

# Queer Diaspora Hip Hop as ‘Nu Caribbean Feminism’: Tracing the Intersectional Politics of Las Krudas Cubensi

Julia Roth

## Abstract:

In gender studies and the social sciences more generally, theorizing on intersectionality is reduced to certain academic written genres. Theory is further usually understood as being “owned” by the global North, having the global South as its “empirical” object. This article examines how the genre of Hip Hop functions as a site from where to create a musical space for negotiating the interdependent inequalities caused by racism, sexism, homophobia and coloniality. It discusses song lyrics, interviews and performances of the Afro-Cuban queer-of-Diaspora band Las Krudas Cubensi, who link the intersecting axes of stratification they denounce to the Caribbean as a space where transnational/intersectional exchange and exploitation but also resisting/decolonial knowledges and practices have been a reality for centuries. They hence trace the concept of “intersectionality” back to its radical and political roots and link intersections on the micro level of categorical oppression to the macro level of the colonial legacy of global inequalities and moreover claim Cuba and the Caribbean as a space of queer-feminist, anti-racist knowledge and intervention.

Musicians Odaymara Cuesta (Pesita) and Odalys Cuesta (Wanda) explain their name “Las Krudas Cubensi” as follows: “Cubensi means everything that’s Cuban. For us it means we’re pure Cuba, that’s *Cubensi*”.<sup>1</sup> On the band’s website, Las Krudas substantiate the meaning of their name, clearly underscoring the Caribbean and Cuban origin, and at the same time claiming a transnational space by “representing the world” (spelling as in the original):

Kruda in Cuba means raw, unprocessed, unrefined, natural, real, deep. When we migrate to this mexican american land from Cuba we learned krudas also

means hangover with the next day's effects, not only alcohol effects but everything in this life's effects, especially our own Cubensi identity's effects. Cubensis is a latin word that defines some caribbean area native species. [...] Krudas Cubensi: The raw ones native from Cuba and the Caribbean representing in the world. They bring Cubensi Hip Hop, Dance Hall, Old School, Mixtapes and New Strongly Beautiful Beats from all around the World with their Amazing Rebel Lyrics & Afro Caribbean Voices to empower the community.<sup>2</sup>

This statement clearly underscores the manifold influences of Las Krudas' musical style. Las Krudas' self-positioning as "native from Cuba and the Caribbean representing in the world ... to empower the community" leads me to one of the aspects I would like to elaborate on in this paper: the ways in which Las Krudas bring the local position of their Afro-Cuban identities into dialogue with a transnational politics of solidarity. This paper is interested in the ways in which Las Krudas create a transnational sonic and discursive space that transcends geographical, national, and cultural boundaries. Discussing song lyrics, interviews and performances of Las Krudas Cubensi, the paper's second objective is to examine how the queer Afro-Cuban band uses the genre of Hip Hop as a site from where to create a musical space for negotiating the interdependent inequalities caused by racism, sexism, homophobia and coloniality.<sup>3</sup>

The simultaneous articulation of such different axes of oppression has recently been discussed in Western feminist theorizing and academic discourses under the concept of "intersectionality." The term "intersectionality" had first been used by African America lawyer Kimberlé Crenshaw for a concrete juridical case of discrimination against African American women by the car company General Motors in 1989 in order to find juridical terms to address the double discrimination these women experienced.<sup>4</sup> It goes back to earlier interventions predominantly by feminists of color who had been criticizing one-dimensional feminist politics with the universal aim of representing all women. Since Crenshaw first used the term, the concept has travelled to different places and means different things in different contexts. In Western European and US-American feminist theorizing, "intersectionality" has become a fashionable term and concept, to which according to Zapata Galindo one

has to cater if one wants to make a “career” as a feminist. Oftentimes, “intersectionality” is used as a new paradigm, a catch-all-term and/or a sort of research method or design in order to pay credit to the “intersectional” character of different and varying “axes of difference”, trying to fix and define the categories relevant for “intersectional research”.<sup>5</sup> This paper departs from the notion that rather than a method or research design, an “intersectional” perspectivisation might serve as a sort of “epistemic sensibilization” in order to avoid the continuation and re-inscription of power hierarchies within feminism(s), that is, of privileged feminists from the so-called “Global North” theorizing and defining the oppression of women of the so-called “Global South” without actively working towards the overcoming of the underlying (material/epistemic/knowledge/ representational) power hierarchies.<sup>6</sup>

Since, as Martha Zapata Galindo has claimed, it is thus necessary to “put Latin America on the cartography of intersectionality”<sup>7</sup>, I would argue that Las Krudas are among the protagonists of such a discourse – even if the term “intersectionality” and the ways in which it has travelled and been applied is inarguably ambiguous. This essay is interested in the ways in which radical Caribbean feminists like Las Krudas thereby trace “intersectionality” back to its radical and political roots. Las Krudas further link the intersecting axes of oppression they denounce to the Caribbean as a space where transnational/intersectional exchange and exploitation but also resisting/decolonial knowledges and practices have been a reality for centuries and the object of feminist struggle and theorizing.<sup>8</sup> Seen through the lens which such interventions enforce, current inequalities appear as inseparably entangled with and marked by historical processes such as coloniality, the transatlantic slave trade and the related asymmetries of power and representation, the legacies of which still mark global inequalities today. Their songs also evoke a long history of resistance against colonial rule, enslavement, and racist oppression.

## 1. From Cuba ...

The all-female Hip-Hop band Las Krudas Cubensi originally consisted of Odaymara Cuesta (Pesita), Olivia Prendes (Pelusa) and Odalys Cuesta (Wanda) who left the

***EnterText*, Special Issue on “Crossing Thresholds: Gender and Decoloniality in Caribbean Knowledge,” 12 (2018): 123-145**

band some years ago. The three artists were co-founders of the first post-revolutionary Havana-based Black lesbian-run organization *OREMI* (= close friend in Yoruba) in 1996. In 1997, they united as the street theatre group *Agrupación de Creación Alternativa CUBENSI* and performed in the streets of Havana. As Las Krudas themselves put it,<sup>9</sup> they started to “revolutionize” in the streets, hence situating their politics clearly within the rhetoric of the continuing process of the revolution as claimed by Fidel Castro in his famous 1961 speech to the intellectuals.<sup>10</sup> The group became internationally known under the name of their street theatre group *Tropazancos*. However, being dependent on the donations by tourists in the street made it difficult for them to survive.

In 1998, Las Krudas performed for the first time at the Cuban Hip Hop festival in Havana, which the Cuban state had been supporting since the end of the 1990s via the agency of Rap and Hip Hop. This agency was founded at the end of the 1990s during the so-called “special period” marked by a severe economic (and ideological) crisis on the island following the downfall of the Soviet Union. Hip Hop arrived at the island from Miami, where many Cubans escaped to from the hardships of this period and soon became a welcome art form for young *raperos* (rappers) to express their frustration.

What is today labeled Hip Hop originated as a collective art form including MC-ing, DJ-ing, break dance and graffiti in the late 1970s in the New York neighborhood of the Bronx. Hip Hop was influenced by a broad range of musical styles, among them call and response typical for Jazz, but also for African Griots. Actually, Hip Hop was from the outset deeply influenced by the African Diaspora: early artists such as DJ Kool Herc brought Jamaican influences like the sound system to the Bronx, and Afrika Bambaata was deeply influenced by a journey to Africa and the resistance of the Zulu community against British colonial rule. He dedicated his music with his band Zulu Nation to a transnational understanding of anti-racist struggle and to underscoring the African roots and routes of their cultures, music, and resistance.

In the 1990s, and with the growing commercialization of the genre, gangsta rap emerged. This subversion of the genre came with numerous artists celebrating violence, sexism, consumerism and homophobia. At the same time, a growing

number of female and feminist artists like Lauryn Hill, Missy Elliot or M.I.A. entered the scene, later also numerous queer artists such as Mykki Blanco, Angel Haze or Lady Sovereign. During the 1990s the term Hip Hop Feminism emerged.<sup>11</sup> In her 2006 book *From Black Power to Hip Hop*, sociologist Patricia Hill Collins even considers the genre a new form of feminist intervention reaching beyond narrow academic elite circles, which have become predominant since the institutionalization of feminist and gender studies.<sup>12</sup> Following Hill Collins Hip Hop serves to express an everyday feminism hardly thematized in university classes, and as a critique of normative feminisms using the mass media as classroom. Moreover, a scene of politically conscious rappers and of non-commercial or alternative/collective projects like Odd Future emerged. As Tricia Rose puts it in her landmark study *The Hip Hop Wars* (2008), the “hyper-gangstarization” of Hip Hop with the ascending sales numbers caricaturing black masculinity cater to persistent racist stereotypes in US society and thus turning debates about Hip Hop into a “means for defining poor, young black people and thus for interpreting the context and reasons for their disadvantaged lives.”<sup>13</sup> Rose thus considers a contextualization of the structural conditions for Hip Hop to be crucial and shows that a genre cannot *per se* follow a certain political agenda. Rather, as numerous alternative artists and projects indicate, Hip Hop can be appropriated and change meaning.

After first considering rap and Hip Hop as a commercial and decadent form of the ideological enemy, the government in Cuba realized that its support of subculture would at once serve its image abroad and enable control with regard to oppositional texts in subculture. The 1990s saw an impressive Hip Hop movement on the island which created new public spaces for social critique.<sup>14</sup> After a real hype of Cuban Hip-Hop in the late 1990s, however, the agency became subordinated to the Instituto Cubano de Música (Cuban Music Institute) in 2001. The genre of Reggaetón had obviously proven more economically effective and less politically subversive than Hip-Hop.

Female artists participated in the rapidly growing Cuban Hip-Hop scene from its beginning in the early 1990s. While there were no female rappers at the first Hip Hop festival held in Havana in 1995, already the second festival could count on performances by the all-female group Instinto and the rapper Magia MC, who was

part of the duo Obsesión. Since then, the number of female Hip Hop artists has continuously been increasing and diversifying in Cuba.<sup>15</sup>

By addressing homophobia and heterosexism in Cuban society, Las Krudas even went beyond a one-issue critique of sexism. They early on claimed and created a public space for the closely intertwined problems of racism, sexism and homophobia that had heretofore been subsumed and marginalized under the revolutionary rhetoric of an all-successful social revolution that presumably did away with all inequalities in Cuban society. During the so-called “special period” it became more and more obvious that especially with regard to gender and racial inequalities this revolutionary promise of equality did not hold true. Due to their still subordinate status, women and blacks became the most vulnerable group affected by the economic mega-crisis that hit the island after the fall of the Soviet Empire and its support, not to mention the situation of black women and non-heterosexual women. As an out-lesbian Afro-descendant band, Las Krudas added a significant dimension to Cuban public discourse, as they addressed topics of gender violence and homophobia as well as racist hegemonic beauty ideals. They have especially pointed to the situation of multiple marginalization and exploitation experienced by black women in a society marked by growing racial and gender inequalities catered by a transnational (sex) tourism industry. Tourism brochures as well as sex tourism blogs have been catering images of black Cuban women as good dancers and lovers, and Cuba has become increasingly dependent on opening up to the tourism market since the 1990s and the collapse of the Soviet Union. For multiply marginalized black women (and men!), prostitution often provides one of the few ways of access to the convertible peso.<sup>16</sup> Since the “special period”, racist and sexist stereotypes are increasingly revived and exploited by Western sex tourists who fulfill the desires oftentimes not available to them in their own societies: in the global South their class and white racial capital outweighs their disadvantages with regard to age and attractiveness. Their desires are mostly marked by racist colonial fantasies of black bodies as available, lustful and exploitable, and they see prostitution hence not as a business based on harsh inequalities, but rather as “what comes naturally” to the perambulated people.

In their songs and in their lyrics Las Krudas promote alternative body and

gender politics e.g. in their songs “Eres Bella” and “Candela”, which celebrate black bodies as beautiful. They call women to work against the false colonial consciousness geared to a white and slim beauty ideal, and for the overcoming of heteronormative thinking. While some of their early texts address the particular inequalities within Cuban society, Las Krudas relate them to global ones, and, more importantly, a colonial legacy that they see as deeply marking today’s structures of inequalities in the Caribbean. By pointing at the systemic character of such oppressions, Las Krudas not only address Cuban society, but transnational audiences for whose solidarity they appeal.

## 2. ... International ...

In 2006, Las Krudas migrated to the US, but they return regularly to the island to perform and keep up the dialogue with the Hip Hop scene as well as with Afro-Cuban feminists. Sandra Abd’Allah-Àlvarez Ramírez even speaks of Las Krudas’s function as “the motor of Cuban feminism”.<sup>17</sup> It is noteworthy how Las Krudas Cubensi construct the *Cubanidad* (“Cubanness”) expressed in the second part of their band name “Cubensi” (referring to Cuba/the Cuban/Cubanidad) as a clearly transnational locus of enunciation, an imagined space and identity that reaches beyond national and cultural boundaries with which the band identifies even though the artists have physically left the island. Hence, for Las Krudas, Cuban identity represents an attitude informed by socialisation rather than an essence. Cuban identity for them is closely linked to musical aesthetics, as Olivia Prendes puts it in an interview to *The Postcolonialist*:

Olivia: El sueño de socialismo nos influencio para siempre y la música cubana está dentro de nuestros cuerpos. El aire del Caribe siempre estará refrescándonos, las ideas de justicia social, equidad y resistencia inundaran siempre los acordes y melodías de nuestras canciones. Desde que comenzamos en Cuba y todavía aun en tierras americanas la sustentabilidad y la autonomía siempre nos acompañan.<sup>18</sup>

(The dream of socialism has influenced us forever and Cuban music is inside

our bodies. The Caribbean air will always refresh us, the ideas of social justice, equality and resistance will always outpour on the chords and melodies of our songs. Since we started in Cuba and also still on American soil, the sustainability and autonomy accompany us.)

Through their music and their performances and rap workshops, Las Krudas carry this described posture of resistance to various places and spaces. Their song “Resistiendo” provides a showcase example of their music’s and politics’ transnational focus dedicated to the overcoming of injustices everywhere:

Las mujeres Resistiendo.	(Women, Resisting.
Emigrante Resistiendo	Migrant, Resisting
Black people Resistiendo	Black people, Resisting
Cuban people Resisting	Cuban people, Resisting
Queer people Resistiendo	Queer people, Resisting
El Caribe Resistiendo	The Caribbean, Resisting
Black sister Resistiendo	Black Sister, Resisting
Krudas Cubensi Resistiendo	Krudas Cubensi, Resisting
Krudas Cubensi	Krudas Cubensi
<b>de Cuba Internacional,</b>	<b>from Cuba International,</b>
Krudas Cubensi	Krudas Cubensi
Esto es <b>Nu Caribbean</b>	This is <b>New Caribbean</b>
<b>Feminism,</b> Nu Caribbean	<b>Feminism,</b> New Caribbean
Feminism. <sup>19</sup>	Feminism.”)

A transnational and transcultural focus is expressed on various levels in this song, hence implicitly resisting also notions of cultural unity or linearity. Firstly, on the level of language: the bilingual text and the combination of Spanish and English terms (such as “Nu Caribbean Feminism”) is a reminder of the textual strategies of Chicana authors and theorists like Gloria Anzaldúa – who has described her technique as a “bastard language”, “the language of the Borderlands”<sup>20</sup> – Cherrie Moraga or of Coco Fusco’s “English is broken her”.<sup>21</sup> However, in Las Krudas’ lyrics, Spanish is the basic language and English terms are only inserted functionally and alongside Yoruban (Afro-Cuban) and Tainó (Indigenous Cuban) terms and references (such as

saints/gods) that define a Caribbean *Borderland* as their (linguistic) “home”.

A second transnationalisation – or “creolization” – is expressed on the musical level: by fusing different styles (here: Arabic/Indian elements) and the inclusion of bata drums, Las Krudas create a multivocal, transgressive aesthetics. Furthermore, Las Krudas express a claim for transnational solidarity on the textual level: at the beginning of performing “Resistiendo”, they position themselves as “Las Krudas, de Cuba, para el mundo, internacionales, presentes “ (Las Krudas, from Cuba, for the world, international, present) and then – in varying versions according to the place of performance – name the places and spaces they include in their struggle of resistance: “Cuba, Colombia, Ghana, Australia, China, Russia” (English in the original).<sup>22</sup>

### 3. ... (more than) Intersectional

As in “Resistiendo”, Las Krudas continuously refer to their Afro-Cuban heritage as a product of a Black Atlantic culture rooted in the violent transatlantic slave trade and European colonialism. They simultaneously stress the related transnational Black cultures of resistance. It seems to be no coincidence that they choose music as their medium and Hip Hop as their genre, as both forms have a long tradition in black cultures. Las Krudas not only capture and appropriate the genre of Hip Hop for their queer-feminist empowerment, agency and cultural critique, but also perform an “intersectional” politics by underscoring the interrelated and interdependent character of different axes of stratification and oppression. At the same time, they thus bring Hip Hop back to its political and communal roots. Their performances are a reminder that the art form developed in the late 1960s in the New York district of the Bronx as a protest culture against impoverished Black neighborhoods in the US influenced immensely by the musical elements introduced by Caribbean migrants. They also relate intersectional feminist politics to a radical political tradition of resistance and intervention in the spirit of the Combahee River Collective and many of their historical forerunners. The genre of Hip Hop enables further to “democratize” such discourses by bringing them back to the streets, a function Patricia Hill Collins has ascribed feminist Hip Hop in the US. Las Krudas emphasized this heritage in an interview I

was able to have with them in May 2014 in Austin Texas. When I asked them how they use and re-signify the originally US-American form of Hip Hop, they replied the following:

Olivia Prendes: Qué vienes del norte, yo sé que no es así, del Caribe pa' todo el mundo, y en Cuba te conocí! - Es un lírica de los del Hip Hop.

(That you're from the North – I know that it's not true, from the Caribbean for all the World, and in Cuba I got to know you!" - That's a Hip Hop lyrics)

Odaymara Cuesta: Yo siento que aquí en Estados Unidos fue donde se comercializo el Hip Hop, donde se lo puso cultura Hip Hop. Pero para mi yo pienso que mucho antes de eso existen comunidades que cuentan a través de la música y a través de la historia entera de cómo contar qué pasó, como contar que va venir la lluvia. Que contar historias. De curación, de crear comunidades, fortalecer. Yo pienso que siempre ha existido, mucho antes que el dato que dicen que surgió el Hip Hop en los Estados Unidos. Al mismo tiempo reconozco que fue en este país donde se lo dio un empuje a eso, que lo oficializaron como movimiento de Hip Hop, y se lo puso dinero, y se lo puso marca y se ...

(I feel that it was here in the United States where Hip Hop was commercialized, where Hip Hop culture emerged. For me, I think that long before that communities have existed that tell through their music and though the entire history how to tell what happened, how to tell that the rain will come. Tell stories. Of healing, of community building, empowerment. I think that has always existed, long before Hip Hop came up in the United States. At the same time I recognize that it was in this country that it has given a push, that they made it official as Hip Hop movement, money was put into it, it was given a label, and it ...)

OP: ... capitalizó!

(... got commercialized!)

OC: ... se capitalizó la cultura Hip Hop. Yo pienso que ahora después de muchos años que existe, en muchos países, en lugares remotos e inimaginados, muchas personas hacen Rap, hacen Hip Hop, cuentan su vida, su diario a través de rima, de música, poesía, y es como, es realmente un género esta internacionalizado mucho, mucho, muchas variantes, mucho vertientes, muchas maneras de hacerlo, muy diverso. Y para nosotras es como, no sé, la música con la que puedo ser yo, yo siento. En la manera en la que hago, en la manera que yo expreso. Y el tipo de Hip Hop que me gusta escuchar. (...) No es ni Hip Hop, es como música de liberación, no sé, otro género, porque tenemos tantas tópicos, tantas mezclas dentro de esa música. Es como Hip Hop, música de los barrios, música de la gente para expresar so incomodidad, como se siente, contra el sistema ... hablamos de temáticas queer, de migrantes, como somos diferentes. Una mezcla bien interesante, bien alternativa, bien diversa.

(... Hip Hop got commercialized! I think that now after many years that it has been existing, in many countries, in far and unimagined places, many people practice rap, make Hip Hop, tell their lives, their lives via rhymes, music, poetry, and it's like really, as if a genre is internationalizing very much, many, many more variants, many forms, many ways of doing it, very diverse. And for us, I don't know, it's the music in which I can be me, I feel. It's the music in which I do, in which I express myself. And the type of Hip Hop I like to listen to. (...) It's not even Hip Hop, it's music of liberation, I don't know, another genre, because we have so many topics, so many blendings within this music. It's like Hip Hop, music of the streets, music of the people to express their feeling uncomfortable, how they feel, against the system (...) we talk about queer topics, of migrants, how we are different. A very interesting mix, very alternative, very diverse.)

Las Krudas thus on the one hand claim Hip Hop as an originally Afro/Caribbean art form, and, on the other hand, underscore its transnational and transcultural

***EnterText*, Special Issue on “Crossing Thresholds: Gender and Decoloniality in Caribbean Knowledge,” 12 (2018): 123-145**

character. Within Cuba, Las Krudas predominantly put hegemonic body politics and beauty ideals under scrutiny (see e.g. their songs “La gorda”, celebrating round black bodies or “Eres bella”). While they were still on the island, the musicians continuously also underscored their class background by pointing at their precarious financial situation and the poor black neighborhoods of Havana and Guantánamo as their homes. Numerous of their texts, performances and interviews point to a strategic identity politics, using their personal experience as a starting point for their critique. Simultaneously, however, Las Krudas go beyond pure identity politics and promote a sort of “strategic essentialism” in order to create transnational/cultural/identical solidarities. As becomes obvious in the lyrics of “Resistiendo”, Las Krudas construct their “Nu Caribbean Feminism” as a project addressing entangled axes of oppression, uniting “women, migrants, black, people, queer people, the Caribbean, black feminism (black sister)” and calling for solidarity beyond pure identity politics and national, “ethnic”, sexual or cultural boundaries, for which their music constructs an (aesthetic) space. In the song “Mi cupero es mio” (My body is mine) they apply a similar intersectional politics by claiming “we are the worker class, we are the color, but also we are womyn” to then in the refrain underscore their multi-sited identity as “Afro-Latin-American and Caribbean, pride for my people and owner of my body” (in the original: “Afro-Latino-Americana y Caribeña, orgullo de mi gente y de mi cuerpo dueña”).<sup>23</sup> Asked in the interview by *The Postcolonialist* how they perceive the intersection between negritude or *mestizaje* and the arts in today’s Cuba, Olivia Prendes underscores Native and African cultures as the basis of their art and claim their role as “world ambassadors”:

Olivia: Más que intersección, las culturas nativas y africanas son la base y sostén de toda la cultura caribeña y más allá. No solo en el arte y en las palabras; puedes sentirlo también en las actitudes, en los colores, en el aire, en la gestualidad, en el olor, en todas partes. Muchos han sido los intentos y violencias del eurocentrismo y del ‘norcentrismo,’ pero la realidad sigue ahí, palpitando en el centro de nuestras vidas, aunque estemos lejos del lugar, desde la diáspora continuamos representando nuestra identidad siendo embajadoras alrededor del mundo, y manteniendo este fuego vivo.<sup>24</sup>

(More than intersection, the Native and African cultures are the base and pillar

of all Caribbean cultures and beyond. Not only in art and words; you can feel it also in the attitudes, in the colours, in the air, in the gesticulation, the odour, everywhere. The attempts and violences of Eurocentrism and of “north-centrism” have been multiple, but the reality goes on there, beating in the centre of our lives, even though we’re far away from there, from the Diaspora we continue to represent our identity as ambassadors around the world and keep this fire alive.)

Las Krudas contradict, scrutinize and challenge racialized and gendered stereotypes of Caribbeanness. By positioning Cuba and the Caribbean as a locus and space of queer knowledge production and intervention and themselves as “world ambassadors” creating a new space of resistance and resonance beyond geographical, national and cultural boundaries, Las Krudas’ songs question the singularity and exclusivity of relevant Hip-Hop and critical gender knowledge as being produced solely and unquestionably in the US-American and European centers. Hegemonic hierarchies regarding media access cater to this asymmetry.

#### **4. ... “Postcolonial Piracy” – The Coloniality of Media Distribution Media from Below ...**

In order to enter and intervene into such privileged discourses, Cuban Hip Hoppers like Las Krudas who (from the island) had no access to the international music market marked by the dominance of the US culture industry have been applying alternative media strategies. Bands like Las Krudas use the internet and social media – a space highly dominated by the US-American communication industry – for their gender-queer conversions and re-definitions. They practice what Ramon Lobato has referred to as “postcolonial piracy,” dedicated to “media redistribution from below” of knowledge and cultural goods that would otherwise have no chance to reach the market or gain access to cultural-political participation and representation in an unequal world system.<sup>25</sup> Many musicians in Cuba (and other marginalized spaces) have begun to produce their own disks with foreign funding and help from friends. They mostly use the internet as a platform of distribution to reach international audiences, thus producing a growing underground network of distribution and

***EnterText*, Special Issue on “Crossing Thresholds: Gender and Decoloniality in Caribbean Knowledge,” 12 (2018): 123-145**

circulation. Faguaga underscores how technologies serve Cuban Hip Hoppers as a “source of their professional and civic action” with regard to distribution, organization, networking and exchange on the island and on a transnational level.<sup>26</sup>

In Cuba, Las Krudas produced their own mix tapes and albums. Since they moved to the US, they produce their albums with alternative labels and engage in social events against sexism and homo- and transphobia, migration regimes etc. Olivia Prendes underscores the importance of social media for networks in the underground sector of musical production. Media technologies also facilitate staying in touch with artists and activists on the island:

Olivia: Tener la medida exacta es difícil pero si cada día el acceso a las redes sociales facilita mucho más la comunicación y promoción de la obra independiente, sentimos que se fortalece la red de artistas y activistas, que sí se puede. Podemos existir y resonar en el mundo underground muy aparte de esa supremacía, muy lejos de ese juego de poder, escapando de su opresión, burlando su prepotencia, aun cuando ellos también controlen las redes sociales, el arte popular, la conexión entre la gente y la opinión ciudadana se están fortaleciendo.<sup>27</sup>

(It is difficult to name the exact measure, but yes, the access to social networks makes the communication and promotion of independent work much easier on a daily basis, we feel that the net of artists and activists becomes stronger, that, yes, it is possible. We can exist and sound in the underground world very separate from this supremacy, very far away from this power game, escaping its oppression, making fun of its arrogance, even if they also control the social networks, popular art, the connection between the people and the public opinion is becoming stronger.)

These strategies enable Las Krudas – and many other Cuban Hip Hoppers and musicians worldwide – to create a heterotopic transgressive music which, in Ronni Armstead’s words, “expands diasporic space, transgresses geographic borders [...] fashioning a musical aesthetic that allows for the articulation of the local as well as the global.”<sup>28</sup> However, Roberto Zurbano points at the difficulties Black Cubans face with regard to the access to media and cultural representation on the island as well

as internationally. It is important to add that Black lesbian women respectively face multiple marginalization – and this holds true also for queer Afro-Cuban *raperas* producing in/from the United States:

(E)l acceso de nuestras ideas, figuras y culturas al espacio mediático es la octava dificultad en esta lucha antirracista; pues ese espacio legitima, reproduce y actualiza una sutil estrategia colonial, asistida de los últimos recursos de las ciencias de la comunicación, las artes del espectáculo y los presupuestos ideológicos del pensamiento económico neoliberal.<sup>29</sup>

(The access of our ideas, figures and cultures to the space of the media is the eighth difficulty in this antiracist struggle; because this legitimate space reproduces and revives a subtle colonial strategy, assisted by the last resources of the communication sciences, the performing arts and the ideological conditions of neoliberal economic thinking.)

For Las Krudas, moving to the United States also meant having to adapt to strategies of self-management and self promotion to survive in an ideologically much more open capitalist surrounding. Odaymara Cuesta and Olivia Prendes describe their experience and once again underline the significance of their Cuban socialization with regard to the conditions of artistic production:

Odaymara: Somos nacidas, criadas y crecidas en Cuba, por esta razón somos personas que de la nada sacamos mucho, nuestra producción artística en los años que estuvimos en Cuba fue muy prolífica en lo que se refiera al material para discos y shows en vivo, una vez emigradas hemos tenido que adicionarle a eso el trabajo de booking y managing nosotras mismas para sobrevivir en este mundo capitalista.<sup>30</sup>

(We were born and raised in Cuba, therefore we are persons who make a lot from nothing, our artistic production was very prolific during the years we were in Cuba with regard to the material of discs and live shows, once emigrated, we had to add to this work the booking and self-management in order to survive in this capitalist world.)

To maintain their independence, Las Krudas chose a self-sustaining and precarious life style (by choice) and remain independent from commercial record labels, selling their own CDs and T-Shirts and taking care of their bookings. By creating their own musical and performative space of representation and linking it to colonial legacies and the resulting persisting transnational inequalities, Las Krudas thus contest the “colonial, neoliberal thinking” Zurbano lists as the “eighth difficulty in the antiracist struggle”. If Occidentalism as Western superiority and worldwide dominance, according to Coronil, provides not the opposite of Orientalism (as the production of the West’s Other), but its *precondition*, interventions such as Las Krudas’ make visible and scrutinize the very colonial power structures behind this hierarchy.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, by enunciating not only their Black lesbian personal subject position by referencing personal experience, their politics re-directs the focus on transnationalism and globalization from pure “flows”, “circulations of people, capital, culture” to the often neglected subjective mediation of such processes, which Elizabeth Povinelli and George Chauncey have claimed as crucial for sexualities in transnational contexts particularly.<sup>32</sup>

## 5. ... Decolonial

As their song “Amikimiñongo” (500 años basta) indicates, Las Krudas discuss and contextualize multichronotopic and entangled phenomena such as racist, sexist and homophobic oppression as a colonial legacy:

***Amikemiñongo***  
***(500 Años Basta)***

Cojoba, taina, siboney  
Caribe, guanajatabey

Manicato

¿Qué más?

¿Qué más?

***Amikemiñongo***  
***(500 Years are enough)***

(Cojoba, taina, siboney [Indigenous Cubans]  
Caribbean, guanajatabey  
[Indigenous Cubans])

Manicato ... [bold and honest man, indep.  
music award]

What else?

What else?

Qué mas quieres tú de mi,	What else do you want from me?
Con las armas coaccionaron	They came to force with arms
Se colaron	Deployed themselves
De África me adueñaron	They took possession of me in Africa
Y me trajeron aquí	And brought me here
Genocidio	Genocide
Llanto, lamento, sufrimiento	Tears, moaning, suffering all the time
en todo momento	
Siempre fue así, que violento	It's always been this way, what violence
Hast cuando permitir que me	How long for allow them to tell me
lo cuenten	
500 años	500 years
Basta	Enough
[...]	[...]
Que te creías pequeña	What do you think that the world is small
que el mundo	
De estar organizado seria	As to be organized like your room
como tu cuarto	
[...]	[...]
Explotación discriminación	Exploitation, discrimination
pobreza violencia osorbadera	poverty, damn violence
[...]	[...]
Bruja, tuerca,	Witch, screw,
Yo mujer, yo	Me woman, me
Libertad por siempre...	Liberty forever ...)

This song clearly locates current oppressions and inequalities within a long tradition (the 500 years since the European conquest of the Americas) of colonization, enslavement and patriarchal rule. Rather than reading current processes of migration and transnationalization as a new phenomenon, Las Krudas are hence in line with thinkers like Ana Esther Ceceña who has examined the historical role of the Caribbean as “umbral de la geopolítica mundial” (threshold of global/world geopolitics) since the Conquest or Manuela Boatcă, who points out that the necessary

creolization of theory finds its roots in enforced transnational experiences and processes in the Caribbean over at least 500 years.<sup>33</sup> In numerous of their newer songs, the band addresses also the continuing legacies of such colonial inequalities. Referring to their being denied entrance to perform in Spain due to their Cuban passports in “No me dejaron entrar en España” (They didn’t let me enter into Spain), they condemn unjust and racist citizen regimes, which provide a major factor of the reproduction of inequalities on a global scale.<sup>34</sup> In the video to the song, the camera zooms in on a border control agent yelling into the camera with a strong Spanish accent: “Cubana? Teneís una nacionalidad que no os favorece. No les daremos visa a España ni a ninguno de los países de la union económica Europea.” (Cuban? You have a passport that doesn’t do you a favor. We will not give you visa to Spain or to any other of the countries of the economic union of Europe). Again, Las Krudas access the problem from the concrete personally experienced discrimination – the artists have been denied access to Spain – in order to then point at the larger global dimension of unjust migration and citizenship regimes. This transnational dimension becomes clear in the refrain of the song, which repeats the following line: “Latinomérica, Africa, Caribe, Asia, Tercer mundo ... tiene el derecho de migrar.” (Latin America, Africa, Caribbean, Asia, Third World ... has the right to migrate). It is further underscored visually in the video to the song, which depicts media images by poor women migrants from around the world, pointing at their particularly vulnerable and precarious situation. In a similar manner, the song “Los medios” denounces the monopolistic and sensational character of commercial mass media who “don’t tell my story”.<sup>35</sup> In the video, Odaymara Cuesta performs in front of an obviously US-American big city skyline, hence pointing at their criticism of the dominance of the US media industry. In the quoted interview with *The Postcolonialist* singer Odaymara Cuesta defines their music as a means of “(r)clamando nuestro derecho como ciudadana mundial de nacionalidad cubana”<sup>36</sup> (Reclaiming our right as world citizens of Cuban nationality.) In Shohat’s terms, one could speak of Las Krudas’ performances/politics as a questioning of violent national borders and regimes by creating a “multichronotopic” space including manifold histories and locations.<sup>37</sup>

## 6. ... Intersectional Maroonage

***EnterText*, Special Issue on “Crossing Thresholds: Gender and Decoloniality in Caribbean Knowledge,” 12 (2018): 123-145**

By situating the related interlocking forms of oppression they address – racism, sexism, homophobia, citizenship and migration regimes, Occidentalism – as inherent to the logic of Western capitalism and colonial legacies, queer Cuban Hip-Hoppers like Las Krudas follow an implicitly decolonial politics.<sup>38</sup> According to Walter Mignolo, one could hence describe the ways in which Las Krudas appropriate the genre/art form of Hip Hop in order to re-signify it as practices of “epistemic disobedience” on several levels: by introducing their personal experiences and Afro-Cuban musical elements and non-hegemonic feminist paradigms to the genre, Las Krudas practice a form of epistemic “de-linking from the web of imperial knowledge” and construct themselves as knowing subjects – and Cuba and the Caribbean as spaces of legitimate knowledge production respectively.<sup>39</sup> This space represents a sort of feminist counter-space, as in the Caribbean (and many other spaces) feminism is oftentimes associated with imperialism. As Saunders argues, Western feminists’ cooperation with racist and colonialist agendas “has prevented feminism from being accepted as a legitimate discourse for social equality in post-colonial and neo-colonial societies.”<sup>40</sup> Not coincidentally, then, Cuban female Hip Hoppers like Las Krudas rather situate their work within the tradition of Black Cuban artists and activists like Nancy Morejón, Zuleica Romay or Inés María Mariatu.<sup>41</sup> Or they refer to Black feminists of an international range and within a musical tradition of asserting female agency expressed by US American blues women and Cuban rumba and via their “cimarronaje interseccional” (intersectional maroonage) resist the “epistemic Occidentalism” as expressed, for example, in the euro- and US-centric production of theories of “intersectionality” with little reference to social movements or social contexts.<sup>42</sup> Their music, lyrics and performances incorporate a sonic, discursive and performative response to Euro-centric and US-centric visions imposed by the canon of contemporary feminist thinking and thereby put Cuba and the Caribbean on the map of transnational queer-feminist, anti-racist and decolonial knowledge production.

## 7. ... towards a “Nu Caribbean Feminism”!

In summary, Las Krudas not only apply and reflect queer-feminist and anti-racist theorizing, but actually produce it. As Saunders has it, “Las Krudas link lived

experience to theory in their social critiques, and they reject the generalized abstract universalism embedded in most theoretical frameworks concerning social life, including canonized academic feminism.”<sup>43</sup> By claiming their space and calling out their “Nu Caribbean feminism”, Las Krudas – at least performatively – take discourses on historically produced multiple and interlocking systems of oppression back to the radical and political roots it originally stems from and use them as a basis for resistance. Ever since Sojourner Truth’s now famous intervention in the Women’s Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio (USA) in 1851, feminist activists affected by and/or conscious of multiple axes of stratification have negotiated hegemonic one-issue groups and institutions. Most prominently among them has been the Black lesbian group “The Combahee River Collective”, who in their 1979 statement, coined the concepts of identity politics in the sense of a “strategic essentialism”. Already in 1975 the Black feminist Brazilian collective had made a similar intervention with their “Manifesto das Mulheres Negras”, and so does the declaration by the Zapatista women.<sup>44</sup> The “Nu Caribbean feminism” incorporated by Las Krudas ties in to and expands this tradition of “fighting interlocking systems of oppression”, linking intersections on the micro level of categorical oppression to the macro level of the colonial legacy of global inequalities. They thus add a decisive dimension for current constellations to which Floya Anthias has referred to as “translocational positionality,” which most theoretical approaches on “intersectionality” have so far been neglecting.<sup>45</sup>

Las Krudas sonic-performative politics aiming at a world beyond coloniality, heteronormativity, Occidentalism and intersectional oppression, provides a decisive impulse generator for a transnational, intersectional queer/feminist project of solidarity and alliance. They bring the often neglected gender dimension to the fore of decolonial politics and claim musical genres like Hip Hop as a relevant form of epistemic and discursive production not only but especially in transnational contexts. If what Roberto Zurbarano observes holds true and the academy overloads the anti-racist gaze “with aseptic methodologies, tiring terminological debates, and foci disconnected from the subjects, the realities, and the social conflicts,” interventions such as those by Las Krudas take such debates back to concrete public and social spheres. They are thus challenging what counts as legitimate knowledge and theory

and add a take on an intersectional gender dimension from which conventional theorizing can gain.<sup>46</sup> Other decolonial feminists have been joining this struggle.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, against the common notion of the Caribbean as a “backward” region only recently influenced by processes of modernization and transnationalization, Las Krudas through their music and from a specific gender/queer perspective are thus claiming Cuba and the Caribbean as a cradle of transnationalization and creolization in the sense of a coloniality/modernity understanding of power and knowledge. – a claim expressed in the lyrics of their song “Resistiendo”:

500 años	(500 years
Basta	Enough
[...]	[...]
Que te creías pequeña que el mundo	What do you think that the world is small
De estar organizado seria como tu cuarto	As to be organized like your room)

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> In the trailer for documentary film *Queen of Myself. Las Krudas d’Cuba*, directed by Celianny Rivera, USA 2012, Tortuga Productions), see <http://www.queenofmyself.com> (accessed September 7, 2016). Quoted from the subtitles. If not indicated otherwise, all translations are mine.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.krudascubensi.com/bio/>; spelling as in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Resonating Aníbal Quijano, “Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America,” in: *International Sociology* 15, no. 2 (2000): 215-32, coloniality is the structural power asymmetry introduced with colonial rule and persisting and being revived until today.

<sup>4</sup> Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersections of Race and Sex. A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 139 (1989): 139-67; *ibid.*: “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241-99.

<sup>5</sup> For a critical perspective on dominant uses of “intersectionality” see Avtar Brah and Ann Phoenix, “Ain’t I A Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 5, no. 3, (2004): 75-86; for a Latin American perspective see Mara Viveros Vigoya “Movilidades y desigualdades espaciales y sociales en el contexto del multiculturalismo latinoamericano. Una lectura en clave de género,” *Espacios de género: Adlaf Congreso Anual 2012* edited by Juliana Ströbele-Gregor and Dörte Wollrad (Buenos Aires: Nueva Sociedad; Fundación Friedrich Ebert; Adlaf, 2013), 189-203. For a critique on the depoliticisation of the concept in feminist theorising and its de-linking from social realities and feminist politics, see Isabell Lorey, “Critique and Category. On the restriction of political practice through recent theorems of intersectionality, interdependence and critical whiteness studies”, 2008 [Translated by Mary O’Neill, Europäisches Institut für Progressive Kulturpolitik (eipcp)], at: <http://bit.ly/156Pdnj> (accessed September 7, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Julia Roth, “Entangled Inequalities as Intersectionalities: Towards an Epistemic Sensibilization”, *desiguALdades.net Working Paper Series* No. 43 (Berlin: desiguALdades.net Research Network on Interdependent Inequalities in Latin America, 2013), see

[http://www.desigualdades.net/Resources/Working\\_Paper/43\\_WP\\_Roth\\_Online.pdf](http://www.desigualdades.net/Resources/Working_Paper/43_WP_Roth_Online.pdf) (accessed September 7, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Julia Roth, “Entangled Inequalities” 15. See Martha Zapata Galindo, “El paradigma de la interseccionalidad en América Latina”, lecture given at the Lateinamerikainstitut, Freie Universität Berlin November 17, 2011, (notes taken by the author).

<sup>8</sup> See Daisy Rubiera Castillo and Inés María Martiatu Terry, *Afrocubanas. Historia, pensamiento y prácticas culturales* (La Habana, Cuba: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2011); Consuelo López-Springfield, *Daughters of Caliban. Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> In the documentary *Queen of Myself. Las Krudas d’Cuba*.

<sup>10</sup> In his speech “Palabras a los intelectuales” (Words to the intellectuals), Fidel Castro termed the now famous concept of “dentro de la Revolución todo, fuera de la Revolución nada” (within the Revolution: everything, outside the Revolution: nothing). Consequently, to situate their artistic production and politics clearly within the process of the “Revolution” is a common and oftentimes necessary strategy used by Cuban artists and intellectuals, as such a commitment to the revolution allows them more freedom of expression. Feminist and anti-racist groups hence often describe their struggles as “a revolution within the revolution”.

<sup>11</sup> Joan Morgan, *When Chickenheads Come Home to Roost: My Lief as A Hip-Hop Feminist* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2006).

<sup>13</sup> Tricia Rose, *The Hip Hop Wars. What We Talk About When We Talk About Hip Hop - and Why it Matters* (Philadelphia: Basic Books/Perseus, 2008, 5).

<sup>14</sup> Tanya L. Saunders, “La Lucha Mujerista: Krudas Cubensi and Black Feminist Sexual Politics in Cuba,” in *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* 3 (2009): 1-20; Sujatha Fernandes, *Cuba Represent! Cuban Arts, State Power, and the Making of New Revolutionary Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> See Ronni Armstead, “Growing the Size of the Black Woman: Feminist Activism in Havana Hip-Hop” (*NWSA Journal* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 106–17).

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. Noelle M. Stout, *After Love: Queer Intimacy and Erotic Economies in Post-Soviet Cuba* (Durham and London: Duke UP, 2014).

<sup>17</sup> In a talk “Negra tenías que ser. Racialidad y feminismo en Cuba” given at the Lateinamerika Institut at Freie Universität Berlin, June 18, 2015, notes by the author.

<sup>18</sup> Lara Dotson-Renta, “Hip hop cubano: entrevista con Las Krudas,” *The Postcolonialist*, November 18, 2013, <http://postcolonialist.com/arts/hip-hop-cubano-entrevista-con-las-krudas/#.UozplZyvFT8> (accessed September 7, 2016), all translations mine.

<sup>19</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>20</sup> Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), preface (no page number).

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. ibd., Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherrie Moraga, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone Press, 1981); Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987); Coco Fusco, *English Is Broken Here. Notes on Cultural Fusion in the Americas* (New York: The New Press, 1995); Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America’s Second Wave* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> See different live versions of performances of “Resistiendo”, e.g. on youtube and in documentaries on the band.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from the subtitles of the video “Krudas Cubensi. Mi cuerpo es mio. Official Video”, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-Pgwldfx8U> (accessed September 7, 2016).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ramon Lobato, “The Six Faces of Piracy. Global Media Distribution from Below,” in: *The Business of Entertainment Vol. 1: Movies*, edited by R.C. Sickels (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 15-36, 22.

<sup>26</sup> María I. Faguaga Iglesias, “Las Krudas: Those Quasi-Paradigmatic Black Cuban Rappers,” *Islas* 7, no. 21 (June 2012): 50-57.

<sup>27</sup> Lara Dotson-Renta, “Hip hop cubano: entrevista con Las Krudas”.

- <sup>28</sup> Ronni Armstead, "Las Krudas, Spatial Practice, and the Performance of Diaspora," *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 8, no. 1 (2007): 130-43, 139.
- <sup>29</sup> Lara Dotson-Renta, "Hip hop cubano: entrevista con Las Krudas".
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Fernando Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism: Against Neo-Imperial Geopolitical Categories", *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (1996): 51-87.
- <sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Povinelli and George Chauncey, "Introduction: Thinking Sexuality Transnationally," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 5, no. 4 (1999): 439-50.
- <sup>33</sup> Ana Esther Ceceña, *El Gran Caribe: Umbral de la geopolítica mundial* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2010); Manuela Boatcă, "Global Inequalities, Transnational Processes and Transregional Entanglements", *desiguALdades.net Working Paper Series*, no. 11 (Berlin: desiguALdades.net Research Network on Interdependent Inequalities in Latin America, 2011), [http://www.desigualdades.net/Resources/Working\\_Paper/WP\\_Boatca\\_Online.pdf](http://www.desigualdades.net/Resources/Working_Paper/WP_Boatca_Online.pdf) (accessed 7 September, 2016).
- <sup>34</sup> See videoclip "No me dejaron / KRUDAS" at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pW4tSvb-mfA> (accessed September 7, 2016); Ayelet Schachar, *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2009); Manuela Boatcă, "Global Inequalities".
- <sup>35</sup> See videoclip "Los Medios-Odaymara Cuesta A.K.A. Pasa Krudas - Krudas Cubensi - Dj Nio Zero Plastica HD" at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t64u8fufbsg> (accessed August 10, 2015).
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> Ella Shohat, *Taboo Memories: Diasporic Voices* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 333.
- <sup>38</sup> In Mignolo's terms, create a "third epistemological space", or a space of epistemic disobedience and decoloniality; see Walther Mignolo, "Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and De-Colonial Freedom," in: *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 7-8, (2009), 1-23.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., 15 ff.; 20.
- <sup>40</sup> See Saunders, "La Lucha Mujerista", 7.
- <sup>41</sup> Nancy Morejón, "Afroamérica, la invisible?" *Revista de la Casa de las Américas* 264 (2011): 154-158; Zuleica Romay Guerra, *Elogio de la altea o las paradojas de la racialidad. Premio extraordinario de estudios sobre la presencia negra en la América y el Caribe contemporáneo* (La Habana: Editorial Casa de las Américas, 2012); Daisy Rubiera Castillo and Inés María Martiatu Terry, *Afrocubanas. Historia, pensamiento y prácticas culturales* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2011).
- <sup>42</sup> See Sujatha Fernandes, *Cuba Represent! Cuban Arts, State Power, and the Making of New Revolutionary Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 12; on "the coloniality of intersectionality", see Julia Roth, "Entangled Inequalities".
- <sup>43</sup> Sujatha Fernandes, *Cuba Represent!*, 5.
- <sup>44</sup> See The Combahee River Collective (1970): *A Black Feminist Statement*, at: <http://bit.ly/3WAQ3u> (accessed September 7, 2016), Mujeres Zapatistas: [http://palabra.ezln.org.mx/comunicados/1994/1993\\_12\\_g.htm](http://palabra.ezln.org.mx/comunicados/1994/1993_12_g.htm) (accessed September 9, 2016); Kia Lilly Caldwell, *Negras in Brazil. Re-envisioning Black Women, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers UP, 2007), 152.
- <sup>45</sup> Floya Anthias, "Belongings in a Globalising and Unequal World: rethinking translocations", in: *Sage Studies in International Sociology: The situated politics of belonging* edited by N. Yuval-Davis, K. Kannabiran and U. Vieten (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2006), 17-32. As Anthias describes it, "an intersectionality approach that is tied to the idea of translocational positionality" (Floya Anthias, "Belongings", 17), is an approach which conceptualizes belonging as at once related to rights and obligations related to citizenship, and the criteria of inclusion and exclusion "of so-called citizens along the lines of gender, ethnicity, class, age and so on. Belonging is about boundaries but it is also about hierarchies which exist both within and but across boundaries(.)" (Floya Anthias, "Belongings", 22).
- <sup>46</sup> In the original: "de metodologías asépticas, incansables debates terminológicos y enfoques desconectados de los sujetos, las realidades y los conflictos sociales." Roberto Zurbano "Cuba: Doce dificultades para enfrentar al (neo)racismo y doce razones para abrir el (otro) debate," *La Jiribilla. Revista de Cultura Cubana*. 10, no. 529 (2011): 1-12 (my translation).
- <sup>47</sup> See e.g. the volume Yuderkis Espinosa Miñoso, Diana Gómez Correal, Karina Ochoa Muñoz, eds., *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala*, 2014.