



Insights from the Intersectional Dialogues on Migration



◆◆ Index ◆◆

Foreword.....	01
Introduction	02

Part 1 :	03
-----------------------	-----------

An Intersectional Feminist Approach to Migration and Its Implications for Movement Building

Part 2 :	08
-----------------------	-----------

Intersectionality in Practice: Learnings from the Dialogues

Part 3 :	22
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Moving Forward on Intersectional Feminist Organizing around Migration

- **Annex A:** Co-organizers of the regional dialogues
- **Annex B:** List of Regional Dialogue Participants
- **Annex C:** Bibliography and useful resources

Foreword

During 2021 and 2022 the Women in Migration Network (WIMN) convened several virtual dialogues to engage and explore with organizations and activists on how to practice a feminist and intersectional approach to migration. These spaces were part of WIMN's long-term cross-regional and cross-sectoral movement-building strategy and provided rich and valuable perspectives and insights.

In 2021, WIMN and partners organized five regional dialogues in Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and Europe. Each dialogue was organized in a collective process that included WIMN members and allied organizations¹.

In 2022 and 2023, WIMN also organized two interregional dialogues focused on climate, gender, and migration. The first dialogue centered on the lived experiences of migrant women from Latin America and Africa, while the second one focused on Asia, the Pacific, and the Middle East. In addition, WIMN was among several organizations² led by the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) that organized a series titled "Feminist Fridays: Conversations about Labour Migration from a Feminist Lens".

WIMN's dialogues were organized with a grant from the Robert Bosch Foundation's (RBSG) Support Program "Reducing Inequalities through Intersectional Practice". The RBSG program aimed to promote good practices in regard to intersectional work; foster connections and support actors addressing inequality with an intersectional approach; and provide a platform for exchange and learning among practitioners. In 2021, the Bosch Foundation Inequality Program created a cohort of eleven organizations to explore what intersectional organizing might look like in practice; WIMN was an active participant in that process. Feminist, migrant rights, digital justice, media, and other organizations met bimonthly to share their efforts in defining intersectionality in their respective contexts, and applying it through education, advocacy, and organizing. The group emerged with a set of principles in social change work, which will ultimately be unique to each context. The Solidarity Center, a US-based international worker rights organization that partners directly with workers and their unions, also provided valuable support for the regional dialogue in the Middle East and North Africa, and for the dialogue on climate, gender, and migration for Asia, the Pacific, and the Middle East.

We want to express our gratitude to those organizations that co-organized the dialogues and to all those organizations and migrant women leaders that participated in this process, as well as to RBSG and the Solidarity Center. We look forward to more opportunities like these as we strive to build a more inclusive and collaborative movement.

Women in Migration Network

¹ See detailed list of co-organizers per region in Annex A.

² These included GAATW, WIMN, Solidarity Center, AWID, and FLEX (Focus on Labour Exploitation).

Introduction

The virtual dialogues convened by WIMN during 2021–22 connected across geographic, sectoral, and identity groups to explore how the realities of women in migration cut across these spaces. The process deepened and expanded our understanding of migration from an intersectional feminist perspective and contributed to relationship building and analysis on the intersections of gender, migration, race, labor, and climate change. This report reflects on the collective knowledge, experience, and analysis gained through these dialogues and from the participating organizations that cocreated them.

The regional dialogues engaged participants in Latin America, Africa, Europe, Asia, and North Africa and the Middle East. Each dialogue was collectively planned, including WIMN members and allied organizations³. The participants of each dialogue included organizations/activists from a variety of groups, identities, and subregions—including migrant women organizations, feminist organizations, Indigenous women, Afro-descendant women, anti-racist organizations, LGBTQI+ groups, trade unions, and climate justice groups, among others. As the regional dialogues were meant to be safe spaces to share individual and organizational experiences, they were not public. Some twenty-five participants were invited for each space.

This report primarily reflects shared analyses and learnings among the organizations engaged in the dialogues and serves as feedback for participants. At the same time, it aims to reach broader audiences on the importance of movement building from a feminist and intersectional approach, and in particular, contribute to intersectional and inter-sectoral movement building on migration.

The report is organized in three parts:

1. An intersectional feminist approach to migration and its implications for movement building
2. Intersectionality in practice: learnings from the dialogues
3. Moving forward on intersectional feminist organizing around migration



³ See detailed list of organizing partners per region in Annex A.

◆◆ Part 1 ◆◆

An Intersectional Feminist Approach to Migration and Its Implications for Movement Building



An intersectional feminist approach to migration unpacks the issues affecting migrant women to better understand how each social category interacts with others to create unique experiences of oppression. It is a powerful tool to analyze the intertwined identities, oppressions, and power relations at play in the context of human mobility, while also engaging with migration as a gendered phenomenon.

Studies in international migration increasingly recognize gender as central to analyzing experiences and migratory trajectories. Gender is not an isolated dimension, but one that intersects with race, ethnicity, social class, migratory status, sexual orientation and gender identity, age, ability, and religion, among other factors -- generating multiple oppressions which create and perpetuate inequalities.

An intersectional feminist approach to migration acknowledges and addresses the multiple forms of oppression that migrant women face and advocates for policies and programs that promote their rights and agency.

It seeks to shape policies and practices at the local, national, and international levels that are responsive to multiple forms of discrimination. It also aims to center the voices and experiences of migrant women in decision-making processes, and to ensure that their human rights are protected and respected. Such an approach could include promoting access to education and health care and seeking an end to gender-based violence. In this sense, an intersectional feminist approach positions migrant women as agents of change—not as victims.

An intersectional feminist approach to migration addresses gaps in policy that may seek to serve a “generic” woman but fails to meet the needs of those who experience multiple oppressions. For example, a strong national Violence Against Women policy might exclude undocumented women migrants who fear migration enforcement if they report crimes. Or a gender-responsive migration policy may fail to address the discrimination women also face as Black, Muslim, trans, or other identities. Climate adaptation policies may fail to recognize the specific impacts to migrant women who experience multiple oppressions, and thus, the needed policy responses.

◆ Origins of an Intersectional Approach

An intersectional approach has long been part of feminist dialogue. In her 1851 “Ain’t I a Woman?” speech, US abolitionist Sojourner Truth spoke from her racialized position as a former enslaved person to critique essentialist notions of femininity. The origins of intersectional feminist organizing and political discourse can be traced to the US Black feminist movement, particularly to the Combahee River Collective, which in 1977 issued a statement that introduced the idea of intersecting systems of oppression such as racism, sexism, heteronormativity, and classism; and the Third World Women’s Alliance (TWWA), which spoke of Black women’s “triple jeopardy” of race, gender, and class oppression. In 1989, critical legal race scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw applied this framework to the law. Specifically, Crenshaw highlighted legal cases wherein women were required to choose between bringing a claim of racism or sexism and could not say that they had been discriminated against due to the combined effects of race and sex⁴.

Feminist scholars from the Global South have applied similar analyses along with a decolonial critique⁵, making clear that feminists cannot speak of the collective experience of “women,” monopolizing diverse, intersecting experiences. This approach recognizes that colonialism and imperialism have shaped the experiences of diverse women in the Global South, and that feminist movements in these regions must take into account these historical legacies in their struggles for gender equality. This is particularly important given the ongoing structures and impacts of colonialism in global power relations.

Some political movements in the Global South have modeled intersectional approaches to organizing. Grassroots women’s movements, including Indigenous women, have demanded greater recognition of their lived experiences, challenging the dominant narratives of mainstream, mainly white middle-class feminist movements. For example, in the Zapatista Women’s Movement in Mexico, a grassroots feminist movement that emerged from the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in the 1990s. The movement advocates for the rights of Indigenous women and recognizes the ways in which gender, race, and class intersect to create unique forms of oppression. Global South interventions have sought to decolonize feminist theory by foregrounding the lived experiences of marginalized groups of women. This was the case of Domitila Barrios de Chungara’s *Si me permiten hablar* (‘Let me speak’) from her speech at the UN

⁴ Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, “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: 139–67, 149.

⁵ For example, María Lugones included imperialism and post-colonialism as categories of oppression that should be included in the intersectional analysis, concluding that the colonialism of gender is still with us; it is what lies at the intersection of gender/class/race as central constructs of the capitalist world system. María Lugones, “Toward a decolonial feminism” *Hypatia*, vol 25, No. 4, (pp. 742-759).

World Conference on Women, which took place in 1975 in Mexico City. She was a major voice in critiquing middle-class feminism, recognizing the diversity of feminist struggles and voices, and the importance of centering these perspectives in broader global feminist movements.

◆ Risks of Misusing the Intersectional Approach

Building on this long history, an intersectional approach has permeated academic, philanthropic, and global policy discourses. However, the use of this term in mainstream spaces might not reflect the feminist and anti-racist intentions of the social movements, which seek to address power inequities. There is a risk that instead of being a transformative approach, “intersectionality” becomes a buzzword that focuses on the “most vulnerable,” adding up marginalizing identity features. Such approaches are not informed by feminist politics nor by a historical analysis of the structures that lead to unequal outcomes.

Another risk in the use of the intersectional approach is to limit this concept to the interplay of individual identities of class, gender, ethnicity, racialization, and so on. Yet this is not about the characteristics of individuals. **Rather, each person is situated within societal structures of oppression, including gender inequalities, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, labor exploitation, and other realities.** Looking at an individual’s identity erroneously shifts the focus from the systems in place and the need to challenge power relations, and instead seeks to “help” those individuals.

Rather than generalizing about people or society, we look to historical conditions such as racism, colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy as roots that shape relations of oppression, power, and privilege. These oppressions assume different forms that are not always immediately visible; the links among those forms of oppressions must be revealed politically through a conscious effort to build solidarity.⁸

Applying an intersectional lens is not merely about organizing within fragmented nodes of identity. On the contrary, it can lead us to connect people with different backgrounds and subsequently promote greater collaboration and alliance building between and across women’s and people’s movements.

⁶ LATFEM, “Chiapas: la utopía feminista y zapatista,” March 14, 2018.

⁷ Tanja Bastia, Kavita Datta, Katja Hujo, Nicola Piper, and Matthew Walsham, “Reflections on Intersectionality: A Journey through the Worlds of Migration Research, Policy and Advocacy,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 2023, Vol. 30, No. 3: 460–83.

⁸ Cinzia Arruza, Tithi Bhattacharya, and Nancy Fraser, *Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto* (New York: Verso, 2019).

◆ Intersectionality as the Basis to Movement Building

Building solidarity around intersectionality requires a commitment to understand and address the complex ways in which systemic oppression affects people's lives and a willingness to work toward dismantling these systems of power and privilege. For example, mobilizing against exploitation and wage theft of migrant women workers can unite feminist, labor rights, and migrant rights groups. This is the case of the movement to abolish the Kafala sponsorship system in the Gulf countries and other places in the Middle East such as Lebanon, that ties workers to their employers; limits their mobility and their capacity to claim rights and report violations; and infringes on their basic labor rights. In this case, the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), MigrantRights.org, and the Anti-Racism Movement (ARM), are among groups that have mobilized to end the Kafala system.

It is also important to analyze power dynamics within organizations and networks so as not to unintentionally reproduce the oppressive structures we are fighting. Transforming and eliminating dysfunctional and unequal power relations between individuals and within organizations and movements will bring more meaningful and powerful collaborations.

An intersectional feminist approach to movement building is critical for working across movements and for collective political action. This means breaking through the narrow confines of "silos" to identify systemic inequalities, common ground, and promote cross-sectoral alliances for movement building and organizing against discrimination and inequalities.



◆◆ Part 2 ◆◆

Intersectionality in Practice: Learnings from the Dialogues



The five regional dialogues in Latin America, Africa, Europe, Asia and North Africa, and the Middle East convened a total of 125 organizations and activists (an average of twenty-five participants per dialogue) from a broad spectrum of social movements including migrant rights, self-organized migrant women, feminist, labor (including migrant domestic workers and migrant sex workers), LGBTIQ+, Indigenous, and anti-racist groups ⁹. The dialogues initiated a discussion process on intersectionality toward making an impact on our daily struggles.

The dialogues were spaces for networking, mutual learning, and the exchange of ideas. We created open, participatory, and inclusive spaces where activists and organizations from multiple movements and sectors shared their lived experiences through an intersectional feminist lens and identified opportunities for collective action.

This process was an opportunity to better understand how intersectionality works in practice. The following insights came from the shared knowledge that emerged from dialogue participants:

◆ Intersectionality beyond individual identities

Intersectionality should be used as an analytic tool to understand systems and structures of oppression rather than solely focusing on specific identities.

Intersecting layers of inequality are not only the product of multiple individual identities (class, race, sexual orientation and gender identity, migration status, nationality, age, disability, etc.) but are also the result of historical structures of inequality such as patriarchy, racism, neocolonialism, and economic exploitation.

In the dialogues, we analyzed how multiple identities and oppressions are experienced at an individual level and connected this reflection to the wider system in which individuals and organizations operate, underlining the systemic oppressions that are the root cause of all inequalities.

An example of this came from the grassroots organization *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha*, a group

⁹ See list of participants in Annex B.

of migrant women workers who harvest strawberries in southern Spain. They lost their jobs when they called out the exploitation and inhumane conditions they and their fellow workers faced. They saw the need to go beyond single-issue approaches, to move toward an understanding of various systems of domination in all their dimensions: individual, institutional, and historical.

“
We work from a feminist, environmental, and anti-racist perspective. We are determined to end decades of precariousness and oppression of Moroccan agricultural workers in Spain.
”

Ana Pinto, founder, *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha*.

◆ Addressing internal power dynamics

Intersectionality challenges us to address the power relations within organizations and shape the way they work.

Exploring intersecting structures of oppression in our societies has also challenged us to explore how privileges and disadvantages are lived out in our lives and our organizations. The dialogues offered safe spaces for reflection, to break down the meaning of intersectionality through personal and organizational experience.

One of the learnings is that self-reflection is crucial to deepening our understanding of intersectional practice. Self-reflection challenges us to explore how privileges and disadvantages function in our organizations. This is important work toward effective movement building that addresses power relations within our movements.

“

Creating intersectional movements must begin with our own organizations and communities. The starting point is within us, although it can be uncomfortable because it challenges power relations.

Nine, program manager, *Interrogating Borders and Their Impact on Women's Human Rights*, International Women's Rights Action Watch (IWRAP) Asia Pacific.

”

Intersectional practice should contribute to building trust and to having in-depth conversations because it invites us to view the world from the place of “the other,” putting other people in perspective.

◆ Building strong leadership

The intersectional approach contributes to building women's leadership in different movements.

One of the challenges that emerged from the dialogues is that an uncritical understanding of intersectionality can lead to tokenization and hyper focus on individual markers of identity. It is not only about who is at the table, but about our understanding of the structural roots of multiple, intersecting oppressions.

Intersectionality in practice entails sharing power and making space for all voices, thus strengthening the voices of migrant women as political agents in their fight for human rights.

The personal narratives of migrant women—their stories in their own words—make their experiences visible. Migrant women workers are using documentaries, films, songs, and poetry festivals as innovative ways to share their stories. Some examples shared in the dialogues included a film

made by an Ethiopian migrant domestic worker in Lebanon, and the songs and music videos created by a coalition of garment workers, sex workers, and farmers to show the exploitation suffered by internal migrants in Cambodia.

◆ Mainstream feminist organizations should acknowledge the intersectional realities of migrant women

It is important that feminist organizations include migrant women and LGBTIQ+ migrants on their agendas and in their organizations.

“

Feminists in this country are usually not aware that migration is also a gendered issue. We shouldn't talk about one feminism but multiple feminisms, to include other realities and identities that are mostly absent from traditional feminist spaces.

Carla Montero, a young activist from Bolivia living in Argentina and a member of #NiUnaMigranteMenos.

”

In the European dialogue, migrant trans sex workers said they have been historically excluded from both the mainstream European feminist movement and the migration debate.

“As migrant transgender people we remain invisible in the migration debate. There is a heteronormative model that we do not fit into and this is reflected in the migration policies and in the mainstream feminist movement.

Sabrina Sánchez, coordinator, International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE).

”

◆ **The intersection of racism and gender must be part of the debate on migration**

The intersection of gender, race, and migration is key to effective organizing and alliance building.

For example, in the case of some mainstream, white-dominated labor unions that do not contemplate care work as part of their demands:

“As a migrant domestic worker, especially being Black, we are totally discriminated against. I have experienced many difficulties and it has been very hard to become a leader as a migrant Black woman defending the rights of domestic workers.

Gilda Blanco, domestic worker from Guatemala living in the United States and a leader of the National Domestic Workers Alliance.

”

In the European dialogue, racism was a core component of the discussion. Some participants felt that the concept of intersectionality has been depoliticized and the issue of race has been erased. The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) saw a problematic color blindness in European social movements, with gender taking center stage and racism becoming a blurry companion. Participants stressed the importance of bringing race back into the discussion and explaining how it is related to migration.

◆ The Global South is reframing “intersectionality” from a non-Western perspective

We need a Global South understanding of intersectionality grounded in Global South experiences and movements

Dialogue participants saw the need for an autonomous understanding of intersectionality emerging from the Global South. Despite commonalities, intersectionality is context related. Multiple oppressions are experienced differently depending on how power structures operate in each region, country, and community.

The participants called for an autonomous understanding of intersectionality independent of academic concepts originating in the Global North.

For example, in Latin America, Indigenous women’s strategies for intersectional organizing include self-organization and creating autonomous narratives outside of Western paradigms. They are doing this organizing both in countries of destination and in their countries of origin, where some are forcibly returned.

◆ Ground intersectional organizing in lived experience

We must take a bottom-up approach grounded in real experiences.

Grassroots participants from both the Global South and North called for an approach grounded in their lives:

“ Intersectionality should not be only a theoretical framework. It needs to be understood as a lived experience.

Dawu Sehlaphi Sibanda, social justice activist, Zimbabwe.

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The terminology (intersectional feminism) is less important than how we apply this framework in practical ways in diverse contexts. This means starting from concrete political contexts and histories. We must center those realities rather than the more abstract theory by taking a bottom-up approach grounded in real experiences.

◆ Challenge the dominant discourse on migration policies

Decolonize the dominant narratives on policies migration.

Participants in the Africa dialogue expressed their concern about the dominant narratives on migration policy, which are determined by outside interests. They called for decolonizing the discourse on migration policies:

“ The narrative needs to be changed in Africa. Much of the migration policies and discourses are derived and driven from outside the continent. A lot has to do with the European Union’s agenda.

Takyiwaa Manuh, professor emerita, University of Ghana, Legon.

”

Participants challenged mainstream migration policy that seeks to manage migration flows to meet labor needs, instrumentalizing migrants’ labor while also securitizing borders and criminalizing those without documentation. Gender discrimination and racism also prevail in current migration policies. The dialogues helped shape an alternative paradigm to mainstream migration policy that centers not

only the human rights of migrants, but also a feminist intersectional approach. This means taking into account multiple discriminations, barriers in the access to rights and services, and structural inequalities. An alternative framework to migration should ensure specific measures to secure gender transformative policies, including the rights of LGBTIQ+ migrants, and sexual and reproductive rights, as well as challenging securitization and militarization policies that target racialized groups.

◆ Intersectional movement building

Intersectionality can strengthen our collective analysis toward shared advocacy and activism.

Participants in the dialogues came with different experiences of intersectional discrimination, but they all pointed to the importance of collective resistance and solidarity:

“ We are not divided based on our different identities. Intersectional identities unite us, as we can see more clearly how our struggles are interconnected and require our solidarity for united movement power.

Misun Woo, regional coordinator, Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD).

”

Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA), a South Asia-based group, has used intersectional organizing to mobilize women from the most marginalized sectors:

“ In India, informal women workers have joined with other social movements including trade unions, those mobilizing against the caste system, and women’s rights movements.

Sonia George, national vice president, SEWA.

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Activists shared their experience in intersectional organizing to promote the rights of migrant women workers. Fish Ip, Asia regional coordinator of the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), explained how domestic workers organized, spoke up, and were present in the negotiations for ILO Convention 189, the Domestic Workers Convention.

Francia Blanco is a former migrant domestic worker in Costa Rica and founder of SITRADOTRANS, a labor union defending the rights of transgender domestic workers in Nicaragua. Her organization is joining other labor groups to campaign for the ratification of C.190, the ILO Convention on Eliminating Violence and Harassment in the World of Work.

These testimonies show the power of migrant women's agency and collective action to change structural inequalities faced by migrant women. They evidenced how an intersectional feminist approach for movement building can contribute to questioning power dynamics that govern current global migration schemes.

◆ Climate, gender, and migration

Climate change, gender, and migration create intersectional challenges that need to be made more visible and addressed in policy.

During the Latin America dialogue, RESAMA, the South American network on climate-induced migration, noted the absence of an intersectional approach to gender, migration, and climate change in public policies and underscored the need for coalition building around these issues. Another testimony came from the Philippines:

“ We are linking the issue of climate change to migration and organizing those migrating due to climate so that their demands will be heard. We need to work with other feminist organizations to better understand the nexus of gender, climate change, and migration.

Derek Cabe, coordinator, Nuclear and Coal-Free Bataan Movement-Philippines (NCFBM).

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In the Middle East and North Africa, participants also addressed the intersection of migration, gender, climate, and labor:

“ We work with migrant domestic workers from the Global South. Most of them are Black or Indigenous, they come from rural areas, many of which are affected by climate change and global warming.

Roula Seghaier, strategic program coordinator, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), based in Tunisia.

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Strategies to address the climate crisis must acknowledge the interconnection of gender, racial, and climate injustice as land and livelihoods are impacted, and as people are forced to move. Building on these concerns raised in regional dialogues, WIMN has also worked to connect with climate justice feminist, migration, and labor movements on this issue.

In November 2021, during COP26 ¹⁰ WIMN issued a statement urging states and COP financial mechanisms to engage affected populations in all stages of policy development and implementation. We urged support for the resilience and adaptive capacities of all women and girls; and the strengthening of women and girls’ economic agency and access to sustainable livelihoods, along with that of racialized and other marginalized populations.

In 2022 at the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW66), the priority theme was “achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls in the context of climate change, environmental and disaster risk reduction policies and programmes.”

WIMN organized a parallel event, “Migration, Displacement and Women’s Human Rights in the Climate Crisis” on March 18, 2022, and included speakers representing diverse sectoral and regional perspectives. Panelists themselves embodied many intersectional identities, and they discussed the intersectionality of identities and cross-sectoral work in the context of climate and migration.

¹⁰ Conference of the Parties (COP) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

The panel convened multiple grassroots voices reflecting intersecting realities, including Indigenous communities on the border of Guatemala and Mexico; Honduran agricultural women workers from the banana sector affected by hurricanes; Caribbean LGBTQ+ people displaced by climate; internal rural-to-urban migrant women fleeing food insecurity in South Africa; and self-organized nurses and midwives working in camps hosting internally displaced persons in Nigeria.

Speakers described the challenges arising from a lack of gender-responsive, rights, and justice-based responses to displacement risks, as well as to climate-related migration and displacement. The event also discussed the root causes of displacement risk, structured by gender, racism, and colonialism and how the climate crisis exacerbates these risks.

“

Environmental climate change factors interact with other preexisting inequalities. There are inequalities that cause us as women to have different starting points depending on other intersecting identities, such as those of Indigenous women, rural women and Afro-descendant women. Some of these women do not have the option to migrate; it is not always financially possible for them to migrate.

Erika Pires Ramos, Rede Sul-Americana para as Migrações Ambientais (RESAMA), Brazil.

”

This dialogue was a starting point toward building a cross-sectoral agenda and joint action that brings together climate justice, feminist, and labor groups. The event paved the way for further discussion on how to address root causes of climate-related displacement, the desire of people to remain in their communities and on their land, as well as the realities and rights of those who are displaced.

“ Despite the different manifestations of the challenges women face, the clear message is that we need structural changes to tackle all these systemic issues, including the loss and damage caused by the climate crisis and the structural violence against women and migrants. We need to do this by building solidarities across different movements to address the multiple layers of inequality in order to achieve social justice and gender equality.

Ka Mei Lau, Asia Pacific Forum for Women, Law and Development (APWLD).

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This conversation reinforced the need for labor rights to be included in the intersection of gender, migration, and climate. Short-term responses to climate-induced migration, for example, may include temporary labor permits that do not offer long-term status, decent work, or freedom of association, thereby undermining workers' rights

Complementing the event held during CSW66, on January 19, 2023, WIMN organized the webinar “Migration, Displacement and Human Rights in West Asia and Asia Pacific regions: the Climate Crisis and its Impact on Women's Livelihoods”. A panel of women leaders then spoke to the main challenges women are facing due to the climate crisis and their experiences in organizing and responding to these challenges.

Panelists shared examples of strategies led by organized women to address the devastating impacts of climate change including: conserving and restoring the forest; documenting the challenges and thinking collectively about the future; raising awareness; developing new ways to preserve food and collect water, among others. While gendered impacts of climate change are specific and contextual, panelists shared that many women face similar situations in very different contexts when confronting those impacts. These common struggles and subsequent policy demands are useful to build collaboration, even while appreciating local nuances.

◆ Labor Rights from an intersectional feminist approach

Migrant women workers experience multiple oppressions, often working in undervalued sectors such as the care sector or the garment industry. Labor exploitation is gendered and racialized.

As part of the Bridging Gender and Migration project, WIMN joined the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW); the Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID); Focus on Labour Exploitation (FLEX); and the Solidarity Center to share knowledge and learn from each other through the series Feminist Fridays: Conversations about Labour Migration from an Intersectional Feminist Lens. Six sessions were held from April to August 2021. Starting with a discussion on “what is a feminist intersectional lens on labor migration,” the sessions moved on to focus on feminist research, advocacy, organizing, and media. The final session called on participants to imagine a feminist future on labor migration. Panelists came from NGOs, migrant-worker-led organizations, trade unions, academia, and the media.

Participants shared their experiences, including those of Bolivian women working in the garment sector in Argentina, internal migrant domestic workers in India, and migrant informal traders in Ghana. They showed how gender, race, caste, age, rural origin, and economic situation intersect to form specific forms of oppression for migrant women workers.

The Feminist Fridays’ dialogues underscored the need for intersectional feminist politics around labor migration to challenge neoliberal economic paradigms that increase precariousness. We need to recognize and promote political leadership by women from Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific who are at the forefront of this struggle—an approach originating in the Global South that conceptualizes global governance as a contested political process.



◆◆ Part 3 ◆◆

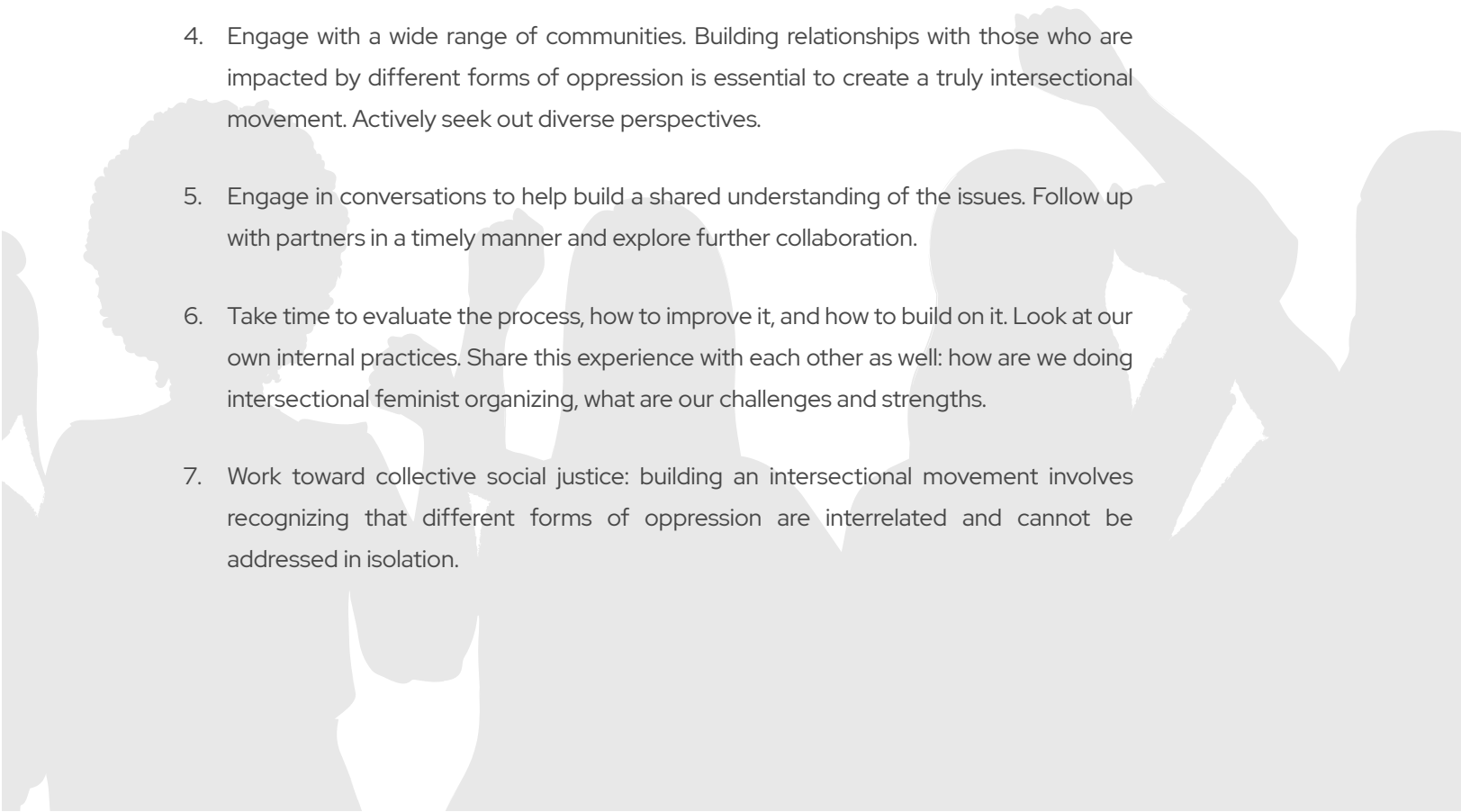
Moving Forward on Intersectional Feminist Organizing around Migration



Part 2 enumerates key approaches to intersectional feminist organizing from the perspective of women in migration. The testimonies show the power of migrant women’s agency and collective action to change structural inequalities faced by migrant women and evidence how a feminist intersectional approach for movement building can contribute to questioning power dynamics that govern current global migration schemes.

As WIMN looks toward developing an alternative intersectional feminist migration policy agenda with partners, **we build on this experience with some emerging insights:**

1. Connect multiple identities and oppressions that are experienced at an individual level to a reflection of the wider system in which individuals and organizations operate, underlining the systemic oppressions that are the root cause of all inequalities.
2. Avoid tokenism. Start talking about migrants as political actors and not a problem to be solved. Challenge the “othering” narratives that divide people.
3. Take the time for relationship building across organizations and sectors. Work intentionally to build cross-sectoral coalitions and alliances (anti-racist, migrant rights, feminist, climate justice, labor, LGBTIQ+, disability rights, and others).
4. Engage with a wide range of communities. Building relationships with those who are impacted by different forms of oppression is essential to create a truly intersectional movement. Actively seek out diverse perspectives.
5. Engage in conversations to help build a shared understanding of the issues. Follow up with partners in a timely manner and explore further collaboration.
6. Take time to evaluate the process, how to improve it, and how to build on it. Look at our own internal practices. Share this experience with each other as well: how are we doing intersectional feminist organizing, what are our challenges and strengths.
7. Work toward collective social justice: building an intersectional movement involves recognizing that different forms of oppression are interrelated and cannot be addressed in isolation.



Annex A:

Co-organizers

The following organizations were part of the planning teams that co-organized the regional dialogues.

Latin America dialogue (July 2021):

- WIMN members: Instituto para las Mujeres en la Migración (IMUMI); Comisión Argentina para Refugiados y Migrantes (CAREF); Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW)
- Allied organization: International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF)

Africa dialogue (August 2021):

- WIMN members: Pan African Network in Defense of Migrants' Rights (PANiDMR); Solidarity Center

Asia dialogue (September 2021):

- WIMN members: Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW); Solidarity Center
- Allied organizations: Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network (APRRN); Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD); Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA)

Europe dialogue (September 2021):

- WIMN members: Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM); Women in Development Europe+ (WIDE+); Rights Equality Solidarity Power Europe Co-operation Today (RESPECT) Network; Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW)
- Allied organizations: European Network Against Racism (ENAR); European Sex Workers' Rights Alliance (ESWA)

Middle East and North Africa dialogue (November 2021):

- WIMN member: Solidarity Center
- Allied organizations: International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF); Anti-Racism Movement (ARM)

Annex B:

List of Regional Dialogue Participants

Latin America dialogue

- AfroResistance (United States)
- Alianza Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar (ANTH) (United States)
- Asociación de Trabajadoras Domésticas (ASTRADOMES) (Costa Rica)
- Asociación Pop No'j (Guatemala)
- Caribe Afirmativo (Southern Cone)
- Colectiva Sororidad Glocal (Mexico)
- Colectivo de Mujeres Transnacionales (United States)
- Colectivo Identidad Marrón (Argentina)
- Deportados Unidos en la Lucha (DUL) (Mexico)
- Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) (global)
- DREAMers' MOMS (Mexico)
- Espacios de la Mujer (Colombia)
- Formación y Capacitación (FOCA) (Mexico)
- Fundación para la Justicia y el Estado Democrático de Derecho (FJEDD) (Mexico)
- La Rosa Naranja (Argentina)
- National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR) (United States)
- Ni Una Migrante Menos (Argentina)
- Organización Mundial de la Prosperidad en Oaxaca (Mexico)
- Radio Victoria (El Salvador)
- RED Mesoamericana Mujer, Salud y Migración (RMMSyM) (Central America and Mexico)
- Red Sudamericana para las Migraciones Ambientales (RESAMA) (Brazil)
- Sindicato de Trabajadoras Domésticas Transgénero (SITRADOVTRANS) (Nicaragua)
- Sindicato de Trabalhadores Domésticos do Município de São Paulo (STDMSp) (Brazil)
- Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadoras del Servicio Doméstico (SINTRASEDOM) (Colombia)

Africa dialogue

- African Foundation for Development (AFFORD) (UK diaspora)
- African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) (Kenya)
- Africans Rising for Unity, Justice, Peace & Dignity (Gambia)
- Centre for Migration Studies (CMS), University of Ghana
- Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL) (South Africa)
- FemWise-Africa (regional)
- International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) (global)

- Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT) (Ghana)
- NYASA Rainbow Alliance (Malawi)
- PASSOP (South Africa)
- Réseau Paix et Sécurité pour les Femmes de l'Espace (CEDEAO) (Senegal)
- Réseau Jeunes Sahéliens pour le Climat (Burkina Faso)
- Réseau MUSONET (Mali)
- Trade Collective Organization (South Africa)
- Mediterranean Sub-Saharan Migration Trade. Union Network (RSMMS) (regional)
- Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA Uganda) (Uganda)
- Union Fait La Force (UFF) (Benin)

- Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail (UGTT) (Tunisia)

Academics and feminist activists:

- Alice Ncube, lecturer at University of the Free State (South Africa)
- Charmaine Pereira, feminist activist (Nigeria)
- Dawu Sehlaphi Sibanda, social justice activist (Zimbabwe)
- Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, UN Special Rapporteur on Trafficking
- Siha Tabitha, feminist activist (Uganda)

Europe dialogue

- Calala Fondo de Mujeres (Spain)
- Creating Arts and Alternatives Together (CAAT) (Netherlands)
- Equinox (UK)
- European Network Against Racism (ENAR) (Belgium)
- European Sex Workers' Rights Alliance (ESWA) (Netherlands)
- Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) (Thailand)
- Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha (Spain)
- Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI) (Ireland)
- MiRA Resource Centre for Black, Immigrant and Refugee Women (Norway)
- Mujeres Supervivientes (Spain)
- Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) (Belgium)
- Quaker Council for European Affairs (Belgium)
- Rights Equality Solidarity Power Europe Co-operation Today (RESPECT) Network (Netherlands)
- Women in Development Europe+ (WIDE+) (Belgium)
- Women Now (Spain)
- WO=MEN Dutch Gender Platform (Netherlands)

Middle East and North Africa dialogue

- National Association of Lawyers, ANJAM (Morocco)
- Al Hassan Workers' Center (Jordan)
- Association El Amane (Morocco)
- Association Najdeh (Lebanon)
- Association Tafoukt Souss (Morocco)
- Association Tawaza (Morocco)
- Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (Egypt)
- Coalition Israr (Morocco)
- Cross-Regional Center for Refugees and Migrants (Lebanon)
- Domestic Workers' Solidarity Network (Jordan)
- Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR) (Egypt)
- General Federation of Workers Trade Unions in Bahrain (Bahrain)
- General Trade Union of Workers in Health Services (Morocco)
- Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW)
- Jordanian Women's Union (Jordan)
- Jossour Forum des Femmes Marocaines (Morocco)
- KAFA (Lebanon)
- Kuwait Trade Union Federation (Kuwait)
- L'association Forum des Contributions (Morocco)
- Migrants Rights (Gulf)
- Mouvement Alternatives Citoyenne (ALCI) (Morocco)
- Sadaqa (Jordan)
- Sandigan Kuwait (Kuwait)
- Tafawoq Consulting Center for Development (Bahrain)
- Takatoat (Jordan)
- The A Project (Lebanon)

Asia and the Pacific dialogue

- Aaprabasi Mahila Kamdar Samuha (AMKAS) (Nepal)
- Asia Floor Wage Alliance (regional)
- Awaj Foundation (Bangladesh)
- Bangladesh Independent Garment Workers Union Federation (BIGUF) (Bangladesh)
- Bangladesh Nari Sramik Kendra (Bangladesh Women Workers Association [BNSK]) (Bangladesh)
- Equal Asia Foundation (Thailand)
- Forcibly Displaced People Network (Australia)
- General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions (GEFONT) (Nepal)
- International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) (global)
- International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA) (global)
- International Migrants Alliance (IMA) (global)
- International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia Pacific (IWRAP Asia Pacific) (Malaysia)
- Media Advocacy Group (MAG) (Nepal)
- Migrante International (Philippines)
- Nalini Nayak (India)
- Nepal Trade Union Congress (Nepal)

- Nuclear and Coal-Free Bataan Movement (Philippines)
- Powershift Nepal (Nepal)
- SANGRAM (Sampada Grameen Mahila Sanstha) (India)
- Society of Transsexual Women of the Philippines (STRAP)
- Youth Advocates for Climate Action Philippines (Philippines)
- Yvonne Te Ruki Rangi o Tangaroa Underhill-Se, associate professor at University of Auckland (New Zealand)

Annex C:

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Resources

Videos from the Social Media Campaign “*Bridging Gender and Migration*” (Women in Migration Network - WIMN):

- ▶ Multiple Oppressions
- ▶ Labor rights
- ▶ Regularizations

Interactive Global Map of organizations working on gender and migration (Women in Migration Network- WIMN). [Explore the map](#)

Principles for Intersectionality in Social Change Work (program ‘Reducing Inequalities through Intersectional Practice’ - Robert Bosch Foundation - RBSG) [Visit the website](#)

E-booklet *The Transformative Power of Intersectionality* (program ‘Reducing Inequalities through Intersectional Practice’ - Robert Bosch Foundation - RBSG) [Learn more](#)

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