

The Globalization of Indigenous Women's Social Movements and
the United Nations System (1992-2012)

by

Rosalee C. González

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2012 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Mary Fonow, Chair
Elizabeth Archuleta
Marjorie Zatz

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2012

ABSTRACT

"The Globalization of Indigenous Women's Movements and The United Nations System (1992-2012)" is a comprehensive study of the globalization of indigenous women's movements that materialized in the early 1990s. These movements flourished parallel to other transnational social movements, such as International Zapatismo, the World Social Forum, and Gender as Human Rights Movement, yet they are omitted and remain invisible within transnational and global social movement literature. This study is an inscription of these processes, through the construct of a textual space that exposes a global decolonial feminist imaginary grounded in the oral histories of thirty-one international indigenous women leaders. The primary site for this study is the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), a venue where contact amongst indigenous women worldwide occurs annually at the United Nations (UN) Headquarters in New York City. This qualitative study uses decolonial and feminist methodology to examine in-depth semi-structured interviews, transcriptions of key speeches, plenaries and interventions made by indigenous women at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and other relevant international forums, and field notes compiled from my full-participant and participant-observation in international forums. My dissertation makes two claims. First, I argue that indigenous women have made formal gains within the UN System via an unprecedented process of simultaneously accepting, contesting and altering the structural opportunities and constraints present within the UN.

These processes made it possible for UNPFII's actors and their key claims to be effectively integrated within the multiple agencies that make up the UN. I identify key Indigenous actors and trace their claims for social justice, which have transcended the domestic sphere to the global political arena. Second, I argue that, globalization has reconfigured transnational political spaces for indigenous women activists and that these UN advocates frame their claims for rights in a unique way, in a process that combines individual human rights as well as collective indigenous peoples rights.

DEDICATION

Para mis amores Antonio, Kinan, Hyazna and Kuyuchik and the next seven generations. I dedicate this work to my mother whose dreams for her kids to attend college took deep root in me. To Frank Gutierrez, my first Xicano Studies teacher who planted the seed of decolonization, *gracias Profe*. To all the beautiful indigenous women who have unconditionally shared their knowledge, sorrows and dreams with me—Tlazocamatic, thank you for believing in this project and in me to care for your stories. *En especial agradezco a Tarcila Rivera por su aprecio y liderazgo de mujer sabía*. To my dear friends and elders, Celia H. Rodríguez and Cherrie Moraga, *gracias por tanta fe en nuestro trabajo en el espacio internacional*, for insisting on grounding oppose to globalizing La Red Xicana Indigena. Igualmente, last but not least, to all the founding members of La Red, thank you for being *visioneras* Xicanistas—Jennie Luna, Felicia Montes, Gina Aparicio, Margaret Alarcon, Lori Gonzalez, Cinthya Guillen, Lupe Lopez, Sara Mendoza, Georgina Cuatenco, Rufina Juarez, and all of the beautiful sisters that participated in our first gathering in the LA Forest during our foundational years. This work is only the beginning to a longer journey to tell about the many *luchas* that have happened and are continuing to happen daily, This work is an open invitation to my sisters who are dreaming, like I have, about collaborating amongst other decolonial feminists to write our stories.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to start by acknowledging those before and after me—to those who finished and those who weren't able to finish, and to the many more Xicana/o Ph.D.'s to come. I want to thank my Chicana/o professors who have especially touched my life in forms that go beyond intellectual inspiration—Frank Gutierrez, Norma Alarcon, Julia Curry, Larry Trujillo, Joel Garcia, Carlos Muñoz, Arturo Aldama and Amira de la Garza. Also, I want to acknowledge and thank the following friends and mentors from the academic American Indian community—Karina Walters, Michael Yellowbird, Rebecca Tsosie and James Riding In. I thank you especially for your relentless support and ability to see and know indigeneity beyond the confines of U.S. federal recognition policy. I also want to acknowledge my amazing dissertation committee that balanced rigor, patience and love all at once throughout the years that I conducted research and writing—Mary Margaret Fonow, Marjorie Zatz and Elizabeth Archuleta, you pushed right when it was needed and knew when not to push. I am forever grateful and humbled by your support for me as a mother, wife, activist, scholar and graduate student—you demonstrated how liberatory pedagogy is enacted. I can only hope to emulate your love for the production of critical knowledge and supportive mentorship as you have.

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
FIGURE	
1 Moderating UNPFII Side Event on Unrepresented Indigenous Peoples Issues, April 2007	63
2 UNPFII 2006 Global Indigenous Women's Caucus Rapporteur Committee	65
3 UNPFII May 12, 2011 Presentation of the Intervention on behalf of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas.....	72
4 Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas (ECMIA) at the International Women's Day Feminist March in Lima, Peru March 10, 2011.....	114.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	79
The Genesis of the GIWSM	9
Background of the problem	15
Theoretical framework.....	21
The research question	24
Data and methods.....	26
Chapter outline	27
Limitations	29
Statement of broader impact.....	30
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	32
Intersectional considerations for TSMs.....	33
Communique's that mobilize TSMs.....	35
Transnational Connections	37
The newness and difference of TSMs	40
Feminist framings: Engendering TSMs	44
Indigenous and decolonial framings: TSMs	51
Intersecting TSMs	54
A Global Critical Race Feminist analysis of TSMs.....	56
Conclusion.....	57

CHAPTER

3	METHODOLOGY.....	59
	Feminist and Indigenous Methodology.....	59
	Methods.....	68
	Critical ethnography.....	69
	Participant Observation.....	73
	Feminist Content Analysis.....	75
	Site and Participant Selection, Rationale for selection.....	76
	Data collection.....	78
	Benefits to participants.....	84
	Ethical considerations.....	85
	Conclusions.....	87
4	THE GENESIS OF THE GLOBALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS WOMENS	
	SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.....	90
	Excavating for roots.....	93
	Acompañando Invisible.....	97
	Subversive Acompañamiento.....	99
	From Global to Globalization: A shift in paradigm.....	106
	Excavating for roots.....	110
	Acompañando Invisible.....	116
	Excavating for roots.....	119

	Page
CHAPTER	
5 WE COME HERE (ACA) TO: ACCEPT, CONTEST AND ALTER THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM.....	130
Continental Networks, Organization and Alliances	131
Abrazos, Rechazos y Enlaces	135
6 CONCLUSIONS.....	146
REFERENCES	156
APPENDIX	
A List of Interviewees	159
B Glossary List	160
C IRB Approval	160

CHAPTER 1 Introduction to the study

Influenced politically by the Zapatista Indigenous movement, my transnational social activism among Indigenous Peoples began in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994. For the next six years I traveled continuously to southern Mexico to work on various anti-neoliberal and human rights campaigns. In 2000, my graduate studies in the International Social Welfare and Public Policy Program at Columbia University included an internship at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. As a result, I interned with an American Indian Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), whose primary work is to advocate and lobby for the rights of Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations System. That same year, an organization I co-founded, La Red Xicana Indigena, elected me among four other Indigenous women to participate in the Third Gathering of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of Abya Ayala, which would eventually change its name to the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas. It was at this gathering, held in Panama City, and the traditional Comarca de Kuna Ayala in Panama, where I witnessed an emerging continental Indigenous women's social movement in its early developmental stages. The level of political formation and articulation by the participants of this gathering shocked me. I had met, worked amongst, and heard other Indigenous women leaders speak out, yet this group of Indigenous women affected me profoundly. Their structure, political agenda, unifying principles and continental scope marked clear distinctions from the Zapatista movement--mainly, this was a movement led by and for Indigenous women.

At this continental gathering I was captivated by the diversity and the women-centered spirit for organizing throughout the continent. I was one of approximately two

hundred Indigenous women from North, Central, and South America who gathered to share experiences and further develop the Continental Network of Indigenous Women. One key observation that struck me during this gathering was the process by which the women formed working groups, called Rapporteurs¹. A handful of volunteer rapporteurs created a working group and they worked ardently every night of the gathering to produce outcome summaries from the plenaries and breakout sessions for each day.

The formation of this working group hinted to me that a stratification process existed within this network. This process produced a select number of women who were given the opportunity to collaborate outside of the formal gathering and gain particular international policy skills. These work opportunities finessed the necessary skills the women needed to ensure efficient international lobbying efforts--such as articulating issues, understanding the internal debates, familiarizing themselves with collective recommendations, and linking and reframing the issues presented within an international framework. Hence, from this working group a cadre of experts was being formed. Through the years, these early observations still guide me to examine the nuances of the points of unity and discord that have influenced the collective identity for organized Indigenous women on a global scale.

Another key event I witnessed at this gathering would guide the direction my research would take. At this same gathering, Indigenous leaders from Mexico proposed that the Northern Region be split between Mexico and the United States and Canada. They argued that language was a significant barrier in advancing the day-to-day work of

¹ Rapporteurs, as in reporters in English, are appointed investigators by an institutions, like the UN, or for a working group meeting they are appointed by the members and are delegated the responsibility to serve as scribes. Their responsibilities are to document through transcription, take notes and assist the production of synthesized declaration or report that is approved by the working group.

the region without the human or financial resources to ensure translation of documents and communication. Consequently, splitting the network along the US-Mexico border was more than an act moved by practicality. Rather, it signaled the unarticulated material distinctions between Indigenous women from either side of the historically-imposed borders. Also, it signaled the practice of limited or no debate on political issues of critical significance, such as the implications of reifying such a split along the volatile yet violence-invoking border that has divided indigenous peoples for the last 166 years. This demarcation of difference influenced my interest in the examination of the principles of unity that informed such a broad network, while, at the same time, captured the diversity that Indigenous women leaders and their networks negotiate on a global scale.

In 2000, I experienced my first confrontation with an emerging opposition expressed by Indigenous women in the North towards organized Indigenous women in the South. More specifically, I realized there was an ideological and political split among Indigenous women organizing within the international arena. In an informal conversation, I asked an Indigenous woman leader in the United States for her thoughts and interest in participating in this growing continental network. To my surprise she vehemently rejected my idea and explained her position. Premised in an additive approach (Hill-Collins, 1990) or “Oppression Olympics (Martinez, 1993), she argued that Indigenous women in the South are more oppressed than her and, more generally, among American Indian women. She explained that women in the South confront greater structural disadvantages within their governments and tribal nations; therefore, they were more vulnerable to oppression and had a greater need to form an Indigenous women’s movement. She emphasized her priority in a collective rights/Indigenous nation’s rights

agenda, which she argued were not the same. For her, “machismo”² was a Southern reality--a “Latin American problem,” a matter that is not relevant to Indigenous women in the United States and Canada. From her standpoint, American Indian women were protected from patriarchal domination (i.e., machismo) through the matrilineal societies that honor Indigenous women. Her words and, more profoundly, her sentiment of arrogance for the political work of Indigenous women in the South is the impetus for this study.

My experiences in working with Indigenous women in the North and South inform my research and illustrate the following: 1) the kinds of international forums and conferences that are sites serving to globalize Indigenous women’s organizations and social movements; 2) the methods by which Indigenous women are gaining international leadership and expertise; 3) how my use of self, as cultural insider-outsider, will collect information that may otherwise not be disclosed in a non-familial environment; and 4) to stress the need to examine and explain the structural, political and representational intersectionalities (Crenshaw, 1991) that influence the formation as well as the tension inherent in the Globalization of Indigenous Women’s Movements (GIWM) that they have and will continue to confront. It is through my scholar-activist experience within this social movement that my research agenda is conceived and has flourished.

This study intends to fill a gap in social science literature, but also a political gap within the international Indigenous Peoples movement by illustrating the multiple factors that have influenced the Globalization of Indigenous Women’s Social Movements. As

² Michael Harding explains the concept of Machismo as “a stereotype that emphasizes hypermasculinity and associated with the Latin American male, [it] was a legacy of the Conquest of the Spanish conquistadores and their interpretation of and reaction to the indigenous two-spirit” (Harding, 2002).

the previous example illustrates, organized Indigenous women are commonly misconstrued as leaders responding only to patriarchy and gender inequality—an assumption that is also made by Indigenous Peoples’ mixed-gendered collectives, feminists, and other international actors. However, in this study Indigenous women articulate a continuum of reasons and site key historical events that gave impetus to a shift from local to international organizing. The findings demonstrate that these experiences are deeply rooted in the need to speak up for themselves and their Indigenous nations, communities, lands and territories.

This research project is the first comprehensive study of the Globalization of Indigenous Women’s Movements (GIWM) that materialized in the early 1990s. These movements flourished parallel to and in some instances intersected with other transnational social movements worldwide³, yet transnational and global social movement literature omits them, and they remain invisible. Therefore, I situate this study at the intersection of Critical Race Feminism (CRF) and Transnational Social Movement (TSM) studies. I build on key thoughts on the emergence of transnational and global social movements in the 1990s, by injecting organized Indigenous women’s thoughts and experiences into these debates.

Furthermore, I establish the significance of my research in understanding how the global arena, such as the United Nations (UN), influences local social movements and vice-versa, and how Indigenous women’s social movements are influencing the UN. I argue that the Globalization of Indigenous Women’s Social Movements emerges from within a decolonial imaginary to self-represent, make visible and produce social change

³ For example, International Zapatismo, the World Social Forum, and the Gender as Human Rights Movement.

on a global scale. Chicana scholar Emma Perez defines the decolonial imaginary as a theoretical approach that makes visible and heard the voices, issues and experiences of women who have been relegated to silence through the deployment of colonial historical methodologies of erasure (1999). Accordingly, my project centralizes Indigenous women's experiences and deliberately relies on accounts by, rather than about, Indigenous women (Smith, 2000). In order to disrupt the historical and colonial approach to knowledge production, I trace this movement's history and process, while broadening the meaning of Indigenous women's forms of oppression and resistance as viewed from their standpoint. Consequently, this study included broad ethnographic field work supplemented with oral histories, interviews with key informants, and archival research.

This qualitative study relies on decolonial and feminist methodologies to examine thirty-one in-depth semi-structured interviews and dozens of transcriptions of key speeches, plenary presentations, and oral and written interventions made by Indigenous women on the floor of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and other relevant international forums. Additionally, my data include field notes compiled from my participant-observation in international forums. The primary site for my research took place at the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), an event held annually at the UN Headquarters in New York City, a venue where continuous contact amongst Indigenous women worldwide occurs. Additional research venues include various key continental and global forums of Indigenous women, such as the first International Forum of Indigenous Women held in Lima, Peru in 2007, United Nations Commission on the Status of Women High Level Plenary on Indigenous Women and Education in 2010, and

the First Continental Gathering on Indigenous Women and Ancestral Justice, held in Quito, Ecuador in 2009.

What has not been examined, are the processes that made it possible for UNPFII's actors and their key claims to be effectively integrated into the UN's multiple agencies. In my dissertation, I seek to resolve this gap. First, I seek to understand if and in what forms have Indigenous women made formal gains within the UN System via the unprecedented processes of simultaneously accepting, contesting, and altering the structural opportunities and constraints present within the UN's functioning. I identify key Indigenous actors and trace their claims for social justice that transcended the domestic sphere to the global political arena. Second, has globalization reconfigured transnational political spaces for Indigenous women activists and do these UN advocates frame their claims for rights in a unique way.

Background of the Problem

Worldwide Indigenous women's claims for social justice have moved beyond the domestic sphere and onto the global political arena. From 1992–2012, this upward shift created new international leaders that gained increasing visibility on the international stage. Through their participation in national Indigenous social movements, many of these Indigenous women have developed essential skills necessary for successful international diplomacy. Moreover, through an array of strategies, including protest, research, international advocacy and lobby, these women have negotiated and challenged international institutions and instruments such as the UN System of Organizations and

various international Conventions⁴ that impact the protection of the rights of Indigenous women, their nations and communities. Within the UN, Indigenous women are providing fresh perspectives and analyses of issues in various legal areas, including intellectual property law, labor law, natural resources and environmental law, family law, anti-discrimination law, global climate change, ancestral justice and court systems. The movement's key players have called for the inclusion and full participation of Indigenous women representatives in international decision-making processes. Equally important, they have articulated the need for, and, in some spaces they have successfully convinced, the UN to engage in paradigm shifts. The paradigm shifts which Manderson and Tauli-Corpuz refer to are the pressing philosophical debates between western and indigenous knowledge on issues like biodiversity, climate change, development and they include the need to address Indigenous women's experiences and concerns (Manderson and Tauli-Corpuz, 2006).

As a direct result of Indigenous women's arduous years of advocating and representing themselves and their Peoples' claims for social justice, significant and historical changes have occurred within these international structures (Espinoza, 1997). However, despite these events, Indigenous women's work in the international arena remains understudied. For example, only one policy report exists and was produced by the United Nations (UN) Task Force on Indigenous Women. This particular report presents the first international case study on good practices for the UN to address Indigenous women's concerns (Department of Economic Affairs, 2007). Other studies exist with varied interests in academic and policy topics such as Indigenous women and

⁴ Such as, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and Convention on Biodiversity.

questions on gender, Indigenous feminism, violence, and ancestral justice (Hernandez, 2001; Marcos, 2005; Sierra, 2008). Yet, scholars have neglected to fully document and study the globalization of Indigenous women's social movements and its emerging leaders' claims. I argue that this neglect exemplifies Indigenous women's continued legal and social subordination and invisibility on multiple grounds, including ethnicity, class, religion, and gender (Crenshaw, 2003; Harris, 1990; Matsuda, 1992) on a global scale. Consequently, this study is innovative and fills a gap between two bodies of social science literature and a political necessity to capture, examine and articulate the conditions that led to the emergence of Indigenous women's leadership in the global arena, such as the United Nation.

Globally, the framing of Indigenous women's claims for social justice have shifted and traversed through a national civil rights approach to an international human rights based approach. For example, Myrna Cunningham, a Miskito international Indigenous feminist leader, draws from her national constitution of Nicaragua to explain how Article 14, which ensures gender equity between men and women, is not fulfilled (ICHP Interview, 2006). She explains the contention that arises when attempting to interpret and implement this article in the autonomous region of the nation-state, where Indigenous women arguably have a constitutional right to gender equity, yet, without the local support of men and women, the implementation process is hindered. Consequently, it is in the international arena that Indigenous women, like the Miskito, draw from international instruments that lend support to both their individual and collective rights, to reframe social injustices that capture the interpersonal and structural oppressions Indigenous women confront. Accordingly, Indigenous women worldwide have invested

much of their time forming organizations and networks that confront racial and engendered oppression institutionalized in certain organizations, such as the United Nations, government tribal structures, and society more generally.

Worldwide, Indigenous women have and continue to demand to be treated fairly as humans with rights. Being Indigenous and women, they have also expressed their concerns related to the colonial legacy of inequality and structural oppression they have endured historically. Consequently, Indigenous women have launched unprecedented articulations of the complexities and particularities of the interlocking systems of racialized and engendered oppression they confront (Matsuda, 1992). They refuse to be essentialized as either woman or Indigenous, and they problematize simplistic framings of their legal concerns (Green, 2007; Hernandez, 2001). For example, Indigenous women urge the UN to employ a holistic assessment and approach to efficiently combat violence at multiple sites—interpersonal and institutional—where violence is perpetuated and sustained (NGLS e-Roundup, March 2012). As a result, Indigenous women have challenged and transformed the practice of drawing only from collective rights or individual rights based approaches in order to frame Indigenous women’s claims as unique to their historical and political situation (Cunningham, 2006). Therefore, in their quest for the inclusion of their claims in the UN agenda, they have pushed for a combined rights’ based approach that includes both an individual (i.e. women and human) as well as a collective (i.e., Indigenous) rights’ framework.

It is essential to note that the search for individual rights does not call for the dismissal of a collective rights’ approach (Matsuda, 1992). Contrarily, Indigenous women have argued that when individual and collective approaches are combined, they

maximize the possibilities of articulating and framing the general and particular needs of Indigenous women and girls and preparing a legal defense unique to their situation. As Dr. Myrna Cunningham notes, “The process of articulating an Indigenous women’s standpoint requires synthesizing our collective identity as a People and our individual identities as women (Cunningham, *ibid*, pp. 56).” Hence, the tension that exists between the idea of collective and individual rights as it applies to Indigenous women deserves further examination.

Where Indigenous men previously framed and represented the concerns of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous women worldwide are now working collectively to engender local and global spaces (Green, 2005; Harcourt, 2006; UNIFEM Ancestral Justice Report, 2010). By engendering I am focusing on the efforts of Indigenous women that disrupt indigenous patriarchal authority of public discourse and spaces by increasing the participation and visibility of organized and articulated indigenous women in international spaces that have been fought for by the Indigenous Peoples’ movement. Participants in the Globalization of Indigenous Women’s Movements are continuously confronting and challenging the colonial structures that have historically denied them the right of self-representation within government institutions, such as electoral politics, academia, and the legal system. This includes challenging the influence of patriarchy in their communities. Simultaneously, many Indigenous women leaders are up against the normative repression of patriarchy, which systematically determines that men are the authority within the family and society locally and internationally.

I establish four key issues that seem to recur in Indigenous women’s social movements, and therefore, warrant closer academic scrutiny: 1) the cause(s) for

indigenous women raising an explicit attention to their claims for justice, 2) Indigenous women's claims for social justice, 3) their target opponents, and 4) the effects on the social-economic and political apparatus of the world before and after their organized interventions. Through the course of my research I found that there are three predominant political trajectories that have influenced and formed Indigenous women leaders in today's global spheres. The Indigenous women who participated in this project gained much of their leadership formation through direct participation in some combination of the following three social movements: mixed-gendered Indigenous Peoples' social movements, national liberation/guerilla social movements, and/or Indigenous women's political social movement organizations. Most global Indigenous women leaders are rooted in or ascend from mix-gendered Indigenous Peoples' movements, and at some point, have experienced male leaders from their own communities enforcing gender scripts and norms and espousing specific hegemonic discourses of what it means to be a 'true' woman (Harris, 1990). Some of these gender scripts include Indigenous Women becoming increasingly visible, yet not heard in their elected or assigned organizational roles, such as the Secretariat positions within some Latin American mixed-gendered Indigenous organizations, where these leaders are not empowered to voice Indigenous women's issues (Cunningham, *ibid*). Accordingly, Indigenous Peoples mixed-gendered social movements make evident the power of patriarchy through the enforcement of gender norms that often relegate roles, prioritize issues, determine public representation, and allow and/or ignore the harassment of its membership based on gender. However, Indigenous women worldwide are talking back and responding to these structures (hooks, 1989).

The enactment of women's rights does not automatically lead to an improvement of women's lives. Consequently, women should be able to construct the conditions that would favor them as women (Waylen, 2007). Globally, Indigenous women are mobilizing to articulate their claims for social justice from their standpoint. More importantly, they are identifying and advocating changing mechanisms that may create sustainable social justice for their communities and nations. These changes would ensure the full and active participation of Indigenous women in all sites where political decision-making occurs.

Theoretical Framework

This study requires a framework that centers Indigenous women's experiences and voices in social science and legal literature. This is why my theoretical framework is rooted in a decolonial approach to producing interdisciplinary knowledge (Perez, 1999). I situate the theoretical framework of my interdisciplinary study at the *bocacalle* (intersection) of Critical Race Feminism, Transnational Social Movements, and Decolonial Methodology. Gloria Anzaldúa coined the term "*bocacalle*" as a response and need to ground the concept of intersectionalities on the body. A *bocacalle*, in Spanish, means the intersection of a street. Accordingly, building on Kimberle Crenshaw's use of the intersection of two streets to discuss the interlocking oppressions women of color experience (Crenshaw 1989), Anzaldúa transforms the literal locale of the intersection through a more provocative metaphor of the mouth, as in protest shouting mouths, to not only capture the interlocking oppressions Chicanas experience, but to capture the agency and resistance that moves these women to talk back—alter and contest—and produce public discourse (Anzaldúa, 1999; Arredonodo, Hurtado, Klahn,

Najera-Ramirez, and Zavella, 2003). From the Bocacalle, I examine and explain the processes and interconnections enacted simultaneously at multiple locales—locally and transnationally, internally among Indigenous Peoples, and externally, among international institutions. This social movement study is the first to build upon Anzaldúa’s concept and to use it as a way to theorize the GIWM.

The aim of my study is to trace this movement’s process, while mapping out global decolonial Indigenous feminism(s) revealed by the oral and written public statements by, and interviews with, key international Indigenous women leaders. This study intends to unveil what I refer to as “Global Indigenous Decolonial Feminism(s)” -a standpoint revealed in Indigenous women’s speeches, textual interventions, and the semi-structured interviews I collected as my research data. I also situate my study as part of a larger movement among Indigenous scholars to decolonize knowledge; hence, I respond to a call for researchers to transcend abstract theorizing and produce theory linked to a praxis that may benefit the social movement and Peoples under study. Consequently, I am committed in this study to unite together theory with praxis (Matsuda, 1988).

CRF scholars encourage explicit consideration of the effects of race, gender, class, and historical context on the individual, emphasizing the value in individual narrative from “the bottom” to make sense of the macro structures that impact women of color’s daily realities, such as law (Matsuda, 1988; Montoya, 1994). CRF’s theoretical approach diversifies what and who is studied and validates the importance of studying the lives of marginalized people and communities, such as Indigenous women. Building on CRF’s theoretical approach, this study contributes to the understudied legal concerns of Indigenous women on a global scale. Moreover, I examine the processes indigenous

women engage in, when they advocate for social justice within the United Nations Systems, which obligates these actors to learn, accept, contest and alter international policy and laws.

Coupled with the theoretical contributions of the CRF approach towards the study and advocacy against interlocking systems of oppression, anti-globalization feminist scholars made equally significant contributions that pinpoint and critique the fact that major theoretical positions in social movement research are driven and focused on male-dominated movements (Leippin, Fonow, & Cook, 1991). Consequently, the production of research that examines the role of women in social movements has increased. Scholars like Eschle (2005) and Macleod (2007) contributed a shift in focus and framing to social movement studies—to include women and to examine the global social movements in which women are involved. Taking this as an example, my study examines a social movement, not only from a singular focus (i.e. global arena or national arena), but also from multiple dimensions—local, national and global—that influence one another simultaneously (Eschle 2005; Naples and Desai, 2002).

When combined, CRF and the feminist transnational social movement literature provide a theoretical approach that can address the complexities of Indigenous women's social, economic, and legal experiences on a global scale. In particular, I attempt to focus on the historical processes that have enabled CRF to not only theorize but also to name, resist, and propose legally transformation that reify the social conditions of marginalized and often voiceless women of color. Consequently, my task here is to bring both literatures together. By fusing key ideas from each of these fields, I produce a global critical race feminist analysis of unexamined transnational social movement activities and

spaces that specifically address indigenous women claims for social justice on a global scale.

The Research Question

Indigenous women's struggles for self-determination, sovereignty, security, and life are not new phenomena (Shohat, 1998). Arguably, since first contact, Indigenous Women of the Americas frequently have had to organize and make arrangements for their defense against the annihilation of their Peoples. The principle of self- and communal preservation is applicable not only to Indigenous women worldwide, but anywhere and everywhere any person or people are confronted with the threat of annihilation, be it physical or cultural. To prevent this from happening, Indigenous women have acted, and will continue to act, in defense of their people's survival. Therefore, the primary research question I ask in my dissertation project is: under what conditions and how do Indigenous women negotiate global agenda setting, tensions, and difference in order to organize themselves internationally for self-defense and in defense of their Indigenous nations and communities?

My general assumption is that the GIWSM (Global Indigenous women's Social movement) has made massive institutional gains within the UN System through an unprecedented process of concurrently accepting, contesting, and altering the structural opportunities and constraints present within the UN. To make these gains, the UN has effectively integrated Indigenous actors and their key claims within the multiple agencies that make up the UN System. My hypothesis is that specific structural opportunities had to exist and/or emerge for subaltern groups and/or networks in order for Indigenous Women to advance their claims effectively within an international institution like the UN

System. Consequently, Indigenous women are employing a process of negotiation in influencing what has historically been a closed system to Indigenous Peoples⁵. In spite of Indigenous women leaders' progress in globalizing their local movements, the multiple expressions of a global decolonial indigenous feminist standpoint remains unexamined and undocumented. In addition, in order to advance my primary research question that asks how Indigenous women organize to defend and ensure the realization of their international rights, I pose five additional sub-questions:

- a) What were the conditions for the emergence of the globalization of the local Indigenous women's movement?
- b) What were the political opportunities and constraints within the UN and international arena that forged and/or challenged the development of Indigenous women international actors?
- c) What are the modes of global framing those Indigenous women operationalize within the international sphere, particularly within the UN?
- d) What were the means for Indigenous women claims to shift within the scale of contention and in what direction have and are they shifting?
- e) Is there an Indigenous women's standpoint particular to Indigenous women conducting international work; if so, what is it/are they and can it be coined as global Indigenous decolonial feminism?

⁵ Chief Deskahe has been recognized as the first indigenous Chief from the US to travel to the League of Nations in the 1920s and was turned away. He turned to the international arena to insist that Indigenous nations should also have a seat at the table within the "league of Nations", which would evolve into the United Nations Organization (Interview with Beverly Jacobs, Canada, May 29, 2007).

Data and Methods

During the last ten years of my direct participation at the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, I have contributed, as an Indigenous delegate, activist, and scholar, to the recognition of Indigenous women on a global platform. This mixed level of participation has directly informed the epistemology and theoretical approach I take to my research project. Consequently, through my involvement, I have determined that the following methods are the most useful for this population and international arena: political action research, critical ethnography, participant observation, audio recording of live statements, and feminist content analysis. I have opted to use the mixed method approach in order to gather the data for this project.

Arizona State University Internal Review Board (IRB) approved this study in April 2008, and in the summer of 2010, I concluded the collection of my data. Data for this study include 31 semi-structured interviews; a series of audio digital recordings of historic public statements and interventions made by Indigenous women at UN/international forums; written statements presented by Indigenous women that have been submitted and archived at the UN DoCip⁶; ethnographic notes of participant-observation; text and images from relevant websites; short-video documentation of Indigenous women speeches in international settings; and select UN international instruments commonly referenced by Indigenous women. I used the qualitative software program NVIVO to organize and analyze my data. I have included a list of study participants, but actual names are only provided for those who have approved my use of their names and affiliations (and for whom I have either audio or written consent to do

⁶ DoCip is the Indigenous Peoples' Center for Documentation, Research and Information, an online deposit of historical documents (<http://www.docip.org/About-doCip.4.0.html>).

so). For those who were not comfortable with the mention of their names, I assigned pseudonyms. Research participants who did not want their names mentioned in the research finalization were comfortable with the pseudonyms I assigned, and provided either audio or written consent.

Chapter Outline

The structure of this study consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the study. I situate this project in some key experiences that gave impetus to the research. I also present the topic and research questions for this study and explain my theoretical and methodological approaches. Chapter 2 reviews key social movement studies literature at the center of key debates on transnational studies. I draw on key debates that are useful and applicable to making sense of the timing and targets for political resistance by Indigenous women; however, I examine the literature closely in order to contextualize the erasure of Indigenous women's movements within the social sciences. Chapter 3 reviews the methodology and methods used in this study. As a Xicana indigenous scholar-activist conducting research on this topic, I point out the tensions as well as opportunities I experienced in the elaboration of this study. In particular, I explain the mixed responses of Indigenous women and men to this study, identifying where I was encountered with "*abrazos, rechazos y enlaces*"; meaning, hugs, rejection and opportunities for collaboration and solidarity. Chapter 4 draws directly from my interviews and full-participant observation and participant-observation. I identify and explain the conditions that served as the impetus for the Globalization of Indigenous Women's Social Movement. In detail, I map out the different forms of

organizing, such as the networks and forums that Indigenous women developed in the process of going global. Also, I identify and discuss the positive and, at times, contentious influences of three historical and political trajectories that formed indigenous women leaders: mixed-gendered Indigenous Peoples social movements; left/Guerrilla revolutionary social movements; and local indigenous women social movements, which are increasingly more common in the younger indigenous women leadership. Chapter 5 focuses on identifying the international sites where indigenous women advocate, their claims for social justice, and resolving the question “A que venimos ACA?” (What do we come here for?), a question that Margarita Gutierrez shared in her interview, as the continuous question she asked herself during her first experiences advocating for social justice within the United Nations. Drawing from my interviews and key speeches made on the UN Floor, I explain why and how indigenous women advocate A.C.A., here, at the UN, by “A” Accepting, “C” Contesting and “A” Altering the United Nations System. Chapter 6 concludes this study by reviewing major findings, reflecting on some of the limitations of the research, and suggesting areas in which future research is needed. For example, indigenous women in international meetings have voiced the need to debate and articulate what is gender from an indigenous women’s standpoint and philosophy, and that it be applicable to indigenous women on a global scale. Despite the desire to want to jump in and tackle this issue, among other important discussions and unresolved questions that continue to emerge within the international arena, these ideas were beyond the scope of this project and are my recommendations for future research studies that may serve to advance the social sciences, but also the international work of international Indigenous Women leaders.

Limitations

Non-Indigenous Peoples and men will be excluded from this study. Given the topic and nature of this study, Indigenous women are the targeted participants for this study. Also, only key Indigenous women serving as international public figures in U.N. venues and who represent indigenous women collectives were interviewed. The determination of what key women to include was determined based on their established expert status either as an Indigenous Women's expert on particular issues within the United Nations (i.e., violence against Indigenous women, ancestral justice and Indigenous women, etc.) or elected representatives of national and/or international Indigenous women's organizations that participate consistently in international forums.

Due to limited funding, the site for this study was the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and key international and continental gatherings organized by Indigenous women throughout the Americas. Interviews were conducted on site, either in the UN or in proximity of the UN during high pace international meetings. The limitation of time during these venues was a common problem. Given the diverse tensions that arises and demand immediate address during the one or two weeks of political advocacy work these leaders are engaged in at these forums, some women were pressed for time during their interview. Some women committed to meet up again to tie up any loose ends in the interview; consequently, some interviews were never finalized. The ideal setting for such interviews would have been to interview these women outside of these forums, either before or after the forum in proximity to the conference site or in their homelands--Hawaii, Peru, Mexico, Panama, Kenya, etc. Both of these options were financially unfeasible. Most Indigenous women travel on limited funding and arrive or

depart the forum locations immediately before and/or after the event to limit the financial costs of their work. I will explain how I resolved this situation in Chapter 3 on methodology.

Statement of Broader Impact

Concerned with the factors that motivate and give impetus to new social movements, I suggest how Indigenous women transform the traditional concept of activism in order to improve the world. In addition, I have exposed new models of cultivating women's activism to function in an international arena. One of the objectives is to identify and articulate what global Indigenous decolonial feminism is. Moreover, I intend to identify some of the common themes and key differences among Indigenous women in their appraisal of who and what Indigenous feminism(s) are on a global scale. This study proposes to broaden the knowledge base of social movement studies by including an understanding of Indigenous women's particular experiences that have led to the globalization of their local social movements, and the conditions in which they organize that has led to identify their differences and tensions.

It is my intent to broaden the scope of Critical Race Feminism (CRF) by contributing new connections to CRF in a transnational/global setting, where a minority group, such as Indigenous women, is specifically negotiating legal institutions, law, and their claims for justice. Equally important, this work proposes to serve the goals of the movement by examining the internal dynamics that impact Indigenous women as they aim to create global solidarity amongst organized Indigenous women worldwide (Smith, 2007). More specifically, by studying the influence that social stratification plays in the interactions among Indigenous women across multiple factors (i.e., race, class, gender,

and geographic location), my aim is to contribute suggestions on how to fortify the movement in this area (Smith, 2007).

It is indeed shaming to come to terms with the fact that, while the U.S., Germany, Japan, and other contemporary nations have been rated among the largest economies in the world, their national distribution of resources is reveals great inequality in terms of gender and race (Roy 2002). This economic inequality is distinct where the disparity is between, male and female, European and African or Native American, Maori woman or White American male, and so on. According to the most recent census, over 55% of world's population is women (Banderage 1997). While almost a quarter of this population is women in developed nations, Nathalie (2007) lament that few scholars have channeled their research in a way that recognizes this fact. My study will seek to cover these areas in their deepest canyons and ultimately present findings that can serve as a basis for future, more accurate, and sophisticated research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The end of the 20th century was marked with much upheaval, with protests and demonstrations against neoliberalism in many parts of the world. On January 1, 1994, on the day the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, the Zapatistas in Chiapas, with guns and sticks in their hands, declared war against Mexico and shouted, “¡Ya Basta!”⁷, “*El mundo que queremos es un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos*”⁸, and “*Nunca mas un México/Mundo sin nosotros*”⁹. These activities gained attention in the international domain. Protests and demonstrations upsurged and mainly revolved around the urge to resist inherently unjust and unfavorable transnational policies around the globe.

Many countries had adopted and practiced such policies that were unpopular among its citizens. In Canada, the United States and Mexico, the North American Free Trade Agreement was a prominent concern for protest. Groups of people influenced each other to create movements that opposed this and similar state policies. Such movements were influential to the extent that they surpassed individual state borders and had a huge presence in the global scene. For example, the central critique against economic restructuring by the Zapatistas was framed as anti-neoliberalism—a concept that spread like a wild fire worldwide through the extensive use of the term in the Zapatistas e-communicates that were highly accessible through the use of the internet¹⁰. According to Saskia Sassen (2006), the world witnessed the emergence of new people who became

⁷ Spanish to English translation: “No more!”

⁸ Spanish to English translation: “The world we want is a world where many worlds fit”

⁹ Spanish to English translation: “Never again a México/world without us”

¹⁰ The Zapatistas are known for using the internet as a tool of war or what Paul Rutledge (1998) an “imagineered resistance”—a global resistance to neoliberalism that emerged due to the reading and following by Zapatista. Also, they predated the use of social media and blogging in the Arab Spring.

involved in social protests. These new actors in the political arena represented the “rapid globalization and proliferation of cross-border activities of all sorts of actors” (Sassen, 2006, p. 16). The Zapatista insurgency of 1994 and Seattle protest of the World Trade Organization in 1999 illustrate some of the new faces involved in global and political activities. These two protests represent examples of early acts of collective social resistance on a global scale (Sassen, 2006; Eschle and Maiuashca, 2005). However, with the exception of the Zapatista women who stood within a mixed-gendered Indigenous Peoples struggle, indigenous women’s activities of resistance were largely invisible worldwide.

Scholars in the fields of anthropology and sociology have established classifications that identify global protests as an anti-capitalist movement, an anti-neoliberal globalization movement, a global resistance movement, global backlash, the global justice movement and the anti-globalization movement (Eschle & Maiguashca, 2005; Seoanne and Taddeum, 2002). These classifications are useful in that, despite the different standpoints, the common denominator between each of these terms is the established link between economic restructuring, transnational policies, and civil unrest on a global scale. What is true, yet remains to be examined, is the fact that race, class, gender, and nationality continue to differentiate what strategies, resources and opportunities are available to activists, and how their activities are studied and written.

An intersectional approach to TSMs

The lack of engagement across these intersecting factors sustains separate experiences, which in turn also influence what is included or excluded within social science research. For example, in the plethora of studies that resulted from the Seattle

battles of 1999, Elizabeth “Betita” Martinez (2000) illustrates the racial and cultural segregation and exclusion that occurred on the ground during the four days of protest. Martinez rightfully questions the lack of participation and visibility of Indigenous Peoples and other U.S. communities of color at the Seattle battles of 1999. Moreover, she points out racial and cultural exclusion at the face of 500,000 predominantly white protesters against policies that mostly impact the world’s people of color. She makes the case for the lack of engagement across race, class, gender and nationality arguing for the link between those who understand the theoretical concept of globalization and those who live the repressing effects of globalization.

Martinez’s work makes an important observation--she examines the racial forces that shaped Seattle and makes a link between who and what is studied and how knowledge is produced. Building on her work, I believe it is important to note the significance of how particular global protests are made visible or invisible, and in turn are made central or are omitted in the production of knowledge on transnational social movements. This erasure can produce and reify hegemonic social movement studies; therefore, the task that lies ahead is to disrupt this invisibility and silencing processes and bring forth those experiences and public discourses that mandate to be heard (Fernandez, 2008). In turn, I examine the factors that served as the impetus of the globalization of indigenous women’s social movements between 1992 through 2012. This time period overlaps with other key transnational activities occurring worldwide, which generated a plethora of research on globalization and its corresponding massive protests. As I examined the Seattle Battle in 1999 and confirm that there was a lack of participation of Indigenous Peoples and people of color overall (Martinez, *ibid*), it sustains my notion that

alliances across social movements and in particular racial/ethnic lines remains a serious matter in the study of transnational movements. Consequently, Martinez's work is useful, but a racial lens is not sufficient. It is through a closer examination from the Indigenous Women's participants themselves, that the following research question can be answered: Under what conditions and how do Indigenous women negotiate the development of a global agenda and the tensions of global similarity and difference in order to organize themselves internationally for self-defense and in defense of their Indigenous nations and communities?

The above question allows me to create a trajectory of several efforts from various disciplines to conceptually frame and understand the emergence and spread of global and transnational social movements at the turn of the century. As a result, my task here is to bring both literatures together. By fusing key ideas from Transnational Social Movements and Critical Race Feminism studies, I produce a global critical race feminist analysis of unexamined transnational social movement activities and spaces that specifically address indigenous women claims for social justice on a global scale. GIWSM's invisibility in current research prompts a meta-critique of how, these social resistance movements, despite some critical advances in denouncing and making visible problematic global policies, they have missed accounting for a much broader base of adherents. Therefore, not representative of the issues that Indigenous Peoples, and more specific, Indigenous women, they must address these injustices for themselves.

Communiqué's that mobilize transnational movements

Keck and Sikkink (1998) argue that a legacy of massive protests that took place during the 1990s coupled with new opportunities for network activities, like increased

access to electronic communication technologies (i.e., internet, cell phones) and cheaper cost of airfare, created an environment that allowed for increased and rapid transnational communication. The Zapatista movement exemplifies the efficient use of these resources to massively distribute their political analysis and call for a global civil society to mobilize in global solidarity. Findings by Tarrow (1998) indicate that the creation of influence in personal interactions by social movement activities is based on the principal of solidarity among people who trust and know each other in local social movements such as the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico. Following the buildup of trust among local social movements, new opportunities for network activities have expanded movements from local to international arenas through the use of print media, coalitions and associations (Tarrow, 1998). Also, the counter-hegemonic messaging of such collective movements, like the EZLN and the Seattle battle, produced waves of peoples worldwide to cohere. Accordingly, electronic communication technologies have expanded the possibilities to influence and assist Indigenous Peoples in the emergence and spread of transnational social movements (Sassen, 2005).

The growth of international contact, as termed by Keck and Sikkink (1998), implies that a disruption of structural privileges of travel, international communication and connections occurred—in particular, it extended the privilege of non-traditional actors, such as poor indigenous peoples, to embark on international experiences, such as travel, communication or consumption between two or more countries, which was previously a privilege reserved for a few individuals with access to power and wealth. . Keck and Sikkink (1998) establish that this growth of international contact is currently accessible to a wider population throughout the world. Many activists have engaged in

spreading ideas about democracy and the respect for human rights in Colombia, for example; where the internal armed conflict has produced a 45 year old horrifying human rights situation for Colombians.

However, new opportunities for networking are still not widespread and accessible to all people. In addition, Keck and Sikkink (ibid), identify the networking process to explain how these resources catalyzed the existence of a global public (i.e., civil society, transnational civil society). As these authors demonstrate, the existence of this new type of resource facilitated a breed of new actors, such as the Zapatistas, new claims, and new organizing strategies for mobilization within a growing international community. As a result, technology and its capacity to unite a network of transnational social movements helped forge a common message of resistance.

Transnational connections

Contentious episodes such as the UN global conferences or the “battle of the Seattle” have boosted transnational democratic globalization networks. These protests and struggles have generated new ideas about the types of activism networks can undertake—such as simultaneous transnationally coordinated activities. Moreover, these protests and struggles help activists from different countries with minimal chances of encountering one another to meet and encourage each other to conceptualize their concerns in broader, more global, and unified terms. Through new modes of transnational communication and loose organizational structures, many transnational networks create chances that encourage activists to form interpersonal and inter-organizational relationships that can lead to the formation of new transnational alliances.

Transnational connections among activities take on different dimensions that reflect different levels of coordination and schools of thought such as, the World Social Forums that aim to simultaneously protest and dialogue on a global scale. Information sharing may be more or less frequent, influencing new ideas, expanding and creating participatory opportunities, the nature of the transnational alliances, and the dissemination of information.

Formal transnational organizations are the most powerful and integrated forms of transnational cooperation for several reasons. First, they are characterized by frequent communication and cooperation across diverse political groups. Second, they are also committed to common ideologies and cultures. Actors are guided by open procedures and are expected to meet a certain standard of commitment set by the transnational organization. There is a general trust among actors and the organization is in a good position to sustain long-term transnational relationships that support diverse political actions. The organizations perform their tasks in routine leading to the development of a common organizational culture. They exhibit the culture of collective identity, common political understanding and actions. However, Indigenous women have strategically formed loose transnational networks for various reasons, the most prominent factor is the respect for the pluriversality of Indigenous women, their nations and communities, but also funding. Ramon Grosfoguel (2009) establishes that, “A truly universal decolonial perspective cannot be based on an abstract universal (one particular that raises itself as universal global design), but would have to be the result of the critical dialogue between diverse critical epistemic/ethical/political projects towards a pluriversal as oppose to a universal world” (pp. 11). Although Indigenous women have preferred loose

transnational structures over formal ones, I have participated in meetings amongst the leadership of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas where we discussed the demand that international funding sources are pushing down on these networks to gain legal status and in turn shift towards formal structures. Depending on the types of future activities and campaigns that Indigenous women intend to engage in, financial needs and security will have to be considered juxtapose to the character and structure these networks and movements want to be.

Formal networks require a direct access to continuous and sustainable funding—a financial mechanism must be in order. For example, the International Council of the world Social Forum, is made up broad continental networks of Non-governmental organization throughout France, South America, among other locales. Many of these networks, such as the Association of Brazilian NGOs have political and financial relationship with the Brazilian Workers' Party (Research Unit for Political, 2000 <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=20918> on March 15, 2012). This organization alone received \$500,000 from the Ford Foundation to support local Brazilians to participate in the World Social Forum in 2005. Overall, the Ford website confirms contributing over \$850,000 to different non-governmental organizations to participate at this particular forum (http://www.fordfound.org/grants_db/view_grant_detail.cfm?grant_id=112616 website accessed last on April 23, 2012). One must ask, how in the name of globalization can such amount of funding pass across borders, in this case from the United States, the home for the Ford Foundation and national NGOs, in Brazil? This is only a small example of the millions of dollars that formal NGOs are able to mobilize to conduct global protests, of the magnitude of the World Social Forums.

Moreover, this exemplifies the required reliance on substantial financial security to mass mobilize from the ground up. Despite the critical discourse, these organizations are ultimately limited in disrupting and or overturning the dominant discourse, and/or material cultural practices of the state. In contrary, they are often entrapped in a cycle of campaigns that make issues visible, but are not able to push forward critical transformations of the nation-states.

The newness and difference of Transnational Social Movements

According to Smith and Johnston (2002), globalization is at the core of the expansion of transnational social movements in recent times. They assert that globalization has fueled the progression of claims against capitalism's development around the world, including forms of Free Trade alliances or other political economic ventures. Communication technology is responsible for rapid information sharing that enables actors to mobilize support and resist antisocial practices via transnational campaigns. For example, the simultaneous protests that occurred in 100 cities during the four-day Seattle battle of 1999.

There has been transnational mobilization of feminist movements in the face of globalization with the aim of deconstructing the concepts of capitalist market freedom, have come to advocate for anti-neoliberal development. Feminist movements also aim at gender-free negotiations pressing international bodies, like the UN, to reimagine global governance and for impartial development of women in global leadership. In addition, the unity inherent in feminist movements, as was witnessed by Catherine Eschle (2004) in the massive demonstrations against gender-biased economic globalization in Seattle, Prague, and other places immediately after the World Social Forums (WSF) shaped the

nature and objectives of these movements. For women, the invisibility and struggle for voice and influence within these transnational social movements, forced the need for feminists to call out and challenge what was identified as the “locust of control”—that which was centered in the elite-male organizers of these massive protests (Eschle, 2004). There has been a great drift from the traditional logic of debates on the economic doctrines to modern and ultra-organized resistance against global political maintenance of the status quo.

The number of WSF’s that were held in 2001 and 2005 across the globe drew feminist movements to participate. The literature documents that transnational feminist movements’ networks were always present and pushing for full and active participation, and through the years increased significantly in visibility (Eschle, 2010). Feminists’ transnational networks grew after WSF where many realized the need to participate globally where global decisions are made (Loite, 2005; Della Porta and Tarrow; 2005). However, in the case of Indigenous women, though the division of labor under the directives of transnational policies, like NAFTA and Plan Puebla Panama, they completely disrupted their cultural systems for maintaining and promoting equity and sustainability. Yet, this analysis was not part of the analysis and articulations that moved feminist transnational movements. Again, leaving a broad sector of women, whom have been directly impacted by these globalization policies, out of these movements.

The emerging organizations and networks, which make up indigenous women movements, have afforded them the ability to oversee numerous forums on indigenous women’s social justice in consecutive years. Consequently, indigenous women have created political alliances with governmental and non-governmental agents to evaluate

good practices for resolving the problems that impact Indigenous peoples (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007). The international trust and cooperation has further generated international solidarity sustained only by the commitment of indigenous women's support, their common objectives and the social justice targeted efforts within the transnational movements. This solidarity is produced in response to the poor state of racial and gender discrimination that is universal and that has continued to negatively impact indigenous women worldwide.

Smith (1997) conducted a study on the transnational social movement sector, and reported finding that there is little difference in some of the older strategic deployed by local and national social movement organizations and the new transnational social movement organizations (TSMO), for example the recruitment of adherents depends on drawing like minded individuals to mobilize on agreed concerns. However, the challenge is in finding those points of connection on a greater scale. However, the key difference that shapes transnational social movements is their target, which are transnational organizations like the United Nations, WBO, WTO, etc., where transnational power lies and decisions are being made that trickle down to the local sphere (Eschle, 2010). Smith states that transnational social organization activities, "ultimately aim to shape intergovernmental and trans governmental political processes" (Smith, 1997, p. 45). For Indigenous women, this is the primordial reason for mobilizing on a global scale. Indigenous women realize that a colonial regime, whether it is named neoliberal or something else, continues to target the natural resources, territories and indigenous bodies from their communities to yield higher economic returns.

The main agenda of transnational social movements is to target international institutions and states within an international arena (Smith, Chatfield & Pagnucco, 1997). Similarly, Dingwerth (2007) supports predominant understanding of globalization by linking cross-border networks (i.e., transnational networks) to the direct processes that are a part of globalization. She explains that globalization does not exist only within the international arena or in the hands of global institutions, but rather globalization includes a set of processes that traverse through national and sub-national arenas, where cross-border networks are “oriented towards global agendas and systems” (p. 3).

Smith (1997) briefly mentions other new dimensions of transnational social movements. She lists five, which she believes should be examined further. The new dimensions of transnational social movements are: 1) issue based movements—means that, upon exhausting an unsuccessful remedy to justice claims at a national level, transnational social movements are forming to address the claims in an international arena (i.e., marginalized national minority claims in particular), 2) the existence of favorable political opportunity structures, whereas cooperative relations are emerging among new Transnational Social Movements and Intergovernmental Organizations, 3) Increased knowledge of the global system, is buffering the level of contention and sensitizing non-traditional actors to the complexities (i.e., bureaucracies) of the international arena; 4) global learning, is what Smith supposes to be the increased experience within this international environment in producing new, as well as more sophisticated, global political strategies, and 5) TSMO are structurally distinct, they are increasingly decentralized given the wider membership and networking that is occurring at an international scale (Smith, 1997, p. 56-58).

In my findings, I trace and confirm that all five of these dimensions are occurring within the Globalization of Indigenous Womens movements. However, there are some variations that require closer examination. For example, geographic location matters significantly in the ability or inability to mobilize financial resources for local projects or to participate in international forums. This variation is clear between Indigenous women in developed versus developing countries. Indigenous women in the global North, argue that extreme poverty throughout indigenous reservations and urban American Indian families is silenced and made invisible by the US developed world status—a point that Indigenous women in the global North have made for some time (Laduke, 2002). Consequently, the argument made is that there is a disparate treatment in the distribution and access to resources that the international community makes available to some indigenous peoples in similar conditions. I share this as an example of to illustrate my reservation to quickly adopt all the give dimensions presented, without qualifying each and examining the complexities that outline a different reality for Indigenous women who organize transnationally and globally.

Feminist framings: Engendering transnational social movements

The significant contributions that feminist theorists have made towards understanding Transnational Social Movements have been the deployment of a feminist standpoint to broaden this field to see, hear and engage engendered representation and feminist theory. Feminist standpoint insists on the importance of making visible and relevant “patriarchal tyranny” on a global scale, a tyranny that dominates women’s lives worldwide. Therefore, feminist theorists believe that once they expose the state of domination against women and table the topic for discussion, appropriate solutions are

likely to spring forth. Feminist scholars have consequently injected into the Transnational Social Movements literature multiple accounts that legitimize the presence and standpoint of women's activism within the global arena. Women activists have demanded a voice in the international arena so they can have an opportunity to articulate their grievances (Basu, 2004; Dubois and Olivero, 2009, Hawkesworth, 2006, Naples and Desai, 2002). Consequently, feminists have opened this space for other women to use to further their activism. In some instances, feminist allies have directly advocated for the self-representation of Indigenous women, such as the case of the former UN High Commission on Human Rights and Former President of Ireland, Ms. Mary Robinson. During my field research, I was privileged to participate in a meeting between Ms. Robinson and North American indigenous leaders. It was at that meeting that I observed her leadership and advocacy to ensure equal participation of Indigenous women during the consultation processes for the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Activities and interventions such as these have played a role in Indigenous women gaining access to a larger public arena.

Hawkesworth (2006) contests what she terms are the "authoritative analyses of globalization", constructed and sustained by mainstream, non-feminist, scholars in the field. She describes how years of academic arguments in this field have converge and exclude women and feminism (p. 3). In her quest to disrupt this intellectual domination in the field, through a textual rebellion, she launches her strike against this body of mainstream literature by "Engendering Globalization". This engenderment aims to disrupt what she considers three fallacies about globalization. The misconceptions, she argues, are rooted in the idea that globalization is gender neutral, that gender supremacy

does not exist within globalization, and that globalization is not a gender/women's issue (Hawkesworth, 2006, p.3).

According to Hawkesworth (2003) therefore, such myths disguise themselves in terms of significant dimensions that are captured in the present-day globalization. She claims that such delusions alter the historical records that have existed about women's activism. This omission causes the public to forget the previous struggles that feminists have encountered in the quest to obtain gender equality. Thus, I seek to bring to light the struggles that diverse women have gone through within the different environments and platforms in the global arena. This gives me the opportunity to make visible the specific struggles ethnic and national minorities, including Indigenous women, have experienced to ensure their grievances are discussed in different international forums (p. 3).

Through a global case-study approach, Naples and Desai's (2002) made visible the work of women experiencing and resisting the effects of "the oppressive features of the global expansion of capitalism and the neo-liberal policies that support it" (p. vii). In particular, they establish a framework that makes visible the intersections of local, area-oriented and worldwide social resistances employed by women protesting globalization in their communities and personal lives. In opposition to ordinary global social group scholars (i.e., Tarrow, Tilly, McCarthy, Snow), Naples and Desai provide their readers with an international feminist imagination, which asserts that a transnational stage is employed by women worldwide, who are making their claims for justice (i.e., political, economic, etc.). They document the contention among feminists regarding the utility of the term "Global" in contrast to transnational matters in addressing non-local activism and document the history of women's activism at the United Nations and key

international conferences, including the International Conference in Beijing (1995), when the framing of women's rights within a human rights framework gained global attention. This is significant because this framing of "women rights are human rights" provoked a stir within Indigenous women who on the one hand embraced the principle of this movement, but also hesitated to embrace it completely without giving consideration to their collective rights. In my findings, I mark the Declaration of Indigenous Women produced in Beijing as the birthplace for the Globalization of Indigenous Women's Movements, which is premised in declaring that Indigenous women have a commitment to address what is particular, through their individual rights, but also their collective rights, which are linked to self-determination and sovereignty.

Naples and Desai argue that the best way to find out the actual suffering that women undergo in form of domination is to begin with the grassroots and know their take right from the communities. This then allows local activists to effect changes in the specific communities in line with the activities in transnational communities. Moreover, they argue that it is equally vital to incorporate individual activists and organizations that have the community in mind to collaborate with key activists who are willing to spearhead change. This analysis is relevant and compatible with the experiences that Indigenous women who are organizing in urban settings, particularly those who are not organizing within traditional societies. Those who organize either from the local tribe/indigenous nation have specific protocols that they must follow, often impeding Indigenous women to self-represent or without a traditional electoral process to represent their Peoples. My work builds on Naples and Desai, in that their contributions in this regard obligate me to look at the particular instances in which a variation of processes

impede or challenge indigenous women from organizing in name of their Indigenous community and nation. In considering the issue of representation, all 32 Indigenous women leaders in this study represent indigenous women's organizations they have founded. Not one leader had the authority to speak on behalf of their indigenous peoples. Consequently, this information illustrates the need to examine the particular forms of organizing and representation of Indigenous women's social movements.

Mobilization can also be achieved by Indigenous women through transnational political sites like the UN and transnational NGOs in order to gain resources which assist in organizing efforts of the institutions involved, allowing them to increase their political agendas while sustain economic security for some of the work they do (Naples and Desai, 2002).

Drawing from the works of Saskia Sassen and Vandana Shiva (Naples, 2005), Naples provides an analysis on the issues confronted by transnational feminists and likelihood of international feminist praxis. She contends that there exists a great contradiction between the present and the future politics with regard to the global arena. According to her, the neoliberal vision of the future enables one to foresee the outcomes brought about by international capitalism and the military disagreements that make it impossible for there to be economic justice between genders. What is relevant to indigenous women leaders who participate in this study, yet are not present in feminist analysis of these transnational spaces, is the analysis by feminists of scattered hegemonies (define this concept) and colonialism that continue to shape the daily realities of indigenous women worldwide.

She then gives assessments and recommendations, providing a framework for “localization” with the intent that it serves as a tool to resist what she frames as a perceivable future of globalization’s forces that include economic markets and militarization. She therefore claims that the second option would serve more as an advantage to women who have witnessed oppression and suffered in the hands of men who think they deserve being relegated to an insignificant position in relation to men. The localized space of women, she insists, must transform into sites of politicization, spaces where combined ideas are imagined, and ultimately where collective, just and more general organizations are created. Such spaces collectively assist with the grounding of uniqueness (i.e., empowered women), which are endangered by global patriarchy. These organizations will give women an opportunity to be heard by exposing their grievances, which she claims will result in a better international community where justice and equality will be achieved for women.

Catherine Eschle (2005) coins her work as anti-globalization feminism, which is different from feminists who examine women in the context of globalization. She is concerned in particular with feminist scholars, like Naples and Desai (2002), who study and document women categorizing themselves within the “context of globalization”. Eschle is specifically critical that this literature omits the contestations and anti-globalization movement that feminists are participating in on a global scale. Although women are being made visible in the study of globalization, Eschle and Maignushca (2005) argue that women activists in the anti-globalization movements are mistakenly not made visible as counter-hegemonic actors.

Eschle and Maiguashca contend that the works of many feminist scholars focus on women's activism in local communities. They argue that these works have not been developed enough to properly deal with the global issues that impact women's daily lives, hence, feminist scholarship is more commonly not developed enough to give insights into the 'anti-globalization movement'. They therefore recommend that more bodies should come up to direct their efforts at mapping the association that operates between local and transnational authorities. The nature of resistance, which they term as "counter-hegemony", they argue should be made visible and framed as such by feminists making efforts to examine women's participation in transnational social movements.

In her earlier work (Eschle 2000), draws from Paul Hawkins' construct of the "Skeleton Woman" and goes beyond using the that imagery as a "metaphor for embodied feminine resistance juxtaposed against an abstract masculine globalization". She examines the gendered hierarchy of the protests in Seattle. She is interested in deconstructing the discursive representations of local and global movements in order to find their interconnections. Eschle argues that global feminism draws much of its "strength" from international relations (p. 220). She argues that the diversion of focus to the military industry and financial sources like oil is not enough. The politics of feminism and masculinity, if ignored, will never permit society to advance. She thus advises women to take the initiative and fight for what will take the society to a much higher level (Davis & Go, 2009).

Avoiding a dichotomous approach to examining local and global manifestations, Eschle sets up a general focus on feminism and lack of globalization as global societies that represent both. This work signifies and engenders global protest of a global

magnitude. She is thus concerned with the invisibility of women in anti-globalization research. She argues that room should be created to allow for a focus on feminist issues, and this can only be achieved by women, themselves, if assisted by other organizational bodies. Like Eschle, my work will examine and problematize the gendered hierarchy of the predominantly male led Indigenous Peoples social movement and the interconnections that are simultaneously enacted locally and globally by indigenous women's mobilizations.

Indigenous and decolonial framings: Transnational social movements

Mohanty (2003) suggests that colonial categories be deconstructed to allow individuals to give up on the accustomed ways of looking at non-western women. Due to the neo-colonial preoccupations those categories harbor, she believes that giving up on them would create better chances for women. She asserts key questions that are aimed at destabilizing the foundation of western research systems and processes. Naples & Desai, however, argue that giving up on them would not lead to a solution and maintain that the best means is to include anyone who is termed as a "woman".

Mohanty therefore seeks to find out if there exist any standpoints that find their way into the feminist perspective. She further enquires about the kind of tools of science that are likely to reinforce the Western-Subject-centered otherness; and if any deconstructions exist that could displace it. She goes beyond the insistence of a hegemonic woman representation and addresses the issue of gender-decolonial representation. Such a representation requires for the hegemonic structure, not limited to racial domination but includes other social markers such as gender, class and nationality, to unlearn the privilege of constructing the other. This work is relevant and useful in

examining the privilege that usurps, as well as dominates, the interrelations, alliances and coalitions created among women. They can either be indigenous and non-indigenous, existing both in individual nations and globally. Moreover, this work paves the way for making visible non-western women in Transnational Social Movement literature.

Indigenous scholars understand that Transnational Social Movement theories and concepts are predominantly developed in western societies, or by privileged scholars (Barker 2005; Moreton-Robinson, 2005; Smith, 1999). It is believed that within a firmly incorporated system of industrial development, universal power is demonstrated in the social stratification of women on a global scale. Following the logic of feminist of color Patricia Hill Collins (2000), who has examined the differential power dynamics of racial binaries in the United States, when applied on a global scale her analysis sustains that race/ethnicity and geographic location matter. On a global scale, women from the South are positioned and made invisible juxtapose women from “the North”. Hence, women who are considered poor and indigenous are socially relegated to the margins of the nation-state and international arena by as the international norms of western societies that permeate this global setting. Indigenous women are thus painted a picture of being poor women from isolated communities who have been isolated from the power structure, making them segregated, even though they are at times western or feminist.

Consequently, the frameworks have historically excluded indigenous women’s standpoint. Tauli-Corpuz (2004) for instance, critiques the feminist movement that operates internationally for what she perceives as a central avoidance to examining multiple injustices lived by non-western women. She campaigns for a holistic evaluation of ethnic, ecological, communal, opinionated, financial and artistic injustices that would

reveal the problematic centralization of feminism as a global political priority. She challenges scholars on issues of women to increase the comprehension they have of issues that affect the economy and politics in the whole world. If they all adhere to these, she claims, they will join hands to help do away with the evils that are accompanied by globalization.

Tauli-Corpuz aims at achieving global relevancy if her arguments are instigated more from the feminist movement. She argues that a political and discursive practice that is more attuned to realities and reflects who she claims are the “majority of the women in the world”, should be implemented. Their grievances should be exposed in the political arena, allowing agents to give a report and voice out the requirements of the other women represented. This, she admits, will move women one step further and assist in making a step to achieving the victory in the fight against gender prejudice either based on race or locality. The multitude of women who are struggling to survive poverty, she claims, only need an opportunity to share with other powerful bodies what they go through, not only as women, but as part of a major minority group. Poverty is obviously not limited to gender and class structures, but rather race/ethnicity and nationality among other social markers. Hernandez-Castillo (2006) explains how Indigenous women, in the center of the Zapatista global social movement, arrived at feminism (p.67). She frames this experience as a challenging concept to be adopted by indigenous women, given the Eurocentric connotations and experiences with which indigenous women refuse to being associated (p. 68). However, Hernandez-Castillo captures that middle space which indigenous women, like women of color in the U.S., inhabit and that is the place between individual (gender) and collective (race/ethnicity) claims (Moraga and Anzaldua, 1981;

Mohanty, 2003). This middle space, which Anzaldua termed the third space, is slowly being resolved in exemplary locations such as the autonomous Zapatista communities where the Revolutionary Laws for Women are upheld. Consequently, it is in these spaces where the next generation is born into a quasi-egalitarian, eutopic, location between men and women who are indigenous (Speed et al, 2006).

According to Hernandez-Castillo, there is an increased sensitivity to the issues that indigenous women go through that is a barrier to politically uniting both groups of women. They encounter segregation and therefore go through different problems compared to the non-indigenous woman. However, I think this framing is too simplistic. The call for a sensitive approach, like the call to be sensitive and endearing towards others, is framed within a motherly and condescending perspective. Therefore, reframing this need to “hear” and understand one another could employ concepts such as increasing education, affirming and accepting the claims and concerns that indigenous women voice. It could also call for respect and acknowledgement that a counter-hegemonic women’s movement is in turn pluriversal, meaning that on a global scale women are vastly distinct, yet all women are human, equal and deserve the same legal protections and treatment.

Intersecting Transnational Social Movements

Feminist and Indigenous/Decolonial scholars agree that there is a need to widen the scope of representation, both in the case studies represented and the production and expansion of the knowledge base of Transnational Social Movement theory. Moreover, they concur that the production and legitimizing process of knowledge is vital for the future of this field. However, the actual question still stands, on whether the actors

involved speak to one another or not. If one chooses to assume they are, the question still remains on whether they can be heard by one another or not (Spivak, 1995). One wonders what conditions they would require to be heard if at all they do.

Hernandez-Castillo (2006) documents the barriers which intervene in the possibility for dialogue between native women and urban feminists in Mexico. In turn, she argues, there exists a major barrier for the formation of a national feminist movement. This is because there is lack of respect between the two groups because one looks down upon the other. She advocates for an analysis of the strategies that urban feminism deploy in their efforts to meet with indigenous women, hence, creating a potential bridge of communication, which she claims, remains to be done (p. 69). Once this is achieved, she argues there is a likelihood that both groups will have a chance of speaking out their grievances and ensure both are satisfied regarding their position in the global arena.

Hernandez-Castillo classifies this primary barrier as being based on class, as if a rural and urban lifestyle is distinctive solely by class. Contrarily, I would argue that in Mexico the barrier between rural and urban is complex and is a product of a colonial legacy that is continuously enforced socially and politically. This legacy includes a racial-caste culture, which was inherited from the Spanish invaders. Most urban Mexican women do not identify with rural/indigenous women and conversely this propagates the problem that persists. Therefore, a holistic assessment of the interlocking schemes of race, class and sexual categories is in order for Hernandez-Castillo's proposition to be enacted.

A Global Critical Race Feminist analysis of TSMs

Wing (2000) establishes that a common experience exists among women of color that transcends borders and is based on the shared experience of being relegated to the margins of social stratification processes. This marginality is based on multiple identities of race and gender—regardless of first or third world locations. She renders this argument as a means for transnational alliance building and for constructing a political relationship in opposition to chauvinist, racially prejudiced, and legal structures. What remains a challenge for Wing’s work is an emphasis on framing gender equality based demands on civil rights, consequently, excluding multiplicative experiences of indigenous women & indigenous peoples worldwide. The term “woman” therefore causes a disagreement.

According to Mohanty, there exists a relationship between “woman” and “women.” The differences come in the construction set up through different cultures that individuals construct. “Woman,” she claims is a cultural and ideology formed in the minds of other people. “Women,” however is a real material subject that exists in material histories. The connection between “woman” and the representation of “woman” is an arbitrary association that is formed by diverse cultures. She therefore seeks to argue that both ideologies and constructions should be compounded to form what she terms as “Third World Woman”, an image that carries in it significance and authority. All women, she asserts should be transformed into a “Third World Woman” through different global social groups so that their representation can be felt to exist in the global capacity.

The limits of this work therefore lie in an emphasis on framing gender equality demands based on civil rights and the use of civil rights critique of an interlocking

system, predominantly framed and understood through Black feminist thought. This kind of thought ought to be amplified and engaging of international individual rights based analysis inclusive of multiplicative experiences (i.e., indigenous women, women in developing countries, etc.) that are global in scope. For indigenous women, this calls for the inclusion and employment of collective rights, which include a direct analysis of the colonial legacies that underpin today's national and international legal systems in which they are challenging. A decolonial approach, which employs a counter-hegemonic lens in the analysis of rights and justice claims, will ensure the global issues impacting Indigenous women are not only heard but tackled.

Conclusion

The gap in both the feminist transnational social movement and critical race feminist literature lies in the inability to answer what factors motivate and give impetus to new social movements, like the globalization of indigenous women's social movements which demands a counter-hegemonic feminist analysis. Consequently, the gap in the literature points to the need to bring both together. Through a close examination of the particular conditions that have moved indigenous women's social movements from their local arena into a global setting, this study resolves this inquiry. The interviews in this study illustrate how indigenous women transform the hegemonic concept of feminist activism in order to improve the world. A global decolonial feminist standpoint (Lugones, 2000), particular to the cosmovisions, interpersonal and structural experiences and articulations of indigenous women leaders, is established. Indigenous women must

be included in the study of different women that are emerging on the international stage, seeking to “forge a collective identity among women and to improve the condition of women” (Moghadam, 2009, p.64).

Chapter 3 Feminist and Indigenous methodology

The study investigates the circumstances under which Indigenous women's organizations and networks organize themselves internationally to ensure they defend their rights as well as the rights of their Indigenous nations and communities. The study design utilized feminist and Indigenous methodologies in order to gather, systematize and analyze the data collected. I therefore drew specifically from decolonial, Indigenous and borderlands-Mestizaje feminist methodologies, which compliment what is more widely known as feminist methodologies. The combined approach allowed me to be critically engaged as a researcher and a member of an Indigenous community, as a Xicana. This therefore called for respectful and responsible research methodologies, which, as Linda Smith (2006) puts it, should be put into consideration when studying the cultures and issues that affect Indigenous communities.

Critical methodologies involved in-depth analysis of the political and social responses to the systematic segregation and neglect that Indigenous women face. The main aim of using such a methodology was to ensure there is improvement of science by analyzing several works of different authors and hence I consciously chose to use it (Finocchiaro, 2007). Indigenous methodologies were also utilized, which involved digging deeper into the interests, knowledge, and experiences of Indigenous women, thus allowing for the construction of knowledge about them. This involved the use of qualitative approaches and methods in studying Indigenous women's social, cultural and political trajectories that have shaped their advocacy work in the international arena. The central objective of such an approach was to ensure respect; ethics and sympathy were inculcated throughout the research process, hence ensuring it was acceptable to all

Indigenous women who participated. Women were therefore the central focus of this study—so as to fully engage their thoughts and feelings about the segregation they commonly experience and may have come to overcome in the process of representing their communities, organizations or networks internationally (Finocchiaro, 2007).

According to Linda T. Smith (2006), Indigenous decolonial methodology employs a counter-hegemonic approach to the study of indigenous peoples. It aims to disrupt the historical approaches that have produced the misrepresentation, resulting in objectifying, romanticizing and colonizing representations of Indigenous people. In employing an Indigenous decolonial methodology, this entailed the classification of the methodology by use of a counter-hegemonic approach, which involved employing a research approach that does not inflict harm or objectify Indigenous women. Smith argues that western research has disguised itself as legitimate research yet it has had historic misconstructions of Indigenous people. She argues that cultural procedures, principles and conduct should be acknowledged into the methodologies of Indigenous peoples to ensure the philosophies and techniques do not challenge the legitimacy of Indigenous research. I therefore implemented decolonial methodology by drawing from my own and others' personal cultural and gendered background. I also drew from my experiences as an activist, decolonial scholarship as well as was able to listen and engage my sources so as to come up with a relevant design that made it possible for me to conduct my investigation (Smith, 2006).

According to Porsanger, Indigenous advances to research are not employed so as to compete with or replace the western process of research. Rather, they are employed in order to challenge western approaches and add value to the general body of knowledge

by Indigenous peoples about themselves. It is also done for their own conscience and to fulfill their needs as people and not as objects of investigation. He claims that in order to ensure the process of decolonization is a success, new methodology must be critically evaluated to ensure a culturally acceptable approach to the study of Indigenous issues is employed (Porsanger, 2001). Smith emphasizes that in the process of decolonizing the research methods employed should be centered towards our concepts and the views we attach to the world. This enabled me to comprehend theory and research from our own views (Smith 2006).

Employment of Indigenous approaches makes it possible for Indigenous researchers to enable others see what is important, meaningful and logical according to how Indigenous inhabitants understand themselves in the world. This process thus breaks Indigenous research free from the frames that bind and hold together western research, therefore allowing the research to be purely Indigenous. Thus, as Smith puts it, I focused solely on Indigenous research that made it possible for me to get to know women by themselves in the international realm. This, thus, not only employed observation and my own participation in different social places, but involved interviewing specific women whom I met on the international arena in different meetings and committees (Smith, 2006).

Borderlands-Mestizaje Feminist Methodology (BMFM), grounded in over two decades of Chicana Feminist thought, theory and research, brings to our attention multiple theoretical conversations on challenging and decolonizing western modes of research, according to the work of Saavandra and Nymark (2008). BMFM specifically addresses the complexities experienced by Indigenous and women of color when

straddling the border of academic researcher and their membership within the community being examined. This methodology proposes for the researcher to not only work on employing a holistic intersectional analysis of race, class, gender and all other social markers that are structurally made invisible, but rather to go beyond these materialized interlocking systems of oppression. It “sews together” and keeps whole the workings of the mind and bodies of the collaborators of an investigation/research so as to ensure the western methodologies do not hinder the results from being brought forth by the Indigenous methodology (Anzaldúa, 2000).

Due to this, I included the concept of the spirit, which Williams (1987) and Anzaldúa (1999) address in their work. William’s (ibid.) coins the term “Spirit-Murder”, which makes the connection between the powers contained in words and reason that is used to dehumanize minorities. She gives a detailed elaboration of how words can be employed negatively to discourage or kill the spirit. One thus reasons out and, depending on what the ear perceives and the mind decides to conceive, one is likely to get dehumanized due to such misuse of words. This too, I put into deep thought so I took care of it as well.



Figure 1 Moderating UNPFII Side Event on Unrepresented Indigenous Peoples Issues, April 2007 (L-R: Sarah Fortune, Tauregui; Rosalee Gonzalez, Xicana; Celia H. Rodriguez, Xicana-Odami)

The historical trajectory of resisting dehumanization and annihilation by Indigenous people, I believe, reflected in the spiritual dimensions of Indigenous women's activism and thus central to the Globalization of Indigenous Women's Social Movement. An essential element to employing BMFM is the process in developing theory from places that are not normally found under the category of 'high' theory' (p. 258). This methodology legitimizes theorizing in nontraditional places that are simply ordinary, rather than exotic, innovative or otherwise.

According to Porsanger, the employment of western academic research has usually been directed at finding a solution to "Indigenous problems" or to questions that would give those with outsiders with power more information about Indigenous people. This practice has put non-Indigenous people in a position of supremacy and management, and in the process allowed them to have access to the concerns of a particular minority group, for instance women. The women in such a case are given a chance to air their views about the kinds of challenges they face in trying to voice their grievances in the international realm (Porsanger, 2001).

Smith notes that Indigenous people have often been used as unreceptive entities of western research. They are not allowed to voice their grievances and, because of this, they seem to tire out on issues that have to do with research, mainly because of their experiences being treated as objects. Due to this, the interviews I conducted were semi-structured. A semi-structured space is a common process which Indigenous women use in political meetings. We often construct an agenda and anticipate input on topics or issues not included in the semi-structured agenda. Accordingly, I structured the interview to reflect this process and allowed the women to share in-depth accounts of their

experiences relevant to this study, and at times we shared experiences that were off topic. Consequently, this produced a mutually rewarding experience—on the one hand, an invitation to participate in this study was mostly well received and enabled them to feel respected and recognized as relevant. Conversely, for me, as a Xicana researcher, their acceptance to participate and share their experiences affirmed their consent of me as an acceptable indigenous researcher for his subject. My experience during most of the semi-structured interviews was that our conversations were an extension of the work many of us do when we meet up annually at the UN.



Figure 2 UPFII 2006 Global Indigenous Women's Caucus Rapporteur Committee (L-R, Celia H. Rodriguez, Xicana-Odami; Yolanda Teran, Quechua; Charlene O'Rourke, Lakota; Peggy Bird, Tewa; Ana Maria, Garifona). (Photo by Rosalee Gonzalez, May 12, 2006).

The picture in Figure 2 illustrates a group of indigenous women who made up the rapporteur committee for the UN Global Indigenous Women's Caucus in 2006. This group was made up of six Indigenous women (four from North America, and two from South America). I was a member of this working committee. As a participant-observer, not only did I sit in meetings to take notes of the processes within the group, but was also directly engaged with the membership as an indigenous delegate. The group was made

aware of my dissertation project and welcomed me as I sat in the room transcribing at times for myself and at times for the group. It was common for the group to relegate me, the Indigenous woman with the laptop, to take notes of key ideas and points discussed, which could serve the rapporteur committee in their work outside of the working group, to construct the discursive public interventions that would be read on the UN floor during the UN Permanent Forum on indigenous Issues.

The courses of action employed in decolonization processes give Indigenous Peoples the capacity to self-determine the outcomes of their research. Smith argues that there is an attachment of power to any research that succeeds in making Indigenous Peoples part of the process of colonization. Indigenous methodology claims that a lack of institutional advantages exists for scholars who conduct research for their communities with a shared background. Thus, this is where the potential for actual decolonial knowledge lies, she argues. My background, for instance, allowed me to have a taste of the various instances and procedures that Indigenous women undergo in the quest to defend their different communities. This in essence enabled me to be privileged as a main contributor of this research, being an indigenous woman. Also, as a young Indigenous woman scholar, I was discriminated at times within this international arena. I therefore refer to some of the experiences I have come across meeting with different people and coming in contact with different international Peoples (Smith, 2006).

Maxine Baca Zinn (1979) was among the early feminist scholars to establish that cultural insider knowledge is useful in understanding, interpreting and ultimately making use of the research that examines the use of self when researching one's own cultural communities. She also recognized the problems that arise from within these community

relations, which create an array of issues around social stratification, meaning that race, class, gender, and sexuality all matter, and race/ethnicity should not assume easy access into a community. Patricia Hills-Collins recognized the complexities that arise when an intersectional approach is taken; however, she welcomed this complexity and advocates that this approach deepen research by disrupting assumptions of similitude within a community (1986). Zavella has also illustrated this complexity in her work, as her field experience researching in her Mexican-American community raised her awareness and ability to historically disrupt notions of a homogenous Chicano community and in turn developed her work to illustrate the complexity that surfaced when she acknowledged the diverse experiences, based on class, gender, sexuality and nationality (Zavella, 1993).

Building on these works, I am cognizant of my own indigeneity reflected as an urban, educated, U.S. born, heterosexual, Xicana. At times my political identity was useful to gain access to different forums, like the U.N. and Indigenous women's meetings and conferences open to Indigenous delegates. Consequently, at times, once in these settings, my political identity also impacted how I was perceived and treated as an outsider. For example, I have experienced overt gender discrimination by Indigenous male leaders who perceived me as an outsider. In 2006, the Co-chair of the Global Indigenous Women's Caucus nominated me to be part of the rapporteurs for the Global Indigenous Peoples Caucus. The committee agreed to gather and work on the following day, and I was there sharp and early. However, the group was absent. I left, and when I came back, one of the older male leaders from Latin America was verbally aggressive towards me and commanded me to leave the group. When I pushed back and argued that I was the first to show up that morning, he walked away. I was then welcomed by another

Indigenous woman who invited me to sit with her to read the contributions thus far, which would make up the final statement to be presented on the UN Floor the next day. When this male observed me collaborating with the group, his aggression increased and verbally commanded that I leave. When I pushed back again, without any support from the group he physically removed the computer I was viewing and intended to pull my chair back. However, I rose out of my chair and proceeded to leave baffled by his behavior. This was an amazing experience, as Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua have argued; it was living theory in the flesh (1989). At no other point in my adult life had I ever been commanded to leave any place immediately. I was in shock. However, I shared this matter with an elder, an influential Indigenous woman leader within the group, Esmeralda Brown, the Co-Chair of the NGO Committee on the UN Decade of Indigenous Peoples. Esmeralda approached this male leader, questioned his behavior and was met with his passive aggression. He sat down, locked arms, heard her critiques, but he did not respond. This scene ended with Esmeralda Brown assertively expressing her disappointment in his poor leadership and reaffirmed him that the time for Indigenous women, younger indigenous women, to rise and do things differently within the International arena was coming soon (R.Gonzalez, Ethnographic notes, May 14, 2006). This confrontation with sexism marked me deeply; however, it also gave me insight to the forms of gender violence that are perpetuated by male leadership within this broader indigenous peoples movement. Moving forward, I was very mindful of my own insider-outsider positioning and the potential dilemmas that arise if one ignores the interlocking oppressions that impact members of the same community differently (Hills-Collins, 1986).

Researchers are required to think decisively on the outcome that they will achieve after the research. This commanded of me to keep in mind the interests of the Indigenous women, their experiences as well as knowledge as the center of my research. The kind of involvement they produce on behalf of their communities, organizations and networks is thus important. This made it vital for me to consider the kind of women I would include in the process of gathering data. I thus used a purposive selection process in choosing my sample. A purposive sample consists in making a deliberate selection based on women who represent organized Indigenous women. I did not use a random based selection of who is included in a study. This study targeted Indigenous women who hold leadership roles within indigenous women's national, regional or international organizations and/or networks. I aimed to ensure regional diversity in order to gain insight into the pluriversal experiences that make up indigenous women's social movements on a global scale.

Methods

In one decade of direct participation at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), I have participated in multiple capacities—as an Indigenous delegate, mentor, activist and scholar. My participation made it possible for me to determine the following methods to be most useful for this project: critical ethnography, participant observation, Feminist content analysis and interviews. Each of these methods played a particular role at distinctive times, which were flexible enough to ensure the participation of key leaders in various capacities—either directly through an interview, indirectly presenting a speech on a high-level plenary at the UN or sharing a written copy of their interventions presented on the UN floor.

Critical ethnography

Critical ethnography is a method of analysis in which reflection is employed to look into the matters of culture, knowledge and action. It allows for expansion of horizons of choice, widening the capacity of individuals to see, hear and feel the person, group or environment. It further allows for a deeper thoughtful process of dedication, which is concerned with ethics. In this way it compelled me to act upon commitments that were of value in political environments (Madison, 2005).

According to Madison, critical ethnographers express, examine and open up spaces to other agendas that are not easily seen by everyone. The problems that exist socially, that minority groups face every day, are not easily confronted by the affected people. This is because the opportunity to do so is not easily found. This is a result from the diverse cultures of individuals that trap them in some kind of segmented reality in which they find themselves accepting the situation as it is. This involves women accepting the status quo. Some believe that they are indeed a minority group and thus are below men. Some cultures trust that women are seen as below men and thus they do not get the opportunity to air out their grievances (Madison, 2005).

Anzaldúa argues that this is because of the status quo that has been formed by different cultures. I therefore allowed myself to have that knowledge in mind as I conducted the research. This gave me room to evaluate the purpose and intentions of different respondents who were involved in the research. This also provided me with insights as to specific, individualized questions that would be relevant for the interviews (Anzaldúa, 2000).

There are three types of critical ethnographers. According to Denzin and Lincoln, there exist those who do academic critiques, those who write applied policy studies, and those who involve themselves directly in political associations. They are therefore based on different criteria by which they perform their studies. The academic-minded ones base their arguments and concerns on purely academic material that is verifiable and objective. Those on policy and political studies are, however, at times opinionated (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Of the three types, the aforementioned best describes my work as a critical ethnographer that was directly involved in many of the meetings I documented and reflected upon. My direct participation served to expose me to critical conversations which continuously challenged and enriched my perceptions on the topic of this study. Figure 3 illustrates me sitting with North American indigenous women as I read an intervention on Indigenous women's issues during the 10th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. This figure serves to document one of the possible products of a critical ethnographer—the use of the critical ethnographers research, analysis, and outcomes to serve in advancing the policy and political concerns

of the community one studies.



Figure 3 UNPFII May 12, 2011 Presentation of the Intervention on behalf of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas (North Region) on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (L-R: Debbie, Rosalee Gonzalez, Xicana; and Chief Caleen Sisk-Franco, Winnemem Wintu Tribe). Photo courtesy of Mariana Lopez, FIMI.

In critical ethnography, not all the approaches are politically active, nor produce knowledge that is both universalistic (i.e., theoretical) and local (i.e., practical), nor do all use a reflexive and collaborative research method. This project thus aimed at conducting critical ethnographic research by coordinating semi-structured interviews with key Indigenous women leaders that participated at the United Nations and other international forums related specifically to Indigenous Women issues. DeVault and Gross (in Hesse-Biber, 2008) normalize the process of interviewing by describing it as talking with others, gathering point of views and experiences, and systematically creating a space for those voices to be heard.

Interviewing Indigenous women, normally underrepresented or misrepresented in the social sciences, is linked to production of critical social theory (Collins, 1998). This

allowed them to air out their grievances despite the different cultural groups they may have come from. This was advantageous especially for women whose cultures believe that women should not be heard, and thus do not take any statement from a woman seriously or believe it to have significance. Therefore, the different communities of such minority groups were allowed to give an account of their grievances and opinions of how the situation can be transformed to their betterment.

Critical ethnography is therefore aimed at releasing strategies that make it possible to view the world. This I aimed to achieve by putting down the stories given by the subjects I met at different international conferences. I was therefore conscious of the use of appropriate stylistic devices thus made it possible to translate what seemed important to the audience I was interviewing. Ethnography therefore involved as much talk about the data as it involved analysis of the data. It therefore involves turning away from the perception that one has spoken truly and focusing on questioning how they have spoken instead. It was important to know how I was likely to be changed by the process as a researcher. This was important because I am part of the study considering the different opportunities I have had of interacting with several women on the same.

According to Anzaldúa, when the view of the researcher changes, the focus of the study changes; thus the researcher should be cautious. This is because new views open up new horizons from which one is able to draw questions and tentative answers. This, she claims, is because one begins to ask different questions, reorganizing their data so as to correspond to the new ideas. Therefore, critical ethnography gives caution to anyone utilizing it at the same time ensuring it improves the product. Critical

research made it possible for me to free myself from existing forms of cultural domination as I conducted the study.

Participant observation

Ethnographic field notes from my participant observation were also produced while in the research field. I have included compiled field notes which are part of my data from serving as a rapporteur for the Global Indigenous Women's Caucus, sitting in UN forums and plenaries on Indigenous Women issues and in informal settings after the meetings or conference days were over. This entails the teachings that I heard and the messages passed across in various seminars. I digitally recorded live statements presented by Indigenous women at these international forums and conferences, which were transcribed in their language. This also entailed the different opinions of the various women I came across. Some recordings came from official talks while others from informal ones as well as the talks that were given by different key leaders. I collected a hard copy of any statements recorded that I later analyzed and used as part of my data.

Participant observation is a type of ethnographic research that helps researchers study communities. I therefore used both observation and participation to validate other data that I obtained. This allowed me to acquire the views that different women had about their perceptions and feeling about being socially stratified, and how they respond to it. Participant observation allowed me to uncover important factors about the research problem, which weren't always articulated directly. For example, when some women were asked to express their views or contentious experiences with regards to gatekeeping, some were adamant to elaborate on such dynamics. However, through my participant observation some of the non-verbal nuances that are performed amongst indigenous

leaders were captured in my observation. This approach did not only allow me to understand the complexities that sometimes arise from the methods of collecting data but also the process for designing question for those methods and thus producing knowledge regarding the occurrence.

Throughout, I took care to protect the identities of the people I observed or with whom I interacted, either internally or externally. I thus did not record identifying information like the names and addresses of the people with whom I interacted. However, most individuals did grant me permission to use their names, and in those cases I recorded their consent as well as the interviews (DeWalt, & DeWalt, 2002).

I employed a semi-structured interview and participant observation approach at the initial phase of the data collection. My first six interviews were preliminary ones, conducted with key influential Indigenous women leaders. It was apparent to me that these were women who are used to interviews. My first interview I conducted was with Mililani Trask, a prominent Kanaka Maoli leader from the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. It was rather easy to gain these women's consent to participate. Each one provided brief encouraging words, some filled with advice and others with support for me as a young indigenous scholar. These interviews were in a way a symbolic blessing from these elders or young wise leaders to move forward with this study.

I did not have specific times set for conducting my research because most of the time I employed the informal methods so as to get a chance of getting the women who mostly were attending the conferences. This was performed in sessions like coffee breaks, dinner time and open talks where I took the advantage and asked particular

women a few questions. I therefore used less structured participant observation, which yielded fruitful results (DeWalt, & DeWalt, 2002).

Feminist Content Analysis

Content analysis is a method used to examine the work produced by people in various mediums and is not limited to text like websites, emails and pictures. Content analysis is thus a quantitative method, which involves getting rid of the subjectivity that may appear from the results achieved and simplification of the detection on trends. I was therefore selective on the kind of people to collect data from in order to get the required content. The content was therefore biased because it based only on women. There are two categories of content analysis. These involve conceptual analysis and relational analysis.

Conceptual analysis entails choosing a concept for examining and looking at how many recordings have been made. This permitted me to develop research questions, which I employed for the interviews. The informal sessions, however, did not have structured questions. This allowed me to examine the kinds of words that the respondents chose to employ. Relational analysis builds on the conceptual analysis by looking into the kind of relationships that may exist in the text. This method was therefore advantageous because it enabled me to analyze different types of interactions.

Feminist content analysis involves interpreting the content and juxtaposition of the content in relation to larger socio-political contexts (Reinharz & Kulick, in Hesse-Biber, 2008). Contemporary feminist content analysis thus explores “meaning” as something that is mediated in these materials and therefore study the text and the

production process, which entails what is included and what may be omitted-such as the representation of minority view points (Reinharz, *ibid.*).

This project consisted of collection of texts produced and introduced by Indigenous women at several international forums. Also, fliers and announcements of side events dealing with Indigenous women's issues, such as plenaries, workshops, working meetings that occur outside of the formal meetings, were included. Things like fliers were collected when being distributed and later analyzed. Concerns of representation (i.e., expert panels, gender and regional balance), emerging topics, and theoretical framings are among the key topics that I studied in these documents. I kept accurate records for later analysis.

I later converted the content that is supposed to be analyzed into written words. The voice records, for instance, had to be converted into written form for analysis. This made it possible for me to make applicable links between the cause and effect, i.e. the causes of segregation of women in international social forum and the effects of such segregation on the women and their whole communities (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007).

Site and participant selection, rationale for selection criteria

The participants for this study were Indigenous women who are international public figures and/or local Indigenous representatives who advocate directly at the United Nations. Studies will be conducted within the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and/or other key international forums whose theme, target participants focus on the role in the advocacy of Indigenous peoples international human rights. They were identified as participants in several arenas specifically relevant to this study, such as: the

UN Permanent Forum, the International Forum of Indigenous Women's, the continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas, and the Beijing +5 and Beijing +10 meetings at the United Nations. The Participants were identified as international public figures, either through their roles as official Indigenous delegates to the United Nations, keynote speakers, or UN officials of the UN Permanent forum on Indigenous Issues. A snowball approach was utilized to identify additional participants for this study. This involved locating informants that are rich in knowledge. In this move, a few probable people who may have been aware of others who could have assisted in data collection in the research were contacted. For instance, I contacted some of the women whom I met at the conference to direct me to other women whom they knew of and who could help by giving relevant data. This guided me towards acquiring relevant data, which was essential in the investigation.

Women in the communities for instance who had undergone domination by the males and denied the chance of airing out their grievances were suitable candidates for my enquiry. I then invited such people to for interviews in order to find out their take on the same. These methods thus allowed for one to provide the most effective message that would be a means to ensure successful implementation of concepts and would thus bring about results that assisted me in coming up with the data to supplement the initial study. They were also allowed to give recommendations that would assist in getting solutions to the problems that were identified. This system utilized is most suitable to be used on community leaders. Women who had never had a chance to be interviewed on the same were identified. This facilitated for me obtain trustworthy participants and women of

reputation who had spent their whole lives in the community and who could identify with the problems that women face (Liamputtong, 2010).

The project was verbally introduced on an individual basis to each potential participant at previous international events (i.e., UNPF 2003-2007, V Continental Gathering of Indigenous Women held in Canada July 2007). As is culturally appropriate, a verbal and personal invitation had been discussed with each participant prior to conducting formal interviews. Follow up email or phone call has or may occur to secure a date for the interview. Through a snowball effect, each validated participant was encouraged to recommend other potential participants whom they believed are “key leaders” that could be included in the study. This allowed for more accurate and detailed results to be produced in the study (Liamputtong, 2010).

Data collection

In April of 2006 I began conducting preliminary interviews with targeted international Indigenous women leaders. The preliminary interviews were semi-structured and focused on gaining greater insight on the history of Indigenous women’s roles and presence in the international arena. I targeted highly visible indigenous leaders with a trajectory of advocacy and expert status on Indigenous Peoples and women’s issues within the United Nations System: Vicky Tauli-Corpuz (Ingorot, Philippines) the first Indigenous chairwoman for the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) and founding mother of the Asian Indigenous Women’s Network; Monica Aleman (Miskito, Nicaragua) the Executive Director of the International Forum of Indigenous Women (FIMI); Mililani Trask (Kanaka Maoli, Hawaii) the first

Indigenous women appointed Pacific Representative to the UNPFII and member of the prestigious Indigenous Peace Initiative, Priscilla Satee (Cree, Canada) Board member of the Indigenous Womens Network in the US, and Tarcila Rivera (Quichua, Ecuador) Coordinator of the South American Region of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas (ECMIA). On April 11, 2008, Arizona State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) granted an exemption for this study. Upon this approval, the formal collection of semi-structured interviews began.

Data for this study was obtained through a series of methods. These methods included semi-structured interviews, audio digital recordings of public statements and interventions made at the United Nations and other international forums on Indigenous women's issues (i.e., UNIFEM Conference on Ancestral Justice, First FIMI-International Forum of Indigenous Women), statements submitted and archived at the United Nations DoCip, and ethnographic notes of participant-observation. Additional sources of data were websites inclusive of Indigenous women's organizations/networks and resources targeting Indigenous women, select UN International instruments commonly referenced by Indigenous women (i.e., Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Convention on the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination, Draft Declaration of the rights of Indigenous Peoples, UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, etc.).

Approved by the ASU IRB in April 2008, my dissertation project included semi-structured interview outlines. These interviews were structured through guidance from previous but similar interviews. The use of these short interviews created a forum of flexibility in that it allowed for new questions to arise during the interviews therefore

ensuring that this research ended up being better than the any other preceding papers on the same topic. Also, this ensured the flexibility of areas where the interviews are to be conducted. Moreover, I conducted interviews in private UN conference rooms, during a walk through the forest in Mohawk territories in Canada, as an elder cared for her grandchild, and in the loud hallways of the United Nations when no conference rooms were available and time was of essence.

I have interviewed 31 Indigenous women leaders from the following countries: Canada, United States (including Hawaii and Puerto Rico), Mexico, Panama, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia, Kenya, Philippines, Russia, and New Zealand. These interviews reflect the geographical diversity of key leaders within the GIWSM. The main focus of the interviews was mainly on the key leaders among the women of the countries. Although the movement is comprised of thousands of women members, the hub of this study was on chief leaders who had been selected by their local and/or national Indigenous women's organizations to represent them at an international platform. This principle was essential since it would have taken an amazingly long period of time to interview majority of the women. Secondly, leaders are the general representatives of all the other women and thus the information or data obtained from them was similar or almost the same to that that the rest of the members would have given. The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, in consultation with international aboriginal leaders, identified seven (7) socio-cultural regions that contain the Indigenous people of the world. The regions are: Africa; Asia; Central and South America and the Caribbean; the Arctic; Eastern Europe, Russian federation, Central Asia and Transcaucasia; North America; and the Pacific. My inventive intention when I began

this study was to interview at least two women from each region. However, given that Indigenous women of Central and South America are increasingly participating in fields such as global leadership, I assigned apparently more focus on them as compared to the rest.

To date, I have fruitfully managed to complete sixteen (16) semi-structured interviews. The interviews time length ranged from 45 minutes to 2 hours. The interviews were recorded via audio digital recordings and the recordings stored as sources of reference. These interviews were conducted between 2008 and 2009 in the following key forums: the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the United Nations Offices in New York (2008 and 2009), the International Indigenous Women's Forum (April 13-16, 2008 in Lima, Peru) and the Indigenous Women's Network Gathering (October 12, 2008, in Texas). The lingering interviews for this project were conducted in the following two international venues: the upcoming Beijing +15 Meetings at the United Nations in New York (February 2010) and the 8th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (April 2010).

The interviews used incorporated both closed and open-ended questions. However, majority of the question used were open-ended since the research is based on personal opinions and solidly investigated topics. This called for the interviewees to have different opinions and statements thus open-ended questions were not suitable in this criterion (Jupp & Sapsford 2006). Multiple choice questions are also applicable in this context. The statements obtained were recorded and then compared for the final analysis of the study findings.

The use of semi-structured interviews was very essential in this research. It was way beneficial to the use of fully formal and structured interviews. First of all, the use of these short structured sentences, created a forum for additional questions as earlier stated (McTague 2001). Structured interviews normally limit the interviewer and the interviewee to stick to the topic and the set questions. This omits the possibility of new questions arising or additional information being given by the interviewee (McTague 2001). The use of these semi-structured sentences in some way exhausted or ensured that the study exhausted all possible questions likely to be asked throughout the study. Also, since the study was solely focused on the take by the participants, semi-structured interviews were the best choice to make. This is so because semi-structured interviews direct all focus of the research to the interviewee. These interviews also allow for comparisons of opinions and answers by different participants. Comparison was a very vital idea in establishing the final findings of the interview. Since each of the statements given by the differing participants is structured in a different way, comparison of the information contained in the statements was essential to conclude on the similarity or the difference in information content (McTague 2001).

Semi-structured interviews are effective in obtaining the intended information since the interviewer can ask additional questions in the event a contributor is not clear on a statement issued (McTague 2001). The information obtained from the sixteen interviews was relevant all thanks to the use of the semi-structured interviews. The use of these forms of interviews was also valuable since the semi-structured nature of the interview gives the independence for the respondent to offer personal opinions on the topic at hand or the specific questions asked.

Public statements made by Indigenous Women who fit the criteria of participants for this study, which may or may not be submitted in text for the permanent record, and were made on the floor at the United Nations were digitally recorded and included in this data set. If available, the textual statements were included in the data. Key websites whose content is exclusively on Indigenous women and Indigenous people's organizations were endlessly searched throughout the internet, identified and recorded as references of information for the study. Websites' content was saved, given the inconsistency of technological support for some Indigenous communities. An emphasis on the following information on these websites was targeted:

- 1) Websites that are promoted through Indigenous women's list serves.
- 2) Websites that provided relevant information regarding resources for Indigenous women, such as announcements for international Indigenous Women's local and international work and funding opportunities targeting Indigenous women, which might not have been necessarily run by Indigenous peoples.
- 3) Websites of Indigenous women's organizations. Also, key international instruments were researched, identified and collected. The United Nations System has an online database, named DoCip, which makes public all statements submitted by nation-states, NGOs and non-NGO/Indigenous Peoples who have ever participated in the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

This database compiles all statements made referencing Indigenous women (and girls) and relevant international instruments (i.e., Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)). Some preliminary themes that I used to code my data were: emergence of the movement, first international experience, experience

with women in international setting, gender representation, geographical representation, leadership roles, venue (forum, conference, UN), collective or individual rights used, Indigenous women's issue(s), international instruments referenced, affiliation with international institution, and the affiliation of the movement with other with other social movement. While reading through and studying my data, I simultaneously coded it. I used the data obtained in guiding me through the process of identifying any new and relevant themes that I may have overlooked or omitted, which I will elaborate on in my forth chapter of the project which is on findings.

Benefits to participants

As the first study on Indigenous women who advocate at the UN, Indigenous women participation furthered the already established findings by other non-Indigenous participants and this thus resulted in the creation of a wide field of knowledge on information about the field. This research in addition, was of much benefit to the Globalization of Indigenous women's Social Movement (GIWSM). The participant's contribution will serve to provide a formal and scholarly analysis of the limitations, strengths and weaknesses within the organizations as well as mechanisms, resources and skills needed to further the goals and achieve the set objectives of movement. The benefits are social, rather than individualistic, and serve the greater good of the larger international Indigenous women's community. Benefiting the women's organization wholly will also be of some individual benefit at some point.

Prior to initiating an interview, I had to explain the person's right to "inform consent and assent" and were given a choice to confirm or refuse consent to participate in the study by either: Signing a formal consent form or providing a verbal consent (which

was recorded as an extension of the interview) to participate in the interviewee process of this study. The option to an oral consent was made in consideration of the possibility, although likely to be an extremely low percentage, of participants who might have been illiterate or functionally illiterate. The other reason was culturally specific; many Indigenous peoples equate and/or prefer an oral agreement to any formal written agreement, which was a preference that was to be honored and respected if assessed appropriately.

Since the movement has been for long been omitted in the history of social movements, if documented, the research findings would lead to the recognition of the movement. This would mean a lot to the movement, its leaders and its members. The appreciation of this social movement would also lead to the overall respect for all the women in the world and eliminate any form of bias or discrimination against them more so because the movement fights for women's rights (Whall & Shivdas 2008).

Ethical considerations

Putting the nature of this study in deep consideration, participants were encouraged to permit their identities to be revealed so as a way to advance the knowledgebase of their identities, influences and work in this arena. However, Individuals were given an option on whether or not to choose to be identified. The consent to be identified or request to use an Alias was given at the beginning of the interview, but declined by all participants. Their preferred choice for identification was agreed to and formalized in a question and recorded during the interview process. The option to change their mind was given to ensure that the privacy of the interviewees was

respected and heeded to. The right to anonymity was discussed and reviewed with each participant, despite the consistent disinterest in this option. This was done immediately during the interview or was to be provided by the participant at a later time though before the finalization of the entire study.

In the process of the interview, the interviewee might have chosen not to answer some of the questions asked. It is ethical to ensure that this preference by the interviewee is respected. It is however acceptable to inquire on the reason as to why the participant chose to fore go the question but the interviewer should by no means try to coax the interviewee to answer the question. Some of them ignored to answer the question as a result of not understanding it completely or asked for clarification of a question, which was often an opportunity to dialogue and loosely paraphrase a question. In this context, it is essential that the interviewer rephrases the question in a manner understandable to the participant. I ensured that the respondents understood the questions clearly.

Considering the fact that Indigenous women, who were the sole participants of the study, have political and public stature within their communities, nations and organizations, private information was not collected in their interviews. The respect of participants' privacy in all courses of the research was not only essential but one of my mandatory principles. Secondly, since the research was on Indigenous women and the entire research was based on their activities, opinions and facts from related researches, at times I reflect and insert my own experiences to exemplify or deepen an understanding of an issue that emerged from the research.

It is also ethical that a university-level research project is approved by the Chair and/or the respective researcher's dissertation committee (Chumney & Simpson2006).

Following this requirement, as earlier pointed out, the Arizona State University International Review Board approved this study in April 2008. Preliminary research was conducted prior to IRB approval; however, exemption status for this project was granted and the use of the findings from the preliminary interviews were discussed and approved for incorporation into the research project, by my dissertation chair and IRB. The formal interviewing process was kicked off immediately following the approval of the IRB request. The written or digital audio recorded of approval of the study was a form of evidence that the research is legal and that it had met all the necessary requirements in its field. Any forms of irregularities throughout the research of this study were avoided.

Pluriversal Factors

The research data was to be collected from Indigenous women from different ethnic backgrounds. This called for the understanding of each Indigenous woman in a special manner. As an English and Spanish, native bilingual speaker I conducted interviews in both these languages. This was essential so as to ensure that I understood the participant. Also understanding or at best having a general idea on diverse Indigenous traditions and how women are treated within their communities was essential in setting the interview questions. If I was unfamiliar with their traditions, I would ask and if I assessed that it was appropriate or relevant I initiated or reciprocated by sharing some of my experiences that may be similar or distinct to their Indigenous culture. These conversations always served to set the tone of familiarity or openness to diverse forms of indigeneity. For example, at the very first time I conducted an interview, I offered a traditional medicine to Mililani Trask, as a gesture of gratitude for her time. As often as possible, not as a requirement, I thanked the Indigenous women for their time and

contribution to this study, through a small gift which was intended as a small gesture of appreciation. The small gifts consisted of beaded necklaces or a bracelet, made by some of the local indigenous women where I live in Phoenix Arizona.

This was the process that was followed all through the research process. As an Indigenous-bilingual English and Spanish, I translated or interviewed in either of these languages in accordance with the ethnicity of the Indigenous Woman to be interviewed. The Indigenous woman's tradition governed me in the questions that were directed towards the respondents. For this reason, the questions asked changed according to the environment. Meaning, if there was limited time, the interview focused on key question. If time was not as pressing as it was too many, then I would take the liberty to conduct an extensive interview.

The data collected from other sources such as written research and websites was not only documented but also cited since it was essential to establish that the findings are associated with the given book, journal or website. Additionally, these sources were also essential in the completion of the project and for this reason it is essential that the authors of the information are acknowledged. The similar statements were compared contrasted and analyzed then grouped in the order of relevance. For similar questions, the answers from different respondents too were grouped together to make the process of analysis easier. The grouping also allowed for direct comparison of the responses and thus it enabled me to conduct further research on my own. The research was aimed at establishing the similarity and the differences in the statements issued by people from the same origin and those of different origins. The findings of this research will also be further discussed in chapter four, the findings chapter.

Conclusions

The Indigenous and decolonial approach are methods that can be defined as ethically appropriate leading into the critical production and distribution of knowledge about and for Indigenous Peoples. In carrying out the research, the specific methods that were employed in the Indigenous methodology had to be selected based on Indigenous ethics, the overt articulation of the research goals and any other intended outcome from the research on Indigenous Peoples (Porsanger, 2001). The research project had to be deeply considered so as to contribute to the knowledge as well as the interests and needs of the Indigenous women involved. Indigenous women had a number of purposes and objectives, which were properly designed to make certain that the right to Free, Prior and Informed Consent¹¹ was considered in the design, implementation and analysis of this study.

¹¹ Free, Prior and Informed Consent is a minimum international standard that Indigenous Peoples have established through the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.

Chapter 4

The genesis of the globalization of indigenous women's movements

In my initial conceptualization of the topic for this study, I held the notion that a Global Indigenous Women's Movement was underway and believed it was necessary to explore this historical phenomenon. I originally conceptualized this study as an oral history project, but I further realized that it was best situated in the fields of Transnational Social Movement Studies (TSM) and Global Critical Race Feminism (GCRF). Each of these fields has made distinctive contributions to understand women's roles and political activities organized across borders (Blackwell, 2012; Eschle & Manguashca, 2005; Mohanty, 2003; Wing, 2000).

TSM studies has advanced our understanding and acknowledgement that women were also involved in the key 1990s TSMs, like the Battle of Seattle among other different spaces, inclusive of non-governmental organizing with and against transnational institutions like the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund (Moghadam, 2005). Likewise, Global Critical Race Feminism (GCRF) has advanced our understanding for the need to deconstruct how law serves to perpetuate and codify unjust social stratification based on race, ethnicity, class and gender on a global scale (Wing, 2000). Consequently, my task here is to bring both literatures together. By fusing key ideas from each of these fields, I produce a global critical race feminist analysis of unexamined transnational social movement activities and spaces that specifically address my research question: Under what conditions and how do Indigenous women negotiate global agenda setting, tensions, and difference in order to organize themselves internationally for self-defense and in defense of their Indigenous nations and

communities? In this chapter I will focus on examining: 1) the causes for indigenous women raising an explicit attention to their claims for justice; and 2) Indigenous women's claims for social justice,

This chapter is the product of what Mari Matsuda, a founding mother of Critical Race Feminism, identifies as work that "looks to the bottom" and identifies with the oppressed (Matsuda in Wing, 2000). In identifying with the oppressed this implies the scholar is not only able and willing to make visible and give voice to injustice but as Vesuki Nesiah (2000) has established, this entails the scholar must push further and challenge the global contradictions between north/south, developed/developing, and colonizer/colonized binaries by deconstructing and disrupting the global imperialist map. Subsequently, I agree with that it is in "looking to the bottom" that one can simultaneously look to the top, or better said, explain the occurrences of resistance to injustice within the global arena led by Indigenous women. These fields have prepared the soil for this study and serve as catalysts for this interdisciplinary and intersectional study.

Building on the work of transnational social movement scholars Desai and Naples (2002)—who examine women's activism worldwide in response to the "new world¹²"—what has not been explained is the globalization of indigenous women's movements in terms of the "old world order". The world order I am referring to is the colonial legacy and colonial structures which Indigenous women identify in this study as the primordial source for the interlocking oppressions they currently live and resist worldwide. For

¹² Stephen Gill (2003) examines the New World Order in three phases, the first emerges from what terms the "ashes of WWII", the second he marks as the Bush war era which inflicted the Iraqi war in 1991, and the third is the era of Globalization and globalized social resistance which peaked at the turn of the century.

example, the adoption of the Doctrines of Discovery in 1883 by the U.S., approximately one hundred years after the United States Constitution was established (Newcomb, 2008), continue to serve as a legal tool to deny rights to federally recognized, and more so that of the unrecognized and unrepresented, historical Indigenous Peoples in the United States. Steve Newcomb's (2008) work explains how the Doctrines inform today's U.S. law and favors the U.S. government on issues of land title. Consequently, Indigenous women's organized resistance that is directed at contemporary globalization processes, such as deterritorialization, escalating levels of poverty, deceptive development projects, political and religious oppression, indigenous labor pools, femicide and genocide, remains unexplained, which is the argument I make in this study. This study offers an analysis of the coloniality of power as a multidimensional and gendered process, which is increasingly being articulated and resisted on a global scale by organized Indigenous women.

Drawing from my interviews I map out the sites and key events that gave impetus to the globalization of Indigenous women's social movements. This work reveals the cartography of global Indigenous women's struggles not only within continents, but across continents. These struggles are deeply rooted in a legacy of resistance to historic and contemporary forms of colonialism. Furthermore, what's revealed in this chapter are the limitations of the various national processes Indigenous women leaders exhausted, which left many without any legal recourse to resolve their claims for justice at the local or national level (Smith 1997).

Excavating for roots

I started collecting literature on Indigenous women's activities and organizations in order to explore this global phenomenon in detail. I discovered numerous dispersed documents and materials that presented relevant accounts and an analysis of Indigenous women's issues, including events where they participated internationally. The majority of these materials were produced and distributed by Indigenous women's organizations themselves. However, some were produced by funding agencies, such as UN Women¹³.

The types of materials that I came across were handbooks, independent publications, reports, and websites that described and/or analyzed the history of the local or regional processes in which Indigenous women have persistently engaged in.

Therefore, my important research task was to compile and examine similar resources in order to construct a better understanding of the global processes pertaining to Indigenous women leaders and their social movements. Also, the United Nations System of Organizations apparently served as an appropriate location for exploring these issues because it has become an opportune site for Indigenous women to gather annually.

It is important to mention the emergence of the International Forum of Indigenous Women (FIMI) in 2000 as an inseparable part of the present exploratory process. This international organization quickly gained increasing visibility within the United Nations. However, at the time when I began conceptualizing this project twelve years ago, it was relatively difficult to identify international Indigenous women leaders and their global activities. Some of the most influential Indigenous women leaders include Agnes

¹³ UN Women, then UNIFEM, sponsored and supported the coordination of the first conference on Indigenous women and Ancestral Justice held in Quito, Ecuador in 2008. In collaboration with the Universidad Simon Bolivar, a handbook and cd of conference summaries of the plenaries, workshops and final resolutions was produced.

Williams, a member of the Seneca Nation and a founding mother of the Indigenous Women's Network in the United States, and also Otilia Lux de Coti, a member of Maya K'iche' and a Congresswoman in Guatemala. They agree that Indigenous women have been present in international Indigenous Peoples activities in the United Nations from the moment that Indigenous Peoples made their first entry point into the U.N. in 1977.

Agnes Williams recalls in her interview that the American Indian Movement's leaders, who traveled to the U.N. in 1977, included men and women from the Lakota Nation. Otilia Lux de Coti indicates the impact of all men and women who extensively contributed to the nomination of Rigoberta Menchu Tum for the Nobel Prize. This Maya K'iche' leader from Guatemala earned the Nobel Prize in 1992, which is an emblematic year of resistance by Indigenous Peoples against the prolonged 500-year European and European-American occupation and continuous colonization throughout the Americas. Despite similar honorable contributions of Indigenous women, a significant part of their claims and activities, especially their participation, at the United Nations in the late 1970s and the early 1980s remain fairly unknown.

Moreover, those Indigenous women leaders who advocated within the international context at that time are quite invisible in the reports and books that documented Indigenous Peoples entry into the UN in 1977. For that reason, I considered a more detailed investigation of the specificity of the phenomenon and the challenges encountered by this community. In 2004, during my graduate program of studies at Arizona State University, I attended a presentation by the invited guest, Law Professor at University of Arizona Mr. James Anaya. Professor Anaya is an expert in international law and in 2008 he was appointed by the United Nations as the Special Rapporteur on the

Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Peoples¹⁴. He has served as a mentor and professor at the Summer School in International Human Rights for Indigenous Peoples in Geneva, where he mentored a significant number of the Indigenous women who participated in this study¹⁵. Upon his phenomenal presentation where he explained historical details pertaining to the problem, including U.N. bodies and relevant international instruments that are most useful to the struggles of Indigenous Peoples, I had the opportunity to discuss with him my research project.

Interestingly, like Agnes Williams and Otilia Lux, Mr. Anaya argued that Indigenous women have always been present within the international work of Indigenous Peoples. However, what he did not discuss nor did I push further, was the lack of Indigenous women who advocate for Indigenous women's concerns. Yet the words of professor Anaya, couched in his extensive knowledge of the field, made me soon realize that his claims were appropriate.

A similar example of this persistent invisibility of Indigenous women leadership within the history of Indigenous Peoples at the United Nation was recently reified by a prominent Indigenous women's leader. In March 2012, I attended an academic American Indian conference that focused on the implementation of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP). One of the keynotes introduced a highly persuasive presentation, very much like Professor Anaya's one. The presentation consisted of a brief history, identifying key international instruments, a thorough review of the DRIP, and

¹⁴ (<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IPeopless/SRIndigenousPeopless/Pages/SRIPeoplessIndex.aspx> website accessed on March 20, 2012.)

¹⁵ Some of his students were Margarita Gutierrez and Marthat Sanchez-Nestor, a co-founder of CONAMI (National Coordination of Indigenous Women of Mexico) and the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas.

suggestions for Indigenous Peoples to consider the implementation of DRIP locally, within their tribal nations and the United States. Overall, this presentation ensured an adequate perspective including essential holistic, critical, and informational aspects. However, the opening slide, which situated us at the U.N. in 1977, included an image of both men and women, but the erasure of the women was reified in the presenter's public discourse, when the male chiefs who made up the American Indian delegation were continuously referenced¹⁶.

It is apparent that Indigenous women have been present in the thirty-five years of Indigenous struggle within the United Nations system; however, it has only been since the mid-1990s in which Indigenous women's legal claims for social justice and self-representation began to be visible. Indigenous women emerged into the global arena when they produced and presented the Beijing Declaration of Indigenous Women¹⁷, during the U.N. 4th World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China. This declaration is emblematic of a serious historical disruption of the invisibility of Indigenous women among the visible political agents in the international Indigenous peoples and global feminist movements. Consequently, my findings point to this Declaration as being theoretically framed within a decolonial standpoint. This standpoint is rooted in the public discourse of 500 years of Indigenous resistance to European colonialism. Based on this information, I establish that this declaration marks the birth of the globalization of Indigenous women's social movements.

¹⁶ The presenter offered to make the presentation slides available to the audience, but was unreachable despite multiple attempts to contact this person before filing this dissertation.

¹⁷http://www.asianindigenouswomen.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=50&Itemid=172 website accessed on February 2, 2012.

For this reason, I define the historic time period of this globalization process which arguably could have been marked as having started at the first gathering in 1990; however, it's the theoretical framework of 1992 which provided the impetus for the first global declaration by and for Indigenous women. Accordingly, this study focuses on 1992 up to the current year 2012—marking a twenty year trajectory of global decolonial thought and praxis, by and for Indigenous women and peoples.

*Acompañando Invisible*¹⁸

Indigenous women's claims for justice are relatively the same as those expressed by the Indigenous Peoples movements. In contrast, the Indigenous Peoples rights movement does not always include or acknowledge the specific issues Indigenous women raise from their viewpoints and lived experiences, such as violence, self-determination of sexual reproduction, multiple discrimination, severe poverty, as well as unequal access to ancestral territories. Therefore, the Globalization of Indigenous Women's Social Movements (GIWSM) is neither coincidental nor uncalculated—it is reasonable to recognize that they emerged in response to various forms of historical injustice rooted in interpersonal and structural inequalities.

Eschle (2001) in her work reminds us of the contribution that each feminist wave made to advance women's rights in U.S. Her assessment of the second wave moves her readers to focus on the formation and role of the "political man" (p. 93). The political man is symbolic of who is, can and should engage in democracy; which in turn denies or erases women from international political actors. In my findings, Indigenous women identify, discuss, and resist the passive role that many women have been relegated to

¹⁸ English translation: Invisible Accompaniment.

historically. One of the most persistent roles is that of accompaniment to the indigenous male leaders who typically speak from Indigenous Peoples and collective rights' frameworks, which prioritize and emphasize claims for land, territory, natural resources, self-determination, and sovereignty. This process of acompañamiento has served Indigenous women in different forms. For some, it was through these gendered relationships that they gained access to the global arena. Their national Indigenous Peoples organizations and/or movements supported Indigenous women's accompaniment of the Indigenous men as part of the representing delegations that participated in international forums or meetings. This was the way for some of the earliest Indigenous women leaders who entered the UN to set eyes and ears on the international stage. However, other Indigenous women gained entry to the U.N. arena through other means, like UN agencies and NGOs who outreached to Indigenous women specifically.

As the decades advanced passed the inception of the historic U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations¹⁹, established in 1983, to the later institution of the U.N. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2001, some Indigenous women leaders have now entered the U.N. arena without male escorts or mixed-gendered delegations. For most, however, these processes have empowered Indigenous women to move from observer to full and active participant, sometimes having to break off from this limited form of accompanied participation.

Agnes Williams, Seneca leader and co-founder of the Indigenous Women's Network, is among those founding mothers who holds the institutional memory of her organization, whose membership is filled with influential international indigenous

¹⁹ Translation: The Network of Information on Biodiversity.

women leaders from North America and the Pacific, such as Winona LaDuke, Mililani Trask, Priscilla Satee, and Ingrid Washinawatok, among others. Agnes recounts in her interview the earliest events that drove American Indians, including indigenous women, to the United Nations in 1977. Her thick descriptions include stories of young adults who rebelliously organized across Indian Country for the right to self-determination, treaty rights and sovereignty throughout the 1970s. She explains that AIM leaders insisted they must redirect their claims to the international arena,

[Russell Means] knew that [the U.S. was] never gonna rule in favor of the Indians and that they were always gonna be against us. So he said, ‘We have to go to the UN. We have to go to the International forums.’” (A. Williams, personal interview, December 2, 2010).

These commands and analysis of political strategies made by indigenous male leaders left quite a legacy for Indigenous women to embrace. This legacy is recognized by Indigenous women who emerge onto the international stage from national mixed gendered movements.

Subversive acompañamiento

Through the years of this sustaining this accompaniment role, some of the Indigenous women in this study who experienced acompañamiento roles, disclose how they maximized these opportunities to enter the international arena to eventually defeat their fears from all the unknowing of international law, the UN system, diplomatic rules of engagement, and so forth. These leaders who shared their stories are among the many that subverted the process of acompañamiento and in turn disrupted these roles and shifted the focus of their work to include the particular concerns of Indigenous women

and girls. This is in part, the story of many of the key international leaders who emerged from culturally patriarchal national indigenous peoples movements.

Agnes Williams illustrates this point throughout her many stories of the early days within the Indigenous Peoples movement in the United States. She explains the working relationships between men and women during the earliest years of American Indian international advocacy at the UN. She also mapped out how the American Indian Movement, who founded the International Treaty Council, which is the first Indigenous non-governmental organization to gain U.N. Consultative Status²⁰, set up three offices throughout the U.S. These offices that served as sites for young Indigenous activists to to organized nationally and, as well as gain international advocacy history, analysis and skills. In sharing her first experiences at the U.N. in 1983, she reveals the partnering, a form of accompaniment, that occurred among the Indigenous male leaders and indigenous women in the American Indian Movement. Agnes explains the different tasks that were demanded of her once at the U.N. and the realization of the need for capacity building,

...there are certain people in [indigenous organizations] that do the heavy lifting, you know, in terms of [retaining] knowledge, information and historic [details] and that [must] all be merged [in] the UN work...When you [arrive at the UN] you have to write these interventions, you have to speak and you have to do all [the analytical preparation], you know. You really had to operate on your feet—get out there and do that (A. Williams, personal interview, December 02, 2010)

²⁰ The International Indian Treaty Council was established in 1972 and was the first Indigenous non-governmental organization to gain UN Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council, today there are approximately fifteen international indigenous organizations with this level status.

Furthermore, she elaborates on how overwhelmed and unprepared she felt and that in time Indigenous women partnered up with Indigenous male leaders to build their capacities,

So, Ingrid [Washinawatok] ...learned Spanish...and went back [home] to Minnesota. Ingrid ... worked with Clyde Bellcourt and Vernon [Bellcourt] was more at White Earth with Winona [LaDuke]... [I worked with] Bill Wahpepah in the 70's—we were in the San Francisco office. So...each of us were working with each of these different men in the American Indian Movement (A.Williams, personal interview, December 2, 2010).

These kinds of partnering roles often led to a gendered stratified relationship, where women were relegated to years of fulfilling an apprentice role under the leadership of experienced men. Andrea Smith (2001) in examining domestic violence that American Indian women experience, she establishes that indigenous women advance to create their own organizations due to the lack of support from indigenous men to address and organize to change this condition (Smith, 2001). Consequently, in the same manner, Indigenous women found ways to capitalize on their international advocacy experiences rooted in these relations by moving on to create their own organizations.

Blanca Chancoso, a Quechua leader from Ecuador, elaborates on this point. She explains in her interview how she shifted her accompaniment role to creating an advocacy agenda to address issues concerning Indigenous women and girls. As a founder and leader within the Congress of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE²¹), a prominent and well respected national Indigenous organization in Latin America, Blanca Chancoso, in her interview, refers to the silencing and stratified

²¹ CONAIE is the acronym for the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de Ecuador/ the National Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador.

relationship between Indigenous men and women within the organization and the international arena. Furthermore, she explains that it was out of the need to challenge this marginalized status that her political interest and leadership shifted from working solely within the Indigenous Peoples mixed gendered social movement to also work with Indigenous women. Blanca Chancoso shares that,

“...in this process of struggle ...often a struggle for land and other issues, I have seen in my [thirty-five years of Indigenous rights advocacy work] that almost always women accompany quietly—as wives, as sisters, as mothers—this is how we accompany. There is no visibility [of women]. Also, when we accompany we do not have a vote, only the men [have the power to vote], not the women (B. Chancoso, personal interview, April 23, 2010).

For those women who have accompanied Indigenous men in the pursuit of self-determination and sovereignty for Indigenous Peoples, the aspects of such accompaniment have significantly affected Indigenous women in terms of enhancing their voice and power to vote on matters that impact their daily lives. It has at times meant being firm, breaking from or conforming to gender-token relationships and alignment with male leaders who presumably mentor and support Indigenous women to participate.

Florina Lopez is Kuna from Panama, with a trajectory of political leadership as a local elected representative and has served as the international coordinator for *La Red de Información de Biodiversidad*²². I met Florina in the year 2000, in Panama, during the 3rd Continental Gathering of Indigenous Women of the Americas held in her homeland. In an interview with Florina she describes in detail how “lost” and overwhelmed she felt during her first experience participating at the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous

²² Translation: The Network of Information on Biodiversity.

Populations and points out the lack of relief she received from the experienced male leader she accompanied on this memorable occasion,

“...I felt lost...when you do not have guidance from other persons who have been in this process, clearly you are going to feel entirely ... as if you do not know your location, where you are at...by fortune I accompanied a *compañero* from the organization who has been in this process many years before me. Well, despite this accompaniment I felt like I was an insect in the center of this world there...” (F. Lopez, personal interview. May 08, 2007)²³.

Florina’s expression of overwhelm is common for many Indigenous women who attend United Nation’s forums for the first time. This observation illustrates the lack of structural and interpersonal support, including consideration by the experienced male companion who often fails to mentor her accordingly. However, it’s important to note that in most cases, Indigenous Peoples who attend the U.N. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues or other U.N. meetings typically have not had access to formal training on the U.N. System. U.N. knowledge and expertise is more often gained through years of advocacy on the U.N. floor, at international meetings, and in U.N. hallways and side-events. If Eschle (1997) believes feminists are late entrants into the global arena and globalization debates (p. 186), well this is equally true, if not more so, for the case of Indigenous women. Accordingly, ingressing in this international arena can be fear-provoking and, as characterized by Florina, one’s first time within this environment feels “monstrous”. Given this common recurrence, indigenous women work through the cultural and institutional shock from their first time UN experience, yet they come to

²³ “...en este proceso de lucha que hemos estado viviendo nosotros varias veces una lucha por la tierra y todo, he mirado que casi siempre las mujeres acompañamos calladitas--de esposa, de hermana, de mamá acompañamos--no se visibiliza y cuando somos acompañantes tampoco tenemos el voto, sólo tienen los hombres y no las mujeres”.

exemplify what Jackie Smith (1997) refers to as new actors “learning to play politics in global political arenas” (pp. 57).

The lack of support and training is a recurring theme that merits some critical analysis and address. Moreover, it becomes a political necessity for Indigenous women organizations, which is a concern that they are addressing for themselves. The issue that Florina introduces, with regards to overwhelm, can be seen as the result of being relegated to observer status as a consequence of being left unmentored. If left unmentored, arguably, then the men are left to analyze, debate and lobby and remain as the full and active participant in these spheres. Florina makes this observation in the following analysis,

...many male companions [in struggle] say they recognize the work of women, well that’s the discourse they say, that participation should be equitable...However, in practice it is very, very, very hard for them to rid themselves of their ‘Macho’ paternalistic script because they want to protect [us]...therefore, these are things that one must clean-up with them...to tell them, yes, women are capable. [In response] they say to us, if we offer an opportunity to all of you, you do not know how to keep these opportunities and spaces... (R. Gonzalez, personal interview, May 8, 2007)²⁴.

In the case of Florina, she highlights how important and influential it was to observe other Indigenous women with experience. Her analysis is on point, in that unknowingly by observing other Indigenous women leaders and gained inspiration through them; she was subverting the expectations of an acompañamiento role. She shares her experience in the following manner,

²⁴ Original Spanish transcription, “...muchos compañeros hablan de que reconocen el trabajo de la mujer, bueno dicen ese discurso, que la participación debe ser equitativo y todo lo demás pero en la práctica les cuesta mucho, mucho, mucho, deshacerse de ese papel machista, paternalista por que te quieren sobreproteger... entonces son cosas que uno tiene que limpiar con ellos...de decirles no, si las mujeres somos capaces...ellos dicen si nosotros les brindamos oportunidad a todas ustedes no saben como mantener sus oportunidades o sus espacios...” (personal interview, May 08, 2007).

...however, for me this [first] experience was very beautiful because as I watched other *compañeras* who were there and had experience speaking and writing declarations, and all that, I thought that I also had to succeed and do more than sit and listen..." (F. Lopez, personal interview, May 8, 2007)²⁵.

It is logical to infer from Florina's interview that international Indigenous women leaders have come to practice, and at times demand, their right to self-determination internally, first within their local and national organizations and thereafter came to speak up in the international arena. This is what Eschle (2004) points out as the local circumstances that force transnational feminists to challenge the identified "locust of control". For transnational feminists in Seattle this meant calling out the elite-male organizers of these massive protests. In the case of Indigenous women in the international arena, sadly is common that the experienced male leadership are the ones who gate keep the international arena for themselves, but ironically in the name of Indigenous Peoples. It is in these interviews that Indigenous women's aspirations for full and active participation within the Indigenous Peoples social movements are made evident.

As a result, throughout the last ten years of engaging Indigenous women in conversations and interviews, this research topic has taken a turn. My direct efforts reflected in being a participant observer in three key spaces: within the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas, the Global Indigenous Womens Caucus at the U.N. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the International Forum of Indigenous Women. In addition, my membership with the International Forum of

²⁵ Original Spanish transcription, "...pero para mi fue una experiencia muy bonita porque yo pensé, de ir viendo a otras compañeras, que estaban ahí que ya tenían algo de experiencia, hablar y hacer declaraciones y todo eso, no?, también yo pensé tengo que salir adelante también y no quedarme sentada viendo nada más y oyendo.

Indigenous Women helped me obtain a relevant knowledge of the explored issue. The interviews I was able to conduct also enhanced my understanding of who, where, and what Indigenous women were doing across continents on a global scale from 1992-2012.

From Global to Globalization: A Shift in Paradigm

During the conceptual phase of this study, I presented my preliminary interviews, to the following leaders: Tarcila Rivera (Quichua, Peru), Mililani Trask (Kanaka Maoli, Hawaii), Vicky Tauli-Corpuz (Ingorot, Philippines), Margarita Gutierrez (Otomi, Mexico) and Florina Lopez (Kuna, Panama). Between 2005 through 2007, the common response was that they did not agree with my original quest to identify one unified Indigenous women's global movement. Only three of the thirty-two Indigenous leaders who I interviewed agreed and explained their perception of a global Indigenous women's movement. When probed to further explain how they understood or imagined that a global social movement functioned, the responses mapped out different interpretations. Thus, the general consensus among the leaders I interviewed was that Indigenous women are organizing themselves to politically resist social injustices worldwide and they are coming together internationally. However, Indigenous women do not achieve their goals solely in one unified social movement, but rather there are many local Indigenous women's social movements that are gradually becoming globalized in their increased access to the international arena.

Indigenous women did not suddenly and/or abruptly make their way into the international arena. Contrarily, most of the influential Indigenous women leaders within the international arena today and whom participated in this study explained how they mobilized for years, if not decades, prior to their first entry point in the international

arena. Dialys Herman Lopez, a Kuna leader from Panama, captures this shift from local to global dimensions in her trajectory of work. In fact, this leader's contribution in the field exemplifies how her direct action within the national Indigenous Peoples movement of Panama shifted to the defense of Indigenous women's rights and then shifted to target the international arena. In this instance, it is important to cite the 4th U.N. World Conference on Women in Beijing, China as an influential site of occurrence:

“There has been an international process [initiated] by Indigenous Peoples and the context for women has also started. The participation of women in the international context has been within the struggle of the Indigenous Peoples movement; however, with a low profile, and made invisible by men. You could count them on a few fingers, but it was not until Beijing..., where there is now greater intervention in the national context and consequently in the international context” (B. Chancoso, personal interview, Dialys Ehrman Lopez, April 28, 2007)²⁶

Dialys' observation are grounded and validated by other indigenous leaders in this study. Indigenous male leaders were at the forefront of local movements that went global, but likely because they self-positioned themselves at the forefront—a point that is corroborated with Agnes William's interview. Furthermore, once again, the interviews credit as well as critique those “old boy's networks which relegate indigenous women to a secondary class within the global arena.

Preparing the soil for Contentious Shifts

Indigenous women's activities at home prepared the soil for this historic upward political shift that occurred in the 1990s (1997). It's through local experiences of

²⁶ Original Spanish transcription: “...ha habido un proceso internacional también de los pueblos indígenas, pero entonces, en el contexto de las mujeres empieza también, la participación de las mujeres en el contexto de la lucha del movimiento indígena, pero con un bajo perfil, invisibilidad por los hombres. Se pueden contar unas cuantas con el dedo, pero no es hasta Beijín, que a Beijín en el contexto de la participación de la cuarta conferencia, en donde ya hay una mayor injerencia en el contexto nacional, y por ende en el contexto internacional”.

contestation that Indigenous women gained skills, capacity and the political framing and articulation of local community needs. It's these forms of work at "the bottom" which make the global work most meaningful. Matsuda (2000) makes this observation when she points out that the study of law and its complexities are understood, and arguably also articulated, when looking to the bottom. This approach is indicative of some of the tensions around indigenous representation, which I will address in the next chapter. However, what's worth pointing out is that working or looking "to the bottom" is contrary to working or looking "to the top. The latter implies looking away from the bottom, knowingly or unknowingly, and in turn looking up implies aligning one self and the social movement one represents with the interlocked power structures that those who look to the bottom hope to transform.

Along with the initiatives, Indigenous women organized resistance to local injustices in multiple sites and in various forms throughout the world. Some of these forms include, but are not limited to, resisting colonialism and neo-liberal policies through traditional prayer, armed struggle, diplomatic advocacy, electoral politics, and academic research. For example, in 1987 the Cordillera Women's Education and Resource Center (CWERC), a non-profit organization, was established to support the political formation of activists, education, and networking of Indigenous women of the Cordillera, the mountain region of the Philippines . The CWERC would become the springboard for the creation of the Asian Indigenous Women's Network, founded in 1994. in 2004, the International Council of Thirteen Indigenous Grandmothers emerged, with the self-determined mission to pray for world peace through this 13-member global

alliance²⁷. In 1994, the National Liberation Zapatista Army announced the Women's Revolutionary Laws, which were to serve as a blueprint for Indigenous women's individual and collective rights in Mexico, but through its ample dissemination it influenced Indigenous women worldwide. Margarita Gutierrez, a former advisor to the Zapatista women and a founding member of the National Coordination of Indigenous Women in Mexico²⁸, in an interview shared that she was contacted by Indigenous Peoples in different continents to conduct workshops on the Womens Revolutionary Laws, which implies that these laws had a global impact among Indigenous Peoples²⁹.

Another important example of the persistent formation of Indigenous women's movements relates to the accomplishments with regards to electoral representation of Indigenous women. In 2010, the Continental Congress of Indigenous Women Parliamentarians in the Americas was founded in Bolivia. This transnational congress is based in Bolivia, with the support of President Evo Morales, and in general represents a political project that emerges throughout Latin America. This is directly influenced by the vision and advocacy of the membership of the International Forum of Indigenous Women (FIMI). Such movements and activities reflect a glimpse of the different forms of national or regional organizations that Indigenous women have founded. Therefore, the present work serves to situate and identify some of the articulations, processes, and specific structures that Indigenous women constructed for themselves in order to bring their work to a transnational arena.

²⁷ <http://www.grandmotherscouncil.org/about-us> website accessed on 04/08/2012.

²⁸ CONAMI is the Cordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indigenas de Mexico, founded in 1993.

²⁹ Margarita Gutierrez is a leader of the Indigenous Womens movement in Mexico; rooted in the Zapatista struggle.

Local to Global Visibility: Organizations, Networks and Forums

The early processes of shifting from a local or national arena to the transnational context are made evident in the previously indicated examples. The increasing dynamics of international activities coordinated in the 1990s were essential for bringing Indigenous women together in various international forums, the formations of national organizations, continental networks and an international forum by the year 2000. In my interview with Monica Aleman, she confirms the participation of Indigenous women in the international arena as early as the 1980s; moreover, she supports my suspicion that it was in Beijing that Indigenous women emerged to present for the first time a global public discourse.

Monica shares her reflections in this way,

The international indigenous women Forum and in particular the Indigenous Women Fund which currently operates under FIMI were discussed in multiple international conferences of women since 1985 in Nairobi [during the 3rd world Conference on Women]. This process however consolidated in the fourth Conference on women in Beijing, China in 1995. From 1990 to 1994, there have been a number of preparatory events for Beijing in which indigenous women at the sub regional level were consolidating their proposals and the idea of the establishment of an international organization that allowed them to articulate in a systematic way (M. Aleman, personal interview, May 18, 2006).

Monica's observations confirm that preparatory steps were taken during this post-Norway and pre-Beijing international conference so that Indigenous women could organize as a united front. This time period of 1990-1994 consisted of local and regional activities that paved the way to ensure Indigenous women could bring to fruition a united global movement. However, even today, Indigenous women have competing ideas of what

structures, resources, and membership is needed to ensure a full blown global social movement. For instance, Maria Isabel Curihuento, a Mapuche elder from Chile, (interviewed on March 09, 2009), referenced the International Forum of Indigenous Women (FIMI). The latter represents an organization consisting of four continental networks of Indigenous women founded during Beijing +5 in 2000. This organization ensured significant potential to hold the global movement together. A similar observation appeared interesting, given that at one point, I also thought this was possible.

Initially in the research process, like Maria Isabel, I incorrectly thought that FIMI was the only Indigenous women's organization structured to include a broad international membership and actually represented Indigenous women globally. However, when I interviewed FIMI's leadership and founding mothers of the organization³⁰, they each disagreed over this idea. Furthermore, they clarified that the Forum was not the global Indigenous women's movement. According to Monica Aleman, the Executive Director for FIMI at the time of my interview (Interviewed on May 24, 2007), she explained that although the international forum has a broad base membership, it neither represents nor coordinates social movement activities or campaigns to qualify as a social movement. Conversely, she believed that the founders believed a Forum would better serve the needs of local social movements and that the organization should be structured as an international loose network. As a follow up to my interview, Monica Aleman writes in an

³⁰ Various leaders from the International Forum of Indigenous Women participated in this study: Monica Aleman, an Executive Director at the time of our interview, May 2006; Lucy Mullenkei, a Co-Founder of FIMI and a Coordinator of the African Indigenous Womens Alliance, January 2011; Tarcila River, a President of FIMI and a Continental Coordinator of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women, Interviewed in May 2007; and Vicky Corpuz-Taulli, a Board member and a founder of FIMI, Interviewed May 2006.

email correspondence the following clarification about the choice to organize as a loose network, with an identity as a Forum.

In this context, [the founding mothers] decide to call [FIMI] a Forum and not a network, nor-Alliance – the founders were interested in organizing FIMI as a transparent and open space that could convene and meet every 5 years to take joint decisions. FIMI did not want to have a structure that was not flexible - the name of the Forum resembles the exercise of decision-making at Community level - assemblies / forums / dialogues”³¹ (M. Aleman, personal correspondence, April 10, 2012).

My earliest conversations with Indigenous women, which focused primarily in trying to gain clarity on who makes up a global movement, logically shifted to conversations and debates about what constitutes a social movement and, consequently, more specific, what makes up a global Indigenous women’s social movement. These debates also revolved around the need to distinguish between social movements and a series of transnational organizations or networks, which are distinct models of organizing³².

The bottom line of similar conversations was the affirmation that Indigenous women leaders were creating history by a certain way of engaging with one another and international institutions in the global context. Subsequently, many of us agreed that most of these global activities, initiated by and for Indigenous women, were not coordinated top down, but rather that most Indigenous women were engaged and rooted in local or national processes, which have come to move in and out of the global arena. In this

³¹ Various leaders from the International Forum of Indigenous Women participated in this study: Monica Aleman, an Executive Director at the time of our interview, May 2006; Lucy Mullenkei, a Co-Founder of FIMI and a Coordinator of the African Indigenous Womens Alliance, January 2011; Tarcila River, a President of FIMI and a Continental Coordinator of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women, Interviewed in May 2007; and Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, a Board member and a founder of FIMI, Interviewed May 2006.

³² ECMIA stands for Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas in Spanish, *Enlace Continental de Mujeres Indígenas de las Américas*.

reshaping of the research focal point, the symbols and articulations of the issue have been clarified. From this perspective, the social movements that Indigenous women are enacting on a daily basis did not actually emerge in the global arena but rather in a series of different trajectories of collective and often traditional cultural processes, which Indigenous women developed at home, in their local or national struggles. This image of the logo of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women (ECMIA) confirms the mentioned idea—as you can see in the picture below.



Figure 4. Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas (ECMIA) at the International Women’s Day Feminist March in Lima, Peru March 10, 2011. Photo by Rosalee Gonzalez

The photo, Figure 4, was taken by me on March 10, 2010, during a mass protest in the downtown Zócalo in Lima, Peru, organized by the local feminist organizations and the respective social movement. At the time, I was in Lima attending a South American regional preparatory meeting for the upcoming Continental gathering of the ECMIA, scheduled later in that same year to take place in Hueyapan, Morelos México. The meeting’s dates coincided with International Women’s Day, as at the closing stage of this meeting, the host organization welcomed all the attending regional representatives to

march in solidarity with the local feminist movement and to give visibility to Indigenous women and Indigenous women's issues. This picture (Figure 1) illustrates the continental networks' logo on the banner held by its members during the march.

Tarcila Rivera, the present Continental Coordinator of the ECMIA, interprets the above symbol in the following manner,

...it signifies and represents Indigenous women from the three regions of the Americas, which are considered the base for culture and the [continuance of] Indigenous Peoples, who are sustaining the responsibility of the future generations in our region³³ (T. Rivera, personal correspondence, April 9, 2012) .

Likewise, the metaphor of the three women embodied in one tree further signifies the unity Indigenous women will need in order to accomplish the great task they have taken on for themselves and their Peoples. Such an important task reflects the defense of their inherent right to Indigenous territories, lands, self-determination and sovereignty, freedom of violence, etc. This image affirms that Indigenous women simply understand that the extensive struggle cannot be done alone at the local level, and thus transnational policies impacting their daily lives are designed and approved in the international arena (Smith, Chatfield and Pagnucco, 1997; Eschle, 2001). Therefore, Indigenous women increasingly understood that they must also struggle for social justice and equality within the global context.

Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, captures this idea in the following manner during an interview:

³³ Original Spanish transcription from an email by Tarcila Rivera, "Significa y representa a las mujeres indígenas de las tres regiones de las Américas, consideradas la base de las culturas y los pueblos sosteniendo las responsabilidades con el futuro de las generaciones de nuestra región" (Email sent April 7, 2012).

I realized [during the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples in Geneva], [that] unless we get engaged in the global arena it will be very difficult for us to influence decisions that are going to affect Peoples in [our] communities. While we do all our community organizing work, any decision made by the world or the World Trade Organization it can totally destroy all the efforts we do on the ground. So, I [got involved internationally as I realized that] it's going to be useful if we are able to get a chance to influence global processes (V. Tauli-Corpuz, May 16, 2006)³⁴.

Vicky describes the connections and direct impact global power can have over the lives of Indigenous women and communities. Accordingly, which these were the reasons and analysis that in turn commanded for these local actors to redirect their struggles towards the global arena and moreover the United Nations.

My conversations with Indigenous leaders regarding a global Indigenous women's movement came to an end around 2006. However, my efforts to frame this study were hardly over. After conducting my preliminary interview with Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, I made the decision that my research topic should be narrowed. Consequently, I engaged her in dialogue about my research and invited her to weigh in on this discrepancy over one movement or many movements that congregating within the international arena. It was Vicky who reframed the topic in this manner, "...I wouldn't say there is a global movement, but would argue that our Indigenous women's social movements have been globalized" (Interview with Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, 2006). Therefore, as I moved forward with my research and interacted with Indigenous women leaders, the consensus for this concept grew almost unanimously. Once my scope shifted, so did my interviews. The shift was made to go from a singular global movement to testing out if women agreed that many local or regional social movements were

³⁴ Tarcila Rivera....

structure, but rather illustrated a global process that involved diverse structures, actions, issues, and political formation. This dissertation honors diversity in the following manner, in particular by attempting to acknowledge and explore the different strategies, perspectives, and tensions that arise when Indigenous women gather to deploy political activities within the international arena.

Thrust into the Global Arena

The globalization of Indigenous women's movements requires a thorough examination of the oral stories involving Indigenous women, who led their local social movements into the international arena. In my findings, Indigenous women account for various events and conditions that influenced them to make this upward shift. For some, there were structural opportunities that supported the mobilization of their first transnational or global encounters. For some, they felt the structural opportunities that aren't out there anymore such as funding. For example, in my interview with Ellen Gabriel, the North Region Coordinator for the Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas and a President of the Aboriginal Women's of Quebec, she disclosed certain challenges that she felt restrict Indigenous women from North America to fulfill their active participation within international meetings. She pointed out how Indigenous women in developing countries have access to international funding that ensures their participation in important United Nations meetings, which are not equally available to those in developed countries (Interview with Ellen Gabrielle on May 10, 2008).

In other situations, deplorable human rights violations confronting Indigenous women and their nations forced them to engage in the international system, given that

they did not have any legal recourse at the national level. For instance, during the 6th Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous issues, I co-coordinated a side-event that focused on bringing together Indigenous women leaders to discuss the topic of unrepresented status. Among the seven panelists, one speaker, which I will focus on for the purpose of illustrating this point, presented the case of the Maluku Peoples.

Pelpina Sahureka, a Head for External Relations of the Bangsa Adat Alifuru (Maluku), shared how she was urged to attend the UNPFII on behalf of the mothers who were suffering for the wrongful arrest of their children and charged with treason. Pelpina explained that she lived outside of her community in Switzerland and represented her community abroad on issues that the community could not openly indicate within the occupied state of Indonesia. The Alifuru are unrecognized Indigenous Peoples that are denied their human and cultural right to claim their Indigenous ancestry. Consequently, the government of Indonesia has illegalized their claim to Indigenous ancestry.

During a cultural presentation by Alifuru young adults and adolescents for the president of the country, their initiative was interrupted on the grounds that the president accused these youth of attempting to witch him. Those youth were arrested and charged with treason, and their mothers were also persecuted. The military severely interfered by searching their homes and detaining a group of these youth, as their charge was also treason and the evidence was the possession of clothes, which represented the color of the traditional Alifuru flag. Pelpina came to the UN to speak up similar important issues, to raise awareness, and ultimately to mobilize the U.N. to intervene. In fact, Pelpina's case is one of many hundreds that are represented by Indigenous women and men who attend the annual U.N. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples.

Organized Indigenous women have consulted with their communities and/or national organizations in the process of identifying the United Nations as a strategic space where they could strengthen and enhance their collaborative efforts. Please take note of the operative word “organized”, which I use to distinguish the women in this study from all other indigenous women who participate within the UN arena but do not represent collectives.

For example, Monica Aleman shares how the results of an Indigenous women’s regional meeting in Latin American, influenced the aspects of her international work (personal interviewed in May 2006). It was at this meeting where the collective pointed out that there were not sufficient Indigenous women located in strategic positions within the United Nations. Pointing to the youth and singling out those with formal education, Monica described how the specific leadership instructor turned quite appealing to them and instructed them to assess and seek entry points, where Indigenous women should strategically target to fulfill their political agenda.

Vicky in this statement captures the excitement of networking and building political opportunities. However, the memories of connecting with diverse women were empowering. She describes it in this manner,

...when we start meeting each other during these global processes and linking up together, that's really when the globalization of the Indigenous women movement started. It's really the concept, the linkage, and the networking that's happening where you can see, a global picture of the situation of Indigenous women, and then, we started Asian's Indigenous women network. Africa's Indigenous women's organization said we want to learn from you, so we sent them everything. (Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, personal interview, May 18, 2006).

The upward shift that occurred from the local to the global is noted here. Once Indigenous women met across continents, these meeting points inspired clarity and purpose for uniting globally as indigenous women. What is worth noting is that Indigenous women in their interviews expressed different perceptions of whether or not they perceived other indigenous women and their communities as experiencing similar or worst social conditions impeding the daily quality of life. Evidently, a sense of sisterhood had to exist for them to return from an international forum, such as Norway in 1990 or Beijing in 1995, to return to their regions and begin broad base continental networks. In my interview with Tarcila Rivera, a founding mother of the Continental Network of the Indigenous Women of the Americas and FIMI, she disrupts a uni-dimensional upward shift (Smith, 1997) and reveals how ideas and inspirations for organizational structures were two-dimensional—upward and downward shifts occurring for over a five year time period, 1990-1995. During this time frame is when the most activity occurred with regards to the establishment of new national and continental indigenous women's organizations.

Targeting the International Arena: Legitimacy for the Subaltern

In the search for resolution to local concerns, Indigenous women have developed fruitful political insights and shared experiences through international gatherings. However, Indigenous women's gatherings go beyond the friendly, the cultural and social exchange. They gather primarily to strategize and determine what strategies and bodies to target for advocacy within the international arena. Smith points out that transnational

social movement's that engage with the United Nations have two roles that are operationalized in six stages (Smith, 1997, p 216). The first role is advocacy and the other is "intermediary", which is made of up interfacing and direct negoatoing of some kind. The first role of advocacy consists of what I perceive as actions that prepare the soil, such as, introducing an issue, educating and assessing sympathetic alliances. The second role of "intermediary", for Smith means political actors work the system by negotiating disputes and sides on the issue, and ultimately seeking diplomatic consensus. In my examination of who, where and what indigenous women's organizations do, it would be rather simplistic to apply all of these six stages to map out the processes in which Indigenous women interface the UN. I use the term simplistic to mean it would be rather easy to detect and confirm that Indigenous women engage in all six of these stages in any given international forum (i.e., UNPFII or the UN Commission on the Status on Women).. However, building on these six stages, I argue that given the complexity of the pluriversal make-up of the globalized Indigenous women's social movements, these stages are also enacted among the different indigenous women leaders. As Smith explains, these stages are not manifested in a linear form, but rather social movements and organizations shift in and out of these stages.

In the case of indigenous women, the first role of advocacy is a constant role that we enact with each other and with international institutions. Although this has changed slightly, Indigenous women's issues remain largely in the margins from the centers of power, that the attempt to bring to center requires constant presentation and representation of indigenous women's issues, claims and standpoints. Again, the broad cultural make up of indigenous women's movements membership throughout any given

regions (i.e., Americas, Africa, or Asia) command specific principles of unity and most importantly needs leaders who can facilitate these roles amongst ourselves, as indigenous women.

All of these challenges that come with marginalization and poverty, are by and large visible throughout Indian Country. So another good area to start building alliances and I was fortunate that happened to me, because I learned a great deal from the Indigenous woman of the continent about how they were working with their communities and also how they were addressing their political issues with the United States and other transnational corporations, state governments you know, both of these areas were fertile ground for me to work.

Priscilla Satee, Cree and founding grandmother of the Indigenous Womens Network in the U.S., speaks about her earliest days traveling across borders to meet amongst other indigenous peoples. More importantly, she describes the fallacies she created for herself based on what she called the “desperation” to exchange ideas on how to resolve similar issues locally. However, as an indigenous woman from North America, she describes how she woke up from this mythical vision while traveling. She premised her story by explaining that her idea that all indigenous peoples were similar and suffered the same oppressions across borders. Priscilla feels that she, “really got thrust into the global, [when she] was just seeking [her] own answers to [her] own communities problems (Interview with Priscilla Satee on May 12, 2007). Unintentionally her travels abroad served to disrupt her sense of homogeneity among indigenous peoples., This experience, Priscilla explains, pushed her to think through the complexities of multiple oppressions, without perpetuating an “Oppression Olympics” (Martinez, 1993).

Working internationally has brought legitimacy to Indigenous women, both within the Indigenous community and the nation-state. Going global has served as a significant political strategy for Indigenous women—it is not only a place to present claims for justice, which may or may not always be heard, but what it often produces is a status of legitimacy for these actors when they return home. Monica Aleman, Miskito from Nicaragua, expresses how the International Forum of Indigenous Women understands that one must not only travel to and from one's community to the United Nations, but rather believe that they must have a headquarters (i.e., office or workspace) in proximity to the UN, in New York or Geneva. Monica explains this in the following manner,

...[if we] want to achieve influence, [we] have to be in [proximity to those centers of power, such as] New York. We have to [strategize to] have people in the central Office of the United Nations...I believe we [also] need to have people in Geneva... but indigenous people. It was then natural to choose [to relocate and live in] New York. New York is not by chance, but because we know that the political power is here and knows that it is the power of the United Nations. [Also] at the same time, when you open this space, for example [when we support] an indigenous woman to come to the United Nations, that women legitimizes their struggle in her country... But to a certain extent, when you return to your community and you say, but I have already spoken at the UN, [well] that gives some legitimacy. Then it was recognized that space (Monica Aleman).³⁵

Monica's interview was rich in details that gave me some insight as to how the International Forum of Indigenous Women perceives the need for the organization to position its central office in proximity to the international center of power—the UN and Financial district in New York. Also, it was amazing for me to have interviewed a

³⁵ Original Spanish transcription: ...”si queremos lograr tener influencia, tenemos que estar en Nueva York. Tenemos que tener gente en la oficina central de las Naciones Unidas...pienso que tenemos que tener gente en Ginebra...pero gente indígena. Y entonces era natural escoger Nueva York. ...”

younger indigenous woman, with an executive level position, and to bare witness to her political formation, conveyed in her command of the international system, politics, financing and the relationship between the UN and transnational social movements.

As repeated throughout this study, Indigenous women understand and believe in the importance to advocate at the international level whether or not they accomplish immediate transformative results. Priscilla Satee shares the different forms of gains that are achieved by Indigenous women who advocate and network within this sphere,

... in the thirty something years that I've been organizing, the things that I see happening because of globalization have been amazing like you know can communicate in some parts of the world in a split second, and we can very rapidly understand what is happening in Chile, where there was a massive hunger strike for 60 days-not massive but a hunger strike; and so we can hear about repression in other parts of the world very rapidly, we also know that there is massive resistance to the impact of globalization all over the world not only because of the main stream media but because we have Internet as well (P. Satee, personal interview, May 18, 2007).

Reflecting upon the different modes of communication, what was available to Indigenous women thirty years ago in comparison to the different electronic systems that are much more accessible and faster today; Priscilla captures the impact internet has made in her transnational organizing. This issue of the internet serving as a mobilizing tool was discussed early on in the dissertation. However, I wil just highlight that indigenous women, especially women in rural areas that are difficult to access; are now increasing their knowledge about the different struggles that are happening worldwide. To apply this analysis to a particular case, in October of 2009 while attending the conference on Ancestral Justice, I met this woman from the Amazon. She attends the UNPFII every year, funded by the UN Voluntary fund she explained. In the area where

she is from, sexual abuse of young girls, is common and neither the traditional nor the state justice intervene. She is what I call an “informal social worker”—she is literally the self-appointed social worker that goes from community to community to conduct investigation’s, and if necessary she will take the children home with her. The example that she raised was the use of TV in the Amazon. In making her case that public TV is influencing the increase of sexual violence of indigenous girls, they will not hear her out. However, in her battle against public television and pedophilia, she uses her trips to the UN to position herself within her community in a way that she may get gain institutional legitimacy to intervene and make an impact upon her return home from the UN. .

Historical Events that shaped the GIWSMs

The earliest international gathering among Indigenous women occurred in the 1990s. The first gathering that my interviews pointed me to was an international meeting held in 1990 in Norway. One hundred Indigenous women gathered representing twenty-two countries (Women’s Committee of the South and Meso-American Indian Information Center, 1994). It was at that gathering that among those Indigenous women in attendance, they made a pact to organize Indigenous women worldwide. The imaginary was launched; however, as argued before, Indigenous women’s social movements first emerged locally, then regionally, and eventually began engaging across continents. Consequently, the first part of this chapter examines the time period and the series of events that mark the beginnings of this globalization process.

Indigenous Women Forums (1990)

As early as 1990, Indigenous women have been coordinating efforts across continents so that can ensure adequate representation from all regions worldwide. It is

important to note that in 1990 in Adelaide, Australia, Indigenous women gathered from over 20 countries. This initial encounter is described as a vital meeting point for those present—arguably this is where the globalization of Indigenous women is conceptualized and prayed about. It is within three years, in Ecuador, Kenya and Philippines, that Indigenous women began to gather their local and national bases in order to coordinate a world conference in Africa.

500 Years of Resistance to European Colonialism

Indigenous women have been struggling since a long time to demonstrate their first significant contact for land and life (Dialys, Panama). In Panama, Dialys explains that the dimensions of IW organizing do not actually begin in Beijing. She situates the movement of Indigenous women's resistance at the time of their first encounter with Europeans 500 years ago. She goes on to demonstrate the shifts from a national movement, led by men and some invisible women, which in turn shifted to the international arena:

... our brothers have shifted their tasks to the national, but they played a role, and they are those who opened the way, and it has to be said, which means that there has been an international process of Indigenous Peoples, but [now] the context on women starts also. The participation of women in the context of the struggle of the Indigenous movement[were present], but with a low profile, scripted by men. You could count us with a few fingers, but it was not until Beijing...[and indigenous women's] participation the fourth Conference.

Working Group on Indigenous Issues

The international arena has served in two globalized Indigenous Peoples worlds: first, it is in the international arena where Indigenous women came to establish global connections with other Indigenous Peoples; and second, it is in the local context where

Indigenous women have conceptualized and come to understand the global magnitude and sources that operationalize the interlocking oppressions and genocide of Indigenous Peoples. Vicky Tauli-Corpuz gives a thick description that illustrates this awareness:

When I was involved with the Draft Declaration Process, [within the] Working Group [of Indigenous Populations], I realized that there really needs to be more awareness raising among Indigenous Peoples of what these international instruments are ... because...with globalization...the World Trade Organization agreement and all that, I realized that unless we get engaged in the global arena it will be very difficult for us to influence decisions that are going to affect Peoples in the communities. We cannot, while we do all our community organizing work, any decision like that made by the World Bank or the WPO [these decisions] it can totally destroy all the efforts you are doing on the ground, so I thought it's going to be useful if we are able to get a chance to influence global processes. So that's why, then I decided that maybe we should set up an institution, an NGO, that really concentrates on this and this when we set up Tebtebba Foundation. That's my organization, which really went into researching what are the impacts of Trade Agreements and all that. Then I got involved with all these Funder processes and also undertaking awareness raising or training workshops on how do you use these international instruments. Because of course our experience was that we organize on the ground, some of our friends take up arms, they are involved in the armed struggle and all that, but there's really one part that's not being used is that of international instruments, which may be helpful in pushing governments to really address the needs of Indigenous Peoples. So that is how I got involved with all of this.

Beijing

There are accounts of Indigenous women participating at all of the world conferences on women, since Mexico in the 1970s. However, in my efforts to track down through some of the elders, like Tarcila Rivera, Otilia Lux, and Margarita Gutierrez, they do not have names of these women to track them down. The earliest confirmations, with names and countries, of indigenous women participants at the 3rd world conference held in Nairobi,

both Lucky Molenki and Vicky Tauli-Corpuz, Philippines, are among the two women I was able to include in this study.

In their accounts, what is confirmed is that Beijing is where the first declaration was written and presented, under one umbrella—Indigenous women of the world. The introductory statement reads as follow:

We have been and are continuing to suffer from multiple oppressions; as Indigenous Peoples, as citizens of colonized and neo-colonial countries, as women, and as members of the poorer classes of society. In spite of this, we have been and continue to protect, transmit, and develop our Indigenous cosmovision, our science and technologies, our arts and culture, and our Indigenous socio-political economic systems, which are in harmony with the natural laws of mother earth.” (Declaration of IW in Beijing, 1995)

In my interview with Monica Aleman, Miskito, she identifies the following “lideres tradicionales” from Latin America who attended Beijing: Rigoberta Menchu, Elmira (Nina) Pacari, and Blanca Chancoso: Of the three only Blanca Chancoso was accessible and able to share an interview. As a representative and founder of both the mixed gendered, national indigenous peoples organization, and indigenous women’s movement of Ecuador, she marks Beijing as the site for transformation. She remembers the marginalization, but also the unity among indigenous women from around the world which arose from that disregard.

Dialys Erhman, Kuna from Panama, explains that a shift occurred for her after Beijing. She explains that she returned from the forum, feeling empowered and determined to create strong national defense for Indigenous women. It is important to capture the influence of participating in a global conference on the behalf of Indigenous women. Beijing demarcates a historic point for a first international encounter of Indigenous women on a global scale. Indigenous women in South America were already

talking and networking, the same is true among Indigenous women in developed countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and Norway. Beijing became the locale where the earlier imaginings of a global network of Indigenous women, in the Norway gathering among a hand full of Indigenous leaders came to fruition. Dialys explains that in Panama Indigenous women began organizing themselves as Indigenous Women as of 1993, prior to their participation in Beijing in 1995. However, she notes that it was after Beijing that Indigenous women returned to their local communities, determined to organize stronger local bases.

Trajectories: Indigenous Peoples, the Left and Feminist Social Movements

Through the course of my research I found that there are three predominant political trajectories that have influenced and formed Indigenous women leaders in today's global spheres. The Indigenous women who participated in this project gained much of their leadership formation through direct participation in some combination of the following three social movements: mixed-gendered Indigenous Peoples' social movements, national liberation/guerilla social movements, and/or Indigenous women's political social movement organizations. Most global Indigenous women leaders are rooted in or ascend from mix-gendered Indigenous Peoples' movements, and at some point, have experienced male leaders from their own communities enforcing gender scripts and norms and espousing specific hegemonic discourses of what it means to be a 'true' woman (Harris, 1990). Some of these gender scripts include Indigenous Women becoming increasingly visible, yet not heard in their elected or assigned organizational roles, such as the Secretariat positions within some Latin American mixed-gendered Indigenous organizations, where these leaders are not empowered to voice Indigenous

women's issues (Cunningham, *ibid*). Accordingly, Indigenous Peoples mixed-gendered social movements make evident the power of patriarchy through the enforcement of gender norms that often relegate roles, prioritize issues, determine public representation, and allow and/or ignore the harassment of its membership based on gender. However, Indigenous women worldwide are talking back and responding to these structures (hooks, 1989).

Structural, Political Representational Intersections

This thick description of the issues that were impacting the local community served as the impetus to organize themselves as Indigenous women locally. Blanca Chancoso's interview illustrates how the local community, through her leadership, responded to colonialism, specifically in the struggle to reclaim land in Otavalo, Ecuador (B.Chancoso, personal interview 18 de mayo del 2012). It is important to indicate a rather interesting point, relevant to Critical Race Feminist theory, with regard to jurisprudence discrimination. Indigenous Peoples identify the need for legal skills to negotiate and confront the colonial legal system that did not favor or recognize their basic rights. However, this narrative exemplifies how the local community once organized and unified, forced negotiations outside of the courts, which often took longer periods of time. Yet those that gave up and deferred to the legal system often returned due to the legal cost (Mililani, Hawaii; Dialys, Panama).

"New process--IWs must be recognized (during the decade)"

Dialys notes that in her trajectory as legal professional, who has formal academic training, she cannot stratify her academic from her political formation. She believes whole heartedly that her political trajectory was critical in her development of

international skills. Furthermore, she explains the value of having a combination of front line experience within the mixed gendered and Indigenous women's organizing. She believes that the acknowledgement of Indigenous women is undeniable; it has emerged and became visible during the UN Decade on IPs (1993-2003).

Chapter 5

WE COME HERE (ACA) TO:

ACCEPT, CONTEST AND ALTER THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

This chapter focuses on identifying the international sites where indigenous women advocate, their claims for social justice, and resolving the question “A que venimos ACA?” (What do we come here for?), a question that Margarita Gutierrez, an Otomi leader from Mexico, shared in her interview, as the continuous question she asked herself during her first experiences advocating for social justice within the United Nations. Drawing from my interviews and key speeches made on the UN Floor, I explain why and how indigenous women advocate here (A.C.A) at the UN, by “A” Accepting, “C” Contesting and “A” Altering the United Nations system.

Over fifty indigenous women agreed to interview in this project; however, I secured thirty-two interviews for this study. Some interviews were conducted in UN rooms, hallways, others in cafeterias, one was in the middle of forest in Khanawake Mohawk territory, and lastly I concluded some of my interviews online by Skype. The challenge as mentioned in Chapter 3 on Methodology was the limited time that indigenous women have during their counted days at the United Nations session and international conferences. However, Indigenous women were graceful most of the time and they were either honest that they could not confirm a time and date and more often than no, they found time to squeeze me into their busy schedules. I mention this to illustrate how busy the daily agenda can be for most Indigenous leaders during the UN sessions. If participants are not in the forum listening to the different interventions, they

are likely out in the hallways networking, connecting with others informally and/or lobbying.

The women who participated in this study are all political organizers, most with multiple decades of organizing by and for Indigenous peoples and/or Indigenous women. Indigenous women are organized in various ways—Indigenous women’s organizations, networks, alliances, forums and mixed-gendered Indigenous Peoples organizations with women’s committees or secretariats. The most common structural form for transnational organizations are either loose networks or formal networks (i.e., NGO’s or organizations with national legal status) (Jackie, 1997).

Continental Networks, Organization and Alliances

One of the questions that I asked all participants in this study dealt with representation. In considering the issue of representation, all 32 Indigenous women leaders in this study represent indigenous women’s organizations they have co-founded. Not one leader had the authority to speak on behalf of their indigenous peoples. Consequently, this information illustrates the need to examine the particular forms of organizing and representation of Indigenous women’s social movements.

African Indigenous Women’s Organization (NGO)

The African Indigenous Women’s Organization is a continental-wide NGO, whose members are composed of African Indigenous Women representing NGOs and CBOs from all over the continent. We work towards the promotion of women’s rights and indigenous rights throughout Africa. African Indigenous Women’s Organization (AIWO) was formed on 24th April, 1998, in Agadir, Morocco. This was after the first African Indigenous Conference held on 20th to 24th the same year (website accessed on 12/02/2011)

Asian Indigenous Womens Network (NGO)

“The first Asian Indigenous Women’s Conference was held in Baguio City in the Cordillera region, Philippines on January 24-30, 1993. The conference brought together 150 women from 13 Asian countries and a few others from Europe and the Americas with the bulk of the participants coming from local organizations in the Cordillera. Its theme was “Sharing Commonalities and Diversities, Forging Unity Towards Indigenous Women’s Empowerment.

National Organizations

As shared earlier Indigenous women’s organizing is not a one-dimensional process, where as one may predict that local organizations would enact an upward shift to act nationally, then regionally, then internationally. As Smith conveys, this process is a two dimensional, if not a third one.

National organizations formed the basis for the globalization of Indigenous women’s movements. Without a national organization, many indigenous women shared that they would feel vulnerable within the international arena.

Representation

Vicky: Being here. ..Well, you know in Asia, of course there was a process where many indigenous organizations... we went through a very tedious process of selecting the representatives from the regions. So we had meetings. Then two years ago I was chosen to be one of the Asia representatives. And then, of course, when we meet as the Members of Forum we elect amongst ourselves who is going to be the chair you know and even before that, there was already this, we already thought of. Convinced many indigenous peoples that the next chair should be a woman, because the first Chair was a man, and the next Chair should come from a developing country not a developed country, you know. So you know of course when you have that.. In fact, the Asian Caucus

statement already said those two years ago. So when we met that was.. then of course, in the process there are all these other women who are there, of course it makes sense to have that kind of thing. So it really it has narrowed down the choice if you go through a democratic election, really. That is how I ended up being chosen. Of course there were some people, some MEN [emphasis in tone] who wanted to contest it but in the end they gave up because they can see that there was a growing consensus among the members that I was going to be their choice.

Capacity building, trainings and leadership

When indigenous women first emerged with some visibility within the international arena in the 1980s there were no trainings available to them outside of traditional forms of university education. Some indigenous leaders and advocates for Indigenous women's rights, such as Mililani Trask, Mirna Cunningham, Priscilla Satee hold doctoral degrees in law, medicine and philosophy and have served as committed leaders to the struggle of Indigenous women worldwide. However, academic disparities persist globally and indigenous women do not have equal access or financial resources needed to advance and complete a university education as desired by many. Therefore, academic training, which could serve Indigenous women to advance their legal claims is still needed and a right that has yet to be implemented worldwide.

Those that have had the privilege of higher levels of education express the inherited responsibility to serve the movement. For example, Monica Aleman, Meskito from Nicaragua, exemplifies a rarity—she was sixteen years old when she began traveling from her hometown to New York city to intern at the United Nations, she is also the daughter of a prominent international leader, Dr. Mirna Cunningham a former

insurgent of the Sandinista movement of Nicaragua. Her political, academic and professional training is anomalous within the Indigenous Peoples movement in general. Before she was thirty, she gained international visibility as the Executive Director of the International Forum of Indigenous Peoples. In my interview with Monica she discussed her profound sense of obligation to join the indigenous women's movement—she explains how her skills and training was intended to serve the movement, "...me involucre en el movimiento de mujeres indígenas porque, por un lado sentía que era mi responsabilidad involucrarme. Porque tenía acceso a recursos, tenía acceso a dar información, tenía acceso a pasar oportunidades a otras mujeres, entonces pensé de que iba a usar mi espacio en Nueva York, como un espacio de facilitación para otras personas u otras mujeres" (Interview with Monica Aleman, 2007).

Increasing the visibility and full and active participation of Indigenous Women.

In 2006, Vicky Corpuz-Taulli became the first elected Chair for the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous issues. This position exemplified the political maturity and leadership of Indigenous women within the United Nations. An entire campaign emerged from this nomination. The first task is entering a general competition for a regional nomination, which is determined by member states and the elected indigenous peoples representatives. Once elected, then the 16 indigenous experts and members of the UNPFI must elect their chair every year. Vicky disclosed the tensions and gatekeeping that the Indigenous male leadership imposed. Consequently, once elected as the first Chairwoman for the highest ranking position held by an Indigenous

woman leader within the United Nations, she experienced further challenges in her historic leadership role.

“well, its really to help to wheel the whole membership to agree in all the recommendations and agree on the analysis of what the situation is like. I think that’s really the challenge because you have to really hear, listen to everybody and make them felt hat they are being heard and then make them own, own the recommendations that you do. Then you have to also be..[and] always play a very sophisticated role in balance. Like in the plenary you have government; you have agency and indigenous peoples. And of course, you can’t just keep on attacking government, because no matter how bad they are you still have to work them. So all that kinds of work, where you have to do this entire balancing act is really the biggest challenge. It’s not an easy thing to do. So you just have to learn the way, the skill in terms of trying to make everybody feel happy (laughs) and not feel that they are not being heard. That is really the challenge in this whole process. you can never satisfy everybody, but at the least you don’t make them so dissatisfied or frustrated that they think that this is a useless exercise. Then of course, the next one [challenge] is to make sure that the recommendations that come up from the floor really have impact on the situation of people on the ground, that is really the thing that is not easy because of course you are not in control of what the nation states do, what the agencies do, but you are in a position to keep on pushing them to go toward this right track.”

Accepting: Structural Opportunities

The pace of an average meeting day during the UNPFII is fast in the hallways and slow in the general assembly room. For the most part, where ever you choose to participate—as an active participant inside, listening to others, preparing to read your intervention on the floor or lobbying and visiting in the hallways—regardless, you can’t escape overwhelm. Whether you’re an expert or a novice, the topic of global injustice can be a topic that is heavy for all hearts. As established in the previous chapter, first timers typically are hit with overwhelm from the intensity of information, including highly emotive issues presented from an immensely diverse indigenous participation. The legal language and framings which are so particular to that environment can also be

challenging in various forms—mentally, emotionally, and spiritually. It is common to enter the UN and experience shock and what is most interesting is why do Indigenous peoples continue to go back? The question that Margarita Gutierrez, Otomi from Mexico, posed and I presented in the previous chapter is a fair one to ask—what do we come here (ACA for? –and commands closer examination.

Through an intersectional approach one can examine and understand how social stratification is played out within the UN (Hill-Collins, 2000) and the structural and historical barriers that indigenous women accept, contest and alter. Feminists have argued that gender is a site and source of power that disadvantages women (Smith, 1997, pp. 102) and as we add other factors like race, nationality, age and language, we get a complex matrix that can illustrate greater clarity of such disadvantage (Hill-Collins, 2000). Conversely, this framework of accepting, contesting and altering the UN is not a one-dimensional process, but rather a two-dimensional process (Smith, 1997) in which the UN system viz-a-viz its engaging Indigenous women and is also accepting, contesting and altering itself. This following interview is telling of how in the one hand Indigenous women may perceive themselves to be disadvantaged and powerless when engaging the UN. The interview that follow's thereafter, with Savanna Subba from Nepal, illustrate how the structural opportunities of funding, learning, networking are favorable for advancing their political work within this system.

Charlene O'Rourke, Lakota indigenous woman from the U.S., traveled for the first time to the UNPFII in 2006. Charlene is a traditional healer, she is a women's

Sundance³⁶ leader and during this trip to the UN she represented the Apache Mountain Rainbow Center. She was sent there by her organization to denounce the increased violence that Indigenous women, but in particular teenage young women, are experiencing due to their increased poverty and vulnerability to the spread of Methamphetamine addiction throughout Indian country. She went to argue how that indigenous women in White Mountain Apache are targets of transnational drug cartels—that these young women are preyed upon to serve as the entry point for these male drug lords to set up “meth labs” on the Indigenous reservation. She framed this issue as an international matter that required international attention.

By training Charlene is a drug and alcohol counselor, she is an expert on these issues, yet her expertise was tested once at the UN. After about one hour of waiting in line to sign up to speak on the UN Floor, she shared her experience in this way,

Im think[ing] a lot about how clear my statement is?...I was thinking about what others were sharing in line, [they say that] some folks were stopped and detained [as they were leaving their country to come here]—their government took their passports and detained them. I was trying to listen...[Standing there] I was [feeling] disappointed because I couldn't understand [what is being said] on the [UN] floor. After waiting with a lot of anticipation, that was a long line...I was thinking about the English language and how my English language is so different from what they speak here and how I don't understand what they speak here. Will I be able to convey what I have to say and will I be understood? If they ask me a question, will I understand their question? I was there forever. I had a lot of thoughts [laughs] ...I have a conflict with myself. I feel that there's been so much stimulation that it's been hard to be clear [here]. Man, I just need a place to have a ceremony—to get clear. I'm emotional right now [Charlene starts crying] (C. O'rourke, personal interview, May 15, 2006)

³⁶ Sundance is a traditional Lakota ceremony, typically lead by men. Charlene O'rourke received traditional permission from her family to run this ceremony. However, for the last 20 or more years, the sexism has never subsided and has continuously resurfaced. In the name of “tradition” her spiritual role is questioned typically by indigenous men.

Charlene is a good friend, so this allowed for her to share her true feelings and self-doubt, which are normal feelings experience by so many Indigenous women (and men) in this arena. Charlene is one fierce leader—she can out sing many American Indian male drummer. However, this is only a glimpse, a brief moment in her life, which is not intended to serve to illustrate how weak or strong she is as a woman, but rather about how Indigenous women must reconcile this doubt of their ability to transform this house of global power.

My conceptualization of using the acronym of A.C.A., (accept, contest, alter) came directly from my observing the array of attitudes and approaches to this question , regarding the significance of being “aca”/here. It was in identifying differing approaches in navigating the UN that I also found the array of responses—that illustrate how Indigenous women go beyond “accepting”, or accepting certain aspects of the international arena, but to acknowledge that they are often slipping in and out of the aforementioned and into contesting and altering policies, standards, and even operational protocols (i.e., opening UN meetings with traditional prayer).

Sirvana Subba is a young Limbu, indigenous woman from Nepal, whom by the age of 32, at the time of the interview, was on her fourth annual trip to participate at the UN, representing the recently founded Indigenous women’s organization in Nepal. The organization she explained was fairly new, only three years old and she was the Secretariat on Gender, which means she is the coordinator for all activities within the organization that have to do with women’s issues. During the interview we discussed what her organization and/or community expect of her when she participates as a Limbu indigenous representative for her Peoples.

In terms of expectation..., one is [to] participate here and try to relate to the issue raised at the international level and the national level. I think most [of the expectation of me] is the learning [piece], and another one is...so my organization[s] name will be there and so we'll have a social capital (S. Subba, personal interview, April 10, 2010).

When I asked for her to expand on this idea regarding Indigenous women gaining “social capital” she explained the following,

[by social capital I'm speaking about gaining capital...in both[places-local and international level]. Like at least in the U.N. we'll have our [organization's] name listed [on the official records], and back home we can say that our organization has participated and [share] these other things we have learned. I always do the sharing with the board members and other indigenous women back home (S. Subba, personal interview, April 10, 2010).

One of the issues that Sirvana points out is the emphasis on participating primarily to transform the UN, but rather to get something out by participating within that space.

Contesting at the Blasphemous Bocacalle—talking back, up to and about cultural framings

In October 2009 during my participation of the UNIFEM sponsored conference on Ancestral Justice and Indigenous Women, I witness some of the most heated debates amongst indigenous women and with men. The conference focused on creating a space for Indigenous women to speak out and share their experiences with ancestral or tribal courts that are often run by indigenous men who deploy patriarchal norming that is often unfair and disadvantage Indigenous women. The dialogues intersected topics such as culture, gender and law—which created an explosive dialogue regarding issues of cultural relativism. Basically, to what degree do indigenous peoples rights reify violence

and discrimination of women when international and national rights are used to protect and maintain these cultural legal systems. Some of the historic claims made by Indigenous women at this conference introduced a public discourse challenging the preservation of Indigenous culture that harms women.

Juana Batzibal, a spiritual and political Mayan leader from Guatemala problematized the interpretations of the sacred Mayan books, which include the Mayan creation story rooted in the Popolvuh, which she argued have been reconstructed to favor men and disadvantage indigenous women (J. Batzibal plenary speech, ethnographic notes, October 25, 2008). Since about 2009, I have continued to observe and hear Indigenous women critique this cultural relativist positioning which has arguably serviced to reify patriarchy within Indigenous traditions.

This point is sustained further through the words of Priscilla Satee, a Cree Indigenous leader in Canada and founding grandmother of the Indigenous Womens Network in the United States (Interviewed at the UNPFII 2007), who questions the rhetoric of decolonization by Indigenous movements when it implies a partial decolonization, oppose to a holistic approach that would disrupt the material culture of that operationalizes discrimination that Indigenous women and girls experience. Priscilla Satee shares the following, If “[we are] decolonizing the history of ideas by bringing forward the ways of thinking of Indigenous Peoples...”, then we must decolonize our Indigenous history by bringing forward the ways of thinking of Indigenous women...(P. Satee, personal interview, May 18, 2007)

Priscilla Satee raises a critical issue—the use of cultural rhetoric and the deployment of values within the community of Indigenous Peoples. She addresses the repression and blasphemous judgment native women must resist in the following words, “One of our worst problems is nationalism, it [can] be so unliberating, and traditions are part of that... I know it’s like you go against the holy whatever if you say, you know women that wear pants are untraditional and everyone should be wearing skirts. I’ve always had a problem with that. I think we need to examine critically whether traditions keep us empowered, and [if it is] part of the solution. If it’s not part of the solution then I say the blasphemous thing and dump those traditions. Now I know that there are some very positive helpful traditions. Then let’s keep those, but if something doesn’t help us to figure out who our common enemy is, we need to look at our own reality with a very critical eye. So, it’s a balancing act, it really is (P. Satee, personal interview, May 18, 2007).

Priscilla exemplifies an increasing standpoint among Indigenous women who are standing up and in the name of “liberating” Indigenous Peoples, as critical cultural practices that regulate and oppress women must be revised.

The structural opportunities that Indigenous women have accessed in the global arena include building alliances, networking and ultimately dialoging with other Indigenous and non-indigenous women and exploring different perspectives on issues that matter to them (Smith and Johnson, 2002). For example, Monica Aleman, recalls in her interview the opportunity that was afforded to those young Indigenous women who were able to go to UN 4th World Conference in Beijing in 1995. Beijing + 5 was then

that opportunity. On the one hand young women began to talk with other youth about controversial topics [for indigenous women]. Controversial in the sense that [these topics] are not easy to discuss, [such as] how abortion as a family planning methods or how works the theme of the rights of girls. (M. Aleman, personal interview, April 15 2007).

Altering: Successes by Indigenous women leaderships

One of the questions that stirred up some of the most engaging conversations in my interviews with Indigenous women, was asking them to weigh in on whether they thought Indigenous Peoples were decolonizing the UN. In return I received an array of responses. I will start by sharing some that agreed and followed with examples. Vicky Taulli-Corpuz was one participant who agreed that Indigenous Peoples are decolonizing the UN, even if it is happening on a small scale. and shared the following,

I think the movement is decolonizing the UN, if you just see this PF for instance, I mean there has never been a structure like this within the UN where you have an equal number of non-state actors and governments speaking and trying to develop and give advice to this UN. in fact, it's the most interesting forum now within the UN, because it is a totally different animal. It bring all these strange peoples, [from] all over the world and these are peoples they have never seen, so it's really the United Nations, if you ask me. This is really what the United Nations should be like, you know (laughing). I think we are shaping the UN as we go along, so we shouldn't underestimate the influence we have in terms of shaping these kinds of institutions because we are agents. We have our own agency that [makes us] capable of changing situations where we find ourselves in. I always believe that as long as we are conscious of using that kind of power and use it to really bring Indigenous Peoples together, and ...to change the things that are really oppressing us, then we are in the right track (V. Taulli-Corpuz, personal interview, May 18, 2006)

Vicky is referring to the use of the traditional and ancient prayers. In her views the transformations occur through different forces. Diplomatic engagement is one one approach, political engagement, and spiritual .

Alliances

Monica Aleman is critical of the fact that greater alliances must be created. She urges indigenous women of the necessity to make bridges of mutual support. She shares her critical views in the following manner,

...I believe that the main problem that we have as social movements at this time, is that we are fragmented. Contrary to us, what is the right movement doing – they have managed to articulate the different sectors, with one banner which is to conquer the world [through] globalization (M. Aleman, April 18, 2006)³⁷.

Monica makes a critical observation, which is to categorize two groups on opposite ends of an issue. Globalizations supports reflect a more unified camp and anti-globalization adherents reflect a less desirable camp. So, why don't Indigenous women unite under one banner? Some would argue that Indigenous women are under one banner, which is the "indigenous peoples" banner that advocates for a holistic world view—un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos—
A world where many worlds fit.

³⁷Original Spanish transcription. ...yo creo que el principal problema que tenemos los movimientos sociales en este momento, es que estamos fragmentados, a lo contrario que están haciendo el movimiento de derecha—que han logrado ir articulando los diferentes sectores, con una sola bandera que es la de conquistar el mundo [con] la globalización (M. Aleman, personal interview, April 15 2007).

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

Indigenous women have made formal gains within the UN System via the unprecedented processes of simultaneously accepting, contesting, and altering the structural opportunities and constraints present within the UN's functioning. These processes made it possible for UNPFII's actors and their key claims to be effectively integrated into the UN's multiple agencies. As my findings illustrate, Indigenous women have successfully gained visibility in UN High-level plenary sessions, the creation of a Global Indigenous Womens Fund, the formation of a Global School for Indigenous Womens Leadership (forthcoming), their own research agenda and indigenous operated policy think tanks, as in the case of the work of Tebtebba in the Philippines, and equally significant are the mainstreaming efforts to ensure Indigenous women representation in national elected, as well as UN appointed, positions of influential decision-making.

Included in these processes, I also identify the key Indigenous actors and trace their claims for social justice that transcended the domestic sphere to the global political arena. As in the case of the Winnemem Wintu Tribe which is among the very few indigenous nations in North America with a woman chief, Chief Caleen Sisk. The Winnemem Wintu's experience, which I draw on in my research, exemplifies how international advocacy favors their struggles. As a federally unrecognized tribe, Chief Caleen is left without any local or federal legal recourse to see one of their primordial demands for justice met—this Chief has various claims against the U.S. government, however, one that has touched Indigenous women deeply, is the identification with her plea to access the sacred sites of her ancestors—the local river which is open to the public

for recreational use. Years upon years of local to national advocacy have not yielded what she claims would be just—the closing of the river to the public, so that this historical tribe can rightfully pray and commemorate the naming of the next traditional female Chief. Despite their rendering invisible by the U.S. government, through her international advocacy Chief Caleen has gained significant visibility, leadership, framing skills, and an amazing global network of Indigenous women who are arguably ready to “Battle in Winnemem Wintu”. Mari Matsuda wrote a piece titled “When the First Quail Calls”, what she explains was the reference to the signal to mark the time of departure of Black slaves to freedom. In the case of Chief Caleen, her increasing global support is vigilant of the Winnemem struggle that Indigenous women worldwide are indeed awaiting for “when the first Chief calls”³⁸.

Globalization has reconfigured transnational political spaces for Indigenous women activists and these UN advocates frame their claims for rights in a unique way. They do so through a process that combines individual human rights as well as collective Indigenous Peoples rights. Both of these legal instruments set the minimum standards for the protections of each group—Indigenous on the one hand, women on the other. However, what is needed is an effort to combine both legal instruments to produce a minimum standard for the protection of Indigenous women specifically. I believe and argue that this is the work for our indigenous attorneys to do. To take the key international instruments that Indigenous woman most draw from in order to frame their

³⁸ Mari Matsuda applies the “call” as a call to action for legal scholars of color to come forward and embrace their multiple consciousness, which may free them from the cultural-schizophrenia (Frantz Fanon’s term) of navigating their ethnic/colored world and the legal academy. I propose this call, by the Chief, in a similar manner. As the TSM scholars explain the global call to mobilize against neoliberalism in Seattle; likewise, a potential call from the Winnemem Chief could yield a global mobilization against the laws that reify injustice and the denial of the tribe’s right to self-determination and cultural practice.

claims for justice and through a cross examination of two particular legal instruments—the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women—begin to propose what this minimum standard may be. This legal analysis has been proposed by Indigenous women on the ground and grassroots efforts have been attempted, yet what I am suggesting is a critical, race, feminist analysis that brings both instruments together to begin the articulation of what the minimum international standard for the protection of Indigenous women’s rights by UN member states.

The Chiapas rebellion: the struggle for land and democracy, N. Harvey (1998). “Yet, as Harvey points out, the EZLN faces the problem of any rural social movement that simultaneously strives for independence and representation in an authoritarian political system. It is the dilemma of a movement that wants to be taken seriously by the existing political system, but that at the same time is aware of the risks involved in getting too close to it. It is the dilemma of participating without becoming encapsulated, and it does not allow for easy strategies.”

Indigenous women’s international activism has taken various shifts. As I describe in Chapter 5. Each indigenous leader in this study was shaped politically from one of three social movements: 1) Indigenous Peoples social movements; 2) Left or insurgent militancy; and 3) indigenous women’s social movements. Through the years, what has occurred through global networking and alliance building across continents, are the influences of one another’s new global trajectory. What today’s indigenous leadership brings to the table, is a form of hybrid political analysis that stems from the cross-

pollinations of different paradigms, theories, and strategies that they each bring to the table.

As Norma Mayo, Quechua leader from Ecuador, shared in her interview,

...the continental network of indigenous women of the Americas was birthed by us, 17 years ago. Our movement is like our child. Our child is now a teenager. We can neither abandon our teenager nor give up on her as she continues to experience growing pains. To the contrary, our expectations of our child, our movement, and of each other must shift. Our organization must use this time to prepare for early adulthood. We have matured nicely (N. Mayo, personal interview, March 9, 2012).³⁹

This metaphor of the child turning teenager or young adult, encapsulates the time frame I reference throughout this study on the Globalization of Indigenous Women's Social Movements. Most of the continental networks are reaching the 20 year birth date right soon and one can only expect a second wave of international activism to emerge once the movement formally hits young adulthood.

The GIWSM has evolved in the last twenty year in concrete forms. In twenty years of work, Indigenous women's organizations have been established by and for Indigenous women at every level of the globe—local, regional, national, continental and internationally. From an accompaniment roles, to representing a global network on Biodiversity in the long run of this global work. This is one concrete example of how Indigenous women's advocacy roles have

³⁹ ...el Enlace Continental de Mujeres Indígenas de las Américas nació de nosotras, hace 15 años. Nuestro movimiento es como nuestra hija. Nuestro hija ahora es un adolescente. No podemos abandonar a nuestra adolescente ni renunciar a ella como mientras que sigue teniendo sus dolores de crecimiento. Al contrario, deben cambiar nuestras expectativas hacia nuestra hija, nuestro movimiento y hacia nosotras mismas. Nuestra organización debe utilizar este tiempo para prepararse para la temprana edad adulta. Hemos madurado bien (N. Mayo, personal interview, March 9, 2012).

evolved within the last twenty years. This example of Florina, is multiplied in the dozens. The goal for the future is that it be multiplied in the hundreds.

Formal capacity building trainings targeting Indigenous women leaders are now in existence. The institute in Geneva has a trajectory of soliciting and reserving a number of seats in their summer training targeting Indigenous women. Columbia University, through the leadership of Professor Elsa Stamatopolou, the former Secretariat for the UNPFII and a staunch supporter and advisor to the International Indigenous Women's Forum and its networks, has now launched the first summer institution on the rights of Indigenous Peoples. Also, targeted outreach to Indigenous women is occurring. Separate from these formal institutional spaces that have been successfully lobbied and persuaded to make themselves accessible to Indigenous women; local actors are also disseminating their knowledge, experiences and skills to other local members. Twenty years ago, Indigenous women did not have the institutional or experiential knowledge on how to navigate the UN system; therefore, the next generations of international Indigenous advocates have a promising international future—access to mentors as well as rigorous trainings in law⁴⁰ and graduate studies that address international Indigenous Peoples rights.

Visibility, framing and in turn increased funding has contributed to these achievements. Increased number of IW participants, also has increased shifting frames, broader diversity, and broader base to spread out, position more women in key places.

⁴⁰ Some of these law programs include the University of Arizona's International Law Clinic at their law school, Columbia University's summer institute on International Indigenous Peoples Rights hosted through the Ethnicity and Race Studies Program, the Global Decolonial Summer Instituted hosted by UC Berkeley's Comparative Ethnic Studies Program every summer in Barcelona, Spain; and the forthcoming Global School of Indigenous Womens Leadership.

In the Summer of 2003 I was a graduate fellow at the Columbia Universities Oral History Institute. Among the many theoretical ideas presented and debated, one of the most memorable pieces of advice that I took with me, was the need to invest in a high quality audio digital recorder before entering the research field. The Institute emphasizes that oral history research should be coupled with archiving of one's oral records for future scholars/investigators of knowledge to access. Given the historical significance in the plethora of audio recordings that I have compiled throughout my years of field research, it seems like this dissertation project has only begun to scratch the surface of the overall data. Consequently, I intend to publish and explore other research issues and plan to archive my data for other students and/or indigenous actors may access.

Future Work

When I asked Indigenous women to voice their concerns, reflections or visions for the future work to advance the rights of Indigenous Peoples, the responses I received in turn varied. Some want to position the next generation on this international struggle with the skills that this first wave of Indigenous women leaders did not have early on. It was at the planning meeting for the Global School of Indigenous Women's Leadership, held March 2011 in Mexico City, where Tarcila Rivera voiced her vision for the future generation. She shared that, "Our organizing efforts should prepare our next generation of younger leaders with the ability to achieve what we have achieved in twenty years in half the time" (T. Rivera, field notes, March 11, 2011). What can be drawn from this statement is the need for Indigenous women to put in order what Jackie Smith (1997) termed the mechanism for

Vicky Tauli-Corpuz shares her thoughts on what she believes the future of Indigenous women's leadership should be,

I think [Indigenous women] have to continue strengthening their rights; they have to continue asserting their rights, [because] they have equal rights with men and other people. They have to continue breeding and bringing up children who are able to continue the fight for the rights of indigenous peoples. I think that's what indigenous women that are the border we have as indigenous women. We know we are the ones who are able to transmit that kind of thinking to our children, you know. So that even after we are gone, dead and buried, there are still people who are continuing the fight for Indigenous People's rights in our own way of how development should happen. I think that's what indigenous women can do. I think that as long as they are clear that their basic role is to really make this a more equal and democratic world and [that] they have a very important role to play. I think that the movement will continue to flourish.

In her words, this message exemplifies the traditional view that this generation, ours, should act considering the future seven generations. Within this framework, she aspires for three things—1) the need for future Indigenous women leaders to own their rights and defend them, equal to all others; 2) the need for women to not only to bear children, but to bear conscious minded rights defenders—the heirs of the international struggle for justice; and 3) she closes with this very important point that is one of Vicky's many contributions to the movement—and that is the insistence for Indigenous Peoples to uphold and advocate for indigenous paradigms and worldview, such as a non-liberalist view on development.

All over the world people are really, really saying no to the forces of globalization, so that is hopeful. I mean, and that's why we have to engage the youth every step that we can make. They need to be brought along with us, they must not be left behind. In some communities it's youth that are really making the biggest contribution, or an important contribution. We have to support that, we have to believe in their leadership abilities and we have to support them and we have to provide. You know often

times we have more resources, access to resources and we need to bring them along.

It was my intent to broaden the scope of Critical Race Feminism (CRF) by contributing new connections to CRF in a transnational/global setting, where a minority group, such as Indigenous women, is specifically negotiating legal institutions, law, and their claims for justice. Equally important, this work proposes to serve the goals of the movement by examining the internal dynamics that impact Indigenous women as they aim to create global solidarity amongst organized Indigenous women worldwide (Smith, 2007). More specifically, by studying the influence that social stratification plays in the interactions among Indigenous women across multiple factors (i.e., race, class, gender, and geographic location), my aim is to contribute suggestions on how to fortify the movement in this area (Smith, 2007).

References

- Alarcon, N. (1994). The theoretical subject(s) of This Bridge Called My back and Anglo-American Feminism. In Seidman, S. *The postmodern turn*. MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Albrow, M & King, E. (1990). *Globalization, knowledge, and society: readings from International sociology*. New York: SAGE Publishers.
- Alderete, E., Pacaldo, Huerta, and Whitesell, Eds. (1992). *Daughters of Abya Yala: Indigenous Women Regaining Control*. Summertown, TN: The Book Publishing Company.
- Babones, S. (2006). *Global social change: historical and comparative perspectives*. Chicago: JHU Press.
- Bandarage A.(1997). *Women, Population and Global Crisis: A Political-Economic Analysis*. London: Zed Books.
- Barker, G. (2005). *Dying to be men: youth, masculinity and social exclusion*. New York: Routledge.
- Berry, T. R. & Mizelle, N. D. (2006). *From Oppression to Grace: Women of Color and their Dilemmas in the Academy*. Virginia: Stylus Publishing, LLC.
- Blackwell, M. (2012). *Chicana Power!: Contested histories of feminism in the Chicano Movement*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (2003). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In *Feminist Frontiers*. (6th Edition). pp. 405-414. New York: McGraw-Hills Companies, Inc.
- Cunningham, M. (2006). Indigenous women's visions on an inclusive feminism. *Development*. 49(1), 55-59.
- Davis & Go. (2009). *Political Power and Social Theory*. New York: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Dingwerth, K. (2007). The Democratic Legitimacy of Intergovernmental Rule-Making. In *The new transnationalism: transnational governance and democratic legitimacy*. Chicago: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eschle & Maignashca. (2005). *Critical theories, international relations and 'the anti-globalization movement': the politics of global resistance*. New York: Routledge.

- Gaer, F. (2009). Women, international law and international institutions: The case of the United Nations. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 32(2), 60-66.
- Gamble, S. (2004). *The Routledge companion to feminism and post feminism*. New York: Routledge.
- Goodwin, J & Jasper, J. (2009). *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts 2nd Edition*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Green, J. (2007). *Making space for Indigenous feminism*. Manitoba: Fernwood Publishing.
- Harris, A. (1990). Race and essentialism in feminist legal theory. *Stanford Law Review*, 42 (3), 581- 616.
- Hawkesworth, M. (2006). *Globalization and feminist activism*. Chicago: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Hernandez-Castillo, R.A. (2001). Entre el etnocentrismo feminista y el esencialismo étnico. Las mujeres indígenas y sus demandas de genero. *Debate Feminista*, 24, Octubre, Año 12.
- Hernández-Truyol, B. E. (2001). Latinas, culture and human rights: A model for making change, saving soul. *Women's Rights Law Reporter*, 23, 21-43.
- Hesfor W. S. & Kozol W. (2005). *Just Advocacy? Women's Human Rights, Transnational Feminisms, and the Politics of Representation*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Hills-Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.
- hooks, b. (1989). *Talking back: thinking feminist, thinking black*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Keet, D. (2000). The international anti-debt campaign: A Southern activist view for activists in "the North"...and the "the South". *Development in Practice*, Vol. 10, Issue 3-4, pp. 461-477.
- Keck, M & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: advocacy networks in international politics*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- McCallum C. (2005). Racialized bodies, naturalized classes: *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 100 – 117.
- Mihesuah, D. (2003). *Indigenous American women: decolonization, empowerment, activism*. New York: University of Nebraska Press.
- Moghadam, V. (2009). *Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism and the Global Justice Movement*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Mohanty, C. (2003). *Feminism without borders: decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. London: Duke University Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2000). *Talkin' up to the white woman: Indigenous women and feminism*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.
- Naples & Desai. (2002). *Women's activism and globalization: linking local struggles and transnational politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Nesiah, Vesuki (2000). *Toward a Feminist Internationality: A critique of U.S. Feminist Legal Scholarship*. In (Wing, A. Ed.) *Global Critical Race Feminism: An international Reader* (p. 42-52). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Nathalie, L.L. (2007). *Women Scholars and Activists beyond Confronting the Myth of Racial Democracy: The Role of Afro-Braz. Latin American Perspectives*, Vol.34, pp. 52.
- Nnaemeka, O. (2005). *International conferences as sites for transnational feminist struggles: The case of the first international conference on women in Africa and the African diaspora*. In *Dialogue and difference: Feminism challenge globalization* (53-78). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Perez, E. (1999). *The decolonial imaginary: Writing Chicanas into history*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Roy, K. (2002). *Encyclopedia of violence against women and dowry death in India*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications PVT. LTD
- Rupp, L. J. (1997). *Worlds of women: The making of international women's movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Safa, P.L. (2005). *Racism, Gender and Class wars amongst modern nations*. Edinburgh: Routledge.
- Sierra, M.T. (2008). *Mujeres indígenas, justicia y derechos: los retos de una justicia intercultural (Dossier)*. *Revista Econos*, 31, Mayo 2008. Quito: Ecuador.

- Seone, J. & Taddeum, E. (2002). From Seattle to Porto Alegre: The Anti-Neoliberal Globalization movement. *Current Sociology*, v 50. 1, Pg 99. Jan 2002.
- Shohat, E. (Ed.). (1998). *Talking visions: Multicultural feminism in a transnational age*. New York: MIT Press.
- Smith, B. (2000). *Global Feminisms since 1945: Rewriting Histories*. London: Routledge Press.
- Smith, D.E. (2007). Institutional ethnography: From a sociology for women to a sociology for people. In Hesse-Biber, S.N. *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (pp.408-418). London: Sage Press.
- Smith, G. (2005). *Women's history in global perspective, Volume 2*. New York: University of Illinois Press.
- Smith, J, Chatfield, C & Pagnucco, R. (1997). *Transnational social movements and global politics: solidarity beyond the state*. California: Syracuse University Press.
- Smith, L. (2006). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and Indigenous Peoples*. New York: Publisher Zed Books.
- Smith, S & Johnston, H. (2002). *Globalization and resistance: transnational dimensions of social movements*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tauli-Corpuz, V, et al. (2004). *Engaging the UN special rapporteur on indigenous people: opportunities and challenges*. New York: Routledge.
- Waylen, G. (2007). *Engendering transitions: women's mobilization, institutions, and gender outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wing, A. K. (1997). *Critical Race Feminism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Wing, A.W. (2002). Global critical race feminism post 9-11: Afghanistan, Washington University Journal of Law & Policy, 10(1), 19-37.

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

*Interviewee**Indigenous Women's Organization*

Agnes Williams	Indigenous Womens Network (USA)
Alexandra Grigorieva	Yurta Mira in her native Yakutsk, Republic of Sakha/Yakutia.
Beverly Jacobs	National Womens Association of Canada
Blanca Chancos	CONAIE (Ecuador)
Cecilia Vasque	CONAIE (Ecuador)
Chief Caleen Sisk	Winnemem Wintu Tribe (USA)
Dialys Herman Lopez	Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indigenas Kunas (Panama)
Ellen Dictan Bang-oa	Asian Indigenous Women's Network (Philippines)
Ellen Gabrielle	Femmes Autochthonous de Quebec (Canada)
Eva Gamboa	Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indigenas- Argentina
Irma human	National Indigenous Womens Federation (Nepal)
Isabel Ortega	Congreso de Parlamentarias Indigenas de las Americas (Bolivia)
Lucy Mulenkei	African Indigenous Womens Alliance (Kenya)
Marcela Chota	Indigenous Youth- Women and girls (Argentina)
Margarita Gutierrez	Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indigenas- Mexico
Maria Chavez Quispe	World Council of Churches (Bolivia/USA)
Maria Isabel Curihuento	Corporacion Mujer Mapuche (Chile)
Martha Sanchez	Alianza de Mujeres Indigenas de Mexico y Centro America
Mildred Gangia	Taino Alliance (Puerto Rico/USA)
Mililani Trask	Pacific representative to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (Hawaii/Pacific)
Monica Aleman	International Forum of Indigenous Women (Nicaragua)
Norma Mayo	CONAIE (Ecuador)
Otilia Lux	Indigenous Expert for Guatemala, Representative to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (Guatemala)
Priscilla Satee	Indigenous Womens Network (USA)
Ruth Peñafiel	CONAIE (Ecuador)
Sonia Henrique	La Coordinadora de Mujeres Kunas (Panama)
Stella	Indigenous Womens Network of Nepal (Nepal)
Tarcila Rivera	Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas, South America (Peru)
Tracy O'hearn	Pautuutik (Inuit, Canada)
Vicky Tauli-Corpuz	Tebtebba; Asian Indigenous Womens Network; Co Chair and Asia representative to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
Virgina Mata	Argentina
Yolanda Teran	US Academic, Quechua descendent (Ecuador/USA)

APPENDIX B

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, NETWORKS AND AGENCIES

United Nations

CHR	Commission on Human Rights (now the Council on Human Rights)
ECOSOC	Economic and social Council
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations educational, Scientific and cultural organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPFII	UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
UNSP	UN Special Rapporteur
WB	World Bank
WGDD	Working Group on the Draft Declaration
WGIP	Working Group on Indigenous Populations
WTO	World Trade Organization

Indigenous Organizations

AILA	American Indian Law Alliance in New York
AIM	American Indian Movement
AIWA	African Indigenous Women's Association
AIWN	Asian Indigenous Women's Network
AMI	Alianza de Mujeres Indigenas de Mexico y el Caribe
ANIPA	Asamblea Nacional Indigena Plural por la Autonomía
CONAIE	Coordinadora Nacional de los Pueblos Indigenas de Ecuador
CONAMI-A	Consejo Nacional de la Mujer Indigena de Argentina
CONAMI-M	Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indigenas de Mexico
CONAMUIP	Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Indigenas de Panamá
ECMIA	Continental Network of Indigenous Women of the Americas
EZLN	Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional
FAQ	Femmes Autochtones de Quebec
FIMI	Foro Internacional de Mujeres Indigenas
IITC	International Indian Treaty Council
IWF	Indigenous Womens Fund
IWN	Indigenous Womens Network
IWNT	Indigenous Womens Network of Thailand
La Red	La Red Xicana Indigena
NWAC	National Womens Association of Canada
RMSB	Red de Mujeres sobre Biodiversidad

Non-Governmental Organizations

doCip	Indigenous Peoples' center for Documentation, Research and information
WCC	World Council of churches

To: Mary Fonow
West Hall

From: Mark Roosa, Chair
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 04/11/2008

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 04/11/2008

IRB Protocol #: 0804002862

Study Title: Rosalee Gonzalez Dissertation: Indigenous Women and the United Nations

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.