Struggling for Autonomy:

The Dynamics of the Indigenous Women's Movement in Mexico

Anahi Morales Hudon
Department of Sociology
McGill University

August 2013

Submitted to the Department of Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at McGill University.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation seeks to account for the consolidation of the indigenous women's movement in Mexico. It examines the dynamics of this movement through a sub-national comparative analysis of three states—Chiapas, Oaxaca and Guerrero—that vary in terms of movement consolidation. While the indigenous women's movement is consolidated in Oaxaca and Guerrero, it is not in Chiapas. Such variation is puzzling because Chiapas is the state where indigenous women leaders originally met and organized the first national encounters of indigenous women; we would have thus expected it to be the place where the movement is most consolidated.

In order to explain this sub-national variation, this thesis combines an intersectional approach in feminist studies with the political process model in social movement studies. Its analysis stresses primarily two causal mechanisms: *boundary making* and *brokerage*. The creation of a collective identity is necessary for the consolidation of indigenous women's movements. Indigenous women's collective identity formation involves multiple negotiations of difference with and within the indigenous and feminist movements as well as the construction of symbolic boundaries between actors.

However, boundary making is a *necessary* but not a *sufficient* condition. This dissertation argues that variation in the consolidation of the indigenous women's movement at the state-level in Mexico derives from the form of brokerage established between indigenous women and other actors. Brokerage is conditioned by the intersection of structural relations based on gender, race, and class, and its particular form shapes the consolidation of movements. In the three cases under scrutiny here, brokerage takes two different forms: 'non-mediated brokerage' and 'mediated brokerage.' The former refers to situations where indigenous women are brokers themselves whereas the latter refers to situations where indigenous women are not the ones acting as brokers. Put differently, the former implies relational autonomy while the latter implies relational dependency. This dissertation claims that a shift from mediated to non-mediated brokerage—or from dependent to autonomous brokerage—greatly influenced the level of consolidation of the indigenous women's movement in different states in Mexico.

In the case of Chiapas, mediated brokerage prevented the state-level indigenous women's movement from consolidating. In the cases of Oaxaca and Guerrero, non-mediated brokerage allowed state-level indigenous women's movements to consolidate. In sum, the consolidation of indigenous women's movements in Mexico has been possible where indigenous women were able to cease the mediation of other actors and become autonomous. Therefore, as long as indigenous women are not the ones voicing their claims and demands, as well as representing their movement, a consolidation at the state level is unlikely in states like Chiapas.

The contributions of this dissertation are threefold. First, it offers at the empirical level a comparative analysis of the indigenous women's movements of three sub-national states of Mexico, departing thus from previous studies focusing on local or national dynamics. Second, the combination of intersectionality with the political process model contributes to a better understanding of the complexities and consequences of collective identity formation. Finally, this dissertation contributes to the social movement literature by showing that we should not treat brokerage as an invariant mechanism, but instead, account for the different forms that it takes and trace the varying effects of these forms. Such detailed analysis will contribute to determining the extent to which brokerage is a robust mechanism, as leading social movement scholars like McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly have claimed.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse vise à rendre compte de la consolidation du mouvement des femmes autochtones au Mexique. Elle examine les dynamiques de ce mouvement à travers une analyse comparative de la variation en termes de consolidation dans trois états sous nationaux, Chiapas, Oaxaca et Guerrero. Alors que le mouvement des femmes autochtones est consolidé à Oaxaca et Guerrero, il ne l'est pas au Chiapas. Cette variation est surprenante car c'est au Chiapas que les leaders femmes autochtones se sont initialement rencontrées et y ont organisé les premières rencontres nationales de femmes autochtones.

Afin d'expliquer cette variation au niveau sous-national, cette thèse intègre une approche intersectionnelle des études féministes au modèle de processus politique dans les études des mouvements sociaux. L'analyse se centre principalement sur deux mécanismes causaux: la création des frontières et l'intermédiation. La création d'une identité collective est nécessaire pour la consolidation des mouvements de femmes autochtones. La formation de cette identité implique de multiples négociations de la différence avec et au sein des mouvements autochtones et féministes ainsi que la construction de frontières symboliques entre les acteurs.

Toutefois, bien que la création de frontières soit *nécessaire*, elle n'est toutefois pas *suffisante*. Cette thèse soutient que la variation de la consolidation du mouvement des femmes autochtones au niveau sous national au Mexique provient de la forme d'intermédiation établie entre les femmes autochtones et d'autres acteurs. L'intermédiation est conditionnée par l'intersection des relations structurelles fondées sur le sexe, la race et la classe, ce qui façonne la consolidation des mouvements. Dans les trois cas analysés, l'intermédiation prend deux formes distinctes : 'intermédiation directe' et 'intermédiation indirecte'. La première se réfère à des situations où les femmes autochtones sont celles qui assument l'intermédiation tandis que la seconde renvoie à des situations où les femmes autochtones ne sont pas celles qui agissent à titre de médiatrices. Autrement dit, dans le premier cas il y a une relation autonome tandis que le second cas implique une relation de dépendance. Cette thèse affirme que le passage d'une intermédiation indirecte à une intermédiation directe—ou encore de dépendante à autonome—influence le niveau de consolidation du mouvement des femmes autochtones dans les différents États du Mexique.

Dans le cas du Chiapas, l'intermédiation indirecte a empêché la consolidation du mouvement de femmes autochtones. Dans les cas de Oaxaca et de Guerrero, l'intermédiation directe a permis la consolidation au niveau sous national. En somme, la consolidation des mouvements de femmes autochtones au Mexique a été possible où les femmes autochtones ont pu mettre fin à la dépendance envers d'autres acteurs et établir une forme autonome d'intermédiation. Par conséquent, tant que les femmes autochtones ne sont pas celles qui portent leurs demandes et qui représentent le mouvement, une consolidation est peu probable dans des états comme le Chiapas.

Cette thèse a trois contributions. Premièrement, au niveau empirique elle propose une analyse comparative de mouvements de femmes autochtones dans trois états sous nationaux du Mexique, se distanciant ainsi des études précédentes centrées sur les dynamiques nationales ou locales. Deuxièmement, l'intégration de l'intersectionnalité au modèle du processus politique contribue à une meilleure compréhension de la complexité et des conséquences de la formation de l'identité collective. Enfin, cette thèse contribue à la littérature sur les mouvements sociaux en montrant que nous ne devrions pas traiter l'intermédiation comme un mécanisme invariable, mais plutôt en rendant compte des différentes formes qu'elle prend et en identifiant leurs effets distincts. Cette analyse détaillée contribuera à déterminer dans quelle mesure l'intermédiation est un mécanisme robuste, comme des chercheurs éminents tels que McAdam, Tarrow et Tilly l'ont soutenu.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Writing a dissertation is an intensive journey, but one that was made possible by the support of many people. First of all, I would like to thank Marcos Ancelovici, my supervisor, for his support, advice and above all, his critical insights throughout the writing process. I cannot thank him enough for how generous he was with his time, giving me detailed comments and discussing my research in-depth. I would also like to thank Stephanie Rousseau, my co-supervisor, for the stimulating discussions on this work, her advice, support and the opportunity to collaborate with her. I am also grateful to the insightful comments I received from Kathleen Fallon on earlier drafts of this dissertation. She was of great support and guidance throughout my studies at McGill University and I thank her for her availability. I also thank Elaine Weiner for her insightful feedback on the project before I began my fieldwork. Finally, I would like to thank Philip Oxhorn for his thorough comments on earlier versions of some sections of this dissertation.

I am indebted to the women who generously agreed to share their time, experiences and insights with me for this research, in Oaxaca, Guerrero, Chiapas and Mexico City. This dissertation is dedicated to them.

The research and writing of this thesis were supported by awards and fellowships from the Fonds Québécois de la Recherche sur la Société et la Culture and the Faculty of Arts at McGill University. Different institutions contributed to this research by providing me with access to resources: the Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS) in Mexico, and the Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS) at the University of Cambridge. I would like to thank, in particular, Xochitl Leyva-Solano and Rosalva Aída Hernandez Castillo, and the participants of the seminars I attended at CIESAS, for their support and guidance. I would also like to thank the participants to the McGill University's dissertation workshop and my colleagues from the sociology department at McGill for their encouragement and support. Special thanks you go to Gretchen Bakke and her advice during the writing process, as well as to Julie Moreau for her feedback on some of the chapters. I would also like to thank Sara Hall for her valuable assistance.

On a personal note I would like to thank my family and friends, whom I cannot list all here. I am grateful to my father, José Luis Morales Mejía, my brothers and sisters, Bruno Morales Hudon and his partner Laila Bernard, Alex Richard and Natzeli Morales Richard, for their support and patience as this process took more time and energy from me than I would have thought. Additionally, I would like to thank Marie-Eve St-Onge, whose friendship and support were valuable during this process. I am also grateful for the support and camaraderie of Kalyani Thurairajah throughout all these years. Last, but not least, I would like to express all my gratitude to Philippe Dufort, whose encouragement was essential for this research to be possible. I am grateful that he also went through the same process of writing a dissertation, as this gave us the opportunity to share this journey, and to passionately discuss our research and travel for fieldwork together.

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Table

ACRONYMS

ACASAC	Mentoring, Training and Assistance in Health / Asesoría, Capacitación y Asistencia en Salud
AMIO	Indigenous Women's Assembly of Oaxaca / Asamblea de Mujeres Indígenas de Oaxaca
ANCIEZ	National Independent Emiliano Zapata Peasant Alliance / Alianza Nacional Campesina Independiente Emiliano Zapata
ANIPA	Pluralistic Indigenous National Assembly for Autonomy / Assamblea Nacional Indígena Plural por la Autonomía
ARIC	Rural Asociation of Collective Interest / Asociación Rural de Interés Colectivo
CDI	National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples / Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas
CDMCH	Women's Rights Center of Chiapas / Centro de Derechos de la Mujer de Chiapas
CELALI	Center for Indigenous Languages, Arts and Literature of Chiapas / Centro Estatal de Lenguas, Arte y Literatura Indígenas
CG500Años	Guerrero Council for 500 Years of Indian, Black and People's Resistance/ Consejo Guerrerense 500 Años de Resistencia Indigena, Negra y Popular
CGMI	Coordination of Indigenous Women of Guerrero / Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas
CIOAC	Independent Center of Agricultural Workers and Peasants / (Central Independiente de Obreros Agrícolas y Campesinos
CNC	National Peasant Confederation / Confederación Nacional
CNI	National Indigenous Congress / Congreso Nacional Indígena
COCEI	Coalition of Workers, Peasants, and Students of the Isthmus / Coalición de Obreros, Campesinos y Estudiantes del Istmo
CODIMUJ	Diocesan Council of Women / Coordinadora Diocesana de Mujeres

CONAMI	National Coordination of Indigenous Women / Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas
EZLN	Zapatista Army of National Liberation / Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional
GIMTRAP	Interdisciplinary Group in Women, Work and Poverty / Grupo Interdisciplinario sobre Mujer, Trabajo y Pobreza, A. C.
MIM	Women's Independent Movement / Movimiento Independiente de Mujeres
OCEZ	Emiliano Zapata Peasant Organization / Organización Campesina Emiliano Zapata
PRD	Party of the Democratic Revolution / Partido de la Revolución Democrática
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party / Partido Revolucionario Institucional
SER	Services of the Mixe People / Servicios del Pueblo Mixe
UCIZONI	Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus / Unión de Comunidades Indígenas de la Zona Norte del Istmo
UNORCA	National Union of Regional Peasant Organizations / Unión Nacional de Organizaciones Regionales Campesinas

INTRODUCTION

INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S ORGANIZING AT THE SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL IN MEXICO

On the 24th of October 2012, leaders from the indigenous women's movement in Mexico presented a political agenda in the Chamber of Deputies of the Congress of the Union. In her communiqué addressed to the attendees of the presentation of the political agenda of indigenous women, Martha Sánchez Néstor alluded to symbols from the Zapatista movement. She concluded her message affirming "*¡Nunca más un México sin nosotras!"* (Never again a Mexico without us!), thus echoing the demands of the Zapatista women and more specifically, the words that commandant Ramona had pronounced during the inauguration of the first national meeting of indigenous women held in Oaxaca in 1997 (CONAMI 2012).[1]

Since the national dialogues (1995-1996) on indigenous rights in the aftermath of the Zapatista movement, this was one of the rare occasions when national indigenous organizations formulated political demands in order to renegotiate their relationship with the national state. However, on this last occasion the demands came from the indigenous

[1] "In order to be here now at this moment hosted by Congress many previous steps have been taken… it has not been easy, for one day we woke up, we rebelled…we pushed ourselves to walk the path, we organized, one day we resigned to the non-existent privileges we could possibly have as women in this country and then, we challenged our own history, the state and society, families, the communities, humanity, only to assert our rights as human beings, specifically as indigenous women […] this agenda is part of the most fundamental rights of indigenous peoples, the human rights we have as women who are members of these collective entities… this [agenda] is a proposition for dialogue, with hopes and struggles, these are pages written with dignity, with a generational perspective, with demands towards the state, with challenges for indigenous peoples […]" (Martha Sánchez Néstor, October 24th 2012).

women's movement as a result of a long process of mobilization that began in 1997 with the creation of the first indigenous women's organization at the national level, the National Coordination of Indigenous Women (Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas—CONAMI). As stressed by Martha Sánchez Néstor, former coordinator of CONAMI, the history of this process is complex, but indigenous women have succeeded in creating groups that are recognized by national and international institutions as legitimate representatives of indigenous women's interests.[2]

The appropriation of this symbolism is significant as the Zapatista movement played a central role in creating opportunities for indigenous women to mobilize. Moreover, indigenous women have been the most successful in taking advantage of those opportunities created by the Zapatista movement for indigenous peoples. Indigenous women have continued to mobilize and are the more active sector of the indigenous movement to negotiate with the national state. This is significant since the indigenous movement was unable to consolidate a strong national movement after the constitutional reforms on Indigenous rights in 2001 (Stavenhagen 2010). Contrary to the national trend, where indigenous organizations—national and sub-national—disintegrated during the 2000s, indigenous women were in a process of consolidating sub-national organizations in three regions of Mexico.

The national indigenous women's organization—CONAMI—promoted the creation of state-level organizations to bring together local processes and to bridge the local and national levels. This project resulted in three state-level organizing processes

[2] Such as the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas—CDI), and UN-Women.

in southern Mexico—in Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero. Indigenous women's movements emerged during the favourable political context that characterized the aftermath of the Zapatista movement that originated in Chiapas. However, when these state-level processes of organizing are compared, it is puzzling to discover that the organizing process is more consolidated in Guerrero and Oaxaca than in Chiapas. Paradoxically, the state where indigenous women leaders originally met and organized the first national encounters of indigenous women is the one having most difficulties coordinating a state-level indigenous women's movement.

How can we explain variation in the consolidation of indigenous women's organizing in these three Mexican states? Why is the movement in the state that gave rise to a national organizing process of indigenous women less consolidated than the others? This dissertation addresses these questions through a sub-national comparative analysis of three states—Chiapas, Oaxaca and Guerrero—that vary in terms of movement consolidation. While the indigenous women's movement is consolidated in Oaxaca and Guerrero, it is not in Chiapas, which is puzzling since we would have expected it to be the place where the movement is most consolidated. With such a comparison I hope to contribute to the understanding of how intersecting power structures affect boundary making and brokerage in the process of indigenous women's organizing at the sub-national level. As Mexico is a federated state, I have chosen to compare sub-national units in order to account for variation (Durazo-Hermann 2007).

This research uses qualitative methods, primarily, semi-structured interviews with indigenous women leaders of the three cases studied. Although the case of women's organizing in Chiapas has already been substantially documented, previous research

focuses on Zapatista women—indigenous women from indigenous communities supporting the Zapatista movement or women from the EZLN (Millán Moncayo 2006; Rovira 1997; Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). Some authors have analyzed the specific role played by women within the Zapatista movement, while others have focused on the cooperative projects that led to the creation of women's groups at the local level, and some have examined the organizing processes of women involved in the women's area of the Diocese of San Cristobal de Las Casas in Chiapas. This is a direct consequence of the interest engendered by the Zapatista movement in the second half of the 1990s. Therefore, accounts of indigenous women's organizing in Chiapas are limited since we know little about indigenous women who are not Zapatistas, with the exception of studies of local organizing processes (Aranda Bezaury 1996; Canabal Cristiani 2008; Eber and Kovic 2003; Gil Tebar 1999; Hernández Castillo 2008; Masson 2008; Ochoa Muñoz 2010; Stephen 1991).[3] Studies of the sub-national level of the indigenous women's movements are scarce, particularly studies taking a comparative perspective. An exception to this is the historical account that women in Guerrero produced about their organizing processes, which is a valuable contribution to the understanding of this movement (Espinosa Damián, Dircio Chautla and Sánchez Néstor 2010). No similar account exists for the case of Oaxaca.

I propose an analysis of the indigenous women's movement at the sub-national level, which in Mexico means at the level of states that together form the Mexican

[3] Current research focuses on local organizations or the national level, leaving unexamined the dynamics between movements and particularly between scales of mobilization. This is the case in the most recent contributions to the literature on indigenous women in Mexico, which focus on three major themes: access to justice and indigenous women's strategies in dealing with two systems of justice (Sierra 2007); the emergence of an indigenous feminist discourse (Espinosa Damián 2009; Hernández Castillo 2010); and the practices of autonomy (Blackwell 2012).

federation or the national state. Existing research on indigenous women's mobilizing in Mexico has focused primarily on local, community-level organizations, neglecting the dynamics in the organizing processes at the state level, and therefore, the relationship between the national movement and those local organizations.

In order to explain this sub-national variation, this thesis combines an intersectional approach from feminist studies with the political process model from social movement studies. Intersectionality—an approach that considers that oppression results from the complex overlapping of different systems—is one of the core contributions of feminist theory and its integration into social movement studies is recent. Building on the political process model of McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, I propose incorporating an intersectional interpretation of processes and mechanisms into the explanation of social movement emergence and development. I present a comparative analysis of the processes taking place in Guerrero, Oaxaca and Chiapas in order to understand variation in these organizing processes. Previous studies have explored how intersectionality affects women's decisions to organize in autonomous spaces; yet they have not explored why intersectionality will have varying results in terms of consolidation (Roth 2004).

As I argue in the theoretical chapter and aim at demonstrating in the empirical case studies, the variations between the cases under observation cannot be explained without the integration of intersectionality into the political process model. In this dissertation I suggest that this concept is particularly useful for conceptualizing two mechanisms that are key to explaining indigenous women's organizing processes: *boundary making* and *brokerage*.

First, in each case under scrutiny, the creation of a collective identity was necessary for the formation and consolidation of indigenous women's movements. Indigenous women's collective identity formation involved multiple negotiations of difference both from and within the indigenous and the feminist movements as well as the creation of symbolic boundaries between actors. As it is detailed in the empirical chapters, indigenous women created symbolic boundaries that clearly demarcated a group identity that was separate from both the indigenous and women's movements. In concrete terms, indigenous women redefined their identity on the grounds of indigeneity *and* gender. This led to the creation of women-only organizations within the indigenous movement. However, indigenous women did not solely embrace their identity as women as they also created boundaries with the women's movement, affirming their collective identity as both women and indigenous.

In combining intersectionality with the political process model, we can better account for the complexity of collective identity formation and its impact on social movement dynamics. That is, intersectionality enables us to understand the articulation of different identities and structural inequalities in the analysis of boundary formation. The creation of a collective identity on the grounds of indigeneity, gender and class is necessary for the consolidation of indigenous women's movements. Collective identity formed in every case—Chiapas, Oaxaca and Guerrero—but in Chiapas this did not lead to the creation of a consolidated organizing process at the state level.

Second, the types of relationships created between actors—brokerage—are also influenced by the intersection of structural relations based on gender, race, and class, and the form of brokerage shapes the consolidation of movements. In the three cases

under scrutiny here, brokerage takes two different forms: 'non-mediated brokerage' and 'mediated brokerage.' The former refers to situations where indigenous women are brokers themselves whereas the latter refers to situations where they are not the ones acting as brokers. The form of brokerage employed will influence indigenous women' access to resources and their capacity to coordinate the movement's different actors in order to consolidate organizing processes, and consequently, the movement's direct access to the state.

This dissertation claims that a shift from mediated to non-mediated brokerage led to a higher level of consolidation of the indigenous women's movement in two of the three states. Where this shift did not occur, the movement was unable to consolidate. In other words, it argues that variation in the consolidation of the indigenous women's movement at the state level in Mexico derives from the form of brokerage established between indigenous women and other actors. In the case of Chiapas, mediated brokerage prevented the state-level indigenous women's movement from consolidating. In contrast, in Oaxaca and Guerrero, non-mediated brokerage allowed state-level movements to consolidate. In sum, the consolidation of indigenous women's movements in Mexico has been possible where indigenous women were able to become autonomous and end their relationships with mediating actors. Therefore, as long as indigenous women are not the ones voicing their claims and demands, as well as representing their movement, a consolidation at the state level is unlikely in states like Chiapas.

This thesis contributes to research on social movement studies. First, through the integration of an intersectional perspective into social movement theories, this thesis proposes a reformulation of mechanisms for a better understanding of how the

overlapping of different systems of oppression influences collective identity formation. Second, this combination of intersectionality with the political process model suggests that we should not treat mechanisms as invariant. Mechanisms take different forms as they are directly influenced by intersectionality and accounting for these differences is helpful for explaining their varying effects.

Finally, at the empirical level, the focus on the sub-national level allows for the understanding of internal differences within the indigenous women's movement, which is commonly analyzed as a national movement. While I recognize that the national level often plays a central role in influencing social movement dynamics, the differences between the three cases illustrates the need to give importance to the sub-national level for two reasons. First, most research on indigenous women's organizing in Mexico pays little attention to the impact of the national level on the creation of social movement organizations at the sub-national level. Second, an evaluation of these different outcomes could contribute to a more accurate analysis of this movement's effects and to better understanding its variations. The thesis will focus principally on the sub-national level of organization and its connection with the national and international levels. Finally, I suggest that adopting a social movement perspective can offer new insights into our understanding of indigenous mobilizations, and in particular, their trajectories and outcomes.

Thesis structure

The first chapter of the dissertation presents the theoretical framework and methodology. Grounded in the political process model, the framework proposed

incorporates an intersectional approach through a reformulation of core mechanisms in order to explain social movement development: boundary making and brokerage. The chapter lays out how these concepts are reconceptualized in order to serve the comparative analysis of the three case studies. The chapter also presents the research methodology and provides a reflexive analysis about the fieldwork.

The second chapter addresses the historical, political and social context of the indigenous movement in Mexico, particularly since the 1970s. I lay out the major events that led to the emergence of a collective identity of indigenous peoples and demonstrate how the shift from a peasant to an indigenous identity occurred in the second half of the 20th century. This contextualization serves to understand the emergence of an indigenous women's movement at the national level in Mexico. The organizing processes of indigenous women at the national level will be detailed in the chapter in order to better situate the sub-national movements that emerged after the peak of the indigenous movement's mobilizations.

The third chapter is the first of the three case study chapters of the dissertation. It presents the case of the state-level indigenous women's movement in Chiapas, which is the negative case among the three. In this chapter, I argue that the form of brokerage established between social actors can explain the low consolidation of the indigenous women's movement in Chiapas. The relationships that indigenous women established with feminist actors paradoxically facilitated the movement's organizing processes but limited its consolidation in the long term. Both mechanisms, boundary making and brokerage, are useful for explaining why in Chiapas indigenous women's organizing processes have evolved principally at the local level and why the process of creating a

state-level organization has been difficult. Ultimately, however, it is the mediated (relational dependency) form of brokerage that prevented the indigenous women's movement from consolidating at the state level.

The fourth chapter presents the case of Oaxaca, which is a positive case of consolidation contrasting with the case of Chiapas. In Oaxaca the form of state-level organization addressed certain challenges—such as the scope of representation and the formation of new generations of leaders—that were less central to the process in Guerrero (until recently). The process of creating a state-level organization began around the same period as in Chiapas but much later than in Guerrero. Nonetheless, it has consolidated relatively quickly since 2010, when indigenous women decided to coordinate their actions more formally at the state level. The relationships that indigenous women established with key indigenous and feminist organizations on the subject of women's rights created a solid base for the formation of female leaders. In Oaxaca, however, contrary to Chiapas, brokerage shifted from mediated to non-mediated brokerage—or from dependent to autonomous brokerage—thus allowing the consolidation of the indigenous women's movement.

The fifth chapter analyzes the case of Guerrero, where the first sub-national organization of indigenous women, the Coordination of Indigenous Women of Guerrero (Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas—CGMI), was created. In this chapter, I argue that the indigenous women's organizing process in Guerrero has reached a greater level of consolidation than in Chiapas because of the type of brokerage its leaders developed with the national indigenous women's organization and the indigenous state-level organization that formed in the 1990s. In Guerrero, the

consolidation of the movement is visible in the creation of a stable state-level organization of indigenous women that has been able, overall, to ensure access to resources and to establish itself as a legitimate actor with direct access to the state and its institutions. In this chapter I argue that the form of brokerage leading to the creation of indigenous women's organizational structures and discourses was central to the consolidation process. In Guerrero, brokerage was less mediated than in the case of Chiapas since indigenous women were directly represented by other indigenous women, and these women created their own independent structures rather than rely on external actors. If Oaxaca and Guerrero are the cases where the indigenous movement is consolidated, compared to Chiapas, there are nonetheless some differences between them. In Guerrero, contrary to Oaxaca, the movement is still led by those who originally created the state-level organization from their respective mixed organizations, whereas in Oaxaca new generations are also assuming the leadership of the state-level movement along with the first generations of leaders. This difference is important because the emergence of new generations of leaders is critical to the consolidation of the movement in the long term.

Finally, I conclude the dissertation by highlighting how the variation between cases illustrates the need to reconceptualize brokerage to account for variation in consolidation processes. In this last chapter I outline the contributions of the dissertation, both at the theoretical and empirical levels, and lay out questions for further research.

Chapter One

Intersectionality in the Study of Social Movements

This chapter argues that in order to explain variation in the consolidation processes of the indigenous women's movements in Mexico at the sub-national, we need to combine an intersectional approach in feminist studies with the political process model in social movement studies. Intersectionality is an approach that considers that systems of oppression are multiple and mutually constitutive. Therefore, social inequality is the product of multiple axes of oppression that interact with one another, preventing them from being compartmentalized. The intersectional approach is useful for analyzing oppression as it considers different categories of social differentiation without isolating them from one another.

Intersectionality allows us to better account for the complexities of identity formation and therefore to understand why indigenous women in Mexico constituted themselves as distinct social actors, through their affirmation of a collective identity articulating gender, class and indigeneity. Furthermore, an intersectional approach allows us to understand how indigenous women's social locations, along with structural inequalities, influenced the relationships indigenous women established with other actors in the formation of boundaries and the creation of new organizational structures.

In other words, intersectionality is useful for understanding collective identities, but also their effect on social action and actors' participation in social movements.

This chapter introduces a theoretical framework based on the political process model in the study of social movements. Indigenous women's collective identity formation involves multiple negotiations of difference both from and within the indigenous and feminist movements, as well as the construction of symbolic boundaries between actors. However, boundary making is a *necessary* but not a *sufficient* condition. This dissertation argues that variation in the consolidation of the indigenous women's movement at the state level in Mexico derives from the form of brokerage—mediated/dependent or non-mediated/autonomous—established between indigenous women and other actors.

First, I present the intersectional approach in detail, its emergence in feminist theory and contributions to the analysis of women's multiple identities. Second, I review the political process model and address certain limitations it has for explaining the cases being examined. Third, I analyze how an intersectional approach allows for a reconceptualization of two central mechanisms, *boundary making* and *brokerage*, to account for the multiplicity of actors' relations in social movement dynamics.[4] Finally, the last section presents the research methodology and a reflexive analysis of the fieldwork. Before discussing intersectionality it is first necessary to delineate what is understood here as the consolidation process.

[4] For the purpose of this research I limit the integration of intersectionality to only a few mechanisms, but this could probably be done with other mechanisms proposed by Tilly and Tarrow (2007).

The consolidation of social movements

In this dissertation, I focus on the concrete process of consolidation of the indigenous women's movement at the state level in Mexico. The first indicator of a social movement's consolidation is access to the state, in terms of interlocution. This can be evaluated through the existence of channels of communication between governmental institutions and the movement, particularly in order to press for the advancement of the movement's agendas. For example, the movement can address demands and negotiate with the representatives of the state and federal levels of government. The second indicator is the presence of organizations at the state level where local groups are coordinated following a common agenda. In order to do this, the organization needs to have representatives that are recognized by its members and to have a structure that allows for the different groups or individuals represented to actively participate in the definition of agendas, goals and demands. Finally, the third indicator is the movement's access to resources guaranteeing their capacity to organize—meetings, workshops, and activities—but also to ensure the participation of their members in other organizing spaces.

In sum, the consolidation of social movements rests on access to the state, the existence of state-level organizations with a clear agenda, and access to resources. Consolidation is important as it makes it possible for indigenous women to elaborate agendas and specific demands, to sustain their mobilizing effort over time and to pressure the state—at different levels—to promote and defend their interests. In the cases under study consolidation varies considerably and when the movement is not consolidated at the state level there is no intermediary organizational structures to link

the national to the local. Therefore indigenous women are mobilized in isolated groups, have fewer resources and do not have channels of communication with the state to push common demands.

Intersectionality

The multiplication of distinct types of feminisms—Black feminism, Chicana feminism, Indigenous feminism—challenges feminist theory in its conceptualization of its subject of study. The emergence of subjects claiming more than one form of collective identity has transformed the way feminists think about oppression. In this section I review the major contributions of intersectionality, its definition as used here and explain its potential contribution to the study of social movements. I suggest in this section that intersectionality is central for understanding the diversity of feminisms, but also for understanding social movement dynamics.

Intersectionality has become one of the central approaches in gender studies for theorizing the complexity of oppression and identity formation.[5] It was first elaborated in the United States by African American feminists in order to conceptualize their particular experience as Black women. It has a close relationship with social movements, such as the Black feminist movement and Chicana feminist movement, and is a perspective that considers structural inequality as a complex reality resulting from the

[5] This is the case mostly in English speaking countries. In other countries, different concepts are used to address the idea of the intersecting systems of oppression and its impact on gender. In Mexico, for example, the term of intersectionality is associated with the work of feminists in the US and it is not always employed even if the theoretical motivations for understanding the complexity of oppressions is shared. This is also the case in France where the term of "consubstantialité des rapports sociaux" is preferred (Dorlin 2009; Kergoat 2009). For a compelling analysis of the differences between the use of the term in the United States, France and Quebec see Pagé (2012).

intersecting of different systems of oppression (Hill Collins 2012). This perspective has brought important changes to feminist research agendas. First, feminist research has moved away from the focus on white middle class women's concerns and experiences. Second, it increasingly acknowledges ethnic diversity within feminist movements and the different realities and experiences that exist among women. Finally, feminist research now conceptualizes gender as interrelated to other social structures such as race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, nationality, ableism, etc.

In academia, intersectionality developed in reaction to theories concerned only with one form of oppression, as feminist with sexism for example, which had as a consequence the exclusion of the specific experiences of women who lived other forms of oppression simultaneously, such as racism (Dill 1979). This understanding of women's diverse experiences was further developed by bell hooks' analysis on the connections between different systems of oppression (hooks 1984).

The intersectional approach was certainly not the first one to address the existence of more than one form of oppression. However, previous approaches understood different forms of oppression through an additive logic and the first intersectional contributions criticized the idea of conceptualizing oppression as the sum of different categories. During the 1970s and 80s, for instance, women's oppressions were conceptualized as double or triple oppression, alluding to the addition of two or three systems of oppression, such as class and race along with gender (Stasiulis 1999; West and Fenstermaker 1995).

The critique of this additive logic became dominant in the analysis of the multiplicity of oppressions through the concepts of intersectionality, coined by Kimberlé

Crenshaw (1991), and interlocking systems of oppression or the 'matrix of domination' advanced by Patricia Hill Collins (1991). Both authors introduced the idea that intersectionality takes place at the personal, group and structural levels. Crenshaw used the term to refer to situations where discrimination originates from more than one source and thus the claims emerging from these specific locations are obscured by discourses based on only one form of identity. More precisely, she introduced the concept of intersectionality to address the problem of how the experience of African American women was captured by the social categories of race and gender simultaneously. She argued that that African American women's experiences called for a new understanding of oppression, where race and gender could not be separated from one another, and where their experiences could not be understood solely as the result of the sum of both oppressions.

These conceptualizations of intersectionality invite us to think of oppression as resulting from the intersection of social structures, but also to consider the discourses produced by those who experience this complex form of discrimination as valuable sources of knowledge (Pagé 2012). In this perspective, an intersectional approach invites us to reconsider our understanding of oppression, but also to challenge how exclusions take place within groups.

Intersectionality calls for the need to decentre feminist research and to question the 'homogeneity' assumed to apply to all women.[6] As expressed by Crenshaw (1991: 1299): "we might call attention to how the identity of 'the group' has been centred on the intersectional identities of a few." For this reason, the first intersectional analyses

[6] A good illustration of this is the work of Dorothy Smith (1987), who considers the everyday world as the grounds for knowledge production but tends to homogenize women's experience.

focused on the experience of women who had been historically marginalized not only generally by society but also within feminism. From this perspective Collins (1991) proposed an analysis of the specific experience of Black women as a distinctive location from where an alternative epistemology could be developed, giving voice through this to women oppressed on the grounds of gender and race. In proposing the notion of situated knowledge, she argued that there is a need to recognize new sources of knowledge production from the experience of marginalized groups. Knowledge and understanding of the experiences and oppression of marginalized people need to be analyzed by the members of these groups in order to give voice to their experiences as well as the different understandings of reality that emerge from it.

Inspired by the contribution of such perspectives, other feminists built on this conceptualization of intersectionality. Notably, Chicana feminists Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherrie Moraga (1983) analyzed sexism within the Chicano movement and the role of sexuality in its relation to gender and ethnicity. Indeed, feminists anchored in an intersectional perspective questioned the assumption that women's oppression represents a unique and universal experience. Considering the articulation of different forms of oppression, isolating gender as the unique and common base for all women came to be seen as reductive and inaccurate. This brief discussion of the development of the concept of intersectionality brings us to the actual use of the term, and its potential contributions to social research.[7]

[7] Aside from the great interest in intersectionality as an analytical tool to theorize the complexity of oppression and identity formation, there continue to be unresolved questions (Nash 2008). Among the most urgent problems is the lack of a common definition of the term, the lack of a common perspective on an intersectional methodology, and the challenge of addressing multiple forms of discrimination beyond the intersection of two or three social structures (gender, race, class) (McCall 2005).

I suggest here a definition of intersectionality as an analytical tool that focuses on the articulation of different power relations, conceived as mutually constitutive. Anchored in a constructivist understanding of the relational and contextual aspects of power, intersectionality highlights the indivisibility of categories of identification.[8] As explained by McClintock (1995: 5), categories of gender, race and class are conceived as *articulated*, rather than isolated from each other: "race, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; nor can they be simply yoked together retrospectively like armatures of Lego. Rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other—if in contradictory and conflictual ways."

In other words, it is not possible to separate these categories. According to Bilge (2010: 58), intersectionality "refutes the compartmentalization and hierarchization of the great axes of social differentiation through categories […] The intersectional approach goes beyond simple recognition of the multiplicity of the systems of oppression functioning out of these categories and postulates their interplay in the production and reproduction of social inequalities." What is central to the conceptualization of intersectionality is that it considers categories to be articulated, relational and contextual, therefore involving dynamic relations of production and reproduction of social structures.

Here I argue that the question is not to seek to address all the categories possibly involved in order to understand how all systems of domination determine experiences of oppression. Rather, the point is to offer a conceptual and theoretical framework that can

[8] This theoretical perspective emerged as a reaction to those theories centred exclusively on one or two axes of power and to the analysis based on an additive logic (West et Fenstermaker 1995).

focus the analysis on the main axes of domination at play in a particular context.[9] Systems of oppression act simultaneously and produce diverse social standpoints, both materially and subjectively (Collins 1991; Mohanty 1991). The complexity of women's diverse experiences of oppression is translated into a large diversity of women's self-identification and consequently the type of collective actions women undertake (Yuval-Davis 2006). The goal, then, becomes identifying analytical categories in order to understand how women's positionalities affect the way they organize (Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Rousseau 2009). More broadly, what are the effects of analyzing identity and inequality from an intersectional perspective when studying social movements?

Feminist theories of intersectionality in the study of social movements

Feminist research on social movements has shown how gender dynamics within social movements are one of the major causes of the creation of women-only organizations and feminist movements. When women challenge gendered internal dynamics in social organizations, the tension they create often leads to the emergence of new political actors and social organizations. A good example of this is the creation of 'consciousness raising' feminist groups in the second wave of the feminist movement in a context where feminism was perceived as endangering the unity of leftist groups whose identity was class-grounded (Alvarez 1998; Roth 2004). As presented by Roth (2005: 187), "because women played crucial roles in the day-to-day production of social

[9] In their majority, studies on intersectionality focus on marginalized identities and not on privileged identities in terms of intersectionality. "This unresolved theoretical dispute makes it unclear whether intersectionality is a theory of marginalized subjectivity or a generalized theory of identity" (Nash 2008: 10). Along with Nash, I argue that in order to be able to fully understand power in a relational perspective it is necessary to account for subordination as well as for domination in order to analyze the intersecting of social positions and the way they affect individuals' experiences.

movement activity, feminist concerns were considered threatening and diversionary on both a practical and ideological level." As a reaction to the gendered dynamics within socialist groups women created non-mixed groups and developed specific analyses of the discriminations faced by women in different social spheres (private and public).

However, gender was far from being the only dynamic at play in the creation of feminist and women's movements; there were also ideological differences and divisions created on the grounds of race and class. In Mexico this is illustrated by the different types of feminism such as historic, popular, civic and indigenous (Espinosa Damián 2009). In Latin America, the major division within the Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Encounters (Encuentros Feministas Latinoamericanos y del Caribe), first organized in Colombia in 1981, were ideological. The main tension emerging from the Encounters centred on the opposition between the 'autonomous' and the 'institutional' feminists, the first challenging the increasing professionalization of some feminist groups and the decrease in their autonomy regarding institutional funding (Alvarez 1999).[10] However, if this concern surrounding the NGOization of the feminist movement was central, other tensions emerged regarding the definition of the movement's collective identity.

The tensions that emerged in such spaces expressed the diversity of social positions occupied by feminists and how they defined their identity. On the one hand, gender was considered the primary social category for grounding collective action whereas on the other, gender was conceived as one social category among others, such

[10] Different opinions emerged regarding feminist groups' autonomy from or collaboration with political parties and the state, and the types of demands and priorities groups articulated (sexual rights and non violence versus economic rights, for example).

as class and race. In this perspective, for popular feminists in Mexico, gender was to be considered along with class in women's actions and demands.[11] This conceptualization of gender in its relation to other social categories brought attention to differences within the women's and feminist movements in Mexico as well as in other Latin American countries. For example, Black women in the VII Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Encounter in Chile in 1996 denounced the way in which race and ethnicity were completely excluded from the debates, and the idea that equality was not conceived as grounded in diversity and the recognition of differences among women (Olea Mauleón 1998).

The case of the Encounters highlights the increasingly problematic tensions between different positionalities within the feminist movement as women began to denounce the lack of recognition of differences among them. These challenges taking place at different moments and addressed by different actors (popular feminists, indigenous feminists and Black feminists) questioned the problematic assumption of a homogenous identity shared by all women and pointed to the need to think about gender in its relation to class and race.

These tensions within the Latin American feminist movement are not unique, as women also challenged other social movements to recognize the different positionalities occupied by movement members. This recurring tension in the negotiation of who gets to define collective movements' identities raises the question of how multiple identities are dealt with and how movements are able or unable to represent this diversity. It is in

[11] As defined by Espinosa Damián (2009: 85), popular feminism refers to the "processes embodied and headed by women from popular sectors who create their own spaces but who also participate in mixed organizations and combine the struggle to transform gender inequalities and favourably reposition women with other type of demands."

response to such challenges that I propose integrating an intersectional analysis into the study of social movement dynamics.

Few intersectional analyses of social movements have focused on the role of intersectionality in the emergence of the different types of feminism (Indigenous, Black, Chicana and White Feminists Movements) that originated from broader movements (Indigenous, Civil Rights, Leftist Movements). In Mexico, this has been addressed by Hernandez Castillo (2002, 2008, 2010) and Espinosa Damián (2009). However, their analyses are focused on discourse and identity formation, leaving aside an analysis of organizing structures and movement dynamics at the sub-national level.

Recent scholarship in social movement studies has laid the groundwork for incorporating intersectionality into our understandings of the emergence of divergent and diverse feminist movements (Bernstein 2008; Meyer 2000; Nash 2008; Roth 2004; Rousseau 2009; Townsend-Bell 2011). Nonetheless, the adoption of an intersectional perspective in the study of social movements has yet to be systematized and this thesis represents a contribution to this effort.

The literature on collective identity does not generally address the complexity of how individuals' multiple identities affect the process of collective identity formation and movement discourses. Integrating an intersectional perspective into the political process model could improve our understanding of certain social movement dynamics. This is central to explaining the emergence of collective identities within the women's movement. For this purpose I build on recent contributions integrating intersectionality

into social movement studies, among them Bernstein (2008), Meyer (2000), Roth (2004), and Rousseau (2009).

Roth (2004) provides one of the first complete studies of how intersectionality can be integrated into social movement theory, accounting for the interplay between structural, social, and individual factors. She proposes a social constructivist approach of intersectionality in order to study the emergence and development of different feminist movements during the Second Wave in the United States (Black, Chicana and White feminisms). In her account, Roth (2004) considers both the intra and inter movement dynamics in order to explain the movements' emergence and trajectories. The different social locations of feminists, their unequal access to resources, and structural inequalities were central to their political choices concerning collective action. For these reasons, she argues, these are "separate roads to feminism."

Taylor and Whittier's (1992) classic contribution to the study of collective identity formation in social movements, without explicitly addressing intersectionality, has been used to ground feminist contributions to social movement theories. One of them is Bernstein (2008), who advocates an intersectional approach that embraces the complexity of individuals' multiple identities and their relationship to both internal and external factors in social movement dynamics (organizational level, political environment and external actors, internal dynamics). In addressing both external and internal factors, as well as structural and social dynamics, Bernstein's piece provides an important analytical base for addressing the influence of intersectionality on collective identity.

Other contributions such as Nash (2008) focus more on the dimension of identity and suggest different avenues for further research in order to develop a general theory of identity from an intersectional approach: "If intersectionality theory purports to provide a general theory of identity, it must grapple with whether intersectionality actually captures the ways in which subjects experience subjectivity or strategically deploy identity. In particular, intersectionality has yet to contend with whether its theory explains or describes the processes and mechanisms by which subjects mobilize (or choose not to mobilize) particular aspects of their identities in particular circumstances" (Nash 2008: 11). This question is key, as it addresses the relationship between how oppression is experienced and perceived and how it affects collective action.

Rousseau's (2009) analysis of the formation and transformation of identity boundaries within social movements from an intersectional perspective in the case of indigenous women's mobilization is a concrete analysis in line with these perspectives on collective identity formation. She argues that the inclusion of an intersectional perspective in analyzing internal dynamics concerning identity formation is helpful in understanding why, for certain actors, their multiple identities conflict with other actors, and how this affects social movement dynamics: "through the intersectional paradigm it is possible to apprehend the role of structural, cultural and political dimensions in the 'distribution' of movements thus creating new identities and social groups" (Rousseau 2009: 136).[12] Her contribution focuses on the identity dimension in the study of social movements. I suggest here that in order to fully account for all dimensions of social movement dynamics, we need an approach that integrates this concern for identity

[12] The original is in French, and this is my translation.

formation, along with structural dimensions and dynamics at the organizational level.

These complementary contributions represent an important step towards the integration of an intersectional approach into social movement theory. To better grasp the contribution of an intersectional analysis of social movements we need to define mechanisms that can account for the role of intersectionality in collective identity formation, but also its consequence for the dynamics of social movements, which vary from one context to another. In other words, an intersectional perspective, where gender and race create different outcomes (organizations and discourses), also needs to integrate a measure of how the relationships between intersecting power relations affect the mechanisms and processes that explain movements' emergence and development, and to what extent they vary from one context to another.

Building on this work I propose incorporating an intersectional interpretation of processes and mechanisms into the explanation of social movement emergence and development. For this purpose I first provide a brief overview of the political process model.

The political process model and collective identity

This section outlines the political process model and identifies how intersectionality can be useful for reconceptualizing social movement mechanisms and thus, can contribute to a better understanding of collective identity formation and its influence on social movements' organizational structures and consolidation.

The political process model (PPM) presents a shift away from previous models for understanding social movements, and particularly, the resource mobilization model,[13] which focuses on resources, organizational structure and actors. Its major contribution is that it incorporates the political context and the relationship between social movements and the state in order to better understand social movements' emergence and decline (McAdam 1999; Tilly 1978). That is, this approach analyzes the role of the state in facilitating and constraining collective action as a key dimension of movements' emergence and decline, as referred to by the concept of political opportunity structure.

The concept of political opportunity structure (POS) is one of the major contributions of the political process model, and helps to explain the conditions facilitating movements' emergence. Tarrow (1998: 76-77) defines the concept of political opportunity as "consistent—but not necessarily formal or permanent—dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting people's expectations for success or failure." More precisely, it is a shift in the POS that provides the necessary conditions for movements to emerge, grow or decline.

The political opportunity structure is comprised of two central dimensions: static and dynamic (Tarrow 1998). The static dimension refers to the strength of the state (weak or strong) and the state's reaction to civil mobilization (inclusion or exclusion). The dynamic dimension refers to an opening of the political opportunity structure: increasing access to participation, shifting political alignments, divided elites, influential

[13] Resource Mobilization Theory was first proposed as a reaction to the classical or behaviourist model, which holds that social movements emerge from individual beliefs and grievances. The resource mobilization model is anchored in the rational choice theory of Mancur Olson, where organizations and entrepreneurs are the basic units of analysis. This model centres its analysis on social movement organizations and the role of resources as the principal variables in determining the possibility of collective action (McCarthy et Zald. 1977; Snow, Zurcher and Ekland-Olson 1980).

allies, and repression and facilitation (Ancelovici 2009; Meyer and Minkoff 2004; Tarrow 1998). Political opportunities are usually conceived as factors that are external to social movements, and thus the central factor facilitating or constraining collective action is a change in the configuration of the political regime (Tilly and Tarrow 2008).

The PPM's emphasis on structural and material factors received much criticism in the context of the cultural turn of the 1990s as it failed to address actors' motivations for mobilizing. As pointed out by Alvarez and Escobar, "the 'how' of social movements does not solely depend on the availability of organizational and ideological resources, opportunity spaces, and other factors privileged by resource mobilization theory; the emergence and development of movements also entail the production of meanings and the construction of collective identities" (1992: 319).

With a new interest in individuals' motivations, research on social movements brought attention to the role that collective identity, culture and emotions played in social movement dynamics (Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar 1998; Johnston and Klandermans 1995; Morris and Mueller 1992).[14] These authors made it clear that the political process model assumed these dimensions as merely strategic and objective, leaving behind how social actors perceive their environment and why and how they choose to mobilize collectively. As Melucci (1995) argued, collective identity is more than the result of structural factors or the sum of individual beliefs, it is a process of construction rather than something static or permanent.

[14] For a good account of these critiques and their impact on the political process model and its central concepts see Goodwin and Jasper (2004).

Responding to these critiques on the role of identity in social movement mobilization McAdam (1994), Tarrow (1998) and McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) proposed a more dynamic framework, integrating identity into the PPM via the concept of frames as well as a new conceptualization in terms of processes and mechanisms. A more elaborated version of this perspective is presented by Tilly and Tarrow (2007), which is an important reconceptualization towards an integration of the role of identity in social movement dynamics (e.g. boundary making, actor constitution, etc.). These authors recognize that opportunities are insufficient in themselves for social movements to emerge since actors' have to first perceive constraints or opportunities. This recent reconceptualization allows for a more complex understanding of social movements' emergence and trajectories.

One of the implications of this integration of identity into the political process model is the need to decentre the relationship between social movements and the state (Ancelovici 2009; Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Snow 2004). Although this relationship is highly significant for understanding the possibilities of collective action, intra and inter movement dynamics need to be addressed more seriously when analyzing political opportunities. This implies going beyond the structural dimensions of the political process model to think of social movements' external and internal dynamics. Moreover, this involves conceiving of political actors and opportunities from a broader perspective, and not exclusively defined by their *direct* relationship to the formal sphere of politics (Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar 1998; Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Levi and Gillian H. 2006; Pichardo 1997; Snow 2004; Staggenborg and Taylor 2005).

I suggest that the integration of an intersectional perspective points to the need to consider that the distinct dimensions of social mobilization, such as identity formation, cannot be understood in isolation from structures of inequality.[15] Moreover, I argue that insufficient attention has been given to the dynamics between social movements and the broader society. We need to account for the effect of social structures on movements' internal dynamics and how this influences relations both between and within different movements (Rousseau 2009; 2011). Thus, I propose a closer consideration of the processes of collective identity formation and their potential influence on social movement dynamics that indirectly or directly affect state-society relations (Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar 1998; Alvarez and Escobar 1992). David Meyer (2000) refers to these as the outside and inside world of social movements. However, these dimensions are not isolated from one another, and I suggest that intersectionality can help us take them into account when elaborating analytical frameworks.

This implies expanding the conception of power in the study of social movements to allow for a better understanding of those dynamics that are not situated in relation to the state, but rather, within and at the intersection of different movements (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Meyer 2000). In other words, we need to conceptualize the political sphere beyond formal politics to analyze the influence of certain dynamics within movements that are not necessarily prevalent in the state-movement relationship (Ancelovici 2009; Levi and Gillian H. 2006; Pichardo 1997; Rousseau 2009; Snow 2004; Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). In concrete terms, this means paying more

[15] As argued by Goodwin and Hetland (2009: 1), social movement studies have also neglected, in the past three decades, the "enabling and constraining effects of capitalism." They argue that even when social movements do not primarily address class demands they are not isolated from capitalism, which shapes, facilitates and constrains social movements.

attention to relationships between formal and informal institutions (Rubin 2004). This focus has been at the core of feminist theory. As Meyer (2000: 36) notes "feminist theory encourages us to recognize broader sources and arenas of politics, different and additional sources of political power, and a wider range of significant actors, finding power, influence, and general importance in people neglected by more conventional political analyses."

In the next section I explain how this theoretical framework can integrate an intersectional perspective through the reconceptualization of processes and mechanisms for a better understanding of collective identity formation and its influence on social movement development, namely, on consolidation (Bernstein 2008; Meyer 2000; Roth 2004; Rousseau 2009).

Processes and mechanisms from an intersectional perspective

As explained in previous sections, an intersectional approach underlies the relational and contextual nature of identities. However, as argued, we still need to analyze the effects of identity formation and the articulation of social categories into social movements dynamics and, more precisely, on organizational structures and identity formation. For this reason, I ground my analysis in terms of processes and mechanisms because this type of explanation focuses on the relational and dynamic dimensions of social movements (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001; Tilly and Tarrow 2007).

As argued by Tilly (2001: 24) the goal of analyses based on mechanisms is to propose "selective explanations of salient features by means of partial causal analogies." This demands studying the activation of mechanisms involved in the observed cases and how they produce effects. By *mechanisms*, we understand these as "events that produce the same immediate effects over a wide range of circumstances" and by *processes*, the assemblage of "mechanisms into combinations and sequences that produce larger level effects than any particular mechanism causes by itself" (Tilly and Tarrow 2007: 214). The major difference between mechanisms and processes rests therefore at the level of observation. This approach also suggests that we focus on the relationships between mechanisms in order to understand variations between cases when the chain of mechanisms does not produce similar effects. Although it is the presence or absence of a mechanism that can explain variation in a process, I argue in this thesis that the form taken by a mechanism (e.g. mediated or dependent and non-mediated or autonomous brokerage) can also explain a variation in the process.

I suggest that adopting this approach of processes and mechanisms to the study of social movements in Latin America is useful for explaining variation that would be obscured by an approach focused solely on collective identity and culture. As argued in this dissertation, if we consider the case of the indigenous women's movement, taking collective identity formation into account is crucial for understanding the emergence of this movement. Other approaches, such as a perspective on new social movements (cf. Melucci, Tourraine), could effectively be useful to explain the emergence of the indigenous women's collective identity. However, if we want to account for the divergences in the consolidation processes of the movement at the sub-national level, we

need to consider an approach that can be used in a comparative perspective and that offers an analysis that can allow us to see where and why some sub-national movements diverge from others. I contend that the political process model, combined with intersectionality, is better suited for this purpose.

I focus primarily on two mechanisms: *boundary making*—the creation of categories identifying who belongs or not to the movement—and *brokerage*—the creation of new relations between actors—to account for variation in the consolidation process of indigenous women's movements at the state-level in Mexico (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001; Tilly and Tarrow 2007). These two mechanisms, brokerage and boundary making, are analytically distinct, but in practice they are interrelated and influence each other. They are therefore not fixed and change according to the dynamics both between and within movements.

Boundary making

The mechanism of boundary making refers to the "creation of an us-them distinction between two political actors" (Tilly and Tarrow 2008: 215). In social movement theory, boundary making is generally analyzed in terms of an oppositional relationship between social movement actors and external dominant groups. As suggested by Taylor and Whittier (1992), collective identity formation involves the creation of boundaries and the development of a political consciousness. Collective identity formation is an intrinsic dimension of all social movements, thereby producing collective goals and collective action out of individual agency (Berstein 2008). In this sense, boundary making is central to collective identity formation as boundaries are

created that allow actors to mobilize and position themselves along political lines. However, boundary making also takes place within social movements where "political identity formation [is] the constant and contingent negotiation of difference within organizations" (Stephen 2001: 55). In the same vein, Roth (2004) suggests that collective identities tend to be perceived in terms of a binary opposition between actors while category formation is more complex if we consider that there are sometimes different categories at play simultaneously: "In combating intersecting oppressions, the establishment of boundaries is a provisional and shifting exercise (Sandoval 1991); exclusion does not necessarily resolve into opposition" (Roth 2004: 218).

With the case of Chicana and Black feminisms, it is possible to see that women do not necessarily always mobilize in oppositional politics (e.g. opposition to men); rather, their process is simultaneously influenced by the relationships they have with other social actors (e.g. white feminists). It is crucial to take this dynamic into consideration since numerous feminisms do not develop from a binary opposition between men and women, as some feminists developed during the 'second wave' when arguing that women shared a unique and universal experience of oppression.[16] Indeed, in most cases women deal with diverse identities, which explains the diversity of feminist movements. Therefore, collective identity formation involves conflict and negotiation and can include multiple actors/collective identities competing simultaneously.

An example of this is the case of indigenous women who display a collective identity that articulates ethnicity and gender. Indigenous women generally identify

[16] The typologies of feminism grounded on the idea of waves have received important critiques, suggesting that we should rather distinguish feminisms from their political projects (Blais et al. 2007). I am referring here to the term of "second wave" following Roth (2004), who studies the diversity of feminisms within the second wave in the United States.

themselves with the indigenous movement's demands, whose discourses are formulated on the grounds of indigeneity and collective rights. However, indigenous women have also developed a discourse on women's rights and gender equality, which they consider as compatible with people's collective rights. In doing so they refuse to identify themselves with a unique group identity, being ethnicity (indigenous movement) or gender (feminist movement) (Hernández Castillo 2001).

Building on the framework developed by Taylor and Whittier (1992), Bernstein (2008: 279) argues for the need to integrate an intersectional approach into the study of the creation of collective identity "to explain more in detail how the content of movement's collective identity is created."[17] In order to do so, Bernstein suggests paying attention to movements' organizational factors (internal dynamics) and external environment (external dynamics).

First, the organizational structure of social movements affects internal negotiations within the movements regarding difference, either exacerbating these differences or fostering cohesive identities: "Organizational structure can either facilitate or impede the creation of an empowering identity that can adequately address issues of internal differences" (Bernstein 2008: 279). Bernstein (2008) does not specify what she means by organizational structure, but here I suggest considering it as the types of relationships among actors within organizations or networks (hierarchies, division of labour, power dynamics). This considers who is mobilized and who has the legitimacy to determine what issues are valid.

[17] Bernstein (2008) refers to collective identity formation through the concept of "identity for empowerment."

Second, the external environment (political context, opposing movements, other social movements, targets) also affects collective identity formation in terms of discourse formation and membership. Social relations tend to influence the internal dynamics and distribution of power within organizations, as well as the criteria used to decide who belongs to the movement and who does not. Such internal dynamics, in constant redefinition along with external contexts, can lead to the exacerbation of certain differences and the creation of boundaries within social movements.

As reported by different indigenous leaders in this research, the resistance within indigenous movements to include women's specific demands was a determining factor in indigenous women's decision to create autonomous organizing spaces discourses (Gutierrez and Palomo 2000; Rivera 2008; Sanchez Néstor 2005). The same way that women might refuse to prioritize indigenous demands over gendered demands within the indigenous movement, they also refused to consider exclusively gender-based demands without taking into account indigenous peoples' collective demands grounded in indigeneity. Indeed we can understand the creation of a women's indigenous movement as caused in some ways by the failure of both the indigenous movement to integrate a critical gender perspective into its demands, and the women's/feminist movements to integrate a critical antiracist perspective into its gender demands. It is from their specific social location that indigenous women constantly negotiate inclusion within the indigenous movement, and on occasion, formulate a specific discourse and collective identity, thus becoming a specific political actor with a common base for organizing. Indigenous women have deployed various strategies to articulate both

ethnicity and gender in their demands and actions, as with the integration of women's rights into the frame of collective peoples' rights (Meyer and Whittier 1994).[18]

When women decide to create autonomous spaces they construct new boundaries that may be more or less oppositional in relation to the broader mixed indigenous organizations (Taylor and Whittier 1992). The creation of new spaces of organization by indigenous women could be a reaction to the non-recognition of their gender demands within the discourse of the indigenous movement. The nature of a social movement's reactions to new claims and demands within its ranks leads to an internal negotiation for recognition that can have different outcomes; the two opposite extremes are when the movement substantially redefines its discourse in order to include new demands, or alternatively, refuses to incorporate them.[19] The type of reaction can increase or lower the perceived need for boundary transgression by actors. As a consequence, where obstacles are minimal some women continue to mobilize within the indigenous movement's organizations and occupy an important role in integrating women's interests into the movement's agenda and discourse.

In sum, when conceptualizing boundary making from an intersectional approach, we need to consider the intersecting of different systems, the impact this has on how actors perceive their identities, and how concretely actors negotiate the differences both within and between social movements. Additionally, intersectionality is key to understanding how the distinct positions women occupy within movements can lead to

[18] This transmission of a discourse from the feminist movement to the indigenous women's movement can be analyzed through the concept of spillover, as women share organizational spaces and resources (Meyer and Whittier 1994).

[19] Aura Cumes' (2009) analysis of the different reactions men have towards indigenous women's gender demands sheds light on the complexity women face in terms of integrating gender into indigenous demands.

the formation of different forms of feminism and therefore collective identities. If intersectionality is key for collective identity formation and boundary making specifically, it also affects the form of relationships actors establish with one another, as explained in the next section, which reconceptualizes brokerage from an intersectional approach.

Brokerage

The concept of brokerage, as defined by Tilly and Tarrow (2007), refers to the "production of new connection between previously unconnected sites," thus facilitating coordination. In other words, it alludes to the linking of different sites, or the mediation between different actors of a social movement (e.g. women's movement) or between organizations of different movements (e.g. feminist organizations and indigenous organizations) (Tarrow 2005). Brokerage is therefore about establishing relationships among different actors. In concrete terms, what is involved in this connection? I suggest that brokerage enables actors to establish or increase coordination among actors within a social movement—or different movements—but also to gain direct access to resources.

For example, a broker could be a mestiza bringing together indigenous women from different local groups to discuss women's rights and develop common projects. A broker could also be an indigenous leader connecting local organizations in order to establish a broader organizing collective. However, as this dissertation proposes, brokerage can take different forms, particularly if we consider intersectionality and its influence on the types of relationships that exist between social movement actors.

Brokerage is conditioned by the intersection of structural relations based on gender, race, and class, and its particular form shapes the consolidation of movements. From this consideration I suggest that brokerage can take different forms: 'non-mediated brokerage' and 'mediated brokerage.' The former refers to situations where indigenous women are brokers themselves whereas the latter refers to situations where indigenous women are not the ones acting as brokers. Put differently, the former implies relational autonomy while the latter implies relational dependency.

I argue that the types of relationships established by leaders in connecting different actors has an important influence on the capacity of actors to access resources, but also, on the capacity of actors to position themselves in an egalitarian relationship with other actors. Within the women's movements in Chiapas, for example, mestiza women enjoy privileged access to resources due to the positions they occupy as coordinators of most women's organizations. Because indigenous women do not occupy key positions in these organizations, nor in indigenous organizations in Chiapas, the type of brokerage they are able to establish is mediated, or dependent, on the allies they find within these organizations.

However, when new collective actors—indigenous women, for instance—are in the process of being constituted, they can potentially challenge the previous distribution of positions. Consequently, new groups mobilize to access resources, activate boundaries and position themselves as equal actors. When this happens, leaders of these new groups are usually active in creating new ties and/or redefining previous relationships. And the types of alliances endorsed by leaders will have an effect on their level of access to new resources as well as their level of structural autonomy.

Nonetheless, in some contexts brokerage is still mediated and prevents the consolidation of movements.

In competitive fields actors will struggle over resources by displaying different strategies, while in less competitive environments there is more potential for collaboration within a particular social movement. For example, if we consider the women's movement (including feminist, popular, and indigenous women's groups and organizations), we note that relationships between indigenous women's organizations and feminist groups are complex, and have been characterized at different times by both substantial collaborations and tensions over the definition of agendas when internal boundaries are present. This has led, in some cases, to exclusionary practices that reinforce social boundaries between women. Women's groups do not all possess the same level of access to resources and the state. The power imbalance existing between middle class mestiza women and indigenous women is visible in their differing levels of access to resources and the distribution of positions within social movements organizations. This uneven distribution of both positions and access to resources has provoked significant tensions as it also creates imbalances in decisional power within organizations.

The role of external actors is crucial to social movements as they provide resources, networks and opportunities to strengthen indigenous women's organizing processes. A social movement's relationship to other social movements and actors is of major importance because it affects the movement's organizational structure, mobilization and actions/discourses. Roth (2004) points to this as a contradictory legacy of constraint and facilitation: "Prior movements gift feminists with skills and contacts,

while burdening them with loyalties to an existing community and potential constraints on feminist activity" (Roth 2004: 21). For Roth (2004), in order to understand the emergence of feminism within other social movements it is important to analyze how these movements represented an opportunity in terms of resources for women and why women at times moved away from their 'parent' movements (e.g. Civil Rights and Chicano movements). But, I will add, it is also important to analyze how effectively they build these movements, and why consolidating processes vary.

Overall, the form of brokerage employed by actors influences both the movement's organizational capacity to coordinate and its access to resources. The incorporation of an intersectional perspective into the conceptualization of the processes and mechanisms previously defined by Tilly and Tarrow (2007) takes into account how actors' social positions result from intersecting structures and shape relationships both within and between social movements. Therefore, both internal and external dynamics are to be considered here when analyzing the emergence and development of social movements. Moreover, these dynamics vary from one political context to another and it is crucial to take this into consideration when analyzing social movements from an intersectional perspective. Put differently, brokerage is affected by the intersection of structural relations (gender, race and class) that results in varying processes of consolidation among indigenous women's movements.

The argument: Variation in the consolidation process

The formation of a collective identity by indigenous women's movements is necessary but insufficient for explaining the movements' consolidation. Variation in the

consolidation of the organizing processes of indigenous women at the state level in Mexico stems from the persistence of other social actors that mediate indigenous women's discourses and organizing processes.

The consolidation of state-level movements depends on the creation of a collective identity and independent organizational structures demarcating a clear boundary with other social actors and movements. In the case of a persistent intermediation (Chiapas), the state-level indigenous women's movement did not consolidate and was coopted by feminist organizations. In cases where mediation ceased (Oaxaca and Guerrero), the state-level indigenous women's movement consolidated and a relationship of cooperation developed with other social actors.

The consolidation of indigenous women's organizing processes depends first of all on the development of a collective identity. Collective identity was formed in every case (indigenous women's integration of gender into their discourse). In Chiapas, however, this did not lead to the creation of a consolidated organizing process at the state level. Although boundary making is central to processes of consolidation and existed in each of the three cases (Chiapas, Guerrero and Oaxaca), variation among the cases is explained by the type of brokerage that was present (See Table 1). In the observed cases brokerage takes two forms; the first is 'non-mediated brokerage' (where indigenous women are themselves brokers) and the second is mediated brokerage' (where indigenous women do not act as brokers, but where their discourses are mediated by mestiza feminist brokers).

Table 1: Consolidation of indigenous women's state-level movements

	CHIAPAS	OAXACA	GUERRERO
COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES Boundary making	Creation of an autonomous discourse by indigenous women -Integration of gender within indigenous identities (race and class)	Creation of an autonomous discourse by indigenous women -Integration of gender within indigenous identities (race and class)	Creation of an autonomous discourse by indigenous women -Integration of gender within indigenous identities (race and class)
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE Brokerage	Mediated or dependent brokerage -Mediation in representation -Indirect access to resources -Low level of coordination between local organizations	Non-mediated or autonomous brokerage -Direct representation -Direct access to resources -High level or coordination between local organizations	Non-mediated or autonomous brokerage -Direct representation -Direct access to resources -High level or coordination between local organizations
OUTCOME	Low consolidation	High consolidation	High consolidation

The nature of the relationships between mestiza feminists and indigenous women ultimately determined the form of brokerage that occured. In Chiapas, the alliances established between mestiza feminists and indigenous women were instrumental for supporting the emergence of a new discourse on indigenous women's rights. However, indigenous women's interests are still mediated by mestiza feminists at the state level. Feminist organizations work in isolation from one another, which prevents cooperation among indigenous women's local groups. As a result, indigenous women identify primarily with local organizations and not with a broader movement. Indigenous women

do not occupy positions of representation within feminist organizations, which leads to their exclusion from organizing processes at the state level (in particular, it prevents them from establishing relationships with other indigenous women actors). Such exclusion means that indigenous women are not directly represented by their leaders, and do not have equal access to resources. Access to resources is consequently mediated through these unequal relations between mestizas and indigenous women, particularly in Chiapas, where brokerage takes the form of cooptation mediated by mestizas, while in Guerrero and Oaxaca brokerage takes the form of cooperation.

While brokerage and boundary making are the key mechanisms discussed in this dissertation, the analysis must also take into account the legacies of the organization and mobilization of indigenous women's prior involvement in indigenous and peasant movements. Indigenous women's previous experiences influenced, and continue to influence, the organizational consolidation of indigenous women's movements. Thus, it is necessary not only to contextualize the emergence of indigenous women's movements, but also to understand the dynamics that impacted both identity formation and the relationships established between indigenous women and other actors. As explained by Ray (1999: 35), "history has taught us that participation in social movements previous to participation in the women's movements is crucial in the formation of the interests and capacities of the latter." Therefore, within case and cross-case analyses are grounded in the mechanisms of boundary making and brokerage, but each chapter begins by outlining the political context and legacies of each case under study.

Research method

This dissertation compares three case studies in order to reveal the mechanisms at work in the consolidation process of indigenous women's organizing, highlighting how the dynamics of intersectionality shape sub-national organizing. Qualitative methods were chosen because of the nature of the research question. The study of social movement dynamics requires detailed descriptions and accounts by social actors to provide the researcher with as much information as possible for the analysis (Becker 1996).[20]

The research is based on a multiple case study research methodology from an inductive approach (Creswell 2007). Three cases were selected for this research in order to show different processes of indigenous women's organizing at the sub-national level in a comparative perspective. The sub-national level was chosen as the level of analysis to reveal dynamics that are rendered invisible at the national scale (Staggenborg and Taylor 2005).[21] I propose an analysis of social movements at the sub-national level, which in Mexico means at the level of the states that together form the Mexican federation. Studying sub-national movements captures the impact of national movements on the creation of new social movement spaces/organizations. An account of the movement's outcomes at other levels of mobilization could contribute to a more accurate evaluation of its effects and highlight potential variations. As mentioned above,

[20] Other methods were excluded because they were less appropriate for the nature of the question. Surveys, for example, would have been insufficient for gathering the type of detailed information needed and for constructing a complex picture of the dynamics between movements. Because of the comparative goal of this project ethnographic research was not the best suited method either. It would have been too time consuming to conduct in three states.

[21] For a discussion of the question of internal differences and the tension between such differences and the formation of a collective identity in Mexico see Stephen (2001).

existing research on indigenous women's mobilizing in Mexico focuses on local organizations or the national level, leaving the dynamics between movements, and particularly, between levels of mobilization unexamined.

Shifting the level of observation from the national to the sub-national level is also central to understanding how intersectionality shapes the process of social movement consolidation. Because social relations are contextual, the analysis of only one level of mobilization provides a partial view of social movement dynamics. For example, dynamics at play in sub-national movements could vary considerably from the ones in national movements. Focusing on the sub-national level in order to analyze social movement trajectories allows us to see different levels of consolidation of the indigenous women's movements, and also to lay out the internal differences of a movement that is commonly analyzed as a national movement.

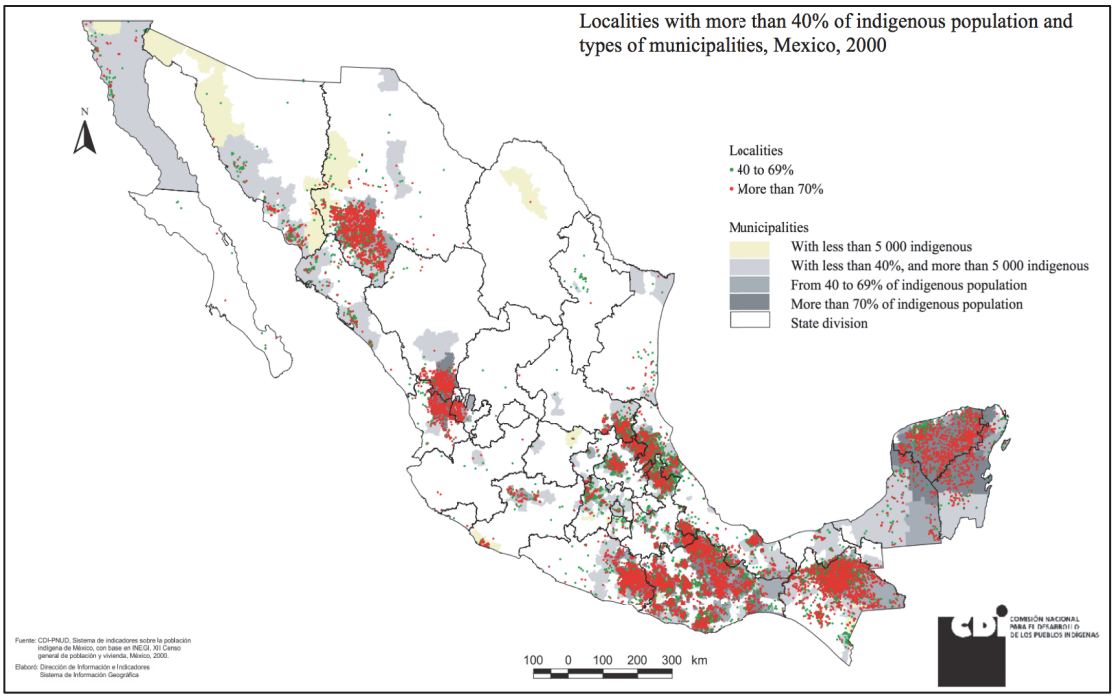
Case selection

This dissertation examines the indigenous women's movements of Chiapas, Guerrero and Oaxaca (See Figure 1). It is only in these three states that indigenous women have engaged in a process of coordination at the sub-national level. These states have each seen substantial indigenous mobilizations in both early and recent history, and indigenous women have historically participated in mixed indigenous movements. Additionally, national leaders of these movements originate in these states. Finally, each of the three states has witnessed large-scale social protests since the 1990s (e.g. Zapatista movement, Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca, Guerrero Council for 500 Years).

Figure 1: States of Mexico

These three states share similar socio-economic characteristics and a history of strong social mobilization. They are among the eight states with the highest percentage of citizens that self-identify as indigenous (Yucatán (62.7%), Oaxaca (58%), Quintana Roo (33.8%), Chiapas (32.7%), Campeche (32%), Hidalgo (30,1%), Puebla (25.2%) and Guerrero (22.6%)) (INEGI 2010). Moreover, external actors with important resources (NGOs, the Church, and intellectuals) have been actively involved in different organizational processes, giving important support to these movements.

Figure 2: Localities with more than 40% of indigenous population



Source: National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples. Translated by the author.

These common factors—a strong history of mobilization, the presence of external actors facilitating collective action, and a high presence of indigenous peoples (See Figure 2)—facilitated the mobilization of indigenous women in social movements. Indeed, it is in these three states that indigenous women have been active in such movements at the local level and more recently at the regional (sub-national) level. Surprisingly, even if Chiapas shares similar historical, social and political processes with the other two states, indigenous women's organizing faces major obstacles here. This is particularly puzzling since the indigenous women's movements in Mexico identify the uprising of the Zapatista movement in Chiapas and the favourable context it created for women as a key point in their organization process. How can we explain such a paradox? Why is the

initial location of mobilization the one facing the most difficulties in the consolidation of an indigenous women's movement?

Generally, protest event analysis is the privileged methodology in social movement studies (Earl et al. 2004). It focuses on archival documents, newspaper analysis and surveys, as the analysis is grounded in acts of public protest targeting the state (Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). The indigenous women's movement in Mexico cannot be analyzed exclusively through media coverage of its protest actions because it would limit the analysis to only one form of political and social outcome of the movement. That is, it would obscure indigenous women's internal processes of mobilization, such as the diverse gatherings and workshops they organize in order to create alliances and leaderships. Gatherings and workshops organized by the indigenous women's movement are critical for understanding the dynamics behind the movement's most visible political actions. Indigenous women also use community radios as a way of reaching indigenous women in different communities, airing programs about gender as well as invitations to participate in different activities. Therefore, I consider social movement activities beyond social protest actions, to also consider the movement's social, cultural, economic and political engagements. Furthermore, I consider the space of mobilization as more than actions that take place in the public sphere, such as marches and occupations, but also meetings, workshops, and artistic projects. In other words, I examine not only visible actions, but also less visible ones; these latter, however, are no less political than more visible forms of mobilization.

While I attempted to gain access to organizations' internal archives to complement the analysis, it was very difficult to obtain written documents. For example, when I

visited the CONAMI office, all the documents were packed and access to them impossible because the organization was in the process of leaving the office they shared with a feminist NGO (Kinal Antzetik).[22] But, these circumstances only explain the lack of access. That is, we need to consider that for many indigenous organizations, the oral tradition predominates over the written tradition. The main sources of information were therefore interviews, which were complemented by observations of indigenous women's meetings, workshops and assemblies, audio-visual material, documents, reports and declarations.[23] I also consulted secondary sources (particularly other resources using interviews with indigenous women) to complement my own research on individuals' trajectories and their accounts on their organizing process.

The fieldwork was conducted in two periods, the first from October 2010 to August 2011 and the second from November to December 2011.[24] I began with bibliographic research in universities and feminist groups' libraries.[25] This was followed by observation in meetings, conferences and workshops. It was in such spaces that I was able to identify the most active and visible organizations of indigenous women at the state and sub-regional levels in order to approach their leaders for interviews. This was particularly the case during the 6th Continental encounter of indigenous women of the Americas where I met with women actively involved in regional and national

[22] In Oaxaca when I asked to access written documents I faced a similar problem, as the documents were not classified and therefore hard to find.
[23] My participation in different meetings was principally limited to observation and on every occasion I explained that I was conducting research and wanted to know more about the processes of organization and to meet women from different groups and organizations.
[24] I was based in San Cristobal de Las Casas, Chiapas, but travelled several times to different regions of the State of Oaxaca, Guerrero and Mexico City.
[25] I used secondary and primary sources such as memoires, declarations, and journal articles to understand the trajectory of women's participation in social movements. Along with these sources I reviewed the literature published in Mexico by academics and women's groups to identify mobilization, discourses, key actors and organizations.

movements and established most of the contacts for interviews. Afterwards, snowball sampling allowed me to gain entry into other spaces and meet regional and local leaders.

I relied on open-ended semi-structured interviews with leaders of local and sub-national/state-level organizations. I interviewed 35 indigenous women and 3 non-indigenous women. The non-indigenous women interviewed were selected because of their long-standing involvement in organizations promoting indigenous women's rights, interests and agendas. The respondents were in their majority leaders of local organizations, and some were state-level and national-level leaders. Among them were those originally mobilized in indigenous movements and involved in the formation of the first spaces and organizations of indigenous women at the local and national levels. The majority of these women worked in either feminist or indigenous women's organizations. Some, however, were mainly younger women who entered the movement more recently, but were actively involved at the local and regional levels. The majority of younger generations were students or had a university degree.

Interviews took place primarily in major cities, including Mexico City, while some took place in smaller communities and cities in the three states. Interviews lasted between one and three hours and were generally held in quiet places, coffee shops, or participants' work places. In most cases interviews were conducted with individual respondents, with the exception of two cases (one with two respondents and the other with three). I conducted 18 interviews with women from Chiapas, 15 interviews with women from Oaxaca, 3 with women from Guerrero and 2 with women from Mexico City. Fewer interviews were conducted in Guerrero because the process is already well documented in this region. In particular, indigenous women published a book describing

the process of organization of indigenous women in Guerrero. In Oaxaca and Chiapas most studies are local and do not provide a broader analysis of the regional process.

All interviews were conducted in Spanish since indigenous women leaders are usually bilingual—Spanish and an indigenous language—particularly at the state and national levels. Formal education in Mexico imposed the use of Spanish over indigenous languages and thus, most of the indigenous women who had access to education are bilingual. Moreover, some of the women interviewed grew up in a context of extreme repression of indigenous languages and customs and therefore older family members did not transmit these to their children. In such cases, the women I met were in the process of learning their indigenous language. In local organizations indigenous women communicate in their first language but use Spanish when they participate in state-level spaces. In broader organizations that cover more than one region, Spanish becomes the alternative since there are different languages in each state and leaders are bilingual. There are currently 65 indigenous languages spoken in Mexico, though they vary in terms of vitality and the number of people who speak them (Hidalgo 2006).

The central themes addressed in the interviews were the individual's and organization's trajectories of mobilization, the reasons motivating their activism, the organizations they were involved in, their relationships with other groups and movements, and finally, the trajectory of the indigenous women's movement (key actors, important events, actions and discourse). Data was analyzed using general codes, but no computer-based program was used for the qualitative analysis.

Positionality and fieldwork

This research also had as one of its primary aims interviewing mestiza feminists in order to better grasp the relationships between these actors and indigenous women. However, I could not gain access to feminist organizations for interviews. I knew this might be the case, as my plan to question them about how they perceive relationships between indigenous women and mestizas raises the sensitive issue of power between women. My own positionality facilitated securing interviews and gaining entry in some cases, but in other situations it constrained my access to certain actors. I knew my identity would have potential effects, negative or positive, during fieldwork, but in some cases the effect was surprising and counterintuitive.

My personal positionality is complex, and this may be one of the reasons motivating my interest in theoretical frames that aim at understanding intersecting structures and the effects these have on individuals. I am a Mexican Canadian woman; I was born in Canada, lived for 10 years in Chiapas (Mexico) as a child, and thereafter returned to Canada to live in Quebec, with some periods of interruption when I lived in Chiapas for several consecutive months. Although in Canada I am perceived as a 'visible minority' in Chiapas I am perceived as a mestiza, a member of the 'majority,' and a privileged woman.

For fieldwork I went directly to Chiapas and secured a visiting student status at the Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS), in the Unit located in Chiapas (CIESAS-Sureste). I had the opportunity to participate in seminars with other women working on women's movements, where we discussed in deep the

question of positionality and accountability of researchers (Nagar and Swarr 2010). Specifically, who writes about and researches indigenous women—why and how? My participation in those discussions pushed me to think more seriously about how I was going to present myself while conducting my fieldwork.

I approached potential respondents using different strategies (direct solicitation during events, protests and meetings, but also formal letters and phone calls to organizations). When I approached women for interviews, I presented myself as a PhD student. At the beginning of each interview I was questioned about my identity—more specifically about my nationality, family background, and motivations. The fact that I choose San Cristobal de las Casas (Chiapas) as my fieldwork site did not surprise them, as it is a very touristic city. I anticipated that they would perceive me more as a foreigner than a Mexican, but their perception seemed different when I explained that I had lived in Chiapas for several years. At this moment I became the Chiapaneca-Canadian student conducting research. I think it made a difference for them to know that I was living in Chiapas, that I had lived there for many years, and that my family lived there too. I sensed that their perception of me as someone from Chiapas made them more open to participating in the research.

I thought that the fact of being mestiza would make it harder for me to recruit indigenous respondents and would facilitate interviews with mestiza feminists. In fact, the opposite happened. It never occurred to me that nationality and age were going to be significant factors impacting how indigenous women perceived me. Some of them mentioned that they were interested in giving an interview to a young researcher and said it was precisely because of my age, because they could identify with me.

I felt that my being mestiza would prevent indigenous women from feeling comfortable enough to tell me their thoughts on their own relationships with mestizas. However, once in the field in Oaxaca and Guerrero, I did not have the impression that it was difficult for them to be critical of mestizas in my presence. They seemed to be comfortable giving me their opinion of the mestizas with whom they had worked. In Chiapas, however, this was different. When I asked interviewees about their relationships with feminists and mestiza they were less forthcoming in their critiques. The affirmation of clear boundaries between mestizas and indigenous women was less present here than in the other two cases. Additionally, one of them explained to me that within their movement not all indigenous women see the necessity of excluding mestiza women or of creating spaces exclusively for indigenous women. However, this was not the case for all women I interviewed in Chiapas. In fact, two women were very openly critical of the relationships between mestiza and indigenous women. These women knew I was only in Chiapas for a few months and that I would later go back to Quebec. I think that the distance I had with the feminist movement in Chiapas made it easier for them to share their critiques with me. Put differently, my otherness as someone living in a foreign country prevented them from associating me with the feminists they were talking about.

Thinking back now at what factors I thought might prevent or facilitate my gaining access, I realize that location (where do I actually live) and age were the main factors that facilitated gaining access. However, my identity as mestiza seemed to prevent women from being openly critical of mestizas in Chiapas, as compared with the women I interviewed in Oaxaca and Guerrero.

Beyond identity there was another element that emerged as an obstacle for gaining access to interviews. Some organizations refused to give interviews because they only wanted to be involved in collaborative research. This was the case particularly in Chiapas where some academics have conducted projects from this perspective (Leyva Solano, Burguete and Speed 2008). Some organizations seek to develop this type of relationship with researchers and refuse to give interviews if they are not collaborating on the project. This would have involved a long-term commitment with these organizations, as well as accepting their own terms in the research process. This situation limited my access to some organizations. However, other organizations are in the process of writing their histories from their own perspective and in such cases they consented to being interviewed and shared their observations and analyses from their own internal research and interviews.[26]

[26] This echoes the observations on the Aboriginal women's struggles in Australia and their claim to "their right to political voice through self-representation" (Lake 2003: 146). This is why in Australia, "central to Aboriginal women's struggle for recognition has been the production of life stories or autobiographical narratives" (Lake 2003: 155).

CHAPTER TWO

THE RISE OF INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS IN MEXICO

The 1990s marked a turning point for indigenous peoples' collective rights and cultural recognition in Latin America. In 1992, throughout the continent, indigenous people organized to oppose the 5th centenary celebrations of Columbus's Conquest of America that were held by national governments. In reaction they celebrated the 500 Years of Indigenous, Black, and Popular resistance, marking the beginning of a decade of indigenous mobilization. The indigenous uprising in Ecuador in 1990, the march of indigenous people in Bolivia that same year, and the Zapatista uprising in 1994 were major events that pushed indigenous movements from the local to the national and international levels, and from a peasant identity to an indigenous one (Brysk 2000; Sánchez 1999; Yashar 2005).

In Mexico this took a particular turn with the rise of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in Chiapas in 1994.[27] The Zapatista movement was the first local indigenous movement that made waves at the national and international levels. This movement marked a turning point for the indigenous movement in Mexico, as it created opportunities for local organizations to join forces and form national organizations to challenge the state (Stavenhagen 2002). This represented the possibility

[27] See Montemayor (2009) for an analysis of the Zapatista rebellion.

for coalition building between emergent indigenous groups—which had been organizing to obtain cultural recognition of their languages and cultures—and peasant groups mobilized against the impact of neoliberal policies and the restructuration of agriculture and land property in the second half of the 20th century. That is, to previous and historical peasant demands grounded on class interests, collective action in the Zapatista context integrated the social and political demands of recognition and justice (Collier and Quaratiello 1994). Ethnicity, and more precisely indigeneity, supplanted a solely and unique form of collective identification based on class with the emergence of local indigenous movements in the 1980s and a national movement in the 1990s.

Moreover, this movement created an unprecedented opportunity for indigenous women to position themselves as political actors. That is, although it was a national indigenous movement that emerged from this political context, indigenous women framed distinct discourses that would lead to the creation of a national indigenous women's movement (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). Now, almost twenty years later, the national indigenous movement no longer has the strength it had in the 1990s, but this is not the case for indigenous women, who continue to mobilize at different levels, and particularly, the federal and state levels.

Zapatista women's contribution to the integration of gender into indigenous discourses is key for understanding how indigenous women began to voice demands articulating gender and indigeneity and how this later influenced the indigenous movement's dynamics. This chapter explains how pervious organizational structures, along with the discourses of the 1990s, influenced different leaders in subsequent mobilizations. More concretely, this historical context can help us to better understand

the influence of national organizations on the subsequent mobilization of indigenous women and variations at the sub-national level.

First, the chapter draws a brief portrait of the socioeconomic context of the second half of the 20th century and demonstrates how neoliberalism affected indigenous peoples in particular. Second, it presents the shift from peasant to indigenous movements in Mexico and the emergence of the national indigenous movement. Third, the chapter describes indigenous women's participation in these movements in order to understand why they were not visible before the 1990s and why they suddenly began proposing a discourse that was distinct from the one advanced by mixed indigenous organizations (addressing not only ethnicity and class but also gender). Finally, the chapter analyzes the emergence of the national organization of indigenous women in the late 1990s, which marked the beginning of an organizing process at the national level that would later promote organizing at the sub-national level, which is the focus of this dissertation.

Neoliberalism and multiculturalism in Mexico

Indigenous movements in Mexico have their roots in the earlier mobilizations of indigenous peoples in the popular movements of the 1970s and 80s, particularly peasant movements. These mobilizations took place in a context of neoliberal political reforms and economic structural adjustments that affected peasants and indigenous peoples considerably (Nash 2001; Sieder 2002; Yashar 2005). This section demonstrates how the changes that occurred in the second half of the 20th century disrupted previous forms of mediation between indigenous peoples and the state, and facilitated the emergence of independent organizations that challenged the state.

Agrarian reform, the national project and neoliberalism

State-society relations throughout the 20th century in Mexico were mainly characterized by the corporatist system implemented by the PRI, in which "social organization and mobilization played a central role in legitimizing the power of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)" (Mattiace 2012: 398). The mechanisms of state control over the peasantry were important, as they enabled the state to contain the discontent caused by the reforms. In Mexico, the corporatist state effectively controlled peasants and indigenous people through the creation of corporatist relations and structures.

A clear example of this 'rural corporatism' is the Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC–National Peasant Federation), as it was the only legitimate structure to channel and mediate relations between the peasantry and the state. As Yashar (2005: 60) argues, the creation of national peasant organizations such as the CNC in 1938 accompanied the agrarian reforms of the 1930s in Mexico and "provided incentives for Indians to register as peasant communities" in order to benefit from the redistribution of land. Through the CNC and its local and regional structures the corporatist regime in Mexico sought to contain indigenous communities' demands and redirect them through class demands focused primarily on agrarian production. However, the creation of the "ejidos (communally owned land) unwittingly provided the greatest latitude for local indigenous autonomy – they were community based, inalienable, and, while regulated, often beyond state control" (*ibid*.: 64). Since indigenous communities could exercize their local autonomy to a certain extent, their main interactions with the state took place

via these corporatist structures and the peasant organization (CNC) that guaranteed them a certain access to resources (land and agricultural subsidies).

In attempt to modernize the country in the 1930s and 40s, along with an assertion of political control and the adoption of economic reforms, the state implemented agrarian reforms, the most significant of which was the industrialization of agriculture. The agrarian bourgeoisie received the most fertile land. Consequently, as pointed out by Dietz (2004), this corporate system did not succeed in integrating some sectors of society, leaving out landless people who never received land with the agrarian reform and indigenous people who never regained access to their collective territories and previous forms of land ownership.[28] This exclusion of indigenous peoples was reinforced by the adoption of an ideology that sought to impose a homogeneous form of identification on the Mexican people, namely *mestizage.*

The state promoted the ideology of mestizage, the mix of Indigenous peoples and European descendants, as the foundational and common origin of Mexican national identity (De la Peña 2006). Prior to the Mexican Revolution different systems of racial hierarchies had been developed in the country, mostly based on appearance, positioning whites with a European appearance at the top, followed by Mestizos—those with mixed white-Indian appearance—and indigenous populations at the bottom (Stephen 2002).[29]

[28] The peasants were the ones benefiting from land grants (through the creation of ejidos) with agrarian reforms, while indigenous people did not recuperate their communal titles of property (no restitution). There were two models of agrarian reform that emerged—restitution (communal land) and land grant (ejidos)—the latter being the one pushed forward in the post revolutionary period. Here peasants became those benefiting from agrarian reforms while indigenous people did not recuperate their communal titles of property guaranteed by the Crown prior to independence (Dietz 2004).

[29] There were more categories and the hierarchies changed over time but here I focus on these because they were central throughout the multiple systems and the ones that lasted into the contemporary period.

It was after the revolution that the ideology of mestizage as the foundational national myth of Mexican identity led to the development by the Mexican state of *indigenismo*, a political project seeking to 'integrate' or 'assimilate' indigenous peoples through education, acculturation and productive projects developed by the National Indigenist Institute (Instituto Nacional Indigenista—INI, created in 1948) (De la Peña 2006; Stephen 2002).

Indigenismo had three central goals: 1) the development of linguistic and cultural uniformity through the implementation of a unilingual public school system and the marginalization of indigenous cultures and traditions; 2) the establishment of a citizenship based on individual rights through the dissolution of sociocultural and political systems of indigenous peoples' organizations (seeking to integrate them into the corporatist organizations of the PRI); 3) and finally, the modernization of rural communities through agrarian reform (Sánchez 1999).

It was mostly through the creation of cooperatives (coffee, handicraft) by the INI that the state integrated indigenous peoples into the corporatist system. It is important to note that those coordinating the projects targeting indigenous peoples were not always indigenous peoples. The state's ultimate goal was to modernize society and assimilate indigenous peoples through their Mexicanization (De la Peña, 2006). Political elites perceived national heterogeneity, and particularly the presence of indigenous populations, as an obstacle to the project of nation building. Thus, assimilationist nationalism was advanced in order to attain national homogeneity trough linguistic and cultural unification. However, the national project of mestizage initiated after the revolution gradually began to lose its legitimacy in the second half of the 20th century.

In the 1940s a critical discourse on the assimilationist project emerged, and this became stronger in the 1970s (Stephen 2002). Indigenous intellectual elites introduced a critique of the assimilationist nature of this national project pushing forward demands for cultural and linguistic recognition (Gutiérrez 1999). However, the INI was effective in coopting the emergent leaders who paradoxically were trained by this institution and its different programs in support of indigenous peoples' access to education (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). Although important critiques emerged in the mid-20th century, it was only later that a movement organized, as indigenous elites continued to challenge the assimilationist model at the same time as neoliberal reforms challenged traditional modes of mediation.

In addition to the crisis of indigenismo as a state ideology, sate-society relations underwent significant changes at both the economic and political levels in the following decades. Yashar (2005) explains how the constitutional reforms of the 1990s seeking to privatize land and dismantle the protection of communally held land—ejidos—represented a major shift of traditional intermediation channels between the national state and peasants. These constitutional changes marked a rupture with the gains that peasants had inherited from the Mexican Revolution (1910) and the land redistribution of the 1917 constitution. Although the situation for peasants and indigenous peoples was precarious before these reforms, there had nonetheless been hope that agrarian redistribution would finally be implemented.

The economic crisis of the 1980s and the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) led to a decline in living conditions through the privatization of land, the reduction of public programs to support the peasantry and the decrease of public

services. The impact was greater for the peasantry as the state withdrew its previous support to rural communities. “As state-funded projects aimed at indigenous incorporation gave way to policies of structural adjustment, decentralization, and privatization, indigenous groups were increasingly cut off from traditional modes of interest mediation and access to state funding” (Sánchez 1999: 13). These neoliberal policies of the 1980s significantly worsened peasants’ and indigenous peoples’ living conditions.

This reached a critical point under the presidency of Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-94); as argued by Mattiace (2012: 401) “life in the Mexican countryside went from difficult to practically unsustainable”. Under his governance reforms were implemented to open markets, and the country witnessed the dismantling of previously nationalized sectors of the economy (coffee) and the opening of the economy to imported goods (grains); the end of land distribution and reforms allowing the privatization of communal land; and the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Mattiace 2012; Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). The rural sector was significantly affected, and as a consequence thousands of rural workers now migrate every year to the United States.

Among the state’s reforms was the amendment of Article 27 of the constitution, which put an end to agrarian redistribution. The economic reforms “signaled the end of the social pact of public welfare provided by the state that had been established after the revolution. The changes leading up to NAFTA brought Mexico into the emergent global order, ended decades of corporatist rule, and fundamentally altered relations between the state and civil society” (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006: xiv). According

to Yashar (2005), it was principally the shift from a corporatist form of intermediation to a neoliberal form of intermediation that opened opportunities for indigenous movements to emerge.

Neoliberal politics combined with the semi-authoritarian political system pushed the Mexican state into a crisis. During this period, peasants mobilized mainly against the liberalization of the economy and its influence on the privatization of collectively owned land, the shift toward production for purpose of export and the transformation of arable land into bovine production. As argued by Dietz (2004: 37), "the crisis of agrarian corporatism and of the governing state-party, and the failure of *indigenismo* to homogenize and integrate the Mexican indigenous populations" are two factors explaining the initial mobilizations by the peasantry and indigenous peoples as a response to the lack of state support. In rural Mexico, the negative impact of liberalization—economic and social—for peasants and indigenous peoples, created new incentives to organize autonomously.[30]

From a corporatist regime seeking to modernize society the state transformed into a neoliberal regime where the corporatist state was no longer capable of sustaining its financing structures (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). Considering all this it is not surprising that peasant groups pushed for independent projects for the production and commercialization of their products, in order to organize people to cope with the harsh economic situation. They also marched and protested in opposition to neoliberal policies that significantly affected peasants and indigenous populations:

[30] This was not only occurring in rural Mexico. Contingent events, such as the 1985 earthquake in Mexico City played a central role in the collective mobilization of citizens and the creation of popular organizations in response to the lack of state involvement in resolving social problems.

"Social movement organizations challenged the semi-authoritarian party-state and began to make demands that put pressure on the political system. These social movements were different from the organizations mobilized by the PRI party-state in that they presented a sustained challenge to power holders" (Mattiace 2012: 398). Independent peasant organizations and unions were created outside the corporatist structure of the PRI (Sánchez 1999; Sieder 2002).[31]

The creation of independent organizations by peasants in the 1980s and 90s was key, since it represented the first spaces that emerged autonomously form corporatist structures and this gave peasants the opportunity to directly challenge the state and its institutions. It is within such organizations, although sometimes limited in their capacity to challenge the state, that indigenous leaders acquired organizational experience and later organized autonomously along ethnic lines.

Although mobilization during most of the 20th century in Mexico followed class interests, with peasant organizations and workers unions, this situation changed at the end of the century with the increase of ethnic demands, and more radically with the emergence of the Zapatista movement in a context marked by the adoption of multicultural policies (Yashar 2005). This shift was critical, as indigeneity became a core form of identification for indigenous peoples, and indigenous women more specifically. This did not involve the abandonment of class, but rather its integration into new discourses, as exemplified by the Zapatista movement.

[31] Among those peasant organizations with economic demands were the Independent Center of Agricultural Workers and Peasants (CIOAC) created in 1975, the Coordination Plan de Ayala (CNPA) formed in 1979, and the National Union of Regional Peasant Organizations (UNORCA) created in 1985.

Multiculturalism

The Mexican state adopted multiculturalism in the 1990s; this, combined with the liberalization of the economy, became the new national paradigm. Multiculturalism represented both a consequence of the critiques to the exclusionary roots of the project of mestizage and an opportunity to call upon a constitutional recognition of the ethnic diversity of Mexican society without jeopardizing the neoliberal project (Hale 2005; Sieder 2002).

During the 1990s Latin American States changed their discourse on the nation from an assimilationist position to a multiculturalist one. In some cases this took place through the adoption of constitutional changes that acknowledged and recognized the pluricultural, pluriethnic or plurinational composition of the country. This development has been understood as a reaction to the crisis of state legitimacy caused by the negative effects of the structural changes of the 1980s in the region, as well as a response to indigenous mobilizations throughout the continent (Sieder 2002). Latin American states' adoption of a multiculturalist perspective—independently of the different forms it took—was an integral part of the liberalization of the economy (Díaz-Polanco 2006; Hale 2005). Put differently, the recognition of difference was perceived solely in terms of the acknowledgement of cultural diversity but not in terms of a need for redistributive justice (Fraser 2005).

During the 1990s, along with other Latin American countries, the Mexican state abandoned—at least officially—its *indigenista* policy, replacing it with a discourse emphasizing the multicultural nature of Mexican society (De la Peña 2006). The

international discussions on ILO Convention (No. 169) Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (1989) influenced this shift from assimilationism towards the recognition of difference (Niezen 2003). This took place in the context of continental indigenous mobilizations and prior to the adoption of NAFTA. In 1992 the government amended the 4th article of the Constitution, thus recognizing the multicultural nature of Mexican society. While the implications of this change are limited,[32] it nonetheless opened up room for challenging the relationship between the state and indigenous peoples via institutional channels (Forbis 2003).

The cultural recognition that was advanced by the constitutional changes of 1992 took place at the same time as the liberalization of the Mexican economy through constitutional reforms concerning property rights over land. The reform of Article 27 in 1992 modified the country's agrarian structure to effectively end collective forms of land property and open the way for land privatization (Nadal 2001). As argued by Burguete Cal y Mayor (2008), this liberalization sought the integration of indigenous peoples' territories, resources and knowledge into the market, denying their historic rights over land.

Multiculturalism was conceived from a neoliberal standpoint where recognition did not involved redistribution. To the contrary, recognition was restricted to the cultural dimension, excluding social and political dimensions that involve collective rights over

[32] First of all, it only recognizes cultural diversity and not ethnic diversity and thus limits recognition at the political and juridical level as the diversity referred to is reduced to cultures, languages and customs. "As reported by Díaz-Polanco (1992: 29), the original project alluded to an *ethnic* plurality while the final text refers to a *cultural* plurality. The nuance is of most importance since the notion of ethnicity could have been interpreted as to establish political and juridical subjects. As the text of law states, they distinguish different groups based uniquely on their 'languages, cultures, practices and customs' that the state will have to 'protect and promote'. The governmental tutelage is then legitimated and reinforced" (Beaucage 1996: 21).

self-administration, territory and resources (Hale 2005). Put differently, the adoption of a multiculturalist discourse in Mexico responded to previous demands for the recognition of cultural specificity, as indigenous elites had advanced in the 1970s, but did not address the new demands for integrating cultural demands with socioeconomic and political ones.

The emergence of ethnic/indigenous identities

It is in the context of multicultural neoliberalism, as described in the previous section, that an identity based on indigeneity emerged in Mexico. This identity drew on the legacy of earlier peasant movements, and was influenced by both the previous cultural demands of indigenous elites and the international context. This section presents the shift from class-based to ethnic-based interests that led to the emergence of a national indigenous movement in the 1990s.

The Indian Congress of 1974 in San Cristobal de Las Casas represents a turning point in Mexico as it created a space for the emergence of an anti-discrimination discourse, as well as the formulation of demands based on culture, language, and particular forms of social organization (Beaucage 1996; Leyva Solano 2005). It was this event that led to the creation of new demands concerning indigenous cultures, languages and traditions: “Speeches at the congress called for indigenous peoples to unify across ethnic lines, to organize themselves, and to defend their own rights, rather than depend on others” (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). This Congress facilitated the creation of new relationships between local actors and local organizations and new discourses on indigeneity emerged during this period. The influence of this event was

both local and national as other congresses were organized in different regions of the country. However, although indigenous leaderships were formed in this context and demands for cultural recognition voiced, indigenous and peasant identities were not yet clearly differentiated.

At the local level, new organizations were created to promote indigenous culture in addition to mobilizing for land rights within peasant movements, particularly in Oaxaca (Stephen 2002). In addition to these local and national mobilizations, indigenous people began organizing at the international level and developed important networks with different national and international actors, as is notably the case of the Alto Balsas in Guerrero (Brysk 2000). In this context, indigenous peoples advanced a new discourse on indigenous identity, which led to the creation of new indigenous organizations that voiced specific demands for cultural and political recognition, such as respect for their culture, human rights and collective rights to land and territory. This trend distinguished these new organizations from earlier popular and peasant ones that mobilized primarily over class-based demands (Adams 1994; Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar 1998; Van Cott 1994; Warren 1998; Yashar 1998). In its early stages the indigenous movement sought state recognition of the multiethnic nature of Mexican society, the revision of indigenist policies and the establishment of a bilingual and bicultural education system (Beaucage 1996)[33]. The articulation of social, economic and political demands was expanded by the Zapatista movement (Collier and Quaratiello 1994).

[33] The emergence of cultural demands within the indigenous movement echoes one particular tradition in Mexican anthropology: *Indianismo*. This term marks an opposition to the term *Indigenismo*, through the revalorization of the figure of the Indio. However, although in this perspective of Indianismo the focus is on ethnic identity, another tradition in anthropology focuses on class and the exclusion of indigenous peoples (Leyva-Solano 2005). As demonstrated by Beaucage (1996), although *indianismo* questionned the

The international and continental context facilitated the making of new boundaries in the 1990s, under the influence of continental indigenous movements and international instruments to promote indigenous peoples' rights (Brysk 2000; Mattiace 2012; Trejo 2009). Indigenous groups throughout the continent came together in 1992 to celebrate the 500 years of Indigenous, Black and Popular resistance in the Americas. This led to the creation of state-level organizations such as the Guerrero Council for 500 Years of Indian, Black and People's Resistance (Consejo Guerrerense 500 Años de Resistencia Indigena, Negra y Popular—CG500Años), which became a key actor in indigenous mobilizations in Guerrero and also at the national level (Bartra 2000).

The Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) rose up in arms on January 1st, 1994, as Mexico celebrated its entry into the North American Free Trade Agreement. Thousands of indigenous men and women from the highlands and the Lacandon jungle in Chiapas took to the streets and seized the major cities of the state in protest. Along with their critique of neoliberalism they demanded recognition and respect for their social, political and economic rights as indigenous peoples. They put forward demands for justice, democracy and liberty, but additionally, demands for land, work, food, education, health and housing.

Unlike previous indigenous rebellions, the state could not ignore the conflict or repress it without facing serious consequences. Instead, it attempted to discredit the movement, suggesting that this was not really an indigenous rebellion but the result of a guerrilla group manipulating indigenous people. As argued by (Blackwell 2007: 200)

---

assimilation of indigenous peoples through *indigenismo*, the other tendency in anthropology questioned the failure of the assimilation and integration of indigenous peoples as this resulted in their exclusion and marginalization.

"Mexican state officials tried to deny that the insurgency was authentically indigenous by suggesting that Indian revolts are spontaneous and lack organization while the 1st of January insurrection was well-planned and executed." However, both strategies failed and indigenous peoples forced the state to consider them as political actors with whom they needed to negotiate. Moreover, "the movement served as a wake-up call to other Mexicans to question the established authority of the ruling party that had governed for so long, yet was no longer committed to the welfare of most of its citizens" (Collier and Quaratiello 1994: 159). Diverse sectors of Mexican society aligned themselves with the Zapatistas' demands and supported the movement through different actions (marches, caravans, human rights observation, donations, attending meetings, etc.). The significant attention and support the movement received played an important role in the state's failure to contain the movement through tactics of repression and cooptation (Stavenhagen 2010).[34]

These factors precipitated peace negotiations that were undertaken between 1995 and February 1996, and ended with the signing of the San Andres Accords on Indigenous Rights and Culture. During the peace negotiations with the state, the indigenous movement negotiated indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). The indigenous movement deployed frames that distinguished it from other movements, such as the peasant movement, where cultural and linguistic demands were absent. The Zapatistas put forward demands for recognition and redistribution in their critique of neoliberalism. Moreover, beyond the integration of class and ethnic demands, they allowed gender demands to be

[34] See Hernández Castillo (1998) for an analysis of the effects of repression on women in Chiapas.

included in the movement. The multiple identities embraced in Zapatista discourse and the important attention the movement gathered from national and international spheres, offered indigenous women an unprecedented opportunity to become visible political actors (Hernández Castillo 2001).

The San Andres Accords on Indigenous Rights and Culture represented a historical gain for indigenous peoples in Mexico. The Accords conformed to ILO Convention 169, as they recognized indigenous people's collective right to self-determination as well as the need to institutionalize this recognition through legislative changes (Nadal 2005). More concretely, the Accords recognized peoples' right to administer and make decisions regarding their territories and natural resources, their own forms of governance, and the election of their own authorities. Further, they recognized traditional systems of justice.[35] The agreements represented an opportunity for generating a change in the relationship between indigenous peoples and the state. It was the first time an indigenous organization succeeded in positioning indigenous peoples at the forefront of national political debates (Yashar 1998). Moreover, it "provided an opening for the emergence of a national-level Indigenous movement in Mexico. Despite the country's large number of Indigenous peoples, no national-level indigenous movement existed until 1994" (Mattiace 2012: 403).

From this context two national-level indigenous organizations were created: the National Indigenous Congress (CNI) and the National Indigenous Assembly for Autonomy (ANIPA). Aiming to consolidate the struggle for indigenous demands for

[35] See Velasco Cruz (2003) and Sariego Rodríguez (2005) for a detailed analysis of the indigenous movement and the debates on autonomy.

autonomy in the context of the Dialogues of San Andrés, different sectors of the indigenous movement organized the first assembly of ANIPA in April 1995, from which emerged a model of pluriethnic regional autonomy that was proposed to the EZLN during the Dialogues (De la Peña 2006).[36] Working together, ANIPA and the EZLN promoted the National Indigenous Forum in Chiapas in January 1996, and it is from this initiative that the CNI was created in 1996 (Valladares de la Cruz 2008). These two organizations were vital for the coordination of the indigenous movement at the national level. They organized assemblies and meetings to prepare the movement's demands for rounds of negotiations between the state and the movement's representatives.

This complex process of negotiation culminated in the adoption of the Law on Indigenous Rights and Culture in 2001. The 2001 Law is indeed far from the scope of the ILO Convention 169 and the San Andres Agreements of 1996 since it represents a limited understanding of self-determination. In the San Andres Agreements self-determination is defined as the recognition of collective rights, territorial rights and traditional structures of political and administrative organization in indigenous communities (Sieder 2002). However, the 2001 law reduced the scope of this principle in different ways. Among the most important limitations is the absence of normative legal frames to implement indigenous peoples' rights; the terminology used limits the recognition of certain rights, including that of collective rights over territory and resources (Sariego Rodriguez 2005). Nonetheless, beyond the law's limitations, it is important to note that the question of women's rights was discussed throughout the process and created opportunities for indigenous women to participate in the debates.

[36] Among the participants were deputies and senators from the PRD, indigenous organizations and NGOs. More than 300 indigenous representatives from different regions of Mexico attended the assembly.

This represented a historical opportunity for indigenous peoples as the momentum they had gathered through mobilization gave them the leverage needed to negotiate their relationship with the state and challenge the oppression and discrimination that had excluded them historically, in addition to their previous class demands. Moreover, the demands advanced in the Accords considered gender discrimination as well, pushing a discourse on indigenous women's rights. Indeed, since its beginnings the EZLN deployed a discourse that integrated gender into its broader demands, which gave important support for indigenous women to push their demands beyond the structures of the Zapatista movement.

Indigenous women as new social actors in Mexico

This section explains how the Zapatista movement created opportunities for indigenous women that led to the emergence of an indigenous women's movement with a particular discourse articulating gender, race and class and an independent organization at the national level.

Although women were involved in the independent peasant and indigenous organizations that were created in the late 1970s and 80s, it was only in the 1990s that they integrated gender into their demands. Prior to the Zapatista movement their participation was mostly invisible, as they did not hold leadership positions within these organizations. In those decades women's participation was limited. In terms of the organizations' ongoing activities women primarily participated in projects aimed at producing and commercializing handicrafts and crops in women's cooperatives. During mobilizations women were often in charge of logistics in meetings and events

(secretaries, cooking, cleaning) and participated in the movement's protest actions—in the front lines in occupations, marches, and roadblocks (Hernández Castillo 2002; Millán 2008). However, even when highly committed to their organizations, they were generally excluded from leadership positions and often relegated to traditional and supportive roles.

The gendered division of labour within peasant and indigenous organizations restricted women's options regarding the types of actions and activities in which they could be involved. Additionally, this obscured their participation since women were relegated to roles that confined them to the 'private' sphere, even within the organizations. For example, while they participated in large demonstrations or meetings the spokespeople and representatives were exclusively men. Additionally, women were excluded from decision-making processes, as often during meetings, while men were discussing and elaborating strategies, women were in the kitchen preparing meals and organizing the logistics of the events: "in the struggle there were women, but only in the kitchen, not in decision-making" (Tiburcio Cayetano 2010: 261).[37] Women's contributions and participation were not as visible as men's, and were less valued.

Indigenous women have historically been active in the traditional structures of their communities, through healthcare and school committees, but also in community committees that organized religious rituals and parties. The church, particularly through its liberation theology, played an instrumental role for indigenous peoples (Cleary and Steigenga 2004).[38] This was especially the case in Chiapas and Oaxaca, as it facilitated

[37] "[E]n la lucha había mujeres, pero solo en la cocina, no en toma de decisions."
[38] For an exhaustive analysis of the influence of the shift in the Catholic Church and the emergence of

women's involvement in community activities, which gave them significant organizing experience (Norget 1997). In Chiapas, for example, the Diocese of San Cristobal provided substantial support for indigenous women to organize in both their communities and subregional movements (Gil Tebar 1999).

Through their participation in diverse projects coordinated by national peasant organizations, as well as the church, women had the opportunity to work on themes targeting their specific needs, such as health, access to education and the commercialization of handicrafts. Similarly to their *compañeros*[39] indigenous women acquired their organizing experience in such spaces. Among the peasant organizations that facilitated women's participation was the National Union of Autonomous Regional Organizations (Union Nacional de Organizaciones Regionales Campesinas Autónomas—UNORCA). UNORCA framed its demands in terms of class and not indigeneity, but many indigenous women participated in it and were shaped by their experiences in this network.

The Women's Area within UNORCA (created in 1989) was an initiative to promote local and regional women's organization and participation through the peasant organizations that formed part of its membership. The Women's Area worked to defend women's rights, influence public policies and promote a reflection on rural women's

---

liberation theology in the 1960s and 1970s in Latin Ameria see Cleary and Steigenga (2004). Liberation theology marked a major transformation in the mission of the church as it "centered its concerns in a preferential option for the poor, weak, and vulnerable. Its theologians advocated social change, action to promote justice, and emphasized communities with lay and clerical leadership as the basis of action." (Cleary and Steigenga 2004: 10). And it is this goal of social change that would lead to a change in the relation between the church and indigenous peoples, seeking the empowerment of the latter.

[39] The term in Spanish is used in the dissertation since there is not a term in English that translates the meaning. *Compañero* is the masculine form and *compañera* the feminine form. It is used to identify someone else from the movement without necessarily the connotation that the term comrade has.

conditions. Indigenous women's participation in such groups allowed them to discuss their common experiences with other women and articulate their particular needs and rights. National organizations such as this were instrumental for women as there were not many networks geared exclusively toward women and therefore, their processes were largely isolated from one another.

The projects targeting women were primarily created with the financial support of international agencies and this led to the creation of 'women's areas' or 'women's commissions' within peasant and indigenous organizations. Both women and men shared project administration and coordination tasks within these organizations. In the majority of cases projects were implemented in collaboration with national feminist organizations. These groups pushed an agenda for the promotion of women's rights while working closely with peasant and indigenous organizations. They promoted integrating a gender perspective into the diverse projects they coordinated and the relationships they established with indigenous women were instrumental for the emergence of a distinct discourse that combined both gender and indigeneity (Safa Barraza and Mergruen Rentería 1994).

It is through their involvement in such spaces that women began to occupy a space where they mobilized alongside other women, participated in the implementation of projects targeting women, and where they began to develop a discourse on women's rights. Women's commission's goals were primarily to promote projects for peasant and indigenous women and encourage their participation in the organization at the local and regional levels (Eber and Kovic 2003). For the women in charge, these commissions gave them the opportunity to assume new responsibilities and to meet other women.

This inclusion was sometimes a response to funding agencies that promoted women-focused projects, or a strategy to increase organizational membership. In other words, the organizations' main concern was not to integrate women as autonomous subjects with particular interests, but rather to integrate them in the pursuit of the organization's broader goals (Ochoa Muñoz 2010). In all cases, although the intention was not to develop a gender critique, the projects integrated a discourse on women's rights and this allowed women to gain experience and eventually establish new relationships with other indigenous and peasant women as well as feminists.

These spaces where indigenous women participated in mixed organizations, along with the experience they gained therein, laid the foundation for indigenous women in the 1990s when the national mobilizations provoked by the Zapatista movement brought the question of women's rights to the table.[40]

The emergence of indigenous women's identity

This section explains how indigenous women negotiated the incorporation of gender into the Zapatista and the indigenous movement demands during the 1990s and how this context facilitated brokerage between indigenous women from different regions of the country. It illustrates how the shift from a class-based movement to an indigenous-based movement represented a more complex process of boundary making for women that affected the movement's organizational structure as indigenous women

[40] By their strong presence in the EZLN (more than 40% of women) at all levels of the organization, Zapatista women made indigenous women visible as political actors. Indeed, women were responsible for leading strategic operations, assumed high-ranking positions in the rebel army, and were actively involved in decision-making processes and official representations of the movement.

separated from the indigenous movement to create their own autonomous organizations at different levels.

According to many indigenous women currently involved in women-only indigenous organizations, the political context in the aftermath of the Zapatista uprising was key for shaping their future participation (Gutierrez and Palomo 2000; Lovera and Palomo 1997). More precisely, it created an unprecedented political opportunity for them to occupy the first ranks of the indigenous movement along with their compañeros and also opened new spaces for exchanging experiences with women from other regions.

When recounting their trajectories of resistance, indigenous women often refer to key figures such as Comandanta Ramona and Comandanta Esther as icons of indigenous women's struggles (Blackwell 2006; Espinosa Damián, Dircio Chautla and Sánchez Néstor 2010; Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). In the aftermath of the Zapatista uprising, women from different movements and regions of the country began identifying themselves with the Zapatista women, framing a specific discourse on indigenous women's collective identity. For this reason the Zapatista movement is considered a particularly important actor that contributed to positioning indigenous women as social actors (Hernández Castillo 2001; Millán 2008; Sanchez Néstor 2005).

Moreover, the Women's Revolutionary Law adopted by the EZLN has been an important tool for supporting women's demands for gender equity and women's rights. In the case of the EZLN in Chiapas, women indeed succeeded in integrating women's demands into the movement's agenda through the adoption of a women's law in 1993,

which was among other revolutionary laws approved by the organization.[41] It was not without opposition that women integrated their demands into the movement, which would later be illustrated by the difficulties of realizing those women's rights. This gain was nevertheless important, as this law became a referential tool for indigenous women who used the right of participation to negotiate their entry into spaces where they had historically been excluded, such as community assemblies and positions of representation and responsibility designated in assemblies. This is why, according to the EZLN spokesperson, "the first uprising of the EZLN was in March 1993 and was led by the zapatista women" (Marcos 1999).[42]

Beyond the inclusion of women's rights into the Zapatista movement's discourse and the presence of female leaders advocating for these rights, it is during the peace dialogues that indigenous women had the opportunity to discuss and elaborate distinct demands. It was from their participation in the analysis of their particular condition as both indigenous and women that indigenous women began to appropriate a discourse on women's rights for themselves. During the Peace Dialogues between the state and the Zapatista movement, the Dialogues of San Andres, a roundtable was created at the initiative of the Zapatista leaders The Situation, Rights and Culture of Indigenous Woman. This working group gathered indigenous women from local groups as well as academics (mostly mestizas). On this occasion international agreements on indigenous peoples' and women's rights were presented by non-indigenous women and served as

[41] In 1993, Zapatista women from the highest positions within the EZLN elaborated a first version of the Women's Revolutionary Law that was submitted to discussion in the other levels of the EZLN structure and afterwards with women from the indigenous communities supporting the movement (Millán Moncayo 2006). The resulting document was submitted to the assembly and approved as one of the laws of the EZLN that were publicized on the 1st of January 1994.

[42] This is said in reference to the Zapatista uprising of January 1st 1994, which would then be the second uprising of the EZLN.

reference tools for thinking about the articulation of gender and indigeneity in terms of human rights (Gutierrez and Palomo 2000). Indigenous women's conclusions pointed to the need to respect individual women's rights to reproductive health, political participation, equal access to services and resources, access to education, etc. This table was a space for dialogue and sharing, but also for the formulation of indigenous women's discourse on women's rights.

Along with the roundtable on women's rights during the Dialogues, several meetings were held to articulate indigenous demands at the national level and this created occasions for women to meet and discuss women's rights. Women's participation in these spaces was a key factor and a turning point during the process of indigenous women's organization (Lovera and Palomo 1997; Sanchez Néstor 2005).

The Dialogues were highly significant for indigenous women since on this occasion they analyzed the roots of women's particular experience of discrimination, its influence on their individual experiences, and how women's rights could be articulated with collective rights. In this context indigenous women started to publicly address specific concerns based on their gender and ethnicity and it is from this particular event that they started articulating a distinct discourse on autonomy at the national level. The first efforts that brought indigenous women together were focused on defining what autonomy meant for women and how this autonomy could be reframed so as to integrate women's rights (Morales Hudon 2011).

For indigenous women these ideas where introduced primarily through a discourse on human rights and more specifically, women's rights. This was apparent in women's accounts of their trajectories of mobilization in the interviews conducted in Oaxaca and

Chiapas and the testimonies from women in Guerrero edited by Espinosa Damián, Dircio Chautla and Sánchez Néstor (2010). As these women argue, when obstacles prevented them from enacting their rights, they first tried to negotiate, but when confronted with strong resistance they began to organize independently.

The influence of international discourses on women's rights, collaboration with mestiza feminists in preparation for the Women's International Conference in Beijing in 1995, and their participation in spaces exclusively for indigenous women were key moments for indigenous women in Mexico that enhanced their analysis on gender and enabled them to develop an agenda for integrating gender into the broader indigenous movement (Blackwell 2006). The alliances they established with mestiza feminists were instrumental and the latter supported indigenous women's incorporation of a gender perspective into their movements. It is through these emergent networks and alliances that indigenous women acquired resources to push their new demands for women's rights (Meyer and Whittier 1994). However, these alliances were possible because of the opportunities created by the mobilizations of the indigenous movement in the 1990s, particularly after the Zapatista rebellion in 1994. It is in this particular context that women developed distinct demands that they would seek to include in the political agendas of the various indigenous organizations.

The international level played a central role in opening opportunities for indigenous women. The UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) was key for coordinating women worldwide. This led, in Latin America, to the Encuentros feministas de Latinoamérica y del Caribe in the early 1980s. However, indigenous women were not visible in the feminist meetings organized internationally and nationally during the UN

Decade for Women. Indigenous women's first visible presence in an international meeting came later, in 1995, with the Women's International Conference in Beijing. This represented the first international space where indigenous women elaborated specific demands as both *indigenous* and *women* (Blackwell 2006; Valladares de la Cruz 2004).

During the first continental meeting they attended, the indigenous women who represented Mexico proposed organizing the second continental meeting of indigenous women in Mexico, which became a strong incentive for them to organize together at the national level (Rivera 2008). When they met again back in Mexico in the context of the Zapatista movement in the meetings organized by ANIPA and the CNI, their primary agenda was organizing indigenous women in order to hold the next continental meeting. But more importantly, they had realized that indigenous women in Mexico were not coordinated, as they were working separately in their respective organizations.

The indigenous women who participated in these spaces, representing their indigenous organizations (mixed), both at the national and international levels, are seen as the first generation of indigenous women leaders in Mexico. These leaders are key actors in the indigenous women's movement as they were the founders of the first spaces exclusively for indigenous women. Additionally, these leaders come from the three states where sub-national organizing processes emerged. Therefore, the organizing trajectories of these women are important as they illustrate how they facilitated the processes at different levels.

At the continental level during the same period, when indigenous women organized their first meeting, they sent invitations to indigenous organizations. Martha Sánchez Néstor was delegated to represent the Consejo Guerrerense 500 Años—where she had been participating as a secretary—in a meeting in Ecuador in August 1995. Another of the delegates from Mexico was Sofía Robles, who was actively involved in Servicios del Pueblo Mixe (SER). At that time she had been working on women's projects within the Women's Commission in SER and because of this she was further invited to participate as a delegate in Ecuador. From Chiapas it was Margarita Gutiérrez Romero**,** who was also involved in mixed indigenous organizations and was also invited to participate. These women gained relatively rapid experience and access to resources, which explains why they are now among the most recognized leaders of the indigenous women's movement both nationally and in their respective sub-national states.

These three women participated in preparatory meetings in Mexico to elaborate their demands for Beijing in September 1995. They also attended The First Continental Meeting of Indigenous Women of the Americas hosted in Ecuador in 1995—just before the Women's International Conference in Beijing. Prior to this series of continental encounters different regional workshops were organized, seeking to create solidarity networks and coordination between indigenous women leaders at the continental level.[43] These events took place in a short period of time and preceded the national Dialogues between the Zapatista movement and the Mexican state.

[43] For the region of South America a workshop was organized in July 1995 in Colombia. For Central America it was on March 1995 in Panama and for North America on January 1996 in Montreal. Finally a continental workshop was organized in Guatemala in July 1996. From this previous organization emerged the continental meetings. The first was hosted by CONAIE in Ecuador, in August 1995, in preparation for the Women's International Conference in Beijing. The second continental meeting in 1997 was hosted by CONAMI in Mexico. The third was in Panama in 2000, followed by another in Peru in 2004 and then, in 2007, in Canada (Rivera 2008). The sixth took place in Mexico, in the state of Morelos.

Although this context facilitated the integration of a gender perspective, the obstacles indigenous women faced were nonetheless significant. During the first ANIPA assembly in 1995, where indigenous organizations from different regions of the country gathered to elaborate the movement's demands, women's claims were disregarded (Sanchez Néstor 2005). Reacting to this, women created a Women's Commission whose main goals were the analysis of women's rights in light of the question of indigenous peoples' autonomy and the organization of the Second Continental Meeting of Indigenous Women to be held in 1997 in Oaxaca (Blackwell 2007; Gutierrez and Palomo 2000; Valladares de la Cruz 2008).[44] This assembly marked the beginning of a process of negotiation by women in the different spaces of the indigenous movement to include their gender claims.

The obstacles faced by women in ANIPA's assemblies were equally present in the other major space of organization for the indigenous movement, the CNI.[45] When women demanded the creation of a women's roundtable during the first CNI congress in 1996, the assembly refused. Although women strategically mobilized to integrate women's demands into the agendas of other roundtables, their demands were not reflected in the assembly's final propositions (Gutierrez and Palomo 2000; Lovera and Palomo 1997). Women tried to incorporate their perspectives into different spaces; however, the resistance they faced became sufficiently difficult as to make it necessary for them to organize autonomously. Following the same goal as women from ANIPA,

[44] The Women's Commission of ANIPA called a first national meeting of women from ANIPA, December 7-8, 1995. At this gathering women analyzed the propositions of autonomy presented by the indigenous movement and modify them in order to integrate women's rights (Gutiérrez and Palomo 2000). This meeting is maybe the first national space where indigenous women articulated a common program around their demands.

[45] Nellys Palomo Sánchez, an important militant for indigenous women's rights, reported that the resistance faced in the CNI by women pushed them to organize their own national congress.

women form the CNI combined their efforts to organize the first national meeting of indigenous women in 1997 in the city of Oaxaca, where more than 600 women participated, representing approximately 26 different indigenous groups. At this first meeting Zapatista women were represented by Comandante Ramona, who gave the welcoming speech: "if we have arrived here it is also because we overcame the resistance of some of our compañeros who do not understand the importance that women participate in the same way as men" (in Sánchez Néstor 2005: 50).[46]

While indigenous women engaged in different strategies in order to bring women's demands to the table during the encounters and assemblies of the indigenous movement, they nonetheless faced considerable resistance. Their efforts to gain more independence created strong reactions as the organizations tried to restrain women's activities and goals. Paradoxically, although women's political experience was largely shaped by their participation in these mixed organizations, it is within these same spaces that they were limited when they tried to introduce a perspective on women's rights.

Such reactions to women's mobilizing were common in leftist movements in Latin America—as in other parts of the world—as the inclusion of a gender perspective was seen as a threat to movements' unity, and to some extent a bourgeois agenda (Acosta-Belén and Bose 1993; Alvarez and Escobar 1992; Jaquette 1989; Jelin, Zammit and Thomson 1990; Molyneux 2003; Ray and Korteweg 1999; Safa 1990). This tendency within leftist movements was also present in indigenous movements where gender demands were often seen by some leaders as endangering the unity of the movement, particularly through the introduction of a discourse of women's individual rights. As this

[46] The original is in French and the translation is mine.

feminist literature made explicit, women's attention to the gendered dynamics of movements, more particularly to the obstacles women faced in having two agendas, was central to the development of feminist discourses.

What is more specific to indigenous organizations is that the reaction of men in mixed organizations was based on arguments using ethnicity rather than class. As Cumes (2009) argues, indigenous men's refusal to integrate women's demands is based on a discourse that associates their demands with an external, occidental feminist discourse that has nothing to do with their cultures and that could destabilize their communities' harmony.[47] But, in both cases the arguments are based on the danger of division of the movement's unity by integrating gender demands.

As indigenous women began to organize they continued to face significant obstacles. Not only did they have to negotiate within indigenous organizations to include their specific gender demands, but they had also to face certain critiques from feminist organizations and government representatives who argued that women's individual rights were not compatible with collective rights, and in particular, with indigenous peoples' rights. The situation was complex since indigenous women had to constantly negotiate with these actors that were, on the one hand, their allies, but on the other, their opponents. Seeking to introduce new visions of their specific rights that, as they argued were not endangering other groups' interests and gains (e.g. indigenous organizations and feminist organizations), indigenous women began to take their local efforts to the national and international arenas. It is through these dynamics that

[47] This argument is at the core of the opposition between individual and collective rights and the debates it has provoked, and will be further analyzed.

indigenous women navigated in order to create an autonomous space and discourse at the national level that would later impact the creation of indigenous women's organizations at the local and sub-national levels.

The creation of the first national indigenous women's organization

As explained in the previous section, for indigenous women the demands for women's rights were compatible with collective rights, but not everyone within the indigenous movement agreed (Gutierrez and Palomo 2000; Sanchez Néstor 2005). This internal division was important because it led to the creation of internal boundaries, and ultimately, to the creation of autonomous spaces for indigenous women.

The internal opposition faced by women within the indigenous movement was significant; among other things, critics accused them of bringing 'Western' or 'external' ideas to the movement, and of creating internal divisions.[48] Facing such obstacles, women decided to organize autonomously and work on specific political agendas. This echoes Meyer's (2000: 41) argument that new organizations are formed where social actors feel the necessity to "engage a neglected constituency, give voice to new claims and emphases." Indigenous women's mobilization in autonomous spaces clearly responds to this need to give voice to women's distinct demands. The first space created was at the national level but this organization influenced the emergence of sub-national movements, which are analyzed in the following chapters.

[48] A controversial theme that emerged during the negotiation process of indigenous' rights was the tension between collective and individual rights. One of the major issues in this debate concerned the question of human rights and more specifically women's rights.

The Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas (CONAMI) was created during the Oaxaca meeting in 1997 and was the first structure at the national level to consolidate local organizations of indigenous women and actively promote indigenous women's participation and leadership (Gutiérrez and Palomo 2000). Thus CONAMI became the primary space for formulating and representing indigenous women's demands and interests at the national level (Blackwell 2007). It was instrumental in providing a space for coordinating indigenous women at the national level but more importantly, it organized numerous workshops for training indigenous women to develop tools to push for increased rights and to train other women from their communities and groups.

At the national level different organizations were instrumental for indigenous women's organizing processes, but their influence varied from one region to the other. The role these organizations played is analyzed in each of the following chapters. What is important to note for the moment is that their support was manifested through projects, workshops, training, and also financing. One of the main organizations, Kinal Antzetik, was actively involved in the process of creating CONAMI and has also supported local and state-level organizing processes in Chiapas and Guerrero. One such organization that was present in Oaxaca is COMLATEZIN, a feminist organization supporting peasant and indigenous women's groups (Bonfil 2012). It is important to highlight that the different workshops, diplomas and other types of training made available resulted mainly from the collaboration between indigenous women's organizations, NGOs, academic institutions (UNAM and CIESAS) and international institutions (UN Women).

Thus, external actors and resources played an important role in strengthening indigenous women's organizing processes (Valladares de la Cruz 2008).

If training took a central place in the first years of CONAMI, from the beginning CONAMI endeavored to bring together local groups of indigenous women to collaborate and organize in regional processes. Although top-down initiatives for creating regional coordination were deployed, the outcomes depended on the local dynamics of women's organizing in those regions. CONAMI succeeded in providing resources to local groups to organize and created alliances between women from different states. In terms of creating structures at the sub-national level however, the impact was rather limited to a few states, primarily in the southeast (Guerrero, Oaxaca and Chiapas).[49] In the case of Guerrero, indigenous women wanted to have such a space, as recalled by Martha Sánchez Néstor, because: "we realized that if we do not coordinate at the state-level we would continue to be treated as we had always been in Guerrero… and that there would always be a minimal consideration of all the demands" (Interview, October 2012).[50] It was here that CONAMI organized its second national encounter in 2000, and where the first sub-national indigenous women's organization, the Coordination of Indigenous Women of Guerrero (Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas—CGMI) was founded.

[49] In these three south-eastern states of Mexico, major indigenous mobilizations took place in both early and recent history. Indigenous organizations (e.g. 500 años, Servicios del Pueblo Mixe, the EZLN), national leaders, and strong social movements (e.g. Zapatista movement, Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca [APPO], Consejo Guerrerense 500 años de Resistencia Indígena, Negra y Popular [CG500-años]) originate in these states.

[50] "[T]uvimos claro que si no nos articulábamos a nivel estatal nosotras seguiríamos siendo tratadas como siempre se nos había tratado en Guerrero … y que siempre iba a haber como una cuestión de trato digamos mínimo a todas las demandas."

CONAMI was central for promoting individual leaderships and strengthening local processes in different states. It is also through their participation in CONAMI and the access to resources this gave them that indigenous women in the three states became interested in creating an intermediary level between the local and national. However, due of lack of resources, and most importantly, due to the fact that leaders could not be at all three levels at the same time, CONAMI has not supported the consolidation of state-level processes. As argued by Paloma Bonfil, "CONAMI does not support regional processes. It does not because it can't" (Interview, May 2011).[51] In other words, it played a key role in their emergence but less in their consolidation.

Among the first coordinators of CONAMI were leaders from the Guerrero Council for 500 Years of Indian, Black and People's Resistance (Consejo Guerrerense 500 Años).[52] This helps to explain why in its first years CONAMI centred its attention on Guerrero and why the first sub-national organization of indigenous women emerged there. However, Guerrero was far from being the only region where CONAMI worked. In the case of Oaxaca, we can see a bottom-up process at work, as it was through local initiatives that a regional space for coordination, the Indigenous Women's Assembly of Oaxaca (Asamblea de Mujeres Indígenas de Oaxaca—AMIO), was founded in 2010. In Oaxaca the influence of the national level in the creation of a subnational space was less direct than it was for Guerrero, where the initiative to create a sub-national structure of coordination followed a top-down logic.

[51] "Conami no apoya procesos regionales. No apoya porque no puede."
[52] This effort was supported by *Kinal Antzetik*, a women's civil association that was actively involved in women's initiatives and projects both at the local level in Chiapas and Guerrero and at the national level with the consolidation of CONAMI as explained by Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo from the organization Kinal Antzetik (Interview, April 2011).

In Chiapas some initiatives are being advanced but this appears to be more complex and difficult than in the other two states, as explained by Martha Sánchez Néstor: "the challenge in Chiapas has been a coordination at the state level… they had the idea of coordinating, they have organized some sessions. They have not consolidated as in Oaxaca" (Interview, October 2012).[53] According to Margarita Gutiérrez Romero, who was along with Martha Sánchez Néstor and Sofía Robles actively involved in the creation of CONAMI, the process is just starting in Chiapas. It was with the intention to send a committee from Chiapas that Margarita called a meeting prior to the Sixth Continental Meeting of Indigenous Women of the Americas to be held in Mexico in 2010 (in the state of Morelos). Other women interviewed in the region share Margarita's concern about the need to coordinate indigenous women in Chiapas; however, few have taken the lead in constructing a regional space, and efforts remain focused on the local level. This is particularly puzzling since indigenous women leaders identify the Zapatista movement in Chiapas and the favourable context it created for women as a key point in their organization processes.

Conclusion

As this chapter explained, the emergence of an indigenous movement is relatively recent in Mexico but it has its origins in the earlier mobilizations of the peasant movement. The Zapatista movement was a turning point for indigenous peoples as it facilitated the coordination between local indigenous organizations that had emerged in the late 1980s and 90s. The discourse of peoples' collective rights was quickly

[53] "[E]l desafío en Chiapas ha sido una articulación estatal… habían empezado la idea de articularse, han hecho varias sesiones. No ha cuajado como en Oaxaca."

appropriated by indigenous organizations. The international indigenous movement played a critical role by introducing international instruments as tools that further enabled indigenous peoples to defend their collective rights.

Although indigenous women had gained considerable experience in their previous participation in the peasant movement, they were not the protagonists in peasant organizations. However, the Zapatista movement, in an international climate that was favourable to advancing women's rights due to the influence of the UN's Decade for Women, facilitated indigenous women's participation in decision-making and the elaboration of the movements' demands.

The 1990s in Mexico can be described as the period of intensive training for indigenous women in terms of organizational experience, as well as in terms of their appropriation of a discourse on gender equality that they combined with their peoples' demands and collective rights. The emergence of a particular discourse articulating gender to indigeneity was supported by academics who referred to international instruments to train indigenous women. Those indigenous women who had the opportunity to participate in the workshops, meetings and assemblies in this period came to be recognized leaders of the indigenous movement and began a process of consolidating local organizations, primarily at the national level and then, the sub-national level.

Indigenous women's discourse and identity developed through their participation in the national indigenous movement, which involved a variety of different actors: indigenous organizations, international organizations, academics, state representatives,

feminist organizations, the church, etc. The movement's main demand at the time was autonomy, and this influenced indigenous women's discourse, which introduced the idea that autonomy (referring here to indigenous peoples collective rights—social, political and economic) needed to take into account respect for women's individual rights. Indigenous women had to negotiate the integration of gender into the indigenous movement, and in some cases this created significant tensions. From this experience they decided to create an independent organization where they could organize autonomously from indigenous organizations. Indigenous women had different organizational experiences; some were involved in organizations collaborating with the state (ANIPA) and others with organizations in opposition to it (the CNI).

The indigenous movement in Mexico declined in the early 2000s, following the adoption of the Law on Indigenous Rights and Culture (2001) (Stavenhagen 2002). The movement condemned the law and definitively ended any relationship or dialogue with the state. This rupture marked the beginning of a process of radicalization of certain sectors of the movement (Zapatistas) and the decline of other organizations (ANIPA and the CNI).

When the indigenous movement declined after 2001, women distanced themselves and retreated to the local level, some continuing in independent mixed organizations and others involved in the creation of non-mixed organizations. Although indigenous women decided to work together despite the tensions along political lines that emerged with the creation of CONAMI, the tensions between those willing to collaborate with the state and those who refused remained and marked the organizational structure of their movement, particularly in the case of Chiapas. CONAMI nonetheless played an

important role in training indigenous women to strengthen their local processes, and in some states—Guerrero particularly—to coordinate at the sub-national level. The following chapters analyze precisely the indigenous women's organizing processes at the sub-national level and how their collective identity as indigenous women, as well as the type of relationships established with other social movements' actors, affected the consolidation of indigenous women's movements.

CHAPTER THREE

LOOKING FOR INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S ORGANIZING IN CHIAPAS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ZAPATISTA MOVEMENT

The opportunities created by the Zapatista movement are crucial for understanding why indigenous women became visible political actors in social movements in the second half of the 1990s in the state of Chiapas and the Mexican Republic (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). As detailed in chapter two, it was in this context that indigenous women who had been participating in the indigenous movement's peace negotiations with the government created the Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas (CONAMI), in order to coordinate women at the national level and represent their specific demands.

One of the goals of CONAMI was to create sub-national coordinators to link the local to the national. Martha Sánchez Néstor, one of the founders of this organization, recalls that "at that moment one of the national coordinator's goals was to create state coordinators but we could not make an imposition from the center, only outline strategies, as those who will make that space of coordination will be the *compañeras* of the states" (Interview, August 2011).[54] CONAMI promoted initiatives to create an

[54] "En aquel momento, uno de los fines de la Coordinadora nacional fue crear coordinadoras estatales, pues no podíamos marcar una imposición desde lo central sino delinear estrategias pero las que harán posible ese espacio de articulación serán las propias compañeras de los Estados."

intermediary level of coordination at the state level through workshops and training sessions. Here, state level refers to sub-national states as Mexico is a federated state, made up of thirty-one states and one federal district.

However, the process of consolidating intermediary levels of coordination has had varying and limited results in Mexico. The level of organizing of indigenous women in the different states of the country is low, and in some states completely nonexistent at the local, and even more so at the state level. However, there are a few states where indigenous women have been active in the organizational history of the peasant and indigenous movements and where their collaboration with feminist organizations has facilitated indigenous women's organizing, mostly at the local level, as in the case of Chiapas, Oaxaca and Guerrero.

Guerrero was the first state where indigenous women who had been involved in the national mobilizations in the peak of the Zapatista movement created a state-level organization in 2003. A similar process took place more recently in Oaxaca, leading seven years later than in Guerrero to the creation of a state-level organization in 2010. Although these two cases have similar organizing processes, the organizations formed vary in their form and structure. In Oaxaca, the movement has been more successful in promoting the training of new leaderships, which is less evident in the case of Guerrero. In Chiapas, indigenous women are also in the process of creating a state-level organizing structure. Here, however, the process is relatively recent and faces more obstacles than in the other two states. Although the goal of the national movement to promote state-level organizations has concretized in a certain level of consolidation in Guerrero and Oaxaca, it has not in Chiapas.

When the consolidation of the three states' indigenous women's organizing processes are compared, it is puzzling to discover that Chiapas is the state where the indigenous women's movement has reached a lower level of consolidation at the state level. This is paradoxical since it was in Chiapas that a national indigenous movement emerged in the aftermath of the Zapatista movement. Moreover, it was also in Chiapas that Zapatista women made indigenous women visible as social actors with a distinct identity from their indigenous colleagues, as both *indigenous* and *women*. It was also in Chiapas, as presented in the previous chapter, where indigenous women from different states of the country organized their first meetings to push an agenda promoting indigenous women's rights within their respective indigenous organizations and within the coalitions and networks formed at the national level (Gutierrez and Palomo 2000; Lovera and Palomo 1997).

If Chiapas shared with the other two cases a similar context of favourable conditions for the consolidation of a state-level movement, indigenous women's organizing continues to take place primarily at the local level. In Chiapas the interactions between local and regional organizations in the late 1990s did not result in a consolidation of the indigenous women's movement in the following years, in contrast to the cases of Oaxaca and Guerrero. How can we explain that in Chiapas, considering the mobilization heritage from the 1990s, indigenous women have not been able to consolidate at the state-level? Why, in this state, is indigenous women's organizing mostly anchored at the local level? What can explain such variation from other states where indigenous women's organizing has reached greater consolidation at the state level?

I argue in this chapter that in order to make sense of the varying outcome of the organizing process in Chiapas, two mechanisms of social movement dynamics are central: boundary making and brokerage. More specifically, boundary making was key for creating a new collective identity for the indigenous women's movement in Chiapas, but is insufficient to explain the absence of its state-level consolidation. However, in contrast to the two other cases, the types of relationships established between social movement actors in Chiapas—mediated brokerage—in the aftermath of the Zapatista movement, prevented the consolidation of indigenous women's organizing at the state level.

The legacy of the Zapatista movement for indigenous women did create a favourable context for indigenous women to develop a collective identity and position themselves as new social actors. I suggest that indigenous women in Chiapas, through integrating a gender perspective into their conceptualization of indigeneity, succeeded in creating *boundaries* from the indigenous movement. In other words, they were able to construct a discourse accounting for the intersection of two systems of oppression determining their experience as indigenous but also as women. Mestiza feminists (non-indigenous Mexican women) played an instrumental role in promoting the inclusion of gender in indigenous women's discourses and collective identity making in this context.

Although the relationships and alliances established with mestiza feminists facilitated the formation of a collective identity for indigenous women, these were less successful in leading to the creation of independent organizational structures for indigenous women. The relationships indigenous women established with other actors took the form of a mediated brokerage, or relational dependency. The relationship they

established with feminist actors paradoxically facilitated their organizing but limited its consolidation in the long term because it ended up mediating indigenous women's organizing process.

I argue in this chapter that the form of brokerage can explain why indigenous women have not been able to consolidate a state-level movement in Chiapas. In other words, it can explain indigenous women's failure to establish direct access to resources and to the state through a more or less stable organization at the state level that is able to coordinate local organizations and represent indigenous women. Analyzing the type of brokerage in the organizing process allows us to show that it is not solely gendered dynamics that explain indigenous women's organizing processes. In this analysis, emphasis is given to indigenous women's relationships with feminist organizations because it is generally overlooked in the literature.

Both mechanisms—boundary making and brokerage—are useful for explaining why in Chiapas indigenous women's organizing processes have evolved principally at the local level and why the process of creating a state-level organization has been difficult. Chiapas is the first of the three empirical cases to be discussed, principally because it is a negative case, as it has not seen a consolidation of the indigenous women's movement. Chiapas was the state where indigenous women—particularly Zapatista women—positioned themselves in the public sphere with a specific identity articulating indigeneity and gender that led to the emergence of a national indigenous women's movement. Therefore the mobilization that took place in Chiapas inspired indigenous women in other regions and created favourable conditions for the organizing processes for indigenous women.

This chapter first presents the political and historical context of Chiapas in order to understand the contemporary movements and political dynamics that led to the emergence of an indigenous movement. The experience women acquired from their participation in the indigenous movement is important for understanding boundary making and the creation of women-only organizations at the local level. The chapter then analyzes the types of relationships indigenous women established with other actors to grasp how these have affected the creation of independent organizational structures for indigenous women beyond the local level. The last section of the chapter demonstrates how those dynamics reproduced relations of power that negatively influenced the consolidation process at the state level. I suggest that the notion of intersectionality allows us to understand the different types of brokerage that shape the organizing process of indigenous women.

Political and historical context

It is important to examine the political and historical context in order to identify how the legacy of the indigenous movement had a determining impact on the later development of women's organizing processes. Most importantly, the divisions within the indigenous movement in Chiapas obstructed collaboration between indigenous women from different organizations (indigenous, peasant and feminist). This organizational legacy is therefore a critical factor for understanding why, in this state, the indigenous women's movement is more present at the local level with groups that are isolated from one another.

The state of Chiapas is located in southern Mexico and borders with Guatemala in the south and Oaxaca in the northwest. Chiapas is primarily a rural region; it is the second state of Mexico with the lowest proportion (48.7%) of the population living in municipalities of more than 2,500 people.[55] Behind Oaxaca, Chiapas is the third state with the highest proportion of the population that speaks an indigenous language; in 2010 the proportion was 27.2%.[56] In other words, a large proportion of Chiapas' population lives in rural areas and also speaks an indigenous language, which is the main criterion used by the government and its official agencies for determining if one is indigenous. Chiapas has several indigenous groups and the principal indigenous languages spoken are Tseltal, Tsotsil, Ch'ol, Zoque and Tojolabal. It is one of the richest states in terms of natural resources and biodiversity; however, this does not benefit indigenous people, particularly indigenous women, who are the most marginalized sector of society (INEGI 2012a).

Its demographic and socioeconomic indicators position Chiapas, along with Oaxaca and Guerrero, as one of the Mexican states with the highest levels of marginalization. For example, Chiapas has one of the lowest levels of education of all Mexican states (17.8 % of the population is illiterate). Throughout Mexican history indigenous peoples have been exploited, and racism has structured social relations as well as relations between indigenous peoples and the state. Historically, this led to

[55] For example, a person whose parents are indigenous but who grew up in an urban are and did not learn the indigenous language of his/her parents is not considered indigenous according to the census criteria. This is problematic, as the criteria should also consider self-identification, as determined by the ILO Convention 169.

[56] Oaxaca is the state with the highest proportion of the population speaking an indigenous language (34,2%), followed by Yucatán (30,3%), Chiapas (27,2%), Quintana Roo (16,7%), Guerrero (15,1%), Hidalgo (15,1%), and Campeche (12,3%). In other Mexican states the proportion is lower than 12%.

recurrent rebellion by indigenous peoples against oppression and exploitation before the Mexican Revolution in 1910 (De Vos 2010).

Collier and Quaratiello (1994: 15) suggest that it is the post-Revolution land reform that durably stabilized the region and turned peasants and indigenous populations into "the most reliable supporters of the ruling party since the 1930s." This is why, these authors argue, it was only with the interruption of land reform in the 1990s that indigenous peoples returned to the path of rebellion. Indeed, the agrarian reform was implemented very slowly, particularly in Chiapas "where many land claims have yet to be resolved after languishing in the state bureaucracy for years" (Collier and Quaratiello 1994: 45). That being said, the eruption of the Zapatista movement in 1994 emerged from an organizing process that had begun decades earlier. And if indigenous women were not visible in such processes, they were already participating in them and acquiring organizational experience, even while they were not yet framing specific gender demands (Hernández Castillo 2002). In order to better understand the emergence of indigenous women's activism, the chapter now presents an overview of the types of social movements that developed in Mexico in the second half of the 20th century, prior to the emergence of an indigenous movement. It underlines how indigenous women were influenced by the legacy of these processes.

As described in chapter two, the socioeconomic and political changes of the second half of the 20th century facilitated the mobilization of peasant and indigenous peoples to resist economic crises and to challenge state corporatist structures. Chiapas was not disconnected from such national dynamics—to the contrary, since agrarian reforms were far from complete and land conflicts were still unresolved. Violent land

disputes marked Chiapas' political landscape during the 1970s (De Vos 2010; Stephen 2002). Additionally, as one of the poorest states in the country, the economic crisis, along with the economic and political liberalization of the 1970s and 80s, had a harsh effect on peasants and indigenous peoples. People mobilized for better socioeconomic conditions but also for the recognition, in the case of the indigenous movement, of their cultures, languages and specific rights (Collier and Quaratiello 1994).

The central demands of the movement concerned land, credit measures and support for commercialization, labour demands, and opposition to repression and caciquismo (a form of patrimonial and clientelist authority) (Garza Caligari and Toledo 2004).[57] As in other states of the republic, the corporatism of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—PRI) maintained control over structures of power in many indigenous municipalities where cacicazos were formed. It is with the emergence of autonomous organizations that such structures started to be contested in the region, from the local to the regional level (Mattiace, Hernández and Rus 2002). As reported by Harvey (1990), what motivated people to join independent organizations was the corruption, ineffectiveness, and unrepresentativeness of state-controlled organizations (Peasant National Confederation—CNC). Initiatives towards organizing outside of official state-run organizations were supported by different actors, among them the Catholic Church. In the 1960s and 70s, the bishop of the Catholic diocese of San Cristobal de las Casas, through his promotion of liberation

[57]According to Knight (2005: 15) "*Caciquismo* is arbitrary and personalist. Formal rules take second place to informal personal power […] Though arbitrary, caciques may follow well-known, predictable paths. But paths are determined by messy practice, not universal principle […] Caciques need not hold formal office in order to exercise power," and caciques operate at different levels: local, municipal, regional, state, and national.

theology, supported the creation of peasant groups, education (catechist schools), and community projects.

The role of the Church was instrumental in creating opportunities for participation for those groups that had been historically excluded and exploited in Chiapas, namely indigenous peoples (De la Peña 2006; Eber and Kovic 2003; Gil Tebar 1999; Hernández Castillo 2002). As argued by Stephen (2002: 115), in 1974 the Bishop of San Cristóbal de Las Casas organized the first state-wide Indigenous Congress that is "referred to by many as a landmark event in the development of civil-society organizations in Chiapas." Indeed, the Chiapas Indigenous Congress of 1974, organized as a celebration for the five hundredth birthday of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, was a point of departure for indigenous peoples in the region. It was initiated by the government but organized by the Diocese, by Bishop Samuel Ruíz García, who had an ability to bring people together and held legitimacy in the region. It was attended by approximately 1230 indigenous delegates from 327 communities (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006).

What was meant to be an event involving academics became an event organized for and by indigenous peoples. For the first time in Chiapas indigenous peoples spoke publicly about the oppression they experienced and voiced the need to organize independently form the state. This contributed to the creation of boundaries between indigenous peoples and peasants (Eber and Kovic 2003; Romero Víctor 2002). As discussed in the previous chapter, this event led to the emergence of a collective identity framed in terms of indigeneity. Moreover, the Indigenous Congress contributed to the training of new leaderships in indigenous communities (Stephen 2002). While

indigenous women were not yet visible, they were actively involved in the projects and activities promoted by the Church at the local/community level.

In sum, this event reflected the emergence of new channels of mobilization for indigenous peoples beyond socioeconomic demands, but also outside official state structures, which normally aimed to coopt any indigenous contention that took place outside official channels (National Indigenist Institute). Some of the representatives who participated in the Congress organized meetings regarding agrarian problems and demanded land distribution to be completed in Chiapas as stipulated in previous agrarian reforms; these demands were supported by land occupations. It is in this context that indigenous peoples' organizing efforts emerged, articulating demands for land, but also for greater autonomy in controlling their resources (Stephen 2002). This is highly significant as it is in these regions—where such grassroots efforts took place—that indigenous peoples organized what later became the Zapatista movement.

Requiring a substantial amount of coordination in order to further their agenda, autonomous groups established alliances with national groups such as the Independent Organization of Agricultural Workers and Peasants (Central Independiente de Obreros Agrícolas y Campesinos—CIOAC).[58] These alliances favoured mobilization and protest activities such as occupying and recuperating lands that were promised in agrarian repartition but that were never distributed (Romero Víctor 2002). Indigenous and peasant actions and discourses radicalized as a response to the opposition they

[58] CIOAC is a national organization created in 1975 with the purpose of being more independent from state run peasant organizations.

encountered and to the state's tendency to coopt and repress the movement.[59] The central demands of peasant mobilization in this period addressed the issues of violence and repression, land redistribution, working conditions and credits for agriculture (Toledo Tello and Garza Caligaris 2006). The state, through repression and cooptation, provoked a radicalization of those aiming at organizing independently and created a division between those collaborating with the state and those trying to resist it.

However, the adoption of neoliberal reforms in the late 1980s reinforced the political tensions in the region. The amendment of Article 27 of the constitution broke the social equilibrium established after the revolution, as it disrupted the modes of land redistribution and the resolution of land disputes. It affected in particular Chiapas, where more than a quarter of Mexico's unresolved land disputes were located. If social mobilizations centred their actions and demands on land distribution, the neoliberal reforms pushed them to change the framing of their demands: from agrarian and economic demands, the peasants' mobilizations of the 1980s led to an increasing opposition to state corporate structures and the emergence of demands for political democratization (Harvey 1990).

As reported by Romero Victor (2002: 95) peasants from the Peasant Organization Emiliano Zapata (OCEZ) wanted "an organization where the ones commanding were the communities and not representatives […] we wanted an organization of peasants, led by peasants, where our words were privileged." OCEZ sought a less hierarchical internal organization where peasants would lead their own organizations and exercise more

[59] After this occupation peasants began to massively invade and occupy land. The state responded with a military intervention in 1977, targeting newly formed autonomous organizations. In addition to this state repression, dissatisfaction with internal dynamics emerged within peasant organizations. The creation of the Peasant Organization Emiliano Zapata (OCEZ) in 1982 is a good example of such divisions.

autonomy from the state (Harvey 1990). From the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s indigenous peoples from the southeast region of Chiapas organized underground, and later emerged as the Zapatista movement.[60]

Women participated actively in these movements and it is there that they gained organizational experience. However, they did not at first have specific demands relating to gender. Rather, they participated as supporters in the logistical organization of the movement's actions and as active challengers in marches, occupations, strikes and roadblocks. It is with the Zapatista movement that indigenous women first emerged as public social actors and adopted their own distinctive discourse and collective identity, which many of them identified with and mobilized under through the 1990s.

The Zapatista rebellion (as detailed in the previous chapter) originated in Chiapas but rapidly grew into a national indigenous movement. A wide range of indigenous organizations and movements joined the Zapatistas in the process of formulating agendas, defining priorities and negotiating with the State. This provided indigenous peoples from Chiapas the opportunity to participate in protests, marches and occupations, but more importantly to be involved in spaces of discussion, meetings and workshops. The Zapatista uprising in the mid-1990s represented an unprecedented mobilization in Chiapas that would clearly mark the shift from peasant to indigenous identities, leading to the widespread mobilization of local groups throughout the state and representing a clear challenge to corporatist structures (Stephen 2002). Indigenous peoples positioned

[60] A new peasant organization was created in this context—Emiliano Zapata Independent Peasant Alliance (Alianza Nacional Campesina Independiente Emiliano Zapata—ANCIEZ)—which organized large public demonstrations in 1992 to protest the changes to Article 27, NAFTA and the official celebrations of the 500^{tf} anniversary of Columbus's landing in the Americas. This organization went underground following these protests and re-emerged after as the EZLN in 1994.

themselves with organizing structures that were autonomous from both the state and the peasant movement (Collier and Quaratiello 1994).

The strength of the Zapatista movement and the support it received from both the national and international levels played a central role in the development of alliances and networks that made resources available for organizations working for the promotion and defense of indigenous peoples rights. This indigenous organization became the central actor in social protests in Chiapas in the second half of the 1990s and created opportunities for many local groups to mobilize in support of a broader movement both at the state level, but also at the national and international levels. If the movement would later decline it nonetheless marked an unprecedented mobilization against the long-running political domination of the PRI.[61]

Indeed, many indigenous communities refocused their efforts at the local level, mobilizing for the creation of autonomous regions (Leyva Solano, Burguete and Speed 2008; Mattiace, Hernández and Rus 2002). This strengthened the resistance to state corporatism by some organizations but also contributed to the decline of the coordination established in the 1990s at the state level. If many identified with and joined the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, not all embraced the autonomy principle proposed by the movement with the creation of the Caracoles in 2003 as a form of resistance to the state. This reinforced the division between those who radicalized their movement (Zapatistas) and those who initiated collaboration with the state.

[61] On August 2000 a non-PRI governor was elected in Chiapas, Pablo Salazar Mendiguchía, putting an end to the long political domination of the PRI.

These tensions between those organizing in collaboration with the state and those organizing at the margins of the state negatively affected the capacity to build alliances and networks between organizations. In sum, after the peak of mobilization and coalition building during the Zapatista movement, civil society divided between those who reincorporated state institutions and those who radicalized their vision and created autonomous processes. Indigenous women mobilized from this already divided organizational context of the indigenous movement.

The legacy of mobilization and women's participation

The Zapatista movement was instrumental in making indigenous women visible, as women's participation in previous movements had been limited to a secondary role since they were excluded from decisional spaces and leadership. It is with the Zapatista women's demands for specific rights (for indigenous women) that the previous experience they had within the indigenous and peasant movements became politicized and promoted a shift in the types of activities and discourses indigenous women put forward.

Among the first spaces in which indigenous women participated were artisan cooperatives and productive projects, originally promoted by the Diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas and the national State—through the National Indigenist Institute (Gil Tebar 1999). The diocese was a key actor as it encouraged women to develop projects addressing their economic needs, but also offered them training and access to resources to create regional projects. The diocese encouraged women to organize collectively to coordinate productive projects in their regions of influence, as in the case

of women from ARIC-Independiente y Democratica—a state-level organization that emerged in the aftermath of the Indigenous Congress of 1974.[62]

As documented by Gil Tebar (1999), many indigenous women participating in local projects were involved in the Diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas as well as in peasant organizations.[63] Local groups were therefore organized and created through the initiatives of women involved in these spaces. Among them was the Coordinadora Diocesana de Mujeres (CODIMUJ), created in 1992, which succeeded in coordinating indigenous women from different regions of the state.[64] However, their relations with other women's groups within the state were limited and they also had minimal relations with local, national or international groups of indigenous women (CODIMUJ 1999). Although it operated in relative isolation at the local level, this organization nonetheless played a central role in promoting women's rights within its regions of influence by valorizing women's work and participation, advocating gender equity, and defending women's rights, particularly in rural communities (Millán 2008).

Government institutions also played a role in opening spaces of participation for indigenous women through the creation of programs targeted at rural women—such as state-run artisan cooperatives and midwives organizations—and the construction of a social basis for political support reproducing traditional modes of mediation between the

[62] Originally named Kiptik Kalekutesel it officially became ARIC in 1984, as explained by Isabel Gómez López (Interview, June 2011).
[63] Collective processes developed by women in their communities were not exclusively the result of the work of the Diocese. In fact, some of them emerged from the participation of women within independent peasant organizations.
[64] CODIMUJ is one of the largest organization of indigenous, peasant, and some non-indigenous women in Chiapas that coordinates local groups with regional groups. CODIMUJ is organized at different levels: local (women groups in communities), regional, pastoral zone (the diocese is divided into seven zones), and diocese (around 110 representatives from the seven pastoral zones). The work they do is mostly directed at the local level and within the framing of liberation theology and less towards the state or the public sphere.

state and indigenous communities (Toledo Tello and Garza Caligaris 2006). But beyond the corporatist structure of these initiatives, the creation of state-run cooperatives represented an opportunity for women who would, during the early 1990s, create their own independent organizations outside state structures. This was the case with Kinal Antzetik, an NGO created in 1991, which advised women artisans with the aim of "strengthening indigenous women's organizations [and] facilitating a transition from reliance on outside assistance to self-management by the members themselves" (Castro Apreza 2003a: 211).

The local projects promoted by organizations such as CODIMUJ and Kinal represented the first spaces where it was possible for indigenous women to obtain more autonomy at the individual level. Moreover, while their initial work focused on productive projects motivated by economic needs, it eventually introduced a women's rights perspective, focusing on issues such as reproductive health, among other themes. These spaces also reinforced the idea of organizational autonomy from the state and its institutions. However, it is important to mention that those who were coordinating such organizations where not indigenous women but mestiza women. While the end of dependency on the state to subsidize projects was effectively taking place in such spaces, there was mediation by non-indigenous actors—here, mestiza feminists.

If these initiatives followed primarily economic goals, they gave women the possibility of having a space of their own to share experiences and, along with their participation in the peasant and indigenous movements, this represented an opportunity for political training and mobilization (Castro Apreza 2003b; Eber and Kovic 2003; Hernández Castillo 2002; López Cruz 2009). It is through different workshops,

particularly on women's rights, that such politicization processes took place. These experiences gave indigenous women the organizational legacy for the creation of future organizations. However, these processes were developed at the local and regional levels (here understood as a region of the state of Chiapas, for example, the Lacandon forest), which limited the creation of broad alliances throughout the state of Chiapas. All of this impacted later efforts to create alliances that rarely involved women from grassroots groups.

It was only during the 1990s that these processes led to the creation of groups specifically working on women's demands and projects addressed to them. As the next section explains, it is on the basis of this specific configuration of women's organizing processes that these groups entered into relationships with one other in the context surrounding the Zapatista movement.

Boundary making: the emergence of a new collective identity

This section describes the boundaries indigenous women formed to make visible their specific experience at the intersection of other movement's identities—namely, indigenous and women. In order to do so the section lays out how indigenous women appropriated the Zapatista discourse on indigenous women's rights.

It is with the demands voiced by Zapatista women regarding equal opportunities in political and social participation, as well as respect for their specific rights, that a new discourse on indigenous women's rights emerged. After the EZLN rose in arms, one of its first actions was to make public the Zapatista *Women's Revolutionary Law*, which

had been formulated by high ranking Zapatista women within the EZLN and was approved by Zapatista women from the communities.[65] Zapatista women had to negotiate within the movement to get the Law approved, but they succeeded. This was an important gain as the law became a referential tool for indigenous women—even those who were not in the EZLN—who used the right of participation to negotiate their entry into spaces where they had been historically excluded, such as community assemblies and positions of representation and responsibility designated in assemblies (Millán 2006; 2008).

This opened new possibilities for women within the organizational structure of peasant and indigenous movements both at the local and national levels. For indigenous women, however, this was particularly the case at the local level. As reported by Cecilia López Pérez: "women have changed their lives, from 1994, 1995, because before women did not go out to participate, nor did they participate in decision-making or in calling for meetings for women" (Interview, August 2011).[66] They began to occupy more visible roles and to develop a discourse on gender, particularly on women's right to equal participation, non-violence and individual autonomy. But if they participated in such a context, it was through their identification with the indigenous movement while using the framing of women's rights from the feminist movement. Simultaneously, indigenous women identified with the indigenous movement and also with discourses on women's rights (as presented in Chapter 2).

[65] The principal demands addressed women's rights to participation (in the revolutionary army and social and political spaces), the right to work and receive a fair salary, have the right to live without violence, the right to choose their partner and the number of children they want, the right to education, and the right to occupy positions of leadership.

[66] "Las mujeres han cambiado su vida, desde el 1994, 1995, porque antes pues las mujeres no salían a participar, no tomaban decisiones, no convocaban convocar reuniones entre ellas mismas."

A major contribution of the Zapatista movement in both Chiapas and throughout Mexico was the articulation of demands grounded in gender and indigeneity. This is evident in the discourse of Commandant Esther, who addressed the Mexican Congress in 2001 in the name of the Zapatista movement, asking them to adopt the law on indigenous rights and culture resulting from negotiations with the indigenous movement. On this occasion she said: "My name is Esther, but that is not important now. I am a Zapatista, but that is not important at this moment either. I am indigenous and I am a woman and this is what is important now."[67] Zapatistas framed, from the beginning, a discourse where their identities as both indigenous and women were conceived as interrelated. Furthermore, they often referred to the fact of being poor as inseparable from their identities as indigenous and women.

The influence of the Zapatista discourse led to the re-appropriation by different actors of an identity based on ethnicity and gender, and not just on class as had previously been the case within the peasant movement. For women, addressing gender within these demands for recognition soon presented a challenge (in the different spaces opened to discuss indigenous women's rights). The following quotation from Margarita Gutiérrez Romero, one of the well-known indigenous leaders of Chiapas, illustrates this process:

> I was a militant for the indigenous peoples but when the EZLN invited me to debate on indigenous women's rights…I was very scared. How come we indigenous women have rights? How? I had a terrible fear; however, the dynamic of the table brought me to that, to see that yes we have specific things, that we also debate the general politics of indigenous peoples and that we are part of a

[67] "Mi nombre es Esther, pero eso no importa ahora. Soy zapatista, pero eso tampoco importa en este momento. Soy indígena y soy mujer, y eso es lo que importa ahora." This discourse can be found in the Zapatista magazine *Revista Chiapas*: [http://www.ezln.org/revistachiapas/No11/ch11congreso.html].

> collective we cannot dissociate from but we also have particular and specific rights and our own dynamic, our own space. This became clear for me, it was a lesson I learned in San Andres and I started building on that (Interview, June 2011).[68]

The emergence of a discourse articulating both feminism and indigeneity was produced through collective action and particularly, workshops and meetings. One of these moments was the workshop on women's rights and customs organized by feminist activists and academics that were consulted by the state on constitutional reforms in May 1994 (Duarte Bastian 2005; Eber and Kovic 2003; Millán Moncayo 2006).[69] Indigenous women were invited as participants by feminists to discuss the implications of constitutional reforms on the traditional indigenous practices and customs for indigenous women's rights. In addition, the Women's Revolutionary Law of the EZLN was submitted for discussion. At the event, "[w]omen denounced the use of 'custom' to justify gender discrimination" (Eber and Kovic 2003: 10). The workshop represented the first space where indigenous women discussed the implications of legislative changes concerning indigenous peoples from a gender perspective.

This question was also debated during the Dialogues of San Andrés, in the roundtable discussing women's rights (1995-1996). On this occasion, international agreements on indigenous peoples' rights and women's rights were presented by non-

[68] "Yo era militante de los pueblos indígenas pero cuando me hace la invitación el EZLN a debatir sobre los derechos de las mujeres indígenas…me dio mucho miedo ¿Que acaso las mujeres indígenas tenemos derechos? ¿cómo? Y tenía un miedo espantoso pero sin embargo la misma dinámica de la mesa me llevo a eso, ver que si tenemos como cosas específicas, que si debatimos también la política general de pueblos indígenas y somos parte de un colectivo, no podemos disociarnos pero tenemos también nuestros derechos particulares y específicos y nuestra propia dinámica, nuestro propio espacio. Entonces eso me quedo muy claro, y fue una enseñanza que yo aprendí en San Andrés, y a construir a partir de ahí."

[69] The workshop, *Los derechos de las mujeres en nuestras costumbres y tradiciones*, was held in San Cristóbal de Las Casas and was attended by about 50 indigenous women: indigenous women tzotziles, tzeltales, tojolabales y mames from San Juan Chamula, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Motozintla, La Independencia, Oxchuc, Teopisca, Ocosingo, Chenalhó, Chanal y Pantelhó.

indigenous women and served as a reference for thinking about the articulation of gender and indigeneity in terms of human rights (Gutierrez and Palomo 2000). This created opportunities for women to organize and develop strategies to include women's rights in the discourse on indigenous peoples' rights within mixed organizations. Along with the roundtable on women's rights during the Dialogues, where women from Chiapas and other states participated, several meetings were held to coordinate indigenous demands at the national level.

For indigenous women this involved reclaiming indigeneity in non-indigenous spaces of mobilization, particularly in women's and feminist groups. But in this re-affirmation of ethnicity as a collective identity indigenous women also faced the challenge of addressing gender in the formulation of collective identity and demands. Hernández Castillo (2001), who wrote extensively about indigenous women in Chiapas, argues that the constant tensions faced by indigenous women in negotiating these two sets of demands explain their decision to create spaces autonomous from other indigenous and feminist organizations. The internal tensions faced by women in the national indigenous movement when they tried to integrate their gender demands are exposed extensively in chapter two. And, as it is previously argued, the resistance indigenous women faced pushed them to create an indigenous women's organization at the national level, as documented by Gutierrez and Palomo (2000).

Feminist allies were instrumental in this process. However, when trying to consolidate an organizing process similar to the national one but at the state level, indigenous women faced new obstacles. Beyond the tensions faced by indigenous women within their mixed organizations in Chiapas, the internal dynamics within the

feminist movement also affected the organizing process. Although the tensions faced by indigenous women in mixed indigenous organizations are documented by Gutierrez and Palomo (2000) from an insider perspective, the tensions within the women's movement have received less attention. And, as argued in this chapter, these relations between women, which are embedded in the intersecting of multiple structures of oppression such as race and class, have paradoxically facilitated (access to resources) and constrained (hierarchies between indigenous and non-indigenous women) indigenous women's organizing processes at the state level. As discussed later in the chapter, the concept of intersectionality is key to explaining how these power relations played out in the process of consolidation of the indigenous women's movement.

Mestiza feminists played an instrumental role in promoting the inclusion of gender within indigenous women's discourses and collective identity. The integration of gender by indigenous women has taken place, in Chiapas as in other states, through the creation of local groups of women that discussed their shared experiences. Often this process was supported and promoted by external actors, among them, feminist catechists, academics and counselors from different organizations. That is, mestiza feminists played a key role in the inclusion of gender in indigenous women's discourses and collective identity. For example, they were key allies for indigenous women in pushing for the integration of women's rights into the peace dialogues in 1995 and 1996.

Clearly the political and social context of Chiapas in the 1990s was an opportunity for indigenous women to coordinate previously isolated organizational processes, but also to organize what was going to be the national organization of indigenous women. More than two decades later, however, the local indigenous women's movement is

surprisingly disarticulated, as there is little collaboration between organizations working on similar projects. This is also the case for women's organizations, even those working for indigenous women's rights. The distinct initiatives to create a state-level structure of representation for women did not materialize in the long term, and even less for indigenous women. The women who once met during marches, meetings, and workshops to mobilize together in support of the indigenous movement while at the same time articulating a gender perspective, returned to their specific projects and their collaboration diminished.

Women's participation in different events in the second half of the 1990s was a key factor and a turning point in a process of indigenous women's organization (Speed, Hernández Castillo and Stephen 2006). On the one hand, the high level of mobilization created opportunities for women to participate and establish alliances with other groups, but on the other hand, the division that emerged within and between social movement organizations limited long-term coordination. The Zapatista uprising created an unprecedented opportunity for women to coordinate their local processes through their identification with and support for the Zapatista movement, and more particularly Zapatista women. However, although this was concretely translated into the creation of a collective identity of indigenous women, in terms of organizing it did not materialize and the collaboration was punctual and momentary. This took place in a context of high levels of mobilization. As reported by Merit Ichin Santiesteban "the marches were impressive, the meetings were impressive, there were no spaces here in San Cristóbal that could receive all those who attended. It was really effervescence" (Interview, June

2011).[70] Civil society coordinated to organize marches, meetings, and protests in support of Zapatista communities in that period.

Moreover, feminists organized a women's state convention to discuss the gender demands they wanted to push forward in this context as the Zapatista movement had opened spaces for exchange with other social actors.[71] Women from cooperatives, NGOs and peasant organizations organized the first State Women's Convention of Chiapas (Convención Estatal de Mujeres) with the goal of formulating specific demands for women, in San Cristóbal de Las Casas on July 1994 (Eber and Kovic 2003; Gil Tebar 1999).[72] The goal of the meeting was to "elaborate a program of strategic demands from a gender perspective; promote and fortify the structure and organization of women in the State of Chiapas" (in Gil Tebar 1999: 38-39). However, this attempt to coordinate local groups of women at the state level did not have the expected results and it only organized three meetings.[73] Internal divisions regarding political alignments prevented such coordination. Political divisions concerned principally the movement's relationship with the state: while some wanted to consider the possibility of negotiating with the state, others refused any collaboration, in line with the Zapatista movement's position (Eber and Kovic 2003).

---

[70] "Eran impresionantes las marchas, eran impresionantes las reuniones, no habían espacios aquí en San Cristóbal donde pudieran caber todas las personas que asistían. Realmente era como la efervescencia."

[71] As recalled by indigenous leaders who participated in the convention, it was principally a space occupied by mestiza women and indigenous women did not recognize themselves in such a space. Margarita Gutiérrez Romero, one of the principal leaders in Chiapas and the country only participated in the first meeting, finding that it did not correspond to indigenous women's realities. However, if indigenous women did not feel represented in such spaces, or establish strong alliances with other non-indigenous groups, they nonetheless met other indigenous women working in local processes.

[72] In the following months of the Zapatista uprising, women in Chiapas mobilized to organize collective demands in preparation for the National Democratic Convention (CND) of the Zapatista movement. Around 300 women delegates from more than 20 indigenous, peasant and mestiza organizations participated and agreed to endorse EZLN demands.

[73] The first two meetings of the Convention (1994) gathered between 300 and 500 women but participation dropped to less than 100 in the third meeting (1995).

These divisions also impacted women's organizations, particularly, internally. This was the case with Kinal Antzetik, which splintered into two organizations: Kinal Antzetik Chiapas and Kinal Antzetik D.F. Thus, there are currently two organizations working on indigenous women, but whose members are feminist mestizas and indigenous women. Kinal Antzetik Chiapas works in Chiapas exclusively and maintains complete autonomy from the state. Kinal Antzetik D.F. works in different states of the country, including Chiapas, and supports autonomous organizing processes but also seeks to influence public policy regarding indigenous women. It is Kinal D.F. that maintained a close relation with the national organization of indigenous women and that also works in different regions of the country. Kinal Chiapas, however, which works exclusively in Chiapas, did not maintain its ties with other organizations. If the indigenous women of Kinal Chiapas participated in the first national meeting of indigenous women in 1997 it was not the case afterwards (Castro Apreza 2003a; CODIMUJ 1999; Gil Tebar 1999).

Strong divisions in the aftermath of the Zapatista insurrection blocked the possibility of creating broader alliances and reinforced the above-mentioned fragmentation that has characterized the work of social movement organizations in Chiapas. This is clearly stated by Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo from Kinal Antzetik D.F.: "the debate in Chiapas was hard in every sense and fragmented many things [...] there were too many actors and too many complex and contradictory processes. Also, a low-intensity war that put down many things" (Interview, April 2011).[74] These divisions are

[74] "El debate en Chiapas fue muy duro en todos los sentidos y fragmentó muchas cosas […] eran demasiados actores y demasiados procesos complejos y contradictorios. Una guerra también de baja intensidad que le dio por el suelo a muchas cosas."

principally caused by the opposition between Zapatistas and those collaborating with the state, which has had an impact on all social movement organizations in Chiapas and, therefore, on whether alliances could be developed or not. This affected the types of relations, or alliances—that is, brokerage—that indigenous women created with other actors (Tilly and Tarrow 2007).

In other words, the form of brokerage made it difficult for indigenous women to create independent organizations and alliances beyond the local level because, as explained by Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo, it "greatly debilitated organizing processes in general and those of indigenous women in particular" (Interview, April 2011).[75] Indeed, for indigenous women brokerage was mediated and therefore, they were less in charge of determining the ground on which such alliances should be defined. The division on such a political position—autonomy or collaboration—limited the actors with whom indigenous women could enter into contact to come up with strategies. Indigenous organizations, along with feminist and other social movement organizations, were divided.

Currently in Chiapas there is not a consolidated indigenous women's movement at the state level, at least not one with which women identify. Margarita Gutiérrez Romero, one of the principal indigenous women leaders in both Chiapas and Mexico more broadly, recognizes the low level of consolidation of the movement in Chiapas.[76] According to her, the process of coordination at the state level is just starting in Chiapas, contrary to the cases of Oaxaca and Guerrero: "I think many women here participated in

[75] "Lo político es muy fuerte, el tema partidario atraviesa muchas cosas. Eso yo creo que ha debilitado mucho los procesos organizativos en general y los de mujeres indígenas en particular."
[76] She is far from being the only leader, but she is the most well known outside the state (national/international).

the movement, but are separated. Some are invited and go to national meetings; international too, but there is clearly no coordination" (Interview, June 2011).[77] Such observation coincides with that of other indigenous women who had been actively involved since the beginning of the 1990s, such as Micaéla Hernández Meza who arrived at the conclusion that it is no longer a movement as it was; "much has been lost. There are no longer women's meetings, there are no longer workshops […] we have lost track of each other" (Interview, August 2011).[78] It is clear that the conditions enabling coordination beyond the local level were there in the context of the Zapatista movement, but this did not lead to coordination in the long term.

Even the collaboration between organizations decreased, as reported by Georgina Méndez Torres, an indigenous intellectual and activist from Chiapas: "the intensity of the interest in the relations between organizations has been lost," contrary to the epoch of the Zapatista movement (Interview, June 2011).[79] This was visible in the meeting organized by Zapatista women in 2007, which brought together women from Chiapas and all over the world to participate in an international meeting to exchange experiences with the Zapatistas.[80] The meeting reflected that indigenous women were working on

[77] "Pero decía yo, bueno ¿y ahora como vamos a responder a la nacional también? Me parece que aquí muchas mujeres participaron en el movimiento pero están separadas. Unas son invitadas y van a las reuniones nacionales, internacionales también, pero no hay visiblemente una coordinación."
[78] "Mucho ya se ha perdido. Ya no se hacen encuentros de mujeres, ya no se hacen talleres […] nos hemos perdido de vista."
[79] "Se perdió el auge por este asunto de las relaciones de las organizaciones. Antes de que yo me fuera, a lo mejor era también la época ya que estaba pasando todo el rollo del Zapatismo, había mucha preocupación por establecer alianzas, y hacer un trabajo mas en conjunto."
[80] At this meeting Zapatista women discussed individual and collective trajectories of struggle, from the experience of the elders as well as young girls. Their intention was to share, in their own voices and from their own experiences, the history of their struggle as Zapatista women. However, as they made clear what they expected in return was that those attending would also share their organizing processes, a first step for constructing a dialogue: "It is a first step, to listen to each other, to understand our differences and our similarities. That was what we Zapatista women had to say. Now we would like to listen to you" (personal notes from the meeting, 2007).

internal processes at the local level and not much in relation to other organizations. Georgina Méndez Torres gives the example of the work of FOMMA—a collective of Mayan women who use theatre as a consciousness raising tool for indigenous women—to illustrate this: "They do not care about establishing relations with others. A lot of this is related to autonomous local processes, on their own, that do not permit alliances with other organizations except for sporadic and punctual things" (Interview, June 2011).[81]

The majority of indigenous women's organizations in Chiapas are local ones promoting women's health, the prevention of violence and cultural projects. Only a few work at the regional level, that is, in different communities located in one or two geographical regions of Chiapas. But if local organizations of indigenous women are coordinated and led by indigenous women, this is not the case for state-level organizations. The majority of state-level feminist organizations working with indigenous women are coordinated and led by non-indigenous women and focus primarily on women's rights and consciousness-raising projects.[82] In other words, indigenous women's organizing processes in Chiapas are mostly grounded at the local, not state level, and in contrast with Oaxaca and Guerrero, they are less visible as social actors at the state level. In sum, the specific configuration of brokerage with feminist organizations obstructed collaboration and alliances among indigenous women and as a result, impeded the consolidation of a state-level organization in Chiapas

[81] "A ellas no les importa si establecen relación con alguien. Mucho de esto esta vinculado con estos procesos locales propios, que ya no permiten esta alianza con otras organizaciones sino para cosas bien esporádicas y bien puntuales."
[82] Centro de Derechos de la Mujer de Chiapas (CDMCH), Formación y Capacitación (FOCA A.C.), Asesoría, Capacitación y Asistencia en Salud (ACASAC), Kinal Antzetik, and Coordinadora Diocesana de Mujeres (CODIMUJJ).

That being said, the lack of collaboration and alliance between indigenous women's local groups is not solely a problem faced by indigenous women, but rather a characteristic of the social movement field in Chiapas. An example of the absence of collaboration is the incapacity of the Independent Women's Movement (Movimiento Independiente de Mujeres-MIM) to bring together women to participate.[83] Formed in 2002 the MIM is a network of women's groups (non-indigenous and indigenous) whose goal is to coordinate women's political actions. This space has been one of the rare efforts to coordinate women's groups in Chiapas at the state level, after the failed attempt of the Women's State Convention in 1994. It invites women's groups to participate, but these groups do not respond to the invitation. Only women affiliated with the CDMCH—the organization that provides material support to and defines the orientation of the MIM—participate.

The question that emerges then is why women do not participate in broader coalitions and why there is such little collaboration between local groups. As stated by Georgina Méndez Torres, such initiatives as the MIM that aim at constructing a movement at the state level are not really successful: "Is there really a movement? Is there or not? And if there is one, who is in it?" (Interview, June 2011).[84] As illustrated by this quote, the lack of participation of indigenous women in broader movements could be explained by the low identification with it.

[83] MIM's goals are to share information, coordinate mobilizations and protests, convene agreements and make public statements (MIM, 2006a). MIM is a member of other spaces of collective action as the World March of Women (WMM), The Other Campaign (La Otra Campaña) and the Convergence of Organizations and Movements of Peoples of the Americas (Convergencia de Movimientos de Los pueblos de Las Americas –COMPA). In April 2004, the MIM participated in the global action of the WMM and received the Women's Global Charter for Humanity from women from Guatemala.

[84] "¿En realidad hay movimiento? ¿Si hay o no hay? Y si hay ¿quienes son las que están?"

As expressed by the indigenous women interviewed in Chiapas, they do not really identify with the MIM, nor do they feel represented by it. One of the reasons identified to explain this is primarily related to the organizational structure and the power dynamics within it. As Georgina Méndez Torres points out, the MIM "arrives with a determined structure, they arrive with the agenda written and the agenda does not emerge from the [meetings]" (Interview, June 2011).[85]

When I participated in one of the MIM's assemblies, prior to the march of November 25th 2010, I observed that there was indeed little room for debate as it was mainly organized through workshops with predetermined themes. The workshops followed a top-down dynamic where the CDMCH's (the organization that leads the MIM) coordinators and staff determined the workshop's priorities and orientations. Moreover, women who participate in such events are all involved in local groups that were formed by the CDMCH, reflecting a lack of collaboration and coordination at the state level. The women who participated in the assembly I attended were representatives or delegates from communities where the CDMCH works for the promotion of women's rights. If these women were the ones doing the concrete work in their communities, it was the mestiza from the Center who facilitated the workshops that had clear directions for the formulation of demands for the march, which took place the following day. Additionally, there were no indigenous women from other groups—groups not members of the CDMCH—at least they were not visible and did not have specific demands from their organizations. In other words, the space was not an assembly where all women

[85] "Ya van con la estructura hecha, llegan con la agenda, y la agenda no surge desde ahí."

participated equally; it was rather a vertical structure taking the form of a workshop where the ones leading were the coordinators of the CDMCH.

The lack of collaboration between local organizations can also be explained by the existing competition between organizations for resources (International agencies, national NGOs, the state). Indeed, most local organizations have created alliances and projects with national and international organizations. For example, local organizations in major cities will collaborate with national organizations such as GIMTRAP and Kinal Antzetik D.F., the former offering workshops on political advocacy and the latter on reproductive health and human rights. It is therefore through the projects developed in collaboration with external—national—organizations that indigenous women organized. Moreover, some indigenous women in Chiapas have received fellowships from national agencies, such as Semillas, that allow them to develop and financially sustain collective projects aimed at organizing women along the framework of women's rights for one or two years. But when compared with other states, the access to resources by indigenous women individually or through collective projects is lower in Chiapas. Collaboration and alliances are therefore established with national organizations and this is absent from state-level dynamics.

Beyond access to resources as a factor influencing the level of cooperation between groups, another factor to consider is the type of participation encouraged by organizations. In Chiapas, divisions within civil society, where each organization works with 'their people' and 'their region,' seem to represent a major obstacle to creating alliances between indigenous women. As expressed by Georgina Mendez Torres, who worked with a women's rights organization, when explaining why the women's

movement is divided in Chiapas: "My hypothesis is that everyone took their group of women because there was that idea of property 'these are my women' […] Then all have their women whom they are training" (Interview, June 2011).[86] If two organizations work in a same region it is often the case that one is from the national level and the other from the local level, thus reproducing the same divisions from the mixed movements where collaboration is difficult between local groups.

This brings us to the central claim of this chapter regarding how the boundary making and brokerage mechanisms interacted with one another and ultimately, prevented the indigenous women's movement from effectively consolidating. Indeed, although the relationships and alliances established between mestiza feminist and indigenous women facilitated the emergence of a collective identity for indigenous women, these were less successful in leading to the creation of independent organizational structures for indigenous women. It is brokerage, rather, that can explain the particularities of the case of indigenous women's organizing in Chiapas. In Chiapas, the creation of relationships and alliances between different organizations and actors faced many obstacles—in particular, political divisions and competition. Moreover, state-level organizations working to defend indigenous women's rights and interests are not represented by indigenous women themselves. In other words, indigenous women do not occupy the positions that could allow them to be the protagonists of these organizations; this is why brokerage took the form of mediated or dependent brokerage. In Chiapas, the relationships established with feminist actors by indigenous women paradoxically facilitated identity formation but limited the organizational process in the

[86] "Mi hipótesis es que cada quién se agarro su pedacito de mujeres porque además había ese asunto de propiedad, 'estas son mis mujeres'. […]. Entonces todos tienen sus mujeres que están capacitando."

long term because indigenous women are not occupying protagonist roles in the women's movement and have limited access to direct representation in state-level organizations.

Brokerage: mediated relations

In this section I suggest that the divisions in Chiapas had an impact on the types of relationships developed between indigenous women and feminists. In Chiapas, the representation of indigenous women is still mediated by their compañeros in mixed organizations, but also by mestiza in feminist organizations. This situation explains the continued divisions within the movement. However, considering that feminists have been key allies in the construction of a discourse where the intersection of race, class and gender is central, it could be expected that they would also be allies in the formation of organizational structures that allow the empowerment of indigenous women. This is why in this section I analyze the form of brokerage that takes place between feminists and indigenous women.

As previously explained, mestiza feminists in Chiapas were key actors who introduced a gender perspective on indigenous women's collective identity through the workshops and training provided to local groups in the communities where the organizations work. However, feminist organizations work isolated from one other, which prevents cooperation between indigenous women's local groups. The competition that exists within the women's movement in Chiapas influences the types of relations established between women because the ones having access to resources are those that are already institutionalized, and these are usually organizations where mestizas are the

coordinators. As previously explained by the coordinator of Kinal Antzetik D.F., Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo, political divisions in Chiapas hindered the movement significantly. However, she notes that, "on the other hand, it seems to me that we need to continue thinking about the relationship between NGOs and the indigenous women's movement in Chiapas, in other words, what happened?" (Interview, April 2011).[87] This last quote clearly points to the need to analyze relationships between feminist organizations and indigenous women, as the tensions between them seem more important than in other states.

In Chiapas, there is a clear division in terms of who leads social movement organizations. At the local level indigenous women have their own representatives but at the state level indigenous women are not assuming the leadership of the organizations working with indigenous women; mestiza women do. That is, the mediation of non-indigenous women has had paradoxical results, both facilitating and constraining indigenous women's organizing. Such internal dynamics within women's groups between women, as well as the divisions generated by the political context, have restrained the opportunities for indigenous women at the state level.

An exception to this mediation is the Zapatista movement, where indigenous women were represented through indigenous women leaders, such as Comandanta Ramona. The Zapatista movement demarcated very clear boundaries regarding representation, as only indigenous people could be Comandantes and the only non-indigenous representative of the movement was the 'sub-comandante Marcos,' whose

[87] "[L]o político es muy fuerte, el tema partidario atraviesa muchas cosas entonces eso digamos yo creo que ha debilitado mucho los procesos organizativos en general y los de mujeres indígenas en particular."

position was that of a 'delegate.' The symbolism of such a distinction of who has the right to represent indigenous peoples is an important element that also prevented non-indigenous women to speak on behalf of Zapatista women. But if Zapatista women were visible and active in the public sphere in the 1990s and early 2000s, the situation changed afterwards when the Zapatista movement shifted its focus from a dialogue with external actors to an internal process of the construction of autonomous projects. Therefore, the voice and discourse of Zapatista women with which many indigenous women identified lost strength in Chiapas. Considering this situation, but also the fact that there are other organizing processes that are not necessarily Zapatista, it is important to examine dynamics occurring outside the Zapatista movement. And this, I suggest, is key to understanding how power relations within and between movements have changed very slowly in Chiapas, in contrast to other regions of Mexico, affecting the consolidation of indigenous women's organizing processes.

The power dynamics between mestizas and indigenous women were visible in the type of participation women had within the women's movement. According to Micaéla Hernández Meza, the first indigenous woman coordinator of Kinal Antzetik Chiapas, indigenous women's participation in the movement was mediated by mestizas. To illustrate this she explains women's different forms of participation in spaces such as the Women's State Convention and other meetings during the second half of the 1990s: "we were only accompanying in this meeting but did not give our opinion and all that, we were only seeing what happened. Yes, we only participated in that way" (Interview,

December 2011).[88] In non-Zapatista organizations this situation, where mestizas spoke on behalf of indigenous women, reproduced the unequal access to power positions within social movement organizations between women, where the more privileged were the coordinators and public speakers and the indigenous women were principally doing the grassroots work. This was paradoxical in a context where the mobilization was motivated by an indigenous movement where mestizas did not mediate indigenous women's discourses. Outside the formal organization of the Zapatista movement, the EZLN, indigenous women were not necessarily the protagonists.

The problem, therefore, is that if Zapatista women were protagonists in their movement, this was not the case for indigenous women involved in other indigenous and women's movements' organizations. Two decades later, this situation has not changed. As reported by Margarita Gutiérrez Romero, who was involved in the mobilizations surrounding the Zapatista movement, "in Chiapas there are movements, there are a bunch of NGOs, and there are movements; however, indigenous women are not protagonists" (Interview, June 2011).[89] Non-indigenous women coordinate most of the organizations working 'with' indigenous women and 'for' the defence of their rights, as is the case of the Centro de Derechos de la Mujer de Chiapas (CDMCH). As explained by Margarita, "[t]hey employ indigenous women but the latter are not the leaders and are not the protagonists" (Interview, June 2011).[90]

[88] "[N]ada mas estabamos acompañando en esa reunión pero no dabamos nuestra palabra, nuestra opinión y todo eso, nomás ahí, veiamos que es lo que pasa. Si, nada mas así participábamos."
[89] "[E]n Chiapas hay movimientos, hay un montón de ONGs, y hay movimientos, pero no son protagonistas las mujeres indígenas."
[90] "Tienen contratadas a mujeres indígenas pero ellas no son las lideres y no son las protagonistas."

In Chiapas, beyond the Zapatista movement, this situation creates a certain discomfort regarding the boundaries established between women. There is no consensus on the question of whether indigenous women should create spaces that exclude non-indigenous women. As related by Margarita Gutiérrez Romero, some women would like to integrate indigenous and non-indigenous women into their activities in a perspective of constructing alliances:

> And we have said to the compañeras from NGOs, we have invited them also, I do not know if they see the difference but for example, they say, we will send a compañera. It is for indigenous women, and sometimes many, even Isabel and Sebastiana also say, indigenous women and non-indigenous. Ok then, the idea is to build alliances but the space is this. And for example I always provoke them, I said to them, let's see, when you will be autonomous and independent and will not have to ask permission to your supervisor who is non-indigenous […] it is not the same compañeras. Let's build something different" (Interview, June 2011).[91]

The internal distribution of responsibilities within indigenous women's rights groups reveals persistent hierarchies between women. Indeed, in the majority of cases, it is non-indigenous women who occupy the positions of representation and coordination. Some factors could explain why there are unequal opportunities for indigenous women to occupy positions of coordination, as indigenous women's education level is particularly low in the state of Chiapas compared to that of mestizas. Moreover, such organizations are based in urban centers where organizations work principally in Spanish, which is a limitation for those indigenous women whose first language is not Spanish and who therefore need to learn it. However, it is not only about education levels. There are more

[91] "Y hemos dicho a las compañeras de ONGs, hemos invitado también, no se si encuentran la diferencia pero igual ellas por ejemplo dicen, vamos a mandar a una compañera. Es de mujeres indígenas, y a veces muchas, misma Isabel y Sebastiana también, es que mujeres indígenas y no indígenas. Bueno ok, se trata de construir alianzas pero el espacio es este. Yo por ejemplo igual siempre las provoco a las compañeras y les digo, a ver, ustedes cuando sean autónomas e independientes de que no tengan que pedirle permiso a su directora que no es indígena […] No es lo mismo compañeras. Construyamos algo diferente."

and more bilingual or trilingual indigenous women living in urban centres who have university degrees, but the positions of coordination and representation are still occupied by mestiza women. The following illustrations show how power relations mark the division of labour within women's organizations.

A case in point is the Centre for Women's Rights of Chiapas, the CDMCH (Centro de Derechos de la Mujer de Chiapas, A.C.). This organization works to promote and defend women's rights, mostly in indigenous communities in three regions of Chiapas. Among the women interviewed in Chiapas, some had worked as promoters in the CDMCH, facilitating workshops on women's rights in indigenous languages, for women living in indigenous communities. Many indigenous women work in the organization, mostly as promoters—that is, they are the ones doing the fieldwork while the positions with decisional power are occupied by mestizas, who are the ones planning and organizing campaigns, defining agendas, etc.

A former employee of this organization explained that there are important power relations between the coordination staff and the promoters. One illustration of this is the tight control that exists over indigenous women's activities. For example, the organization is sometimes invited to conferences to talk about indigenous women's organizing processes but it is only recently that the CDMCH began to send indigenous women—as before the coordinators were the ones participating on behalf of indigenous women. Nevertheless, the presentations of indigenous women need to be approved by the coordinators. This is a major problem because it restricts indigenous women's autonomy and reproduces a hierarchy within the organization between mestiza and indigenous women.

In fact, as reported by Georgina Méndez Torres, because the CDMCH has an intersectional perspective on gender in its articulation with class and ethnicity, it is assumed that their practices are in tune with their discourse: "they assume that they have a different type of relationship with indigenous women […] but there still continues to exist a paternalist, maternalist vision towards [indigenous] peoples" (Interview, June 2011).[92] Therefore, mestizas are the ones controlling access to resources and formulating the agenda; they are not sharing power. So, even if the organization's discourse is grounded in an intersectional framework aiming at denouncing the oppression women live on the basis of their gender, class and ethnicity, the internal dynamics of the organization do not correspond to their discourse. This case shows that if these organizations mobilize the discourse of intersectionality to understand political challenges and plan their work, they do not appear to apply this analysis reflexively to their internal practices.

However, this is not the case everywhere. In other spaces such power relations have been acknowledged and discussed, even if only recently. Kinal Antzetik Chiapas, originally created by mestizas, aimed at giving support and mentorship to indigenous women cooperatives. The division between the advisors/mestizas and the participants/indigenous was clearly marked. However, recent efforts have sought to transform this divide by integrating indigenous women into higher-level positions, as evidenced by the nomination of an indigenous woman, Micaéla Hernández Meza, as the organization's coordinator. The organization is currently working on a book project that shares the experiences of indigenous women from the organization, in which they will

[92] "[D]an por hecho que tienen otro tipo de relación con las compañeras indígenas […] aun sigue habiendo una visión paternalista, maternalista hacia los pueblos."

explain the transitions that have taken place. The transfer of power from mestizas to indigenous women in Kinal illustrates that in some spaces power dynamics between women are acknowledged and are gradually leading to a change in the distribution of power within organizations. However, this is not the case in other spaces as we saw with the case of the CDMCH.

The differences in the internal dynamics between non-indigenous and indigenous women within these two organizations, the CDMCH and Kinal, lead to distinct approaches to empowerment. In the CDMCH the idea is to empower women through collective rather than individual processes. When I approached the centre with my intention to interview local leaders, the coordinator responded that they were not in the process of training individual leaders but rather in developing community projects of empowerment. They are critical of the idea of empowering women at the individual level. My observations indicate, however, that this is somehow contradictory as the center has visible leaderships but from mestizo women solely, which are not questioned. In Kinal, both dimensions are encouraged and this is visible through the importance given to individual training and the group's goal of transferring power and forming new coordinators. As explained by Celerina Ruiz Núñez "[t]he idea is that at some point Kinal disappears. It will remain as a training center for indigenous women. For example, currently in Kinal there are mestizas but the idea is that it goes back to the hands of indigenous women" (Interview, June 2011).[93]

[93] "La idea es que llegue un tiempo que Kinal se desaparece. Va a quedar como centro de formación y capacitación de mujeres indígenas. Por ejemplo ahorita en Kinal están las mujeres mestizas pero la idea es que pase a manos de las mujeres indígenas."

In contrast to Kinal, the process in the CDMCH focuses on creating a broader women's movement (indigenous and non-indigenous) grounded in an intersectional approach. But the top-down approach in the formulation of priorities, the dynamics of the workshops they organize, and the exclusive focus on collective (and not individual) leaderships limit the capacity to break current dynamics where the experts are the mestizas, and therefore limit the capacity to have a reflexive analysis on internal practices. When I participated in some of the Centre's activities I could effectively see that the top-down approach they have is a major obstacle to empowering indigenous women and it continues to exclude indigenous women and their perspectives from decision-making. The lack of reflexive analysis of internal power dynamics between women prevents the adoption of more democratic practices via an intersectional feminist approach.

Internal dynamics between women (mestizas and indigenous) within women's groups, as well as the divisions generated by the political context (cooperation with or radical opposition to the state) have restrained the opportunities for indigenous women to coordinate local organizing processes and consolidate a state-level process. That is, although there are regional organizing processes in place, such as those that the Zapatista women and women from the CODIMUJ have consolidated in the last decades, these organizations have little interaction with other groups. The processes in both organizations centre on internal dynamics, preventing a potential collaboration with indigenous women from other regions of the state. Indigenous women face important obstacles that limit the creation of networks by and for indigenous women. If they are

involved in networks it is through the mediation of organizations that are mostly led by mestizas.[94]

In Chiapas, even if there are many civil society organizations, those working with indigenous women with a perspective of organizational reinforcement and political leadership are rare. According to Becerril Albarrán and Bonfil (2012), there are various processes aimed at fostering indigenous women leaderships, however they take place at the local level—particularly the community level—and are isolated from other processes. Therefore, they do not reach other levels of political influence, such as the municipal or state level. And this is the case with the CDMCH, which is successful in generating local processes by indigenous women but less in generating strong leaderships of indigenous women at the state level. Indigenous women are organized in very local groups, which have none or very limited interactions with other groups. Some exceptions to this are some organizations at the national level, such as GIMTRAP and Semillas.[95] As previously demonstrated, local organizations of indigenous women in

[94] This section focuses on the relationship between mestizas and indigenous women as it is within women's organizations that the discourse on indigenous women's rights has been promoted. However, there are also indigenous women's groups within mixed organizations, such as The Abejas de Acteal, which has a women's commission that organizes marches and meetings of women in the region covered by the organization. There are also women within the movement organized to resist the rise in electricity fees, who are the ones organizing the more radical protests to resist governmental intervention in communities that are plugged illegally into Mexico's national electricity company. Another regional process of indigenous women's organizing is the one taking place in Ocosingo, with the Coordinadora de Mujeres Rumbo al Desarrollo (Comurd), which was created by women from the ARIC-Independiente (Asociación Rural de Interés Colectivo). Isabel Gómez López, who was actively involved in the mixed organization left as its leadership was questioned, when she decided to become a single mother. She decided to form a women-only organization, COMURD, in 2009. However, it is very close to a political party, the Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática—PRD), and has not yet consolidated at the regional level.

[95] The role these civil organizations play in support of indigenous women's initiatives and projects and their local organizations is central. Among them is Semillas A.C. (Sociedad Mexicana Pro Derechos de la Mujer, Semillas A.C), which has a specific program [Programa de liderazgo de becarias indígenas y rurales por el derecho a la propiedad de la tierra] through which funds are allocated to women working in organizations or groups that have specific projects in four thematic areas (human rights, women and labor; sexual and reproductive rights; and violence). In addition to this financial support, Semillas offers

Chiapas have more alliances with national or international organizations than with state-level ones (Chiapas). The goal of GIMTRAP, contrary to that of the CDMCH for example, is to give local leaders the tools and resources they need to strengthen their local organizations and political influence.

To reiterate, in all of these cases indigenous women are involved in numerous localized actions, in regional processes of coordination. And, reflecting the divisions and tensions within civil society in Chiapas, indigenous women built few alliances with other indigenous women from other regions. If we take into account that regional processes are isolated from one other, and that internal power dynamics have prevented indigenous women from occupying representational positions within women's groups in Chiapas, it is not surprising that indigenous women leaders face obstacles to establishing connections and coordination to consolidate the indigenous women's movement at the state level.

In parallel to these, as discussed in the previous section, the power relationships between key feminist actors and indigenous women paradoxically facilitate local processes of empowerment but to some extent limit the emergence of new leaderships of indigenous women at the state level. However, it is also the case that in mixed organizations indigenous women do not have access to positions of representation and gender dynamics reproduce their exclusions, as ethnicity and class do in feminist

---

sustained mentorship and support to the indigenous women who receive the fellows. The impact of this civil association can be measured by the fact that "many of the most recognized indigenous leaders in Mexico have received bursaries from Semillas" (Bonfil and Castañeda 2012). Another organization is GIMTRAP, a civil association located in Mexico City, that does action research, consultation and training through specific projects. Its main goal is to influence social politics in order to decrease the gender gap in society and among its four areas of action research is Indigenous women. For example, GIMTRAP developed a project of leadership formation for middle leaders (lideresas medias) of Chiapas, Oaxaca and San Luis Potosí (Bonfil 2012).

organizations. Therefore, they face resistance in both movements: the indigenous and the feminist. Such social dynamics, along with competition for resources, explain why the creation of networks and a strong collective identity by indigenous women has been paradoxically lower in Chiapas. However, the fact that this situation persists in feminist organizations is particularly problematic when they have a discourse on the importance of intersectionality in women's processes of empowerment. In sum, brokerage is mediated since indigenous women are not the ones leading the organizations in which they are involved, even when it is to share their experiences as indigenous women.

The exception to such dynamics is the Zapatista movement, which has, for this same reason, been the object of a considerable amount of research. Zapatista women collaborate with mestizas. However, it is Zapatistas who define their priorities and in some cases, the obstacles they face come from within the movement, when their colleagues refuse to collaborate with certain external groups. However, the Zapatista movement does not cover all the regions of the state, nor does it involve all indigenous women.

State-level organizing

Since 2010, indigenous leaders have begun to coordinate indigenous women at the state level. Such effort is taking place outside the organizations that are the key actors in the Chiapas women's movement, primarily due to the dynamics already discussed. They are also taking place outside the mixed indigenous organizations, as gendered dynamics persist and exclude women from their leaderships. It is outside those organizations—

those that were key actors during the second half of the 1990s—that indigenous women are individually creating new networks and spaces for coordination.

This process has been supported by national organizations of indigenous women who have more organizational experience and access to resources. For example, in 2011, the national organization of indigenous women of Mexico, CONAMI, hosted the 6th Continental Meeting of Indigenous Women of the Americas. This event represented an opportunity for women of different regions to attend and meet indigenous women from other organizations and networks from all over the Americas (Blackwell 2006). CONAMI invited women to organize at the sub-national level before the international meeting so that they could send proposals, demands and also delegate participants. Indigenous women in Chiapas had to organize a meeting to decide who would attend since there was no state-level organization where this could be decided.

When recalling how women from Chiapas organized to send a delegation to the international meeting in Morelos, Margarita Gutiérrez Romero recognized that they were not coordinated in Chiapas, but also that there was a need to form new generations of movement participants. She identified the need to share power and information with other women so that new leaders could be formed and participate in order to strengthen the movement: "Well, we have to transfer power, we have to transfer information […] I live here and I have built all these spaces, it is not possible that we do not build a local

space, therefore I started to promote the meeting. We are in this process of construction. Well, it is built, it must be strengthened" (Interview, June 2011).[96]

It is imperative that those leaders of the indigenous women's movement that have been more active at the local or national/international level recognize that there is not yet a consolidated structure at the state level. Their role is crucial for the consolidation process as they are the ones who have the opportunity to participate in national and international events, have access to resources, and are able to attend workshops and meetings. And, when there is not a constant effort to transmit knowledge, experience and opportunities, it is hard to form new generations of leaders. I witnessed this pattern when I attended the workshop for young indigenous women from Chiapas and Oaxaca organized by the Alianza de Muejres Indígenas de Mexico y Centroamérica in Chiapas in June 2011. Martha Sanchez Néstor, the coordinator of the Alianza and prominent leader of indigenous women in Mexico, facilitated the workshop and there were many young women who did not know the history of indigenous women in Mexico and that knew very little about the organizations and their agendas. Those from Oaxaca, who had had their second meeting of the Assembly of Indigenous Women of Oaxaca a few weeks earlier, had a better idea of the movement's dynamics than those in Chiapas.

The leaders in Chiapas acknowledge the problem of transition of leadership. Some of the leaders are in the process of transmitting their experience to other—younger—women, but this takes place in local processes. This is the case of Isabel, who is training Flor in Ocosingo to assume the coordination of the Casa de la Mujer; or Margarita, who

[96] "Y bueno, hay que transferir el poder, hay que transferir la información […] yo vivo aquí y he construido todos esos espacios, no puede ser que no construyamos un espacio local entonces empecé a promover la reunion. Estamos en esa construcción. Bueno, ya esta construida, hay que fortalecerla."

is training Leticia in order to strengthen her for involvement in municipal politics, through the PRD. However, this rests on individual initiatives and there is not, for example, an organization promoting this transmission. In Chiapas there is not a space, as in Oaxaca or Guerrero, where indigenous women can meet and invite women who have not been participating in the movement. This is important in order to grasp why the process in Chiapas seems to be less representational than in the other two cases, where the organizational processes, and thus, the women participating, differ.

In Chiapas, recruitment into the state-level organization has been done through the personal networks of leaders who were formed in the 1990s. For example, former CONAMI coordinator Margarita Gutiérrez Romero is currently responsible for the international instruments for indigenous women's rights within the Continental Network of Indigenous Women. It was she who initiated the recruitment of indigenous women in order to create a state-level space to organize in preparation for the continental meeting. Margarita invited indigenous women she met during the mobilizations of the 1990s and with whom she had kept personal ties. One of these women was Isabel Gómez López from Ocosingo, and together they invited young indigenous women from their local organizations or their personal networks to participate. The women invited were identified at the individual level and not through local organizations from different regions of the state. This is clearly stated by Leticia Mendez Intzin, an indigenous leader working with a handicraft cooperative in the region of Tenejapa:

> One day she [Isabel] called me and told me 'Lety I invite you to a women's meeting because we are consolidating the political participation of women.' Because I like politics and women's participation I said, yes of course, with whom? 'Do you know Margarita?' No. 'Well, she is a friend with whom we work and the idea is very good. The goal is to create a working team of women, what

> we aim to do is to have a network of women at the state level'. Ok, yes it sounds good. (Interview, November 2011).[97]

Women approached by Margarita were invited to identify other professional indigenous women who could contribute to and integrate into the group, as recalled by Leticia Pérez Sánchez, who works at the Centro Estatal de Lenguas, Arte y Literatura Indígenas (CELALI):[98]

> She [a friend] calls me and says 'hey Lety how are you? I invite you to a meeting today in the evening, we are soon having the meeting of indigenous women at the state level.' I had heard comments but did not know when. 'Today we have a meeting, with *Licenciada* Margarita, a woman who has worked a lot on questions related to women but emphasizing the political dimension. She works with mixed groups.' Perfect. And as they also know that I do radio, video, and photography, she tells me 'we want people like you […] people are counted, not everyone enters' (Interview, July 2011).[99]

This quote is one example of how women were personally invited to participate in the emerging network of indigenous women at the state level. It illustrates the individual strategies of recruitment deployed by women who had a long trajectory of mobilization in Chiapas. First, the women who are participating in this emerging organization at the state level come for the most part from mixed organizations or institutions (only one comes from an indigenous women's group, COMURD, which emerged from a mixed

[97] "Una vez me llamó ella, me dijo 'Lety te invito a una reunión de mujeres porque estamos fortaleciendo la participación política de las mujeres'. Como me gusta eso de la política y la participación de las mujeres dije si claro ¿con quién? '¿No conoces a Margarita?' No. 'Pues es una amiga con quien nos coordinamos y esta muy buena la idea. Se trata de conformar un equipo de trabajo de mujeres, lo que pretendemos es tener un Enlace estatal de mujeres.' Órale si me parece bien."

[98] CELALI is an institution promoting indigenous peoples' cultures, art and languages. It was created in 1997 as a result of the peace negotiations in Chiapas between the Zapatistas and the state.

[99] "Me habla y dice, 'oye Lety que pasó, te invito a una reunión hoy por la tarde, es que estamos a punto de llevar a cabo el encuentro estatal de mujeres indígenas'. Había escuchado comentarios pero no sabía cuando. 'Hoy tenemos reunion, nos vamos a ver con la licenciada Margarita, una señora que ha trabajado mucho en cuestión de mujeres nada mas que ella lo enfoca mas en la cuestión política. Ella trabaja con grupos mixtos.' Perfecto. Y como saben igual que hago radio, que hago video, que hago fotografía, me dice 'queremos personas como tu […] son nada mas personas contadas, no entran todas'."

peasant organization, ARIC-Independiente). And second, their participation is based on a recruitment embedded in political positions and previously defined goals, which also reflect a top-down process. This type of recruitment and organizing structure reflects the organizing legacy of indigenous women leaders whose conception of brokerage continues to reflect traditional forms of state-society mediation. Not only do they base their discourse on their identity as indigenous women, but also on their political allegiances.

Individual recruitment is the consequence of past divisions within the movement and the difficulties of establishing indigenous women's autonomous organizations from where women can create alliances. As previously discussed, divisions between indigenous women result from political divergences and the tension between those refusing to collaborate with the state and those who do want to participate and collaborate in formal politics. For example, Zapatsita women refused any collaboration with the state, which is not the case for other indigenous women who are involved actively in formal politics, as Isabel in Ocosingo and Margarita in Chiapas. Divisions are also the result of the strong competition for resources that exists between organizations. It reflects how the effort to create a network at the state level faces more obstacles than in other states of Mexico, as in Oaxaca where recruitment works differently. Membership to the group initiated by Margarita targets professional indigenous women who occupy strategic positions in order to contribute to fostering the participation of indigenous women in politics. This is clearly stated by Leticia Pérez Sánchez: "They start telling me that it was a women's organization and that the goal was to reach public spaces, mostly political power, that many women succeed in becoming

presidents, in local power […] we are working to arrive to state power" (Interview, July 2011).[100] Here the political goal of the state-level process is clearly stated.

The reason and purpose of the group and their efforts to construct a state-level network are defined in advance, as recruits are invited to join a project and not to participate in defining the goals or orientations of the state-level organization. In contrast to Oaxaca where women were invited to discussions and met several times to propose an agenda, in Chiapas the agenda was not the result of a collective effort from below. This is an obstacle for consolidation, particularly for a space at the state level that aims to represent indigenous women from different regions and processes.[101] This may be a limitation, particularly if we consider that such divisions have already caused important conflicts within and between organizations. And, it is important to mention, this type of recruitment and organizational structure reproduced the problems of some feminist organizations where there is not a transition of power to other women. The difference, however, is that in feminist organizations it is on the grounds of race and class in which relations between women are embedded and in the emergent state-level organizing process of indigenous women it is rather a problem of political agendas and transitions of leadership to new generations. This is significant as the type of brokerage developed is constrained, on the one hand, by the indirect representation of indigenous women. On the other hand, indigenous women who do not share the political positions

[100] "Me empiezan a platicar que era una organización de mujeres y que lo que se pretendía era lograr espacios públicos, sobre todo de poder político, que muchas mujeres llegaran a presidencias, a poder local […] estamos trabajando para llegar al poder del Estado."

[101] As was explained by Leticia Pérez Sánchez, this group organized a meeting at the state level with around 30-40 indigenous women who decided that a representative was going to participate in the regional meeting, in preparation for the continental meeting in 2011, organized by CONAMI in Veracruz in July 2010. This is the group that selected the delegation from Chiapas to represent indigenous women in all levels of organization.

of the leaders who are initiating the state-level organizing process and the young who begin to gain some experience do not have the capacity to build alliances. Therefore, brokerage takes a mediated form in both cases. At the time of my fieldwork in Chiapas in 2011, the Indigenous Women's Coordinator of Chiapas (Coordinadora estatal de mujeres indígenas de Chiapas—COEMI) had had only a few meetings.

Women in local organizations have very specific projects, such as the formation of cooperatives: to produce and commercialize handicrafts but also farming projects and other productive initiatives to access some resources for living. It is through these processes that they organize workshops on women's rights, health, nutrition, etc. However, if local groups are involved in community projects, there are other regional organizations, as previously presented, such as Kinal Antzetik Chiapas, that have been working for decades in some regions. However, such organizations have not been invited to participate in COEMI. Moreover, most local processes reject work with political parties and official institutions. When I asked members of Kinal Antzetik Chiapas, no one had heard about the *Coordinadora estatal de mujeres indígenas de Chiapas* (COEMI). Kinal Antzeik D.F. was invited to participate in COEMI. As mentioned previously, there are two Kinals—Kinal Antzetik Chiapas and Kinal Antzetik D.F.—that separated after political divergences. And the relation established between the leaders of COEMI and Kinal Antzetik D.F. could be explained by these political positions, since this organization accepts collaboration with the sate, contrary to Kinal Antzetik Chiapas.

Only women from the Kinal Antzetik D.F.'s office in Chiapas were invited to participate. There was not a visible effort to invite women from other networks or

organizations. The mediation in women's organization of Chiapas and the type of leadership of indigenous women who occupy a privileged position within the indigenous women's national movement represent major obstacles to the creation of a wider network of indigenous women.[102] In the case of Chiapas, the types of connections created are not between groups of indigenous women but between some individuals who did not necessarily identify with a social movement, or who were not involved in feminist or women's organizations, as is the case for the younger members invited to participate by Margarita and Isabel. For example, when joining COEMI, Leticia Pérez Sánchez (CELALI) and Leticia Mendez Intzin (Tenejapa) had to learn and read about the indigenous women's movement because they were not previously involved in spaces working with agendas addressing indigenous women's rights.

Although there had been some alliances during the second half of the 1990s in the context of the Zapatista movement, those were no longer maintained. This is the case of indigenous women from Kinal Antzetik Chiapas who, despite their long trajectory of participation in the mobilizations before and after the Zapatista movement in collaboration with other organizations, do not identify anymore with either the Zapatista or the women's movement. When interviewed, women from Kinal Antzetik Chiapas did not know about indigenous women's meetings at the national level and were not aware of the efforts to create a sub-national network of indigenous women. This situation reveals that the fragmentation between organizations is significant and that there is effectively a lack of communication or will to create new alliances because of power

[102] This contrasts with the case of Oaxaca where the initiative came from different leaders who sent an invitation to other organizations so they could transmit the information to women involved in local processes to meet and discuss the idea. In Oaxaca, even if women from one of the regions (Mixe) are predominant in the leadership, the organization has a formal structure with elected members to coordinate and organize the meetings and also an explicit goal of integrating women from different regions.

relationships. Concretely, this is visible in the way organizations secure resources for projects, as every organization has its own 'school' to empower indigenous women and give them workshops primarily focused on women's rights (as the School of Promoters in the CDMCH and the School for young women in Kinal). This is also the case for their relationships with women's or feminist organizations with whom communication and collaboration is weak (despite the fact that individually some participated in other women's groups projects). This, as a consequence, involved a framing of collective identities through the identification with specific organizations rather than with movements, as women from Kinal identify with their organization and the networks developed by them at the regional levels but not with a broader movement or agenda for indigenous women.

Conclusion

As this chapter has argued, relationships between indigenous women and feminists are still anchored in power structures that affect indigenous women's access to resources and their ability to develop autonomous discourses and create independent organizations and groups. The strong competition over power positions within the women's movement field, as in other movements, has limited the opportunities for indigenous women to access sufficient resources to bring about an organizational structure that would allow them to sustain a discourse by and for indigenous women without the mediation of mestizas. And even in those organizations were power relations between women are being challenged the process is still in development and is rather localized.

Most of the local groups indigenous women leaders are from were created in the 1990s, by women who faced many obstacles in integrating gender demands into the indigenous movement's organizations. In this process feminists were instrumental to the integration of gender and boundary making by indigenous women within mixed organizations. However, the relationships between indigenous women and feminists is key, I argued, to understanding the variation in consolidation of indigenous women's movements at the state-level. In the three cases analyzed in this dissertation indigenous women's first obstacle to organizing was the resistance of their companions within mixed organizations. However, where different local and regional organizations were created by indigenous women, other obstacles emerged. This was so in the case of Chiapas, where power relations between women within state-level and regional organizations obstructed the transition of leadership to indigenous women and impeded the creation of new organizations.

As discussed in Chapter two, indigenous women began an organizing process around specific demands in the 1990s in Mexico, collectively challenging, for the first time the gendered dynamics and obstacles they faced within their communities, organizations and movements. These dynamics were visible in negotiations by indigenous women at the national level but were not isolated from local and regional dynamics. It has been argued that those dynamics were instrumental for the emergence of a new collective identity as indigenous women. However, in this dissertation I suggest that we need to look at other dynamics between indigenous women and other social actors to account for the complexity of intersecting systems of oppression and their impact on social movements (collective identities and organizational structures).

Considering indigenous women emerged from the intersection of multiple systems of oppression, it would be short sighted to focus exclusively on gender and its impact on the formation of an indigenous women's movement.

CHAPTER FOUR

RECLAIMING COMMUNITY: INDIGENOUS WOMEN OF OAXACA

As analyzed in the second chapter, the international and national indigenous movements of the 1990s were central in reinforcing the oppositional politics between indigenous peoples in Mexico and the state, but also in providing resources and creating opportunities for indigenous movements, and particularly for women. The political opportunities created by the Zapatista movement opened spaces for indigenous women to discuss specific demands (integrating gendered demands into existing class and indigenous demands) and to organize with indigenous women from other states. In this context, Oaxaca hosted the first national meeting of indigenous women in 1997, where women decided to create the National Coordination of Indigenous Women (CONAMI).

Among the founders of CONAMI, who also organized the event at that time, were indigenous women from Oaxaca, such as Sofía Robles, who came from an indigenous organization Services to Mixe People. More than a decade later Sofia, along with leaders from younger generations, organized the First Meeting of Indigenous Women of Oaxaca in September 2010. On this occasion participants decided to coordinate their efforts to create a state-level organization and agreed to create the Assembly of Indigenous Women from Oaxaca (Asamblea de Mujeres Indígenas de Oaxaca—AMIO) with a coordinating council representing different regions of the state.

AMIO has organized three state-level meetings, workshops and assemblies since its creation. It has elaborated propositions and goals for the movement, and coordinated the local processes of women throughout the state. It is recognized by other actors—such as the state of Oaxaca as well as indigenous and feminist organizations—as the organization representing indigenous women in the state. The organization has been critical to the consolidation process of the movement and this chapter aims to analyze the types of relationships established between indigenous women and other actors that can explain its consolidation.

This chapter demonstrates that indigenous women's organizing in Oaxaca has consolidated and has succeeded in creating new generations of indigenous leaders with presence at both the state and national levels. In Oaxaca and Chiapas indigenous women decided to coordinate their local processes into a state-level organization in 2010. However, in contrast to the case of Chiapas, indigenous women in Oaxaca have created a state-level organization coordinating women from different regions in order to present their demands and political agenda to the state. While the state-level organization, AMIO, only has individual members (and is thus not a coalition of organizations), indigenous women in Oaxaca also have various local organizations, where they play a central role and have decision-making power. They are directly representing their own interests, demands and agendas into local, state and national networks and organizations, which also gives them a direct access to resources. Therefore, indigenous women in Oaxaca have effectively positioned themselves as social actors with specific agendas, goals and a representational structure that is recognized by indigenous women's local groups and the state of Oaxaca (Becerril Albarrán and Bonfil 2012).

In this chapter I argue that the alliances developed between indigenous women and feminist organizations were critical for creating the necessary networks for indigenous women leaders at the local and national levels. These networks allowed the opening of spaces where women were able to identify common interests and organize meetings to determine political agendas. These alliances were also instrumental in the development of a discourse on women's rights, and as a result, enhanced the analysis on gendered dynamics within their organizations. As this chapter shows, the form of brokerage that allowed a consolidation of indigenous women's organizing at the state-level in Oaxaca differs significantly from the case of Chiapas. In fact, the brokers were indigenous women and not mestiza women. Indigenous women established a collaborative relationship with mestiza women from their own indigenous organizations and this facilitated a non-mediated form of brokerage. This difference in the form of brokerage, this chapter argues, explains the variation in the outcome of the consolidation process in Chiapas and Oaxaca. Chiapas indigenous women are not protagonists in women's organizations, nor in the indigenous movement, with the exception of the Zapatista movement. In contrast, indigenous women in Oaxaca occupy more positions of representation in women's and indigenous organizations, facilitating a non-mediated form of brokerage.

This chapter first presents the political, economic and social dynamics of Oaxaca to identify how peasant and indigenous movements' legacies influenced the indigenous women that are now at the forefront of the indigenous women's movement at the state level (sub-national). Then, I discuss the construction of a collective identity by indigenous women in Oaxaca and how the mechanism of boundary making led to the

affirmation of an identity that articulates indigeneity to gender. The third section discusses brokerage and how, in the case of Oaxaca, indigenous women created non-mediated relationships that enabled them to consolidate their movement at the state-level. I conclude this chapter by providing some elements of comparison with the case of Chiapas.

Political and historical context

The organizational legacy of indigenous organizations is a critical factor for understanding why in Oaxaca indigenous women developed strong local leaderships and how this facilitated the consolidation process of an indigenous women's movement at the state level. As well as in these other two southern Mexican states, Oaxaca has a rich history of peasant and indigenous mobilizations. And also similarly to Chiapas and Guerrero, in Oaxaca, the corporatist regime and its modes of interest mediation influenced the development of peasant organizations. The peasants' relationship to the state was principally established through corporatist structures and its official peasant organization, the National Peasant Confederation (CNC), which guaranteed them a certain access to resources (land and agricultural subsidies). As this section describes, the adoption of neoliberal policies in the late 1970s affected the traditional corporatist mode of interest mediation and marked a shift in the political opportunity structure. This episode is significant because it can partially explain why the first autonomous peasant organizations emerged in Oaxaca in the 1970s (Stephen 2002).

Oaxaca is the state with the greatest diversity of indigenous peoples and the highest proportion of the population speaking an indigenous language (34.2% in 2012).

The main indigenous languages spoken are Zapoteco, Mixteco, Mazateco, Mixe and Chinanteco (INEGI 2012c). Oaxaca is also the Mexican state with the lowest proportion of the population living in municipalities of more than 2,500 people (47.3%), which means that more than half of the population lives in smaller localities and rural areas. Oaxaca is among the three poorest states of Mexico, with low rates of education (e.g. 16.3% of the population is illiterate) and scarce access to public services (INEGI 2012c). Along with Chiapas and Guerrero, marginalization is high in Oaxaca, particularly for indigenous peoples.

Moreover, the structural changes of the 1980s and 90s had negative consequences for peasants and indigenous populations in Oaxaca. The liberalization of the economy brought a decline in agricultural production and led to an increase of rural poverty (Oxhorn 2011).The uninterrupted domination of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—PRI) since the Mexican Revolution began to be seriously questioned creating, as a consequence, a defensive reaction from the party. The latter resorted to corporatist tactics, which led to an increase in corruption, patronage and violence in Oaxaca in the late 1990s and 2000s (Durazo-Hermann 2010).[103] This situation was later exacerbated with the adoption of neoliberal policies and constitutional reforms that took place at the beginning of the 1990s to 'prepare' Mexico for the North American Fair Trade Agreement (NAFTA). These policies significantly impacted states like Oaxaca, where half of the population lives in rural areas (Oxhorn 2011). Most notably, the insecurity caused in this period by the

[103] State governors José Murat and Ulises Ruíz were particularly authoritarian. As explained by Durazzo Herrmann (2010), both governors sought to strengthen their control of the state and its institutions by reinforcing corporatist channels and did not hesitate to resort to repression to reach their goals of controlling peasant, indigenous, and urban organizations.

weakening of traditional modes of intermediation and the decline of state subsidies for peasants generated popular protests in Oaxaca. As Stephen (2002) has shown, it is this last situation that motivated people to resist state corporatism and to create the first autonomous peasant organizations independent from the CNC—the largest state-run peasant organization in Mexico.[104] The new organisation, the Coalition of Workers, Peasants, and Students of the Isthmus (Coalición de Obreros, Campesinos y Estudiantes del Istmo—COCEI), initiated a tradition of resistance to corporatism and inspired the creation of other independent organizations.

However, differing from Chiapas and Guerrero, the emerging autonomous organizations did not embrace solely peasant identities. Indeed, since the mid-1980s, some of the organizations that emerged had an agenda promoting indigenous customs, languages and cultures, marking a shift from class as a core identity to a focus on indigeneity. Yet it is clear that in Oaxaca the adoption of an indigenous identity began in the mid-1980s, even before the continental movement of the Consejo 500 Años in 1992, which was particularly active in Guerrero, and before the 1994 Zapatista uprising in Chiapas. The Zapatista movement gave a boost to indigenous mobilization in Oaxaca but there were already subregional groups that had been militating for indigenous peoples' rights in the state. As explained by Stephen (1991: 305), indigenous organizations were created in the 1970s and 1980s in Oaxaca "that based their claims on the right to maintain themselves as culturally distinct populations."

[104] However, not all indigenous and peasant organizations opposed the PRI and its policies, as Stephen (2002) demonstrates.

The attention accorded to cultural demands is evident when looking at the Coalition of Workers, Peasants, and Students of the Isthmus (Coalición de Obreros, Campesinos y Estudiantes del Istmo—COCEI), one of Oaxaca's main regional autonomous organizations in the 1970s (Rubin 2004). COCEI mobilized in a region that has a tradition of autonomy and resistance to corporatist practices, in forming a political opposition to the PRI (Stephen 2002: 235). From its beginnings COCEI focused on local problems (over land and resources) and the promotion of indigenous culture (Durazo-Hermann 2010). The movement mobilized massively in the region and during the 1980s and 90s it governed a number of times in Juchitán de Saragoza, the fourth-largest city of the state of Oaxaca, with coalition governments.

The impact of COCEI on other movements was important because "[h]istorically, COCEI changed the course of relations between indigenous people and the state in Oaxaca and provided a model for indigenous, peasant, and workers' organizations of an organization that could maintain a stance of independence yet also periodically negotiate with the state" (Stephen 2002: 236). Moreover, beyond the fact that this movement represented a major impulse for the creation of independent organizations it also positioned ethnic claims as central to protests. COCEI brought to the forefront the importance of cultural revival through cultural programs to promote the Zapotec language. This also influenced other organizations of the region that framed their demands beyond a discourse centered on the peasantry to include indigeneity, such as the Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus (Unión de Comunidades Indígenas de la Zona Norte del Istmo—UCIZONI) and Services of the

Mixe People (Servicios del Pueblo Mixe—SER).[105] The Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus, UCIZONI, was created in 1985 in the northern part of the Isthmus (Mixe Baja). Its main goals were the protection of human rights, land rights, and the promotion of productive projects and the cultures of the different indigenous peoples represented.

SER also contributed to the shift from peasant to indigenous demands, changing the focus of productive and economic concerns to "ethnically based demands, emphasizing cultural mechanisms and traditions that distinguish the Mixe, such as communal work and local forms of justice" (Stephen 2002: 237). SER was created in 1988 to promote the unity and development of Mixe people and through counselling and services to local organizations, such as the Assembly of Mixe Producers (Asamblea de Productores Mixes—ASAPROM) (Dalton 1990). Clearly, in Oaxaca, as compared to Chiapas and Guerrero, indigenous people's organizing around indigeneity was a process that began in the 1980s—that is, a decade before the national mobilizations of the indigenous movement.

Although indigeneity was already mobilized to organize indigenous peoples, there were only regional processes of coordination between local organizations and no state-level organization was created at this time. Therefore, when the indigenous national movement emerged in the mid-1990s following the Zapatista uprising, this created incentives for Oaxaca's local indigenous organizations to coordinate with other actors and to bring together local leaders that were isolated from one other, as with the creation

[105] As in other states of Mexico, Oaxaca has important regional differences within its geographical boundaries.

of a state-level organization of indigenous peoples in 1997, the Popular Indigenous Council of Oaxaca Ricardo Flores Magón (Consejo Indígena Popular de Oaxaca Ricardo Flores Magón—CIPO-RFM).[106] Nevertheless, internal divisions emerged and some indigenous organizations, such as UCIZONI, left the coalition and continued their local and regional processes. As a whole, these processes of organization empowered Oaxaca's indigenous movement and created a tradition of resistance vis-à-vis corporatist practices.

It is also important to consider that in the case of Oaxaca, the indigenous movement had a significant impact on legislative changes (Durazo-Hermann 2010). As in other states of the country, governmental initiatives during the 1990s promoted indigenous cultural rights and cultural diversity, in the name of implementing a neoliberal multiculturalism (Blackwell 2012; De la Peña 2006). What differs in the case of Oaxaca is that these initiatives were rapidly translated into new legislation. First, in 1990, the state recognized the multicultural composition of Oaxaca through a constitutional reform (at the sub-national level) (Durazo-Hermann 2010). Second, the state officially recognized traditional customs for local political practices through reforms of the electoral code in 1995 and 1997 and the adoption of the Law on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Communities in 1998. Oaxaca was the first Mexican state to legalize traditional indigenous forms of self-government (Nahmad Sitton 2001).

The Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas certainly influenced the adoption of this law, as a way to avoid a similar situation in this region. Indeed, customary law, or traditions and

[106] Such organizations were the Comité de Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo (CODEP), Organizaciones Indias por los Derechos Humanos en Oaxaca (OIDHO), Unión de Comunidades Indígenas de la Zona Norte del Istmo (UCIZONI) y Comité de Defensa Ciudadana (CODECI).

customs, as a form of self-government in indigenous municipalities, was recognized officially by the state of Oaxaca in 1995 through reforms to the electoral code. The code was reformed again in 1997 to prohibit political parties' interference in municipal elections. This law represents an important contribution toward the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, customs, cultures and languages. Traditional forms for electing municipal authorities were recognized, such as the Assembly that is the instance of maximal authority in indigenous communities (Poole 2007: 11).[107]

As argued by Durazo-Hermann (2010), those changes did not challenge the corporatist structures of the state; to the contrary, traditional channels of mediation were reinforced through these changes and when it failed the state used repression as a means of controlling contesting groups. This was clearly the case with the protests of 2006. In the context of increasing discontent with the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—PRI) and particularly, with the governor of Oaxaca, Ulises Ruiz, what was initially an action that the teachers' union[108] celebrated every year

[107] Moreover, the adoption of customs and traditions (usos y costumbres), since this is not conditional to specific cultural, linguistic or ethnical criteria, has been adopted by municipalities that did not previously identify as indigenous, which results in the strengthening of the tradition of political autonomy (Poole 2007). Vázquez-García (2012) explains how this works as the Custom and Practice System (CAP): "The CAP system lies on three major pillars: assembly decision-making power, tequio (unpaid community labor) and escalafón (traditional promotion ladder). In order to be recognized as a CAP municipality, local authorities have to acknowledge the community assembly as the main body for decision making and post designation. The Constitution of Oaxaca considers tequio an expression of community solidarity that must be preserved (Hernández and López 2004). Failure to participate may involve social sanctions, including the loss of citizenship rights (Saldaña 2007). Finally, the escalafón consists of a series of ascending posts making up the council, which is the political body authorized to discuss, plan and carry out government actions. The number of councilmen/councilwomen varies depending on the municipality's size. The promotion ladder is seen as a school for politics, since people are expected to undertake more complex responsibilities as they ascend the ladder up to the mayoralty" (5-6).

[108] The Mexican National Educational Workers Union (SNTE) represents 70 thousand members (Zafra 2009). In 1980, 30 thousand teachers formed the group "Movimiento Democratico," which later took control of Section 22 of the SNTE, which is a highly centralized union whose president, Elba Esther Gordillo Morales, has been in place since 1989. Prior to 2006 the Oaxaca teachers' movement had mobilized once a year for 26 years to demand wage increases and better conditions in schools. On May 22, 2006, the teachers' union staged a sit-in in the main plaza of Oaxaca City. As stated by Chibnik (2007)

for 26 consecutive years turned out to be a massive protest of civil society against Oaxaca's governor.[109] Governor Ulises' repression of the teachers' yearly sit-in and the increasing discontent with government corruption and abuse were decisive factors that motivated different civil society organizations to express their support for the teachers' union. After Governor Ruiz took office in 2004 in a contested election, human rights' violations and the criminalization of social organizations increased, along with his efforts to limit public demonstrations: "In Ruiz's first nine months in office, there were over 600 arrests of political opposition members. By May 2006, when teachers from Section 22 of the teachers' union occupied the city's zócalo, there were 36 recorded political assassinations" (Poole 2007: 11).

This led to the creation of the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca—APPO), which brought together different sectors of civil society that protested for several months for the resignation of the governor. APPO went far beyond the initial demands of the teachers' union, seeking the removal of the state governor, Ulises Ruiz, who was accused of corruption.[110] For the first time the PRI and its corporatist structure was seriously challenged at the state-level by such massive protests. This political context represented an opportunity for civil society and particularly to coordinate their processes (Durazo-Hermann 2010).

---

this has become a ritual that usually receives little support from citizens. However, this ritual march of Section 22 was heavily repressed in 2006.

[109] Until June 14th the teachers had received little support from civil society but the violent repression of teachers' sit-in provoked widespread discontent. As a way of gathering all the people that had manifested against the governor of Oaxaca the teachers' union created the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca—APPO). Around 350 civil organizations mobilized under the new umbrella organization, organizing meetings, marches, sit-ins, barricades, occupations of public buildings, and road blocks.

[110] A forum was organized by APPO, municipal authorities, Section 22 and other civil society organizations on August 16th and 17th, 2006, in Oaxaca—'Foro Nacional: Construyendo la democracia y la gobernabilidad en Oaxaca'—with the goal of gathering together different sectors of civil society in Oaxaca to seek alternatives and solutions to the crisis of the state.

Since the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas no popular mobilization other than APPO had garnered so much attention in Mexico, or provoked such an intense level of social crisis. With occupations of the Oaxaca City centre through street and road blockades, the uprising challenged the regime's structures and brought together previously isolated organizations. In the case of Chiapas the movement was coordinated by one organization of indigenous peoples—the EZLN—and received the support of many national and international civil society organizations. Although in Oaxaca the movement was more heterogeneous, organizations of indigenous people, as well as indigenous women, actively participated.

Indigenous organizations in Oaxaca organized a Forum of the Indigenous Peoples of Oaxaca (Foro de los Pueblos Indígenas de Oaxaca) on November 28th and 29th, 2006, to establish a common position regarding the social conflict. In the Forum's final declaration indigenous organizations demanded the removal of Governor Ruiz, denounced the criminalization of social protests and the human rights' violations that had taken place, and demanded the liberation of prisoners. They condemned violence and insisted that the movement adopt non-violent forms of protest. Finally, they called for the recognition of the diversity of identities, agendas and traditional practices in order to strengthen the movement. In their declaration they clearly identified the social conflict in Oaxaca as an opportunity to transform Oaxaca into a democratic and pluralistic society. In fact, these organizations proposed using different practices from indigenous traditions in order to build alternative political practices, such as the adoption of the decision-making structures of indigenous communities and the traditional practice of the 'tequio,' which is a form of social service given to the

community (one's individual contribution to the community) (Poole 2007).

The participation of women in the 2006 movement was central, particularly through the occupation of media stations. Women created the Coordinadora de Mujeres de Oaxaca Primero de Agosto (COMO), which coordinated radio and television broadcasts, and they also participated in other actions such as occupations and barricades (Stephen 2007). These women used radio and television studios to give voice to the people involved in the movement and various protest actions, until the police took control of the studios on August 21st.[111] The specific contribution of women and indigenous organizations during APPO's six-month long mobilization are an example of the diversity of the movement.

This movement significantly impacted Oaxaca's political context as it jeopardized the long rule of the PRI in the state and brought together civil organizations in an effort to articulate political demands. However, although the conflict last for several months, the strong repression of protests and divisions within the movement—especially the departure of Section 22 of the SNTE—weakened the movement, and by November 2006 the police had taken back the control of the city.

The main point to emphasize regarding women's organizing processes during the 2006 movement is that the event represented an opportunity for young generations of indigenous women to participate in massive mobilizations. Contrary to the first generations of indigenous women who have a long trajectory of activism within peasant and indigenous movements, the younger generations have different experiences, as they

[111] The Marcha de la Cacerola of August 1st 2006 in Oaxaca was commemorated in each of the following two years and again in 2010.

often began their activism within women's groups. Therefore, their participation in APPO's mobilizations was an unprecedented opportunity for them, as the cases of Carolina Vásquez García and Flora Gutiérrez Gutiérrez, now members of the AMIO Council, exemplify.

As analyzed in the next section, these processes were key in providing women with organizational experience and resources to develop strong leaderships. Although women's experiences were mostly situated at the local level, this allowed the creation of sub-regional networks of indigenous women that were thereafter critical to the creation of a state-level organization.

The legacy of mobilization and women's participation

As briefly mentioned, the first generations of indigenous women leaders were trained in mixed organizations (non exclusively female) of peasant, indigenous, student and popular movements during distinct moments of Oaxaca's social mobilizations. They were also involved in projects promoting the creation of rural cooperatives of agricultural production, protests for land rights, and mobilizations against caciques, for a greater democratization of politics, and for recognition of their cultures and access to resources. In these movements women acquired skills and competencies to create and implement projects, defend peoples' rights, organize, give workshops, and develop alliances.

During these processes, women developed strong leaderships within mixed organizations that later allowed them to gain sufficient support when they ran for

important positions in politics. Rogelia Gonzales Ruiz was nominated councillor of Human Rights and Gender Equality in the municipal government of Juchitán in 2011. Sofía Robles was elected municipal president of Tlahuitoltepec. Zoila José Juan, a former member of UCIZONI, was elected deputy at the state level for district XXIV, Matias Romero. From previous work in mixed organizations and later in women-only organizations, these women developed local and regional leaderships that allow them to participate in the indigenous women's movement but also in the political sphere, both in the political party system and the traditional system of indigenous communities (Barrera Bassols and Massolo 2003; Dalton 1990; Massolo 2007; Vázquez-García 2012). These three women are recognized as key leaders of the indigenous women's movement at the state and local levels. However, along their career trajectories they faced strong resistance from their compañeros when they began to address gender along with indigeneity in their demands. Their individual histories illustrate the broader trajectory of indigenous women's organizing processes and it is important to understand how boundary making is shaped by these experiences.

The personal trajectory of Rogelia Gonzales Ruiz, a former member of COCEI, illustrates how she acquired experience in mixed organizations: "I started working with women in the committee, I learned how to speak [publicly] there, first to listen and after to speak, I learned to find solutions, accompany people to the city hall, to court. I learned and acquired a prominent place in the political organization" (Interview, December 2011).[112] Rogelia acquired the necessary experience to build her individual

[112] "Empecé a trabajar en un comité para obras de servicios básicos, a promover, gestionar la obra de drenaje, del pavimento, de la luminaria, empecé a trabajar con las mujeres, en el comité. Y ahí aprendí hablar, primero a escuchar y ya después a hablar, aprendí a encontrar soluciones, acompañar a las

leadership within mixed organizations. This was also the case in other organizations such as UCIZONI, where indigenous women were involved in diagnosing other women's health problems and organizing productive projects. Through her work in the organization SER, Sofía Robles prepared workshops on health and nutrition and later became the coordinator of the Women's Commission, but also the coordinator of SER.

However, when indigenous women began to introduce a perspective on women's rights into their organizing processes they faced resistance from their compañeros. As reported by two former presidents of the women's commission of UCIZONI, Dora Ávila and Rubicela Gayetano, the relationships between this organization and its women's commission became tense when women decided to promote women's rights during a forum organized by UCIZONI (Interview, July 2011). As told by Dora Ávila, the Women's Commission had prepared some material on women's rights to be distributed at the forum. The documents referred to conclusions reached in Chiapas and in women's meetings, as well as information on the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979. When members of the Women's Commission distributed the document during the forum, their compañeros openly questioned them and tried to police their actions. As recalled by Dora Ávila, women were surprised by the reaction they received from their compañeros, who organized an assembly denouncing women's initiatives "where men were saying that women would start doing whatever they wanted to do"[113] (Interview, July 2011). During the assembly, explains Rublicela Gayetano,

---

personas al palacio, al juzgado. Ahí fui aprendiendo y adquiriendo un lugar destacado dentro de la organización política."

[113] "[S]e estaba diciendo que las mujeres ya iban a hacer lo que se les pegara su gana."

men denounced women for "introducing women to bad ideas" and for not doing their work well (Interview, December 2011).

As described by Rubicela Gayetano, "we felt there was a battle between our compañeros and us because they limited our work." (Interview, December 2011). During this period women in UCIZONI were also pushing to gain more spaces for women's representation. In reaction to the pressure from women to gain political spaces and to promote their specific rights, men reacted more actively and attempted to limit the scope of the Women's Commission's activities and goals. This conflict motivated members of the Women's Commission to create an independent group in 2000, The Centre for Women Rights Nääxwiin (Centro para los Derechos de la Mujer Nääxwiin), which was legally constituted in 2003.

They received financial support from the government through the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI), via its Indigenous Women's House project (Casa de la Mujer Indígena—CAMI) (Estela Vélez Manuel, Interview, December 2011).[114] Through this project the federal state provides resources and infrastructure to indigenous women's groups to create and administer centres for attending to indigenous women facing domestic violence, but also to provide services on sexual and reproductive health. These initiatives were welcomed by indigenous women's organizations since they represent great opportunities for women to develop permanent structures for organizing. Moreover, the administration and leadership of such organizations is assumed entirely by local indigenous women's groups, often those

[114] In 2003 this organization founded a shelter to support women facing domestic violence (CAMI). CAMI's secondary goal is to inform and organize women on human rights, non-violence, and sexual and reproductive health.

groups that separated from mixed indigenous organizations.[115] This is important because indigenous women are the ones representing their own organizations and interests; in other words, there is no mediation by external actors.

The obstacles women faced in UNCIZONI were also similar in COCEI when women introduced gender demands. When Rogelia Gonzáles Ruiz gathered women to discuss women's rights the organization disapproved the initiative: "I could not organize a meeting with the compañeros because it was seen as subversive, as if I was pushing women against them…then at some point they wanted to exclude me" (Interview, December 2011).[116] Such tensions were also visible when women from COCEI mobilized in support of the Zapatista movement. Indigenous women from different organizations of the Isthmus region organized a caravan to Chiapas to send food to Zapatista communities engaged in resistance. As reported by Rogelia Gonzáles Ruiz, when women decided to provide trucks for the caravan without consulting the male leaders, the latter refused to provide the resources, thus preventing women form COCEI from being part of the caravan (Interview, December 2011). Indigenous women identified COCEI's leaders' attitude as a refusal to accept women's initiatives and leadership.

Indigenous women decided to organize autonomously because of the conflicts they faced when they began to include gender in their projects, demands and actions. In

[115] However, they may also have negative impacts on the strength of autonomous organizing since these groups are focusing all of their resources on this specific project, leaving aside other initiatives. Central themes are expected to be at the core of these group's activities, which limits the possibility of working in other areas. Finally, this type of project tends to prioritize services for the population instead of full involvement in processes of organization.

[116] "Yo no podía convocar una reunión con las compañeras porque era como algo subversivo que yo estoy poniendo a las mujeres en contra de ellos… Entonces hubo un momento en que pues a mí casi me quieren expulsar."

one instance, Rogelia González Ruiz and Flor Cervantes—a feminist activist from Oaxaca City—came together to create the women's group *Grupo de Mujeres 8 de Marzo*. This group institutionalized in the early 2000s as a civil association that promotes and defends women's rights, primarily giving support and information to women regarding violence and abuse, but also supporting indigenous women involved in local politics. Further, it works on formulating a political agenda for indigenous women. In both organizations—COCEI and UCIZONI—indigenous women thus left to organize independently due to the obstacles they faced from their compañeros when they tried to bring a gender perspective to the organizations.

At the individual level indigenous women had the opportunity to acquire knowledge and experience as active participants of organizations, and for some of them this represented the opportunity to become leaders in both women's organizations and in their communities. Moreover, it contributed to the construction of boundaries based on indigeneity and gender that enabled them to identify with other indigenous women's groups and thus, to create networks and broader projects at the regional level.

Indigenous women in Oaxaca decided to create spaces that were autonomous from indigenous and peasant movements when they were unable to integrate gender concerns into these movements' organizations. Even if in some cases women were able to integrate gender agendas within mixed organizations because of the own their individual leadership skills, as was the case of Sofía Robles within SER, all of them supported the creation of women-only networks and spaces.[117] As explained by Sofía: "the majority of

[117] Sofía is not only coordinator of the Women's Area of SER but is also a founding member of the organization. During the second half of the 1990s she was also the general coordinator. The work with

us were trained in mixed organizations and in my case, I continue to believe that I want to be here, and that I want to continue to promote indigenous rights, women's rights, but I also think that there needs to be autonomous processes for women (Interview, July 2011).[118]

That is, indigenous women decided to work on women's agendas and created autonomous spaces for organization at the local level first, and later at the sub-national level. Through the process of integrating specific projects for women and the development of a discourse on women's rights, indigenous women strengthened their leadership and decided to mobilize independently as indigenous women. In this process, indigenous women received support from feminist organizations, among them Comaletzin A.C., a feminist organization that promotes rural women's leadership and that supports their organizing processes through counselling and training. Additionally, individual fellowships received by indigenous women strengthened their organizing processes. This was the case of Sofía Robles from SER, who received a fellowship from the MacArthur Foundation in the mid-1990s to work on issues related to gender. The award was granted on an individual basis, but she used it to work on projects within SER, adding the question of reproductive health to the organizations' areas. This type of grant was crucial for providing resources to women to organize workshops that benefitted other women and that later facilitated the creation of networks in the Mixe region (Interview, July 2011). It is through projects addressed to women that they were

---

women from SER began with projects addressing health and nutrition and gradually integrated work on women's rights.

[118] "[C]asi la mayoría nos criamos en organizaciones mixtas y que pues por ejemplo en mi caso, yo sigo estando bien segura de que quiero estar aquí, y de que quiero seguir impulsando los derechos indígenas, los derechos de las mujeres, pero también pienso que tienen que haber procesos propios de las mujeres y por eso esta el impulso a la Red de Mujeres Mixes, a la Asamblea de Mujeres Indígenas de Oaxaca."

able to establish alliances with women's groups at the national level and where indigenous women developed new networks and discourses.

Among the first women-only groups created by indigenous women were the Grupo 8 de Marzo (Juchitán), and Centro para los derechos de la mujer Nääxwiin (Matías Romero). In the micro-region of the Isthmus, the creation of new organizations by indigenous women involved a process of consolidation at the local level. For this reason indigenous women worked at a local level, establishing very few alliances with other indigenous women from their regions or the state. It is only later, in the mid-2000s, that indigenous women in Oaxaca began to coordinate beyond the local level. Here, indigenous women form the Mixe region played a central role. The internal negotiations women underwent in order to incorporate gender demands into mixed organizations facilitated boundary making, while at the same time gave them organizational experience.

Boundary making: the emergence of a new collective identity

In this section I demonstrate how indigenous women negotiated the integration of gender into indigenous organizations. Whether at the individual or collective level, women seized moments of confrontation as opportunities to frame the movement's demands to include gender; when this did not work, they created autonomous spaces that utilized the organizational experience they had learned from these 'parent movements'.[119] I explain this through an analysis of indigenous women's specific

[119] An example of this at the state level in a peasant organization is the experience of women of the *Coordinadora Estatal de Productores de Café de Oaxaca* (CEPCO). In 1989 autonomous and local

discourses that emerged through the conflictual relationships they experienced with other actors.

As previously discussed indigenous women in Oaxaca sought to integrate gender demands into the indigenous movement's main organizations but more often than not, mixed organizations refused this inclusion. When indigenous women tried to integrate gender demands or to question internal problems related to gender dynamics within these organizations, indigenous men tended to reinforce boundaries between social movements; opposing indigeneity to other identities, such as gender. The critique that situates gender and feminism as external to indigenous peoples is recurrent in men's attempts to deligitimize a feminist critique, as reported by many of the Oaxaca women that were interviewed.

The refusal to consider gender demands as a new component of the discourse and demands of the indigenous movement was justified by the argument that gender is not an indigenous category and is not part of the indigenous cosmovision. Edita Alavez Ruiz, a member of a women's group promoting women's rights in indigenous communities, Mujeres organizadas Yubani, recalled that some men in these communities told her that "human rights come from outside, feminism comes from outside and everything related

---

organizations of coffee producers expressed their efforts to face the international crisis in coffee production. From this effort CEPCO was created: an autonomous peasant organization integrating 34 regional organizations of coffee producers from the state of Oaxaca, with more that 23 thousand members. Among CEPCO's six commissions is the Women's Commission. Since 1992 women's groups in regional organizations began to be created, primarily around productive projects. It was only during an organizational congress in 1994 that the Women's Commission was created to promote women's participation as well as women's projects (production, education, health, and other services). This Commission organized the first Encuentro de Mujeres Cafetaleras de la CEPCO in 1995, which allowed women to share their experiences and opinions on women's participation. The participation of women at the organization's different levels faced some obstacles, however; resistance from their spouses, restrictions imposed on women's participation, as well as living conditions limited the time women had to get involved.

to gender comes from outside and here we do not want anything that comes from outside" (Interview, July 2011).[120]

Moreover, gender and feminism were accused of endangering the social cohesion of indigenous communities, as illustrated by a critique addressed to Flora Gutiérrez, a member of AMIO: "if you introduce the question of gender into indigenous communities you are going to destabilize and transgress indigenous cultures" (Interview, April 2011). Finally, women were criticized by some compañeros for being contaminated by external ideas, as reported by Sofia Robles: "because you are a feminist… you have now other ideas, your ideas have been contaminated" (Interview, July 2011)[121]. What is common to these types of reactions is the idea that gender and feminism, as something external to local cultures, endangers the harmony of the community through contamination or destabilization. Of course, as many women emphasized, this discourse assumed that traditional gender dynamics within indigenous communities are central to their cultural distinctiveness (Zenaida Pérez Gutiérrez, Interview, Deceber 2012).

In this context, we can observe the increased use of notions such as complementarity or duality by indigenous leaders as alternative forms of addressing gender without using categories created by occidental feminists. As reported by Carolina Vásquez : "some indigenous leader compañeros have used the term complementarity and I think this term is preferred to gender, but they do not practice it, it is only in their discourse. And this cosmovision, or this philosophy they defend is not in the practice"

[120] "[L]os derechos humanos vienen de afuera, el feminismo viene de fuera, y todo lo de género viene de fuera, entonces aquí no queremos nada que venga de fuera."
[121] "[E]s que tu feminista…ya tienen otras ideas, ya están contaminadas."

(Interview, April 2011).[122] The inclusion of terms such as complementarity and duality into the discourse of some indigenous leaders can be interpreted as a reaction to the increasing pressure of indigenous women towards the incorporation of gender as a new discursive and category of analysis. However, the content of complementarity and duality is subject to different interpretations (Cumes 2009).

For the moment, however, indigenous women from Oaxaca and other states of Mexico primarily use the term of women's rights, while the terms of complementarity and duality are more often used by male indigenous leaders, as explained by Zenaida Pérez Gutiérrez (Interview, December 2012). The reason why some women criticize the use of complementarity as a way to replace gender is because of the gap between the discourse of complementarity and its *non*-application in everyday life. Nonetheless, it is currently the concept of women's rights that is most commonly used. Sofía Robles, one of the most prominent leaders from Oaxaca, explains indigenous women reproduce this frame of human rights: "we have the perspective of human rights" (Interview, July 2011).[123] And this has to do with indigenous women's alliances with feminist and international organizations that frame their projects and political demands in terms of human rights (Bonfil 2012).

The international movements significantly influenced this discourse through the preparatory meetings for conferences such as Beijing and the First Continental Meeting

[122] "[A]lgunos compañeros que son líderes indígenas han manejado el tema de la complementariedad y creo es lo que les gusta mas manejar que género, pero tampoco no practican pues, están en su discurso. Y esta cosmovisión, o esta filosofía que defienden no está en la práctica."
[123] "[T]enemos el enfoque de derechos humanos y sabemos bien los derechos colectivos y los derechos individuales. Entonces en ese sentido decimos, a ver, creo que nuestro derecho no esta tan garantizado o no estamos ejerciendo nuestros derechos. Entonces mas bien estamos en la tónica de conocer los derechos, y de que las mujeres sientan la necesidad de ejercer los derechos."

of Indigenous Women of the Americas in 1995, as discussed in chapter two. It is through their participation in these movements that women began to become familiar with one another: "This is how we met in diverse movements, in workshops to analyze the propositions of indigenous peoples, in the decades of the 1980s and 1990s" (Robles, Conference UABJO 2011).[124] The Grupo de Estudios de la Mujer Rosario Castellanos—the first feminist organization of Oaxaca—participated in the preparatory meetings for Beijing in 1995 and is also a key ally of indigenous women (CIMAC 2002).[125] During these occasions women were invited to propose demands and analysis concerning their specific experiences and therefore their rights as women. The frame of human rights also permeated the indigenous movement at the international level through the negotiations of indigenous rights in spaces like United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

Indigenous women's appropriation of the discourse of women's rights is clearly deployed in the activities they organize and promote, such as the workshops on women's rights provided by different organizations. For instance, the Centro Integral Jurídico Pro Derechos A.C. addresses themes such as domestic violence or reproductive

[124] "Así nos fuimos encontrando en diversos movimientos, en talleres para analizar las propuestas de los Pueblos Indígenas, en la década de los ochentas y noventas."

[125] Casa de la Mujer Rosario Castellanos was the first women's organization in Oaxaca. Academic women first met in 1977 to discuss and analyze women's issues, following the type of the self-conscious groups of the feminist movement. In 1978 they named their group Rosario Castellanos and gathered to discuss and analyze themes related to legislation, education and labour. They launched a radio program (Women's Forum in the University Radio station) in 1979 that lasted five years (domestic violence, abortion, sexual abuse and feminism were the core themes). From this group emerged the idea of creating a shelter for abused women and in 1990 the MacArthur Foundation funded what is now called the Casa de la Mujer Rosario Castellanos. The shelter's services include: psychological attention, legal support, sexual and reproductive education and education about gender issues. Additionally, the house has a documentation centre with more than five hundred books and more than a thousand documents altogether, and offers workshops, seminars, conferences, discussions and video projections. Among its goals: form leaders with a perspective on gender equality. In 1995 fellowships were created for indigenous women (Becas Guadalupe Musalem, named after the founder of the group that created the house).

and sexual rights. Community radios also represent spaces where these women can promote their rights, as is the case of the radio programs women broadcast every week in Radio Jënpoj in the community of Tlahitoltepec in Oaxaca. However, if indigenous women use the discourse of women's rights they also identify a need to create new concepts that would be better understood, and probably better accepted, in indigenous communities and organizations. This is clearly expressed by Carolina Vásquez who insist that "there is the need for us to elaborate our own terminology to work in communities, there is also the need to begin to theorize our own vision of gender." (Interview, April 2011).[126]

From this perspective, Zenaida Pérez Gutiérrez, Director of the Indigenous Women's Rights Department in the government of Oaxaca, explains that the goal is to give content to the concepts indigenous peoples decide to use. Taking up the debate contrasting complementarity and equity, she explains that "I could give to equity the synonym of complementarity if I want but we need to give it a content" (Interview, December 2012).[127] This idea of conceptualizing gender while taking into account the content of indigenous peoples' collective rights involves more than just the 'localization' of external concepts; it is generating a reconceptualization of the relationship between individual and collective rights that could be exported and become a referential tool for indigenous women (Ancelovici and Jenson 2012).

The reason why there appears to be an urgent need to redefine the movement's categories is that the demands of human rights, such as individual rights, have been

[126] "[H]ace falta que nosotras creemos nuestra propia terminología de trabajo en las comunidades, también hace falta que empecemos a teorizar nuestra propia visión de género."
[127] "Yo a la equidad le puedo dar el sinónimo de complementariedad si lo quiero pero hay que darle contenido."

opposed erroneously to collective rights by actors that are external to indigenous movements, but also by the movements itself. Human rights, and more particularly women's rights, have been portrayed as individual rights and thus incompatible with indigenous peoples' rights as these are collective. The opposition between these types of rights was a strategy employed by the most conservative sectors of the indigenous movement to oppose the inclusion of women's rights as well as a strategy deployed by governments to oppose the recognition of collective rights.

The state developed a discourse seeking to delegitimize collective rights following the idea that collective rights endangered human rights and more specifically women's rights. The argument they advanced was primarily that traditions within indigenous communities are patriarchal and so giving autonomy to these communities would contribute to perpetuating women's oppression (Forbis 2003). In doing so the federal state traced an opposition between tradition (practices and customs), on the one hand, and modernity (human rights), on the other (Blackwell 2007). Women's rights were instrumentalized by the state in order to delegitimize collective rights: by assuming an incompatibility of individual and collective rights and by presenting the state and its institutions as the guardian of indigenous women's rights (Sierra 2004).

The elaboration of a very specific discourse by indigenous women certainly reflects the need to address women's rights, but also indigenous rights as they aim to propose an alternative perspective. As reported by different members of the indigenous women's movement in Oaxaca, women's rights and indigenous right are not necessarily incompatible. These women argue for changes that would ensure the respect of individual rights and the reproduction of those traditional practices that do not affect

women's rights. As proposed by Flora Gutiérrez, "there are some things that are wrong in the system of customs and traditions that we need to modify but from our reality, not from outside, because this is what has happened" (Interview, April 2011).[128] The integration of women's rights into a reflexive analysis of internal dynamics in communities necessarily brings gender as a category of analysis, as explained by Sofía Robles: "we need to do a gender analysis, to question why things are that way, understand why we have this situation, why we are not in the system of *cargos*,[129] why we are more in the house, why we need to raise our children differently" (Interview, July 2011).[130] Indigenous women, therefore, met the challenges resulting from their male compañeros' opposition to gender advocacy and women's human rights by creating a discourse of their own, a discourse centred on the reality and challenges of indigenous women (Morales Hudon 2012).

However, beyond the internal resistance to women's demands for specific rights in indigenous communities they also faced external pressures regarding their attempts to integrate individual and collective rights. It is not only internal dynamics within indigenous organizations that shaped indigenous women's discourses. If indigenous women had to position themselves critically within the indigenous movement's core frames in order to integrate gender, they also had to position themselves regarding the women's movement. If the discourse of human rights and gender from other movements created alliances between women and also gave them resources to defend their rights

[128] "[H]ay cosas que están mal en el sistema de usos y costumbres que tenemos que ir modificando pero desde nuestra realidad, no desde afuera, porque eso es lo que ha pasado."
[129] The system of cargos is a traditional structure of civil and religious hierarchies in local authorities (Stephen 1991).
[130] "[T]enemos que hacer análisis de género, decir a ver porqué estamos así, de entender el porqué de la situación, el porqué no estamos en el sistema de cargos, el porqué estamos mas en la casa, el porqué tenemos que educar a nuestros hijos de diferente manera."

within their movement, it also brought pressure on women to defend a specific discourse advocating for collective and individual rights simultaneously.

The debate over individual versus collective rights is particularly present in Oaxaca, more than in Chiapas (beyond the Zapatista movement) and Guerrero. Indigenous women in Oaxaca have been actively promoting women's rights in their communities through different projects (radio, workshops, meetings). In order to do so, they negotiate constantly with community authorities. In this process, indigenous women have established collaborations with feminist organizations that provide them with resources to mobilize, through workshop and projects. And, when these women faced obstacles in the implementation of their initiatives, they have a network of allies that are able to support them, as was the case for women in UCIZONI and COCEI that would create their own organizations with the help of their allies after internal conflicts in their respective organizations took place.

If, in most cases, indigenous women decided to organize autonomously from the indigenous organizations where they first mobilized, in certain cases they decided to stay within these organizations, as in the case of Servicios del Pueblo Mixe. Indigenous women had indeed succeeded in including an effective women's area within the organization and one of Oaxaca's indigenous leaders, Sofia Robles, is actively involved in it. Their work with women from SER originated with projects addressing health, nutrition and production and gradually integrated work on women's rights.

In sum, indigenous women created boundaries with the indigenous movement as a result of the difficulties they faced when trying to express gender analyses and to

advocate for women's rights. Indigenous women appropriated discourses from mestiza feminists (gender) and international organizations (collective rights and gender) in their own way, by reconceptualizing their main categories. Under the influence of the indigenous cosmovision, human rights were reconceptualized in order to balance individual and collective rights. In this process, indigenous women developed their own discourse and created exclusive spaces at the local level.

Brokerage: non-mediated relations

This section presents the types of relationships established by indigenous women with other social actors in Oaxaca that allowed the creation of alliances but also the positioning of indigenous women as autonomous social actors. As argued in this chapter, it is precisely the form of brokerage (non-mediated) that explains why indigenous women in Oaxaca were able to consolidate their movement at the state level. When we compare the case of Oaxaca to that of Chiapas it is possible to see that in Oaxaca indigenous women are the ones responsible for connecting previously isolated groups. It is primarily indigenous women who act as brokers. Put differently, they occupy positions that allow them to create relationships with other women without being dependent on feminist organizations where mestiza women are the coordinators, as is the case in Chiapas (mediated-brokerage).

Indigenous women's organizing processes in Oaxaca have received support from national feminist groups and international agencies, as in other cases such as Chiapas and Guerrero. And, as in these other two cases these relationships were instrumental for the process of distinct boundary making, notably through the creation of indigenous

women leaderships and the organization of collective projects. The relationships established between indigenous women concerned with women's rights within key indigenous organizations, and their alliances with feminist groups, were crucial for creating a solid base for the training of female leaders in Oaxaca (Bonfil 2012). Among the feminist organizations that were instrumental in Oaxaca were the Centro Rosario Castellanos and Comaltezin: the former based in Oaxaca City and the latter in Mexico City, with members established in Oaxaca. As explained by Paloma Bonfil from GIMTRAP, these relationships "allowed women to appropriate a discourse of rights, and they began to receive support for projects" (Interview, May 2011).[131]

However, the manner in which indigenous women negotiated the tensions that were present between non-indigenous and indigenous women was different in Oaxaca than in Chiapas. Contrary to the case of Chiapas, where indigenous women were not represented in the broad women's movement (Movimiento Independiente de Mujeres—MIM), in Oaxaca indigenous women had a major presence. However, as in Chiapas there were tensions between women regarding the priorities of the movement. In Oaxaca, as explained by Sofia Robles, indigenous women had been included in spaces such as those that aimed at establishing a women's political agenda in order to pressure the government during political transitions. However, they faced obstacles in prioritizing their specific needs to be included in those agendas. But even while such tensions existed, contrary to Chiapas, indigenous women in Oaxaca negotiated a relationship with feminist organizations that enabled them to position themselves as independent actors in the organizing processes.

[131] "[P]ermiten que las compañeras se apropien un discurso de derechos, que empiecen como a encontrar apoyos a proyectos."

Indigenous women's organizations in Oaxaca, at both local and regional levels, have greater autonomy from the women's organizations that had supported them as one of their primary goals. This is the case in the Network of Mixe Women (Red de Mujeres Mixes–RMM) and AMIO. The RMM, created in 2005, is a network of indigenous women working in communities of the Mixe region (Consorcio 2005).[132] At the First Assembly of the RMM indigenous women identified that RMM needed to work towards greater autonomy from the women's organizations they had been working with from the beginning of their process, such as Consortium for Dialogue (Consorcio para el Dialogo), an NGO promoting human rights, and the Network for Sexual and Reproductive Rights in Mexico (Red por los derechos sexuales y reproductivos en Mexico—DDESER), a network of young leaders promoting women's sexual and reproductive rights (Consorcio 2009).

In the case of Oaxaca, brokerage between indigenous women and feminist organizations shaped indigenous women's boundary making processes, reinforcing the demarcation between these actors in the creation of an indigenous women's collective identity. Indigenous women adopted a discourse on women's rights primarily through their development of projects in collaboration with feminist organizations that targeted sexual and reproductive rights as well as projects against violence. However, as explained by indigenous women who worked in collaboration with these feminist organizations, indigenous women were involved not only in the promotion of these projects (workshops and training on women's rights) but also in project development, as

[132] The RMM organized the first regional meeting of Mixe women in 2005 in Ayutla, and held the tenth meeting in 2011. Each meeting represented an opportunity for indigenous women to share their experiences, identify the problems they faced and elaborate demands and solutions to promote women's rights and participation.

equal partners alongside feminist organizations. For example, indigenous women in Tlahuitoltepec collaborated on a project with the organization Consortium for Dialogue, in which they created radio programs focused on women's rights. Women from Tlahuitoltepec initiated the project, and Consortium for Dialogue offered their support and collaboration on the terms set by the indigenous women concerned (Zenaida Pérez Gutiérrez, Interview, December 2012). This contrasts with the case of a number of organizations in Chiapas, where projects were not the result of collaboration between actors but rather the result of top-down processes where indigenous women in the communities received an agenda already developed by feminist organizations.

The relationships established with feminist organizations played a key role for the integration of gender, through the discourse of women's rights, into the repertoire of the indigenous women's discourses in Oaxaca (Bonfil 2012). Through this process indigenous women's leaderships were also reinforced as they created autonomous spaces to sustain such demands.[133] From this perspective the creation of a state-level organization by women of Oaxaca resulted from their desire to create a collective project that integrated individual indigenous women. It gave visibility to each of them and also a greater opportunity for them to act from a collective space rather than an individual position.

In Oaxaca the boundaries between indigenous women and mestiza feminists were more visible in indigenous women's discourses and this affected their practices. As discussed previously, indigenous women negotiated the projects they wanted and

[133] At the international level there is ENLACE, at the regional level the Alianza de Mujeres Indígenas de México y Centroamérica, at the national level CONAMI and finally, at the sub-national level, AMIO.

participated actively in their design. Moreover, indigenous women chose to create non-mixed (indigenous women-only) spaces in order to coordinate themselves. Indigenous women in Oaxaca experienced similar processes of boundary making as indigenous women in Chiapas. While they have this in common, the type of brokerage established in each of the states represents a key difference in their respective organizing processes. Indeed, the different outcomes in these two processes of state-level organizing can be explained by the types of relationships established between actors and the degree of mediation that was done by non-indigenous women. In the following section I demonstrate how the relationships established by indigenous women allowed the consolidation of a state-level movement.

State-level organizing

Analyzing the trajectory of the emergence of a state-level organization is important for understanding how the organizing process in Oaxaca emerged from a bottom-up dynamic, in contrast to Chiapas. Moreover, the local actors in Oaxaca identified the need to control their own organizing processes and to redefine their relationships with other actors. In doing so, the indigenous women leading this process were the ones connecting different processes and therefore were not mediated by external actors.

The idea of coordinating indigenous women at the state level was debated in different spaces. As I present in this section, indigenous women first identified the need to coordinate their local processes, and within a few months they organized a meeting

inviting indigenous women from different regions to discuss the idea of creating a state-level organization.

During the First Regional Meeting of Zapotec and Chatinas Women from the Southern Sierra in 2009, a number of participants began to voice their concerns regarding the lack of a sub-national coordinating structure for indigenous women. Some of the members of AMIO had worked together in mixed indigenous organizations in the past, but divisions within the indigenous movement had kept them apart for many years. Additionally, local groups of indigenous women had been active in their respective regions, but until recently there had been very little coordination among them. For example, even when women from Isthmus established alliances with national organizations such as DDESER, there had been a direct relationship between the local and the national without any state-level coordinating structure in between. As recounted by Flora Gutierrez, referring to the meeting she organized in 2009: "there, with Sofía, we saw the need to coordinate indigenous women and to go hand in hand in these regional processes that each of us had from our community, our region, and to see how to support each other and how to reinforce those links, those spaces, those networks, those alliances" (Interview, April 2011).[134]

This preoccupation was shared by women from the RMM who came to a consensus in 2009, during the First Assembly of the Network of Mixe Women, that they needed to "[a]chieve unity to ensure that Mixe women's rights are respected and

[134] "[A]hí junto con Sofía veíamos la necesidad de articularnos como mujeres indígenas y de acompañarnos en esos procesos regionales que cada una tenía desde su comunidad, desde su región y ver cómo acompañarnos y cómo fortalecer esos vínculos, esos espacios, esas redes, esas alianzas."

considered in the different areas of community life" (Consorcio 2009).[135] Although the RMM is a regional network their leadership is critical for the movement at the state level (Paloma Bonfil, Interview, May 2011).

Women's desire to coordinate their processes was motivated by the need to support local processes via a broader structure. But when questioned about the reasons that motivated the creation of a state-level organization, indigenous women commonly responded that it was necessary for them to have a space where they could speak for themselves without mediation from other actors. In previous sections this was illustrated through the creation of women-only sections within mixed indigenous organizations. However, these women soon came to realize the necessity of creating non-mixed (indigenous women-only) organizations.

Indigenous women felt the need to organize autonomously, separating themselves from both the indigenous and feminist movements. They were no longer willing to accept that others—be they indigenous men or non-indigenous feminists—speak on their behalf. Indigenous women recognized the instrumental role that mestiza women had played in strengthening and supporting indigenous women's processes. However, as explained by Dalí Ángel Pérez—coordinator of the Alliance of Indigenous Women from Central America and Mexico's youth section—on some occasions this support was transformed into a form of mediation:

> There have been compañeras who arrived in indigenous communities to speak on behalf of indigenous women, to represent us, help us, support us […] and we are grateful for their support because thanks to some of them indigenous women have achieved many things. But there are many who do not respect the fight or process

[135] "Lograr una sola fuerza para que los derechos de las mujeres mixes sean respetados y tomados en cuenta, en los diferentes ámbitos de la vida comunitaria" (Consorcio 2009).

> that we have had as indigenous women. And there have been cases were they displace the natural leaders and position themselves in those roles and we do not agree with that. This is why the Indigenous Women's Assembly of Oaxaca [AMIO] was created, to strengthen and articulate indigenous women's organization (Interview, December 2011).[136]

Put differently, the need to create a state-level organization reflected the challenges indigenous women posed to the power relations that were sometimes present between themselves and mestiza women. This is why, when they began to articulate a distinct identity based on both indigeneity and gender, they did not simply integrate into the feminist movement. Instead, they began to question the power relations that existed between women through a critique of the mediating relations that prevailed in certain spaces. This is clearly expressed by one of the leaders of the movement in Oaxaca, Flora Gutiérrez Gutiérrez:

> One of the resolutions was to create an autonomous space for us, where we no longer want others to speak on our behalf. They have spoken sufficiently. I think it was important that they spoke on our behalf because in one way or another our voice, our words, needed to have resonance, someone had to speak on our behalf. But now that we are present, now we have to speak on our own behalf, and how to do it? Creating our own space as indigenous women (Interview, April 2011).[137]

This quote points to major tensions within the women's movement in Mexico where feminists have tended to speak on the behalf of indigenous women in order to defend

---

[136] "Hay compañeras que han llegado a las comunidades indígenas a querer hablar a nombre de las mujeres indígenas, a querer representarnos, ayudarnos, a echarnos la mano […] y se les agradece de que nos apoyen porque gracias a varias de ellas hemos logrado muchas cosas las mujeres indígenas. Pero hay muchas de ellas que no respetan la lucha o al proceso también que hemos llevado como mujeres indígenas. Y se han dado casos que desplazan a las lideres naturales y se posicionan en esos territorios y es algo que no estamos muy de acuerdo. Y por eso se forma la Asamblea de Mujeres Indígenas para reforzarnos y articularnos desde lo regional a las organizaciones de mujeres indígenas."

[137] "Una de las resoluciones fue crear un espacio propio para nosotras donde ya no queremos que las otras hablen por nosotras. Ya hablaron suficiente. Creo que fue importante que hablaran por nosotras porque de una u otra manera nuestra voz, nuestra palabra, tenía que tener un echo, alguien tenía que hablar por nosotras. Pero ahora ya que estamos, ahora nosotras debemos de hablar por nosotras, ¿y cómo hacerlo? creando nuestro propio espacio como mujeres indígenas."

their rights. When women in Oaxaca were asked about their motivations for constructing a sub-national space of coordination for indigenous women, the idea of re-appropriating their voices emerged constantly, as it is clearly stated in the above quote. It is clear that through this re-appropriation indigenous women made a shift from earlier mediated relationships to autonomous (non-mediated) ones. Sofía Robles, one of the best-known female leaders of the indigenous movement in Oaxaca and who was actively involved in the creation of AMIO explains:

> [W]e have alliances with women from social organization in Oaxaca, in Mexico, but we think that we need our own space as indigenous women because we feel that we come together as equals, with common conditions to discuss, to identify problems; we understand how is the situation of the communities, we live the communities' situations, and this is why (Interview, July 2011).[138]

In this quote the proposition that an organization exclusively for indigenous women is needed rests on the idea that these women need a space where they identify each other as equal peers. This quote illustrates how gender and indigeneity are both core frames of indigenous women's discourse, where their situation is understood as unique, that is, that cannot be captured by a feminism that is not conceptualized in relation to indigeneity.

Another important dimension of these two quotes is that of the need to speak from indigenous women's specific lived experiences, as women who know the realities of their indigenous communities and have been involved in its local processes of resistance. According to Hill Collins (1990) the affirmation of the need to construct discourses

[138] "[T]enemos alianzas con las mujeres de organizaciones civiles de Oaxaca, con las de México pero pensamos que necesitamos un espacio propio como mujeres indígenas porque sentimos que estamos en condiciones mas igualitarias para discutir, para plantear problemáticas, entendemos como es la situación de las comunidades, vivimos las situaciones de las comunidades, y por eso."

from a shared experience of everyday life that is shaped, certainly, by gender, but also by class and race, is central to minority women's organizing. This would lead, as analyzed by Roth (2004), to different feminist movements within the same political context. Put differently, in the case of Oaxaca the creation of boundaries shaped the organizational structure that indigenous women decided to create. In concrete terms, although some of the indigenous women leaders self-identified as feminists they conceived their feminism as one that articulates both indigeneity and gender, which has been characterized as the emergent indigenous feminism in Mexico (Espinosa Damián 2009; Hernández Castillo 2010).

In sum, the rejection of mediated relations, where mestiza women spoke on behalf of indigenous women, clearly motivated the indigenous women's organizing process at the state level. In the case of Oaxaca this shift from mediated to non-mediated brokerage greatly influenced the level of consolidation of the indigenous women's movement. It motivated the creation of an organization to coordinate local processes and formulate a political agenda specifically for indigenous women, with an explicit goal of designating indigenous women's leaders to represent their interests and establish a dialogue with external actors (indigenous organizations, feminist organizations, the state and its institutions). This is visible through AMIO's goal of including women from the different indigenous peoples of Oaxaca in their organizational structures in order to formulate common demands and influence the political sphere (Sofía Robles, Conference UABJO 2011). The creation of AMIO was explicitly motivated by the need to build alliances between indigenous women in Oaxaca and to strengthen the scale of mobilization. In the

following paragraphs I describe AMIO's organizational structure as a way to illustrate the trajectory of consolidation of the indigenous women's movement in Oaxaca.

AMIO, compared to the indigenous women's organization in Chiapas, has a clear representational structure, clearly defined goals and agendas, and has organized three state-level meetings since 2010. These elements have been critical for the consolidation processes in Oaxaca.

The AMIO council is the decisional organ of the assembly and is composed by representatives from the different regions of Oaxaca (AMIO 2011). The members of AMIO participate as individuals rather than representatives of their local organizations, but the majority are also involved in local processes of organizing such as the Network of Mixe Women (Red de Mujeres Mixes-RMM), Grupo 8 de Marzo (Juchitán), and Centro para los derechos de la mujer Nääxwiin.

AMIO's structure, and the labels chosen for designating its different aspects—as an 'assembly' instead of 'organization' and 'council' instead of 'executive'—reflect the appropriation by indigenous women of traditional symbols from indigenous communities. Indigenous women's appropriation of customary structures from indigenous traditions is yet another way of challenging the practices that have historically excluded them from their communities. Organizations such as AMIO adopted the assembly as the central structure of decision-making and coordination and its structure is explicitly proposed as a way of recuperating the traditional practices of indigenous communities.[139] The symbolism of this appropriation goes beyond the

[139] The assembly as a core organ of an organization is not only a characteristic of indigenous people's traditional structures, as many leftist organizations adopt a similar structure that is broadly associated with

affirmation of an indigenous identity regarding decision-making processes. Considering that women's participation in some municipal assemblies in indigenous communities is still restricted, indigenous women's appropriation of the symbol of the assembly is remarkable. By appropriating those structures that are often used to justify women's exclusion, women are redefining tradition by constructing an assembly *for* women. Moreover, women have appropriated these structures and organized their movement on their own terms, without the mediation of external actors.

Although AMIO is meant to represent indigenous women from Oaxaca it is nonetheless limited in terms of representation, as it has close ties to networks of women from the Mixe region. As reported by Paloma Bonfil, who has been supporting leadership and advocacy training for indigenous women in different regions of the country, and who has been working with indigenous women in Oaxaca, "even if [AMIO] is aimed at the indigenous women of Oaxaca, I see it as totally Mixe, it is a discourse of commonality, that seems very good but I feel it is totally Mixe. If you go to Isthmus it is another story, it is different" (Interview, May 2011).[140] Indeed, AMIO involves a number of indigenous women form the Mixe region and adopts its traditional forms of political and social organization (commonality). This can be explained by the fact that the participation of indigenous women within the political structure of the community has been particularly important in the Mixe region.[141]

---

more radical forms of participatory democracy. However, in the context of Oaxaca, the assembly is explicitly identified with the traditional structures of communities of 'us and costumes.'

[140] "[A]unque esta dirigida a mujeres indígenas de Oaxaca yo la veo totalmente Mixe, es un discurso de la comunalidad, que me parece muy bien pero yo siento que es totalmente Mixe. Si tu ves al Istmo es otro rollo, es diferente."

[141] Sofía Robles recalls that the first public positions occupied by women in the community through the traditional system of usos y costumbres were held in 1974, as secretaries, treasurers and councillors.

Leaders from Oaxaca who have close relationships with movements at other levels of indigenous mobilizing, particularly the national and international levels, are mostly from the Mixe region. However, even if the processes in other regions are different, AMIO is providing an opportunity for indigenous women to create alliances with women from these other regions. Women from Isthmus, along with women from Mixe, are gradually becoming invested in these spaces, which is also reflected in the state-level organization, AMIO, and the recent participation of youth leaders from Isthmus in various international forums and continental meetings of indigenous peoples.

Certainly, women from the Mixe region are overly represented in national and international organizations and in projects targeting indigenous women. They have also consolidated networks of indigenous women in their region and have established solid collaborations with indigenous and feminist organizations. However, with the creation of AMIO in 2010, indigenous women in Oaxaca have sought to build a new organizational structure in order to coordinate individuals from local and sub-regional networks, and groups and organizations from throughout the state of Oaxaca. Thus, indigenous women from other regions who have also been actively involved in indigenous movements but who have not established a direct relationship with national or international indigenous women's organizations, are invited to create new alliances with other women from Oaxaca. The effort towards constructing new connections between these different sites is a factor contributing to the consolidation process because it is indigenous women, and not other, mediating actors, who are engaged in these coordination efforts.

Access to resources is another factor that is important to consider in this process of consolidation. As previously mentioned, international and national organizations played an instrumental role during the 1990s in providing opportunities for indigenous women to work on projects to promote their specific rights, and also to strengthen their leaderships by increasing their access to resources and providing support and counselling. This was the case for new generations of indigenous leaders, such as Flora Gutiérrez who received a fellowship in 2009 from the national feminist organization Mexican Society Pro Women's Rights (Sociedad Mexicana Pro Derechos de la Mujer—Semillas).[142] This grant gave her the opportunity to meet other indigenous women from the state to start building alliances as she organized the First Regional Meeting of Zapotec and Chatinas Women from the Southern Sierra, where the idea to coordinate indigenous women's local processes at the state level first emerged. Indeed, the access to individual fellowships that many of AMIO's founders received was critical to facilitating the organizing process.

This form of financial support targeted women at the individual level, but these women were required to present collective projects that would have a positive impact on other indigenous women, whether through projects these leaders developed or through meetings and workshops they organized. In Oaxaca the women receiving this type of fellowship used their funds to organize collective projects with indigenous women in their communities but also to organize meetings that were critical to creating new relationships among indigenous women in different regions (non-mediated brokerage). An example of how this facilitated the creation of new relationships is illustrated by the

[142] This organization is one of the most important NGOs supporting indigenous women's processes of organization gives grants to individuals to implement collective projects.

case of Elvira Constantina Pablo Antonio, an AMIO council member, who became involved in indigenous women's organizing processes through her participation in workshops provided by two compañeras who organized activities in her community with fellowship funds they had received from Semillas (Interview, May 2011).

Although the initiative to create a sub-national structure of coordination came from the bottom, indigenous women mobilized the alliances they had with feminist organizations at the national level. Nonetheless, it was indigenous women who established new relationships with women in different regions, which facilitated a non-mediated form of brokerage that positively affected the consolidation of the organizing process. In Oaxaca the influence of the national level in creating a sub-national space was less direct than it was in Guerrero, though two national-level organizations—The Alianza de Mujeres Indígenas de Centroamérica y México (ALIANZA), and CONAMI—did play a role in supporting AMIO's creation.[143] When indigenous women decided to create their own organization at the state level they received support from some of these organizations, such as GIMTRAP and ALIANZA, particularly for organizing workshops.[144] However, in all these cases, it was indigenous women who

[143] The Alianza, created in 2004, is a network of 40 organizations and institutions of indigenous women from the region of Central America and Mexico. Its main goal is to support and develop political actions in continuity with the work from the UN Women's Fund in Mexico (UNIFEM). Alianza has a monitoring committee with two representatives of each country.
[http://alianzademujeresindigenas.org.mx/index.php/mnuquienes]

[144] It is worth noting that workshops are usually excellent occasions for women to organize meetings, taking advantage of the fact that women from different locations are together. Transportation for many indigenous women to major cities, where workshops and events take place, is costly and time consuming. Because they have limited resources and they have full agendas it is hard for them to meet with women from other parts of the state. This is why assemblies and meetings are often organized after a workshop or event. Some alternatives have also emerged in order to facilitate communication, notably with the use of the Internet for coordinating, as in the case of AMIO. And it is notably with the use of new technologies that young indigenous women are contributing and bringing new practices to these organizations.

invited these organizations to collaborate with them and defined the terms of the collaboration.

In sum, indigenous women's relationhips with feminists in Oaxaca varied when compared to the case of Chiapas. Indigenous women, especially Mixe women, established relationships with feminist and indigenous organizations where they were the ones defining the type of collaboration that occurred. This relationship of cooperation was instrumental in the creation of AMIO, the organization under which indigenous women of Oaxaca organized at the state level. As demonstrated above, indigenous women nonetheless remained careful to maintain control over their local projects and to voice their demands directly.

The fact that indigenous women were the ones establishing relationships between previously isolated organizations of women affected the type of spaces they built, the discourses they developed, and the way they positioned themselves in relation to other actors. This is visible in the way indigenous women are redefining their relationships with feminist organizations, as they are positioning themselves as equals, seeking to establish dialogues and forming alliances. In doing this indigenous women are positioning themselves as the legitimate brokers of their movement who can establish new relationships with other actors and maintain them over time.

Conclusion

Indigenous women's organizing processes in Oaxaca illustrate how the creation of boundaries on the grounds of ethnicity and gender was necessary to the formation of

women-only organizations and spaces. However, as this chapter argued, it was the non-mediated form of brokerage involved in the organizing process at the state level that enabled the movement to consolidate. The alliances developed between indigenous women and feminist organizations were crucial for creating the necessary networks for indigenous women leaders at the local and national levels. Indigenous women established collaborative relationhips with mestiza women from their own indigenous organizations and this facilitated a non-mediated form of brokerage.

Indigenous women in Oaxaca, with the creation of AMIO and the different forums and meetings they have organized at the state level, have contributed to a greater coordination of local processes of indigenous women. Moreover, in creating spaces where indigenous women can meet to share experiences, but also define priorities and formulate demands to take to the state, they have succeeded in positioning AMIO as a representative structure of indigenous women at the state level. Additionally, they have reached a certain level of legitimacy as they have established a direct dialogue with the state. The Director of the Indigenous Women's Rights Department in the government of Oaxaca, Zenaida Pérez Gutiérrez, confirms that AMIO is perceived by the state of Oaxaca as the organization representing indigenous women at the state level. "One of the organizations with whom we can coordinate to bring about actions is actually with them, as well as with other organizations that exist at the regional level that are not that visible in the city but that have very interesting contributions" (Interview, December

2012).[145] These regional organizations Zenaida refers to are the Women's Network in the Isthmus working with DDESER and the Network of Mixe Women.

Similar to the case of Chiapas, indigenous women from certain communities are overrepresented in state-level organizations in Oaxaca. What is different from Chiapas is that AMIO has created a representational structure in which members are delegated from assemblies, and there is a constant effort to represent the different regions of the state. Therefore the decision-making process, as well as the designation of organizational representatives, are more horizontal than in Chiapas where there is a more hierarchical structure within the organization.

There is one factor in particular that greatly influenced the capacity of indigenous women leaders to consolidate an indigenous women's organization at the state level in Oaxaca, as compared to Chiapas. The strength of the regional processes of women's organizing in the Mixe region allowed the training of new generations of activists. Indeed, among the leaders of AMIO are young indigenous women who began their activism directly in women's-only organizations and established relationships with feminist organizations early in their organizing process. This was the case with Flora Gutiérrez and Carolina Vázquez, as well as young women such as Zenaida Pérez Gutiérrez, who is currently the Director of the Indigenous Women's Rights Department in the government of Oaxaca. Zenaida is a solid ally for the indigenous women's movement as she promotes the participation and organization of indigenous women in

[145] "Una de las organizaciones con las que nos podemos coordinar para sacar acciones es justo con ellas, como con otras organizaciones que existen a nivel regional que no son tan visibles en la ciudad pero que tienen aportes muy interesantes."

indigenous communities and has organized two official meetings of indigenous women and Afro-Mexican women in the state of Oaxaca (2011-2012).

I argue that these internal dynamics, more precisely organizational structures and forms, have influenced the variations that exist at the organizational level when comparing the indigenous women's movements of Oaxaca with those in Chiapas and Guerrero. In Oaxaca the new generation of leaders pushes for the appropriation of traditional indigenous decision-making structures and social and political organization, while positioning women and youth as key actors of social change. If women and youth continue to be excluded from some communities on the grounds of traditional custom, indigenous women in Oaxaca are nonetheless advocating for a transformation of their communities through the valorization and appropriation of these specific traditions that allow democratic participation but also cultural affirmation.

Chapter Five

Bridging the Local to the National: Indigenous Women in Guerrero

The two previous chapters analyzed indigenous women's organizational consolidation at the state level in two Mexican states, Chiapas and Oaxaca. For the case of Chiapas, I argued that the indigenous women's organizing process has faced major obstacles in its effort to consolidate at the state level. Most indigenous women's groups work at the local level and are excluded from representational positions within state-level organizations (indigenous and non-indigenous). I illustrated how the process rests on the networks of few leaders, and not of regional organizations, which are trying to consolidate but have been less successful than in the other two states. Divisions between organizations in Chiapas affected collaboration between women's organizations and the legacy of previous movements has been paradoxical, facilitating the emergence of a collective identity of indigenous women but not the consolidation of a state-level indigenous women's movement.

The case of Oaxaca presents a different path. Indigenous women in Oaxaca have reached a greater level of consolidation than in Chiapas because of the types of relationships indigenous women have established with indigenous and feminist organizations. Contrary to Chiapas, indigenous women were able to reach

representational positions within mixed organizations at the state level, but also to create indigenous women-only organizations where they are the protagonists, giving them access to resources and the power to position their priorities as indigenous women. The consolidation of the indigenous women's movement in Oaxaca is visible through the existence of a state-level organization coordinating women from different regions. The initiative to form this organization followed a bottom-up logic and has established a representational structure and political agenda. It is from this organization that indigenous women are voicing their demands and have obtained recognition by other actors. The previous chapter also discussed how the capacity to form new leaderships in Oaxaca increased indigenous women's ability to gain access to resources and to transmit leadership to young women who are actively involved in the process of consolidation at the state level, as well as at the national level with the creation of new networks for indigenous youth, where age is articulated to gender and indigeneity in the making of their collective identity.

In this chapter I demonstrate that the indigenous women's organizing process in Guerrero has reached a greater level of consolidation than in Chiapas because of the type of brokerage its leaders developed with the national indigenous women's organization and the indigenous state-level organization that formed in the 1990s. In Guerrero the consolidation of the movement is visible through the creation of a stable state-level organization of indigenous women that has, overall, been able to ensure access to resources and to establish itself as a legitimate actor representing indigenous women from Guerrero. I argue in this chapter that the form of brokerage that led to the creation of indigenous women's organizational structures and discourses was central to

this consolidation process. In Guerrero, brokerage was less mediated than in the case of Chiapas since there was direct representation and the creation of independent structures was assumed by indigenous women and not external actors. Similarly to the case of Oaxaca, indigenous women leaders in Guerrero were formed in indigenous organizations that facilitated the acquisition of organizational experience that was instrumental for the development of their leaderships. Thereafter their collaboration with feminist organizations was instrumental in enhancing these leaderships and providing them with resources (training). From the outset, however, indigenous women were the ones representing and organizing other indigenous women without the mediation of external actors.

Indigenous women in Guerrero established relationships with feminists primarily at the national level, with women's groups in national peasant organizations, feminist NGOs and, mostly, with the National Coordination of Indigenous Women (CONAMI). The latter was central for training a generation of indigenous women leaders at the state level. Through different workshops, initiatives and projects, CONAMI gave important resources to leaders in Guerrero to strengthen local movements and to push gender-specific demands within mixed organizations (López Cruz 2009). While this was a top-down approach, it nonetheless facilitated the creation of a state-level organization and individual leaderships. It is important to note that organizations in Guerrero received more attention from CONAMI than those in the other two states because some of CONAMI's founding members came from here. Additionally, the feminist organization supporting CONAMI—Kinal Antzetik—focused specifically on projects in Guerrero.

As in the other two states discussed in previous chapters (Chiapas and Oaxaca), indigenous movements and feminist organizations played an instrumental role in providing experience, resources and opportunities for indigenous women to participate in their movements and to develop a collective identity grounded in the articulation of gender and indigeneity. In the case of Guerrero, however, the central role of state-level organizations within the indigenous movement and the close relationships established with national feminist organizations that contributed to empowering a generation of indigenous women's leaders, provided particularly favourable opportunities for indigenous women to coordinate beyond the local level.

If Oaxaca and Guerrero are the cases where the indigenous movement is consolidated, compared to Chiapas, they are nonetheless distinct. In Guerrero, contrary to Oaxaca, the movement is still led by those (first generation) who created the state-level organization from their respective mixed organizations. New generations of leaders are not taking over as in the case of Oaxaca, where young leaders are explicitly seeking to incorporate youth and assuming new responsibilities. Put differently, in Oaxaca the movement includes different generations of indigenous women, but this is less so in Guerrero. Moreover, as previously shown, the organizational structure of the movement in Oaxaca is more horizontal, which facilitates the representation of different regions of the state. This has been more difficult in Guerrero where, because of the structure of the state-level organization, leadership rests in the hands of a few.

This chapter begins with a presentation of the political and historical context that led to the emergence of an indigenous movement at the state level in order to contextualize the initial forms of indigenous women's participation in social movements

in Guerrero. It explains how indigenous women negotiated between the local and national levels in the creation of a collective identity articulating gender, ethnicity and class. Following this I discuss the types of relationships that were built between indigenous women leaders and other actors (feminist organizations, indigenous organizations) and present how brokerage was central to the creation of a state-level organization. Finally, I discuss differences between the cases of Oaxaca and Guerrero that explain some variation in the consolidation of the movement.

As explained in the methodology section in chapter one, fewer interviews were conducted in Guerrero because the process is already well documented in this region. Indigenous women in Guerrero recently published a book describing the organizing processes of indigenous women in this state, which includes the life stories of thirteen indigenous women that were involved in the creation of a state-level organization at different moments since 2003, and who were involved in peasant and indigenous organizations in the 1990s. To complement these accounts I interviewed three indigenous women whose leadership is recognized by indigenous women's organizations at the national and local levels. I also interviewed a mestiza woman who has supported indigenous women's organizing processes through the feminist organization she coordinated.

Political and historical context

Guerrero is a state with a long history of social movements and protests against traditional political power, neoliberal economic reforms from the late 1970s, and the intermittent military repression of social protest. During the second half of the 20th

century, peasant and indigenous peoples were protagonists in social movements in Guerrero. Social movements framed their demands primarily in terms of a peasant identity until the 1990s, at which point an indigenous identity emerged and was mobilized. A brief review of the trajectory of mobilization in this period allows for an understanding of the emergence of independent peasant organizations, the shift from a peasant to an indigenous identity, and finally, the mobilizational legacy it gave to indigenous women who claimed a more specific identity articulating gender to indigeneity.

When compared in terms of socioeconomic indicators, the three southern states of Mexico discussed in this dissertation share high levels of poverty, inaccessibility to services, and low levels of education, positioning them as the states of the country with the highest degree of marginalization. If Oaxaca is the state with the highest proportion of indigenous peoples, Guerrero is the state where the majority of indigenous peoples live in the highlands. Guerrero is one of the poorest states in Mexico, is mostly rural and has a substantial indigenous population. It is also one of the five Mexican states with the lowest proportion of the population living in municipalities of more than 2,500 inhabitants and the fifth state in terms of the proportion of the population speaking an indigenous language (15.1% in 2010). Moreover, it is in the indigenous communities and municipalities that marginalization is highest. As in Chiapas and Oaxaca, these socioeconomic inequalities have motivated significant peasant and later indigenous movements in the state (INEGI 2012b).

In the 1950s and 60s social organizations emerged to address the needs of peasants in productive projects. Contrary to Chiapas, where demands for land distribution were

central, in Guerrero the demands concerned mostly the end of rents and sharecropping and the overall greater economic autonomy of cooperatives and organized groups of rural producers (e.g. coffee producers) (Bartra 2000). However, under the new president López Portillo (1976-1982) the government intensified its liberalization policies and declared the end of agrarian reforms, an emphasis on production (not on redistribution) and the defence of private property. As argued by Overmyer-Velázquez (2002), this situation created a crisis of legitimacy of the political institutions in Mexico, whose anti-democratic and pro-business character provoked a politicization of the population that integrated political demands into previous economic demands.

In Guerrero such politicization took the form of a civic mobilization for political change and guerrilla movements emerged due to the lack of state response. The guerrilla movement led by Lucio Cabañas and Genaro Vázquez destabilized the state, which responded aggressively with highly repressive tactics.[146] This conflict, referred to as the Dirty War (Guerra Sucia), would last until the mid-1970s but the repression of those accused of being sympathetic and supportive of the guerrillas continued through the decade. Hundreds of individuals disappeared, were sequestrated, tortured, assassinated and thrown into the ocean (Bartra 2000). This context of repression significantly discouraged social protest. However, it increased demands for democratization and pushed some peasant and indigenous peoples to get involved in oppositional political parties. It is important to note the it is only in 1977 that the state adopted an electoral

[146] The Asociacion Cívica Guerrerense (ACG) emerged in the 1960s with demands for political democratization. However, the government refused to change its corporatist political structure and repressed the movement. In 1966, the ACG's leader, Genaro Vázquez was arrested. One year later a guerrilla group took him out of prison to the mountains, which marks the shift operated in ACG from being a civic organization to becoming a guerrilla organization, the Asociacion Civica Nacional Revolucionaria (ACNR), and began an armed struggle. The ACNR was joined by the Brigada Campesina de Ajusticiamiento del Partido de los Pobres (leaded by Lucio Cabañas).

reform to allow a multiparty system, which open the possibility of creating new parties as alternatives to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—PRI) (Gutiérrez Ávila 2009).

As in the case of Chiapas, demands for the democratization of politics were perceived as a threat to the state's corporatist political structure and consequently, the governments returned to their traditional strategy of cooptation. In Guerrero, the authoritative government of Figueroa (1975-1981) blocked the creation of independent organizations in order to regain control and reinforce the state's historical corporatist structure towards peasant communities. The state adopted a top-down approach to push people to organize collectively around productive projects on the state's own terms. To access rural credits peasants were required to participate in collective associations (unions of ejidos and rural associations) incorporated into the state via the Agrarian Reform Secretariat (Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria—SRA). As Bartra explains (2000: 31), in this period "peasants accepted being 'organized' without intervening in favour or against it; the result being [the creation of] unions without projects or militancy."[147]

As a way of containing social protest the state returned to its traditional strategies of cooptation and repression while reinforcing a neoliberal shift (Fox, García Jiménez and Haight 2009). Through the militarization of Guerrero, particularly of its rural territories, and the reinforcement of its traditional channels of mediation (corporatism), the state blocked peasant movements during the 1970s and contained them within its

[147] "[L]os campesinos se dejan "organizar" sin meter las manos a favor o en contra; el resultado son uniones sin proyecto ni militancia."

corporatist structures.[148] Considering all of this, it is important to note that the organizational experience that men and women gained within these state-run organizations was necessarily marked by a corporatist culture that affected the types of relationships actors established with each other (competition rather than cooperation).[149]

The corporatist system significantly limited the development of peasant organizations that were independent of the government's institutions (Yaworski 2005). Women were targeted by the state to participate in such state-run initiatives, principally through productive projects, coordinated by the Agriculture and Industrial Units for Women (Unidades Agricolas e Industriales de la Mujer—UAIM). Women were organized in local groups with very specific projects (farming and artisan projects, nutrition, education, health) oriented primarily towards economic production and the commercialization of their products, responding to the state's top-down initiatives.

As limited as they were, such official initiatives nonetheless represented opportunities for women to address themes related to health and nutrition.[150] Canabal Cristiani (2008: 363) argues that these projects did not have a major effect on women's economic conditions but some groups seized the opportunity to generate debates and spaces of social participation: "The highlanders have participated in economic projects

[148] Other, mostly urban movements, mobilized in this context, such as the university movement that adopted leftist positions focusing on a stronger connection between academia and rural and urban communities, but also movements against touristic development projects on the Coast and labour movements demanding better wages.

[149] Organizations also faced internal problems resulting from the cooptation of the state (as in the case of the Union de Ejidos Alfredo V. Bonfil), where the democratic directive that pushed the organization for more autonomy was pushed out by a directive chosen by Ruiz Massieu (Paz Paredes 2000). Moreover, in the absence of democratic structures some leaders reproduced the political culture inherited from the corporatist system. All of this considered, the leadership of certain organizations was debilitated by the positions assumed by the organizations in support of the neoliberal economic and social projects pushed by Carlos Salinas de Gortari, who would be the next president of Mexico.

[150] For example, such discussions led to the publication of local pamphlets between 1986 and 1989 in the region of La Costa Grande.

while taking advantage of the opportunities it offered to them and from those spaces they have constructed and elaborated their identity as social actors."[151] Although limited, such participation of indigenous women within official programs represented an opportunity to work in projects addressed exclusively to peasant and indigenous women and therefore to contribute to the integration of gender concerns within mixed organizations.

Independent peasant organizations

From these productive and top-down processes of social organization in the 1970s emerged more confrontational organizations that were independent from the state and engaged in autonomous projects in the following decade, under the government of Cervantes Delgado (1981-1987). The emergence of independent organizations was critical for the transformation of discourses and practices outside state corporatist structures. Women's groups took part in the movement for greater autonomy of peasant organizations as a form of resistance to cooptation in the context of economic crisis. As men migrated in massive waves due to worsening economic conditions, women were forced to take on new responsibilities. Women became increasingly involved in the productive sphere, which stimulated their organization into collective projects and created opportunities for greater participation in the public sphere (Canabal Cristiani 2009).

[151] "Las montañeras han participado en proyectos económicos aprovechando distintas oportunidades que se les han presentado y desde esos espacios ellas mismas han construido y reelaborado su identidad como actoras sociales."

But despite the re-mobilization of peasant groups during the 1980s, coordination between them was complex because internal divisions prevented a real coordination between local processes that received strong political pressure from the sub-national state, which only negotiated on a case by case basis. Structures, even in independent organizations, were embedded in corporatist relations and—in addition to cuts in public funding—pushed organizations to compete with each other for minimal gains (Bartra 2000).[152] If one of the major obstacles to autonomous organizations was the corporatist structure of the social and political spheres in Guerrero, there was still a focus on the peasantry and rural development, which addressed some peasant demands, even if this was minimal. However, the state government of Ruiz Massieu (1987-1993) changed the government's focus from rural Guerrero to urban projects and tourism during the country's turn toward neoliberalism.[153] This severely affected peasants and indigenous populations, particularly considering that the previous administration had had a strong development program.

This context pressured independent organizations that faced numerous obstacles to surviving and organizing. Some disappeared, while others decreased; still others, mainly those affiliated with national organizations such as UNORCA, maintained their activities.[154] It is the relationships that local organizations established with the national

[152] This was notably the case with the Coordinadora de Uniones de Ejidos de Guerrero that emerged in 1984 to discuss common demands (commercialization) and solidarity regarding each region's specific demands. Other efforts to coordinate local groups emerged, such as the Alianza de Organizaciones Campesinas Autónomas de Guerrero in 1987; however, such efforts to foster a state-level movement failed (Bartra 2000).
[153] His Six-year Plan aimed at developing tourism, the maquiladoras' sector, and urbanization, highway construction to facilitate access to touristic regions, and the opening of forestry to foreign investment.
[154] UNORCA had an important influence in the 1980s (before the political shifts in 1988) and represented the organization mediating relationships between peasants and the state to negotiate access to services and resources for projects. The church, through its liberation theology, also played a central role along with

one that gave them the necessary resources and networks to continue their organizing processes.

From peasant to indigenous identities

At the end of the 1980s the peasant movement was not coordinated at the state level and the mobilization of a peasant identity faced the emergence of an indigenous one. Indeed, there was a decline of peasant organizations in the 1990s, while indigenous struggles flourished (Bartra 2000). However, the actors involved in these struggles did not change per se; it was rather the identity mobilized in collective action and the references used to frame it that changed, as many (though not all) peasants began to self-identify as indigenous. This involved an increased usage of international discourses on collective rights, beyond cultural demands, to include people's rights to territory, resources and self-determination (García 2000b).

This shift took place in a context marked by two key events: the commemoration of the 500 Years of the Conquest of the Americas and the EZLN uprising (Espinosa Damián 2010). The articulation of both was particularly salient in Guerrero when compared to the other two cases (Chiapas and Oaxaca). In Guerrero this event was reinforced by the fact that there had been important protests by indigenous peoples in the region of Alto Balsas against the construction of a dam. Indigenous peoples of Alto Balsas mobilized at the international level, which garnered attention for the region and created networks that facilitated the organization of indigenous peoples in the state. This

---

human rights organizations in supporting peasant and indigenous processes of organization (Canabal Cristiani 2008).

led to the creation of a state-level organization in Guerrero that would be central to the coordination of different local processes, among them women's groups at the local level, in the following years.

One of the first local movements to frame its demands in terms of indigenous rights was the Consejo de Pueblos Nahuas del Alto Balsas (CPNAB), created in 1990, to protest the construction of a dam in the region: "Unlike the peasant producer organizations, the Nahuas of the Balsas region self-consciously framed their movement as a fight for their cultural and territorial rights" (Overmyer-Velázquez 2002: 86).[155] This local movement was the first in Guerrero to organize actions that challenged the governments at the state and national levels. An unprecedented and critical factor was the movement's mobilization at the international level. The CPNAB sent delegates to international indigenous meetings (Encuentro Continental de Organizaciones Indígenas in Guatemala, and Cumbre de la Tierra in France), where they shared strategies and experiences with other movements. From these meetings they brought a discourse based on instruments to defend their rights as indigenous peoples back to the local level; notably, they were the first in Guerrero to use the ILO Convention 169 to pressure the state governor to stop the project, which they succeeded in doing (Gutiérrez Ávila 2009).

The relationships established with international and national levels by the CPNAB set the precedent for referring to indigeneity as a collective identity for mobilization in Guerrero (Bartra 2000; García 2000b). This movement embodied the shift from peasant to indigenous identities, and represented a major opportunity for creating networks to

[155] Representatives of 22 communities formed the Consejo de Pueblos Nahuas del Alto Balsas in 1990 and organized the resistance. They organized marches to the capital of Guerrero (Chilpancingo) as well as to Mexico City (between 1992 and 1995).

share experiences and strategies, but also contacts to access resources from international agencies using the frame of indigenous rights (Brysk 2000). The experience accumulated through this process provided the indigenous movement of the 1990s with important networks and resources that benefited the creation of a state-level indigenous organization in Guerrero that would offer indigenous peoples, and indigenous women in particular, new opportunities to participate, notably through the introduction of a discourse on human rights that was fuelled by international debates about the recognition of indigenous peoples' collective rights at the United Nations.

In 1991, the CPNAB along with Zanzekan Tonemi—an organization framing its collective identity mainly on the grounds of class and not indigeneity—created the Consejo Guerrerense 500 Años de Resistencia Indígena (CG500Años)—a state-level branch of the Consejo Mexicano 500 Años formed a year before (García 2000a).[156] The emergence of the CG500Años was critical for indigenous women in Guerrero as it is in this organization that some of the leaders of the indigenous women's movement began their activism, and a number of women from local organizations were involved in the CG500Años from its beginnings (Espinosa Damián, Dircio Chautla and Sánchez Néstor 2010).

This movement created an opportunity for indigenous people to organize at the state level and to denounce social and economic inequalities, assuming, contrary to previous movements, their ethnic identities in their collective demands (Espinosa

[156] Local processes from the different regions of Guerrero adhered to the CG500Años, which was coordinated with the international and national indigenous movements.

Damián 2010).[157] Indigenous people marched to Mexico City in October 1992 to condemn the official celebration of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of America. Additionally, they had specific demands regarding justice, human rights, and regional development (García 2000b). As argued by Overmyer-Velázquez, the CG500Años' "ability to mobilize community members for highly visible congresses and marches in Chilpancingo and marches from Guerrero to Mexico City, as well as protest road blocks along the busy Mexico City-Acapulco highway, has won it the status of recognized interlocutor with the state" (Overmyer-Velázquez 2002: 85-86). The first half of the 1990s was marked by the significant presence of indigenous movement actions at both the local and state levels. The CG500Años used its capacity to bring people together and mobilized people in marches, occupations, and highway blockades.[158]

After the regional movement of the Alto Balsas, the CG500Años embodied an unprecedented state-level opportunity for indigenous peoples to mobilize their indigenous identities and to use international instruments to pressure the state for new collective rights.[159] This organization was the first to give its public support to the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in 1994 with the organization of a march—'You are not alone' (No están solos)—from Guerrero's capital, Chilpancingo,

[157] Another protest organization was created in 1994 at a regional level: the Organizacion Campesina de la Sierra del Sur (OCSS).

[158] Moreover, the Massacre of Aguas Blancas (1995), under the government of Figueroa Alcocer (1993-1996), led to the reemergence of guerrilla movements and the radicalization of peasant movements. The police fired at members of the Organizacion Campesina de la Sierra del Sur (OCSS), a peasant organization, who were on their way to attend a political meeting, killing 17 of them. This motivated the creation of the Ejercito Popular Revolucionario (EPR), which emerged announcing a war for democracy and justice, as a response to the lack of alternatives to challenge the impunity of the governor and the state. The governor resigned in 1996 because of his responsibility in the massacre of Aguas Blancas. The EPR emerged in Guerrero but its actions were not limited to the state as it also conducted operations in others states, notably in Oaxaca.

[159] In 1994, 39 indigenous communities created the Regional Council of Indigenous Autorities (Consejo Regional de Autoridades Indígenas) in San Luis Acatlán, as the decisional body of the Regional Council 500 Años.

to Mexico City (Sánchez Néstor 2009). It was indeed an important ally of the Zapatista movement in the 1990s and would later become the organization that formed new leaderships of indigenous women.

In concrete terms, this process involved the integration of a discourse on indigenous people's rights in accordance with international instruments, but also from the discussions taking place at the national level debating the framework of indigenous peoples' collective rights in the context of the San Andres Dialogues (Velasco Cruz 2003).[160] In other words, the emergence of indigenous movements in the 1990s shifted the focus of social processes on productive projects to broader issues addressing social and political demands through the mobilization of a new collective identity: indigeneity.

However, these movements quickly suffered from internal divisions along political lines and this would lead to their disintegration (Gutiérrez Ávila 2009). Although regional movements continued to strengthen the coordination between local groups, the disintegration of the Consejo left a space for a state-level dialogue with the government of Guerrero for indigenous peoples. Nonetheless, as mentioned in chapter two, the decline of the indigenous movement—at the national and state-levels—did not lead to the decline of indigenous women's organizing processes: to the contrary. In Guerrero this is particularly the case where indigenous women had established networks with feminist organizations at the national level that supported their organizing processes that emerged from their participation in mixed organizations.

[160] As detailed in chapter two, in 1995 and 1996 peace dialogues took place between the Mexican state and the indigenous movement to discuss indigenous peoples' rights in the aftermath of the Zapatista uprising.

As explained by Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo, what happened was that indigenous women who had been mobilized in national spaces retreated to the local and state-level contexts: "there was a process of retreat to the local, to the regional, to strengthen that space. I think also the adoption of the reform, the Indigenous Law, was well very disempowering, for everyone in the movement in general" (Interview, April 2011).[161] However, because indigenous women had gained organizational experience with CONAMI and had established alliances with other groups, they were able to continue their efforts to coordinate indigenous women in Guerrero. It is the relationships established by local organizations with the national one that gave them the necessary resources and networks to continue the organizing process (Erika Poblano, Interview, December 2012). And this, as discussed in the following sections, was critical to facilitating indigenous women's organizing processes.

Boundary making: the emergence of a new collective identity

As I have discussed in the cases of Chiapas and Oaxaca, boundary making has been a critical mechanism for indigenous women, as the creation of boundaries between them and their indigenous compañeros as well as between them and mestiza women, facilitated the emergence of an identity articulating both their indigeneity and their gender. This enabled them to position themselves as new social and political actors in the 1990s. In Guerrero boundary making was also present in indigenous women's consolidation processes. However, contrasting with the other two cases, it was less

[161] "[H]ubo un proceso como de repliegue hacia lo local, hacia lo regional, de fortalecimiento de ese espacio. Creo que también la aprobación de la reforma, la Ley indígena, fue así como un asunto muy desmovilizador, de todo el mundo, del movimiento en general"

present and it was, rather, brokerage that shaped the organizing process as the movement's leaders prioritized the organizational level. Leaders in Guerrero focused on creating relationships between previously isolated processes at the local level and promoting women's training in national spaces. They also focused on the creation of an organization to coordinate indigenous women at the state level. In this section I analyze how the creation of boundaries by indigenous women is closely intertwined with the indigenous mobilizations of the 1990s and the participation of indigenous women within the national movement, principally through the CG500Años and CONAMI.

The local women's processes that emerged in the peasant movement in the 1980s from state-run and autonomous initiatives converged with the indigenous movement in the 1990s. This created opportunities for women to acquire experience, develop specific demands, and mobilize autonomously, but also provided them with important resources (Espinosa Damián 2010).[162] As previously discussed, the mobilizational legacy of indigenous women is to be found in peasant and indigenous organizations. Indigenous women were active participants in these peasant and indigenous movements, whether in charge of logistical organization or involved in large mobilizations (marches, occupations, strikes and roadblocks) (Bartra 2000; Espinosa Damián, Dircio Chautla and Sánchez Néstor 2010). However, they were also involved in other movements such as the feminist movement, civic movements, the Catholic Church, and NGOs, which had relationships with the peasant and indigenous organizations in which women were involved (Canabal Cristiani 2008).

[162] The state's agencies played a central role in providing economic resources for productive projects that benefited many of the local groups where indigenous women were involved (Mujeres Indigenas Tinochimel Tinejneme, Mujeres de Chilapa Trabajando Juntas, Mujeres en Desarrollo de la Costa Chica de Guerrero).

Women's participation in these movements was not visible as they were mostly involved in specific projects (local groups with productive projects such as handicraft production and commercialization) and punctual actions and not in leadership roles, as recalled by Ubali, a member of Indigenous Women Fighting (Mujeres Indígenas en Lucha—MIL): "We [women] were already participating, not as leaders in the front, but only as part of our peoples" (Guerrero González 2010: 382).[163]

A good example of this is the case of Brigida Chautla Ramos, an indigenous woman recruited by a peasant organization, Social Solidarity Society Zanzekan Tinemi (Sociedad de Solidaridad Social Zanzekan Tinemi),[164] to supervise productive projects and encourage women's participation. Brigida recalls that she was never considered in the process of decision-making. For example, when donor agencies visited them, the organization would ask women to organize the welcoming (food, handicrafts, etc.), but excluded them from discussions and meetings with donors even for projects for women: "The last and first word was theirs [men]" (Chautla Ramos 2010: 397).[165]

Therefore, they were not leaders of the movements and they were not mobilized using a distinct collective identity apart from that of indigenous or peasant. However, the experience they acquired through their participation in such organizations as well as the alliances developed with women from national peasant and women's organizations

[163] "Nosotras ahí ya participábamos, no como dirigentes al frente, sino nada mas como parte de nuestros pueblos."
[164] Sociedad de Solidaridad Social Zanzekan Tinemi was created in 1990 by individuals previously organized in a cooperative of consumers (that had organized in the previous decade), but that integrated other interests such as the production and commercialization of handicrafts and agricultural products, reforestation, and women's projects. This organization also highlights the change that took place in the 1980s from state-run organizations to independent ones that established new priorities and redefined their structures. As discussed by Espinosa Damián (2010) the SSS Zanzekan Tinemi developed a perspective on sustainable development. But, as argued by Yaworski (2005), the autonomy of these organizations from the state, or NGOs, was limited because of the dependence on financial support.
[165] "La última palabra y la primera era de ellos".

gave them the resources to develop a critique of the gendered dynamics of these organizations. As this section shows, the resistance faced by women who challenged the internal power dynamics at the organizational level pushed some of them to create local women-only organizations, which was shaped by the creation of new boundaries within mixed organizations.

Indigenous women, specifically those women who faced repeated obstacles to their intent to participate and voice their perspectives, gradually integrated a critique of gender dynamics into peasant and indigenous organizations. Through their construction of alliances with other movements, the feminist movement in particular, they began to frame specific demands, which impacted the creation of women-only organizations.[166] They were supported in this critique by discourses on gender equality promoted by civil society organizations as well as governmental agencies (Espinosa Damián 2010).

Indigenous women's interactions with national organizations (indigenous, feminist and peasant) played a central role in the development of a discourse on the specificity of their identity as indigenous women. In the case of Guerrero especially, the relationships established with organizations at the national level facilitated indigenous women's access to resources (for projects and training), and allowed them to occupy positions of representation to represent indigenous women in national organizations. However, this only came in the context of the Zapatista movement. As explained below Zapatista women played a critical role for indigenous women in Guerrero and the emergence of a discourse on women's rights.

[166] "Los encuentros sembraron nuevas ideas y permitieron a muchas indígenas guerrerenses, interactuar con sus pares de otros pueblos y estados […] También compartieron reflexiones con mujeres no indígenas de otros grupos sociales: feministas de la academia y de organizaciones civiles con experiencia en promoción de la organización y acción de mujeres rurales e indígenas" (Espinosa Damián 2010: 57).

The Zapatista movement indisputably played a crucial role in the development of a collective identity by indigenous women all over the country. Zapatista women succeeded in making indigenous women visible, but also in positioning specific demands for women addressing both the federal and sub-national states as well as their organizations within the indigenous and feminist movements. The influence of Zapatista women's discourse had a significant impact in all those spaces of mobilization that had opened in the second half of the 1990s, during the peak of the Zapatista and indigenous movements in Mexico. Women's participation in such meetings, and the appropriation of the Zapatistas' discourses "were to be instrumental to modify indigenous women's perspectives on themselves and their women's organizations; as well as on their participation in social movements and their role in projects for social change" (Espinosa Damián 2010: 54).[167] In those spaces opened by the Zapatista movement they discussed indigenous women's perspectives and experiences and developed collective demands, notably through their participation in national organizations—such as the Pluralistic Indigenous National Assembly for Autonomy (ANIPA) and the National Indigenous Congress (CNI)—national meetings, and workshops organized by feminist organizations.

As recalled by Martha Sánchez Néstor, executive member of the Coordination of Indigenous Women of Guerrero (CGMI), from the beginning indigenous women identified with Zapatista women: "Comandanta Ramona and other commanders were and continue to be a reference […] the strength we found in women of the EZLN was

[167] "[S]ería decisivos para modificar las perspectivas de las mujeres indígenas sobre sí mismas y sus organizaciones de mujeres; así como sobre su participación en los movimientos sociales y su papel en los proyectos de cambio social."

something that brought us together (2010: 183).[168] As explained by Martha, Zapatista women represented an icon that was respected not only by indigenous women, but also by indigenous men from mixed organizations. Indigenous women from Guerrero established their first contacts with Zapatista women and other indigenous women through their participation within the CG500Años, especially through their participation in the delegations the organization sent to Chiapas, to participate in assemblies, marches, actions and dialogues.

This was the case for Martha Sánchez Néstor, who went with the delegation of the CG500Años to Chiapas, where she rapidly gained organizational experience. At that time, she was the only woman involved in the organization and was expected to accomplish tasks such as take minutes, produce official documents, and support representatives. When the organization was invited to participate in the dialogues and negotiations in Chiapas they sent a group of representatives, including Martha. Therefore, although gendered dynamics relegated her to precise tasks, she had the opportunity to attend important meetings and be involved in protest actions. She was notably delegated by the organization to participate in the First Continental Meeting of Indigenous Women of the Americas, hosted in Ecuador in 1995 in preparation for the Fourth World Conference on Women that took place one month later in Beijing. Martha's participation in these spaces was critical for the organizing process of indigenous women in Guerrero.

[168] "[L]a comandanta Ramona y otras comandantas fueron un referente y que seguimos retomando […] toda esa fortaleza que encontramos en las mujeres del EZLN fue algo que nos unió."

It is from the experience she acquired in those spaces and the discussions on women's specific rights that Martha Sánchez Néstor decided to open a space for women within the CG500Años. It is within the CG500Años, the most important state-level indigenous organization in the 1990s in Guerrero, that the majority of indigenous women leaders from this state were formed.[169] As argued by the coordinator of Kinal Antzetik D.F., Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo, this Consejo represented a "fundamental space for the training of female leaders that still continue to play a strategic role in making indigenous women in Guerrero and their specific demands visible." (Interview, April 2011).[170] The Consejo worked in close collaboration with ANIPA, a political organization committed to the defence of indigenous peoples' rights which plays an important political role in its efforts to represent indigenous peoples (Dircio Chautla 2010). The close relationship between the Consejo and ANIPA offered opportunities for women to gain experience in political activities. This was an important aspect of the experience acquired by indigenous women in Guerrero, as experience at the local level centred primarily on coordinating productive and health projects and providing training and counselling on women's rights, for example. This relationship also influenced the form that the state-level indigenous women's organization would eventually take, seen as a collective project to position a political agenda addressing the diverse needs and concerns of indigenous women.

However, while indigenous women gained invaluable experience through indigenous organizations, it is also from the resistance they faced within these spaces

[169] It was the first movement to represent the four different indigenous peoples of the state and to effectively mobilize its members to push social and political demands.
[170] "[E]spacio fundamental para la formación de cuadros femeninos que actualmente siguen jugando un papel estratégico en la visibilización de las mujeres indígenas de Guerrero y sus demandas específicas"

that they created boundaries on the grounds of gender, which led to their creation of autonomous, women-only organizations. Indigenous women's constant negotiation of difference within their organizations reinforced boundary making and the need to affirm a specific identity for indigenous women, as the following events illustrate.

The first spaces created by indigenous women were at the local level. As argued by Ubali Guerrero González, involved in the movement of the Alto Balsas and now coordinator of the women's organization Indigenous Women Fighting,[171] indigenous women began to be conscious of their specific needs and obstacles as women within their mixed organizations: "It was only in 1997, when analyzing and seeing our needs as women—credit for our handicrafts—and the violation to our human rights, that we decided to legally form as a women's organization, for our more specific projects, because sometimes we saw that the fight did not satisfy our needs as women. It was to have our space to discuss, because almost always the meetings were only for men. And we also, as a group, wanted our own space" (Guerrero González 2010: 382).[172]

The degree of autonomy women had in administering their projects was low since it was representatives of the broader organizations, and not of the women's groups, who were in charge of resources and projects. Additionally, women questioned the gendered division of labour within these organizations. As recalled by some of the leaders who began their activism in mixed organizations, women were mostly relegated to tasks such

[171] This organization emerged from the movement of Alto Balsas in which this activist began her career.
[172] "Fue hasta 1997, cuando analizando y viendo nuestras propias necesidades de mujeres—crédito para nuestras artesanías—y la violación a nuestros derechos humanos, decidimos construirnos ya legalmente como organización de mujeres, por nuestros proyectos ya mas específicos, porque a veces veíamos que la lucha no satisfacía nuestras necesidades como mujeres. Era tener un espacio propio para discutir, porque casi siempre las reuniones solamente eran de los señores. Y también nosotras, como grupo, también ya queríamos tener un espacio propio."

as preparing meals, taking notes, organizing events, etc. This was the case of Hermelinda Tiburcio Cayetano who explains:

> In the fight there were women, but only in the kitchen, not in decision-making. It was like that, there were women, but they had to make food, all that was domestic issues. In a fight the woman is always there, although not seen in front, she is always behind. When I arrived I did not enter in this way, I was the one who could talk to officials, who spoke Spanish when other people did not. Then it was translation, writing papers. I was gaining leadership because of that level [level of education], because if not for this, I would also have entered to the kitchen" (2010: 261).[173]

As this quote illustrates, those who were able to occupy different positions because of their level of education could avoid doing gendered tasks, but this was not the case for the majority of indigenous women who began their activism in the 1970s and 80s and the majority of them entered the organizations directly "to the kitchen" as explained by Hermelinda. The gendered division of labour within mixed organizations, as well as the lack of participation in decision-making and control over the resources addressed to women's projects, explains why some women decided to organize autonomously. This involved a process of negotiation as men resisted such initiatives on the grounds of the need to safeguard the unity of the organization. Put differently, men questioned the need for women to raise specific demands and pointed to the danger of division in doing so.

As reported by Canabal Cristiani (2008) leaders of mixed organizations reacted negatively when women expressed their desire to create an autonomous, women-only organization that would ensure that their interests and needs were addressed. This was

[173] "En la lucha había mujeres, pero solo en la cocina, no en toma de decisiones. Así era, había mujeres, pero había que hacer comida, todo lo que era cuestiones domésticas. En una lucha siempre está la mujer ahí; aunque no se vea enfrente, siempre esta atrás. Cuando yo llegué no entré así, yo era la que podía hablar con los funcionarios, hablaba el español y la gente no. Entonces, era la traducción, era hacer los papeles. Fui ganando un liderazgo por ese nivel, porque si no, también hubiera llegado a la cocina."

the case for the women's group of a mixed organization (Zanzekan), where male leaders argued that such an initiative would create fragmentation within the broader organization (Alemán Mundo 1997). As recalled by Iracema Dircio Chautla, founder of the Titekitetoke Tajome Sihuame, or 'Titeki' ('We Women are Working,' a women's group that emerged from Zanzekan), from the beginning the leaders refused the idea when women announced their intention to create a women-only organization: "these men hit the ceiling, they were angry, they did not agree. From the beginning they did not want the Titeki to incorporate legally" (2010: 205).[174]

The creation of autonomous women's groups within indigenous and peasant organizations was a progressive process because it was only when they formally registered their groups that they were able to manage and coordinate their own projects.[175] This institutionalization of women's groups was seen as necessary in order to have direct access to resources (to finance projects but also administer them), an initiative that was also followed at the state level by indigenous women. If this was seen as necessary by indigenous women in all three states, the equivalent autonomy in terms of institutionalization also faced obstacles within the feminist movement, as discussed in the case of Chiapas.

If direct access to resources and access to positions of decision-making and project coordination motivated women to create independent groups exclusively for indigenous

[174] "[E]stos señores pusieron el grito en el cielo, se enojaron, no estuvieron de acuerdo. Desde el inicio ellos no quisieron que se constituyera la Titeki de manera legal."
[175] The Titekitetoke Tajome Sihuame identified more with the peasant movement, even if some of its members have a vision and an identity closer to the indigenous movement. Titeki faced internal conflicts due in part to the pressure from the mixed organization Zanzekan, which questioned the legitimacy of Titeki's leadership. Titeki disintegrated and afterwards Noche Sihuame Zan Ze Tajome ('all women as one') emerged. In 2002 women from Titeki created a new organization, which was facilitated by the fellowship from the MacArthur Foundation received by Brígida to work on women's rights.

women, this took place in parallel to the creation of a collective identity by indigenous women, which integrated both gender and indigeneity. It is because of the need to consider their multiple identities, as peasants, indigenous and women, that they challenged such movements and proposed the creation of an autonomous organization for indigenous women.

This situation was similar and parallel to the one at the state level. A women's commission was created by Martha Sánchez Néstor within the CG500Años in 1998, which was directly influenced by her participation in national and international meetings. It is also at this moment that women began to create alliances with feminist and women's groups in Guerrero: "it was the starting point to participate in diverse events with more force, with greater recognition and efficiency, even in events not properly indigenous, but women's events in the state" (Sánchez Néstor 2010: 175).[176] When women from the CG500Años decided to create the Women's Commission they faced the resistance of their compañeros. Despite the fact that male leaders respected the Zapatista movement and its postures towards gender equality, this did not necessarily materialize in their relationships with their female colleagues in their local and regional movements: "Those of us who came from mixed organizations were confronted with the fact that our compañeros, in addition to agreeing with the EZ, and with the San Andrés agreements, and who respected greatly comandanta Ramona and women from EZ, in the shared routine with them it was not easy to count on that minimal respect by men

[176] "[F]ue el punto de partida para participar en eventos diversos con mayor fuerza, con mayor reconocimiento o mayor eficiencia, incluso en eventos no propiamente indígenas, pero sí de mujeres en el estado." Among those feminist groups were Mujeres Guerrerenses por la Democracia, Milenio Feminista, women from the Autonomous University of Guerrero and the Colectivo Nosotras.

towards us, as they disdained our work, which forced us to articulate and find a collective exit" (Sánchez Néstor 2010: 184).[177]

This quotation illustrates that although Zapatista women represented a respected figure of the indigenous movement, their discourse on indigenous women's rights was not necessarily accepted when indigenous women appropriated it in order to make concrete changes in the gender relations within mixed organizations. Zapatista women's discourses were a reference used by other indigenous women, who used it to challenge the resistance they faced when they tried to integrate women's specific demands into mixed organizations. As explained by Felicitas Martínez Solano, a councillor of the Community Police,[178] she referred to the Zapatista law on women's rights to advocate for indigenous women's rights and pushed the organization to teach it, along with the international conventions that promote indigenous women's rights (2010: 238).[179]

The obstacle of including indigenous women's demands in mixed indigenous organizations was critical for the creation of internal boundaries within these organizations. As explained by Martha Sánchez during the Sixth Continental Meeting of Indigenous Women in 2011, it was the need to be visible that pushed women to raise their voices and to develop their own discourse, a discourse that is unique: "in the two

[177] "Las que veníamos de organizaciones mixtas nos enfrentábamos a que los compañeros, además de estar de acuerdo con el EZ, con los acuerdos de San Andrés, respetaban mucho a la comandanta Ramona y a las mujeres del EZ, pero en esa cotidianidad compartida con ellos no era fácil contar con ese respeto mínimo por parte de los hombres hacia nosotras, pues desdeñaban nuestro trabajo, lo que nos obligó a articularnos y a encontrar una salida colectiva."

[178] The Community Police (Policía Comunitaria) was initiated as a solution to the rapid growth of criminality in the region. The Policía Comunitaria de la Costa Montaña de Guerrero was created in 1995 to protect the inhabitants of communities in the municipalities of San Luis Acatlán, Malinaltepec and Azoyú as a reaction to the inefficient and corrupted official system and the many attacks, robberies, murders and rapes of women and girls in the region. The structure of this organization favours the rotation of teams and all the work is non-remunerated. The goal is to re-educate through community labour as a form of compensation rather than punishment (Espinosa Damián 2010).

[179] "[P]odemos aplicar la Ley Revolucionaria [de mujeres del EZLN] como la ley de mujeres."

previous decades we have constructed our own discourse. Indigenous women are participating as central actors, directly, not copying a discourse or repeating one, but rather we are in an internal process of reconstructing our identity" (personal notes).[180] The construction of such a specific identity involves boundary making, as while indigenous women want to be part of collective processes, they also want to be visible through their specific identities: "we want to be part of collective processes but we do not want to be invisible. We have had to raise our voice to articulate" (personal notes).[181]

Indigenous women's incorporation of a specific agenda within their movements was strongly supported by the different allies women had, such as the feminist groups and agencies promoting gender equality that had been working with them in productive projects and women's organizations within the national peasant movement. As argued by Canabal Cristiani (2008) and Espinosa Damián (2010), the participation of indigenous women in national networks and the creation of alliances with feminist organizations contributed to the development of a feminist critique and gave them access to resources to fortify their local processes in defence of women's priorities and rights (through access to workshops on specific themes such as violence and reproductive health).

Additionally to supporting indigenous women's political agendas, feminists also played a role in contributing to indigenous women's integration of gender into their

[180] "[C]onstruimos en las ultimas dos décadas un discurso propio. Las mujeres indígenas estamos participando como actoras principales, directas, no copiando un discurso, no repitiendo un discurso, sino que estamos haciendo un proceso interno de reconstrucción de la identidad."
[181] "[Q]ueremos estar en los procesos colectivos pero no queremos estar invisibilisadas. Hemos tenido que levantar la voz para articularnos."

discourses and reflections. This is illustrated by the way Hermelinda Tiburcio Cayetano, president of the civil association Kinal Antzetik Guerrero, portrays the role of feminists in indigenous women's organizing processes: "I think feminists [mestizos] marked a way to follow. Indigenous women arrived later. They were the ones who paved the way. My opinion on them is that, somehow, they have strengthened us to move forward as indigenous women. Because most of the time there are two worlds: of indigenous women and of feminists" (Tiburcio Cayetano: 2010: 270).[182] More concretely what this leader means by this is that the collaboration between CONAMI, the national indigenous women's organization, and feminist organizations, here Kinal Antzetik, led to the development of training workshops for indigenous women that were key for them in developing a gender perspective.

According to Espinosa Damian, for the founding members of the CGMI, CONAMI was critical "for appropriating a discourse and imagining a women's project different from what was known at that point in their mixed organizations" (Espinosa Damián 2010: 63).[183] This is clearly illustrated by Hermelinda, who explains that the workshops indigenous women participated in "were the way to give us the opportunity to speak, the knowledge about gender, because in the Council [CG500Años] they never gave it to us. The Consejo was about marches, sit-ins, rallies, road blocking. It was more about mobilization, all that. But practice, training and awareness were facilitated by Kinal and the National Coordinator [CONAMI], with the idea of going back to the

[182] "Creo que las feministas marcaron un camino a seguir. Las mujeres indígenas llegamos después. Ellas fueron quienes abrieron camino. Mi opinión sobre ellas es que son las que, de alguna manera, nos fortalecen para seguir adelante como mujeres indígenas. Porque muchas veces existen dos mundos: de mujeres indígenas y de mujeres feministas."
[183] "[P]ara apopiarse de un discurso e imaginar un proyecto de mujeres diferente al conocido hasta entonces en sus organizaciones mixtas."

communities to do workshops and transmit what we were learning (Tiburcio Cayetano 2010).[184]

The Mexican indigenous women's organization at the national level, CONAMI, working in close collaboration with Kinal in the 1990s and early 2000s, was decisive for the training of indigenous women. As argued by Espinosa Damián (2010), the workshops provided by CONAMI were the catalyst for the emergence of local processes in which indigenous women were involved: "an important factor that prompts the concern to work from the identity of indigenous women is the birth of the Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas (CONAMI), that invited in 1997 women from various organizations from Guerrero to training sessions on indigenous rights" (Sánchez 2010: 172).[185]

CONAMI's workshops brought together indigenous women from Guerrero that were involved in local, regional and state-level processes, such as Martha Sánchez Néstor (Consejo Guerrerense) and Libni Iracema Dircio (Titekititoke), but also women from Mujeres Indígenas en Lucha (MIL). The former is an indigenous mixed organization and the other two are women-only organizations. As recalled by Martha Sánchez Néstor, indigenous women from distinct regions of Guerrero (Center, Costa Chica, Montaña and North) were invited by CONAMI to participate in workshops on indigenous rights. This leader explained that "what preoccupied CONAMI was that we

[184] "Yo creo que eso fue el eje principal para darnos la palabra, el conocimiento de género, porque en el Consejo nunca nos lo dieron. El Consejo eran marchas, plantones, concentraciones, toma de carreteras. Era más la movilización, todo eso. Pero la parte práctica, la capacitación y concientizar fue Kinal y la Coordinadora Nacional, con la idea que regresáramos a las comunidades para hacer talleres y dar a conocer lo que nosotras estábamos aprendiendo."
[185] "[U]n factor importante que genera la inquietud de trabajar desde la identidad de mujeres indígenas es el nacimiento de la Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas (Conami), que en 1997 invita a mujeres de varias organizaciones de Guerrero a procesos de capacitación sobre derechos indígenas."

did not know each other [women in Guerrero]" (Sánchez Néstor 2010: 173).[186] If some women knew about the existence of other women's organizations, they had no projects in common nor they did collaborate.

Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo, the current coordinator of Kinal Antzetik D.F. explained that CONAMI was intimately coordinated with Kinal, both through the activities they developed and promoted as well as the space they shared for their office. Lina recalls that the training of indigenous women's leaderships was central in the first years of CONAMI: "it was a process where the goal was clearly to help strengthen indigenous women leaders to advocate within the indigenous movement. This is my interpretation today; clearly it was not formulated like that. And then that context was very important; I think part of the role Kinal played there was to enable those spaces, those resources for transportation […] So it was like having a periodic space for meeting and construction" (Interview, April 2011).[187]

As acknowledged by the leaders themselves and the women who were involved in those years in support of CONAMI, this space represented the training school for most indigenous women, and many of them were from Guerrero. For Felicitas Martínez Solano, CONAMI has indeed been "a training school" (248).[188] The training offered by CONAMI to indigenous women, which most of the founders of the CGMI participated in, "allowed activists from Guerrero to start giving a political meaning to the

[186] "[L]o que preocupó a la Conami fue que no nos conocíamos entre nosotras."
[187] "[F]ue un proceso donde el objetivo claramente era ayudar a fortalecer liderazgos de mujeres indígenas para hacer incidencia dentro del movimiento indígena. Esta es mi traducción hoy, claro que no se planteo así. Y entonces en ese contexto fue como muy importante, digamos creo que parte del papel que jugo Kinal ahí fue posibilitar esos espacios, esos recursos para los pasajes […] Entonces era como tener ese espacio periódico de encuentro y de construcción."
[188] "[U]na escuela de formación."

discomforts and aspirations emerging in their women's organizing processes that did not fit or were not addressed in discourses or the political demands of the mixed indigenous movement" (Espinosa Damián 2010: 62).[189]

As recalled by Ubali Guerrero González, Nellys Palomo—the former coordinator of Kinal Antzetik D.F.—who was involved in the creation of CONAMI, "was of great help for clarifying our purpose, which was what we wanted. She gave us the road to follow, even if were already slightly organized, with our groups" (2010: 382).[190] It is important to highlight that from the beginning Kinal Antzetik D.F. stated clearly that its goal in supporting indigenous women's organizing processes was that indigenous women themselves take leadership of their own processes; in other words, the role of Kinal was to assist them temporally.[191] Also recalled by Felicitas Martínez Solano when describing Kinal's relationship with indigenous women: "when Nellys Palomo was in Kinal Antzetik, who was also part of the Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas, in that moment she played an important role but she also said that national coordination needed to move forward, and that if it makes a mistake, well, it will make a mistake, but the women who are leading have to be indigenous women" (Interview, April 2011).[192] This attitude explains why, later, a regional association of Kinal Antzetik D.F., Kinal

[189] "[P]ermitió a las activistas guerrerenses empezar a dar un lugar claramente político a los malestares y aspiraciones que emergían en sus procesos de mujeres y que no tenían cabida ni nombre en los discursos ni en los diagnósticos y reivindicaciones políticas del movimiento indígena mixto."
[190] "[F]ue un gran apoyo para clarificar cual era nuestro propósito, qué era lo que queríamos. Ella nos dio como el camino que teníamos que seguir, aunque ya estábamos un poco organizadas, ya con los grupos"
[191] Kinal Antzetik was actively involved in women's initiatives and projects both at the local level in Chiapas and Guerrero and at the national level with the consolidation of CONAMI (Lina Rosa Berrio Palomo, Interview, April 2011).
[192] "[C]uando estaba Nellys Plomo en Kinal Antzetik, que también fue parte de la Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas, en su momento jugo un papel importante pero también dijo que la propia coordinadora nacional que camine, y si se equivoca en el camino que se equivoque pero que las mujeres que están dirigiendo que sean las propias mujeres indígenas."

Antzetik Guerrero A.C., was created in collaboration with the national organization but led by indigenous women.[193]

This is also visible in the perception indigenous women have of the priorities and agendas of both indigenous women and feminists. As explained by Felícitas Martínez, a member of the CGMI, they collaborate with feminists but have different agendas: "We work with feminist groups but, for example, feminist groups have another plan of action for their development" (Interview, April 2011).[194] When discussing the divisions indigenous women have had in the past with feminist organizations that were pushing for certain demands that were not consensual for indigenous women, such as abortion, this comes up again to explain their differences.

If indigenous women see feminists as instrumental in the emergence of a discourse on women's rights, there is nonetheless a demarcation established between these actors. If a minority of indigenous women activists in Guerrero self-identify as feminists, most of them trace a boundary between feminists and indigenous women, as having different perspectives and different experiences. Solidarity and alliances among women are seen through the necessary recognition of differences. This is clearly argued by Martha Sánchez Néstor: "there are feminists in solidarity that build the women's movement with more just visions, where there are no concessions but recognition of the distinct voices and above all of the leaderships and serious processes that we have taken in

[193] Kinal Antzetik Guerrero A.C. was created in 2009, primarily by indigenous women form the Costa Chiaca region in Guerrero who had been involved in the Consejo Guerrerense and with links to CONAMI—in close collaboration with Kinal Antzetik D.F. but independent form it (Kinal Guerrero, 2011). Kinal Antzetik Guerrero works principally with the Red de Parteras y Promotoras Comunitarias en Salud, supporting women's health training, counselling, and references, and advocating for public policies in favour of women's health (central to their work is maternal health).

[194] "Trabajamos con grupos feministas pero, por ejemplo, los grupos feministas tienen otro plan de acción para su desarrollo de ellas."

favour of a life with dignity for women form the communities" (2010: 189).[195] The distinction between indigenous women and mestizas is therefore grounded in intersectionality as indigenous women embrace identities marked by both indigeneity and gender. Therefore, if indigenous women have integrated gender into indigeneity they have also demarcated differences, grounded on their indigenous identities, from non-indigenous feminists. Concretely, if feminism contributed to the affirmation of a specific identity by indigenous women within their organizations it nonetheless led to the recognition of a difference between women resulting from the intersection of different social structures.

As reported by Espinosa Damián (2010), if the workshops offered by feminist organizations were key for forming and consolidating indigenous women's organizational processes, it is important to consider that these have nonetheless been marked by power relations. She explains that the training offered by those feminist organizations "has also been a favourable field to hierarchical relations, in which distinct forms of conceiving social relations are rendered visible and confront each other" (62).[196] An illustration of how hierarchies existed within this training process is the idea itself of training (capacitar) indigenous women: "Maybe even the word 'training' inhibits the possibility of collaborative learning, where those leading the process, rather than offering responses or explanations, ask or encourage indigenous women to formulate questions leading to critical thinking, share pertinent information, and lead a

[195] "[H]ay feministas solidarias y que construyen con visiones más justas el movimiento de mujeres, donde, ciertamente, no hay concesiones, pero sí reconocimiento a las voces distintas y sobre todo a los liderazgos y procesos serios que caminamos en pro de una vida digna de las mujeres de las comunidades."
[196] "[T]ambién ha sido un campo propicio para las relaciones jerárquicas en el que se descubren y con frecuencia se confrontan formas distintas de concebir las relaciones sociales."

dialogue towards the construction of their own political discourse" (*idem*).[197] As recognized by Espinosa Damián (2010), who has accompanied local processes of indigenous women's organizing in Guerrero, despite such internal problems, and "even if horizontal processes not always succeed, it is evident that indigenous women greatly value those spaces." (*idem*).

In sum, the creation of direct relationships with national organizations (peasant, feminist and indigenous) provided indigenous women with resources and training to develop a discourse on women's rights. The construction of a discourse articulating gender with other identities took place during mobilizations in the context of the Zapatista movement, which paved the way for the emergence of indigeneity as a central movement identity in the second half of the 1990s. However, as discussed in the next section, it was brokerage, and more precisely the role of certain leaders that allowed the creation of new relationships between indigenous women from local processes in Guerrero, as well as relationships with national organizations of indigenous women, that facilitated the consolidation of their organizing processes at the state-level. In Guerrero, as previously mentioned, the process followed a top-down logic; nonetheless, it is important to specify that the brokers pushing the agenda for the construction of a state-level movement were indigenous women leaders. The non-mediated form of brokerage that took place in Guerrero explains why state-level indigenous women's organizations were able to consolidate, and to do so relatively quickly compared to Oaxaca.

[197] "Quizá la palabra misma "capacitar", dificulte la posibilidad de un aprendizaje conjunto, donde las conductoras del proceso, antes que ofrecer respuestas o explicaciones, pregunten o propicien que las mujeres indígenas se formulen preguntas que conduzcan a una reflexión crítica, aporten información pertinente, y establezcan un diálogo que apunte la construcción de su propio discurso político. Pese a que no siempre se logran procesos horizontales, es evidente que las indígenas valoran ampliamente estos espacios."

Brokerage: non-mediated relations

This section analyzes the relationships established between indigenous women and other actors. These relationships were characterized by a form of relational autonomy, or non-mediated brokerage, that facilitated the consolidation of the indigenous women's organizing process. In order to understand why indigenous women were able to develop a non-mediated form of brokerage, we first need to understand how their leadership was strengthened in Guerrero, as this gave them the opportunity to create alliances and coordinate their local processes without the mediation of external actors (but certainly with their support).

The alliances established with other organizations and movements created opportunities for indigenous women to organize autonomously, but also to occupy positions of leadership in mixed organizations. Indigenous women in Guerrero succeeded in occupying key positions in indigenous and peasant organizations that contributed to the strengthening of their organizing processes, which was particularly important since all indigenous women in Guerrero that came together to organize were from mixed organizations. Such was the case of Hermelinda Tiburcio Cayetano: "With Martha I started to attend women's meetings. I worked with men, I mean, I come from a process of men's organization […] On the way I recover and got to know the women's question, but I come from a fight that is rather mixed [men and women]" (2010: 261).[198]

A concrete result of effective leadership training can be assessed by looking at the positions of representation that indigenous women reached within mixed organizations.

[198] "Con Martha empecé a ir a algunos eventos de mujeres. Yo trabajaba con hombres, o sea, yo vengo de un proceso de organizacion de hombres […] En el camino fui rescatando y conociendo la cuestión de la mujer, pero yo vengo de una lucha más bien mixta."

Through the 2000s indigenous women from Guerrero were particularly visible and active in national peasant and indigenous organizations: Ubali Guerrero González was state-level coordinator of UNORCA Guerrero; Brígida Chautla Ramos was president of AMMOR and member of the executive board of UNORCA; Hermelinda Tiburcio Cayetano was president of ANIPA Guerrero; and Martha Sánchez Néstor was president of ANIPA at the national level. Another example is the case of Brígida from Titeki, who was simultaneously involved in both women-only and mixed organizations, as a coordinating member of the women's area of UNORCA at the national level and also of UNORCA's state-level (Guerrero) organization.

Additionally, Felicitas Martínez Solano and Martha Sánchez Néstor assumed the representation of CONAMI at the national and international levels—as CONAMI is part of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas, and necessarily requires the coordinator of the national organization to participate and represent indigenous women from Mexico in international meetings.[199] An example of the type of representation that women engaged in is their participation in the continental meetings of indigenous women, as explained by Felicitas: "I had to assume representation in Canada, where the fifth continental meeting was" (Interview, April 2011).[200] Martha, on her side, occupied positions at the international level as well, as the Coordinator of the Alianza de Mujeres Indigenas de Mexico y Centroamerica.

[199] International agencies and institutions were instrumental for training indigenous women, creating opportunities for them to participate, and in providing access to resources. The alliances with such agencies, and particularly UN-Women, facilitated training for indigenous women to gain a better understanding of human and women's rights, but also to travel and create networks. Among them, for example, Felicitas Martínez Solano had the opportunity to travel to continental meetings, and to attend Diplomados in the UN on human rights and numerous international conferences in LA, Europe, Canada, Asia, etc., due to her participation in CONAMI (Interview, April 2011).

[200] "En el quinto me tocaba a mi llevar la representación a Canadá, que fue el Quinto Encuentro Continental."

Indigenous women from Guerrero occupied high-level positions in CONAMI, which is a key factor for understanding why this state received so much support. Martha Sánchez Néstor and Felicitas Martinez assumed the coordination of CONAMI, the former in the early 2000s and the latter in the late years of that decade.[201] After assuming the coordination of CONAMI in 2002-2003 Martha was the coordinator of ANIPA, one of the two central organizations of the indigenous movement in 2004-2006 (Sánchez Néstor 2009). As explained by Martha Sánchez Néstor, "many from Guerrero had been representatives of the national Coordinator, Felicitas among them; I was also in the front, and probably this helped us to forge strong alliances with academics" (Interview, August 2011).[202] Indeed, the relationships between different levels of coordination depended on these women's leadership, particularly Martha's, and their capacity to articulate the national to the local levels.

This can explain why in its first years CONAMI centred its attention on the region of Guerrero and why the first sub-national organizations of indigenous women emerged there. After the first national meeting of indigenous women and the creation of

[201] Both leaders' first experiences were in the indigenous movement, in the Consejo Guerrerense 500 Años. Martha Sánchez Néstor relates that she started as a secretary of the organization where the directorate was exclusively indigenous and mostly male and young (Overmyer-Velázquez 2002). Martha Sánchez Néstor was the first woman to work in the executive of the organization and her role at the beginning was to organize, take notes, etc. However, when the organization was invited to different meetings in the context of indigenous mobilizations in Chiapas and other states, she accompanied the team and quickly became one of the national leaders of the movement. Moreover, when they specifically invited indigenous women to attend, she participated, representing the Consejo. The opportunities this opened for her individually were considerable. In Guerrero the trajectory of other women is similar to the one of Martha Sanchez, as they were also formed in the organization 500 Años de Resistencia Indígena y Popular. This is the case of Felicitas Martinez and Hermelinda Tiburcio Cayetano.

[202] "Varias de Guerrero habíamos ya sido representantes de la Coordinadora nacional, Felicitas entre ellas, yo estuve también al frente, y quizás eso nos ayudó mucho a tejer alianzas fuertes con académicas." Among the feminist associations that played a central role is Semillas. As mentioned in previous chapters, this national organization provides individual fellowships to indigenous women to finance collective projects on women's rights. Some of the leaders in Guerrero received fellowships from Semillas (Martha Sánchez Néstor, Felicitas Martínez Solano, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla). And those who did not receive fellowships from Semillas usually received them from the international MacArthur Foundation (Hermelinda Tiburcio Cayetano, Ubali Guerrero González, Brígida Chautla Ramos).

CONAMI in 1997, indigenous women in Guerrero, who had actively participated in the national organizing processes, tried to fuel state-level coordination in Guerrero. They first organized a state-level meeting in 1998, but it failed to create a structure of coordination because of the internal differences regarding the form and the goals it should have. After that encounter women continued to organize primarily at the local and national levels, while they continued with the intention of creating a state-level process.

Two years later in 2000, local indigenous women leaders from Guerrero hosted the Second National Meeting of Indigenous Women in Chilpancingo, which was attended by approximately 350 delegates from 17 Mexican states.[203] This represented an opportunity for women to coordinate themselves with other local and micro regional processes. Martha Sánchez Néstor explained that the process of constituting a state-level organization was inevitable considering the internal obstacles women faced within mixed organizations: "the creation of the Coordination of Indigenous Women of Guerrero was a necessary process because we, who were already in a mixed organization, we had many problems to accessing resources specific to our work with women. [...] For all this we saw as a necessary matter to form an autonomous space at the state-level, perhaps we took as a reference the framework of the national space" (2010: 177).[204] According to indigenous women actors, access to resources, as

[203] The women involved in the creation of the CGMI began their careers as activists in mixed organizations in the 1990s: "todas participaron en procesos sociales y politicos comunitarios o regionals vinculados a redes u organizaciones estatales o nacionales" (Espinosa Damián 2010: 51).
[204] "[L]a conformación de la Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas fue un proceso obligado, porque nosotras que ya estábamos adentro de una organización mixta, teníamos muchos problemas para acceder a los recursos para nuestro trabajo específico con mujeres. […] Por todo ello veíamos como una cuestión necesaria conformar un espacio estatal propio, quizás tomamos de referencia el marco del espacio nacional."

previously discussed, was facilitated by the creation of formal organizations. It is clear that the institutionalization of their movement was therefore a way of reaching such goals as direct and more stable access to resources, or, as shown in the next quotation, as a way of negotiating indigenous' women's priorities directly with the state.

Indeed, in the meeting that took place in Guerrero in 2000, indigenous women discussed the idea of creating a state-level organization to foster indigenous women's participation at the state, and not just national level, to create an autonomous space for women in Guerrero. They identified the need to have a space to voice political demands and position indigenous women's agenda with force, as recalled by Martha Sánchez Néstor: "it was clear that if we did not articulate at the state level we would continue to be treated as had always been the case in Guerrero […] And that it would always be a minimal consideration for all our demands" (Interview, August 2011).[205] It is clear from this leader's perspective that the interlocution with the state and its institutions is necessary for indigenous women as it is in a direct negotiation that indigenous women can advocate for their social and political interests.

Such need to consolidate the movement at the state level also responded to the political context in Guerrero where there was a decline of the indigenous movement at the state level, which paralleled its decline at the national level. With the general decline of indigenous movements through the country—and the internal divisions within the CG500Años—the organization lost its capacity to bring people together in any major way. The decline of the indigenous movement after the adoption of the law in 2001

[205] "[T]uvimos claro que si no nos articulábamos a nivel estatal nosotras seguiríamos siendo tratadas como siempre se nos había tratado en Guerrero […] Y que siempre iba a haber como una cuestión de trato digamos mínimo a todas las demandas."

impacted on state-level organizations, such as the CG500Años, and consequently also on women: "those of us who came from '500 Años' were facing organizational crisis, the loss of force at the state level; everything was diminishing, disappearing, debilitating" (Sánchez Néstor 2010: 179). In such a context where people lose their organizational referent, 'the Women's Commission of 500 Años gradually dispersed, in the frame of the disappearing of the mixed organization" (*idem*).[206]

The disintegration of the state-level organization representing indigenous peoples' interests directly impacted indigenous women whose coordination capacity rested with the women's commission of this organization. They needed a new space to coordinate. As described by Martha, the decision to make this coordination a reality emerged after a protest in front of the Guerrero state congress on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, when indigenous women shared their frustration that they did not have an organization from where to represent and defend their rights. She recalls that it was: "from this [occasion] that emerged the idea, we made a list of who we were and later, when we met in Hermalinda's house one day, we decided to launch a state-level organization of indigenous women that we named Coordinadora Guerrerense" (Sánchez Néstor 2010: 179).[207] This led to the creation of the first state-level organization of indigenous women in Mexico, the Coordinadora

[206] "[L]as que veníamos de "500 Años" vivimos la crisis organizativa, la pérdida de la fuerza estatal, todo se fue minimizando, desapareciendo, debilitándose." "la Comisión de la Mujer de 500 Años se disperse poco a poco, en el marco de la desaparición de la organización mixta."
[207] "De ahí nació la espinita, hicimos una lista de quiénes éramos y posteriormente, en una ocasión que nos reunimos en la casa de Hermelinda Tiburcio, decidimos echar a andar una organización estatal de mujeres indígenas que denominamos Coordinadora Guerrerense."

Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas (CGMI) in 2003.[208] The CGMI includes women from four of the largest indigenous peoples of Guerrero: nahua, amuzgo, mixteco and tlapaneco. In the CGMI, leaders and activists converged from organizations and social projects across the state.

The idea of coordinating in order to gain more recognition as indigenous women and have more impact on the state in order to push for a political agenda favourable to indigenous women was a central motivation for the creation of a state-level organization in Guerrero. As explained by Martha, "Basically Libni and I were those who thought to organize something in the state, always with the goal of being better organized as women, and to have a relationship or articulation from an integral and permanent perspective" (Sánchez Néstor 2010: 173).[209] As confirmed by Libni, "we realized with Martha that a special women's organization was necessary because women weren't really recognized at the state level […] there were many women and it was necessary to integrate in a state organization to fortify ourselves, to get to know one another, exchange our experiences and also through that organization we would have more impact, more state recognition" (Dircio Chautla 2010: 215).[210] The articulation of boundary making and brokerage here were critical to the favourable context of creating a state level organization.

---

[208] This process is well documented in a book edited by anthropologists and indigenous women's leaders from this region. This is probably one of the more detailed accounts of the process of organization of indigenous women at the national and sub-national levels in Mexico.

[209] "Básicamente Libni y yo fuimos las que pensamos en hacer algo más en el estado, siempre con la inquietud de tener a más mujeres organizadas y tener una vinculación o articulación desde una perspectiva integral y permanente."

[210] "[V]eíamos con Martha que era necesario que hubiera una organización especial de mujeres, porque no había realmente un reconocimiento estatal de mujeres. […]que había muchas mujeres y que era necesario integrarnos en una organización estatal para fortalecernos, conocernos más, intercambiar nuestras experiencias y también à través de esa organización íbamos a tener más impacto, mas reconocimiento estatal."

Beyond individual opportunities created for indigenous women, the relationships established with other organizations and actors played a central role in strengthening their leadership, their access to resources and the support they received. This was critical because it allowed indigenous women leaders to institutionalize their state-level organization and directly coordinate projects addressed to indigenous women.

Feminists, particularly those from national organizations such as Kinal Antzetik and Semillas, but also academics, played a key role in supporting indigenous women in their push to change public policies to respond to indigenous women's demands. This is clearly stated by Felicitas Martínez Solano: "There is an alliance with feminist women, with academics, with universities, with institutions that believe in our work, in the labour we undertake; the alliance is created and woven and agreements are signed with corresponding agencies" (Interview, April 2011).[211] However, it is the form of alliances that were established that can explain how these relationships enabled indigenous women's organizing processes to consolidate.

As explained by Martha Sánchez Néstor during the Sixth Continental Meeting of Indigenous Women in 2011, the creation of alliances requires that indigenous women act as brokers and that no external actors mediate this relationship: "alliances cannot emerge if there are no political actors, if there are no subjects of rights; if we continue to be invisible there is not a possibility for creating alliances because there is no voice,

[211] "Hay una alianza con las mujeres feministas, con las académicas, con las universidades, con las instituciones que creen en nuestro trabajo, en nuestro labor que nosotros hacemos, se crea la alianza, y se teje y se firman convenios con las instancias que corresponden."

there is no initiative, there is no influence, there is no administration, there is no dialogue".[212]

This quote clearly illustrates the rejection of any mediation in alliances between indigenous women and other actors. And this approach, I argue, is what made the consolidation of the indigenous women's organizing process in Guerrero possible. Here indigenous women positioned themselves as political and social actors who speak for themselves, appropriating a specific discourse and creating independent organizations, which was facilitated by their direct access to key organizations at the national level.

However, even if this non-mediated form of brokerage contributed to the consolidation process, in Guerrero the top-down path of the organizing process limited the leadership transition. Although this does not affect boundary making and brokerage, and thus the consolidation process, it is nonetheless an interesting aspect to consider before closing this chapter because, in the long term, it could influence the trajectory of the state-level movement. As discussed in this chapter, the training of a whole generation of leaders who began their careers in the CG500Años and who participated in local organizing processes facilitated the organizing processes at all levels. This generation, which is the one that created the state-level organization, now faces the challenge of transmitting the organization's leadership to new generations. This has been a concern for the leaders of the CGMI in Guerrero who are promoting this transition. However, compared to Oaxaca, leadership transition in Guerrero is slow. And,

[212] "[L]as alianzas no pueden darse si no hay actoras políticas, si no hay sujetas de derechos, si nosotras seguimos en la invisibilidad no hay una posible alianza porque no hay voz, no hay propuesta, no hay incidencia, no hay gestión, no hay interlocución."

I suggest, this results from the fact that in Oaxaca the organizing process originates from a bottom-up logic whereas in Guerrero the logic is top-down.

Regarding the transition of leadership in Guerrero, Libni Iracema Dircio explains that there are some regions, such as San Luis Acatlan, where "the encouragement of the participation of more compañeras has been missing" (2010: 223).[213] In the same vein, Martha explains that "in some processes the leaderships turned out to be permanent and there are no new faces, even fewer voices with capacity for dialogue, decision and direction. That is where we dangerously risk falling into caciquismo" (Sánchez Néstor 2010: 187).[214] These two Guerrero leaders discussed this aspect of the lack of new leadership: "we have discussed this: 'you know what Martha? You are a good partner in that and that, but we want to see someone else, that means, your successor.' 'You, Libi, where is your successor and the successors of the others […] let's see Hermelinda, where is the compañera that will replace you?'" (Iracema Dircio 2010: 222-223).[215] A major challenge in the training of new leaderships is that the current leaders have taken many responsibilities and occupy key positions at local, state, national and sometimes international levels. Although this was critical for enabling a form of non-mediated brokerage, only a few women have these positions. As a consequence, major responsibilities and decision-making still rest on the shoulders of one or two leaders (Berrío Palomo 2009; Canabal Cristiani 2008) (Canabal Cristiani 2008).

[213] "[H]a hecho falta impulsar la participación de más compañeras."
[214] "[E]n algunos procesos los liderazgos se volvieron eternos y no hay nuevos rostros, menos voces con capacidad de interlocución, decisión, dirección. Ahí es donde peligramos en caer en el caciquismo."
[215] "[Y]a lo hemos platicado: "sabes qué Martha? Tu eres muy Buena compañera en esto y esto, pero queremos ver a otra compañera, o sea, tu relevo. "Tú, Libni, donde está tu relevo y los relevos de las demás? […] a ver Hermelinda, donde está la compañera que te relevará?"

Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that the mobilizational legacy of indigenous women and their activism within organizations beyond the local level, and the relationships they established with national feminist organizations, provided indigenous women with opportunities to create independent organizational structures for and by indigenous women in Guerrero. The form of brokerage developed by indigenous women to consolidate their movement was influenced by the fact that they were previously involved in socio-political processes affiliated with state and national-level organizations (Espinosa Damián 2010). And, when indigenous women were invited to attend workshops on gender, they developed a critical perspective on gender dynamics within their organizations and eventually decided to create autonomous spaces exclusively for indigenous women.

Guerrero was the first case of the three analyzed in this dissertation where a state-level organization of indigenous women was created and as demonstrated in this chapter, this was a direct consequence of the strong alliances between CONAMI and indigenous women's leaders of the CG500Años. The creation of a state-level organization in Guerrero, the CGMI, took place quickly if we consider that a collective identity of indigenous women only emerged publicly and extensively with the Zapatista movement in the mid-1990s. Now, a decade later, the CGMI faces new challenges posed by its goals—namely, to be a political actor with effective advocacy and the will to represent all the micro-regions of the state of Guerrero. This has pointed to the need to renew the leadership of the movement, and also to refocus the organization's activism at the state level and to forge stronger relationships with the indigenous movement.

The forms of relationships established between indigenous women from the CGMI and different social actors is critical for explaining the consolidation of an indigenous women's movement in Guerrero. Indigenous women in Guerrero have built alliances with a great diversity of social actors and organizations, which has contributed to the creation of their distinctive collective identity, as they have selected the concepts and perspectives most suited to their process and the construction of a distinct discourse for indigenous women. As argued by Espinosa Damián (2010), indigenous women from the CGMI have been critical of the discourses promoted in both the mixed indigenous organizations where they originally gained their organizational experience, as well as a certain type of feminism that does not account for indigenous women's different realities and aspirations. In other words, these women have not abandoned the indigenous movements but rather they choose to use a feminist perspective to create specific social and political propositions—demands and projects for the indigenous women of Guerrero.

Conclusion

Intersectionality and Social Movements

The puzzle motivating this research was to understand why the indigenous women's movement in Chiapas—the state that gave rise to a national organizing process of indigenous women in Mexico—is less consolidated than in other Mexican states such as Oaxaca and Guerrero. Paradoxically, the state where indigenous women leaders originally met to discuss their specific rights as women and where they organized the first national encounters of indigenous women, is the one having most difficulties coordinating a state-level indigenous women's movement. This has prevented the movement in Chiapas from establishing direct access to the state through a state-level organization that is able to coordinate local organizations and represent indigenous women's agendas.

This dissertation has argued that variation in the consolidation processes of indigenous women's organizing in Mexico at the sub-national state level can be explained by the types of relationships—brokerage—established between actors. It suggests that using an intersectional approach allows us to understand the dynamics that shape how social actors establish alliances and how this affects the organizational structure of their movements.

The dissertation began with the presentation of a theoretical framework that builds on the political process model, and more particularly on two mechanisms—boundary making and brokerage—to explain variations in the consolidation processes of social movements. However, I incorporated an intersectional approach into the conceptualization of these mechanisms in order to account for the complex articulation of social categories—gender, race and class—that influence social movement actors' identities and relationships with other actors. Combining these elements from the political process model with the concept of intersectionality led to the identification the two forms of brokerage—mediated and non-mediated—that can explain movement consolidation.

The dissertation analyzed three cases of consolidation processes at the state level in Mexico. Chapter two presented the national context of the emergence of an indigenous movement in Mexico and more particularly of an indigenous women's movement. This allowed us to understand how indigenous women marked internal boundaries within the national indigenous movement, leading to the creation of a national organization exclusively for indigenous women (CONAMI). The emergence of an identity articulating both gender and indigeneity took place during the second half of the 1990s, when the Zapatista movement created opportunities for indigenous women, but also when the international context facilitated the adoption of a specific discourse by indigenous women. This chapter highlighted how this context led to the emergence of a collective identity for indigenous women but also to the creation of networks among indigenous women, who had previously been isolated in local movements. The case

studies that were presented after the historical chapter analyzed how indigenous women's movements later coordinated at the sub-national level.

The cases were compared on the basis of two mechanisms: boundary making and brokerage. The consolidation of indigenous women's organizing processes depends first of all on boundary making. As discussed in each chapter, indigenous women's collective identity formation involved multiple negotiations of difference within both the indigenous and feminist movements that led to the creation of clear boundaries between actors. Indigenous women's movements emerged out of the indigenous movement with the integration of a feminist discourse. The Zapatista and indigenous movements created opportunities for women to participate more fully in indigenous organizations and to voice a new discourse regarding their specific rights as indigenous women. This took place in all three states without exception, and feminist organizations were key for the articulation of a distinct identity based on both indigeneity and gender, and thus, to the construction of boundaries between indigenous men and women. It is in Oaxaca that the demarcation of boundaries between indigenous women and mestiza women is most visible and has marked not only the collective identity of the movement but also the form of organizations they create, which appropriate the symbolism and practices of indigenous peoples' community traditions.

As analyzed, the form of brokerage that occurs is shaped by the intersection of structural relations—gender, race and class—that affect the positions actors occupy and thus, their access to resources. Where indigenous women are the ones connecting their organization with other actors, this is referred to as 'non-mediated brokerage.' On the other hand, 'mediated brokerage' occurs when indigenous women depend on other

actors to create these relationships. In every case, the alliances established between mestizas (non-indigenous Mexican women) and indigenous women were instrumental to supporting the emergence of a new discourse on indigenous women's rights through the creation of clear boundaries with the (mixed) indigenous movement. The relationships and alliances established between them created opportunities for indigenous women to develop a collective identity.[216] In Oaxaca and Guerrero, the mechanism of boundary making that led to the emergence of a new collective identity of indigenous women also led to a transformation of the relationships established with feminists. This also positively influenced the development of indigenous women's leaderships. However, in Chiapas indigenous women's interests are still mediated by mestiza feminists. As this case demonstrated, the relationships between mestizas and indigenous women did not systematically lead to the creation of independent organizational structures for indigenous women.

Although necessary for the formation of an indigenous women's movement, the emergence of a collective identity of indigenous women was nonetheless insufficient to lead to the consolidation of the movement at the state level. It is rather brokerage that can explain the particularities of the case of Chiapas. In this case, indigenous women do not occupy positions of representation in feminist organizations. Consequently, this prevents them from participating in decisional spaces at the state level, and from establishing relationships with other indigenous women's organizations. Such exclusion affects the direct representation of indigenous women by their leaders, but also leads to an unequal access to resources. The access to resources is consequently mediated

[216] These alliances are nonexistent in many states in Mexico, which could explain the lack of organizing processes at the state level.

through these unequal relationships between mestizas and indigenous women, particularly in Chiapas, where brokerage takes the form of cooptation mediated by mestizas. In contrast, in Guerrero and Oaxaca brokerage takes the form of cooperation among indigenous women's organizations.

Contributions

The dissertation contributes to current literature on two levels. At the empirical level it offers a comparative analysis of the indigenous women's movements in three sub-national states in Mexico. At the theoretical level, the combination of intersectionality with the political process model contributes to a better understanding of the complexities and consequences of collective identity formation and brokerage.

Empirical contributions

This dissertation contributes globally to a comparative analysis of indigenous movements at the sub-national level and adds to research on the indigenous women's movement in Mexico. To my knowledge, it is the first comparative analysis of indigenous women's organizing processes at the sub-national level in Mexico.[217] Thus, it departs from previous studies focusing on local organizations (women's cooperatives and groups working on women's rights) or national organizations (the national indigenous organization or women's groups within peasant/indigenous organizations).

[217] An exception to this is the analysis offered by Stephen (2006) who compares women's participation in local organizing processes between a region of Oaxaca (Zapotec communities) and a region of Chiapas (Tojolabal communities). However, Stephen's analysis focuses on the local level and does not situate the comparison at the state level.

The dissertation also contributes to current research on indigenous women's movements in each of the states under scrutiny. It adds to the extensive research that has been conducted on Chiapas by offering a different perspective on women's organizing in this region. In the case of Chiapas the literature has primarily focused on the Zapatista movement or on local organizations and artisan cooperatives. This analysis of the case of Chiapas offers a different perspective on women's organizing aiming at presenting a more general evaluation of indigenous women's organizing at the state level. The dissertation thus complements the large amount of research produced on women in Chiapas that tends to generalize from the experience of Zapatista women and leave unquestioned the dynamics between isolated local processes.

Research on indigenous women's organizing in Oaxaca and Guerrero has received considerably less attention than Chiapas, which is a direct consequence of the interest engendered by the Zapatista movement. Similarly to research on Chiapas, the studies of indigenous women's organizing processes in Oaxaca are focused on the local level. In Oaxaca, there have been ethnographic accounts of indigenous women's organizing (Stephen 1991). The consolidation of an organizing process at the state level is recent in this region, which may explain why there is little research on this. However, in Oaxaca indigenous women have different local processes of organization that have received little attention. This dissertation is the first analysis of the organizing process at the state level, and also provides some discussion on regional organizing processes, particularly in the case of women from the Mixe and Isthmus regions.

Guerrero is a case apart because indigenous women leaders participated in the writing of a book recounting their organizational and individual trajectories at the local

and state levels (Espinosa Damián, Dircio Chautla and Sánchez Néstor 2010). However, it is important to emphasize that prior to the publication of this book there was no analysis of indigenous women's organizing process at the state level in Guerrero. Attention to local processes of indigenous women's organizating is also relatively recent (Berrío Palomo 2009; Canabal Cristiani 2009). It is through the comparative analysis between Guerrero and Oaxaca that this dissertation contributes the most to the current research on this state, which allows us to understand the differences in leadership transition and the different organizational forms of their corresponding state-level organizations.

Theoretical contributions

The dissertation contributes to social movement studies through the combination of an intersectional approach with the political process model. In order to understand how the indivisibility of different identities and structural inequalities affects social movements dynamics, it employs the notion of intersectionality in order to reformulate certain processes and mechanisms. By emphasising the power relations underpinning brokerage practices, the dissertation demonstrates how intersectionality is useful to better grasp collective identity formation, but also for explaining the variant forms of brokerage that lead to different levels of consolidation of social movements.

The findings of this dissertation could be generalized to other cases as they suggest that intersectionality is critical in order to account for the complexities and consequences of collective identity formation, adding to feminist research on social movements. The dissertation builds on the work of Taylor and Whittier (1992) and

Bernstein (2008), among others, and suggests that we still need to account for the multiple identities at work in boundary making and to go beyond an analysis of oppositional relationships between two actors. Put differently, I suggest that we need to account not only for the resistance women face within groups but also for how boundary making involves relationships with other actors that are both external and internal to the movements. When conceptualizing boundary making from an intersectional perspective, we need to consider the intersecting of different systems, its impact on how actors perceive their identities, and how these actors negotiate differences both within and between social movements. Additionally, intersectionality is critical for explaining why there are different types of feminisms and how the distinct positions women occupy within movements can lead to the formation of new collective identities that are not necessarily in opposition—or not uniquely—to men, but also to other individuals including women on grounds of class and race.

Finally, this dissertation contributes to social movement literature by showing that we should not treat brokerage as an invariant mechanism but, instead, account for the different forms that it takes and trace the varying effects of these forms. In this dissertation I introduced two forms of brokerage, 'non-mediated' and 'mediated.' Non-mediated brokerage takes place when indigenous women are the brokers and no other actor plays this role of creating alliances. Mediated brokerage refers to a situation where there is a mediation preventing indigenous women from acting as brokers. These forms of brokerage depend on power relations that structure subjects' positions. However, these are not static, and the transition from a relational dependency to a relational

autonomy involves the challenge by actors of such social structures and consequently opens new possibilities for action.

Overall, the form of brokerage influences actors' organizational capacity to coordinate but also to access resources, and this is shaped by social positions resulting from intersecting structures/identities. The incorporation of an intersectional perspective into the conceptualization of the processes and mechanisms previously defined by Tilly and Tarrow (2007) takes into account the complexity of social structures and their impact on social movement dynamics. Therefore, both internal and external dynamics need to be considered when analyzing the emergence and development of social movements. Moreover, these dynamics vary from one political context to the next, which also has to be taken into consideration when analyzing social movements from an intersectional perspective. Such detailed analysis will contribute to determining the extent to which brokerage is a robust mechanism, as leading social movement scholars like McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) have claimed.

Questions for further research

This dissertation has argued that there is a variation in the consolidation processes of indigenous women's organizing in Mexico, which can primarily be explained by the form of brokerage that exists between actors. This, I suggest, is important because it allows for a better understanding of social movement dynamics, on the one hand in terms of the movement's relationship to other movements, but also on a level that is generally overlooked—that is, the sub-national level.

This analysis, grounded on mechanisms and processes in the indigenous women's movement in Mexico, could eventually be useful for studying other cases in Latin America. As this dissertation has shown, variations within one country's movement can be significant and such an analysis could contribute to other cases where there are important differences in the organizing processes at the sub-national level that may result from geographic and ethnic divisions (Rousseau and Morales Hudon 2012). A focus on the sub-national level is probably better suited to understanding the organizing processes, here the consolidation process, of indigenous women's movements.

The analysis in terms of mechanisms and processes could be used to study the consolidation process in other countries in comparison with the case of Mexico, in order to contribute to potential generalizations for the study of indigenous women's organizing. Moreover, as I suggest, the analysis proposed could be useful for producing an analysis accounting for sub-national dynamics in other countries in Latin America. In concrete terms, we could address the question: to what extent do indigenous women's movements in other Latin American countries vary at the sub-national level? Is the case of Mexico unique? For example, could we explain the differences in the organizing processes between sub-national regions in Peru and Ecuador, more precisely between the highlands and lowlands, from a study of the mechanisms and processes from an intersectional perspective?

Finally, I would like to discuss one theme that emerged during this research that could be of interest for future research on indigenous women's organizing: namely, the old and new leaderships in the indigenous women's movement. During the 6th continental meeting of indigenous women that was held in Mexico in 2011, it was

possible to witness different generations of leaders attending the meeting. A small group of young representatives of different countries in the Americas intervened during the conferences to read the declaration they had come up with, pointing out the realities of youth in indigenous communities as well as the challenges they wanted the movement to address. They began by acknowledging and greeting the pioneering efforts of the first generation of indigenous leaders for opening new paths for indigenous women. This recognition of their leadership and their accomplishment by a new generation surprised the audience, particularly since these young women, in addition to greeting the pioneers of the movement, were asking for the recognition of their specific realities and challenges.

I interviewed some of the young women who were part of this initiative and also others who are now creating a national organization of young indigenous women. I could see that they are indeed formulating specific demands for young indigenous women and want to push their agenda within the movement. Some of them also voiced the need to have a transition in terms of leaderships and expressed that desire to be a part of this change and occupy leadership positions. The need for the movement to train new generations of indigenous women has been voiced not only by these young women but also by some of the leaders of the first generation. The comparison between the cases of Guerrero and Oaxaca showed that in the latter, young women have been effective in occupying positions of representation in the movement, but this has been less visible in Guerrero or Chiapas. Indeed, those who are involved in Mexico and internationally in creating spaces exclusively for young indigenous women's organizations, are mostly from Oaxaca. Could mediation explain why these variations

exist within the indigenous women's movement? How are internal differences within the indigenous women's movement dealt with and how can we account for the relationships between indigenous women, considering they are a heterogeneous group that, while shaping a common collective identity, have different positionalities?

The emergence of new leaderships within the indigenous women's movement is a new challenge for the first generation of leaders as young women are demanding autonomous spaces and are constructing new categories within the movement, as young indigenous women. This points to the negotiation of internal differences and also brings up the question of what impact this will have on the further consolidation of the indigenous women's movement.

Exploring this question of new leaderships could add to the analysis of the movement's consolidation process, but also to the analysis of intersectionality and boundary making, adding age to the classic analytical categories of class, race, and gender. The emergence of new voices within the movement signifies that there have been concrete results, as the movement is now able to train new generations. This is also visible through the fact that internal voices analyze and evaluate the trajectory of the movement and the dynamics they wish to change, such as the way that leadership is organized. Interestingly, to conclude, indigenous women were very critical of the international level, as they believe it has had little impact on the local level. This points to another question that still needs to be addressed: that of the limits of the professionalization of leaders' activism and the challenge it poses for leadership transition, notably to younger generations, but also for the connection between grassroots movements and national and international organizations. In other words,

young indigenous women challenge the first generations of indigenous women who fought to become visible in the first place, but who are now undertaking a path of professionalization.

The emergence of internal critiques within the indigenous women's movement and the challenges they address in terms of the institutionalization of movements and the danger of mobilizing solely at the international and national levels, illustrates the trajectory of indigenous women's movements that have been able to challenge other movements through questioning the problematic conception of an identity that does not account for the complexity of intersectionality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acosta-Belén, Edna, and Christine E. Bose. 1993. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Adams, Richard N. 1994. "A Report on the Political Status of the Guatemalan Maya." Pp. 155-86 in *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Donna Lee Van Cott. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Alemán Mundo, Silvia. 1997. *Sihuame y la esperanza. Las organizaciones de mujeres surales en Guerrero*. México: Universidad de Guerrero.

Alvarez, Sonia E. 1998. "Latin American Feminisms "Go Global": Trends of the 1990s and Challenges for the New Millennium." Pp. 293-324 in *Cultures of politics/politics of cultures: re-visioning Latin American social movements*, edited by Sonia E Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar. Colorado: Westview Press.

—. 1999. "Advocating feminism: The Latin American Feminist NGO 'Boom'." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1(2):181-209.

Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar (Eds.). 1998. *Cultures of politics/politics of cultures: re-visioning Latin American social movements*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Alvarez, Sonia E., and Arturo Escobar (Eds.). 1992. *The Making of social movements in Latin America : identity, strategy, and democracy*. Colorado: Westview Press.

AMIO. 2011. "Voces y pensares de las mujeres indígenas: Construyendo caminos." Encuentro-taller, May 15-16, Oaxaca.

Ancelovici, Marcos. 2009. "Esquisse d'une théorie de la contestation : Bourdieu et le modèle du processus politique." *Sociologie et sociétés* 41(2):4-14.

Ancelovici, Marcos, and Jane Jenson. 2012. "La standardisation et les mécanismes du transfert transnational." *Revue Gouvernement et action oublique* 1(1):37-58.

Aranda Bezaury, Josefina. 1996. "Las mujeres cafetaleras en Oaxaca." *Cuadernos agrarios* 13(enero-junio):129-51.

Armstrong, A., and M. Bernstein. 2008. "Culture, Power, and Institutions : A Multi-Institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements." *Sociological Theory* 26(1):74-99.

Barrera Bassols, Dalia, and Alejandra Massolo (Eds.). 2003. *El municipio: Un reto para la igualdad de oportunidades entr ehombres y mujeres*. México: GIMTRAP, Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres.

Bartra, Armando (Ed.). 2000. *Crónicas del sur : utopías campesinas en Guerrero*. México: Ediciones Era.

Beaucage, Pierre. 1996. "Un débat à plusieurs voix: les Amérindiens et la nation au Mexique." *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 25(4):15-30.

Becerril Albarrán, Nahela, and Paloma Bonfil. 2012. "GIMTRAP A.C. Proyecto Estratégia de fortalecimiento de liderazgos femeninos indígenas en el ámbito político en Chiapas, Oaxaca, y San Luis Potosí." Pp. 31-49 in *Por un futuro de derechos*, edited by Paloma Bonfil. Mexico: Indesol; GELIC AC.

Becker, Howard. 1996. "The Epistemology of Qualitative Research." Pp. 53-71 in *Ethnography and human development : context and meaning in social inquiry*,

edited by Richard Jessor, Anne Colby, and Richard A. Shweder. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Bernstein, Mary. 2008. "The Analytical Dimensions of Identity: A Political Framework." Pp. 277-301 in *Identity work in social movements*, edited by Jo Reger, Daniel J. Myers, and Rachel L. Einwohner. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Berrío Palomo, Lina Rosa. 2009. "Balance crítico sobre las luchas de las mujeres indígenas." in *Estado del desarrollo económico y social de los pueblos indígenas de Guerrero*, edited by Programa Universitario México Nación Multicultural. México: SIPIG-UNAM.
Bilge, Sirma. 2010. "Recent Feminist Outlooks on Intersectionality." *Diogenes* 57(1):58-72.
Blackwell, Mayeli. 2012. "The Practice of Autonomy in the Age of Neoliberalism: Strategies from Indigenous Women's Organising in Mexico." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 44(4):703-32.
Blackwell, Maylei. 2006. "Weaving in tthe Spaces: Indigenous Women's Organizing and the Politics of Scale in Mexico." in *Dissident Women: gender and cultural politics in Chiapas*, edited by Shannon Speed, R. Aída Hernández Castillo, and Lynn Stephen. Austin: University of Texas Press.
—. 2007. "Engendering the 'Right to have Rights': The Indigenous Women's Movement in Mexico and the Practice of Autonomy " Pp. 193-222 in *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalisms in Latin America*, edited by Natividad Guitérrez Chong. Hampshire: Ashgate.
Blais, Mélissa, Laurence Fortin-Pellerin, Ève-Marie Lampron, and Geneviève Pagé. 2007. "Pour éviter de se noyer dans la (troisième) vague: réflexions sur l'histoire et l'actualité du féminisme radical." *Recherches féministes* 20(2):141-62.
Bonfil, Paloma (Ed.). 2012. *Por un futuro de derechos. Alianzas estratégicas entre mujeres indígenas y la sociedad civil organizada.* Mexico: Indesol; GELIC A.C.
Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond 'identity'." *Theory and Society* 29:1-47.
Brysk, Alison. 2000. *From Tribal Village to Global Village*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Burguete Cal y Mayor, Araceli. 2008. "Gobernar en la diversidad en tiempos de multiculturalismo en América Latina." Pp. 15-64 in *Gobernar (en) la diversidad: experiencias indígenas desde América Latina: hacia la investigación de co-labor*, edited by Xochitl Leyva Solano, Aracely Burguete, and Shannon Speed. México: CIESAS; FLACSO Ecuador; FLACSO Guatemala.
Canabal Cristiani, Beatriz. 2008. "Mujeres de la Montaña de Guerrero: nuevas actoras sociales." Pp. 361-414 in *Etnografías e Historias de Resistencia. Mujeres Indígenas, Procesos Organizativos y Nuevas Identidades Políticas*, edited by Rosalva Aída Hernández. México: Publicaciones de la Casa Chata.
—. 2009. "Mujeres Indígenas de la Montaña de Guerrero: una aproximación." in *Estado del desarrollo económico y social de los pueblos indígenas de Guerrero*, edited by Programa Universitario México Nación Multicultural. México: SIPIG-UNAM.

Castro Apreza, Inés. 2003a. "Contemporary Women's Movements in Chiapas." in *Women of Chiapas*, edited by Christine Eber and Christine Kovic. New York: Routeledge.
Castro Apreza, Yolanda. 2003b. "J'pas Joloviletik-Jolom Mayaetik-K'inal Antzetik. An Organizational Experience of Indigenous and Mestiza Women." Pp. 207-18 in *Women of Chiapas*, edited by Christine Eber and Christine Kovic. New York: Routeledge.
Chautla Ramos, Brígida. 2010. "Háblame en castilla." in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Chibnik, Michael. 2007. "Anthropological Perspectives on the Oaxacan Rebellion." *Anthropology News* 48(3):7-8.
CIMAC. 2002. "Celebra 10 años de fundación la Casa de la Mujer Rosario Castellanos." in *Cimacnoticias*. México.
Cleary, Edward L. , and Timothy J. Steigenga. 2004. *Resurgent voices in Latin America : indigenous peoples, political mobilization, and religious change*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
CODIMUJ. 1999. *Con mirada, mente y corazón de mujer*. México: Coordinacion Diocesana de Mujeres/Mujeres para el Diálogo.
Collier, George Allen, and Elizabeth Lowery Quaratiello. 1994. *Basta! : land and the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas*. Oakland: The Institute for Food and Development Policy.
Collins, Patricia Hill. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
CONAMI, Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas. 2012. *Agenda Política de las Mujeres Indígenas de México* México: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.
Consorcio. 2005. "Memoria del Primer Encuentro de Mujeres Mixes: Participación Comunitaria y Derechos de las Mujeres Mixes." Oaxaca.
—. 2009. "Asamblea Regional de la Red de Mujeres Mixes: Fortalecimiento Organizativo." Oaxaca.
Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Standford Law Review* 43(6):1241.
Creswell, John W. 2007. *Qualitative inquiry & research design : choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Cumes, Aura. 2009. "Multiculturalismo, género y feminismos: Mujeres diversas, luchas complejas." Pp. 29-52 in *Participación y políticas de mujeres indígenas en contextos latinoamericanos recientes*, edited by Andrea Pequeño. Quito: FLACSO-Ecuador; Ministerio de la Cultura del Ecuador.
Dalton, Margarita. 1990. "La organización política, las mujeres y el Estado: el caso de Oaxaca." *Estudios Sociológicos* VIII(22):39-65.
De la Peña, Guillermo. 2006. "A new Mexican nationalism? Indigenous rights, constitutional reform and the conflicting meanings of multiculturalism." *Nations and Nationalisms* 12(2):279-302.

De Vos, Jan. 2010. *Vienen de lejos los torrentes: Una historia de Chiapas*. Tuxtla Gutiérrez: Umbrales.
Díaz-Polanco, Héctor. 2006. *Elogio de la Diversidad. Globalización, multiculturalismo y etnofobia.* México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
Dietz, Gunther. 2004. "From Indigenismo to Zapatismo: The Struggle for a Multi-ethnic Mexican Society." Pp. 32-80 in *The struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*, edited by Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.
Dill, Bonnie Thornton. 1979. "The Dialectics of Black Womanhood." *Signs* 4(3):543-55.
Dircio Chautla, Libni Iracema. 2010. "Todas las mujeres como una sola." in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Dorlin, Elsa (Ed.). 2009. *Sexe, race, classe pour une épistémologie de la domination*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
Duarte Bastian, Ángela Ixkic. 2005. "Memorias del encuentro taller Compartiendo experiencias: aportes y retos de las mujeres indígenas en las luchas de sus pueblos." México: CIESAS.
Durazo-Hermann, Julián. 2007. "Frontières territoriales et frontières politiques : états subnationaux et transition démocratique au Mexique." *Revue internationale de politique comparée* 14:449-66.
—. 2010. "Neo-Patrimonialism and Subnational Authoritarianism in Mexico. The Case of Oaxaca." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2(2):85-112.
Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. "The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:65-80.
Eber, Christine, and Christine Kovic (Eds.). 2003. *Women of Chiapas*. New York: Routeledge.
Espinosa Damián, Gisela. 2009. *Cuatro vertientes del feminismo en México*. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
—. 2010. "Por un mundo de libertades y derechos. La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas." Pp. 31-130 in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Espinosa Damián, Gisela, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. 2010. *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Forbis, Melissa. 2003. "Hacia la autonomía : Zapatista Women Developing a New World " Pp. 231-52 in *Women of Chiapas*, edited by Christine Eber and Christine Kovic. New York: Routeledge.
Fox, Jonathan, Carlos García Jiménez, and Libby Haight. 2009. "Rural democratisation in Mexico's deep south: grassroots right-to-know campains in Guerrero." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(2):271-98.
Fraser, Nancy. 2005. *Qu'est-ce que la justice sociale? Reconnaissance et redistribution*. Paris: Éditions la découverte.

García, Carlos. 2000a. "De la Costa a la Montaña." Pp. 275-320 in *Crónicas del sur : utopías campesinas en Guerrero*, edited by Armando Bartra. México, D.F.: Ediciones Era.
—. 2000b. "Inventario de las organizaciones campesinas." Pp. 103-28 in *Crónicas del sur : utopías campesinas en Guerrero*, edited by Armando Bartra. México, D.F.: Ediciones Era.
Garza Caligari, Ana María, and Sonia Toledo. 2004. "Mujeres, agrarismo y militancia. Chiapas en la década de los ochenta." Pp. 191-218 in *Tejiendo historias. Tierra, género y poder en Chiapas*, edited by Maya Lorena Pérez Ruiz. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
Gil Tebar, Pilar R. 1999. *Caminando en un solo corazón: Las mujeres indígenas de Chiapas*. España: Universidad de Málaga.
Goodwin, Jeff, and Gabriel B. Hetland. 2009. "The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies." in *American Sociological Association Annual Meeting*. San Francisco.
Goodwin, Jeff, and James Jasper (Eds.). 2004. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Guerrero González, Ubali. 2010. "Queremos participar y queremos el reconocimiento." in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Gutiérrez Ávila, Miguel Ángel. 2009. "Las vicisitudes del movimiento indígena." in *Estado del desarrollo económico y social de los pueblos indígenas de Guerrero*, edited by Programa Universitario México Nación Multicultural. México: SIPIG-UNAM.
Gutierrez, Margarita, and Nelly Palomo. 2000. "A Woman's View of Autonomy." Pp. 53-82 in *Indigenous autonomy in Mexico*, edited by Aracely Burguete Cal y Mayor. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.
Gutiérrez, Natividad. 1999. *Nationalist myths and ethnic identities: indigenous intellectuals and the Mexican state*. Lincoln Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.
Hale, Charles R. 2005. "Neoliberal Multiculturalism: The Remaking of Cultural Rights and Racial Dominance in Central America." *PoLAR* 28(1):10-28.
Harvey, Neil. 1990. "Peasant Strategies and Corporatism in Chiapas." Pp. 183-99 in *Popular movements and political change in Mexico*, edited by Joe Foweraker and Ann L. Craig. Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers.
Hernández Castillo, R. Aída (Ed.). 1998. *La otra palabra: Muejres y Violencia en Chiapas, antes y después de Acteal*. México: Centro de Investigación y Acción para la Mujer (CIAM).
—. 2001. "Entre el etnocentrismo feminista y el esencialismo étnico. Las mujeres indígenas y sus demandas de género." *Debate Feminista* 24:206-29.
—. 2002. "La voix des femmes dans le conflit du Chiapas : Nouveaux espaces d'organisation et nouvelles revendications de genre." Pp. 331-48 in *Adaptation, violence et révolte au Mexique*, edited by Anna Maria Lammel and Jesus Ruvalcaba Mercado. Paris: L'Harmattan.

— (Ed.). 2008. *Etnografías e Historias de Resistencia. Mujeres Indígenas, Procesos Organizativos y Nuevas Identidades Políticas*. México: Publicaciones de la Casa Chata.
—. 2010. "The Emergence of Indigenous Feminism in Latin America." *Signs* 35(3):539-45.
Hidalgo, Margarita G. 2006. "Mexican indigenous languages at the dawn of the twenty-first century." Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Hill Collins, Patricia. 2012. "Lost in Translation? Black Feminism, Intersectionality, and Social Justice." in *6ème Congrès international des recherches féministes francophones*. Université de Lausanne.
hooks, bell. 1984. *Feminist theory from margin to center*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
INEGI. 2010. "Censo de Población y Vivienda." México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.
—. 2012a. "Perspectiva estadística Chiapas." México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.
—. 2012b. "Perspectiva estadística Guerrero." México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.
—. 2012c. "Perspectiva estadística Oaxaca." México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.
Jaquette, Jane S. (Ed.). 1989. *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
Jelin, Elizabeth, J. Ann Zammit, and Marilyn Thomson (Eds.). 1990. *Women and social change in Latin America*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
Johnston, H., and B. Klandermans (Eds.). 1995. *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Kergoat, Danièle. 2009. "Dynamique et consubstantialité des rapports sociaux." in *Sexe, race, classe pour une épistémologie de la domination*, edited by Elsa Dorlin. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
Knight, Alan. 2005. "Caciquismo in twentieth-century Mexico." Pp. 1-48 in *Caciquismo in twentieth-century Mexico*, edited by Alan Knight and Wil G. Pansters. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas.
Levi, Margaret, and Murphy Gillian H. 2006. "Coalitions of contention: the case of the WTO protests in Seattle." *Political Studies* 54(4):651-70.
Leyva Solano, Xochitl. 2005. "Indigenismo, indianismo and 'ethnic citizenship' in Chiapas." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 32(3):555-83.
Leyva Solano, Xochitl, Aracely Burguete, and Shannon Speed. 2008. *Gobernar (en) la diversidad: experiencias indígenas desde América Latina : hacia la investigación de co-labor*. México: CIESAS; FLACSO Ecuador; FLACSO Guatemala.
López Cruz, Marusia. 2009. "Women in the Indigenous Peoples' Movements of Mexico: New Paths for Transforming Power." edited by Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID).
Lovera, Sara, and Nellys Palomo. 1997. *Las Alzadas*. México: Comunicación e Información de la Mujer (CIMAC)/Convergencia Socialista.

Marcos, Subcomandante insurgente. 1999. "Testimonios de lucha zapatista (EZLN): El primer alzamiento, Marzo de 1993." in *Las Alzadas*, edited by Sara Lovera and Nellys Palomo. México: Comunicación e Información de la Mujer (CIMAC)/Convergencia Socialista.
Martínez Solano, Felícitas. 2010. "Nunca pensé que iba a volar." in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Massolo, Alejandra. 2007. "Participación política de las mujeres en el ámbito local en América Latina." República Dominicana: Instituto Internacional de Investigaciones y Capacitación de las Naciones Unidas para la Promoción de la Mujer (INSTRAW).
Masson, Sabine. 2008. *Tzome Ixuk: una historia de mujeres tojolabales en lucha*. México: Plaza y Valdés.
Mattiace, Shannan. 2012. "Social and Indigenous Movements in Mexico's Transition to Democracy." in *The Oxford handbook of Mexican politics*, edited by Roderic A. Camp. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mattiace, Shannan L., Rosalva Aída Hernández, and Jan Rus (Eds.). 2002. *Tierra, libertad y autonomía: impactos regionales del zapatismo en Chiapas*. México, D.F.: CIESAS.
McAdam, Doug. 1994. "Culture and Social Movements." Pp. 36-57 in *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, edited by E. Laraña. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
—. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs* 30(3):1771-800.
McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6):1212-41.
McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.
Melucci, Alberto. 1995. "The Process of Collective Identity." Pp. 41-63 in *Social Movements and Culture*, edited by H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Meyer, David. 2000. "Social Movements. Creating Communities of Change." Pp. 35-55 in *Feminist Approaches to Social Movements, Community, and Power*, edited by Robin L. Teske and Mary Ann Tétreault. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
Meyer, David S., and Debra C. Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82(4):1457-92.
Meyer, David, and Nancy Whittier. 1994. "Social movement spillover." *Social Problems* 41(2):277-98.
Millán, Margara. 2008. "Nuevos espacios, nuevas actoras. Neozapatismo y su significado para las mujeres indígenas." Pp. 217-48 in *Etnografías e Historias de Resistencia. Mujeres Indígenas, Procesos Organizativos y Nuevas Identidades*

Políticas, edited by Rosalva Aída Hernández. México: Publicaciones de la Casa Chata.
Millán Moncayo, Márgara. 2006. "Indigenous Women and Zapatismo: New Horizons of Visibility." Pp. 75-96 in *Dissident Women: gender and cultural politics in Chiapas*, edited by Shannon Speed, R. Aída Hernández Castillo, and Lynn M. Stephen. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Mohanty, Chandra. 1991. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." Pp. 51-80 in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, edited by Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Molyneux, Maxine. 2003. *Movimientos de mujeres en América Latina*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra.
Montemayor, Carlos. 2009. *Chiapas: La rebelión indígena de México*. Mexico: Debolsillo.
Moraga, Cherríe, and Gloria Anzaldúa. 1983. *This bridge called my back: writings by radical women of color*. New York: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press.
Morales Hudon, Anahi. 2011. "L'autonomie comme demande centrale du mouvement des femmes autochtones au Mexique au cours des années 90." *Recherches féministes* 24(2):135-51.
—. 2012. "La voix des femmes autochtones sur les débats entre droits individuels et droits collectifs au Mexique." *Sociologie et sociétés* XLIV(1):287-309.
Morris, Aldon D., and Carol McClurg Mueller (Eds.). 1992. *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Nadal, Marie-Josée. 2001. "Que sont les Mayas devenus ? La construction de nouvelles identités au Yucatán." *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* XXXI(1):49-60.
—. 2005. "Dix ans de lutte pour l'autonomie indienne au Mexique, 1994-2004." *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* XXXV(1):17-27.
Nagar, Richa, and Amanda Lock Swarr. 2010. *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Nahmad Sitton, Salomón. 2001. "Autonomía ndígena y la soberanía nacional: el caso de la Ley Indígena de Oaxaca " in *Costumbres, leyes y movimiento indio en Oaxaca y Chiapas*, edited by Lourdes de León Pasquel. México: CIESAS : Miguel Angel Porrúa Grupo Editorial.
Nash, Jennifer C. 2008. "re-thinking intersectionality." *Feminist Review* 89:1-15.
Nash, June C. 2001. *Mayan Visions: the quest for autonomy in an age of globalization*. New York: Routledge.
Niezen, Ronald. 2003. *The origins of indigenism : human rights and the politics of identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Norget, Kristin. 1997. "The Politics of Liberation: The Popular Church, Indigenous Theology, and Grassroots Mobilization in Oaxaca, Mexico." *Latin American Perspectives* 24(5):96-127.
Ochoa Muñoz, Karina. 2010. "Sembrando desafíos. Experiencias organizativas de mujeres indígenas en Guerrero." Pp. 131-64 in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

Olea Mauleón, Cecilia (Ed.). 1998. *Encuentros, (des) encuentros y búsquedas : el movimiento feminista en América Latina*. Lima: Flora Tristan.
Olivera, Mercedes. 2009. "Introduction." in *The Struggles for Women's Rights in Chiapas: A directory of Social Organizations Supporting Women in Chiapas*, edited by Jodie Lea Martire. Australia: Lilla: international Women's Network.
Overmyer-Velázquez, Rebecca. 2002. "The Anti-Quincentenary Campaign in Guerrero, Mexico: Indigenous Identity and the Dismantling of the Myth of the Revolution." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 46:79-112.
Oxhorn, Philip. 2011. *Sustaining civil society : economic change, democracy, and the social construction of citizenship in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Pagé, Geneviève. 2012. "Feminism à la Quebec: Ideological travelings of American and French thought (1960-2010)." PhD Dissertation in Women's Studies: University of Maryland.
Pichardo, Nelson A. 1997. "New Social Movements: A Critical Review." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23:411-30.
Poole, Deborah. 2007. "Political Autonomy and Cultural Diversity in the Oaxaca Rebellion." *Anthropology News* 48(3):10-11.
Ray, Raka. 1999. *Fields of protest women's movements in India*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Ray, Raka, and Anna C. Korteweg. 1999. "Women's Movements in the Third World: Identity, Mobilization, and Autonomy." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:47-71.
Rivera, Tarcila. 2008. "Mujeres indígenas americanas luchando por sus derechos." Pp. 331-48 in *Descolonizando el feminismo: Teorías y prácticas desde los márgenes*, edited by Liliana Suárez Navaz and Rosalva Aída Hernández. Valencia: Editorial Cátedra.
Romero Víctor, Javier. 2002. "Historia del movimiento campesino e indígena en la región de Simojovel, Chiapas." in *Sociologia Rural*. México: Universidad Autónoma Chapingo.
Roth, Benita. 2004. *Separate Roads to Feminism. Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rousseau, Stéphanie. 2009. "Genre et ethnicité racialisée en Bolivie : pour une étude intersectionnelle des mouvements sociaux." *Sociologie et sociétés* 41(2):135-60.
—. 2011. "Indigenous and feminist movements at the constituent asembly in Bolivia: Locating the Representation of Indigenous Women." *Latin American Research Review* 46(2):5-28.
Rousseau, Stéphanie, and Anahi Morales Hudon. 2012. "Understanding the rise and consequences of indigenous women's movements: Insights from Peru, Bolivia and Mexico." in *XXX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association*. San Francisco.
Rovira, Guiomar. 1997. *Mujeres de Maíz*. México: Ediciones Era.
Rubin, Jeffrey W. 2004. "Meanings and mobilizations: A Cultural Politics Approach to Social Movements and States." *Latin American Research Review* 39(3):106-42.
Safa Barraza, Alejandra, and Erna Mergruen Rentería (Eds.). 1994. *Las mujeres campesinas se organizan*. México: UNORCA.

Safa, Helen Icken. 1990. "Women's movements in Latin America." *Gender & Society* 4(3):354-69.
Sánchez, Consuelo. 1999. *Los pueblos indígenas: del indigenismo a la autonomía*. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
Sánchez Néstor, Martha. 2005. "Construire notre autonomie: Le mouvement des femmes indiennes au Mexique." *Nouvelles Questions Féministes* 24(2):50-64.
—. 2009. "La Conquista: desde entonces, los pueblos originarios resistimos y avanzamos." in *Palabra y Pensamiento. Mujeres indígenas*, edited by Mariliana Montaner. México: Fondo de Desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas para la Mujer (UNIFEM).
—. 2010. "Tenemos que hablar, liberar los pensamientos." in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Sariego Rodriguez, Juan Luis. 2005. "Política indigenista en tiempos de alternancia: de los dichos a los hechos." Pp. 277-306 in *Sociedad civil y diversidad*, edited by A. Aziz Nassif and J. Alonso Sánchez. México: CIESAS; Miguel Ángel Porrúa.
Sieder, Rachel (Ed.). 2002. *Multiculturalism in Latin America: indigenous rights, diversity, and democracy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Sierra, Maria Teresa. 2004. "Derecho indígena y mujeres : viejas y nuevas costumbres, nuevos derechos." in *Voces dissidentes. Debates contemporáneaos en los estudios de género en México*, edited by S.E. Pérez-Gil and P. Ravelo. México: CIESAS/Miguel Ángel Porrúa.
—. 2007. "Indigenous Women, Law, and Custom." Pp. 109-24 in *Decoding Gender : Law ans Practice in Contemporary Mexico*, edited by H. Baitenmann, V. Chenaut, and A. Varley. New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press.
Smith, Dorothy E. 1987. *The everyday world as problematic : a feminist sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
Snow, David. 2004. "Social Movements as Challenges to Authority : Resistance to an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 25:3-25.
Snow, David A., Louis A. Zurcher, and Sheldon Ekland-Olson. 1980. "Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment." *American Sociological Review* 45(5):787-801.
Speed, Shannon, R. Aída Hernández Castillo, and Lynn M. Stephen (Eds.). 2006. *Dissident Women: gender and cultural politics in Chiapas*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Staggenborg, Suzanne, and Verta Taylor. 2005. "Whatever Happened to the Women's Movement?" *Mobilization* 10(1):37-52.
Stasiulis, Daiva K. 1999. "Feminist Intersectional Theorizing." Pp. 347-97 in *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, edited by Peter S. Li. Toronto; New York: Oxford University Press.
Stavenhagen, Rodolfo. 2002. "Mexico's Unifinished Symphony: The Zapatista Movement." Pp. 109-26 in *Mexico's Politics and Society in Transition*, edited by Joseph Tulchin and Andrew Selee. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

—. 2010. "Struggle and Resistance: The Nation's Indians in Transition." Pp. 251-67 in *Mexico's Democratic Challenges: Politics, Government, and Society*, edited by Andrew Selee and Jacqueline Peschard. Stanford: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Stanford University.
Stephen, Lynn. 1991. *Zapotec women*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
—. 2001. "Gender, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity." *Latin American Perspectives* 28(6):54-69.
—. 2002. *¡Zapata lives! Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
—. 2007. "Women in the Oaxaca Social Rebellion." *Anthropology News* 48(3):13.
Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The new transnational activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
—. 1998. *Power in movement : social movements and contentious politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Taylor, Verta, and Nancy Whittier. 1992. "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities." in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Tiburcio Cayetano, Hermelinda. 2010. "Liberarse del miedo." in *La Coordinadora Guerrerense de Mujeres Indígenas. Construyendo la equidad y la ciudadanía*, edited by Gisela Espinosa Damián, Libni Iracema Dircio Chautla, and Martha Sánchez Néstor. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
Tilly, C., and S. G Tarrow. 2007. *Contentious politics*. Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers.
Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From mobilization to revolution*. New York: Random House.
Tilly, Charles, and Sydney Tarrow. 2008. *Politique(s) du conflit : de la grève à la révolution*. Paris: Les Presses SciencesPo.
Toledo Tello, Sonia, and Anna María Garza Caligaris. 2006. "Gender and stereotypes in the social movements of Chiapas." Pp. 97-114 in *Dissident Women: gender and cultural politics in Chiapas*, edited by Shannon Speed, R. Aída Hernández Castillo, and Lynn M. Stephen. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Townsend-Bell, Erica. 2011. "What is Relevance? Defining Intersectional Praxis in Uruguay." *Political Research Quarterly* 64(1):187-99.
Trejo, Guillermo. 2009. "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 103(3):323-42.
Valladares de la Cruz, Laura R. 2004. "Mujeres ejemplares: Indígenas en los espacios públicos." *Alteridades* 14(28):127-47.
—. 2008. "Los derechos humanos de las mujeres indígenas. De la aldea local a los foros internacionales." *Alteridades* 18(35):47-65.
Van Cott, Donna Lee (ed.). 1994. *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Vázquez-García, Verónica. 2012. "Gender, Ethnicity and Indigenous Self-Government in Oaxaca, Mexico." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*:1-19.
Velasco Cruz, Saúl. 2003. *El Movimiento Indígena y la Autonomía en México*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Warren, Kay B. 1998. "Indigenous Movements as a Challenge to the Unified Social Movement Paradigm for Guatemala." Pp. 165-95 in *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Revisioning Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar. Colorado: Westview Press.
West, Candace, and Sarah Fenstermaker. 1995. "Doing Difference." *Gender and Society* 9(1):8-37.
Yashar, Deborah J. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 31(1):23-42.
—. 2005. *Contesting citizenship in Latin America: the rise of indigenous movements and the postliberal challenge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Yaworski, William R. 2005. "At the Whim of the State: Neoliberalism and Nongovernmental Organizations in Guerrero, Mexico." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 21(2):403-27.
Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3):193-209.
Zafra, Gloria. 2007. "Section 22: Trade Unionism or Education?" *Anthropology News* 48(3):14.