

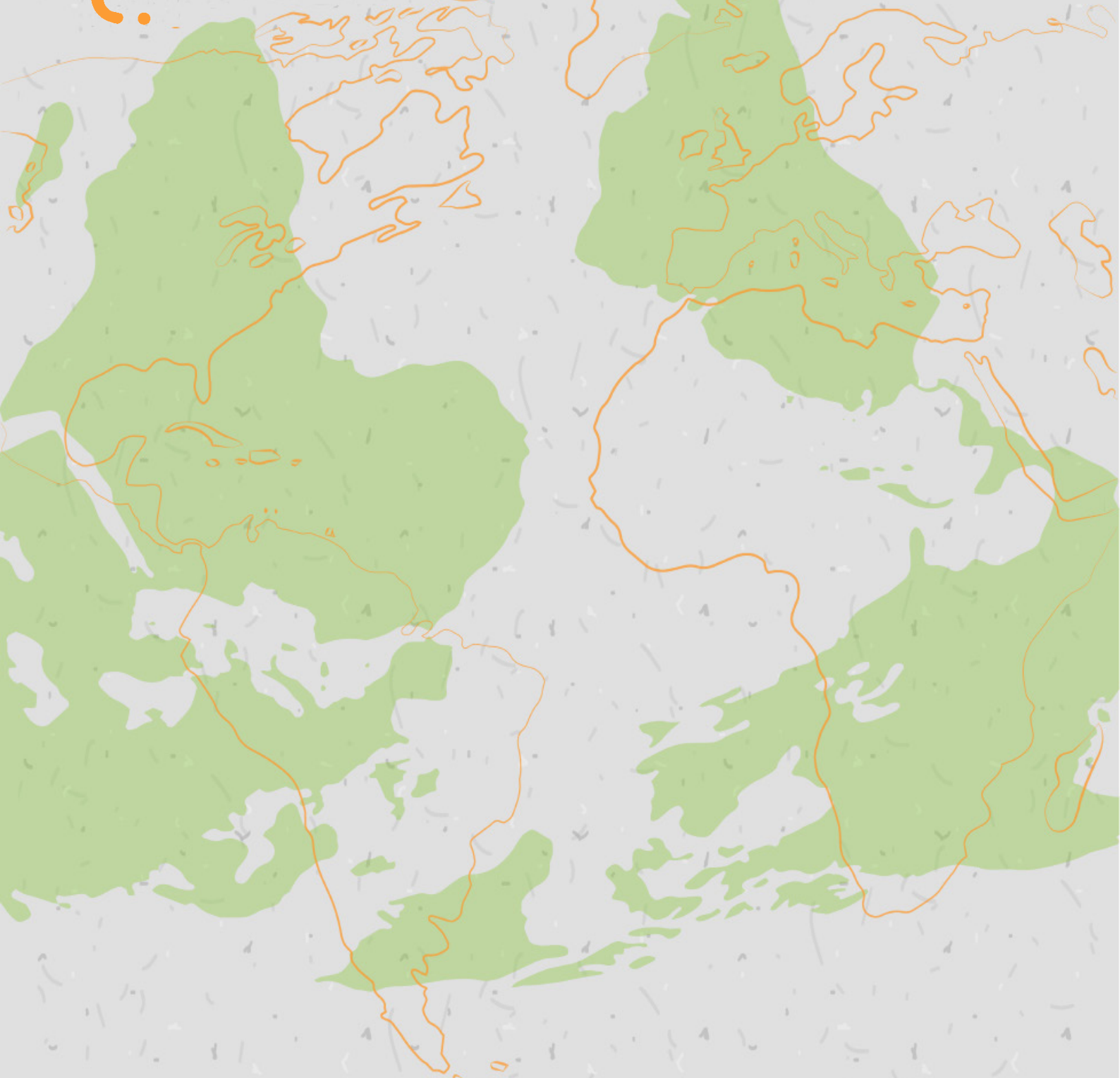


Centro
Interdisciplinario de
Estudios
Latinoamericanos

Interdisziplinäres
Lateinamerikazentrum



UNIVERSITÄT BONN



Perspectives on Zapatista women's identities: Situationality, Gender and Decoloniality

Almendra Espinoza-Rivera

Working Paper Series-Puentes Interdisciplinarios 2024/08
Serie 3: Nuevos feminismos en América Latina

Working Paper Series *Puentes Interdisciplinarios* es realizado por El Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Latinoamericanos/Interdisziplinäres Lateinamerikazentrum (ILZ) de la Universidad de Bonn, Genscherallee 3, 53113 Bonn, Alemania.

Equipo Editor:

Juanita Arango (M.A.), Universidad de Bonn
Carolina Ilaya García (B.A.), Universidad de Bonn
Dra. Antje Gunsenheimer, Universidad de Bonn
Fiorella López (B.A.), Universidad de Bonn
Pablo Núñez (M.A.), Universidad de Bonn
Dra. Monika Wehrheim, Universidad de Bonn

Este Working Paper Series consiste en los aportes de los y las estudiantes y docentes de América Latina y Alemania, participantes de la Escuela de Verano 2023 *Nuevos feminismos en América Latina* del Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Latinoamericanos de la Universidad de Bonn, con el auspicio de Santander Universities en cooperación con la Universidad de Bonn.

Todos los documentos están disponibles gratuitamente en el sitio web del ILZ:
<https://www.ilz.uni-bonn.de/es/publicaciones/wps-series-puentes-interdisciplinarios>

Cómo citar:

Espinoza-Rivera, Almendra (2024): "Perspectives on Zapatista women's identities: Situationality, Gender and Decoloniality". En: *Working Paper Series Puentes Interdisciplinarios*, serie 3, 08. Bonn: Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Latinoamericanos/ Interdisziplinäres Lateinamerikazentrum (ILZ), Universidad de Bonn.

Derechos de autor de este artículo

© Almendra Espinoza-Rivera

Esta publicación se ofrece bajo la licencia de Atribución/Reconocimiento-NoComercial-SinDerivados 4.0 Internacional (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). El texto de la licencia está disponible en <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>.

El Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Latinoamericanos (ILZ) no se responsabiliza de los errores ni de las consecuencias derivadas del uso de la información contenida en este documento; los puntos de vista y las opiniones expresadas son exclusivamente de los/as autores/as y no reflejan necesariamente los del ILZ, sus proyectos de investigación o sus patrocinadores.

La inclusión de un artículo en el Working Paper Series *Puentes Interdisciplinarios* del ILZ no debe limitar la publicación de éste (con permiso del titular o los titulares de los derechos) en cualquier otro lugar.

Diseño de portada

Eduardo Muro Ampuero

Diagramación

Pablo Núñez Arancibia

Perspectives on Zapatista women's identities: Situationality, Gender and Decoloniality¹

Almendra Espinoza-Rivera²

Abstract:

The aim of my work focuses on the analysis of the identities and resistances that Zapatista women have been thinking and weaving since the emergence of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional – EZLN (The Zapatista Army of National Liberation) in 1994 until the present. In the framework of what they call the 'revolución interna', this seeks to end the 'malas costumbres' that exist within their communities, particularly those practices of macho oppression exercised by their male counterparts, and which are generally based on gender roles. To understand this process, I analyse and reflect on the existing proximities and distances between the political proposal of Zapatista women, the approaches of decolonial feminism, and indigenous feminisms. As research sources I use previous research conducted in and on Zapatista communities; and my own experience of working with the Zapatistas on their "Zapatista Tour" in Europe between September and November 2021, in the cities of Frankfurt and Freiburg.

Keywords: Zapatista women, Zapatistas identities, revolución interna, malas costumbres, gender roles, decolonial feminism, indigenous feminism.

Perspectivas sobre las identidades de las mujeres zapatistas: Situacionalidad, Género y Decolonialidad

Resumen:

El objetivo de mi trabajo se centra en el análisis de las identidades y resistencias que las mujeres zapatistas han venido pensando y tejiendo desde el surgimiento del EZLN en 1994 hasta la actualidad. En el marco de lo que ellas llaman la 'revolución interna', ésta busca acabar con las 'malas costumbres' que existen dentro de sus comunidades, particularmente aquellas prácticas de opresión machista ejercidas por sus compañeros varones, y que generalmente se basan en roles de género. Para entender este proceso, analizo y reflexiono sobre las cercanías y distancias existentes entre la propuesta política de las mujeres zapatistas, los planteamientos del feminismo decolonial y los feminismos indígenas. Como fuentes de investigación utilizo investigaciones previas realizadas en y sobre comunidades zapatistas; y mi propia experiencia de trabajo con los zapatistas en su 'Gira Zapatista' en Europa entre septiembre y noviembre de 2021, en las ciudades de Frankfurt y Freiburg.

Palabras claves: Mujeres zapatistas, identidades zapatistas, revolución interna, malas costumbres, roles de género, feminismo decolonial, feminismo indígena.

1 Paper based on part of my master's thesis "Zapatista women. Weaving identities and resistance through community practices in health, care, and education" for the program Iberoamerikanische Studien Kontakt - Theorien Und Methoden of the Universität Heidelberg, Germany. Funding: This work is supported by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities, the European Regional Development Fund, and the State Research Agency of the Government of Spain [grant number: PID2022-137305NB-C22].

2 Research Fellow at Research Group in Socio-educative Interventions in Childhood and Youth (GRISIJ), Department of Research Methods and Diagnosis in Education, Faculty of Education, Universitat de Barcelona, Passeig de la Vall d'Hebron, 171, 08035 Barcelona, Spain. E-mail addresses: espinoza.almendra@ub.edu

Introducción

Yo quiero explicar la situación de las mujeres como nosotras la vivimos en nuestras comunidades, [...] como niñas ellos creen que no valemos... como mujeres maltratadas... las mujeres también tienen que cargar el agua, caminar de dos a tres horas cargando una vasija y un niño en sus brazos". Después de hablar de sus sufrimientos diarios bajo el derecho consuetudinario indígena, añade: "Yo no les estoy diciendo esto para que ustedes me tengan lástima. Nosotras hemos estado luchando para cambiar eso y vamos a continuar haciéndolo (Marcos 2014: 146).³

The above quote is an extract from the speech of Comandanta Esther, Zapatista leader, contained in the work of Sylvia Marcos (2014), which took place in the Mexican Congress in March 2002. The Comandanta expressed the inevitable struggle for change that indigenous women face, demanding that their capacity for action be respected. They assume to lead the process of change and claim not to need instructions from outside on how to defend their rights as women (2014).

However, in order to achieve this claim to the body and territory (Cavallaro 2017) at the national and continental level, they first had to reclaim their space within their own communities. Attempting to join the EZLN forces, clandestinely in the early 1980s, was not easy and much less egalitarian for women. Subjected for generation after generation to the systematic disdain of their husbands, landowners and the state, the central role of these women in the Zapatista project continues to catch the attention of indigenous women's movements and feminists in the region and worldwide.

At first, the inclusion of women was very difficult, as one indigenous woman recounts in Hilary Klein's book *Compañeras*:

3 My translation of the original text: "I want to explain the situation of women as we live it in our communities, [...] as girls they think we are worthless... as abused women... women also have to carry water, walk two to three hours carrying a pot and a child in their arms". After speaking of their daily sufferings under indigenous customary law, she adds: "I am not telling you this so that you will feel sorry for me. We have been fighting to change that and we will continue to do so".

Before 1994 there was no respect for women. Even our fathers told us we weren't worth anything. We didn't have the right to hold public responsibility. If we tried to speak up in the assemblies, the men made fun of us. They insulted us and said that women didn't know how to talk (2015: 22).⁴

Despite these 'malas costumbres'⁵ and the fact that the image of the revolutionary placed men as referents, many women managed not only to enter the ranks of the Zapatista militia, but also to become insurgents. The time in the mountains and the collective formation of the EZLN allowed for the opening of spaces of equality between women and men, and the generation of new forms of bonding; among the weapons there was no role or position that could not be assumed by women, as they saw themselves as equals. The Zapatista women turned around the self-perception of their own forces, beginning to create and lead new organizational spaces in the Zapatista project.

4 The title *Compañeras* is used by Hilary Klein to indicate the way in which Zapatista women refer to themselves. *Compañeras* is the feminine and plural version of *compañero*, which does not have an exact English translation, and would be something like comrade or companion. In a political context, *compañero* generally refers to someone who belongs to a particular organization or movement. For the EZLN, *compañero*, or *compa* for short, is synonymous with *Zapatista*.

5 The "bad habits" or "malas costumbres" are identified by Zapatista women as ideas and attitudes that offend their human and feminine dignity. The *Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres* works as a turning point from which the relations between men and women within their communities begin to be questioned, and which are woven into the threads of the Zapatista revolution. In this sense, these indigenous women claim their right to cultural difference and, at the same time, demand the right to change those traditions that oppress or exclude them. As the Zapatistas have pointed out, it is necessary not only to protect and promote the customs of indigenous women and their communities, but also to analyse which of these are good, which do no harm to anyone, and from there to think about what needs to be done again to their customs (Hernández Castillo 2014). I recommend the work of Aída Hernández Castillo 'Between Feminist Ethnocentricity and Ethnic Essentialism: The Zapatista's Demands and the National Indigenous Women's Movement (2006), who has worked for years with Zapatista women, and who makes a very clear link between feminisms and the proposals of indigenous women in Latin America.

Undoubtedly, the generation of women who joined the ranks of the EZLN in the 1980s introduced an unprecedented change. In 1993 the *Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena* CCRI (Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee) approved the set of documents coming from each Zapatista region that would make up the *Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres Zapatistas*⁶ (Zapatista Women's Revolutionary Law), disseminated a few months after the first uprising. This was a very important conquest for the organization of indigenous women since it implied radical transformations in their communities. The main challenge for the Zapatista women was, and still is, to make this Law, named and written, an effective reality and internalized by their comrades. When the EZLN assumed public visibility on January 1, 1994, the Zapatista women decided to fight not only for their demands as indigenous people, but also as women. This double militancy was undoubtedly revealed to them thanks to the long militia process they had to go through, the seizure of several cities in Chiapas, and the constant presence of patriarchal practices, both internal and external to their communities. Among uniformed members of the EZLN, the Revolutionary Women's Law has not been indifferent and has even been problematic (Stephen 1995). Men have recognized its importance, but have also expressed suspicion of obeying it, as well as of taking orders from women, especially younger women, who by the 1990s accounted for 30% of the insurgent forces. Several young women also spoke of the tendency of men not to take them seriously at first. What seems to diffuse these tensions, however, is the common sense of struggle as rural indigenous people advocating a life of dignity for all.

The participation of women in the guerrilla leadership contrasts with other revo-

6 El Despertador Mexicano, Órgano Informativo del EZLN, Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, Mexico, no.1, December 1993. Available online <http://palabra.ezln.org.mx/>

lutionary experiences in Abya Yala.⁷ The Zapatistas are militias, insurgents, educators, health promoters, referents. The images of Comandanta Ramona and the insurgent Ana Maria at the head of the negotiations with the State of Mexico in the Acuerdos de San Andrés (San Andres Agreement) (Hernandez Navarro & Vera Herrera 1998) went around the world, opening the way to the women of the movement and their demands, but also to the indigenous women of the continent. Zapatismo is considered by many researchers and social movements (Collier 1994; Olsen 2005; Rovira 2009) to be the largest autonomist movement on the continent, and its women have undoubtedly not only re-revolved the movement itself but have also forced feminisms in the region to self-evaluate the intersectional perspectives of their demands and to attend to their situationality.

The compañeras open the way to their participation from the privacy of their homes to the public in the ranks of the EZLN, giving a master class on "the private is political" (Hanisch 1969). The Zapatistas weave support networks that break down borders. They claim themselves as indigenous women, sisters of all those who suffer, and for being women who struggle. Bringing an indigenous vision to the feminist movement, they join the international mobilizations for women's rights in a revolutionary network that find strength and support to continue the struggle in their communities, against the mal gobierno (bad government), patriarchy, colonialism and now in its fiercest version, against neocapitalism (Klein 2015).

7 I will use Abya Yala to refer to the American continent. According to Carlos Porto-Gonçalves (2011) "En la lengua del pueblo kuna, Abya Yala significa "tierra madura", "tierra viva" o "tierra en florecimiento" y es sinónimo de América" (39). The first time the expression was explicitly used in a political sense was at the II Cumbre Continental de los Pueblos y Nacionalidades Indígenas de Abya Yala, held in Quito in 2004. In 2007, at the III Cumbre Continental de los Pueblos y Nacionalidades Indígenas de Abya Yala held in Iximche, Guatemala, they not only convened themselves as Abya Yala, but also resolved to constitute a Coordinación Continental de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas de Abya Yala (2011).

Zones of contact between decolonial feminism, indigenous feminisms, and Zapatista women

The feminist movements of Abya Yala have developed a long reflective path around situated knowledge, adopting different perspectives and strategies of political intervention according to the positionality and territoriality of the subjects (Haraway 1995). In this sense, the ideas of the situated and situated thinking are very interesting in that everything that is thought and done, as well as the way in which individual and collective identities are constructed, including gender and sexual identities, take place in a particular context and at a specific historical time.

Situated thinking implies a feminism in dialogue with territory and culture, while reflecting on the diversity of identities that differentially experience these territories and cultures (Lois 2020). From the residues that colonization left in the continent, the situated requires a recovery of the historical experiences of struggle and resistance of women in the face of different economic, political, and socio-cultural situations. Within this situation, decolonial perspectives, the critical relationship between coloniality and patriarchy, or colonial/modern patriarchy, and gender coloniality (2020) have emerged with force.

In relation to feminisms, I believe it is important to mention that they are not exempt from the vices of coloniality, particularly in the relationship of domination and suppression of the heterogeneity of the subjects, of their voices, of their struggles and resistances. This pretension of universalization of the category of woman that hides the different life situations ends up postulating the superiority of Western women, placed as a standard of reference. The coloniality of knowledge within feminism also implies the denial of alternative ways of producing knowledges, for example, from the indigenous, Afro, Chicano, feminine perspectives, among others (Mohanty 1997). The 'revolución interna'⁸ of its women is

8 The Zapatista women's movement has a double militancy: on the one hand, in the revolutionary ranks of

undoubtedly a fertile field for the situationality of feminist analysis. A struggle with several fronts: Zapatista women embraces the national indigenous struggle against colonial and capitalist oppression, and the racism involved in the insertion of indigenous peoples into the nation-state project.

Paralelamente, estas mujeres están desarrollando un discurso y una práctica política propia a partir de una perspectiva de género situada culturalmente, que viene a cuestionar tanto el sexismo y el esencialismo de las organizaciones indígenas, como el etnocentrismo del 'feminismo hegemónico' (Hernández Castillo 2014: 280).⁹

For the theoretical rethinking of the concept of gender, as a multidimensional category, and the recognition of the importance of ethnicity and class in understanding the identity processes of multicultural Mexico, the contributions of indigenous women have been fundamental. Ethnic, gender, and class identities have determined and guided the strategies of resistance and vindication of Zapatista

the EZLN, which lashes out against the Mexican state or bad government; on the other hand, which rises up with the Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres, which questions the bad habits in their communities and on the part of their comrades. This 'revolución interna' (internal revolution) or revolution within the revolution (Padilla García 2018) raises their demands for the right to life and their dignity not only before the state, but also before their communities and their families. To achieve this, they break with the segregation of race and gender, breaking into the masculine and mestizo public space that reduces them to silence and invisibility, defending themselves on two fronts: from the men of their own community, from the state and from their army.

9 Author's translation of the original text: At the same time, these women are developing their own political discourse and practice based on a culturally situated gender perspective that questions both the sexism and essentialism of indigenous organizations, as well as the ethnocentrism of hegemonic feminism. Hernández Castillo uses the term "hegemonic feminism" to refer to the feminism that emerged in central Mexico and was theorized from academia, in which the struggle against abortion and for reproductive rights was central. This feminism was hegemonic in the face of other popular and rural feminisms in which class demands were closely linked to gender demands.

and indigenous women, who, being committed to the broader struggles of their peoples, have at the same time raised specific spaces of reflection on their situated experiences and the double exclusion that affects them as women and as indigenous (Lois 2020).

I think it is important to remember that prior to the Zapatista uprising, feminist anthropology analysed the oppression of indigenous women from two perspectives: the emphasis on patriarchy as a system of inequalities assuming a universal oppression of women, and a Marxist perspective that focused its attention on the impact of capitalist development and modernization on gender relations among indigenous peoples. This second perspective is the one that most influenced feminist ethnographies in the Mesoamerican area.

El argumento principal era que la introducción de relaciones capitalistas en los pueblos indígenas había transformado las relaciones de género, substituyendo los roles de complementariedad, característicos de las economías de autosubsistencia, por relaciones más desiguales (Hernández Castillo 2014: 285).¹⁰

This feminist anthropology only included indigenous women as passive agents, which was challenged by Zapatismo, from which indigenous women appropriated their agency in the construction and thinking of their own history and political project. It is from here that feminism and social sciences in Mexico, and later worldwide, turn their attention to the EZLN project and its women. To avoid this colonization of knowledge and the pretension of a feminist authority over the narratives, experiences, and proposals of indigenous women, I consider it important that feminisms in the region necessarily dialogue, but above all listen to the experiences of the Zapatistas.

10 Author's translation: "The main argument was that the introduction of capitalist relations among indigenous peoples had transformed gender relations, replacing the complementary roles characteristic of self-subsistence economies with more unequal relations."

Identities, *sentipensar*¹¹ and the revolución interna of the Zapatista women

Así que aquí estoy yo, una mujer indígena. Nadie tendrá por qué sentirse agredido, humillado o rebajado porque yo ocupe hoy esta tribuna y hable. Quienes no están ahora ya saben que se negaron a escuchar lo que una mujer indígena venía a decirles y se negaron a hablar para que yo los escuchara. Mi nombre es Esther, pero eso no importa ahora. Soy zapatista, pero eso tampoco importa en este momento. Soy indígena y soy mujer, y eso es lo único que importa ahora. (Comandanta Esther's speech 2001).¹²

I begin with the words of Comandante Esther since it is precisely her message that caught my attention and has allowed me to understand the place of enunciation of the Zapatista women's movement, and incidentally, to disrupt my own ideas about feminism. The

11 For Xochitl Leyva Solano *sentipensar* means 'feeling and thinking from the root, the heart and the co-heart' (2018: 58), it is both thinking with feeling and feeling with thinking, a way of feeling that does not separate thinking from feeling. Leyva develops the concept from her own experience with Zapatista women, through a process of accompanying and listening to diverse bodies in struggle. From thinking and acting in the context of ongoing wars: epistemic-theoretical-political wars, energetic-spiritual wars, wars within families, wars within feminisms, wars within the left, cyber-wars, figure wars, wars of domination of men (from below and above) over women from below (Leyva Solano 2022, 42). In addition, *sentipensar* was developed as a pedagogical methodology by the Red de Artistas, Comunicadores Comunitarios y Antropólogos de Chiapas (RACCACH), which is committed to life and struggle (political, cultural, activist).

12 Speech by Comandante Esther in the Legislative Palace of San Lazaro, Congress of the Union. Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Clandestine Committee-General Command of the EZLN. Mexico, March 28, 2001. Author's translation: "So here I am, an indigenous woman/No one will have to feel assaulted, humiliated or demeaned/ because I occupy this podium today and speak/Those who are not here now already know that they refused to listen to what an indigenous woman was coming to tell them and refused to speak so that I would listen to them/My name is Esther, but that doesn't matter now /I am a Zapatista, but that doesn't matter at the moment either/I am indigenous and I am a woman, and that is the only thing that matters now." Full speech at the following link http://palabra.ezln.org.mx/comunicados/2001/2001_03_28_a.htm

‘sentipensares’, the ‘internal revolution’ and the identities of these indigenous women have empowered them and made them a reference among the women's movements in the region. Furthermore, it has become clear that these women have been fundamental in (re)defining the philosophical proposal of the Zapatista life project itself. Whenever we speak of the identities of Zapatista women, individually and collectively, this must be referred to them as indigenous women. This binomial was manifested with strength and clarity in the creation of the *Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres Zapatistas* (Zapatista Women's Revolutionary Law).

The identity process of Zapatista women has been taking shape within what is considered a ‘revolución interna’ (Padilla García 2018) and is shaped by their own experiences as indigenous women in the pre- and post-Zapatista spheres. These experiences were impacted by the processes of extermination and exploitation led by the Mexican State against these indigenous communities and their practices, and by the consequent indigenous uprising of the Lacandona Jungle. Indeed, it is in this hostile context that the Zapatista women will attract the attention and admiration of feminisms and inspire other indigenous movements in the region.

In the Zapatistas' self-identification as indigenous women, the subsequent contact and exchange with other indigenous, mestizo, Afro-descendant and white women have had an impact on their reflexivity and their positionality in relation to their struggle and the struggles of other people, opening new spaces of solidarity and mobilizing creation. As part of their self-recognition as indigenous women, they identify being subject to a triple marginalization (Triple marginalización, Lagarde 1998: 12), which is a product of the combination of being a woman, indigenous and poor. However, ethnicity and gender are the protagonists in the discursive and identity construction of Zapatista women (Rivera Cusicanqui 2024). With regard to the identity and revolutionary process of these women, on the one hand, and concerning their self-identification as “we are women”, it is pos-

sible to identify certain references to what I would associate with the notion of duality and complementarity between men and women mentioned by communitarian feminism.

In the Mesoamerican indigenous world said duality male/female, serves as a root metaphor for the entire cosmos (Marcos 2014). In this context, the concept of gender can be referred to the concept of duality, since the entire universe is governed in terms of duality: heaven and earth, night and day, happiness and sadness, complementing each other. However, despite the adherence to the ancestral concept of complementarity, contemporary indigenous women express some criticisms of their cultures.

[La] dualidad hoy en día es cuestionante, es un signo de interrogación grandísimo, porque como teoría existe en nuestra cosmovisión y nuestras costumbres, [...] pero en la práctica se ven muchas situaciones donde solamente el hombre decide. [...] Los medios de comunicación, la escuela y [...] otros elementos han influido para que ese principio [...] esté un poquito tambaleante” (DC. Género 7) (Marcos 2014: 153).¹³

In the case of Zapatista women, the questioning and crisis of this duality is clear, which can be seen in their demands, such as in the Revolutionary Women's Law, and in the meetings and studies that compile their discourses.

Yo quiero explicar la situación de las mujeres como nosotras la vivimos en nuestras comunidades, [...] como niñas ellos creen que no valemos...

13 Author's translation [The] duality today is questionable, it is a very big question mark, because as a theory it exists in our worldview and our customs, [...] but in practice we see many situations where only the man decides. [...] The media, the school and [...] other elements have influenced this principle [...] to be a little shaky” (DC. Gender 7). In Sylvia Marcos' text it is mentioned that some of the quotations contained in her work correspond to Document 'Género desde la Visión de las Mujeres Indígenas' (Gender from the Vision of Indigenous Women). Documento Primera Cumbre Internacional de Mujeres Indígenas. Therefore, the following should be added to the quotations DC. Gender [...].

como mujeres maltratadas... las mujeres también tienen que cargar el agua, caminar de dos a tres horas cargando una vasija y un niño en sus brazos [...]. Yo no les estoy diciendo esto para que ustedes me tengan lástima. Nosotras hemos estado luchando para cambiar eso y vamos a continuar haciéndolo (2014: 146).¹⁴

In this sense, the Zapatistas express their nonconformity with the relations between men and women, which can be associated precisely with the roles assigned to women within their communities, since they are women. Roles that in the eyes of the Zapatistas must change due to the mistreatment they imply, unbalancing said cosmogonic complementarity. An interesting approach between said duality and complementarity is the one that the Zapatistas have developed through what they call 'malas costumbres' (bad habits). These express the violent behaviour of their companions because of the (forced) imitation of their landlords. The malas costumbres emerge in different ways and in different contexts, as expressed by some Zapatistas in Freiburg (2021) and as pointed out by María, a woman from Morelia in Klein's work:

For women it was like having two bosses telling us what to do [...] because, at home, men treated women the same way the landowner did. Men didn't treat women with respect. They forced women to work because they were copying the patron (2015: 35).

Now, while the Zapatistas are emphatic in their demands for the eradication of 'malas costumbres', it is important to mention that the self-identification as indigenous, the ethnicity of the Zapatistas places them in a relationship of equals with their male comra-

14 Author's translation: "I want to express the situation of women as we live it in our communities, as girls they think we are not worth...as abused women...women also have to carry water, walk two to three hours carrying a pot and a child in their arms [...]. I am not asking you this so that you will feel sorry for me. We have been fighting to change that and we will continue to do so."

des. Together, they fight against bad government, colonialism, and capitalism. For the Zapatistas the principle of complementarity encompasses everything in nature, where women and men are part of it. In this way, in the eyes of the Zapatistas, as indigenous people, human collectively tends to overcome individuality.

Continuing in this line, the road to self-recognition as indigenous women has not been easy, because until recently the word indigenous had a pejorative charge, so that indigenous men and women did not use it to name their own constitutive identity. "Today, indigenous women denote a collective subjectivity, a social actor that the indigenous women themselves have created through their spiritual and political practices" (Marco 2014: 145).¹⁵ All the above, was catalysed with the emergence and development of Zapatismo in its first phase, as it promoted the creation of spaces for reflection and organization for indigenous women, emerging the field of cultivation and sowing for the ethnic and gender demand to be felt and made visible:

Aunque el Zapatismo jugó un papel catalizador en la creación de espacios de reflexión y organización para las mujeres indígenas, volviendo más visible sus demandas, no es posible entender la fuerza actual de los movimientos de mujeres indígenas sin considerar sus experiencias en las luchas indígenas y campesinas de las últimas dos décadas (Hernández Castillo 2014: 281).

At the same time, indigenous women have maintained and strengthened with the Zapatista movement an interlocution with the national indigenous movement, contributing critically to the idyllic visions of indigenous culture that permeates the political discourse of many indigenous leaders (2014). From this conjunction between ethnicity and gender of

15 My translation of the text "Hoy en día, "mujeres indígenas" denota una subjetividad colectiva, un actor social que las propias indígenas han creado a través de sus prácticas espirituales y políticas." (Marcos 2014: 145)

Zapatista women, the body-territory relationship appears, where the body is the territory that ensures sustainability over women's bodies, so that the recovery and defence of the body dismantles male pacts (Cabnal 2010). From this body-territory the rebellious joy against those *malas costumbres*, allows the *sentipensar*, the decision and action of new practices such as autoeroticism, sexual enjoyment in freedom, pleasure, art, speech, leisure, rest, healing (Cabnal 2010; EZLN 2014). The reappropriation of the body is materialized in the deployment made by the Zapatistas throughout the territory claimed and defended, in which many times their bodies are the shield and victim of employer and military violence and even of those who reject Zapatismo within their communities: threats and rapes, murders, verbal offenses, denial of access to services and displacement, etc (Padilla García 2018).

The Zapatistas' proposal: triple discrimination and intersectionality

The discussion around the Zapatista women's movement and the nature of the demands they synthesized in the *Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres* has resonated strongly in the feminisms of Abya Yala. The Zapatistas themselves have never pronounced the word feminism in their speeches, nor do they call themselves feminists. I was able to corroborate the same case in their recent *Gira Zapatista* in September and November 2021 (Ya Basta Netzwerk 2021). At the meeting held in the city of Freiburg where a delegation of Zapatista women (about 10) participated, they chronologically recounted the origin of the EZLN, detailing the basis of their political organization, the emergence and evolution of the indigenous women's movement without stating or identifying their struggle as a feminist crusade.

To contextualize the early interactions between Zapatista women and feminism, it is necessary to go back to the EZLN uprising in the 1990s. The armed insurrection provoked criticism among Mexican feminists regarding the patriarchy and bellicosity of the

EZLN, based on the argument that feminism is fundamentally pacifist and anti-war (Gómez Bonilla 2009). Moreover, it is interesting to note that the Zapatista uprising in some ways coincides with the new approaches of decolonial and indigenous feminisms in and about Abya Yala. However, beyond the criticisms of bellicosity or pacifism, was how Zapatistas articulated their uprising, internally and externally in their communities, representing a multidimensional rebellion against the historical and structural oppressions of colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy.

The women's '*revolución interna*' proclaimed has been a long-standing process, throughout which a series of material and immaterial records have been observed that reflect generational struggles and thinking. The *Ley Revolucionaria*, the international women's meetings in Chiapas, the incorporation and appropriation of public spaces for political and community participation, the contact with the outside world, the production of knowledge, the *Gira Zapatista*, among others, have gone hand in hand with the individual and collective process of *sentipensarse*. This long road marks the self-recognition of the Zapatistas as women and indigenous people, where this identity process is intimately related to the recognition of the structural violence that afflicts their existence and that of their communities. Identity and resistance have known how to recognize their ancestral heritage, from which their creative capacity has raised an unprecedented revolutionary process.

Their demands are centred on equal possibilities with men within their own community, to be the owners of their own destiny, to be heard and respected, emphasizing that the Zapatista revolution must be based first and foremost on a '*revolución interna*' in which the '*malas costumbres*' are eliminated, to make room for respect between women and men, for a life of dignity for all. A respect that allows us to fight together for *un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos*.¹⁶

¹⁶ A world where many worlds fit is one of the great slogans of the Zapatistas. Its meaning is that they do

Through territorial meetings, communiqués, and visits to other latitudes, the Zapatistas call on different groups of women to join the struggle against the malos gobiernos, against capitalism, racism, sexism, extractivism, and the forms of oppression that make a dignified life impossible. They have come into contact forming a support network, which some authors attribute as a milestone of boiling and strengthening of the so-called indigenous feminisms (Gómez Bonilla 2009). Faced with this deconstruction of the categories presented by Zapatista women on gender, ethnicity, and class, some decolonial feminists and indigenous feminists have referred to the development of the intersectionality dimension within Zapatismo, which has served at the same time to think critically about intersectional approaches within feminisms in the region (2009). In this sense, the Zapatistas have given the example of a critical and mobilizing reflection on their own communal tradition that displays ideas and attitudes considered as 'malas costumbres', which offended their human and feminine dignity, as well as the racism they encountered in their relations with the mestizo, white and urban world.

The Zapatista women do not conceive of equality with men in the same way as partisan indigenous feminism, in terms that while they understand social relations within the community from the bonds of complementarity, the Zapatistas do seek equality in social and political participation, and even in the domestic sphere. Also, their demands for their indigenous comrades within the revolutionary struggle should not be understood from the notion of 'right' of academic discourse, since, in Tzotzil or Tzeltal, right can also mean something quite close to taking us into account (Jaidopulu Vrijea 2000).

In contrast to any victimization of patriarchal oppression of women, the Zapatista women have constructed a discourse

not want the world to copy their model of resistance and life, but that there should be space for a dignified life for all.

based on resistance and respect. Both axes throughout these decades of Zapatista existence have been redefined and reformulated, given the internal process of individual and collective reflection, as well as the contact with the world outside Zapatismo. Resistance is no longer only against the landlords, the mal gobierno, and the militarization of their lands, but also against colonialism, capitalism, and the oppression of peoples. Respect for these indigenous women encompasses the relationships that develop within the family and community, towards themselves and their bodies, towards their territories and the planet that hosts them (Jaidopulu Vrijea 2000; Gómez Bonilla 2009).

Zapatista women and women of the world

The contact between Zapatista women and women from other latitudes has undoubtedly been a relevant turning point both for the 'sentipensares' and reflections of the revolutionary women of Chiapas, as well as for the feminist movement and feminist theory. The decolonizing, anti-racist and intersectional reflection that the Zapatista women have incorporated in their discourses is due not only to the process of their own struggles, but also to the contact with the struggles of women around the world, which for some decolonial feminists contributes to understand and reformulate the idea of the "mujer de color" or woman of color proposed by Lugones (2008), which no longer refers only to those subaltern women in the global north, but comes to represent those women who live on the edges and who are subject to colonial and patriarchal oppressions, whatever the geographical territory in which they resist

In the records of the women's meetings in Chiapas, as well as their participation in other events, it is possible to observe new impressions and reflections on the experiences and struggles of the Zapatistas. On the one hand, the networks that have been woven with indigenous women in Mexico have strengthened and enriched their own reflection as indigenous women. On the other

hand, the contact with women from the "third world" (Mohanty 2003) and the exchange of experiences of urban struggles and other forms of resistance, have allowed the Zapatistas, as some of them declare to know other forms of oppression against women that they did not know or did not imagine, which as the Zapatista compañera Yuri expresses "we get in the heart that pain" (2:38, 2018)¹⁷, but which at the same time is an impulse to continue fighting "because if they touch one of us they touch us all, we are all we will be human" (2:46, 2018). During these encounters, emotions, political reflection, and construction from collective learning have been central. The relevance of these spaces of women for women, allow the sharing of life experiences, experiences of pain, but also of joy due to the mobilizing capacity that opens new horizons for resilience, repair, and reconstruction of the community fabric. It opens a place for resistance in the face of the fracture caused by structural and patriarchal violence.

En este sentido, en este encuentro de mujeres, o en el encuentro entre mujeres, cabe la sanación y la transformación de la rabia digna. Y la rabia organizadora, devuelve al patriarcado su miedo a la colectividad, a la ternura, y defiende la alegría que para las zapatistas es la vida misma (Recordings of Marcos, Millán, Mora and Osorio: December 24, 2020).¹⁸

17 I extracted this phrase from one of the videos made in the framework of the 1st Encuentro Internacional, Político, Artístico, Deportivo y Cultural de Mujeres que Luchan held in Caracol IV, Morelia, Chiapas, Mexico, on March 8, 9 and 10, 2018. In this event thousands of women from Mexico and the world entered Zapatista territory. The Zapatista gives her impressions of one of the workshops with women from around the world in which cases of different patriarchal violence were shared in the various territories from which the participants come from, such as the killing of Berta Cáceres. Comparable to this, other audiovisual records of the meeting were made by Luchadoras, a feminist collective that, as they say, inhabit "the physical and digital space". More information about the collective at <https://luchadoras.mx>. The following link contains the video mentioned here <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vIAphvGwko8>

18 Author's translation: In this sense, in this gathering of women, or in meeting among women, there is room

In these spaces, the voice of hundreds of women who took the microphone to speak about the violence exercised by acquaintances, friends, parents, bosses, co-workers, partners, siblings, also became present.

The contact of the Zapatistas with the women of the world in addition to contributing to critical thinking within the 'revolución interna' of ENZL, has allowed other communities of women in situations of vulnerability and exploitation, and the feminist movement itself, to begin to think about the different levels of oppression in which each one finds herself and how these are manifested, the places of privilege in which some find themselves, and the possibilities of weaving networks of solidarity and creating spaces of struggle. In these processes of exchange, teaching-learning, rage, pain, fear provoke sentiments such as the one expressed by the Zapatista women at the closing of the *2nd Encuentro Internacional de Mujeres en Lucha* on December 31 (2019):

Ya hay muy pocos lugares en el mundo en donde podamos estar contentas y seguras. Y por eso estamos aquí, porque nos trae nuestro dolor y nuestra rabia por la violencia que sufrimos las mujeres por el delito de que somos mujeres (Díaz Iñigo & de Parres Gómez 2022: 20).¹⁹

for healing and transformation of rabia digna (dignified rage). And organizing rage, gives back to the patriarchy its fear from collectivity, from tenderness, and defends the joy that for the Zapatistas is life itself.

19 Author's translation: There are very few places in the world where we can be happy and safe. And that is why we are here, because it brings us our pain and our rage for the violence, we women suffer for the crime that we are women.

Situationality and the decolonization of knowledge

The reflections on the Zapatista project within the Zapatista women's movement, its situationality and the knowledge that emerges from it are invaluable for feminist epistemology (Haraway 1988). On the one hand, the Zapatistas have stated that, through contact with other realities, they have been able to identify universal oppressions such as colonialism, capitalism, and extractivism. On the other hand, and as they reemphasized in the Gira Zapatista, they do not pretend that other communities in struggle should copy their political project or their forms of resistance, but they do call for collective organization, one that confronts the forms of oppression and exploitation that oppress the peoples. Both the EZLN and its women invite to create other possible worlds, *eutopías*²⁰ for a dignified life, inviting to observe, dialogue and exchange with the Zapatista project.

The libertarian project of the Zapatistas and their contact with other struggles of indigenous and mestizo women and the feminist movements themselves, impels and obliges us to reconstruct the reflections and theoretical proposals of feminism. Reflections that require a critical view, which must consider the experiences and situated knowledge in which the organization and struggle of indigenous women are developed, to avoid a feminist despotism that pretends to unify the notion of being a woman and her feelings and desires (Gómez Bonilla 2009). From the situated experience of the Zapatista struggle, as from other indigenous struggles, it is possible to decolonize feminism itself, its spaces of theoretical production and its political ac-

20 The *Red de Feminismos Descoloniales* (2014) defines Eutopia, based on Jean Robert's idea, as that which delves into the prefiguration already present in our contemporaneity, contemporary. Instead, utopia refers to a 'non-place' something that does not exist yet, while eutopia (eu or ev, good thing) refers us more to the good place, to the one that already exists

tion. For an ecology of feminist knowledge, it is essential to include the contributions of "mujer de color", indigenous women and Afro-descendants, who from different fronts; academia, militancy or daily and grassroots participation, develop their own epistemes around the collective rights of their peoples and women's rights, as well as the construction of new imaginaries on how and where to build social justice and eutopías that draw new horizons for resistance and rebellion:

Afirmamos la 'eutopía' en el sentido de prefiguraciones o apariciones que ocurren en el tiempo presente, que ya dejan ver la emergencia del sentido alter, es decir, de ruptura con la modernidad capitalista, enunciando y practicando un compromiso radical con la vida, dejando ver a través de diversas prácticas a pequeña escala, en el ámbito de la producción-en-reciprocidad, de la toma de decisiones consensuada, de la impartición de justicia, del ordenamiento de género, de la inclusión de las diferencias, derivadas de un mundo ya posible, recuperándose de la expropiación de su propia soberanía comunitaria (Red de Feminismo Decoloniales 2014: 456).²¹

Understanding the decolonization of knowledge as a complex process that begins with the questioning of the foundations of modern-western-hegemonic knowledge (Quija-

21 The text was written in Mexico in 2012 by members of La Red: Rosalva Aída Hernández, Sylvia Marcos, Marga Millán, Mariana Favela, Verónica R. Nájera, Aura Cumes, Mariana Mora, Meztlí Yoalli Rodríguez, Oscar González, Ana Valadez, Guiomar Rovira, Raquel Gutiérrez, and Gisela Espinosa. My citation is taken from the text *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala* (2014) which as I explained at the beginning of this paper is essential in my research since it compiles the various works of Abya Yala feminisms and women's movements in the region. Author's translation: We affirm "eutopia" in the sense of prefigurations or manifestations occurring in the present time, which already reveal the emergence of an alter sense, i.e. of a rupture with capitalist modernity, enunciating and practising a radical commitment to life, revealing through various small-scale practices, in the sphere of production-in-reciprocity, of consensual decision-making, of justice delivery, of gender ordering, of the inclusion of differences, stemming from a world that is already possible, recovering from the expropriation of its own communitarian sovereignty.

no 2014), it is necessary not to forget that the dimension of knowledge has been essential in the construction of systems of domination and subalternization of diversity. Therefore, the construction of new epistemes and an epistemic revolt from other subjectivities and collectivities, allows feminism to generate new ways of doing convivial politics. It is necessary to vindicate the creative capacity of peoples and subjects to interpret, appropriate and reinvent identities, knowledge, and ways of being. The Zapatista women have not only masterfully developed their own epistemes but have also opened up the issue of the coloniality of knowledge and the coloniality of gender, from which neither decolonial theory nor feminisms in the region are exempt (Red de Feminismos Descoloniales 2014).

The Zapatista women, like other indigenous and Afro-descendant women's movements in Abya Yala, claim demands and practices that converge, but which, at the same time located from different territories, are not imports or imitations of urban feminism from the global north, wherever this is articulated as some branches of decolonial feminism, nor strict restorations of ancestral worldview roots, as can be community or Andean feminism. The Zapatista women's movement comes to propose new epistemic coordinates with particularities forged from the indigenous world that enters dialogic and creative interaction between multiple influences, heritages, differences, disputes and claims, proposing an epistemic insurgency with political intentionality contained in "thinking with the heart" (2014: 462).

Finally, the 'revolución interna' within the EZLN opens new conceptions and debates about the meanings of complementarity and, therefore, the redefinition of social, economic, and political equality between men and women. The Zapatista women, propose diverse ways of putting into action in contemporaneity these perceptual devices, interested in an individuality in which the collective emerges. These "other" feminisms, or women's movements as I would call them, are also diverse and contain their own tensions, and which,

by extension, revitalize expressions of urban, theoretical, complex feminism, which often de-territorializes struggles by omitting situated knowledge, becoming precarious in terms of cultural roots.

Conclusions

The proposal of the Zapatista women and their struggle is based on the self-identification of being woman and indigenous. This identity is affirmed and nourished in the theoretical and practical development of what is proposed in their Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres Zapatistas. However, I would dare to say that, although their self-identification is immanent, their visions of a world where many worlds fit at the individual and collective level have been reinforced by contact with other women's movements and feminist movements in the region. In relation to the latter, decolonial and indigenous, and those possible intersections with the Zapatistas, there is a critical look at the pre- and post-colonial past in the territory under study, which allows them to fine-tune the intersectional lenses when understanding and classifying women's struggles. Such feminisms give relevance to the situationality (Haraway 1988) of those struggles. They approach women's identity and their struggles by understanding them from certain basic aspects such as racial conflicts, territoriality, identities and conflicts around gender, class and the position of privilege or marginalization conditioned by it. It is worth saying that Zapatista women are pioneers in their intersectional view or as they call it "the triple oppression" (Lagarde 1998: 12) that affects them for being women, for being indigenous, for being poor. Furthermore, the Zapatista women's identity process has allowed them to conceive their own notion of what it is to 'be a woman' from their own situation, a central theme in the feminist debate, which some theorists such as Rivera Cusicanqui (citation) have called 'mujeridad' (womanhood). To be an indigenous and Zapatista woman is an identity drawn in a situated process that transits through the 'revolución interna', during which they not only rebel against 'malas costumbres', but

also seek to strengthen the revolution of the EZLN project. And in this process, their emotions, oppressions and territorial experiences are essential, as they have repeatedly stated. One of the lessons I would highlight from this identity process for feminisms is to be attentive not to homogenise the struggles and identities of Zapatista indigenous women and other indigenous women's movements in the region (Rivera Cusicanqui 2010).

The gender relations configured and understood by the Zapatistas are based on knowing themselves as equals, so that the demand for equal rights with their partners has nuances with the principle of complementarity of indigenous feminisms. Nevertheless, in relation to patriarchal violence or 'malas costumbres', in most cases that form of violence is attributed to the inheritance of patronage, which is associated with the colonial wound (Rivera Cusicanqui 2024; Segato 2011) present in the *compañeros*, who transform and transfer that pain and humiliation into patriarchal violence against their *compañeras*. The latter would coincide with the proposal of decolonial feminism nominated as gender coloniality (Lugones 2008). Zapatismo is a dynamic movement that is open to dialogue. This has been evidenced and enriched by contact with other social and feminist movements, demonstrating agreement with the Zapatista philosophy and its principle of a world where many worlds fit. In addition to this contact with other women's struggles in the region and the world, such as the exchanges with women's meetings in Chiapas, as well as the Zapatista tour in Europe in which the debates about capitalism, extractivism and other social problems on that continent, the Zapatista and especially its women, have expressed their principles of solidarity without borders or national states, because, as they have stated, they feel 'in their hearts this pain' (bottom of page) and declare themselves in struggle against all oppressions in the world.

To finish, the Zapatistas give us a lecture at a reflective and pragmatic level of that achievement that feminisms raise, "the

personal is political" (Hanisch 1969) which I would translate in Zapatista key as the 'revolución interna', showing us how since the dawn of the uprising in the Lacandona jungle, they have faced, and head on, the holy trinity colonialism-patriarchy-capitalism. The Zapatista women have been able to convert personal experiences into the first arena of the political within the EZLN, from where the revolutionary Zapatista project is reconfigured and reinvented for its necessary transcendence.

Bibliography

- Cabnal, Lorena (2010): *Feminista siempre. Feminismos diversos: el feminismo comunitario*, España: ACSUR-Las Segovia.
- Cavallaro, La Peti (2017): *MAPEANDO EL CUERPO -TERRITORIO* Guía metodológica para mujeres que defienden sus territorios. Colectivo Miradas Críticas Del Territorio Desde El Feminismo, Quito: CLACSO.
- Collier, George (1994): *Basta! Land and The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas*, Oakland: Food First.
- Díaz Iñigo, Carolina & de Parres Gómez, Francisco (2008): "Pedagogías emancipatorias: resistencia epistémica y emocional en las iniciativas del movimiento zapatista en México". In *Runas Journal of Education* 3, Núm.5.
- EZLN (2014): "Ley de Revolucionaria de Mujeres Zapatistas" In: Espinosa Miñoso, Yuderky, Gómez Correal, Diana & Ochoa Muñoz, Karina (eds): *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala*. Popayán: Editorial Universidad del Cauca, pp. 399-400.
- Gómez Bonilla, Adriana (2009): "La Autonomía Zapatista. Un Escenario Donde Se Gestan Posibilidades De Una Vida Digna Para Las Mujeres Jóvenes Zapatistas". In: *La Ventana*, Núm. 30, pp. 87-119.
- Hanisch, Carol (1969): *The Personal Is Political*. Computer Science - University of

- Victoria. Available in: <<https://webhome.cs.uvic.ca/~mserra/AttachedFiles/PersonalPolitical.pdf>>
- Haraway, Donna (1995): *La reinención de la invención de la naturaleza*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Haraway, Donna (1988): "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective". In: *Feminist Studies* 14, Num.3, pp. 575-99.
- Harding, Sandra (1986): *The Science Question in Feminism*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Hernández Castillo, R. Aída (2014): "Entre el etnocentrismo feminista y el esencialismo étnico. Las mujeres indígenas y sus demandas de género". In: Espinosa Miñoso, Yuderkys, Gómez Correal, Diana & Ochoa Muñoz, Karina (eds): *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala*. Popayán: Editorial Universidad del Cauca, pp. 279-294.
- Hernández Castillo, R. Aída (2006): "Between Feminist Ethnocentricity and Ethnic Essentialism: The Zapatista's Demands and the National Indigenous Women's Movement". In: Speed, Shannon, Hernández Castillo, Aisa & Stephen, Lynn M.(eds): *Dissident Women. Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 57-74.
- Hernández Castillo, R. Aída (1998): "Construyendo la Utopía. Esperanzas y Desafíos de las Mujeres Chiapanecas de Frente al Siglo XXI". In: Hernández Castillo, Rosalva Aída (ed): *La Otra Palabra. Mujeres y Violencia en Chiapas, antes y después de Acteal*, México D.F: CIESAS/COLEM/CIAM, pp.125-142.
- Hernández Navarro, Luis, & Vera Herrera, Ramon (1998): *Los Acuerdos de San Andrés*. Mexico: Era.
- Jaidopulu Vrijea, María (2000): "Las mujeres indígenas como sujetos políticos". In: *Revista Chiapas*, Núm. 9, pp.35-59.
- Klein, Hilary (2015): *Compañeras*. New York and Oakland: Seven Stories Press.
- Kreibohm, Patricia (2006): "La doctrina de la guerra de baja intensidad: del intervencionismo norteamericano a la formulación de una nueva categoría de conflicto". In: *Coleção Meira Mattos-Revista das Ciências Militares*, Vol. 1, Núm. 17.
- Lagarde, Marcela (1998): "La triple opresión de las mujeres indígenas". In: *México Indígena*. Núm. 21, pp.11-15.
- Lois, Ianina (2020): "Latin American Feminisms in Colonial and Intersectional Perspective". In: *Margen*, Núm.99. pp. 1-9.
- Lugones, María (2008): "Colonialidad y género". In: *Tabula Rasa*, Núm. 9, pp.73-101.
- Marcos, Sylvia (2014): "La espiritualidad de las mujeres indígenas Mesoamericanas: descolonizando las creencias religiosas". In: Espinosa Miñoso, Yuderkys, Gómez Correal, Diana & Ochoa Muñoz, Karina (eds): *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala*. Popayán: Editorial Universidad del Cauca, pp.143-160.
- Mohanty, Chandra (2003): *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mohanty, Chandra (1997): *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Olsen, Thomas (2005): *International Zapatimo: The Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization*, London: Zed Books.
- Paiva, Rosalía (2014): "Feminismo paritario indígena andino". In: Espinosa Miñoso, Yuderkys, Gómez Correal, Diana & Ochoa Muñoz, Karina (eds): *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala*. Popayán: Editorial Universidad del Cauca.

- ca, pp.295-308.
- Padilla García, Alma (2018): "Mujeres y feminismo en el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN)". Tesis para optar al grado de Doctor en Ciencias Políticas. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Porto-Gonçalves. Carlos (2011): "Abya Yala, el descubrimiento de América". In: Girra, Norma (ed): *Bicenterarios (otros): Transiciones y resistencias*, Buenos Aires: Una ventana, pp. 39-46.
- Quijano, Aníbal (2014): "Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina". In: Quijano, Anibal (ed): *Cuestiones y horizontes: de la dependencia histórico-estructural a la colonialidad/descolonialidad del poder*, Buenos Aires: CLACSO, pp.777-832.
- Red de Feminismos Descoloniales (2014): "Descolonizando nuestros feminismos, abriendo la mirada. Presentación de la red de feminismos descoloniales". In: Espinosa Miñoso, Yuderlys, Gómez Correal, Diana & Ochoa Muñoz, Karina (eds): *Tejiendo de otro modo: Feminismo, epistemología y apuestas descoloniales en Abya Yala*. Popayán: Editorial Universidad del Cauca, pp.455-463.
- Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia (2010): *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores*, Buenos Aires: Tinta limón.
- Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia (2024): *Mujeres y estructuras de poder en Los Andes. De la etnohistoria a la política*. La Paz: Piedra Rota.
- Rovira, Guiomar (2009): *Zapatistas sin fronteras. Las redes de solidaridad con Chiapas y el altermundismo*, Ciudad de México: Era.
- Segato, Rita (2011): "Género y colonialidad: en busca de claves de lectura y de un vocabulario estratégico descolonial." In: Bidaseca Karina (eds): *Feminismos y postcolonialidad*, Buenos Aires: Godot.
- pp.17-47.
- Solano, Xochitl Leyva (2018): "Una Mirada al Tomo I". In: Leyva, X. J., Alonso, R. A. Hernández, A. Escobar, A. Köhler et al.: *Prácticas Otras de Conocimiento(s): Entre Crisis, Entre Guerras*. Chiapas: La Casa del Mago, pp. 36–103.
- Stahler-Sholk, Richard & Baronnet, Bruno (2017): "La escuela es la comunidad: luchas indígenas y autonomía en México." In: Plá, Sebastián & Rodríguez, Sandra: *Saberes sociales para la justicia social: educación y escuela en América Latina*, Bogotá: La Carreta, pp.99-136.
- Stephen, L (1995): "The Zapatista Army of National Liberation and the National Democratic Convention". In: *Latin American Perspectives* Num. 4, pp. 88-99. Available in: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2634183>.
- Internet Resources
- Comunicado del CCRI-CG del EZLN (2008): *Comunicado Del Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-comandancia General Del Ejército Zapatista De Liberación Nacional. Comisión Sexta-comisión Intergaláctica Del EZLN*. México. Enlace Zapatista. Available in: <https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2008/09/15/2008/09/15/comunicado-del-ccri-cg-del-ezln-comision-sexta-comision-intergalactica-del-ezln/> (link last accessed on 6 October 2024)
- Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (2019): *Convocatoria al Primer Encuentro Internacional, Político, Artístico, Deportivo y Cultural de Mujeres que luchan*. Enlace Zapatista. Available in: <https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2017/12/29/convocatoria-al-primero-encuentro-internacional-politico-artistico-deportivo-y-cultural-de-mujeres-que-luchan/#:~:text=PRIMER%20ENCUENTRO%20INTERNACIONAL,%20POLÍTICO,%20ARTÍSTICO,%20DEPORTIVO> (link last accessed on 6 October 2024)

- France 24 (2020) Mujeres en resistencia, las mujeres zapatistas de México [Online video]. Available in: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=attB-tA7rDM>
- Luchadoxs MX (2018) La palabra zapatista en el Primer Encuentro Internacional de Mujeres que Luchan [Online video]. Available in: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vIAphvGwko8>
- Marcos, Sylvia, Millán, Margara, Mora, Mariana & Osorio, Araceli (2020) Conversaciones Sobre Los 37 Aanos Del Ezln: Un Mundo Donde Una Nina Nazca Y Crezca Sin Miedo [Online video]. Available in: <https://youtu.be/JKmcklAbViU>
- Schools for Chiapas video series (2014): Women in the Zapatista Movement [Online video] Available in: <https://schoolsfor-chiapas.org/multimedia/video-women-zapatista-movement/>
- Subcomandante Insurgente Galeano (2016): Las artes, las ciencias, los pueblos originarios y los sotanos del mundo. Enlace Zapatista. Available in: <https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2016/02/28/las-artes-las-ciencias-los-pueblos-originarios-y-los-sotanos-del-mundo/#:~:text=iAh!,%20las%20palabras%20perdidas,%20su%20naufragio> (link last accessed on 6 October 2024)
- The Chiapas Media Project (2004) We are equal [Online video]. Available in: <https://vimeo.com/45615382?signup=true>
- Ya Basta Netzwerk (2021) Interview Die zapatistische Reise fur das Leben [Online video]. Available in: <https://www.ya-basta-netz.org/interview-die-zapatistische-reise-fur-das-leben/>