riev/la-patria-de-los-vascos-origenes-ideologia-y-organizacion-del-nacionalismo-vasco-1876-1903/rart-13985/> (Accessed: 2 May 2025).
- Sandu, Adriana and Fernández, Victoria Pérez (2021) 'The Fight goes on! Intersections of Oppression in the Spanish Feminist Movement', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 22(9), Article 14. Available at: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss9/14> (Accessed: 13 October 2025).
- Soedirgo, Jessica and Glas, Aarie (2020) 'Toward Active Reflexivity: Positionality and Practice in the Production of Knowledge', *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 53(3), pp. 527–531. doi:10.1017/S1049096519002233.
- Soro, Kassoum (2025) 'Contribución de Las Mujeres Inmigrantes Al Crecimiento Socioeconómico Del País Vasco', *Revue EVALU'A: Experts et Évaluateurs d'Afrique*, 3. Available at: <https://edition-efua.acaref.net/evalua-avril-2025-dossier-3/> (Accessed: 6 November 2025).
- Tuck, Eve and Yang, K.Wayne (2012) 'Decolonization is not a metaphor', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), pp. 1–40. doi: 10.25058/20112742.n38.04.
- Txintxurreta, Maddi (2023) 'Emakume migratu eta arrazializatuen hogei taldek ez dute grebarekin bat egingo azaroaren 30ean', *NAIZ*, 11 November. Available at: <https://www.naiz.eus/eu/info/noticia/20231111/emakume-migratu-eta-arrazializatuen-hogei-taldek-ez-dute-grebarekin-bat-egingo-azaroaren-30ean> (Accessed: 9 September 2025).
- Walsh, Catherine E. (2018) 'The Decolonial For: Resurgences, Shifts, and Movements', in Mignolo, W. and Walsh, C. (eds.) *Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*. New York: Duke University Press, pp. 15-32. doi: 10.1515/9780822371779-003.
- Wekker, Gorla (2016) *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Zabala González, Begoña (2008) *Movimiento de mujeres: mujeres en movimiento*. Tafalla: Txalaparta.

10. Appendix

Interview guide

This guide was followed during the semi-structured interviews with the participants. Each of the topics relates to one research sub-question:

- i. I asked migrant and/or racialised participants what their main struggles in the Basque Country are, which fights shape their collective, what are their priorities, and what debates and actions arise in their group based on their political agenda.
- ii. I asked migrant and/or racialised participants how their inclusion or exclusion in hegemonic feminist spaces in the Basque Country is translated in practice, whether they have or have had links with the feminist movement and if they believe it is desirable to interact with them and with the concept of feminism, and why. I also asked local white participants whether migrant and/or racialised individuals participated in their group, if they had built alliances with them, whether they thought they were necessary or not, and what the challenges were for greater participation.
- iii. I asked local white participants how they reacted to the 2019 decoloniality panel and why, whether they had undergone a process of individual or collective reflection on the issues that were raised, and if so, whether that reflection had transformed into concrete actions. I also asked how we can use our privileges beyond an assistentialist manner to advance decolonisation, what specific practices they carry out in defence of the rights of migrant and racialised women, and whether they believe their struggles are integrated into their political agenda.
- iv. I asked both white and racialised participants to describe the differences among the members of their groups, the power dynamics or hierarchies that stem from them, and how they address these differences internally. I also inquired about the lessons they can draw from their own experiences.
- v. I discussed with both white and racialised participants what practising decolonial feminism meant to them in the context of the Basque Country and whether a decolonial feminism was desirable or if they would use another 'surname' such as anticolonial, antiracist, intersectional or inclusive. I asked how they would envision that 'surname' in practice, what should change in the movement, what they expect from it and what challenges and opportunities lie ahead. Finally, we discussed how to build plural coalitions between women of different origins and ethnicities within (or outside) the Basque feminist movement.