INDIGENOUS WOMEN AND TRANSNATIONAL STRUGGLES: NOTES ON RENARRATIVIZED SOCIAL MEMORY

María Eugenia Choque
Oral Andean History Workshop, THOA

Guillermo Delgado-P.
Latin American & Latino Studies
University of California Santa Cruz

Working Paper No. 32
Chicano/Latino Research Center

August 2000

Chicano/Latino Research Center
1156 High Street
Merrill College
University of California
Santa Cruz, CA. 95064

Do not cite or quote without permission.
Indigenous Women and Transnational Struggles: Notes on Renarrativized Social Memory

María Eugenia Choque (Oral Andean History Workshop, THOA)
Guillermo Delgado-P. (LALS, UCSC)

"Qhari sapa ma' atinmanchu."
(Males on their own are not capable.)
Andean Oral History Workshop, THOA 1990: 6

Abstract
In several relatively traditional rural areas of the Americas Indigenous women re/narrativize oral traditions in their daily struggle to acquire political agency. Such strategy assumes that, with the arrival of Western forms of social organization, Indigenous women suffered systematic exclusion and lessening as human beings. Whereas non-Western traditions of social organization allowed women to exercise different forms of direct and indirect political power, such agency has been subverted by the positioning of colonial patriarchy then and later. Recent re/narrativized social memory and oral traditions help Indigenous women to achieve higher levels of political authority undermined by colonialism.

Introduction:
In her essay “Cartographies of Struggle,” author Chandra Talpade Mohanty clearly states, “Unlike the history of Western (white, middle-class) feminisms, which has been explored in great detail over the last few decades, histories of third world women’s engagement with feminism are in short supply. There is a large body of work on ‘women in developing countries,’ but this does not necessarily engage feminist questions. There is now a substantial amount of scholarship among women in liberation movements, or on the role and status of women in individual cultures. However, this scholarship does not necessarily engage questions of feminist
historiography” (1991: 4). In this article, we shall consider Indigenous Peoples (hereafter ‘IPs’) as transnational political actors. Following Mohante’s criticism, we will offer reflections on current debates waged by women within the Indigenous movement of Latin America, focusing on ‘ethnic’ feminisms that are invigorating Indigenous women’s (hereafter ‘IW’) leadership roles, promising to assertively redefine interventions in the future.

The aim of this essay is to outline a chronicle based on the political repositioning of IW in the 1990s, as they waged a multifaceted battle on private/public, rural/urban, national and transnational fronts. Class theory, which permeated Latin America’s historiography throughout the 20th century, needs to continue confronting a social reality that has been further problematized with the introduction of feminist theory, sexuality and ethnicity. This recent intersection continues to disrupt the post-Berlin Wall and Post-Soviet Union collapse panorama reflected in the Americas. Race theory and sexuality/gender analysis locates IW at the very front of persistent discriminatory practices from the part of the nation state. This legacy has deepened at the end of 20th century global capitalism, and specifically with neoliberalism, which has contributed directly to reinforce, worsening exclusionary practices in the Americas.

Some Historical References

The Quincentennial pan-indigenous mobilization triggered profound changes in the leadership of Indigenous movements that achieved
international visibility after the unexpected breakdown of the East-West divide in 1989. The Indigenous movements called for a self-reflexive examination, stressing the need for political autonomy and identity since the 1960s. Several of them entered the political arena rejecting the vertical control established or dominated by nation-state ‘indigenista’ institutes, political parties, or churches of never ending denominations. Through patronized and party-sponsored co-optative strategies, these institutions controlled, and continue to control, Indigenous movements that pursue the struggle for sovereignty all over the Americas. The crisis reflected in the Left and within nation-state ideologies, such as exclusionary nationalism, became evident by the East-West artificial divide. Nation-states were unable to deepen the process of citizenship and would not grant full rights to IPs. Contestant Indigenous movements took an autonomous stand under the direction of younger leaderships who rejected previous ‘caciquista’ and prebendal practices.

The IPs hemispheric campaign to challenge Spain’s call for a ‘celebration’ of the 500 years (in 1992), changing it to ‘commemoration’, galvanized IPs mobilizations throughout the Americas. Historical revisionism deflated an often triumphal and apologetic narrative of the Conquest, infuriating Marxists and neoliberals. Such revisionism reinscribed IPs’ decolonizing voices and texts and deconstructed previous monolingual grand récits. This process provided a new kind of historicism based on IPs multilingual narrative. Above all it demanded recognition of collective human rights and sovereignty. (RedBird, 1995: 121-142)
Despite Indigenous Peoples’ vastly dissimilar linguistic traditions (yet languages avow), new transnational alliances were forged, consolidating an energetic and complex IPs social movement during the 1990s in the Americas. IPs have put forth a coherent counter-hegemonic project as they experience the persistent wrath of colonialism’s remnants expressed via indefatigable nation-state assimilative proposals. Particular to the contestant Indigenous transnational approach is the assertive agency and militancy of politicized IW leaders who, after the 1990s, regained political influence by retrieving and re-interpreting their ancient collective mythologies. Collective mythologies invested them with authority, granting them public power and providing them with equal footing in the struggle against persistent colonial behaviors. This change encouraged the active presence of IW as leaders not clearly recognized by earlier forms of national or regional Indigenous movements, nor by non-Indigenous political institutions.

Latin America’s ‘non-Indigenous’, mostly urban leftist-feminism often dismissed pressures from the part of organized IW inspired by ‘gender/ethnic’ positionality, considered a faceless “poor class” linked to party politicking. In Norma Chinchilla’s comprehensive article on Women’s movements, mostly in Central America, there is a brief passage informing us that: “Indian women conducted a workshop comparing and contrasting Indian and mestiza identities and relations” (Chinchilla 1993: 17). While three years earlier, an article written by Helen Safa makes no specific mention of IW at all, presumably clustered under the notion of “poor women, who focus their demands on the state in their struggle for basic survival and
against repression.” (Safa 1990: 354) I am afraid that Geraldine Lievesley repeats this approach in her recent work on Democracy in Latin America (1999: 101-130). We should add here that an element of ‘invisibility’ has historically accompanied the Indian, and Indigenous women have not been an exception until recently. Researchers of social movements have been unable to move beyond the generic “Indian” or “Indigenous” and, even fewer, have been able to acknowledge identifiable ethnicities and specific languages. For example, the social, economic and political life of Andean women, similar to other Indigenous peoples in other parts of the Americas, constitutes an absent history from official history. Refusing to be represented, IW proceeded to open ‘alterNative’ paths, providing new participatory proposals that redefine and enhance the issue of women as leaders within Indigenous social movements today.

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith “The problems of ‘voice’ and ‘visibility’, ‘silence and invisibility’ became important concerns at a concrete level as women began to attend international conferences and attempted to develop international policies related to women’s rights, population control, development and justice” (1999: 166). In the process of political recomposition, the roads newly opened by IW self-criticize a stagnant mythology that has presumably placed Indigenous women subordinately following their men. Likewise, rather than allocating emphasis on the infamous Latin American social class triangle of exclusion, IW continue to stress gender and ethnicity as ways of contesting previous nation-state assimilative models or other non-Indigenous social forces, such as political parties that continue to ignore IW’s culture-specific demands. In a way,
following anthropologist James C. Scott (1998: 11-52), IW have kept “hidden transcripts” of resistance for a long time, and their recent public militancy can be interpreted as challenging to hegemonic forces. ‘Hidden transcripts’ have been, precisely, retrieved by younger generations of IW who searched for wisdom from their elders. The Aymara of the Andean region of Bolivia gathered around at the Oral History Andean Workshop¹, for example, and were clear about the need to retrieve valuable teachings so as to trigger the debate on IW. The Quechua message “Qhari sapa ma’ atinmanchu”, (‘Males are incapable by themselves’) is an example of how IW renarrativize their search for power (THOA 1990: 6).

Recent debates concerning gender and ethnogenesis in Americas’ Indigenous movements have strengthened IW, encouraging them to find their voice within the multiple struggles sustained by IPs. Indigenous movements in Latin America largely lead by Indigenous men, have only recently begun to acknowledge and encourage new alliances supporting women’s proposals by working to implement them as part of a larger strategy that can no longer be dismissive of Indigenous women’s platforms. The diverse nature of IW’s struggles entail multiple fronts. They include challenges to male-only Indigenous leaderships, territorial sovereignty, autonomy disputes, human rights, control over natural resources, health and body,

¹ The ideas developed in this essay are based on several conversations between the authors conducted during the Winter and Spring quarters of 1999 when Marfa Eugenia Choque, an Aymara intellectual, was a Rockefeller Grantee at the Native American Studies Department, University of California, Davis. Norma Klahn, Inés Hernández, Stefano Varese, Mónica X. Delgado and Ana Rebeca Prada helped with editorial suggestions and conceptual criticism and are here acknowledged. Maylei Blackwell shared with us the work of Nellys Palomo.
formal education, housing, linguistic rights, full elimination of racial
discrimination, the right to practice native religions, Indigenous
property rights and, naturally, Indigenous women’s rights which
parallels each and every one of these demands.

Searching for commonalities, non-Indigenous women radically
transformed themselves implementing a new sense of agency which,
in the end, triumphed over dictatorships and military patriarchies
during the hardest moments of the ‘internal security wars’ led by
Latin American military regimes during the 60s-70s. Prominent roles
played by non-Indigenous women during these years, timely
documented by Ximena Bunster and Gloria Ardaya (1986), helped
Latin American civil society gain a feminist perspective. At the
height of the militarization and dictatorships in Latin America in the
1960s, 1970s and early 1980s mostly urban women, entered the
‘personal is political’ realm (Navarro Aranguren, 1989: 241). Early
awareness of the militant Indigenous public awakening, during the
1960s, however, was not noticed. It took the ‘lost decade’ of the
1980s to acknowledge the presence of earlier forms of the
Indigenous movements inspired by the notion of ethno-autonomy.
June Nash stated, “Culture is the generative base for adapting to and
redefining basic relations in production and reproduction” (1986:15).
But culture: “Is located neither in texts, nor as the outcome of its
production, nor only in the cultural resources, appropriations, and
innovations of lived everyday worlds, but in different forms of sense
making, within various settings, in societies incessantly marked by
change and conflict. Culture is neither institutions nor genres nor
behavior but complex interactions between all of these.” (Bhabha 1994)

Today, among other implemented strategies, we might declare that organized IW are looking at their culture and re-narrativizing traditions, seeking to strengthen their positions of leadership complementing them with strategies introduced by urban middle class Latin American feminists decades ago. Yet, as Mohanty demonstrates, “While questions of identity are crucially important, they can never be reduced to automatic self-referential, individualist ideas of the political (or feminist) subject” (1991: 33). Re-narrativizing induced IW to look at their oral histories, their ‘hidden transcripts’ and to bring them upfront. Early feminist anthropologists provided strong evidences regarding IW political assertiveness. Notions of matrilocality have presumably helped IW’s movements in their retrieval of traditions and oral histories that encourage public agency.

The 1974 ethnography entitled Women of the Forest stresses within the context of the division of labor debates of the time: “Women’s work among the Mundurucú is largely directed and initiated by women, and the men do not intrude upon their area of responsibility and authority” (Murphy and Murphy 1974: 211). These authors go on to describe, “… that female status is generally higher in matrilineal societies than in those having patrilineal descent. This pattern is so, however, not as a matter of female dominance, which somehow perpetuates itself in matrilineal descent, but as a result of the fact that many matrilineal societies are also matrilocal. Descent
through females may indeed have some effect upon the woman's public prestige, but far more critical is its association with a residence rule that holds together a core of related women. The Mundurucú are a remarkable illustration of this as they have one of the very few societies that combines patrilineality with matrilocality" (Ibid 216).

Bringing Native American women writers' perspectives from the North, help us articulate similar trends occurring among IW in the rest of the Americas proposing, in this way, a productive circulation of the struggle. Paula Gunn Allen, advocating an Indigenous humanism, has stated, "American Indians are not merely doomed victims of western imperialism or progress; they are also the carriers of the dream that most activist movements in the Americas claim to be seeking. The major difference between most activist movements and tribal societies is that millennia American-Indians have based their social systems, however diverse, on ritual, spirit-centered, woman-focused worldviews” (1986: 2). Although current constraints, such as prioritizing encompassing territorial struggles within the Indigenous movement led mostly by men, tend to defer Indigenous women's agendas. The inspiration rooted in Indigenous cosmologies of equality (based on its gynocratic tradition) has opened paths for women to question the constraining patriarchal authority within such movements, as well as in society in general. Their demands are about regaining equal rights for Indigenous women in all aspects of public and private life.
A sharp contribution regarding this issue is also offered by Justice Coordinator of the Native Women's Association of Canada, Sharon Donna McIvor in her statement: "In many aboriginal languages, there is no distinguishing between 'he' and 'she'. Both are seen as being the same (to the extend that they are equal)... The inherent right brings forward the participatory rights of Aboriginal women in traditional matriarchies, and indeed brings forward matriarchal governments. Women's right to participate politically, socially and militarily is part of the custom and tradition brought forward within the existing right to Aboriginal self-government. This balance between men and women to participate in government-making is inherent and brought forward in time... This includes restoring the gender relations that existed between First Nations men and women since time immemorial. Restoring this balance will require throwing aside women's obedience and men's sexual powers over women, getting rid of patriarchy and bringing harmony back into human relations in the home and the community" (1995: 284).

Referring to the past seen as foundational and now inspirational in its re-narrativization, Paola Gunn Allen asserts, "The colonizers saw (and rightly) that as long as women held unquestioned power of such magnitude, attempts at total conquest of the continents were bound to fail. In the centuries since the first attempts at colonization in the early 1500s, the invaders have exerted every effort to remove Indian women from every position of authority, to obliterate all records pertaining to gynocratic social systems, and to ensure that no American and few American Indians would remember that
gynocracy was the primary social order of Indian America prior to 1800” (1986: 3).

As specific historical documents demonstrate, IW have always been clearly and persistently assertive, direct in their actions, and relentless in pressing for their rights. Scott’s notion of ‘the hidden transcript’ to sustain resistance deals with retrieving the past, or re-narrativizing it accordingly, as a source of reinforced power women within Indigenous communities have. These ‘hidden transcripts’ can be interpreted as a viable strategy utilized by IW to contest colonial heritages, or rather to de-colonize practices and imageries that bestowed Indigenous People with notions of Western power, authority, and privilege which often led them to establish dependent linkages within social structures.

2. Indigenous Women: Retrieving ‘Hidden Transcripts’

Archival research demonstrates that there was active female participation in ‘cacical’ movements during 1920s. They exercised power as equal as caciques who, in searching for legitimate recognition from the part of the Bolivian State, protected themselves by including Mama Mallkus or Mama Kurakas, or their wives. Legitimacy was granted by Creole society on March 4, 1929 in La Paz, as priest Tomás de los Lagos Molina, of the Parish of San Pedro, celebrated mass welcoming such leaders into office. This process in which women are present to exercise power is erased in the machista ideology of Bolivian ‘escriturientes’ (legal secretaries) who often
excluded women from official records, undermining Indigenous women's effective power.

On May 18, 1927, 14,000 Indigenous women from seven Colombian states drafted and published a document in the Quintin Lame Indigenous movement's newspaper of which they were the backbone. Lame, a famous Indigenous leader, later recognized this fact before his death. The document constitutes probably the earliest printed and circulated Indigenous women's avowal. It begins by proclaiming:

"It is time that the daughters of the countryside and abandoned forests raise the cry for social justice, as 435 years passed by, an instant for the Creator of the Universe... Today, women with our courage and strength will cry for protection and justice, as we have always done, because we have lost our voice and our rights, but not our faith. This faith helps us poor women who, beneath sun and rain, facing hunger and thirst, help Indigenous men in our roles as wives, sisters, daughters, and mothers to cultivate the lands...Before the Indigenous peoples of Colombia, we shall cry for death to the elections and that we Indigenous women completely separate Indigenous men from those two established parties which have falsely betrayed us. In our position as wives, girlfriends, mothers, sisters, daughters, etc., we will allow no one to vote, because the representatives and senators that go to Congress up until now have left Indigenous legislation in obscurity ... We direct ourselves
to all female religious societies ... to the women directors of secondary schools and universities who are aware of injustices and know that today the Indigenous female sex in Colombia has raised its voice to actively defend its material and moral property which has been snatched away from our men, and, so as not to exclude by error, we direct ourselves to all feminine groups in the land, and let them tell us whether or not this is right” (2).

The document above reveals that roads have been opened by women ever since. Not only this, but with recent processes of ethnogenesis and revisionism, the retrieval of Indigenous women’s herstories in writing are correcting historical accounts which rendered them invisible. The consistent questioning of nationalism and ‘assimilative’ policies imposed by the nation-state on Indigenous Peoples paralleled the crisis of national-revolutionary models in Latin America. In the North, persistent results of the 1960s Civil Rights movements reinforced the inscribing of Indigenous intellectual production to the English language cultural ‘canon’, along contributions of other ‘minority’ intellectuals. In the South, and during similar period, Indigenous movements, lead mostly by Indigenous men, suffered harsh rebuttals from the part of entrenched 1960s authoritarian regimes. Historically speaking, the term ‘national security’ belongs to the height of the Cold War, in which civilian populations became internal enemies and targets of military regimes in Latin America; Indigenous peoples were not an exception.
With immeasurable 1990s neoliberal democracies, the legal structure collides over specific IPs claims such as the use and ownership of land, demarcation of territories, and/or recognition of recent forms of autonomy within nation-states. Demands focus on the weakly granted, much less implemented, citizenship rights for Indigenous peoples who were considered assimilative rather than respectful of difference, despite claims of multiculturality. As these demands are constantly negotiated, visible weariness from the part of entrenched male leadership is notable. The emergence of new generations of younger leaders with renewed vision, several of which constitute and lead the current internationalized Indigenous women’s movement, should be considered a strategic, healthy and welcome new development at the beginning of a new millennium.

Today, gains are visible at a more sophisticated level of coordination and organization of IPs. Researchers, and interpreters of such movements, have not hesitated to label them a matter of ‘national security’ as IPs are, indeed, “defiant again.” As IPs assert themselves against neoliberal administrations and transnational corporations today, nation-states placed within the process of economic globalization intend to, once more, resort to repressive strategies to discourage Indigenous claims over territories, autonomous, demands for sovereignty or human rights. Needless to say, despite some progress, evident in recent legislation in favor of IPs, daily confrontations of IPs against governments, the military, the judiciary, transnational corporations, and DNA bioprospectors escalate unceasingly. Against this background of a multifaceted insistent menace, Indigenous women speak up with authority, warning once
more against the devastating effect of the violent wave that has been identified as the 'second Conquest' or 'biocolonialism'.

3. Descentralized Coordination: Indigenous Women Restore Power

Seventy years later, as we accompany the unstoppable march of the Indigenous movements of the Americas, gains as well as setbacks constitute part of this enduring process. As the previously quoted 1927, text signed in mass by Indigenous women in Colombia, sets an example of agency, indicating women's political assertiveness, the current status of Indigenous movements seems to privilege a complementary gender perspective. Assertive women are securing open spaces and voicing an alleged tradition where there is an equal place for women to actively and publicly participate. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, in her article "Indigenous Women and Community Resistance" provides sharp treatment on the relationship between oral history, memory and IWs’ political agency (1990).

The debates held over the meaning of feminism based upon contributions by Latin American, European, and U.S. feminist scholars and activists, reached la creme of new leaderships among Indigenous peoples. Several rejected it at first and, indeed, were challenged by feminist tenets which incensed Indigenous women thinking, shaping ethnic feminisms inspired in Indigenous cultures. For many years, Indigenous women considered feminism to be another imported, outside contribution, but it challenged them to search for and articulate their own agency, inspired by the need to work on full
political autonomy of the Indigenous movement, and to restore their active place within it. Dialogue and negotiation promoted the rethinking of 'gender complementarity' as Indigenous men and women experience simultaneous attacks from non-Indigenous societies.

The notion of 'gender complementarity' was galvanized by an ancient mythology in which women as goddesses played important roles. It managed to survive through the oral tradition, which is thought to be tabula rasa by now, but, indeed, oral history is another form through which knowledge is passed down from generation to generation, a method largely privileged in non-writing cultures of which IPs continue to be the best example. Women's participation shows that re-mythologizing narratives legitimizes the exercise of political power. Calixta Gabriel, a Kaqchiquel Maya inspired in the teaching of the Popul Vuh regarding women's equality recalls:

"When human beings were created originally, there were four men and four women. Two were the rising suns, two were the sunsets, two were the living air spirits and two were the living water spirits. At no point in our own history were we told that women were lesser beings."

"When Ixmakanek took the corn, Ixmakanek formed humans and that is why we are children of the corn...corn is the spirit of life and it represents the nine months of pregnancy. In no instance is there reference to woman being created from man."
The technical difference between the feminine and the feminist has been an issue that filtered from urban areas to the immediate experience of Indigenous women. However, they were rarely seen participating in non-Indigenous women's debates which tended to reproduce class and racial tensions, matronage, and manipulation of the Indigenous voice from the part of non-Indigenous women. Assertive Indigenous women, both young as well as traditional female elder leaders who exercise the power to organize and the power over out-of-balance situations in their own communities, came to understand the logics of Euro-American and Latin American feminisms. They continued to search for gender parity situations that granted them control over the exercise of women's rights within the Indigenous communities, evident at home, some say, but often not publicly. Non-Indigenous women have criticized the overemphasis of a gender parity utopia, that some Indigenous women privilege, as an unreachable ideal. Although multiple attacks against Indigenous peoples have worked to unify them in their multi-layered struggles (of which women's liberation is one), Marcela Lagarde points out that there is a need to pay close attention to the process itself. In reference to women and the Zapatista rebellion, she writes, "As in all processes of women's emancipation in the world, in the conflict of the Chiapas insurrection and in Mexican gender democracy, it is necessary to eliminate the expropriation of women's bodies, gender division and specialization, the relation of dominion of men over women and engendered poverty" (1996: 95).
As Indigenous peoples become recognized actors in the global village, there are clear divisions among Indigenous women who remain or retain community affiliations, and those that, due to multiple reasons, inhabit the cities. This is a reality the outside world needs to understand: not all Indigenous peoples inhabit territories and not all of them are the same. Several live in urban areas and, naturally, have experienced the presence of other forces. Such divisions are mediated by foreign institutions such as the nation-state, the military, churches, NGOs or other aid agencies. Rural communities continue to follow cultural rules, several of which are not necessarily favorable to women. Where women's rights, or women's agency, need the protection of female elders, which they continue to value, a sense of collectivity inspired by renarrated mythologies and/or gender solidarity is enacted. Kuna activist Gloridalia González, offering a clear testimony of gender awareness and economic marginality, explains,

"Women took care of seeds, watered and tended plants, and harvested them. They were the ones who have maintained our culture. Women have been responsible for household income, for culture, handicrafts, plant knowledge, and family unity within Kuna communities. While recognizing women's participation in resistance and survival, we see that we remain marginalized and discriminated against, both outside as well as within our own culture."

Indigenous women living in cities, as cities become places where information is available, enter into several daily transactions in
which economic survival within traditional open markets is one that has granted control over resources and more responsibility attributed to women-led households of Indigenous origin. In this process, Indigenous women become economically independent, a sign of assertiveness, but as their economic status increases they may tend to reproduce exploitative relations, thus separating themselves from participating in Indigenous movements altogether. The case of domestic workers of Indigenous origin constitutes the other side of this coin. As they seek waged employment in urban households they are exposed to systematic abuse, both economically as well as sexually. Needless to say, poverty within an urban context has doubled for Indigenous cohorts as seen in the cases of Mexico City and São Paulo, where Indigenous peoples live below the poverty line. As is the case of women living in poverty, pressures increase for IW.

However, although poverty has had a dominant impact on the lives of IW, as has been the case of Indigenous men during the 70s and 80s, small percentages of IW surpassing such difficulties, entered Latin American universities in the 90s. Such young leadership forged the organizing of politicized Indigenous women's groups. Such changes also affected the world of foreign assistance to developing countries, and gave way to the creation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Several of these new female Indigenous leaders have learned to co-work with women-led, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), answering directly to negotiated women's agendas. Although still mediated by economic control, the know-how of proposal writings, vertical relations established by non-Indigenous urban women, as well as newly formed Indigenous professional
women tend to re-establish rural Indigenous *clientelism*. As Indigenous leaderships deal with governments, they continuously run into the dangerous possibility of being coopted. Old patronage systems, political clientelism and factionalism remain strong challenges to the notion of the autonomy of Indigenous movements. IW’s movements in particular face the challenge, for the first time, of changing entrenched systems that do not seem to offer alternatives to IPs platforms.

In the remote countryside, where traditionalism does not allow Indigenous women to openly challenge domesticity, one could say that Indigenous movements have failed altogether, or have only been partially successful at addressing Indigenous women's rights. For example, only recently, at the First Meeting of Native and Colonist Women (where Luzmila Chirisente Mahuanca was elected at Satipo in Amazonia, Peru) did Ashaninka, Nomatsiguengas and Campa women organized themselves to analyze their situation. Likewise, organized Indigenous women have attracted international aid in order to carry out their own projects since the early 90s. Some of these projects deal with creating a visible space for women to discuss their rights as women, and to exercise them, as has been the case of Clelia Mezua, President of the Ngobe (a.k.a. Emberá) General Congress, Panama. Some of these women's spaces touched on previously ignored issues such as abortion, rape, or domestic violence, because in the past these issues were considered too personal or familial, and not worth sharing with outsiders. But as they become gender conscious, Indigenous women move faster from the private to the public, becoming stronger and more critical of
oppressive situations. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui believes that feminism and "Indianism" [not to be confused with anachronic forms of *indigenismo*—state sponsored ideology GD-P.] can produce an edifying reflection which can establish a dialogue from which a shared utopia can emerge (1995: 25).

4. International Politics

The earliest programs of legal literacy during the 70s, triggered by the 1975 UN Women’s Conference in Mexico City and followed with the 1985 Nairobi Conference which was part of the non-governmental activities connected with the UN Decade for Women, transformed themselves into legal instruments to promote human rights for women and further educational programs. Although this seems like a positive advance for women, it can be noted that a very small number of women identified themselves as “Native” or “Indigenous” in the first meetings of Mexico City and Nairobi, nor was there an Indigenous Women’s Rights agenda. Despite the isolated, non-organized presence of Latin American IW, several noticed that other women delegates presented themselves *qua* ethnic feminists rather than using class belonging. The rough confrontation between Israeli and Palestinian women during the Nairobi conference became an eye opener for several IW of Latin America attending the non-governmental women’s conference as issues pertaining gender, nationalisms, language, territory and ethnicity cropped up.
Twenty years later, a delegation of Indigenous women forced its way to the Beijing conference (Sept 4-15, 1995) that, initially, rejected their presence. Such a delegation attended the parallel NGOs conference and was not heard at all by the official UN Women’s Conference itself, which heard Indigenous women denouncing the rejection experienced. The following statement, written by an Indigenous collective circulated by Abya Yala News, illustrates the case:

"From the beginning there was a limited flow of information between Indigenous and non-Indigenous women. The former had little access to contact information, and financial resources...The location of the conference made it hard for Indigenous women to attend. Only 30 Indigenous women arrived, an abysmal number (considering the number of Indigenous nations in the Americas)... After a preparatory continental meeting of Indigenous women in Ecuador (July 31-Aug 4, 1995) attended by about 150 women from 24 Indigenous nationalities, a final document entitled “The Declaration of Indigenous Women in Beijing” forwarded the following proposals and demands:

1. Recognize and respect our right to self-determination
2. Recognize and respect our right to our territories and development, education, and health;
3. Stop human rights violations and all forms of violence against Indigenous women;
4. Recognize and respect our cultural and intellectual inheritance and our right to control the biological diversity in our territories;
5. Assure the political participation of Indigenous women and amplify their access to resources” (AbyaYala News 1996: 13).

According to Wara Alderete, an Indigenous Calchaki activist from Northern Argentina who attended the Beijing Conference and helped co-organize the Ecuador IW preparatory meeting, “Indigenous women’s lack of participation was a significant weakness in Beijing. We need to devise new strategies so that our vision can become an integral component of the broader women’s movement, a presence to be recognized especially during watershed encounters such as Beijing.” (personal communication)

The next step for Indigenous women has been that of learning the know-how in the world of NGOs, and to become active members in their own Indigenous movements. Carmen Gualán, a Quichua (Ecuador) emphasizes the idea of full participation of IW. She writes, “As women and as communities we want to participate in Congress, where we can express and shape what we want and feel.” Marcela Lagarde reflecting on Mexico agrees,

“Ramona, Susana, Ana María, Silvia and their guerrilla companions want the same human rights specific to their gender. But to materialize such society’s demands under patriarchal conditions, means to revolutionize the whole of society and State, to transform women as founding co-participants of history in daily life... this requires us to modify the nation” (1998: 94).
If means of communication are successfully implemented by Indigenous women in urban areas, such as the video project lead by Carmen Ruíz with urban Aymara women (Bolivia), as well as the recent IW Chiapas video experience, in the country side, some continue to struggle for native language programming and broadcasting. Indigenous women in rural areas tend to be highly illiterate in dominant languages, which makes it hard for them to enter into equal relations of a political nature with non-Indigenous peasants who may continue to take advantage of their situation.

In 1993, the Center for Education and Communication of Puno (Peru) invited, for the first time, Aymara women from community-level radio stations, who worked to produce radio programs for and by women dealing with the problems faced by Indigenous women everywhere. Some of the issues they discussed were domestic violence, racial discrimination, and economic marginalization. Rosa Palomino who acted as an organizer at the end of the session noted, “The radio programs provide a system of mutual support, a form of development. If we do not include women, we will not develop.” These programs for the first time addressed themes in native languages closely related to the needs of women. Several of these programs continue to inform listeners about a woman’s rights to have control over her own body, and the right to be informed about unwanted pregnancies, highly contagious venereal diseases, and AIDS, which is spreading fast in Latin America. The case of AIDS transmission by garimpeiros (gold miners) to women of a Yanomami tribe is known, but there has been ineffective assistance from the non-Indigenous society to halt such aggression. Women’s ‘triple
struggle’ coined by Audrey Bronstein (1983), is now a “quadruple struggle”: “woman, poor, Indian, and uninformed.” Yet, as demonstrated in the examples, fast IW mobilizations are happening in order to solve the challenge posed by the ‘quadruple struggle.’

5. Trickle Down Effects and Indigenous Women Militancy

The distinction between non-Indigenous peasants and Indigenous peoples is often still hard to understand for outsiders, and even for political activists who tend to clump non-Indigenous peasants with Indigenous peoples. The issue at stake is a different understanding of land and territory, so important for IPs. However, Indigenous peoples in rural areas, continue to be neglected by the nation-state, and/or abused by transnational corporations who prey on IPs’ territorial notions. Organized IPs have been successful at attracting international media attention to voice their demands. But more often these debates remain restricted to the “Pueblos Indígenas and State” issue. For example, a recent book published in Ecuador on the proceedings of a colloquium on IPs and the State barely mentions women as part of the debate. Women’s issues tend to be swallowed by the dynamics of political strife, territorial and/or environmental struggles. Recent cases such as the women and children’s protest marches from the coca producing Chapare to La Paz (Bolivia), and lately from Pastaza to Quito (Ecuador), are cases in which women’s demands merge along with environmental struggles that tend to obfuscate the specificity of ethnic feminist demands.
Among recent examples of insurgent ethnic feminisms raised in 1994 by Zapatista women known as the “Indigenous Women's Petition,” are the “Twelve Points.” The first of such demands reads: “Childbirth clinics with gynecologists.” This openly denounces high mortality rates of both mother and child in Indigenous communities throughout Latin American rural areas. “Captain Silvia”, writes Marcela Lagarde, said “she learned to read and write in Spanish when she joined the guerrilla, and that she has married a captain like herself, and that she takes the pill ...” Such a statement is then complemented by the subsequent tenet: “The right to marry whoever we want. The right to have as many kids as we want and take care. The right to be whatever we wish to be, including becoming drivers, the right to hold positions in the community” (1998: 89). Likewise, Guiomar Rovira collected first voice testimonies of armed insurgent Indigenous women who have achieved positions of power in the already extended and unsolved Chiapas uprising.

The Zapatista women have pushed Indigenous women's agenda by far, inspiring other Indigenous women to voice daily life problems of teenage pregnancy, divorce, machismo, abortion, as well as opening debates over homosexuality, lesbianism, and sexism. Several of these latter issues are still, in less informed Indigenous rural communities or communities, overtly influenced by fundamentalist missionaries, and continued to be seen as taboo. In these cases, Indigenous women are working first at liberating the language by talking, printing and circulating it. La Correa Feminista in Mexico acknowledges that the EZLN, has opened strategic doors. “EZLN had reopened doors to validate rebellion and more, revalidated the right to press for a
realization of your difference, the right to not submit yourself to oppressing legalities...another important aspect has been (especially for us feminists) the explicit discourse...A comparable communication [strategy] has been one of the feminist utopias of communication, lost in the erroneous belief that we can only be heard if we speak the language of the Other.”

A clear example of this is *Mujer Pública* the all women’s newspaper of national circulation whose members constitute a young generation of interethnic Bolivian feminists, published by Florentina Alegre, a journalist, who points out: “Governments are not mothers nor fathers, they have not been born of poor Quechua or Aymara women. For us pregnant women, pre- or post- childbirth, attention is not available at the ‘free’ health care centers the government talks about. Instead, because we are Indigenous, there is discrimination at such places. We know that women who die from childbirth are mostly Indigenous. Also, in our communities there are no medical doctors, no health centers, no medicines, no hospitals, and no labs. So, what kind of free attention are governments talking about?”

Other women leaders such as Marta Vitor Guaraní, of the Guaraní-Kiowa people who are divided between at least four countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, and Paraguay) articulates an upper limit situation when she denounces the mistreatment of hundreds of Guaraní, both men and women. She writes, “Over seven thousand Indians are working in the charcoal factories and in the sugar cane processing plants. They live in a state of slavery. This is the integration that white society offers us...Poste Indigena Dourados has
seen the greatest concentration of Indigenous suicides in the country... and in the Summer of 1994 one hundred and six Guaraní-Kiowa families from Jaguapire (Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil) threatened with collective suicide as Federal Court’s ordered to expel them from their lands.” Although Marta Vitor Guaraní has been outspoken, she does not attempt to separate a whole people's fate as they struggle through colonized conditions, giving us an indication of the complexity males and females still endure within Indigenous societies.

Indigenous Women leaders now living in urban areas have maintained relations with Originary (First Nations) communities. They represent voices that sometimes are hard to represent. There have been situations where Indigenous women representatives have reproduced discriminatory relations among their own kin. This is understandable because leadership, in several cases, needs to play the funding game, which in turn contributes to further decimation of Indigenous organizations and intra-competition for meager resources. Pro-Indian Rights activist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has called this process the 'NGOization' of Latin American societies. Certainly, rather than looking at Indigenous movements as value-free, we must consider them as forming part of the world system, for it is precisely their territories that may become the last resource of capitalistic takeover: biodiversity and genetic resources are found in such places, extensively targeted today by TNCs. Only twelve nation-states are signatories of ILO's Article 169 which, if implemented in other countries with high percentages of IPs, guarantees the rights of IPs, but hardly offers specific rights for Indigenous women. ILO's
concern reflects the economic situation Indigenous peoples face worldwide.

6. The Indigenous Fe/Male as a Gender Issue

As gender issues enter the consciousness of Indigenous America, women are making their voices heard. Sharper confrontations are now waged with entrenched patriarchies as Indigenous women see the nation-state and its institutions (the military, the church, the judiciary, the police, class-inspired political parties, unions, educational systems) as relentlessly discriminatory. Indigenous solidarities between males and females tend to reinforce gender equality utopia often referred to in Indigenous cosmologies, against systematic discrimination. This, in turn, has reestablished women's ceremonialism that works as a healing strategy, legitimating their leadership within Indigenous communities. Religious ceremonialism, based on the retrieval of ancient practices, endows women with moral authority over the community with the power of political leadership. It has been through the reformulation/renarrativizing of these religious practices that women can reestablish control of the human body privileging ancient healing practices. Alicia Canaviri, a founder of CDIMA, the Aymara Women's Development Center in La Paz (Bolivia) has dedicated herself to training forty Aymara women selected from eight communities. At the end of her workshops she successfully says, “These first forty women are now liberated, empowered, and organized to defend and fight for the rights of the Aymara woman. It is fundamental that the women are trained to
occupy important positions.” Among the Wayuu, several of which live in Maracaibo (Venezuela), girls born and raised in the Wayuu neighborhoods are offered a traditional rite of initiation as they carry on with their Guajira territory culture. Wayuu women have successfully organized the Network of Indigenous Women which serves as a hub for multiple activities to defend Wayuu women’s rights and Indigenous women living in cities, among those, the Warao of Tucupita, the Piaroa and Guajibo of Puerto Ayacucho. However, the concern over assertiveness has left behind other problems such as programming on teen-age pregnancy, venereal diseases, AIDS, alcoholism, domestic violence, and economic hardships which would require stronger conviction from the part of Indigenous organizations. Nation-state ministries and recent juridical innovations regarding Indigenous areas and States seem prompt to coopt male leaderships. In such areas, women are still distant from exercising their rights and/or the nation state has been unable to grant and honor notions of citizenship.

The collective Indigenous self-definition challenges the concept of nuclear family, but it has also helped raise other questions over women’s rights within families and communities. Several Indigenous matrilocal societies, such as in some of the Miskitu of the Rio Platano Biosphere (Honduras), women are granted the right to inherit land, to own it, and to be able to pass it on to future generations. Likewise, the Euroamerican division of gender, which radically separates women from men, is seen in some Indigenous cultures as trying to achieve a complementary status. To value complementarity over gender separation of males and females, several Indigenous
languages posses only one term to describe the third person singular=human, she/he. This is because the working domestic unit is based upon a process of participation, which entails couples, children, and above all collective survival. Of course, among the several policies that have worked against those conditions lay tremendous pressures similar to the ones experienced by the Guaraní-Kaiowa who considered collective suicide as a last resort. Note that in this case, the idea of collectivity is beyond the notion of individual men and women, young and old.

Trial marriages are often practiced by Andean Quechua, because kinship ties and collectivity need to ensure a high level of couple viability which is related to the reproduction of the domestic unit and access to land. There have been cases, observes anthropologist Alison Spedding, where female adultery is not seen as punishable, but male laziness or drunkenness is. If marriages fall apart, or widows/widowers enter new arrangements, it is more likely that females can carry on ‘male’ duties, and less often that ‘males’ can carry on ‘female’ duties, although it happens. Likewise, there are women who seek potential suitors depending on their land accessibility, and are able to reject men by judging their ability to subsist economically. One could say that the economics of survival have a priority over emotional relations. Mauricia Castro, a Xicaque (Honduras) illustrates this point: “Women participate in decision making, whether the men like it or not. In FETRIXI (Federation of Xicaque Tribes, Yoro) there are women who have a man as a secretary and they tell him what to do. But we do not wish to make a parallel organization of women because we believe that, and this is a
custom of the Xicaques, women without men can do nothing, but likewise men without women are stuck. Even though 'machismo' always existed, we resist it by saying: 'Do not walk in front of me, do not fall behind, let's walk together.' Due to her leadership Mauricia had her life threatened by security forces, she recalls this: "They were going to kill five of us and that is what they did. They said it would be those board members. They said that we were going to be dead. But the five, two women and three men, belonged to different councils."

Another extraordinary case has been presented by a small tribe made up of 1,349 individuals, of which there are 712 Ebêrawera (Native women). In this case, these Ebêra women (Alto Sinú, Colombia) got together in their "Werara bia zhebudaka aba yi udukabadape bedea abarika odaita" (Welcome Ebêra women so that we will talk with one voice) at the community of Dosá, on the region of Iwagadó, Resguardo Ébêra Katío on November 22-26, 1999. According to their final report they stated:

"In this encounter we dealt with several subjects that have to do with our lives, our problems, our children, our elders, our struggles and our people. We also talk about taking care of nature and territory, of our food and especially our culture and our Organization. We Nokowera (women mayors, gubernatorial leaders, jaibanaweras [healers] and women shamaness, regular women, elders and young girls, got together to think about ourselves, as well as about children and elders... Several [of us] do not know how to read or write, however, we know how to think and to love our culture, our children,
our communities and our territory.” (Werara Bia 1999: 1-2). And this is exactly what they did, retrieved their strength, renarrativized their own power and reestablished it in clear statement that illustrates their force and unity qua women. In this case, the Nokowera, i.e. women that have authority to control river rights of entry, a role given to community mayors, repositioned their territorial authority vis-à-vis the non-Indigenous Colombian society.

7. Migration of Indigenous Women to the U.S.

Population displacement and migration of Indigenous women has had important repercussions regarding human rights and specifically rights for women. After several years of organizing, Indigenous women that belong to the ‘Frente Mixteco Zapoteco Binacional,’ composed of migrants from Mexico that work in the agricultural fields of California, have constituted teams to provide direct economic assistance to their base communities. Indigenous women exposed to other women’s struggles in the U.S. and Mexico often acquire their political agency although encountering entrenched racisms from the part of non-Indigenous society, racism in Spanish...and English. However, as a bilateral Indigenous movement, they have asserted themselves on both sides of the border. Their secret is to assist each other, to reconstitute their cultural collective identity, which adopts the best from home as well as the best from US. culture. Women’s rights are one. Their community changes slowly but surely for the better. Laura Velasco Ortíz conducted research among Mixtecas in the border city of Tijuana and found that Mixtecas “have been forced to develop a great capacity for survival, they
combine their experience of resistance as Indigenous women but also as women. This ‘habit of surviving’ is manifested in several multisites” (1998: 19). Calchaki scholar and activist Wara Alderete, while coworking with the Mixtec and Zapotec migrants in the U.S., has found that some suffer from depression, and have considered suicide as a way of dealing with cultural transitions and the stresses of discrimination in the agricultural fields of California. The Mixteco are probably one of the first Indigenous groups to have received direct assistance in learning about health risks such as depression and sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS.

It is important to remember that Indigenous women continue being depositories of languages, domestic and public organizing strategies and cultural practices in general and consciously rejected assimilative aims proposed by nation-states. By stressing on these forms of resistance, Indigenous women consciously act against the forgotten category of colonialism, which persists in relation to Indigenous Peoples. Although, it is thought that Indigenous movements need to be politically visible to be taken into consideration, forms of cultural resistance in the hands of women have been as effective if not more than politicized Indigenous movements. The articulation of anticolonial policies and Indigenous movements’ proposals to decolonize human relations and histories and also to deal with the recognition of women’s contributions to such movements. The same process of decolonization is touched by an editorial of Mujer Pública, which poses a question: “Does feminism have allies? We definitely think so, we have experienced sisterhood
and solidarity from the part of males toward feminists, but it is as complex as feminism itself."

Finally, as globalization is now looking at biodiversity which is found mostly on Indigenous areas, women are being exposed to unwanted side effects brought in by bioprospecting, unconsented DNA collection and biotechnology. The defense of Indigenous Property Rights (patenting of Indigenous genes, medicinal plants, and genetic resources) continue to inspire new transnational mobilizations. Several of these aspects are, indeed, in the hands of women, in their accurate knowledge of concrete environmental repositories which make us think about the uphill battle not just for rights, but longer and sustained struggles against transnational corporations and intermediaries that, in the best of circumstances, will be waged by women as they regain shared authority within the Indigenous movement.

Conclusions

Documenting recent developments of IW organizing in the Americas creates evident challenges for researchers of social movements. Naturally, we acknowledge the fact that "not all feminist struggles can be understood within the frame-work of 'organized' movements. Questions of political consciousness and self-identity are crucial aspects of defining third world women's engagement with feminism" (Mohanty 1991: 33). More than 350 Peoples (about 50 million in the Americas) descendants of "Originary or First Peoples" have now
closed a full circle of demographic recuperation that is in all probability comparable to the initial “encounter” five hundred years ago in Portuguese as well as Spanish speaking areas of the Americas. As we contrast social movements in the Americas, Indigenous militancy can be described as having reached a stronger level of hemispheric coordination both in the North and the South; territories of the People of the Condor, Peoples of the Eagle and Peoples of the Quetzal and the Jaguar. It seems that the 20th century’s persistent defense of Indigenous identity was strongly refurbished and galvanized by the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s in the North, having its equivalent in the renaissance of growing ethnic identity and gender consciousness in the Americas (Varese 1996:122-142) which argue for full *decolonization* and full recognition of Indigenous “Immemorial Rights” (3). “Decolonization,” according to Satya P. Mohanty is, “defined as the process of unlearning historically determined habits of privilege and privation, of ruling and dependency—such a difficult intellectual matter that we cannot acknowledge our past or present location and simply get on with the business.” (1995: 108)

A crucial period of change was prompted in the 1960s U.S. Native American intellectuals refined contestant histories against entrenched ‘official histories’ little disputed until then. In the Latin American case, however, Indigenous intellectual movements were overshadowed by a predominant presence of “Indigenista” ideology sponsored by the nation-state. ‘Indigenismo’ put forward feeble and mistaken projects of full assimilation of Indigenous Peoples to homogenous nation-states. Recent Indigenous notions of autonomous
stands and insistence on sovereignty, however, propose to redefine
the current version of the nation-state, forcing it to change by
adopting notions of multi-culturality and diversity. In their words,
IW's state: “The Organization we are seeking as indigenous women
implies and confronts power, both within the boundaries of the State
and the prevailing legal system, and within our own indigenous
communities because it demands our own specificity and it questions
certain ways and customs which violate our human rights.” (IWGIA
1999: 328). Organized IW benefited from the dynamics of the
‘circulation of struggles’, in that IW pondered the influence of
feminist thinking but also because it assisted women in
understanding the crossroads of gender and ethnicity. Mapuche
activist Isolde Reuque Paillalef states that: “Kumin in the Mapuche
language can be understood as “knowledge”, and it [Kumin] has been
destroyed” (1998: 238). Despite the fact that IW argued with Anglo-
European feminism, it seems to these authors that such a debate
helped in the repositioning and re-narrativizing of Indigenous
feminism. The need to be looked at from the perspective of a
sharpened renewal of mythologies, oral histories, languages, memory
and knowledge helped revive what IW think can restore strong
notions of gynocratic power.

Notes

(1) Marfa Eugenia Choque, an Aymara historian, is former Director of
The Oral History Andean Workshop in La Paz, Bolivia, and is a former
grantee of The Rockefeller Foundation Indigenous Initiative housed
at the Department of Native American Studies, Univ. of California,
Davis.

G. Delgado-P. is an anthropologist, and technical advisor of Abya Yala
Fund (Oakland, CA). He teaches at the University of California Santa
Cruz. The article is based on interviews conducted by the collective of Abya Yala News of whom Delgado was an active member. Unfortunately, the Abya Yala News project has folded up. Translations of non-English terms and languages by authors.

(2) Excerpts from a longer document, translated by Peoples Translation Service, Berkeley, 1975 (mimeo)

(3) Marcia Stephenson in her afterword "AlterNative Institutions" offers a comprehensive summary regarding debates concerning decolonization, gender and Indigenous Aymara women’s influential leadership paying attention to previous work by Choque and Delgado.

Bibliography

Alderete, Wara

Allen, Paula Gunn.

Ardaya Salinas, Gloria.

Bhabha, Omi
1994 The Location of Culture. NY: Routledge

Bunster B., Ximena

Castillo Cardenas, G. (ed)
1973 “El Derecho de la Mujer Indígena.” In: Las Luchas del Indio que baja de la montaña al valle de la Civilización, Bogota: Comite de Defensa del Indio.
Congreso Nacional Indígena with Beatriz Avila

Chinchilla, Norma

Choque-Quispe, María Eugenia
1998 "La identidad y liderazgo de la mujer indígena en la lucha por el territorio". Informe de trabajo para Native American Studies, Universidad de California Davis. Programa Rockefeller para Becarios Indígenas de las Américas. (ms)

Delgado-P., Guillermo

------

Espina, Yuderkys
1999 "¿Hasta dónde nos sirven las identidades? Una propuesta de repensar la identidad y nuestras políticas de identidad en los movimientos feministas étnico-racial". Dos partes: http://creatividadfeminista.org/fr_articulos.htm

EZLN/Zapatista Army of National Liberation

Gabriel, Calixta
1992 "We are each half of this world. Indigenous women before and after colonization". IN: Saiic (eds.)Daughters of Abya Yala. Oakland: Saiic, 11-14

Gutiérrez, Margarita and Nellys Palomo
International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, IWGIA

Lagarde, Marcela

La Correa Feminista
1999 "Chiapas, reflexiones desde nuestro feminismo", EN: Lovera, Sara and Nellys Palomo (coordinators), Las Alzadas. México: CIMAC, Convergencia Socialista

Lievesley, Geraldine

Maier, Elizabeth

Martínez García, Mauricio
1995 La historia de cómo la Niña Sawachi nunca encontró la frontera. Maracaibo, Venezuela: Ed. Astro Data

McIvor, Sharon Donna

Mignolo, Walter

Millet, K.
Mohanty, Satya P.

Mohanty Talpade, Chandra

Murphy, Yolanda and Robert Murphy
1974     Women of the Forest. NY: Columbia UP

Mujeres Ebera

Nash, June

Navarro, Marysa

Pallares, Laura
1998     "Los cautiverios de las mujeres". La República de las Mujeres (Uruguay), 6-7

Palomo, Nellys, Beatriz Avila and Maria Eugenia Mata (eds)
1999     II Encuentro Continental de Mujeres Indígenas de las Primera Naciones de Abya Yala. Mexico: Kinal Antsetik A.C.

Prada, Ana Rebeca, Virginia Ayllón, Pilar Contreras (eds)
1999     Diálogo sobre Escritura y Mujeres. Memoria La Paz: Sierpe

RedBird, Elsie B.

Reuque Paillalef, Isolde

Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia

Rovira, Guiomar
1997 Mujeres de Maíz. México: Era

Safa, Helen
1990 "Women’s Social Movements in Latin America." Gender and Society vol 4 (3): 354-369

Schuler, Margaret A. (traducción de G. Delgado P.)

Scott, James C.

Spedding, Alison

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai

Sponsel, Leslie E.

Stephenson, Marcia

THOA [Tallter de Historia Oral Andina]
1990 La Mujer Andina en la Historia. Chuquiyawu: Thoa

Varese, Stefano

Velasco Ortíz, Laura