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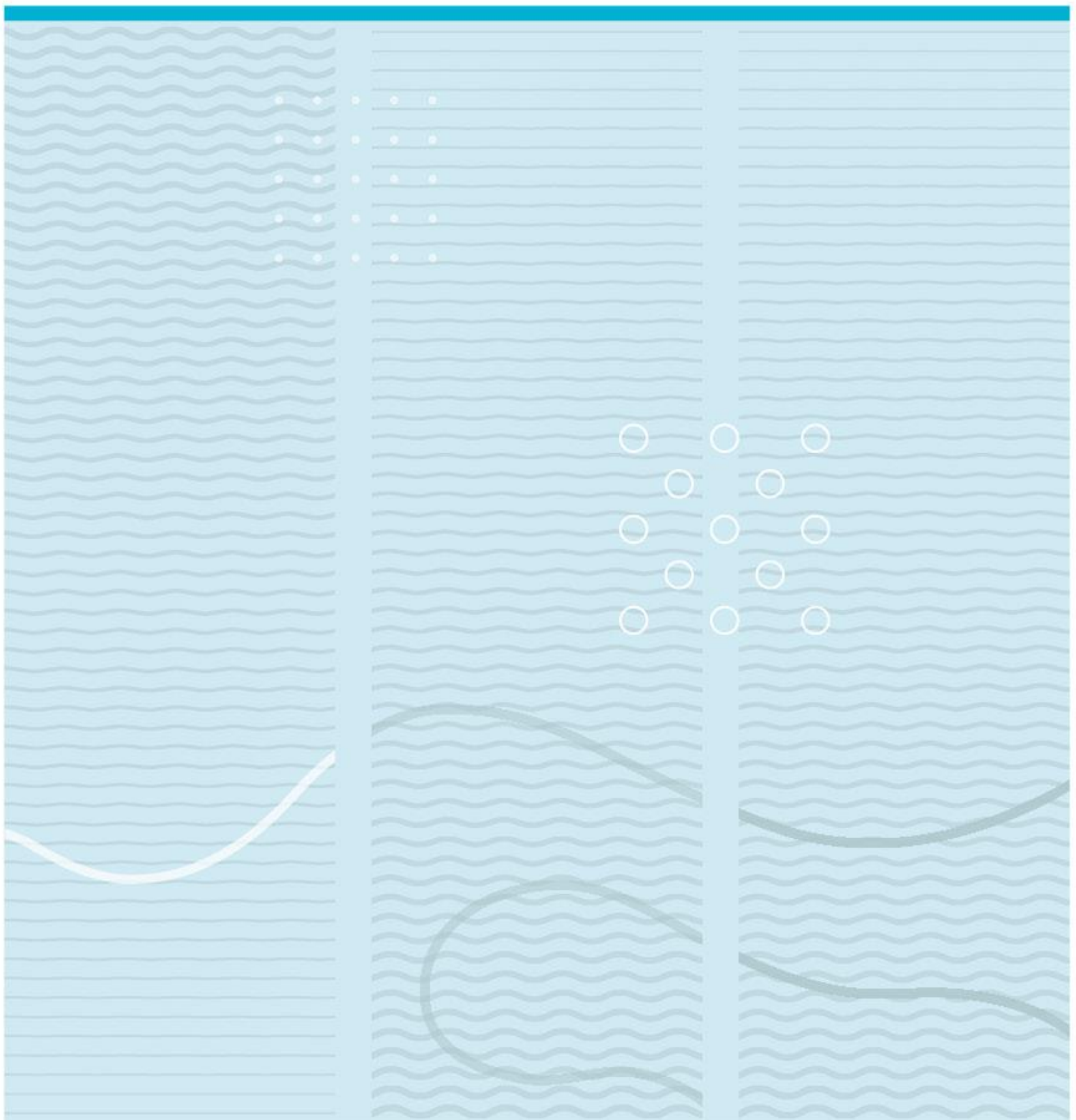
The role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil:

Coloniality of power, coloniality of gender and their impact on indigenous women living in Manaus, Amazonas State.



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Abstract

Indigenous peoples worldwide are in a difficult situation because they continually face discrimination, marginalization, poverty and conflict consequential to the European colonization process initiated in the 16th century. In Brazil, the indigenous peoples' situation is critical. During the last decade (2010 – 2020), their lives and rights have been under escalating attacks. In the last couple of years, their situation has substantially worsened following the drafting and implementation of a series of legislative and administrative measures that significantly change the national *indigenist policy*, which further requires their social mobilization. In this context, this thesis explores the role of indigenous women living in the urban perimeter of Manaus, North Region of Brazil, in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements. For that, the thesis problematizes the participation of indigenous women through the concepts of coloniality of power, coloniality of gender, social justice and recognition. A theoretical thematic analysis was applied to semi-structured interviews conducted with eight indigenous women who self-declared members of indigenous social movements. The thematic analysis revealed that indigenous women's participation and influence in indigenous social movements are increasing in the urban context. However, they still face obstacles to insert gender-related matters into the agenda of broader indigenous movements. In this sense, using Fraser's theoretical framework on recognition, the thesis argues that coloniality of power and coloniality of gender remain and directly affect the participatory parity of indigenous women (and indigenous peoples) and, thus, decoloniality through decolonial types of feminism is necessary to achieve social justice

Key-words: indigenous women, social movements, coloniality of power, coloniality of gender, social justice, recognition.

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Belo Horizonte, January 30th, 2021.
Luiza Nunes de Lima.

List of Abbreviations

APIB – Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil)
CIMI - Missionary Council for Indigenous Peoples (Conselho Indigenista Missionário)
CNBB - National Conference of Brazil's Bishops
COIAB - Coordination of Indigenous Organizations in the Brazilian Amazon (Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira)
FUNAI - National Foundation for Indigenous Peoples (Fundação Nacional do Índio)
IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística)
ILO – International Labor Organization
NGOs – Non-governmental organizations
NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data
OAS – Organization of American States
SPI - Service for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio)
TA – Thematic analysis
UMIAB - Union of Indigenous Women from the Brazilian Amazon (União das Mulheres Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira)
UN – United Nations

1 Introduction

1.1 Introductory Context

The situation of indigenous peoples all around the world is difficult as they continually "[…] suffer discrimination, marginalization, extreme poverty and conflict" (UN, 2009, v) consequential to the European colonization process initiated in the 16th century. Indigenous peoples still struggle to have their basic rights and cultural specificities respected, such as the right to ancestral land, indigenous education, and health, even though both international human rights law and regional human rights initiatives encompass several documents and bodies protecting indigenous minorities, such as Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) - which is binding -, the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the United Nations (UN) Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the Inter-American Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Thus, social mobilization has been the best option for indigenous peoples to maintain their rights and voice their rising demands.

In Brazil, the indigenous peoples' situation is critical. Even though Brazil ratified the Convention 169 of ILO in 2002, voted in favor of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, and has national polices that should ensure their rights, indigenous peoples in Brazil have been constantly under threat. During the last decade (2010-2020), their lives and rights have been under escalating attacks. Their situation has been worsening especially in the last couple of years following the drafting and implementation of a series of legislative and administrative measures that significantly changed the national *indigenist policy*[1] (Indigenistas Associados, 2019). The COVID-19 pandemic has thrown the current government's abandonment of indigenous peoples into starker contrast: so far, the lack of a real and effective governmental policy to protect them has caused the infection of 46,677 indigenous persons and the death of 932, affecting 161 different ethnic groups[2] and putting their survival in danger.

[1] The term indigenist policy "specifically refers to acts in benefit of Brazilian indigenous peoples causing deep impact on their lifestyle and everyday life" conducted by non-indigenous actors such as governments and non-governmental organizations, among others. (Povos Indígenas no Brasil, 2018).

2 According to data published by the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB) in 25/01/2021, available at: https://covid19.socioambiental.org/.

If indigenous peoples in Brazil are facing unsafe times, indigenous women have even more challenges to overcome, since they occupy an intersectional position (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016) by simultaneously being members of two minority (or subaltern) groups, which means they face discrimination and other obstacles both for being indigenous and for being women, positions "which are also both strongly associated with class" (Rousseau and Hudon, 2016, p.40). As Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo explains, if on the one hand indigenous women "have joined their voices with those of the national indigenous movements to denounce the economic and racial oppression that characterizes the insertion of indigenous communities into the national project" (2010, p.540), on the other hand "these women are struggling within their organizations and communities to change those traditional elements that exclude and oppress them" (ibid, p.541). This struggle is, naturally, also very real for Brazilian indigenous women (Sacchi, 2003).

As shown by existing literature[3], the development of an international legal apparatus for the definition and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples in the final decades of the 20th century influenced the rise of indigenous social movements in Brazil (Ramos 1997, 2003; Juliano, 2006; Oliveira and Freire, 2006), which, in turn, played a fundamental role in the changes made to the Brazilian indigenist policy that started with the promulgation of the 1988 Federal Constitution. These social movements are even more relevant in the current pandemic context, since they have taken the lead in helping indigenous peoples to battle COVID-19.

Given the growing importance of such movements and considering the intersectional position occupied by indigenous women – and the various obstacles they must overcome for being in this position - it is worthwhile to investigate their role in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements.

1.2 Research Question and Purposes of the Research

The vital role played by indigenous social movements in Brazil and the intersectional position of indigenous women provide the framework for the research question that drives this project:

3 See Section 2 – Background and Literature Review

- What is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil?

To answer the primary question, the following sub-questions were included in the analysis:

In what ways are women's rights understood among indigenous peoples? Is there space to include gender-related claims in indigenous social movements?

The purpose of this research is to ascertain how the participation of indigenous women in broader indigenous movements takes place, whether their participation has the same weight and meaning as male participation and what is their role in raising demands and defining a movements' action agenda. At the same time, this project aims to investigate whether there is room for gender discussions in the indigenous context and how women's rights are understood in this context, since indigenous women are in an intersectional position and, therefore, most of the time, have to face prejudice and other challenges related to being indigenous and women simultaneously.

Thus, it makes sense to adopt a decolonial theoretical framework to conduct the analysis proposed in this project since such a framework illuminates the exploitation/oppression pattern that still rules the Western capitalist world, based on the discriminatory concept of race and also on the concept of gender. Recognizing that indigenous peoples have been forced into a subaltern position since the beginning of the colonization process (Mignolo, 2005) and that the coloniality of power has kept them in this position to this day, their struggle – and therefore, the struggle of their social movements – is to achieve social justice, which is understood here according to Nancy Fraser's concept of participatory parity (see Section 3.2 – Social Justice and Recognition).

1.3 Definitions

Before starting the literature review and the theoretical discussion it is necessary to define the key terms and concepts used in this research project.

Coloniality of gender is a concept based on Quijano's coloniality of power. The concept was developed by María Lugones (2010) to explain that the creation of a man/woman gender dichotomy was an important aspect in the constitution of the

coloniality of power. “This distinction became a mark of the human and a mark of civilization. Only the civilized [peoples] are men or women. Indigenous peoples of the Americas and enslaved Africans were classified as not human in species - as animals, uncontrollably sexual and wild” (Lugones, 2010, p.743). In that sense, “the semantic consequence of the coloniality of gender is that ‘colonized woman’ is an empty category: no women are colonized; no colonized females are women” (ibid, p.745). Nevertheless, as explained by Mendoza (2016), Lugones argues that gender differentiation was used by colonizers as a “powerful tool to destroy the social relations of the colonized by dividing men and women from each other and creating antagonisms between them” (Mendoza, 2016, p.116).

Coloniality of power. Developed by Aníbal Quijano (2000), the coloniality of power is a concept used to define “the constitutive and specific elements of the world pattern of capitalist power” (Quijano, 2007a, p.93)[4]. As the author explains, “it is founded on the imposition of a racial/ethnic classification of the population of the world as the cornerstone of this pattern of power, and operates in each of the planes, areas and dimensions, material and subjective, of daily existence and on a social scale” (ibid). In Walter Mignolo and Kate Walsh’s words, coloniality of power “developed around two central axes or patterns of power that came to be foundational to modernity and global capitalism” (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.23). While the first pattern of power divided the conquered and the conquerors, which were in a relation of domination, using the new concept of race, the second pattern was “the constitution of a new structure of control of labor and its resources and products that articulated slavery, serfdom, small independent commodity production and reciprocity, together around and upon the basis of capital and the world market” (ibid, p.23). This concept was fundamental to understanding the relationship between indigenous peoples and the ruling society in Brazil.

Culture. As Anthony Giddens broadly defines, culture “refers to the ways of life of members of a society or of groups within the society. It includes how they dress, their marriage customs and family life, their work patterns, religious ceremonies and leisure occupations” (2005, p. 38). As Giddens explains, “the culture of a society comprises both intangible aspects - the beliefs, ideas and values that form the concept of culture - as well as tangible aspects - the objects, symbols or technology that represent that content” (ibid).

4 All the translation from Spanish and Portuguese are mine.

According to the author, sociologists' concern with culture refers to those aspects that are learned rather than inherited (ibid). Like the concept of identity, the concept of culture that was adopted by this research project was the anti-essentialist one, agreeing with Eric Wolf when he states that

> neither societies nor cultures should be seen as givens, integrated by some inner essence, organizational mainspring, or master plan. Rather, cultural sets, and sets of sets, are continuously in construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction, under the impact of multiple processes operative over wide fields of social and cultural connections. (Wolf, 1984, p.396)

As explained by Aram A. Yengoyan (2001), "Wolf insists that the idea of boundedness as it is applied to cultures and communities must be abandoned and replaced by an understanding of interactional processes as they emerge from sources of power and hegemony that may be elusive to define" (Yengoyan, 2001, ix). Thus, for Wolf "a culture is a changing manifold, not a fixed and unitary entity (Wolf, 2001, p. 412).

Decision-making process. In general terms, decision-making is "the process of making choices by identifying a decision, gathering information, and assessing alternative resolutions" (Umass Dartmouth, 2021; Eisenfuhr, 2011). For the purpose of this thesis, decision-making process is being understood as any process or situation in which indigenous peoples come together or assemble to discuss their problems, voice their demands and define their course of action - be it locally, regionally, nationally and internationally - to achieve their goals. Elections, assemblies, plenaries and meetings are considered to be decision-making processes.

Decoloniality is a new way of thinking to promote epistemological decolonization and, therefore, to destroy the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2007b, p.177). It implies, according to Mignolo and Walsh, "the recognition and undoing of the hierarchical structures of race, gender, heteropatriarchy, and class that continue to control life, knowledge, spirituality, and thought, structures that are clearly intertwined with and constitutive of global capitalism and Western modernity." (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.17).

Ethnicity. When developing research about indigenous peoples it is important to state which ethnicity concept is going to be used. In a broader sense, Giddens defines ethnicity as "[…] the cultural practices and views of a given community of people that

distinguish them from others. Members of ethnic groups consider themselves culturally distinct from other groups in society, and, in return, are seen in this way by those other groups" (2005, p. 206). According to the author, "different characteristics can serve to distinguish one ethnic group from another, but the most common are language, history or lineage (real or imagined), religion and styles of clothing or ornaments" (ibid). It is important to highlight that ethnicity, for Giddens, is something that is learned; therefore, it is not stable and not immutable. "In fact, there is nothing innate about ethnicity; it is a purely social phenomenon, produced and reproduced over time. Through socialization, young people assimilate the lifestyles, norms and beliefs of their communities" (ibid).

Assuming that ethnicity is not a primordial entity but a socially constructed phenomenon, this thesis adopted the ethnicity/ethnic groups concept developed by Frederik Barth (1969) which understands ethnicity as "a continuous process of dichotomization between members and outsiders, requiring to be expressed and validated in social interaction (Poutignat and Streiff-Fernart, 2011, p.111). According to Poutignat and Streiff-Fernart, Barth's main contribution to the ethnicity debate is his "focus on the generative and procedural aspects of ethnic groups" (ibid, p.112).

> It must be agreed, with Barth, that ethnicity is a form of social organization, based on the categorical attribution that classifies people according to their supposed origin, which is validated in social interaction by activating socially differentiating cultural signs. This minimum definition is sufficient to circumscribe the research field designated by the concept of ethnicity: that of the study of the variable and never-ending processes by which the actors identify themselves and are identified by others on the basis of We / They dichotomizations, established from cultural traits that are supposed to be derived from a common origin and highlighted in racial interactions. (Poutignat and Streiff-Fernart, 2011, p. 141)

For Barth, "we can benefit a lot by considering this important trait [sharing the same culture] as an implication or a result, rather than as a primary and definitional characteristic of the organization of the ethnic group" (2011, p.191). In other words, an ethnic group is defined and maintained more by its ethnic boundaries than by its culture. "The cultural traits that demarcate the boundary can change, and the cultural characteristics of its members can also change", states Barth (ibid, p.195). However, "the continuous dichotomization between members and non-members allows us to specify the

nature of this continuity and to investigate the form and content of this cultural transformation" (ibid). In that sense, "[…] the innovative character of the notion of ethnic boundary […] is linked to the idea that it is in reality such ethnic boundaries and not the internal cultural content that define the ethnic group and allow it to realize its persistence" (Poutignat and Streiff-Fernart, 2011, p. 153).

Summarizing, the culture of an ethnic group can change without affecting the maintenance of its boundaries (Barth, 2011, p. 226/227). Such boundaries, however, should not be understood as barriers: "they are never occlusive, but more or less fluid, moving and permeable" (Poutignat and Streiff-Fernart, 2011, p.154). As the authors explain, "[...] the important point is that the crossing of ethnic boundaries by individuals does not necessarily call into question their social belonging" (ibid, p.155). The same can be said about cultural changes and ethnic identities. "What is important to recognize is that a drastic reduction in cultural differences between ethnic groups cannot be simply correlated with a reduction in the organizational belonging of ethnic identities, or with a decline in border maintenance processes", states Barth (2011, p.219-220).

Identity. As Renee Sylvain explains, those who are known as "essentialists view a category of persons as having a stable set of traits that are required for inclusion; they therefore think of contemporary members of indigenous groups as linked to their ancestors by those shared traits" (2014, p. 252). On the other hand, "the contrasting social constructionist (anti-essentialist) idea is that the criteria for inclusion in a category of persons are contingent, changing, and subject to social and political negotiation" (ibid). In that sense, "essentialists tend to see significant transformation as constituting a loss of identity, while anti-essentialists tend to view indigenous groups as inventions or artifacts, for whom significant transformation is possible without loss of the more tenuous continuity needed for an indigenous identity" (ibid). Thus, this thesis adopted an anti-essentialist understanding of identity, agreeing with Stuart Hall when he says that "the fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy" (Hall, 1992, p. 277). According to Hall, "the subject, previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity, is becoming fragmented; composed, not of a single, but of several, sometimes contradictory or unresolved, identities" (ibid, p. 276-277). This shift produces the post-modern subject, characterized as "having no fixed, essential or permanent identity" (ibid, p.277). Such a subject "assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent 'self'" (ibid).

Indigenous peoples. Definitions of indigeneity and of indigenous peoples have been developed by different authors based on different criteria (Miller, 2003). Due to their immense diversity, a singular and official definition of indigenous has not been adopted by any of the international bodies that address indigenous peoples' matters, such as the UN, the ILO and the OAS. The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues developed an understanding of the term 'indigenous peoples' based on the following criteria: "1) self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member; 2) historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies; 3) strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources; 4) distinct social, economic or political systems; 5) distinct language, culture and beliefs; 6) form non-dominant groups of society and 7) resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities" (UN, 2006). The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), the ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989) and the American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2016) all state that self-identification is a fundamental criterion for determining who is indigenous and, currently, ethnic self-identification is the most accepted criterion of indigeneity in Brazil (Instituto Socioambiental, 2018a). In that sense, "it is considered indigenous the members of a group of people who identify themselves as a collectivity distinct from the national society as a whole due to their historical links to pre-Columbian populations […]" (ibid). In addition, "every individual who recognize herself/himself as part of a group with those characteristics and is recognized by the group as such may be considered an indigenous person" (ibid). This is the understanding of indigenous peoples adopted by this research.

Indigenous social movements. For Peter Wade, indigenous social movements - that emerged from the 1960s - can be categorized as new social movements since they are different from the "classic trade union worker's protest of earlier decades" (2010, p.113). According to Buechler, while 'old' social movements were described as working class mobilizations, labor movements, etc., "the term 'new social movements' thus refers to a diverse array of collective actions that have presumably displaced the old social movement of proletarian revolution associated with classical Marxism" (Buechler, 1995, p. 442). In other words, the theorists of new social movements "attempt to theorize a historically specific social formation as the structural backdrop for contemporary forms of collective action" (ibid, p.443). As the author explains, "newness is less a claim about unprecedented features of contemporary movements than an assertion that one type of

movement rooted in the class cleavages of a capitalist society has given way to another type of movement with different roots in postindustrial society" (Buechler, 2011, p.158). According to new social movements theorists, collective action is rooted in politics, ideology and culture and it is based on different identity categories such as gender, ethnicity, and sexuality. Maria da Glória Gohn defines Brazilian indigenous movements as "identity and cultural movements because they give their participants an identity centered on biological, ethnic/racial, or generational (age) factors" (Gohn, 2013, p.72). More than resisting the colonization process and its outcomes, today's Brazilian indigenous movements seek "recognition of their cultures and existence, redistribution of land in the territories of their ancestor, schooling in their own language, etc" (ibid, p. 14). Thus, indigenous social movements are understood here to be collectivities formed by people who identify themselves and are recognized by their communities as indigenous, who assemble with some degree of organization to demand their specific group rights from the government and from the ruling society.

Race. Foundational to Quijano's coloniality of power, race is a concept that has been evolving since the early 16th century (Wade, 2010, p. 5) when Europeans, expanding their contact with peoples from different parts of the world, began to categorize these peoples in opposition to the "white" European race (Giddens, 2005, p. 206). Initially built from the idea that human beings could be "easily separated biologically in different races" (ibid, p. 205) that could be classified according to their phenotypical characteristics as more or less capable, the concept of race received a new meaning after the end of the Second World War, when the biological argument was abandoned. As Wade explains,

> […] many natural scientists and the vast majority of social scientists agree that races are social constructions. The idea of race is just that – an idea. The notion that races exist with definable physical characteristics and, even more so, that some races are superior to others is the result of particular historical processes which, many would argue, have their roots in the colonization by European peoples of other areas of the world. (Wade, 2005, p.12)

According to Wade, the term 'ethnicity' is being adopted as an alternative to the term 'race' because this last one has a negative connotation (Wade, 2005, p. 15). In that sense, it is important to explain that this thesis understands race as a social construction

and its use in the thesis is aligned with Quijano's concepts related to the coloniality of power, which is a core concept of this thesis.

Recognition. This research project will adopt Nancy Fraser's social status model of recognition. "From this perspective, what requires recognition is not group-specific identity but the status of individual group members as full partners in social interaction" (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). Therefore, "misrecognition, accordingly, does not mean the depreciation and deformation of group identity, but social subordination —in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life" (ibid).

Social justice. This research project will adopt Fraser's understanding of social justice, based on the concept of participatory parity. "According to this norm, justice requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers. For participatory parity to be possible, I claim, it is necessary but not sufficient to establish standard forms of formal legal equality" (Fraser, 1998, p.30). Thus, "overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (Fraser, 2004/2005, p.236). As Fraser explains, for participatory parity to be achievable, two preconditions – one objective and one intersubjective - must be satisfied. While the objective one requires the distribution of material resources in a way that "ensure participants' independence and voice" (Fraser, 1998, p.31) and prevents "social arrangements that institutionalize deprivation, exploitation, and gross disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time, thereby denying some people the means and opportunities to interact with others as peers" (ibid), the intersubjective condition "requires that institutionalized cultural patterns of interpretation and evaluation express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem" (ibid). Fraser's multi-valent model of social justice requires not only (re)distribution of material resources but also recognition (as a matter of social status) and representation.

Social movements. When studying social movements, it is possible to identify several theories on the subject and numerous definitions of what social movements are (Buechler, 2011). Nevertheless, for the purpose of this research project, social movements are understood in a broader sense as

> collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority,

> whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part. (Snow, Soule and Kriesi, 2004, p.11)

1.4 Methodology

To answer the research question *what is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil?,* semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight indigenous women living in the urban perimeter of Manaus, capital of the state of Amazonas, North Region of Brazil, who self-declared as participants of indigenous social movements. The decision to choose interviewees from Manaus was motivated by the fact that 37.5% of the indigenous people in Brazil live in North Region, according to the last Census conducted in 2010 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). The most active and nationally known indigenous organizations in Brazil, such as the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB), are also located in that region. The data collected through the semi-structured interviews were analyzed using theoretical thematic analysis. This project was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The methodology will be discussed in detail in section 4 – Methodology.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The present thesis is organized into six main chapters. *Chapter one* presents the introductory context, the research question and purposes of the research, key definitions and concepts and a quick overview of the research methods used to build the project. *Chapter two* provides a brief historical background of the relationship between Brazil's native peoples and European colonizers, addresses the colonization and domination process that was established at the beginning of the 16th century and its outcomes; shows the relationship between the development of an international legal apparatus to ensure and protect indigenous peoples' rights and the emergence of indigenous social movements in Brazil, and presents existing literature on the challenges for the human rights of indigenous peoples in Brazil and on the struggles indigenous women face in this context. *Chapter three* presents the theoretical framework that will be used to understand

the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil: decolonial theory, with emphasis on the concepts of the coloniality of power and the coloniality of gender, and Nancy Fraser's multi-valent concept of social justice, based on participatory parity. *Chapter four* examines in detail the methodology used in the thesis: the ontological/epistemological approach, recruitment of the participants, data collection and data analysis, ethical considerations, positionality of the researcher and limitations of the work. *Chapter five* presents the findings and analysis of the collected data and their relevance to the research question. C*hapter six* brings the conclusion and possible topics for future research.

2 Background and Literature Review

To answer this thesis main research question “what is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil?” from a human rights and decolonial centered approach, it is necessary to understand the historical background of indigenous peoples, their relationship with the European colonizers and how this relationship has affected the position of indigenous peoples in the Brazilian society. Therefore, the following pages present existing literature addressing this subject. The development of an international human rights apparatus for the protection of indigenous peoples’ rights directly relates to the emergence of indigenous peoples’ social movements in Brazil necessitating a review of the existing literature on this subject as well. The mere existence of this legal apparatus, however, does not guarantee that indigenous peoples will have their rights assured and respected. In that sense, existing literature on the challenges of implementing indigenous peoples’ rights in Brazil will be presented. In light of these challenges, the conclusion will review the literature on the participation of indigenous women and the space they have in indigenous social movements, which is fundamental for unveiling their role in the decision-making process of these movements.

2.1 Understanding the history of indigenous oppression and objectification in Brazil

During the first decades of the Portuguese invasion, the relationship between Europeans and indigenous peoples was a commercial partnership in which indigenous people would trade redwood, exotic animals, and birds for sickles, axes, and knives (Cunha, 2013, p.186). However, the friendly relationship would quickly come to an end with the implementation of the Portuguese colony system from 1530 when “gradually, allied indigenous peoples would be subjugated and employed in the defense of the territory and as labor force in the construction of buildings, churches and villages” (Oliveira e Freire, 2006, p. 39) and enemy groups would be captured and turned into slaves for the same purpose. Portuguese settlers adopted indigenous slave labor on a large scale, especially in sugar cane and subsistence plantations, using the civilizing discourse

to justify their actions. As Alcida Rita Ramos explains, “the idiom of conquest and control has as its basic premise the inferiority of the indigenous peoples” (1998, p.73).

The indigenous peoples had, of course, experienced war, disease, and other obstacles before the arrival of the Europeans, but the struggles they faced under Portuguese colonization were of unprecedented scale and devastation. Its effects can still be seen, as the current size of indigenous population in Brazil illustrates[5]. The history of decimation of the indigenous peoples of Brazil shows the prevalence of a civilizing rhetoric that concluded that “indigenous peoples have no place in civilization” (Ramos, 1998, p.64). The relationship between indigenous peoples and the non-indigenous Brazilian society continues to be shaped by this civilizing rhetoric resulting from the coloniality of power[6], a concept developed by Aníbal Quijano (2000) which had a key role in the analysis of the data collected for this research project.

Ambiguity and contradictions marked the immense legislation that characterized the indigenist policy developed by Portugal since the beginning of the colonization process. This legislation would, overall, serve the interests of the Portuguese Crown and those of the Portuguese settlers who ignored laws and regulations that addressed indigenous peoples’ rights in order to benefit from their labor force (Cunha, 1987; Ramos, 1998; Oliveira and Freire, 2006). As Darcy Ribeiro explained, “strictly speaking, despite the extremely copious legislation guaranteeing the freedom of the Indians, it can be said that the only indispensable requirement for the indigenous person to be enslaved was to be, still, a free indigenous person” (1995, p. 99). The legal impasse around the slavery of indigenous peoples would only come to an end in Brazil in 1831, when the Law of October 27 abolished the slavery of these peoples but did not alter their social, political and economic status at all.

It is important to highlight that the Catholic Church, subordinated at the time to the Portuguese Crown, had an important role in the colonizing project. In 1549, the first Jesuits[7] arrived at the colony with the purpose of catechizing the indigenous peoples by converting them from pagans to Christians and, therefore, promoting their “salvation” (de

5 Indigenous peoples represent only 0.4% of the Brazilian population according to the last Census (IBGE, 2012).

6 See section 1.3 – Definitions and Section 3.1 – Coloniality of power, coloniality of gender and decoloniality

7 The Jesuits are a Roman Catholic order of priests and brothers, founded more than 500 years ago, who dedicate themselves to the glory of God and the good of all humanity, and had a fundamental role in the colonizing project, representing the Church and helping the Portuguese Crown. See more on the Jesuits at: https://jesuits.org/

Paiva, 2000, p.4 and 5). As Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida explains, for the Jesuits "gathering indigenous people in villages to catechize them and root out their vices and practices considered diabolical meant fulfilling the missionary ideals to which they dedicated themselves" (Almeida, 2010, p. 994). In order to save indigenous peoples' souls, the Jesuits subjected them "to discipline, obedience and compulsory labor, and agreed with the violence of wars and enslavements against those who refused to collaborate" (ibid, p. 1007), normalizing cultural and other types of violence that characterized the catechization process (de Paiva, 2000, p.5) and all further interactions between European colonizers and indigenous peoples.

From the 19th century, the discussion around indigenous peoples in Brazil changed from a matter of labor force to a matter of land (Cunha, 2013, p. 817), which provoked a new debate about whether rebellious indigenous peoples should be exterminated or whether they should be subjected to a process of civilization and integration to become part of the dominant political society. The 19th century also marked the emergence of the discussion about whether indigenous peoples were humans or not (Cunha, 2013, p.837). The dispute for lands between indigenous peoples and European immigrants and non-indigenous Brazilians generated a new and stronger wave of violence and put indigenous peoples as obstacles for the country's development – position that has been openly and strongly resumed by the current Brazil's president Jair Bolsonaro since the beginning of 2019 and set the context that motivated this research project.

The extermination of indigenous peoples, seen by the Brazilian authorities as the solution for the land conflicts that emerged during the 19th century, brought the indigenous issue to the attention of Brazilian media and society (Ribeiro, 2017). However, the government's attitude towards its indigenous peoples only began to slightly change with the creation of the Service for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples (SPI), in 1910, by Colonel Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon[8], who believed that indigenous peoples should be protected until they could, by themselves, decide to abandon primitive ways of life and embrace Western civilization (Ramos, 1998, p. 80).

The SPI was responsible for creating the first Brazilian indigenist policy that established, for the first time as a principle of law, respect for indigenous peoples and

8 Colonel Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon was initially responsible for the implementation and inauguration of telegraph lines in remote areas of Brazil, in the beginning of the 20th century. Part indigenous, Rondon "was a deeply religious positivist who believed that all human societies, including the indigenous ones in Brazil, possessed the capacity to climb the ladder of progress and participate in the unfolding of civilization" (Maybury-Lewis 2002: 331).

their traditional ways of life. This indigenist policy encouraged the Brazilian State to increase its knowledge about its indigenous populations and also aimed to protect indigenous peoples and their lands from slaughter and exploitation and to provide them with education that could enable them to eventually integrate into the dominant society (Maybury-Lewis, 2002, p. 331). The first Brazilian indigenist policy served as reference for the creation of the Convention 107 from the International Labor Organization (ILO) which would be the first international document to set the standards for the indigenist policies that would be created by all countries that possessed indigenous populations (Ribeiro, 2017). Thus, by changing the focus from the decimation to the assimilation of the indigenous peoples, the SPI represented an improvement in the relationship between those peoples and the Brazilian State, at least in legal terms (Cunha, 1987; Ramos, 1998).

This improvement, though, did not prevent indigenous peoples from being put under the tutelage of the State by the Civil Code, approved in 1916 (Câmara dos Deputados, 2020). The tutelage regime was initially conceived to be another protection mechanism for indigenous peoples, since they were not familiarized with the particularities of the Brazilian dominant society. However, it was often used as a coercion tool by the State which would favor the ruling classes in most cases of dispute with indigenous peoples (Cunha, 1987, p. 29).

After five decades of scandals, administrative irregularities, corruption and fraud in the management of indigenous natural resources and lands, in 1967 the SPI was replaced by the National Foundation for Indigenous Peoples (FUNAI) which, nevertheless, continued the tutelage regime (Araújo, 2006, p. 31). "In practice, like the SPI, respect for indigenous culture is subordinated to the need for integration and the encouragement of change (acculturation) as a policy prevails" (Oliveira e Freire, 2006, p.131). Additionally, no significant change in the legal status of the indigenous peoples came with the approval of the Indigenous Peoples' Statute, in 1973, since "the statute's objective was to make indigenous people gradually stop being indigenous people. It was, therefore, a law whose addressees were 'subjects in transit', therefore having temporary rights, compatible with their condition", explains Araújo (2006, p.32).

The legal status of Brazilian indigenous peoples would only truly change with the promulgation of the 1988 Federal Constitution which is, today, the base for the legal framework for the protection and promotion of the rights of indigenous peoples in Brazil. The 1988 Constitution declared that these peoples are "[…] distinct peoples subject to special rights" (Azevedo, 2008, p. 19), recognized their distinct social, economic and

political organizations and also determined that the State should respect them in their difference (ibid). It also recognized the indigenous peoples' rights over the lands they occupied prior to the European colonization (Araújo, 2006, p.87).

James Anaya, former UN special rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people (May 2008 to May 2014) considers the Brazilian Constitution as one of the most progressive when it comes to indigenous peoples' rights since it "recognizes the cultural diversity of the country and [it] was one of the first in the world to secure indigenous people's rights within the framework of contemporary thinking on indigenous-State relations" (Anaya, 2009, p.6). The insertion of an indigenous peoples' chapter in the 1988 Constitution was, nevertheless, the result of intense mobilization of these peoples during the Constituent process (Araújo, 2006, p.38).

This brief historical overview of the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Brazil aims to set the stage for a better understanding of the real impact of the creation of specific minority group rights for these peoples and how this international development has influenced their mobilization. This discussion will continue in the following pages.

2.2 The protection of ethnocultural minorities as a transnational issue: global and regional responses and developments in indigenous rights and its relations to indigenous social movements

As was the case in Brazil, the international community was also unconcerned with indigenous peoples' rights until the 20th century and it was only from the 1980s and 1990s that indigenous peoples' issues became a concern for Western democracies, which began to adopt "an accommodation approach to diversity" (Kymlicka and Banting, 2006, p.1) as a result of the mobilization of disadvantaged ethnocultural groups who, inspired by human rights ideals, "started to question the lingering manifestations of ethnic and racial hierarchy" (ibid, p. 9). The shift from an assimilationist to an accommodationist approach to diversity opened space for the creation of multiculturalism policies for minority groups

that would assure them public recognition and support for the maintenance and expression of their differentiated cultures and ways of life (ibid, p.1).

The creation of the UN and the international human rights system after the end of the World War Two partly explains why group rights were ignored for a long time by Western liberal democracies: they assumed that "where these individual rights [human rights] are firmly protected, no further rights needed to be attributed to the members of specific ethnic or national minorities" (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 3). That does not mean that liberal democracies were not aware of the ethnic diversity and cultural plurality that characterize contemporary societies. It means that they decided to ignore this diversity, working instead for the marginalization and / or assimilation of minority groups and divergent citizens (Kymlicka, 2002, p. 327), which illustrates the situation of indigenous peoples in most Western countries, including in Brazil (May, 2012, p. 287/288).

Previous to the UN mobilization around indigenous peoples' issues, the first international document to guarantee specific rights to these peoples was the Convention Concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries No. 107 from the ILO, adopted in 1957. The binding nature of this document was its most relevant aspect (Xanthaki, 2007, p. 50) and represented "[…] a significant step forward in projecting the views and aspirations of the indigenous peoples" (Rehman, 2010, p.484). The fact that the Convention 107 failed to include indigenous populations in the decision-making process concerning their future and its paternalistic approach motivated its revision and the adoption of the Convention 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, in 1989. As put by Swepston, "whereas the earlier Convention presumed the eventual disappearance of indigenous and tribal populations as they were gradually integrated into the countries in which they live, the 1989 instrument adopted an attitude of respect for the cultures and ways of life of these people" (1998, p. 23).

The creation of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, in 1982, marked the first time the UN officially recognized the necessity of addressing indigenous peoples' issues. "Unlike other United Nations bodies, where participation is restricted to non-governmental organizations holding consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, the Working Group decided to allow all indigenous representatives the possibility of addressing the meeting" (Burger, 1998, p.4), which broadened and strengthened the discussion about indigenous peoples' struggles worldwide. In 1993 the Group finished the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and a new

working group was created to further discuss the draft Declaration since “there were signs of profound disagreement about the text between indigenous peoples and governments, as well as among the governments themselves” (Burger, 1998, p.10).

In 2000, the UN established the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) which, specifically “provides expert advice and recommendations on indigenous issues to the Council, as well as to programs, funds and agencies of the United Nations […] and raises awareness and promotes the integration and coordination of activities related to indigenous issues within the UN system” (UN, 2019b). It is also the responsibility of the Permanent Forum to take care of information about indigenous issues and to promote respect and full application of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Only in 2007, after more than 25 years of discussion, did the UN General Assembly adopt the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which is considered by the UN to be “the most comprehensive international instrument on the rights of indigenous peoples. It establishes a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world […]” (UN, 2019a). According to Stavenhagen (2011, p.161), the Declaration represents a substantial shift in understanding and applying human rights law since it is the first human rights instrument that recognizes groups, instead of individuals, as rights holders.

> Notably, and in distinct contrast to the Declaration on Minorities, the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples emphasizes collective interests in its own very name. […] The UN Declaration clearly establishes its scope as that of indigenous rights as individual, group or collective rights. […] Although the UN Declaration is not legally binding, its adoption by the General Assembly is nevertheless a significant influence in international standard-setting with respect to indigenous rights. (Gibson, 2011, p.440)

Brazil has national policies following all the international Conventions and Declarations it has ratified over the years, which should ensure indigenous peoples’ rights. However, even when nation-states have national policies to secure minority groups’ rights, the situation can change at any moment, as is currently happening in Brazil, depending on who the head of the federal government is and what their political and macroeconomic interests are. Brazilian indigenous peoples’ lack of institutionalized political representation is also relevant to understanding the constant attacks they suffer. As Maria Guadalupe Moog Rodrigues explains, “[…] Brazil's democracy is often

characterized as elite-dominated. As such, it continues to impose enormous constraints on the participation of non-elite groups" (2002, p.489). Currently, there is only one indigenous congresswoman in the Brazilian National Congress. Her name is Joênia Wapichana (elected in 2018) and she is only the second indigenous person to get elected to the National Congress since the democratization process in the 1980s, which shows the difficulties that these peoples face regarding their institutionalized political participation and representation. The lack of knowledge and interest in this topic among Brazilian's ruling society is another aspect that contributes to the uncertainty in the implementation of indigenous peoples' rights in Brazil. "Even though we are the native peoples of the country, the Brazilian society still doesn't know us. We are invisible", states Sônia Guajajara, one of today's most active indigenous leaders (Guajajara, 2019).

While the coloniality of power[9] may be one explanation for the invisibility of indigenous peoples denounced by Guajajara, Bruce Granville Miller (2003) argues that politics of nonrecognition are being employed by nation-states around the world as a strategy to "reduce the number of indigenes" (2003, p. 45), to deny the existence of indigenous peoples and, therefore, to deny them their ethnic identity and, thus, their specific rights. According to Cristhian Teófilo Silva (2010), Miller's work identifies two types of nation-states' nonrecognition politics: "the 'nonrecognition' of indigenous peoples' existing collective rights — what we can define as legal invisibility and the 'nonrecognition' of indigenous peoples' non-existent rights to be collective — what can be defined as ethnic invisibility" (2007, p. 105). To Silva, the strongest contribution of Miller's argument is "the impact of nonrecognition on specific indigenous identities, particularly those of Indians who refuse to be assimilated while living as part of the nation" (2007, p.106). As Silva explains,

> in the Brazilian context, "indigenous peoples" are often imagined as Amazonian nomadic groups spread across wide spaces and receiving plenty of government and nongovernmental protection and attention. Indigenous peoples who fit such conceptions are labeled either "isolated" or "on their way to integration" by Brazilian law (Estatuto do Índio, 6.001/73). This image of what Ramos has called the "hyper-real Indian" (Ramos 1998) is a powerful representation of what is federally acknowledged as the "real subject" of public policies

9 See Section 3.1 – Coloniality of power, coloniality of gender and decoloniality.

> designed for indigenous peoples in Brazil. (Silva, 2010, p.183-184)

Thus, the lack of public policies for indigenous people living in urban centers (Guirau and Silva, 2013; Nascimento and Vieira, 2015) exemplifies the Brazilian state's nonrecognition politics towards its native peoples. Even though 36.2% of those who self-declared indigenous in the last Census (IBGE, 2012) live in urban centers, "little is said about the indigenous theme in the urban context, part of that little is concerned with the denial of the ethnicity of groups and, consequently, with the denial of the forms of organization of indigenous peoples and their citizenship" (Guirau and Silva, 2013). In the words of Nascimento and Vieira, "[…] the fact that the federal government does not draft laws that support indigenous populations in an urban context can be understood as a strategy to keep these peoples invisible and, in some way, silenced" (2015, p. 121). As Nascimento and Vieira explain,

> with this practice of control, the government seeks to maintain good citizens in cities, that is, "homogeneous identities that make the modern project of governance possible". Still, it contributes to the coloniality of silencing the "other", which reinforces modern thinking, which legitimizes only one type of knowledge, listens to only one side and reinforces the imaginary that indigenous peoples are a forest-dwelling population, lazy and unable to live in the cities. (Nascimento and Vieira, 2015, p.121)

In cases like the Brazilian one, social mobilization and collective action are indispensable to retain rights previously won by minority groups, in this particular case indigenous peoples, and also to achieve social justice, here understood according to Nancy Fraser's multivalent model based on the participatory parity concept[10]. As Warren and Jackson highlight, "ever since the conquest, indigenous communities in Latin America have been contesting the dominant ideology of the sixteenth-century European colonizers and the institutionalized exploitation and oppression it legitimized" (2003,

10 See section 3.2 – Social Justice and Recognition.

p.13), which means that indigenous peoples of *Latin America*[11] have been resisting European domination since the beginning of the colonization process in the 16th century. Nevertheless, they only began to organize in groups, or social movements, from the 1960s and 1970s by using "international forums, human rights law, and international conventions to press for their goals" (Warren and Jackson, 2003, p.1).

In that sense, the support of the Missionary Council for Indigenous Peoples (CIMI), created in 1972 as a branch of the National Conference of Brazil's Bishops (CNBB), was indispensable for the emergence of the organized indigenous movement in Brazil during the 1970s (Ramos 1997, 2003; Juliano, 2006; Oliveira and Freire, 2006). As explained by Ramos (1997), "by providing, or substantially covering transportation, food, and lodging expenses, the missionaries brought together representatives of several indigenous groups to participate in informal gatherings" which would later be called indigenous assemblies. In an attempt to complete the assimilation of indigenous peoples by the Brazilian dominant society, Ernesto Geisel's government drafted, in 1978, the emancipation decree which would "release indigenous lands from the exclusive usufruct rights held by the indigenous peoples and open them for development" (Ramos, 2003, p.266). The government's intent was to convince the Brazilian people that the emancipation of the indigenous peoples would mean their autonomy. As Luciano (2006) explains,

> at the same time as the State reaffirmed the "relative indigenous disability", attempts were made to emancipate the Indians as a final strategy for the appropriation of indigenous lands and the definitive extinction of their peoples as differentiated ethnic groups, aiming to make them ordinary citizens, accommodated in the poorest and most excluded sections of the Brazilian society. (Luciano, 2006, p.71)

The only achievement of Geisel's attempt to pass the decree, which was shelved in the end, was awakening and strengthening the indigenous movements and to put the

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11 "The concept of Latin America today corresponds to a region that encompasses more than 700 million inhabitants and involves a total of 12 countries in South America, 07 Central America and 14 in the Caribbean, that is, the countries that are below the Rio Grande - river that separates Mexico from the USA" (Araújo 2006 apud Souza, 2011, p.30). The aim here is not to discuss the origins and debates around the concept of Latin America – which are numerous – but to mention the region that was largely colonized by Spain, Portugal, and France from the 16th century onwards.

indigenous cause in the national debate's core. "While state and private repression soared, the growing strength of the indigenous and indigenist movements began to make itself visible in the press, among lawyers, and in the National Congress" (Ramos, 2003, p. 267). The organized mobilization of indigenous peoples was crucial for the insertion of an indigenous chapter in the 1988 Federal Constitution which, according to Ramos (2003), represented a big achievement for the rights of indigenous peoples since it eliminated "the assimilationist clauses that were written in previous constitutions" (ibid, p.268).

During the 1990s there was a proliferation of legalized and institutionalized indigenous and indigenist non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Brazil which assumed the government's place in providing healthcare, education and self-support services for the indigenous populations (Luciano, 2006, p. 78). This proliferation caused a political weakening of the indigenous movements since each organization had its own interests and agenda causing, therefore, the privatization of the indigenous issues (Ramos, 2003, p. 269). In this context, to "maintain and guarantee the rights already acquired, and fight for other rights that still have to be won to consolidate the ethnic perspective of the future, burying the threat of extinction of these peoples" (Luciano, 2006, p.84) is the main challenge of indigenous movements in Brazil. For Luciano (2006), Brazilian society must stop considering indigenous peoples as transitory peoples who will cease to exist one day and, therefore, it is necessary to "ensure the empowerment of members of the indigenous movement, organizations and communities to overcome technical and political shortcomings in defense of indigenous rights in the face of an increasingly complex, technocratic and scientific society" (ibid, p.84).

2.3 Current challenges for the human rights of Indigenous Peoples in Brazil

According to Smith (2010), "phrases such as 'as far as possible', 'in accordance with national law', and 'as necessary' indicate a degree of flexibility" of international human rights instruments, which means that these instruments can be limited by each country's national legal system. Consequently, having indigenous peoples' rights recognized by the national legal system would be one way to overcome this limitation, at least in theory. As put by Smith, "the heart of the matter lies with domestic implementation. If an instrument is incorporated into national law, then it stands a much

greater chance of being enforced in that State, as the State will explicitly have endorsed its content" (2010, p.172). Considering that Brazil ratified and approved the main international instruments on indigenous peoples' rights and incorporated their rights in the Federal Constitution of 1988, Brazil's indigenous peoples' situation should be close to ideal, but this is far from their reality.

As put by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, the current UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in a report from 2016:

> Brazil has a number of exemplary constitutional provisions pertaining to the rights of indigenous peoples and was, in the past, a leader in the area of demarcation of indigenous peoples' territories. However, in the eight years since the visit of the previous mandate holder, there has been a disturbing absence of progress in the implementation of his recommendations and the resolution of long-standing issues of key concern to indigenous peoples. […] In the current political context, the threats facing indigenous peoples may be exacerbated and the long-standing protections of their human rights may be at risk (Tauli-Corpuz, 2016, p.1).

Within this context, poverty is still a big obstacle for indigenous peoples. According to the World Bank, "there are approximately 476 million Indigenous Peoples worldwide, in over 90 countries. Although they make up over 6 percent of the global population, they account for about 15 percent of the extreme poor" (World Bank, 2021). In Brazil, the situation is not different. The last demographic Census conducted by the IBGE in 2010 showed that "[…] 83% of the indigenous peoples who are 10 years old or older have a monthly income of minimum wage [around 100 US dollars at the time] or do not have any income at all" (IBGE, 2012). The poverty rate among Brazil's indigenous population is 35% while the extreme poor represent 18% of the indigenous population (ECLAC, 2016, p.28).

Additionally, the dismantling of indigenist policies promoted by Brazil's president Jair Bolsonaro's government, since 2019, has been causing immeasurable destruction. Bolsonaro's government "has been responsible for one of the most significant setbacks in the demarcation of Indigenous Lands, promoting an integrationist vision that focus on 'civilizing' the Indigenous Peoples" (IWGIA, 2020, p. 306/361). Data from the Missionary Council for Indigenous Peoples (CIMI) shows that in "2019, 256 cases of possessory invasions, illegal exploitation of resources, and damage to property were recorded in at least 151 indigenous lands, of 143 indigenous peoples, in 23 states" (CIMI,

2020). To Roberto Liebgott, "the recent dismantling of environmental defense bodies and indigenous rights and the explicit intention to open these [indigenous] territories for the exploitation of all their natural resources gives a green signal for invaders to intensify these criminal practices" (CIMI, 2019), which is also fomenting the violence against indigenous peoples. Among the consequences of the dismantling of indigenist policies are the record raise in the deforestation levels and criminal fires inside protected lands.

Currently, the COVID-19 pandemic is the biggest threat faced by Brazilian indigenous peoples. With the spread of the disease into indigenous communities, caused by the invasion of indigenous territories and illegal mining, the risk of ethnocide is real, making the Brazilian state's neglect of its native peoples clear[12].

2.4 Brazil's Indigenous Women's context, struggles and political participation

2.4.1 Indigenous women: the minority within the minority

As mentioned above, indigenous peoples in Brazil are currently facing unsafe and difficult times. Nonetheless, indigenous women have even more challenges to overcome, since they are simultaneously members of two minority (or subaltern) groups, which means they face discrimination and other obstacles both for being indigenous and for being women, positions "which are also both strongly associated with class" (Rousseau and Hudon, 2016, p.40). It is appropriate to adopt an intersectional approach to analyze the indigenous women's context because "people's lives and identities are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways" (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016, p. 26-27). According to Nira Yuval-Davis, an intersectional approach "addresses the manner in which racism, patriarchy, class oppression, and other discriminatory systems create inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, races, ethnicities, classes, and the like" (Yuval-Davis, 2009).

Indigenous women "have joined their voices with those of the national indigenous movements to denounce the economic and racial oppression that characterizes the

12 For the latest data about indigenous peoples and COVID-19 in Brazil access: https://emergenciaindigena.apiboficial.org/en/.

insertion of indigenous communities into the national project" (Hernández Castillo 2010, p.540), yet "these women are struggling within their organizations and communities to change those traditional elements that exclude and oppress them" (ibid, p.541). This struggle is naturally also very tangible for Brazilian indigenous women (Sacchi, 2003).

For Begoña Dorronsoro, the exclusionary and oppressive traditional elements that are present inside indigenous communities are, above all, the results of the colonial process and "in this sense, the gender condition of men and women of the different indigenous peoples is a historical creation resulting from the specific internal relations of each people and their link to the societies of the nation-states where they are integrated" (Dorronsoro, 2019, p. 414). According to Dorronsoro, by constructing a Eurocentric and ethnocentric patriarchal system among indigenous peoples, the colonizers stripped indigenous women of their social status and position as the balance keepers of their communities, making them invisible as social actresses (ibid, p. 418). As Dorronsoro explains, the result of this process is that in addition to overcoming the obstacles posed by the dominant society, indigenous women also need to deal with antagonism from their male (and sometimes female) peers, who "believe that questioning power and culture as something static and immobile is to go against the traditions and the collective sense of existence and struggle of indigenous peoples" (2019, p. 415). Thus, indigenous women and indigenous peoples must keep in mind that "both culture and identity are elements that transmute. In their identity process, all communities end up being imagined (Anderson, 1991: 7) or imaginary (Stavenhagen, 2010: 46)" (ibid, p. 415).

Even though "indigenous women worldwide have been organizing, demanding space for gender-based discussions, and increasing their political influence not only within their communities but also at a national level" (Vinding, 1998, p. 11), they still face many challenges in their daily lives. This happens because even when they occupy prominent roles, such as workers and activists, "they are marginalized, often subjected to all forms of discrimination and oppression, have no access to information and get little training and education, and do not participate in decision-making" (Vinding, 1998, p. 12). As explained by Stéphanie Rousseau and Anahi Morales Hudon, even though "indigenous women have been active participants in indigenous movements from their beginnings" (2016, p.34), it is still difficult for them to be recognized "as legitimate political actors in the eyes of the state, civil society in general, women's movements, and in some cases, even within indigenous organizations" (ibid, p. 34). As they initially mobilized "within indigenous movements traditionally dominated by male leaders and

where no critical attention was given to gender relations" (ibid, p.34-35), indigenous women had to build their own spaces which should "both maintain their affiliation with indigenous organizations while gaining the right to speak as political subjects" (ibid, p.35). In that sense, from the 1990s "we have seen the emergence of indigenous women's movements in different Latin American countries, movements that are struggling on different fronts" (Hernández Castillo, 2010, p. 540). It was no different in Brazil.

For Radhika Coomaraswamy, the situation of women who belong to minority groups, including the women who belong to Brazilian indigenous groups, is highly complex and, therefore, "one must read the provisions on group rights together with the existing body of international law that guarantees the human rights of women" (Coomaraswamy, 2002, p. 489), therefore considering their intersectional position. In that sense, it is relevant to mention the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979, which has "equality as a guiding principle" (Coomaraswamy, 2002, p. 489). Ratified by the Brazilian state in 1984, the Convention requires from the States parties to take "all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men" (UN, 1979, article 3). Brazil also ratified the 1994 Interamerican Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Belém do Pará Convention) of the OAS, which "defines violence against women, establishes that women have the right to live a life free of violence and that violence against women constitutes a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms" (OAS, 2020). Brazilian governmental measures regarding the implementation of both Conventions, however, are still far from adequate (Teles, 2006), stressing the State's indifference towards minorities rights, already disclosed in its approach to the Convention 169 of the ILO and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[13].

2.4.2 Indigenous women political participation

According to Julio Cezar Melatti, "in general, in indigenous societies, only men participate politically in its fullness. The women are in the background" (Mellati, 2014,

13 See section 2.2 - The protection of ethno-cultural minorities as a transnational issue.

p.163). However, this does not mean that indigenous women have no power. “What seems to happen in indigenous communities is that their [indigenous women] power does not boast through political institutions” (ibid, p. 164). Therefore, “it is essential to understand that, in indigenous societies, political issues and decisions that affect the broader community are also dealt with in the domestic space and not reserved only for the public space” (Matos, 2012, p. 147). Thus, “the fact that indigenous women do not attend public places or even are limited when they do participate does not mean that they are being kept alienated from collective decision-making about the fate of their people” (ibid, p. 146). In Ângela Sacchi’s words,

> […] it is not correct to say that women are universally excluded from socio-political spheres. In emphasizing that men are the main holders of rites and political activities in different peoples, the fact that women are often present in one way or another at these times has often been omitted. Indigenous leaders do not dominate members of their communities, as the decisions made by them and the election to occupy community positions are the result of the approval of all members. The opinions of women, in this sense, are also taken into account. (Sacchi, 2006, p. 34-35)

Nevertheless, according to Matos (2012), through the creation of several indigenous women’s organizations and of women’s departments inside indigenous organizations from the 1980s onwards, Brazil’s indigenous women “have expanded their political participation in the public sphere and organized themselves around gender-specific claims” (Matos, 2012, p.149). A combination of interconnected factors[14] enabled the emergence of indigenous women’s organizations, opened new spaces not only for indigenous women to participate in the public scene but also for female leadership. “The greater political participation of indigenous women in the different spheres and actions directed to their peoples provokes the discussion about their (re) positioning and the conceptions of gender in their communities”, highlights Sacchi (2006, p. 142). “By becoming actresses in the field of politics and negotiations with non-indigenous society,

14 The emergence of an organized indigenous movement in the 1970s, the recognition by the Brazilian state of the rights of indigenous peoples through the 1988 Federal Constitution, the creation of numerous non-governmental organizations acting to benefit indigenous peoples, and the increase of migration of indigenous peoples to urban centers (looking for new sources of income and better opportunities) are among these factors (Sacchi, 2006; Matos 2012).

they come to represent not only their interests, but mainly that of their peoples, as they prefer to suggest on many occasions" (ibid). In this manner, it is important to stress that indigenous women's political participation "has been defined by themselves as complementary to male participation and not as a strategy to take men's place, a motivation that differentiates their mobilizations from non-indigenous feminist mobilizations with a more separatist content", explains Matos (2012, p. 148).

If, at first, Brazilian indigenous women created their own organizations to support indigenous men's and indigenous peoples' universal struggles, over time, they started to organize around gender-specific claims, increasing their political participation in the relationship with non-indigenous society, assuming a prominent role in the Brazilian indigenous movement (Matos, 2012), which ensured an increase in the discussions among indigenous women, but "[…] more expectations were created than indigenous policies could actually meet in their current context, regarding the insertion of the gender issue in the indigenous movement" (Matos, 2012, p. 155). According to Lima, "this means that indigenous women still have a long way to go when it comes to having their gender-based rights acknowledged and respected" (Lima, 2020, p.121).

As discussed by Sacchi (2006, p. 109), some of the obstacles to inserting gender-based claims into broader indigenous movement's agendas and women's participation in associated activities, are indigenous women's (especially those living within traditional communities) unawareness of women's specific rights and the lack of support, in general, from indigenous men and indigenous society and their organizations (ibid, p. 125), which only reinforces the necessity of considering their intersectional position. As Ricardo Verdum argues, although "significant advances have already been made in the field of preventing and tackling situations of discrimination and violence against indigenous women in an interethnic context (between "whites" and "indigenous")" (2008, p. 12), the same cannot be said "regarding discrimination and violence against these women in conjugal, family and intra-ethnic relations" (Stavenhagen, 2007 *apud* Verdum, 2008, p.12). Another obstacle for indigenous women is that they "are still almost 'invisible' to Brazilian indigenist policy, despite the advances made in recent years regarding social policies" (Verdum, 2008, p.15).

In this context, Alejandra Aguilar Pinto highlights that mainstream "feminist and gender thinking, as an external ideology, […] in general had a positive influence by altering the traditional structures of these [indigenous] peoples, and therefore leading indigenous women to questioning their position in their family and community" (Pinto,

2010, p.9). It is important to keep in mind, though, that Western feminist discourse exercises its power over colonized women by putting them in a homogeneous category of "'powerless groups often located as implicit victims of particular socio-economic systems" (Mohanty, 1984, p. 338). Mohanty argues that feminist analyses need to consider the different contexts into which women are inserted. "It is on the basis of such analyses that effective political strategies can be generated" (ibid, p.347). Considering the context of Brazilian indigenous women, alternative and more suitable forms of feminism – such as decolonial feminisms - will be addressed in the theoretical framework[15], which contributed to this literature review in analyzing the data collected for this research project.

2.4.3 Identity dilemmas and obstacles for equality

In Brazil, as was the case in the rest of Latin America, "the indigenous movements initially aggregated indigenous men and women around collective claims, agendas through which ethnic groups demanded from the Brazilian state their right to be differentiated citizens" (Matos, 2012, p. 148). In this sense, it is possible to affirm that these movements activated, at first, what was controversially defined by Gayatri Spivak (1996) as strategic essentialism, which is a political strategy adopted by minority/subaltern groups in which they temporarily and occasionally overlook internal differences, such as gender, in order to achieve higher goals (Lima, 2020, p. 121). In Eide's words,

> [...] strategic essentialism in this sense entails that members of groups, while being highly differentiated internally, may engage in an essentializing and to some extent a standardizing of their public image, thus advancing their group identity in a simplified, collectivized way to achieve certain objectives. (Eide, 2010, p. 76)

The risk of adopting such a strategy is that this essentialization often becomes permanent. As Coomaraswamy explains, "in all societies [...], people are categorized and identified by a social identity, especially as it is expressed in religious, ethnic, or tribal

15 See section 3 – Theoretical Framework

terms" (2002, p. 483). These social identities "often help determine our position in the social and political hierarchy of a society and also condition people's attitudes and perceptions towards us as we go about our daily business" (ibid, p.483). Nevertheless, "these stereotypes and homogenous characterizations create obstacles for the realization of equality. They are also the substance of discrimination and often the basis for power and privilege" (ibid, p. 483). In other words, on the one hand, some degree of essentialization may be useful for minority groups in getting states' recognition and, therefore, public policies to assure their rights. On the other hand, when states recognize "the collective dimensions of cultural and religious practices, they risk essentializing groups in ways that can entrench hierarchies within the group or bind members to static conceptions of their community's identity" (Eisenberg, 2013, p.2). Rita Segato provides a good summary of the Brazilian indigenous women's situation with regards to their intersectional position and their struggle for their rights as women:

> the indigenous woman suffers all the problems and disadvantages of the Brazilian woman, plus one more: the non-negotiable mandate of loyalty to the people to which she belongs, due to the vulnerable character of such people. If they [indigenous women] claim their rights based on the individualist order, they seem to threaten the permanence of the collective rights on which the community's right to land is based and the division of traditional labor in domestic unity as the basis for survival. This weakens their will and legitimacy in claiming individual rights, which are, by definition and nature, "universal", and whose claims are directed to the forums of state and international law, going beyond the traditional jurisprudence of the ethnic group. (Segato, 2003, p. 31)

A statistical basis for considering indigenous women's mobilization in Brazil was provided by the Brazilian anthropologist Luís Roberto de Paula in his study "The institutional organization of the indigenous women's movement in Brazil: notes to start thinking", from 2008. At the time of the study, Brazil had more than 315 national indigenous organizations. Among them, only 34 were identified as indigenous women's organizations, which represents around 10% of the total. This, according to Sacchi (2003), means that the space to discuss gender-related matters among indigenous peoples in Brazil is being constructed, but in a very slow pace, which can be explained by the fact

that "indigenous women have the difficult task of reconciling the fight against discrimination and racism that they and their peers experience and the opposition of their peers due to the 'traditional' attitudes that may clash with their yearnings as women" (Sacchi and Gramkow, 2012, p. 20).

Thus, Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1991) analysis of the effects of the adoption of identity politics[16] without considering the intersectional interaction between gender and race on violence against women of color can easily fit into the Brazilian indigenous women's context. According to Crenshaw, "the problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference, as some critics charge, but rather the opposite — that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences" (1991, p. 1242). The problem of the indigenous women's situation rests in the lack of articulation between anti-racist and feminist strategies (ibid, p. 1252) since "gender identities have been obscured in antiracist discourses, just as race identities have been obscured in feminist discourses" (ibid, p. 1299). This characterizes the struggle between the "feminist ethnocentrism" and the "ethnic essentialism" (Hernández Castillo, 2001) faced by indigenous women's movements. The solution is, thus, to understand that "identities are constructed through the intersection of multiple dimensions" (Crenshaw, 1991, p.1299) and, therefore, to "understand the need for and to summon the courage to challenge groups that are after all, in one sense, 'home' to us, in the name of the parts of us that are not made at home" (ibid, p. 1299).

Traditional gender relations are present in indigenous societies, but the contact with non-indigenous societies are constantly modifying these patterns (Sacchi and Gramkow, 2012, p. 17). The challenge is, thus, "to address the point of view of indigenous women when they assume new representations of the multiple relations that its peoples establish with diverse State and social actors" (ibid). The data collection interviews for this research project were conducted with that challenge in mind.

16 "The laden phrase 'identity politics' has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups. Rather than organizing solely around belief systems, programmatic manifestos, or party affiliation, identity political formations typically aim to secure the political freedom of a specific constituency marginalized within its larger context. Members of that constituency assert or reclaim ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant characterizations, with the goal of greater self-determination" Heyes, C. (2020).

2.5 Summary

Since the beginning of the colonial process initiated by the Portuguese in the 16th century, Brazilian indigenous peoples were subjected to violence and destruction. Initially considered as a free labor force by the colonizers and later categorized as obstacles to the development of the Brazilian nation-state, indigenous peoples only witnessed some improvement to their social and legal status in the final decades of the 20th century, when the international community recognized them as minority groups entitled to specific group rights. The development of an international legal apparatus for the protection of indigenous peoples' rights is closely related to the emergence of indigenous social movements in Brazil. Both facts positively impacted the Brazilian state's approach to indigenous people, shifting the strategy from assimilation to accommodation. The 2018 election of Jair Bolsonaro as president of Brazil, however, has caused a serious setback for indigenous peoples who, now more than ever, are mobilizing to keep the rights they have achieved over the years. While the situation of Brazilian indigenous peoples is difficult, it is even harder for indigenous women since they are members of two minority groups at the same time and, therefore, face racism and sexism from both indigenous and non-indigenous society, which can pose challenges for their participation in indigenous social movements. Keeping in mind the struggles indigenous women face because of their intersectional position, the next chapter will present theories on the coloniality of power, the coloniality of gender, decoloniality, social justice, and recognition, which will be used to build the theoretical framework that will guide the analysis of the data collected for this research project.

3 Theoretical Framework

The coloniality of power, the coloniality of gender, decoloniality, social justice, and recognition provide additional insights around the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil. While the concepts of coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000) and coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2010) offer non-western, non-dominant understandings of the process of racialized domination and exploitation to which the indigenous peoples of Brazil have been subjected from the beginning of the colonial process in the 16th century and continuing to this day, decoloniality (Quijano 2000, 2007; Mignolo, 2011) provides alternatives to end this pattern of oppression. In this sense, Fraser's conception of social justice, based on the concept of participatory parity, is useful for analyzing the socially, politically, and economically subordinate status indigenous peoples hold relative to the non-indigenous dominant society and that of indigenous women in relation to their indigenous societies. Understanding the subordinate status of indigenous women is fundamental to analyzing their role in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements.

3.1 Coloniality of power, coloniality of gender, and decoloniality

As seen in the previous chapter, the indigenous peoples of Brazil have been facing systematic oppression, lacking the rights and public policies to address their specific matters since Portuguese Europeans initiated the colonial process in the 16th century. Their situation only started to improve after the promulgation of the 1988 Federal Constitution, following rising international concern for developing a specific legal apparatus to assure human rights for ethnically differentiated groups. The nature of human rights itself can partly explain why indigenous people's human rights only became a concern for the international community during the final decades of the 20th century since these rights were first conceived as the rights of individuals. However, another explanation for why indigenous peoples' rights took so long to be acknowledged by the Western world is the process Aníbal Quijano (2000, 2007) defines as the coloniality of power. Quijano's concept of the coloniality of power was used as the core concept of this theoretical framework because an understanding of the position indigenous peoples

occupy in Brazilian society is fundamental for answering the research question this project proposes. In Quijanos's words,

> coloniality is one of the constitutive and specific elements of the world pattern of capitalist power. It is founded on the imposition of a racial / ethnic classification of the population of the world as the cornerstone of this pattern of power, and operates in each of the planes, areas and dimensions, material and subjective, of daily existence and on a social scale." (Quijano, 2007a, p.93)

The arrival of the first Europeans in 1492 to the area now known as Latin America initiated a process of colonialism, meaning "the conquest and control of other people's land and goods" (Loomba, 2005, p.8). The process of a "forcible takeover of land and economy" (ibid, p.23) was not an invention of the 16th century as "it has been a recurrent and widespread feature of human history" (ibid, p.8). However, the "discovery" of America and the colonization of the new land by the Europeans were based, for the first time, on the new concept of race, which was a "new mental category to codify the relations between conquering and conquered populations: the idea of race, as biologically structural and hierarchical differences between the dominant and dominated" (Quijano, 2000, p.216). The process of domination and colonization of the "new peoples" would be, therefore, justified by the idea of a superior and more advanced European race (Quijano, 2000).

> So race (biology and culture or, in our present terms, race and ethnicity) was placed as one of the basic criteria to classify the population in the power structure of the new society, associated with the nature of roles and places in the division of labor and in the control of resources of production" (Quijano, 2000, p.216).

As Walter Mignolo and Kate Walsh explain, the coloniality of power "developed around two central axes or patterns of power that came to be foundational to modernity and global capitalism" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.23). While the first pattern used the new concept of race to divide the conquered from the conquerors in a relationship of domination, the second pattern established "a new structure of control of labor and its

resources and products that articulated slavery, serfdom, small independent commodity production and reciprocity, together around and upon the basis of capital and the world market" (ibid, p.23). As put by Ramón Grossfoguel, "for Quijano, racism is constitutive and entangled with the international division of labor and capitalist accumulation on a world scale" (2002, p.220).

According to Grossfoguel, the coloniality of power is related to the "continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations" (Grossfoguel, 2002, p.205). As he explains, "although colonial administrations have been almost entirely eradicated and the majority of the periphery is politically organized into nation-states, non-European people are still living under crude European-Euro-American exploitation and domination" (ibid). For Quijano, this continuity results from constructing a "European paradigm of rational knowledge" (Quijano, 2007b, p.174), which defined European culture and knowledge as the only valid ones. "The strong belief that their knowledge covered the totality of the known brought about the need to devalue, diminish, and shut off any other totality that might endanger an epistemic totalitarianism in the making" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.195).

According to Mignolo and Walsh (2018, p. 144), knowledge is the most important domain of the coloniality of power because the colonizers used their idea of European epistemological superiority to maintain their control over the colonized. "Modern epistemology produced not only a way of building knowledge, but promoted ways of life, established what is right or wrong, defined forms, contents and value for the daily lives of colonized peoples," explain Almeida and Silva (2015, p.52). Thus, modern Western thinking is defined by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016) as *abyssal thinking,* which

> consists of a system of visible and invisible distinctions, the invisible ones being the foundation of the visible ones. The invisible distinctions are established through radical lines that divide social reality into two realms, the realm of "this side of the line" and the realm of "the other side of the line." The division is such that "the other side of the line" vanishes as reality, becomes nonexistent, and is indeed produced as nonexistent. Nonexistent means not existing in any relevant or comprehensible way of being. Whatever is produced as nonexistent is radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what the accepted conception of inclusion considers to be its other (Santos, 2016, p.118).

Within this approach, the colonized are the ‘other side of the line’, the nonexistent: all the knowledge that they produced (e.g. the indigenous practices and beliefs) is not considered as knowledge since it is not “scientific” (Santos, 2016, p.124). A post abyssal thinking, which “involves a radical break with modern Western ways of thinking and acting” (Santos, 2016, p.134) is, therefore, the solution Santos proposes to end global social injustice which, according to the author, is directly connected to global cognitive injustice. Quijano (2007) and Mignolo (2011) argue for epistemological decolonization and epistemic disobedience to destroy the coloniality of power. Thus, both authors defend the necessity of a decolonial way of thinking or, in other words, decoloniality, to overcome the coloniality of power. In this respect, Santos argues in favor of the ecology of knowledge, which “aims to create a new kind of relation, a pragmatic relation, between scientific knowledge and other kinds of knowledge” (Santos, 2016, p.190). As Santos better explains,

> it consists of granting “equality of opportunity” to the different kinds of knowledge involved in ever broader epistemological arguments with a view to maximizing their respective contributions toward building “another possible world,” that is to say, a more just and democratic society, as well as one more balanced in its relations with nature. (Santos, 2016, p. 190)

In that sense, as previously defined in section 1.3 – Definitions, decoloniality must be understood as

> ways of thinking, knowing, being, and doing that began with, but also precede, the colonial enterprise and invasion. It implies the recognition and undoing of the hierarchical structures of race, gender, heteropatriarchy, and class that continue to control life, knowledge, spirituality, and thought, structures that are clearly intertwined with and constitutive of global capitalism and Western modernity.” (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.17)

Since this research project aims to unveil the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil, it is necessary to include in this section a discussion of the impacts of decolonial theory on feminist debates. As put by the decolonial feminist Julieta Paredes, “feminism is the struggle and the political alternative proposed by any woman anywhere in the world, in any era of

history, who has rebelled against the patriarchal system that oppresses her" (Paredes, 2015, p.28). According to Lima, "at first, this definition seems generic and mainstream, but it is an important construction of Paredes' critique of Western feminism and the impacts that its hegemonic position can have over indigenous and other colonized women" (Lima, 2020, p.121). While acknowledging the important role of Western feminist theories for female emancipation, Paredes also highlights the limitations of these theories since they respond to the needs of white, middle-class women, living in developed countries and, therefore, are not adequate for the reality experienced by poor, working-class indigenous women living in colonized countries (Paredes, 2015). This was a key insight for analyzing the data collected for this research project. In the words of Paredes,

> feminism in the West responds to the needs of women in those societies, who carry out struggles and articulate theoretical constructions in an attempt to explain their situation of subordination. When colonial, imperialist, and transnational relationships were implanted in the world, these theories became hegemonic in the international sphere, making other realities and other contributions invisible. (Paredes, 2015, p.28)

Before Parades, Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa (2005) developed research about the marginalization of mestiza women[17] and also pointed out colonized women's invisibility. In that sense, non-Western, non-mainstream kinds of feminism are necessary in order to create space for colonized women to voice their needs and struggles (Paredes, 2015; Anzaldúa, 2005). In Anzaldúa words, "the answer to the problem between the white race and the colored race, between men and women, lies in the healing of the division that originates in the very foundations of our lives, our culture, our languages, our thoughts" (Alzandúa, 2005, p.707). Thus, alternatives to Western feminist theories emerged and will be addressed in the following pages.

According to Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth (2016), even though some scholars locate the origin of feminism in the ancient world, the most common view is that Western feminism emerged during the democratic revolutions of the 18th century, especially the French Revolution, "in the demand that the natural rights of 'Man' ought

17 A *mestiza* is a woman who is part white (American), part Mexican, and part indigenous.

to liberate women and men alike from traditional forms of dominations and the relations of servitude and deference that they authorized" (Offen, 2000 *apud* Disch & Hawkesworth, 2016, p.1). Institutionalized as theory from the 1970s with the foundation of the first women's studies programs in the United States, feminist theory is generally considered a critical theory in the sense that it highlights the role of popular assumptions about sex, race, sexuality, and gender into the "construction of complex hierarchies of difference" (Disch and Hawkesworth, 2016, p.1-2).

> Feminist theory seeks to denaturalize the production of such social and political hierarchies by illuminating racing-gendering – the political process through which particular identities are sculpted in ways that simultaneously create the dominant and the subordinate and naturalize those social relations of domination. (Disch & Hawkesworth, 2016, p.9)

The feminist field, however, is not free from coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000), as shown by the work of decolonial feminist authors such as Anzaldúa (2005) and Paredes (2015). Gloria Anzaldúa's book Borderlands/ Le Frontera (1987), for instance, is "often identified as a foundational text of feminist decolonial theory," according to Breny Mendoza (2016, p.114). A chapter of this book, her essay "La Conciencia de la Mestiza" (2005), is revolutionary in the sense that she not only points out the marginalized position of the mestiza women but also urges them to adopt "divergent thinking characterized by a movement that moves away from established standards and objectives, towards a broader perspective, which includes rather than excludes" (Anzaldúa, 2005, p.706) as a way to overcome this marginalization.

Maria Lugones is another influential decolonial feminist theorist. According to Mendoza (2016, p.116), the importance of Lugones' work lies in her criticism of Quijano's understanding of the role of gender in the construction of the coloniality of power. "I understand the dichotomous hierarchy between the human and the non-human as the central dichotomy of colonial modernity," states Lugones (2010, p.743). However, the author highlights that gender dichotomy was another important aspect of the constitution of the coloniality of power. "This distinction became a mark of the human and a mark of civilization. Only the civilized [peoples] are men or women. Indigenous peoples of the Americas and enslaved Africans were classified as not human in species - as animals, uncontrollably sexual and wild" (ibid, p.743). In that sense, "the semantic

consequence of the coloniality of gender is that ‘colonized woman’ is an empty category: no women are colonized; no colonized females are women” (ibid, p.745).

Nevertheless, as explained by Mendoza (2016), Lugones argues that gender differentiation was used by colonizers as a “powerful tool to destroy the social relations of the colonized by dividing men and women from each other and creating antagonisms between them” (Mendoza, 2016, p.116). Another central argument of Lugones’ work is that she considers gender to be a colonial creation, which did not exist in the pre-colonized societies. “The suggestion is not to search for a non-colonized construction of gender in indigenous organizations of the social. There is no such thing; ’gender’ does not travel away from colonial modernity” (Lugones, 2010, p.746). Lugones (2010, p.753) advocates for decolonial feminism, which would enable all human beings - colonized and colonizers - to learn about each other as a way to resist the coloniality of gender in the colonial difference.

> That is, the decolonial feminist's task begins by her seeing the colonial difference, emphatically resisting her epistemological habit of erasing it. Seeing it, she sees the world anew, and then she requires herself to drop her enchantment with "woman," the universal, and begins to learn about other resisters at the colonial difference. (Lugones, 2010, p. 753)

Lugones’s argument that there were no gender-based hierarchies in indigenous societies before the colonization process is criticized by decolonial feminist authors such as Rita Laura Segato (2012). Although Segato argues that the gender system is a “central category capable of illuminating all other aspects of the transformation imposed on the lives of communities when they are captured by the new colonial / modern order” (Segato, 2012, p.116), in her research on indigenous peoples she identifies something that she calls “a low-intensity patriarchal system” existing in indigenous societies before the colonization process. In that sense, Segato (2012, p.117) highlights the conflict faced by indigenous women who are usually divided between mobilizing for indigenous demands as a whole or focusing on improving living conditions for women inside indigenous communities. This conflict was denounced in the existing literature on this subject[18].

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18 See Section 2.4 – Brazil’s Indigenous Women’s context, struggles, and political participation.

> Women - both indigenous and African-American - who acted and reflected divided between, on the one hand, loyalty to their communities and peoples on the external front and, on the other hand, their internal struggle against the oppression they suffer within their communities and peoples, often denounce the blackmail of indigenous authorities, who pressure them to postpone their demands as women under the argument that, by failing to do so, they are collaborating to weaken cohesion in their communities, making them more vulnerable in the struggles for resources and rights. (Segato, 2012, p.117)

According to Segato (2012), gender-based relations already existed inside indigenous societies, but differently. The introduction of the modern conception of gender dangerously changed indigenous social relations. "The discourse of colonial/ modernity, although egalitarian, hides within it, as many feminist authors have pointed out, an abyssal hierarchy, due to what we could call here, tentatively, progressive totalization by the public sphere" (Segato, 2012, p.118). This puts men in charge of the activities that concern the public sphere, which becomes the holder of all the political power and decisions. In other words, what happened was "the depoliticization of the domestic space which made it vulnerable and fragile" (ibid, p. 127).

Adding to Segato's work, Julieta Paredes (2015) defends the idea that "historically pre-colonial patriarchy and western patriarchy interlocked" (2015, p. 26). For her, patriarchy and *machismo*[19] are also legacies of indigenous pre-colonial societies that must be considered in their relationship with modern patriarchy and sexism to understand and combat the oppression of colonized women. She defines this process as the decolonization of gender. Paredes criticizes western feminism/feminists for their quest for "gender equity" instead of working for the denunciation of gender (Paredes, 2015, p.24). In her view, "there is never going to be gender equity (understood as equality) because the masculine gender is created at the expense of the feminine. This is why the struggle implies overcoming gender as an unjust historical reality" (ibid, p. 23). In that sense, she argues for decolonizing gender and adopting communitarian feminism to

19 *Machismo* can be defined as "a representation-domination system that uses the sex argument, thus mystifying the relationships between men and women, reducing them to hierarchical sexes, divided into dominant and dominated poles that confirm each other in a situation of objects. [...] Thus, machismo represents-articulates (real and imaginary relationships) this domination of men over women in society" (Drumont, 1980, p.82).

problematize gender inside colonized communities without missing the historicity of patriarchal oppression that existed in these communities before colonization and neoliberalism.

3.2 Social justice and recognition

The existing literature on (social) justice and recognition is vast (see Sabbagh and Schmitt, 2016). Numerous authors, adopting different perspectives, have been discussing these topics since "the idea of justice occupies center stage both in ethics, and in legal and political philosophy" (Miller, 2017). Taking into consideration the intersectional position occupied by indigenous women, the coloniality of power, the coloniality of gender, and how these processes have been influencing indigenous peoples' lives, Nancy Fraser's theory of social justice and her discussion on recognition couple well with the decolonial debate, especially when considering the central role that she gives to the concept of participatory parity. In that sense, the following pages will present Fraser's concepts and how they were used to answer the research question proposed in this project.

Fraser bases her theory of social justice on participatory parity. "According to this norm, justice requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers. For participatory parity to be possible, I claim, it is necessary but not sufficient to establish standard forms of formal legal equality" (Fraser, 1998, p.30). As the author explains, for participatory parity to be achievable, however, two preconditions – one objective and one intersubjective - must be satisfied. The objective condition requires the distribution of material resources in a way that "ensure participants' independence and voice" (ibid, p.31) and prevents "social arrangements that institutionalize deprivation, exploitation, and gross disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time, thereby denying some people the means and opportunities to interact with others as peers" (ibid). The intersubjective condition "requires that institutionalized cultural patterns of interpretation and evaluation express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem" (ibid, p.31). This intersubjective condition "precludes cultural patterns that systematically depreciate some categories of people and the qualities associated with them" (ibid, p.31). This is the starting point of Fraser's theory of social justice, which requires redistribution and recognition simultaneously.

It is important to highlight that, according to Fraser, “whether the issue is distribution or recognition, claimants must show that institutionalized arrangements unjustly prevent them from participating on a par with others in social life” (Fraser, 1998, p.36). Thus, participatory parity is “the general standard for warranting claims” (ibid, p.36). In that sense, the indigenous peoples of Brazil have been suffering both from maldistribution and misrecognition: as discussed in section 2 – Background and Literature Review, since the beginning of the colonial process in the 16th century, indigenous peoples had their participatory parity denied by unjust institutionalized arrangements, explained by Quijano (2000) through the concept of coloniality of power (*cf. supra*). Thus, according to Fraser, the politics of both redistribution and recognition are necessary for achieving social justice for these peoples.

Later, Fraser (2004/2005) added a third dimension to her social justice theory: the political. “Centered on issues of membership and procedure, the political dimension of justice is concerned chiefly with representation” (Fraser, 2004/2005, p. 238). As the author explains, “on one level, which pertains to the boundary-setting aspect of the political, representation is a matter of social belonging; what is at issue here is inclusion in, or exclusion from, the community of those entitled to make justice claims on one another” (ibid, p.238-239). On a second level, “which pertains to the decision-rule aspect, representation concerns the procedures that structure public processes of contestation; what is at issue here are the terms on which those included in the political community air their claims and adjudicate their disputes” (ibid, p.239). In that sense, the political dimension of justice can create a third type of injustice named by Fraser as misrepresentation:

> misrepresentation occurs when political boundaries and/or decision rules function to wrongly deny some people the possibility of participating on a par with others in social interaction – including, but not only, in political arenas. Far from being reducible to maldistribution or misrecognition, misrepresentation can occur even in the absence of the latter injustices, although it is usually intertwined with them. (Fraser, 2004/2005, p.239)

By defending a multivalent theory of social justice, Fraser criticizes what she identifies as substantive dualism, which “is the view that distribution and recognition constitute two different spheres of justice. The former pertains to the economic domain

of society, the relations of production. The latter pertains to the cultural domain, the relations of recognition" (Fraser, 1998, p.40). As Fraser explains,

> some proponents of redistribution reject the politics of recognition outright, casting claims for the recognition of difference as "false consciousness," a hindrance to the pursuit of social justice. Conversely, some proponents of recognition see distributive politics as part and parcel of an outmoded materialism, simultaneously blind to and complicit with many injustices. (Fraser, 1998, p.1)

Fraser sees the dissociation between cultural politics (politics of recognition) and social politics (politics of redistribution) as "false antitheses" (Fraser, 1998, p.1). In that sense, she argues for a perspectival dualism which "must make visible, and criticizable, both the cultural subtexts of apparently economic processes and the economic subtexts of apparently cultural practices" (Fraser, 1998, p. 42). The idea, here, is to understand redistribution and recognition as "two analytical perspectives that can be assumed with respect to any domain" (ibid, p.42). Fraser's proposition came as a response to her growing perception, in the 1990s, that social justice claims were becoming polarized between redistribution and recognition claims, with a predominance of the latter. "The demise of communism, the surge of free-market ideology, the rise of "identity politics" in both its fundamentalist and progressive forms - all these developments have conspired to decenter, if not to extinguish, claims for egalitarian redistribution" (Fraser, 1998, p.4). Fraser understands politics of redistribution and politics of recognition in a broader sense, rejecting the view that "the politics of redistribution is exclusively concerned with injustices of class, whereas the politics of recognition, reductively equated with 'identity politics', is exclusively concerned with injustices of gender, sexuality, and 'race'" (ibid, p.6). In contrast, Fraser's argument defines "redistribution and recognition as dimensions of justice that can cut across all social movements" (ibid, p.6).

In Fraser's conceptualization, "virtually all real-world oppressed collectivities are bivalent. Virtually all suffer both maldistribution and misrecognition in forms where each of those injustices has some independent weight, whatever its ultimate roots" (Fraser, 1998, p.22). This conceptualization applies to indigenous peoples all around the world, not just the ones in Brazil. However, "gender, 'race', sexuality, and class are not neatly cordoned off from one another. Rather, all these axes of injustice intersect one another in ways that affect everyone's interests and identities. No one is a member of only one such

collectivity", explains Fraser (ibid, p. 22-23). This is precisely the situation of indigenous women who find themselves in an intersectional position. Thus, the discussion proposed by Fraser around the concept of recognition was essential for the analysis that took place in section 5 - Data Findings and Analysis - of this project. One aspect that must be emphasized is that Fraser understands recognition as a matter of justice (1998, p.3), unlike other authors who consider recognition to be a matter of self-realization[20]. Thus, misrecognition is wrong because

> it is unjust that some individuals and groups are denied the status of full partners in social interaction simply as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of cultural value in whose construction they have not equally participated and which disparage their distinctive characteristics or the distinctive characteristics assigned to them. (Fraser, 1998, p.3)

Fraser argues, therefore, in favor of a status model politics of recognition instead of the "standard 'identity' model of recognition" (Fraser, 2001, p.23). While in the identity model "what requires recognition is group-specific cultural identity" (ibid, p.24), in the status model of recognition, "what requires recognition is not group-specific identity but rather the status of group members as full partners in social interaction" (ibid, p.24). As the author explains,

> this identity model is deeply problematic. Construing misrecognition as damaged identity, it emphasizes psychic structure over social institutions and social interaction. Thus, it risks substituting intrusive forms of consciousness engineering for social change. The model compounds these risks by positing group identity as the object of recognition. Enjoining the elaboration and display of an authentic, self-affirming and self-generated collective identity, it puts moral pressure on individual members to conform to group culture. The result is often to impose a single, drastically simplified group identity, which denies the complexity of people's lives, the multiplicity of their identifications and the cross-pulls of their various affiliations. In addition, the model reifies culture. […] As a result, it tends to promote separatism and group enclaving in lieu of transgroup interaction. Denying internal heterogeneity, moreover, the identity model obscures the struggles within social groups for the authority, and indeed for the power, to represent them. Consequently, it masks the power of dominant

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20 See Taylor, C. (1994) and Honneth, A. (1996).

> fractions and reinforces intragroup domination. In general, then, the identity model lends itself all too easily to repressive forms of communitarianism. (Fraser, 2001, p. 24)

Yet in the status model suggested by Fraser, misrecognition means "social subordination in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life" (Fraser, 2001, p. 24). Thus, justice requires a politics of recognition, but not one that turns into identity politics, since "by equating the politics of recognition with identity politics, it encourages both the reification of group identities and the displacement of redistribution" (Fraser, 2000, p.110). In this case, politics of recognition "means a politics aimed at overcoming subordination by establishing the misrecognized party as a full member of society, capable of participating on a par with other members" (ibid, p. 24). As Fraser explains,

> by reconceptualizing recognition in terms of status, I was saying in effect: 'Look, what is really important here is not the demand for recognition of a group's specific identity, but the demand for recognition of people's standing as full partners in social interaction, able to participate as peers with others in social life.' That aspiration is fundamental to justice and cannot be satisfied by the politics of redistribution alone. What is required, therefore, is a politics of recognition that aims at establishing status equality, not at validating group identity. (Fraser, 2004, p.376-377)

Fraser's status model's politics of recognition is an alternative to the identity model, which she considers problematic because it can reinforce essentialization, separatism, and cultural reification (Fraser, 2001, p.25). Thus, the status model is a suitable concept to use when analyzing the situation of indigenous women and their role in indigenous social movements in Brazil. In that sense, Fraser suggests a politics of recognition that focus on promoting institutional and social changes that allow parity of participation for all individual group members in social interaction.

Fraser's pragmatic approach to recognition is another one of her significant constructions. According to her, the debate surrounding the necessity of recognizing distinctiveness to achieve justice should be replaced with the understanding that different types of recognition claims require different types of recognition. "Everything depends

on precisely what currently misrecognized people need in order to be able to participate as peers in social life." (Fraser, 1998, p. 35). This pragmatic approach fits perfectly with her feminist analysis of gender, for which Fraser is famous. As previously mentioned, Fraser considers all oppressed collectivities to be bivalent – which means these groups suffer both from maldistribution and misrecognition injustices and, therefore, need both politics of redistribution and politics of recognition simultaneously. In that sense, Fraser considers gender to be a bivalent collectivity. "In my conception, gender is a two-sided category. It encompasses both an-economic dimension and a cultural dimension. Understanding and redressing gender injustice requires changing attending to both distribution and recognition", she argues (Fraser, 1998, p.2). Therefore, her bivalent social justice theory "broadens the usual understanding of justice to encompass both the class and status aspects of gender subordination" (Fraser, 2007, p.28). Fraser highlights that in contexts in which the recognition of minority cultural practices threatens gender justice, it is necessary to apply the concept of participatory parity twice.

> It must be applied, first, at the intergroup level, to assess the effects of institutionalized patterns of cultural value on the relative standing of minorities vis-à-vis majorities. Then, it must be applied, second, at the intragroup level, to assess the internal effects of the minority practices for which recognition is being claimed. Taken together, these two levels constitute a double requirement. Claimants must show, first, that the institutionalization of majority cultural norms denies them participatory parity and, second, that the practices whose recognition they seek do not themselves deny participatory parity to others, as well as to some of their own members. (Fraser, 2007, p.31)

Thus, the multi-dimensional social justice theory and the progressive understanding of recognition as a matter of status (both based on the concept of participatory parity) make Fraser's theoretical framework suited for unveiling the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil, as will be seen in section 5 – Data Findings and Analysis.

3.3 Summary

The coloniality of power "[…] is founded on the imposition of a racial / ethnic classification of the population of the world […]" (Quijano, 2007a, p.93) according to which European colonizers put indigenous and black colonized peoples into a position of subordination relative to themselves because they believed their own race to be superior. They used this belief to justify the division of work and the concentration of resources and capital which are constitutive elements of the western capitalist world pattern (Quijano, 2000): indigenous peoples and black people became slaves or serfs while Europeans receive money for their work or became the owners of the resources and capital. The imposition of a racialized classification of the world's population, which continues to this day, was possible due to the "European paradigm of rational knowledge" (Quijano, 2007b, p.174) that spread the idea that the only valid cultures and knowledge were the European ones, putting the colonized on the other side of the abyssal line (Santos, 2016), transforming them into the non-existent. Other constitutive elements of the coloniality of power include the coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2010) and the construction of a gender dichotomy because colonizers used gender differentiation as a "powerful tool to destroy the social relations of the colonized by dividing men and women from each other and creating antagonisms between them" (Mendoza, 2016, p.116) facilitating the colonization process.

Thus, decoloniality which "[…] implies the recognition and undoing of the hierarchical structures of race, gender, heteropatriarchy, and class that continue to control life, knowledge, spirituality, and thought […]" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.17) is necessary to achieve social justice, considered here from Fraser's perspective since it helps to understand the social status of indigenous peoples and indigenous women. According to Fraser, social justice requires recognition, redistribution, and representation, which must be measured according to the concept of participatory parity. "According to this norm, justice requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers. For participatory parity to be possible, I claim, it is necessary but not sufficient to establish standard forms of formal legal equality" (Fraser, 1998, p.30). These theories were used in the analysis of the data collected for this research project.

4 Methodology

The following pages will provide an overview of the methodological approach used in this thesis, including the ontological and epistemological positions; recruitment of participants; data collection and data analysis, ethical considerations, and the researcher's positionality and limitations. In summary, this research project adopted a constructionist ontological position and an interpretivist epistemological position, which makes the qualitative research method the most suitable to answer the research question "What is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil?"[21]. To collect the data, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight indigenous women living in the urban perimeter of Manaus, Amazonas State, who self-declared as participants of indigenous social movements. Braun and Clarke's (2006) model of thematic analysis was used to analyze the data.

4.1 Ontological/Epistemological Positions

When dealing with the social sciences, the researcher can adopt different epistemological positions based on whether they believe that social science research should use the same methods and procedures as natural science research. "The position that affirms the importance of imitating the natural sciences is invariably associated with an epistemological position known as positivism" (Bryman, 2016, p.24). Positivism stands in opposition to interpretivism, which "subsumes the views of writers who have been critical of the application of the scientific model to the study of the social world and who have been influenced by different intellectual traditions" (ibid, p.26). According to Bryman, interpretivist authors believe that the subjects of the social sciences, i.e. people and their institutions, differ from the subjects of the natural sciences and, therefore, require different research procedures (2016, p.26).

In that sense, by proposing the research question: "What is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of the indigenous social movement in Brazil?", the main objective of this project is to understand a social phenomenon. This makes

21 See Snape & Spencer (2003, p.3).

interpretivism the best epistemological choice because it “is founded upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social actions” (Bryman, 2016, p.26). As for the ontological position, this project stands with the authors who consider social phenomena to be social constructions in constant revision by social actors. Therefore, this research project adopts a constructivist ontological position because “[...] constructivist researchers often address the processes of interaction among individuals. They also focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants” (Creswell, 2014, p.37).

4.2 Participants Recruitment

In qualitative research, sampling usually revolves around the concept of purposive sampling, a form of non-probability sampling. “The goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are posed” (Bryman, 2016, p.408). Since it is a non-probability sampling, this kind of sampling does not allow the researcher to generalize about the subject or people they are researching. According to the last Census made in 2010 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 37.5% of the indigenous people in Brazil live in North Region, which alone has more than 250 indigenous organizations (Instituto Socioambiental, 2018b). Additionally, Ângela Sacchi (2003, p.109) identified more than 20 indigenous women’s organizations in the region, which shows a high degree of indigenous women’s mobilization. These were the main factors the researcher used to decide to do a study about the indigenous women living in Manaus, Amazonas State, North Region, Brazil because it facilitated the process of finding interviewees for the research project, per Creswell’s ideas since “the idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents or visual material) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question” (2014, p.239).

After selecting the best location to conduct the research, the next step was to find and contact some indigenous women living in Manaus. To achieve the main purpose of this study, it was necessary to define relevant categories that would have to be considered when choosing participants. The project was looking for: indigenous women, who were

over the age of 18, who participate in an indigenous social movement in any position, with any level of education, and who were willing to be interviewed. With that in mind, the researcher contacted several indigenous organizations with a national and regional range. One of those organizations gave the researcher the name and contact information of an indigenous woman member of a well-known indigenous organization in Manaus. This woman became one of the interviewees. She was responsible for providing the names and contact details of the other women who became participants in this study, which characterizes the snowball sampling method[22]. Participants were contacted directly by the researcher through a text and voice messaging app. The initial plan was to interview 12 indigenous women since the first woman contacted provided the names and contact information of 11 other women. However, only 7 of those 11 women agreed to participate in this research project, which resulted in 8 interviewees in the end.

It is important to highlight that all the participants were living in Manaus when they were interviewed for this research project. However, some of the participants were born in indigenous villages and spent part of their lives there and all the participants visit and / or have some degree of contact with indigenous women living in indigenous traditional communities, which enables them to speak about these women's reality. The focus of this project, however, is in the experiences of indigenous women living in the specific urban context of Manaus.

4.3 Data Collection

After defining the research strategy and the research design for this study, the next step was to choose the best way to collect the necessary data. The limited amount of time and monetary resources, which will be discussed in the limitations of this work[23], were factors that contributed to the selection of the qualitative semi-structured interview as the most suitable data collection method for this research project because of its flexibility.

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22 The snowball sampling is a type of purposive sampling which is "a technique in which the researcher initially samples a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research. (Bryman, 2016, p.415)

23 See section 4.7 – Limitations.

According to Robin Legard, Jill Keegan, and Kit Ward, "achieving breadth and depth involves asking a combination of content mapping questions (to map territory and identifying the component elements of dimensions) and content mining questions (to explore them in detail)" (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003, p.168), which was done in this research project by using an interview guide[24]. The interview guide consisted of 37 main questions and follow-up questions, which were used depending on the answers given by the interviewees. The questions were divided into four sections as follows: background/life history; human rights; indigenous social movements; and indigenous women and indigenous social movements.

As mentioned before, the participants were contacted through a text and voice messaging app. At the initial contact, the researcher explained to the interviewees what the project was about and scheduled the interviews according to each participant's availability at a time and place of their choosing. All the interviews were conducted in the city of Manaus, North Region, Brazil. The duration of the interviews varied between 45 and 90 minutes; each interview was made individually, and all the interviews were recorded using an audio recorder device with the prior consent of each participant. It is important to stress that the interviews took place in locations chosen by the interviewees to exclude any external interferences that may have made them too uncomfortable to discuss some of the issues the researcher mentioned.

4.4 Data Analysis

According to Liz Spencer, Jane Ritchie, and William O'Connor, "there are many different traditions and approaches for analyzing qualitative data which vary with epistemological assumptions about the nature of qualitative inquiry, the status of researchers' accounts and the main focus and aims of the analytic process" (2003, p.217). Bryman (2016) identifies the main approaches to data analysis in qualitative research. Of these, many authors[25] have discussed thematic analysis (TA). This research project adopted the reflexive TA method developed by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006). According to the authors, TA is "a method for identifying, analyzing, and

24 See Annex 2 – Interview Guide.
25 See, for example, Boyatzis, E. (1998).

reporting patterns [themes] within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998)" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.6). One advantage of their method is that it is "theoretically flexible, characterized by its foregrounding of researcher subjectivity" (Braun & Clarke, 2020) which means that "it can be used within different frameworks, to answer quite different types of research question" (ibid). Another advantage of Braun and Clarke's reflexive TA method is its six-phase process for data analysis: 1) Familiarization with the data; 2) Coding; 3) Generating initial themes; 4) Reviewing themes; 5) Defining and naming themes; and 6) Writing up, which helps the researcher to explain the choices made during the analysis of the data. It is important to highlight that "analysis is not a linear process where you simply move from one phase to the next. Instead, it is more recursive process, where you move back and forth as needed, throughout the phases" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 16).

Phase one - familiarization with the data – "[…] is about becoming intimately engaged with your data. This involves immersing yourself in the data through focused and repeated reading of them, so you know their content thoroughly […]" (Braun et al., 2015, p.7). In this stage, the researcher responsible for this project transcribed the eight semi-structured interviews recorded during the data collection process and then compared the transcriptions against the original audio recording for accordance. The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the native language of the interviewer and interviewees, and were also transcribed in Portuguese to facilitate the process of familiarization with the data[26]. Coding, which "involves generating succinct labels (codes!) that identify important features of the data that might be relevant to answering the research question" (Braun and Clarke, 2020), is phase two. By the end of this stage, the researcher had manually identified 30 different data items relating to indigenous women's participation in indigenous social movements in Brazil.

Phase three — generating initial themes — "involves examining the codes and collated data to identify significant broader patterns of meaning (potential themes)" Braun and Clarke (2020). According to the authors, a theme "captures a common, recurring pattern across a dataset, clustered around a central organizing concept. A theme tends to describe the different facets of that singular idea, demonstrating the theme's patterning in

26 The data samples that were used in Section 5 – Data Findings and Analysis were translated into English by the researcher responsible for this research project.

the dataset" (Braun and Clarke, 2019). In that sense, in this project, the process of coding and generating initial themes followed the semantic approach, in which "the themes are identified within the explicit or surface meanings of the data and the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 13). *Figure 1* illustrates the initial thematic map.

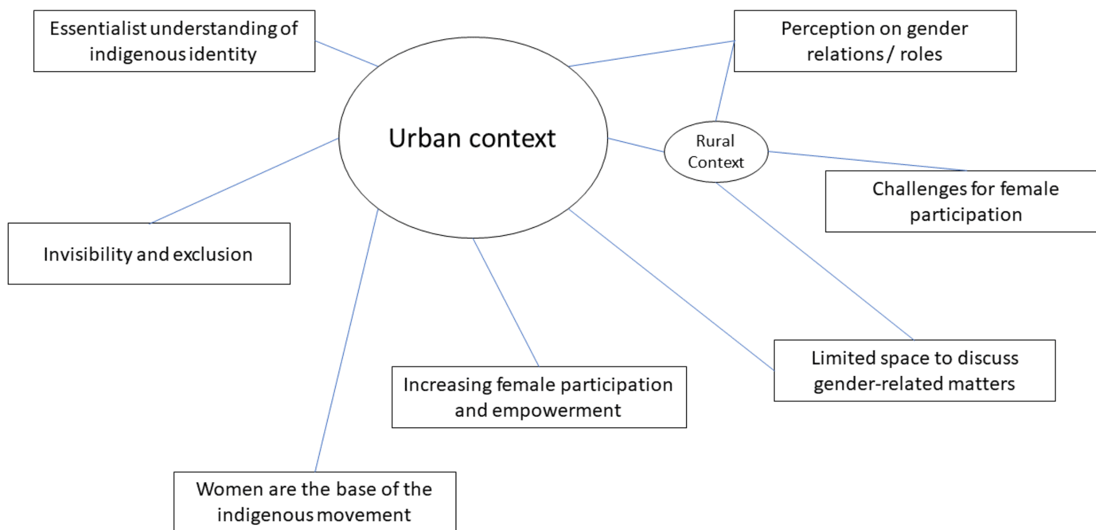

Figure 1 *Initial thematic map, highlighting seven main themes.*

Phase 4 — reviewing themes — "involves checking the candidate themes against the dataset, to determine that they tell a convincing story of the data, and one that answers the research question" (Braun and Clarke, 2020). In this phase, the researcher adopted a theoretical approach, which "tend[s] to be driven by the researcher's theoretical or analytic interest in the area and is thus more explicitly analyst-driven" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 12). In this case, the initial themes were reviewed considering the decolonial theoretical framework and Fraser's theoretical developments on social justice and recognition and with the research question in mind. *Figure 2* presents a developed thematic map created after the process of reviewing the initial themes.

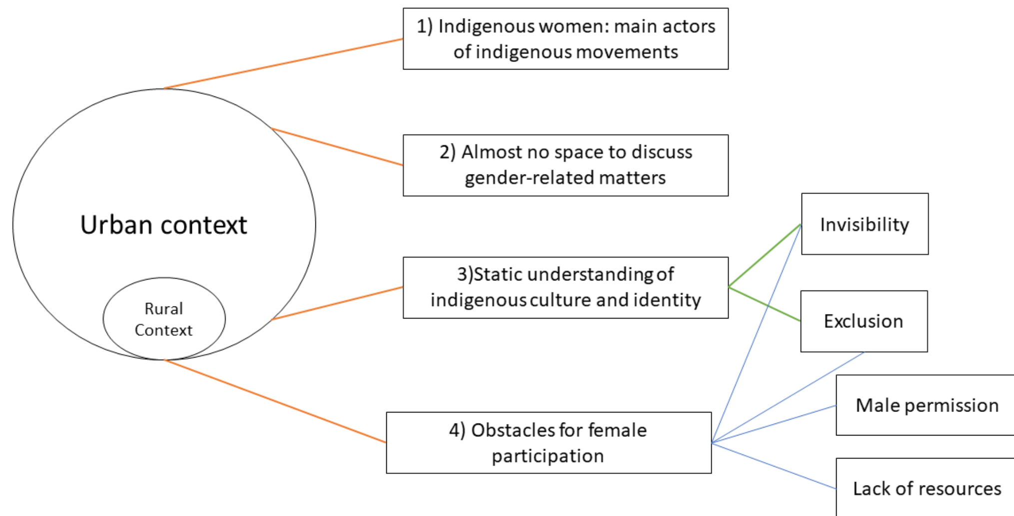

Figure 2 *Developed thematic map, highlighting four main themes.*

Phase 5 — defining and naming themes — "involves developing a detailed analysis of each theme, working out the scope and focus of each theme, determining the 'story' of each. It also involves deciding on an informative name for each theme" (Braun and Clarke, 2020). Analyzing the themes generated in phase 4 produced the three main themes seen in *Figure 3*, which will be developed in detail in Section 5 — Data Findings and Analysis.

Figure 3 *Final thematic map, representing three main themes.*

4.5 Ethical considerations

When conducting social research, it is fundamental to consider the ethical implications of the study. "First and foremost, the researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values, and desires of the informant(s)", states Creswell (2014, p. 258). According to Bryman (2016, p.126), four closely related ethical principles must be considered when doing social research: harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy, and whether deception is involved. For Lewis (2003), it is up to the researcher to consider all the ways the participants might be harmed by participating in a social study and to take measures to avoid or minimize these possibilities. In that sense, "participants should be given a clear understanding of the issues a study will address before being asked to take part. Researchers, too, need to be able to make clear judgments about what is and is not relevant and must avoid prurient or irrelevant details" (Lewis, 2003, p. 68).

Invasion of privacy is another aspect that must be considered when doing research. According to Bryman (2016, p. 131-132), some topics may be seen by the interviewees as problematic and it is their right to not address any issues that make them uncomfortable. It is in this aspect, according to Lewis (2003, p. 67-68), that matters of anonymity and confidentiality must be addressed to ensure the protection of the participants' data. The researcher must also avoid deceiving the participants by not telling them exactly what the study is about or by lying to them (Bryman, 2016, p.133). Informed consent is, therefore, the best way to avoid ethical issues in research since "this means providing them with information about the purpose of the study, the funder, who the research team is, how the data will be used, and what participation will require of them — the subjects likely to be covered, how much time is required and so on" (Lewis, 2003, p. 66/67). The consent form must make it clear that participation is voluntary and that participants may withdraw from the study at any time.

Considering all this, each participant of this project received, before their interview, a printed informed consent form written in their mother tongue, Portuguese, which stated the purpose of this research project, the data-collection method (semi-structured interview), the duration (around 90 minutes), the topics that would be addressed during the interviews, and the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality of the research process. The participants were informed that the interviews would be recorded and that it

was their right to withdraw from the study at any time if they wished to do so. Each participant was asked to sign the informed consent form and the documents were securely stored by the researcher.

When doing social research in Norway, if a researcher intends to process personal data during their research, they must first register with the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD)[27] website before collecting any data. Personal data is defined as any data relating to an identified or identifiable person. Collected data that can be linked to individual persons are considered personal data. Since this research project dealt with personal data collection and processing, the researcher did all the necessary registration on the NSD website and got the NSD approval to proceed with the research project before initiating the interview process. Participants' personal data were not shared with anyone and have been protected in accordance with the law. The interviews were captured by an audio recorder device and stored and locked in a location only accessible for the researcher responsible for this thesis. All this process was managed in accordance with USN guidelines for management of research audio recordings. The audios of the interviews were deleted after they have been transcribed.

4.6 Positionality

In the words of Creswell, "qualitative research is interpretative research; the inquirer is typically involved in a sustained and intensive experience with participants" (2014, p. 237). Because of that, when doing qualitative social studies, researchers "should be reflective about the implications of their methods, values, biases, and decisions for the knowledge of the social world they generate" (Bryman, 2016, p.388). Roni Berger defines this as reflexivity, which is a "process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researcher's positionality as well as active acknowledgment and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome" (Berger, 2015, p.220). Therefore, reflexivity "challenges the view of knowledge production as independent of the researcher producing it and of knowledge as objective" (ibid, p.220).

27 NSD is responsible, in Norway, for providing data protection services to universities and other organizations to assist these institutions in fulfilling their statutory duties relating to internal control and quality assurance of their research.

When discussing positionality, the researcher must bear in mind that they can find themselves in two different positions: as an insider and as an outsider. "An insider is a researcher or participant who works for or is a member of the participant community, while an outsider (e.g. an academic researcher) is seen as a non-member," explains Rowe (2014, p.2). However, positionality is not unidimensional; it is "not uncommon for the researcher(s) to be closely positioned to the participants on some dimensions and not on others" (ibid, p.3).

In this study, the researcher's positionality is both as an insider and as an outsider. The researcher is an insider in the sense that she is a Brazilian citizen and a woman, which means that she shares the same nationality and gender as the interviewees. However, the researcher is a non-indigenous person, which means that she is an outsider when it comes to ethnicity and cultural practices since the participants are indigenous women. It was even more important for the researcher to adopt the reflexivity process while conducting this study because she is and always will be an outsider as a non-indigenous person: "researchers must continually ask themselves where they are at any given moment in relation to what they study and what are the potential ramifications of this position on their research" (Berger, 2015, p.231).

4.7 Limitations

All research, social or not, has limitations. It is necessary for quality and ethical reasons that these limitations be acknowledged and included in the final research study. According to the last Census made by IBGE in 2010, 896,917 people identified themselves as indigenous persons. Amazonas state, where 183,917 indigenous people live, is the Brazilian state with the largest indigenous population. These numbers were crucial to the researcher's decision of where to look for participants for this study since indigenous peoples live in all regions of Brazil. The researcher is aware that this study would have been more representative if participants had been chosen from all five regions of Brazil. However, the size of the country, 8,511,000 km², the limited amount of time the researcher had to do the interviews due to her living in Norway at that time, and also limited monetary resources meant the researcher could only return to Brazil once and visit only one city during that visit. Another aspect that limited the research was the fact that most well-structured and organized indigenous organizations and social movements are

also located in the North Region of Brazil. Additionally, as a non-indigenous person, the researcher had to deal with her little practical knowledge of indigenous societies, culture, and traditions, which hindered understanding the indigenous women's reality.

The researcher responsible for this study is aware that many authors (Smith, 2012; Mertens, Cram and Chilisa, 2013; Datta, 2018) advocate for the necessity of incorporating indigenous or decolonial methodologies when researching indigenous peoples. In doing so, the researchers would be partaking in an emancipatory commitment since "research that empowers resistance makes a contribution to individually and collectively changing the conditions of our lives and the lives of those on the margins" (Brown and Strega, 2005, p.10).

According to Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln, when doing a research project on indigenous matters, "the work must represent indigenous persons honestly, without distortion or stereotype, and the research should honor indigenous knowledge, customs, and rituals (2008, p.2). However, "much research on indigenous peoples has been carried out by researchers without decolonizing their research training" (Datta, 2018, p.2), which explains the oppression experienced by indigenous peoples when it comes to Western research (Smith, 2012, p.39). According to Santos (2016), this is the result of the epistemicide experienced by indigenous peoples, which is characterized by "the death of the knowledge of the subordinated culture, hence the death of the social groups that possessed it" (Santos, 2016, p.92). Santos argues, then, in favor of a postabyssal thinking which "involves a radical break with modern Western ways of thinking and acting" (Santos, 2016, p134).

Thus, Santos (2016) and Gobo (2011) recognize the necessity of developing new research methodology and methods "to meet and adapt to new social situations" (Gobo, 2011, p.428) and even acknowledge that this is "not an impossible mission because many social researchers, active in so-called Developing Countries and sharing the action-research perspective, already constantly adapt their research methods to social situations and invent new techniques more appropriate to the context […]" (ibid, p.430). However, Gobo manifests his concern with the lack of technical proposals in the so-called indigenous methodologies. This lack of technical apparatus to be used in decolonial research and the hegemony of the Western epistemology and Western methodology and methods to conduct social research that still governs the universe of academic research are the reasons why the researcher responsible for this project tried to incorporate

decolonial principles in all phases of the research, but traditional methodology was still used in the thesis. The decolonial approach was used extensively in the analysis of the data collected for this study.

4.8 Summary

This research project used semi-structured interviews with eight indigenous women who self-identified as participants of indigenous social movements in Brazil. Braun and Clarke's (2006) reflexive thematic analysis method was employed. The researcher adopted a theoretical approach in the analysis, coding with a specific question in mind. Three main themes relating to the participation of indigenous women in indigenous social movements in Brazil were identified and will be discussed in the following section – Data Findings and Analysis.

5 Data Findings and Analysis

A thematic analysis of the data collected in the attempt to answer the research question *“what is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil?”* was conducted theoretically and resulted in three main themes: 1) Nonrecognition in the way of indigenous participatory parity; 2) Increasing and somehow limited female participation in indigenous social movements; and 3) Gender: the elephant in the room**.** These themes highlight the connection between the impacts of the coloniality of power and the coloniality of gender on Brazil’s indigenous peoples’ reality, and how this discriminatory system affects not only their participatory parity relative to the dominant society but also the participatory parity of indigenous women in the diverse contexts in which they live today, considering their intersectional position.

5.1 Theme One: Nonrecognition in the way of indigenous participatory parity

Brazil’s indigenous women occupy an intersectional position, meaning that they face oppression, exclusion and discrimination, among other obstacles, for being simultaneously indigenous and women, and also for being poor (Sacchi 2003; Matos 2012; Rousseau and Hudon 2016). Considering this context, the eight interviewees who contributed to this research project highlighted some of the difficulties they currently face while living in the urban perimeter of Manaus. One of these difficulties is racism, a pillar of the coloniality of power (Quijano 2000, 2007), which attributes to them and to their male peers negative stereotyped characteristics based on their ethnical background. “The truth is that a lot of indigenous people don’t like to identify themselves as indigenous because they are afraid of the prejudice and discrimination they may face,” stated Participant 2. Fears of prejudice and discrimination were, in fact, manifested by all the participants and cases of racism were reported by all them. Participant 1, for example, remembered an experience she had when she got her first formal job position:

> I remember I went to the bank to open a bank account. The manager looked at me with surprise and said: "You are indigenous? But you are different, you got a job, you are going to work now, you are different". For the dominant society, indigenous people are lazy and don't like to work. (Participant 1)

Discrimination is also a reality for indigenous people inside the academic field, as experienced by another participant.

> When I was in college, there was a male professor who just ignored me. He ignored me all the time. If I asked a question, he would just pretend he didn't hear anything. If I answered one of his questions, he would also ignore me. To this day, I don't know why he treated me that way. My classmates would come and talk to me and tell me to ignore him, but I was the only one treated like that. It was hard for me because I was the only indigenous person there. (Participant 4)

Initially, the coloniality of power classified Brazilian indigenous peoples as inferior based on their race (or, to use modern terms, their ethnicity) and denied them an equal social, economic, and political status relative to the dominant society. This process is still active, and it is gaining new and complex shades with the increasing migration of these peoples to urban centers[28]. If on the one hand, the ruling society and its power institutions discriminate against indigenous peoples based on racial/ethnical features and stereotypes, on the other hand, the same dominant society/institutions employ politics of nonrecognition (Miller, 2003; Silva, 2007) to deny the ethnic identity of indigenous peoples who are living in an urban context. Not having indigenous peoples living in cities means that there is no need for the government to develop public policies to ensure their specific rights in the urban context. This perpetuates indigenous women and men's exclusion since they are subjected to historical processes of maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation (Fraser 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2004/2005) which can only be fixed through specific public policies to ensure their parity of participation.

In that sense, having their indigenous ethnicity denied by the authorities as a political strategy and, therefore, not having access to governmental support or specific

28 According to the last Census conducted by the IBGE in 2010, 36,2% of Brazil's indigenous population live in urban centers.

public policies to address their issues as indigenous peoples who migrated to an urban context, as discussed by Guirau and Silva (2013) and Nascimento and Vieira (2015), is one of the main struggles reported by the participants of this research project. As Participant 7 explained:

> In Manaus, we still don't have public policies aimed at indigenous peoples at the urban perimeter because they [authorities] say that we are urban Indians, but no, we are just Indians, no matter where we live. So, we still don't have public policies aimed at indigenous people within the city. We don't have differentiated education; we don't have differentiated health. What we want is not to have special privileges, but we want to have something different, in accordance with our context and our culture. (Participant 7)

Participant 8 understands the lack of public policies for indigenous peoples living in an urban context as a strategy for assimilating these peoples.

> Brazilian public policies are much more focused on indigenous peoples who are within their territories, within indigenous lands. So, when you talk about indigenous policy, it is focused on indigenous peoples who are within indigenous territories. Indigenous peoples have advanced a lot, in the context of our relationship with the dominant society. But we can't continue with legislation from 1988, this legislation needs to be revised. But the government... it's not that it's not prepared for it, but rather the government does not want to do it. Does the colonizer want this? He does not. The colonizer will never want us to create a different policy for those indigenous living in the city. For him, it is easier for those who are in the city to be incorporated into what already exists. (Participant 8)

The analysis of the interviews revealed the predisposition of the ruling society and Brazilian authorities to adopt essentialized concepts of culture, ethnicity, and identity when dealing with indigenous peoples in the urban context as a strategy to make them invisible. For instance, the interviewees revealed a tendency among non-indigenous societies and institutions to have a "romantic view of what it means to be an indigenous person," as put by Participant 1. The participants reported often hearing from non-indigenous people that "you are not indigenous because you live in the city, you went to college, you have a mobile phone, you wear make-up, etc., and, therefore, you do not fit the indigenous stereotype created by the dominant society" (Participant 4).

> I'll give you an example. It seems that indigenous people cannot have access to higher education, cannot be a doctor, because if we do they [non-indigenous] say: but now you are no longer indigenous, you already studied, you have a bachelor's degree, so you are not indigenous anymore. Will I stop being indigenous just because I studied? (Participant 1)

Per Barth's theory on ethnicity and ethnic groups (2011), the participants maintain that no matter what cultural changes they may have gone through – be it living in a city, getting a higher education, wearing non-indigenous clothes and technology, among others – their ethnic identities remain, which is explained by Cunha (2013):

> [...] cultural traits may vary in time and space, as they do, without affecting the group's identity. This perspective is, therefore, in line with that which perceives culture as something essentially dynamic and perpetually reworked. Culture, therefore, rather than being the assumption of an ethnic group, is in a way a product of that ethnic group. (Cunha, 2013, p. 1590)

In that sense, participants see no conflict in adopting nonindigenous cultural behaviors while keeping their indigenous identities. On the contrary, they see it as a strategy to gain knowledge about their rights and to spread this knowledge to their peers.

> The world we live in today is not yesterday's world. This is what people need to understand: that indigenous peoples need to evolve in this direction. Society has evolved. Culture is not static; it is always evolving. So why can't indigenous peoples evolve in this context? Why can't I access the university? Why can't I speak other languages? Why can't I get to know other worlds so that technically I can talk, I can argue, I can translate things in a way that indigenous peoples understand? In my view, we must see everything that is not part of our [indigenous] society as a strategy to achieve our goals so that the world sees us as we are and understands us. (Participant 8)

What can be read through the analysis of the interviews is that the coloniality of power still dictates the social, economic, and political status of indigenous peoples in Brazil and regulates their relationship with the dominant society. While at first, the coloniality of power used racial/ethnic differences to put indigenous peoples on the other side of the

abyssal line (Santos, 2016), in the case of indigenous peoples living in urban centers the coloniality of power manifests through the politics of nonrecognition (Miller 2003, Silva 2007) which denies them their ethnic identity and, thus, serves as a justification for the lack of specific public policies aimed at them. In other words, the ethnic invisibility of indigenous peoples in the urban context is used by the dominant society as a justification for their legal invisibility and, thus, for putting indigenous peoples, once again, at the other side of the abyssal line.

The nonrecognition of the indigenous peoples living in urban centers endorses their misrecognition built from "[…] cultural patterns that systematically depreciate some categories of people and the qualities associated with them" (Fraser, 1998, p.31). Therefore, it impacts negatively on their participatory parity which, according to Fraser, is a prerequisite for achieving social justice. As the author explains, "[…] justice requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers. For participatory parity to be possible, I claim, it is necessary but not sufficient to establish standard forms of formal legal equality" (Fraser, 1998, p.30).

According to Fraser, to achieve participatory parity an intersubjective precondition is necessary, which "requires that institutionalized cultural patterns of interpretation and evaluation express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem" (1998, p.31). In that sense, the participants denounced the little space indigenous people have to participate in decision-making places inside the dominant society, such as municipal councils[29]. "It is very difficult to have an indigenous person appointed to be a representative on the municipal councils of Manaus," stated Participant 6. "If an indigenous person is elected for such councils, then it's almost impossible to include indigenous demands and claims in their agenda of discussion," explained Participant 5.

Coming from a history of exclusion, discrimination, exploitation, and poverty, indigenous peoples also do not have the objective precondition for participatory parity, which requires the distribution of material resources in a way that "ensure[s] participants' independence and voice" (Fraser, 1998, p.31) and prevents "social arrangements that institutionalize deprivation, exploitation, and gross disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time, thereby denying some people the means and opportunities to interact with others as peers" (ibid, p.31). As mentioned in the literature review, the poverty rate among

29 "Municipal councils, also called public policy councils, are one of the tools that enable citizens to participate actively in the process of creating public policies in Brazil" (Politize, 2016).

Brazil's indigenous peoples is of 35% and 18% of them are among the extreme poor (ECLAC, 2016, p.28), which corroborates the perception of the participants that the lack of material resources is a great challenge for the indigenous peoples who live in the urban context when it comes to achieving participatory parity.

> Opportunities are, usually, in the cities. So, sometimes, the indigenous person wants to become a doctor, an engineer, but he doesn't have access to the university in his community. So, he must come to the city, but due to the lack of public policies to help this indigenous person, he ends up not being able to finish his studies because of financial issues – since studying implies a lot of expenses such as transportation, food and materials - and the absence of governmental support. (Participant 7)

Hence, the conclusion is that both politics of redistribution and politics of recognition are still necessary to achieve participatory parity for indigenous peoples living in urban centers and, thus, social justice. It is a consensus among the interviewees that the first step to reaching participatory parity is developing public policies to ensure their specific rights, which is no easy task since the dominant society and its institutions have no interest in doing so. Indigenous mobilization is, thus, of great importance for such peoples to pursue their specific rights.

5.2 Theme 2: Increasing and somehow limited female participation in indigenous social movements

While the coloniality of power interferes with the participatory parity of indigenous peoples living in Manaus through the politics of nonrecognition, which reinforces their misrecognition and maintain the maldistribution of material resources, as discussed in *Section 5.1*, it also affects the participatory parity of indigenous women inside indigenous societies. As explained by Begoña Dorronsoro (2019), exclusionary and oppressive traditional elements that are present inside indigenous communities are, above all, results of the colonial process and "in this sense, the gender condition of men and women of the different indigenous peoples is a historical creation resulting from the specific internal relations of each people and their link to the societies of the nation-states where they are integrated" (2019, p. 414). Adding to the concept developed by Aníbal

Quijano (2000, 2007), Maria Lugones (2010) argues that the construction of gender (and the dichotomy of man/woman) was another important aspect in the constitution of the coloniality of power. Lugones claims that gender differentiation was used by colonizers as a "powerful tool to destroy the social relations of the colonized by dividing men and women from each other and creating antagonisms between them" (Mendoza, 2016, p.116), which facilitated the colonization process. According to Dorronsoro (2019), by constructing a Eurocentric and ethnocentric patriarchal system among indigenous peoples, the colonizers stripped indigenous women of their social status and position as the balance keepers of their communities, making them invisible as social actresses (ibid, p. 418) and exacerbated what Rita Segato (2012) identified as "a low-intensity patriarchal system" which already existed in the indigenous societies of Latin America before the colonization process. The coloniality of power and the coloniality of gender, therefore, put indigenous women in a position of "social subordination in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life" (Fraser, 2001, p. 24). In other words, they promoted and still promote the misrecognition of indigenous women, creating the gender discriminatory system that, together with racism and poverty, characterize their intersectional position.

Nevertheless, this social subordination of indigenous women has been changing, according to the interviewees. If in the past indigenous societies used to have a stricter division of gender roles and rules, the growing migration of indigenous peoples to urban centers and the increasing cultural exchange with the dominant society forced indigenous women to find ways to support themselves and their families, which altered the traditional understandings of what it means to be an indigenous woman. As Participant 1 explained,

> in indigenous communities, you may find situations where the division between genders is still strong. But in the city, this issue is slightly inverted. In the city, women are very active, more so than men. Today, women are working, helping to increase their family's income. They are producing handicrafts and passing their culture on to their children. And indigenous women are mobilizing. So much so, that in Manaus, the greatest Saterê indigenous leaders are women. (Participant 1)

"The indigenous society is patriarchal and very *machista*, but things are improving for women. Men are starting to see that women are as capable as they are," said Participant 4. For her, "today, indigenous women are very much empowered," which is an opinion shared by all the interviewees.

According to Stéphanie Rousseau and Anahi Morales Hudon, even though "indigenous women have been active participants in indigenous movements from their beginnings" (2016, p.34), they still face difficulties in being recognized "as legitimate political actors in the eyes of the state, civil society in general, women's movements, and in some cases, even within indigenous organizations" (ibid, p. 34), which directly relates to the problem of misrecognition discussed by Fraser (2001). For the interviewees, however, this situation has been changing in recent years: there is a consensus among them that female participation in indigenous movements and organizations is growing in numbers, in importance, and in legitimacy in the urban context where "indigenous women are becoming the protagonists of indigenous movements" (Participant 3).

> Here in Manaus, we have, for example, the COIAB (Coordination of Indigenous Organizations in the Brazilian Amazon), which is coordinated by a woman (Nara Baré), a woman that men admire very much. We also have Soninha Guajajara, who is in charge of the APIB (Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil), who is also very respected. My relatives respect me a lot. They told me many times that I represent them. In this sense, there is great respect for female leaders from indigenous men and male leaders. (Participant 1)

Participant 5, who has been active in indigenous movements since 1988, also noticed an increase in female participation.

> Today, I can say that women do have space because in 2002 when I started with the movement responsible for the Amazon region, we didn't see it; there were very few women. We had names of women who were more active, participating in larger discussions, in larger plenary sessions. Today, there are many women. Yes. Today, they have a voice. They are heard. (Participant 5)

"Indigenous women are the roots, the pillars of the movements. Here in Manaus, for example, we participate way more than men do. We are responsible for organizing everything even though we rarely receive any credit for it", said Participant 6.

> I like to say that indigenous women are the most active part of the movement. Today, we have women who are in charge of

> large organizations (COIAB, APIB). Today, we have women who are shamans. We have women who are artisans and who are fighting to make space for indigenous enterprises. (Participant 1)

The election of the indigenous candidate Joênia Wapichana as congresswoman[30] and Sônia Guajajara[31]'s running as a candidate for the vice presidency of the Republic in 2018 were mentioned by the interviewees as important milestones for the recognition of indigenous women as valuable and capable actors (not only inside indigenous social movements but also in indigenous society in general) and as an incentive for larger female participation in indigenous mobilizations. For the interviewees, the female presence in such prominent positions represents a shift in indigenous women's social status, showing that representation and recognition are interconnected. "Today everything is changing, sis. Indigenous women can participate, they have a voice and vote. They are being heard and respected by men and their opinion is taken into consideration," reinforced Participant 8. As Participant 3 put it, "indigenous women are assuming leadership roles and, therefore, they are being heard and respected."

> Today, the role of women is very important. In 2018, the election of Joênia was something that made indigenous women visible because up until then, they were already in the movement, but they did not have this prominence. In that year, Sônia ran as a vice-candidate [for vice president of the Republic], and several other indigenous people also ran as candidates, even I ran as a candidate. So for the indigenous woman, it was a highpoint, that gave her a prominent spot. We indigenous women have an important role in this regard. By occupying important positions in indigenous organizations, we are beginning to understand what our role is and how we can help and empower other women. (Participant 4)

The growing participation of indigenous women in indigenous movements and organizations and their occupation of leadership positions denote their changing social

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30 Joênia Wapichana was the first indigenous woman in history to get elected to the Brazilian National Congress.

31 Sônia Guajajara was the first indigenous woman (and person) to run for vice-president of the Brazilian Republic.

status, which, according to the interviewees, is also affecting some indigenous cultural traditions. For instance, today, indigenous women can be nominated *pajés* and *caciques*[32], which would have been unthinkable in the recent past. As highlighted by Participant 3, it is becoming more common to find indigenous women in positions traditionally occupied by men. “I see a lot of women today being chosen as chief (cacique), which is one of the highest ranks in the indigenous hierarchies. Once chiefs, they get the same recognition and respect as any man would have. Their opinion prevails because they become the authorities” (Participant 3). Participant 7 also reported a similar situation:

> in the past, women could not be chosen as community leaders. To be honest, men did not give women very much credibility. Today, however, women are already standing out. The Andirá [indigenous community], for example, already has its first woman chief. So, it was a breakthrough for us because a woman had never been chosen as chief before. (Participant 7)

If indigenous women’s social subordination seems to be positively changing in the urban context - which puts them one step closer to achieving participatory parity, at least relative to indigenous men, the same is not necessarily true for indigenous women living in indigenous communities. As revealed by the interviewees, in this context, the situation of indigenous women is far from being homogenous since the status of women depends on cultural aspects that vary according to the ethnic group they belong to. As Participant 8 explained, “we cannot say that in the indigenous world, the rule of one ethnic group applies to other ethnic groups as well. It is very different. We cannot put everyone in the same bag and say that everything is the same. It's not; it's different. It depends on each culture.”

> In my community, women’s situation is similar to that of those living in urban centers. Saterê women are very empowered. But, of course, there are also others that, unfortunately, are still very much dominated by men. Some indigenous men are still very *maschista* in this sense. I see that, but thankfully these men are becoming minorities. However, the role of women in some

32 *Pajés* are spiritual leaders and healers of indigenous tribes while *caciques* are the village's political and administrative chiefs.

> indigenous communities is still maintained today: taking care of the plantation, the children, the house. (Participant 1)

In addition to overcoming cultural/ethnical barriers and natural impediments such as the long distances that separate indigenous communities from the urban centers in the Amazon Region where most of the meetings and activities occur, indigenous women must deal with scarce financial resources, or maldistribution in Fraser's words, which characterizes the Brazilian indigenous reality in general and constitutes another obstacle for their social mobilization. In that sense, the lack of financial resources prevents indigenous women of getting their independence and voice and, therefore, represents an obstacle for their participatory parity.

> Indigenous women face several obstacles to participate in social movements, but I think the main one is financial. If sometimes it is difficult for us living in Manaus to participate because we need to spend money on transportation, for women in the communities it is much more difficult because they don't have their own income and the movement has no money to bring them all to the city. To give you an idea, we are organizing the first march of indigenous women to Brasília and so far, we have only managed to raise money to take 2 women ... and we are 1500 women in the movement. (Participant 7)

Female status subordination within traditional indigenous communities represents one more challenge for these women's participation in indigenous social movements and organizations and, therefore, for their empowerment and participatory parity. According to the interviewees, indigenous women who live in indigenous communities can be very dependent on their male peers and, as a consequence, they also need to circumvent male dominance. "What happens is that when we invite women from a community to participate, they say they need their husbands' permission. When they are not married, they depend on the authorization of the chief (cacique)," explained Participant 4. In such communities, the lack of male support and the high degree of social expectations placed on indigenous women still represent obstacles for their participation as peers in indigenous mobilizations. "In addition to needing male authorization to participate, women are also criticized for leaving their families and their household chores aside. Most of the time, this discourages them from getting involved with indigenous movements and organizations," said Participant 5.

In summary, according to the interviewees, the growing participation of indigenous women in indigenous movements and organizations in the urban context, which is being accompanied by the increasing female presence in prominent/leadership positions in these places, can be interpreted as a sign that these women are getting closer to achieving participatory parity in relation to their male peers, although there is still a long way to go. The same cannot be easily said of indigenous women who live in traditional indigenous communities, where cultural patterns founded and reinforced by the patriarchal social system - implemented through the colonialities of power and gender - are stronger and more efficient in maintaining female subordination.

5.3 Theme 3: Gender: the elephant in the room

The interviewees revealed that in the urban context in which they live, female participation in indigenous social movements and organizations is increasing and woman are occupying more leadership positions, which serves as an incentive for even more female participation. This is transforming indigenous women into "the pillars of the indigenous movement" (Participant 3). However, despite highlighting the vital role of indigenous women in indigenous social movements, there was no consensus among the participants about whether there is space to include gender-related matters in the broader indigenous movements' agenda: while a couple of the interviewees believe that this space exists, most of them said otherwise, reporting that gender discussions are still limited to specific indigenous women's movements and organizations. As Participant 1 explains:

> indigenous women have a fundamental role in social movements. They are the pillars of social movements. We organize the base of the movement, but there is no space to discuss female and gender issues. We don't have room for that yet. And, as a consequence, the violence against us is hidden. We suffer in silence. This is our reality here in the city. (Participant 1)

Participant 6 also affirmed that in her experience there is no space to discuss gender-related matters inside the broader indigenous movements.

> These issues should be discussed, but they almost never are. I, for one, have never been in a meeting that discussed such topics. This never came up within the movements I participate in, even though we need to discuss it. I think it would be easier for a leader to include these issues, but not for a community member. (Participant 6)

For Participant 4, there is space to discuss gender issues in indigenous movements in the urban context. However, it is a challenge to take such discussions to the traditional communities.

> Today, there is space to include women's issues in the discussion agenda of the indigenous movement. Women have a decision-making role, have a voice, and are included. Yes, we can do that. When we try to discuss these subjects within our traditional communities, it is more complicated though. We still need to talk to them and try to explain why it is important to discuss women's rights because they don't think like us. (Participant 4)

The difficulty reported by the interviewees in including gender-related discussions in indigenous social movements may be the result of the adoption of strategic essentialism (Spivak, 1996) at the beginning of the indigenous mobilization in Brazil, in the 1970s, which, according to Matos, aggregated indigenous men and women around collective claims, agendas through which ethnic groups demanded from the Brazilian state their right to be differentiated citizens (Matos, 2012, p.148). According to Coomaraswamy (2002), the risk in adopting this strategy is that such essentialization often becomes entrenched, which was confirmed through the interviews of this research project. The essentialized concept of indigenous identity, which ignores internal differences within minority groups such as ethnicity and gender, still seems to be influencing the interviewees' understanding of their rights as women and, in this sense, confirms what was written by Segato, who emphasized the intersectional position of the indigenous woman who "suffers all the problems and disadvantages of the Brazilian woman, plus one more: the non-negotiable mandate of loyalty to the people to which she belongs, due to the vulnerable character of such people" (2003, p. 31).

According to Sacchi and Gramkow, this happens because "indigenous women have the difficult task of reconciling the fight against discrimination and racism that they and their peers experience and the opposition of their peers due to the 'traditional'

attitudes that may clash with their yearnings as women" (2012, p. 20). Participant 8, for instance, was emphatic in saying that indigenous women mobilize themselves to support indigenous movements as a whole and that "indigenous peoples don't separate life and knowledge into little boxes like the non-indigenous do" (Participant 8).

> When we thought about creating the Makira Network[33] (Rede Makira), when we thought about creating the UMIAB[34], our biggest concern was strengthening indigenous peoples' movements as a whole. That was the main goal of creating women's organizations. That is why we discuss several things, not only issues related to women but issues related to all indigenous peoples. We discuss land rights, indigenous health, and education, violence against women. We discuss all of this and more. (Participant 8)

All the participants emphasized that women's movements and organizations seek to assume a complementary role relative to indigenous movements and men. "The work we have done so far is to show men that we do not want to compete with them. They need to understand that we are there with them, by their side, not to be better than anyone, not to fight them, but to help them," explained Participant 7. Such clarifications are necessary, according to Participant 1, because indigenous men and leaders still show resistance to acknowledging that indigenous women have their specific rights as women. "They say that this is feminism and feminism is not part of the indigenous movement," explained Participant 1. However, this view is not only shared by indigenous men but also by some of the interviewees.

> I do not believe that feminism is an issue for indigenous women. When we get together to manifest our demands, our main purpose is to work for the sake of the community, you know? I have never seen a specific and unique indigenous women's agenda, for example. Every time we gather to discuss our agenda, it is always turned to the community. (Participant 6)

33 Amazonas State Indigenous Women's Network
34 Union of Indigenous Women from the Brazilian Amazon (UMIAB)

By saying that feminism is not indigenous, indigenous men and women are sustaining an essentialized understanding of their cultures, which preserves the traditional patriarchy system implemented through the coloniality of power and the coloniality of gender, ignores the intersectional position of indigenous women and the evolution of women's human rights, and maintains the female social subordinate status. What is not indigenous is the Western, mainstream version of feminism which can be replaced by decolonial types of feminism that take into consideration the intersectional position that indigenous women occupy.

5.4 Embracing decoloniality: the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil

The three themes identified through the thematic analysis of the interviews helped to answer the main research question that guided this research project: *what is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil?*

The current situation of Brazilian indigenous people is a result of the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000), which has been defining - since the beginning of the colonial process initiated by the Portuguese in the 16th century to this day - how these peoples are perceived and treated as inferior by the dominant, non-indigenous Brazilian society. The history of the decimation of the indigenous peoples of Brazil, which is currently being continued by the lack of governmental effective measures to protect them against the COVID-19 pandemic, is well documented by existing literature (Ramos, 1998; Oliveira and Freire, 2006; Luciano, 2006) and shows the prevalence of civilizing rhetoric that concluded that "indigenous peoples have no place in civilization" (Ramos, 1998, p.64). Placed on the other side of the abyssal line (Santos, 2016) by the colonizers, and kept there to this day, Brazilian indigenous peoples became invisible to the dominant society which ignored their slaughter in the name of economic development (Ribeiro, 2017), an ongoing process that has become more aggressive in the last couple of years.

As previously mentioned, in the final decades of the 20th century, Western democracies began to adopt "an accommodation approach to diversity" (Kymlicka and

Banting, 2006, p.1), resulting in the development of an international legal apparatus to ensure and protect indigenous peoples' rights. The international context influenced the mobilization of indigenous peoples in Brazil from the 1970s, which was indispensable for the inclusion of an indigenous chapter in the 1988 Federal Constitution that, in theory, eliminated "the assimilationist clauses that were written in previous Constitutions" (Ramos, 2003, p.268), and for the creation of national policies aimed at these peoples. However, in practice, the civilizing rhetoric and the discriminatory system remain, affecting how indigenous peoples participate in the dominant society, which shows that having public policies addressing indigenous peoples' rights is an achievement but it is not a guarantee that these rights will be respected.

In that sense, Theme 1 - *Nonrecognition in the way of indigenous participatory parity* (see Section 5.1), presents the context from which the interviewees shared their experiences: the urban one. Participants revealed that the Brazilian dominant society and its institutions essentialize indigenous culture as a strategy to deny the ethnic identity of indigenous peoples living in cities to keep them invisible and, therefore, justifying the maldistribution of financial resources that characterizes their situation to this day and the nonrecognition of their specific rights in the urban context, which reinforces their misrecognition. According to the participants, the lack of specific public policies aimed at indigenous peoples who live in Manaus makes it more difficult for them to participate in decision-making places, such as Municipal Councils, and "if an indigenous person is elected for such councils, then it's almost impossible to include indigenous demands and claims in their agenda of discussion" explained Participant 5. In this sense, indigenous social movements and organizations are important, not only to act and represent the interests of those peoples living in traditional communities but also to do so in the name of those who live in the urban perimeter, who must deal with strategies such as the nonrecognition of their ethnic identities on top of the discrimination triggered by the coloniality of power that already interferes with their participatory parity. "When we come to the city, we can rely only on our own luck," said Participant 7. As Participant 8 put it,

> if even those peoples who live in indigenous territories and have legislation that defines their specific rights, such as differentiated school education and health, and a national plan for the environmental and territorial management of indigenous lands, don't have their rights respected in practice, imagine the situation of indigenous people who are in the city and don't have

> any kind of specific legislation to support them. It is very difficult, very difficult. (Participant 8)

Considering this context, Theme 2 - *Increasing and somehow limited female participation in indigenous social movements* revealed that in the urban perimeter of Manaus, indigenous women feel "very much empowered" in their relationship with indigenous men (Participant 4) and their involvement and participation in broader indigenous movements and organizations is significantly growing and thus "they are becoming the protagonists of indigenous movements" (Participant 3). This increase, according to Matos (2012), directly relates to the creation of women's specific indigenous movements and organizations in Brazil from the 1980s, which opened new spaces not only for those women to participate in the public scene, but also for female leadership. "The larger political participation of indigenous women in the different spheres and actions directed to their peoples provokes the discussion about their (re) positioning and the conceptions of gender in their communities", highlights Sacchi (2006, p. 142). In this sense, "[indigenous] men are starting to see that [indigenous] women are as capable as they are," said Participant 4, a perception that was confirmed by all the interviewees.

Some examples the participants gave of the changing social status of indigenous women included the fact that the most important indigenous organizations in Brazil, such as the APIB and the COIAB, are led by women, the election of Joênia Wapichana as the first indigenous congresswoman in 2018 and the fact that in that year, for the first time, an indigenous woman, Sônia Guajajara, ran as a candidate for vice-president of the country. As interviewee 8 put it, "today everything is changing, sis. Indigenous women can participate, they have a voice and vote. They are being heard and respected by men and their opinion is taken into consideration." Participant 3 reinforced this, saying "indigenous women are assuming leadership roles and, therefore, they are being heard and respected". Thus, according to the participants, indigenous women have a fundamental role in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements once they gain responsibility for organizing them. "Indigenous women are the roots, the pillars of the movements. Here in Manaus, for example, we participate way more than men do. We are responsible for organizing everything even though we rarely receive any credit for it", said Participant 6.

It is important to emphasize that indigenous women's growing involvement and leadership in indigenous social movements has been limited to the urban context.

According to the interviewees, this growth has not yet reached the women living in traditional communities. "In addition to needing male authorization to participate, women are also criticized for leaving their families and their household chores aside. Most of the time, this discourages them from getting involved with indigenous movements and organizations," explained Participant 5. "Outside the urban context, indigenous women are still very dependent on their male peers," stated Participant 4. The lack of financial resources also brings difficulties for indigenous women living in traditional communities to participate on women's mobilizations, according to the interviewees.

Nevertheless, Theme 3 – *Gender: the elephant in the room*, which also helped in answering the sub-questions "*In what way are women's rights understood among indigenous peoples? Is there space to include gender-related claims in indigenous social movements?"*, gave room to question if the increase in female participation really granted them participatory parity relative to indigenous men. For instance, there was no consensus among the participants about the existence of space to include gender-related matters in the broader indigenous movements' agenda. The majority of the interviewees, however, reported limited or no space at all to make such an inclusion. This, according to Sacchi (2006, p.125), may be a result of indigenous women's unawareness of their specific rights as women, especially for those living within traditional communities, which is reinforced by the governmental disinterest in promoting gender equality in Brazil, and of the absence of support, in general, from indigenous men and indigenous society and their organizations when it comes to such inclusion. Thus, participants' statements corroborated Mato's conclusion that the increase in women's participation in indigenous movements created more expectations "[…] than indigenous policies could actually meet in their current context regarding the insertion of the gender issue in the indigenous movement" (Matos, 2012, p. 155).

As Fraser explains, "gender, 'race', sexuality, and class are not neatly cordoned off from one another. Rather, all these axes of injustice intersect one another in ways that affect everyone's interests and identities. No one is a member of only one such collectivity" (1998, p. 22-23). In this sense, the intersectional position of indigenous women puts them in a complex situation and, therefore, "one must read the provisions on group rights together with the existing body of international law that guarantees the human rights of women" (Coomaraswamy, 2002, p. 489). However, as explained by Participant 1, indigenous peoples say that "this [discussion about women's rights] is feminism and feminism is not part of the indigenous movement". By denying a place for

feminism within indigenous movements, indigenous peoples might be depriving their women of a fundamental tool to achieve participatory parity since, as defined by Paredes (2015, p.28) "feminism is the struggle and the political alternative proposed by any woman anywhere in the world, in any era of history, who has rebelled against the patriarchal system that oppresses her."

If Theme 1 showed that an essentialized understanding of indigenous culture and identity is being used by the dominant Brazilian society to deny specific rights to indigenous peoples living in the urban perimeter of Manaus, here including the indigenous women, which interferes with their participatory parity relative to non-indigenous society, Theme 3 showed that an essentialized understanding of indigenous culture still exists among indigenous peoples, which maintain the female social subordinate status, representing an obstacle for the participatory parity of indigenous women, even though they have a central role in indigenous social movements as shown in Theme 2. Therefore, according to Fraser's theory on social justice, the themes suggest the necessity of applying the concept of participatory parity twice: "[…] first, at the intergroup level, to assess the effects of institutionalized patterns of cultural value on the relative standing of minorities vis-à-vis majorities. […] second, at the intragroup level, to assess the internal effects of the minority practices for which recognition is being claimed (Fraser, 2007, p.31). Borrowing Wolf's understanding of culture as something "[…] continuously in construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction, under the impact of multiple processes operative over wide fields of social and cultural connections" (1984, p.396), indigenous cultural patterns that oppress women and deny them their rights as such must be replaced if the goal is to achieve their participatory parity and, thus, social justice. It is important to highlight that to achieve social justice it is necessary, according to Fraser, to end not only misrecognition, but maldistribution as well, which would tackle the poverty that characterizes indigenous lives in Brazil.

Many authors[35], including Fraser, criticize the traditional Western model of feminism for homogenizing the female subordinate status and ignoring the different contexts and forms in which women around the world are oppressed and denied their rights (Mohanty, 1984), which can explain the indigenous resistance to considering feminism as a tool to achieve social justice. This does not mean that the core idea behind feminism, which is equality, should be abandoned. It means that it is necessary to adopt

35 Paredes (2015), Anzaldúa (2005), Lugones, (2010), among others.

non-Western, non-mainstream types of feminism that open space for colonized women to voice their struggles and needs (Paredes, 2015; Anzaldúa, 2005). In this sense, what seems to be necessary is for Brazil's indigenous men and women to adopt decoloniality and decolonial understandings of feminism to break patterns of oppression created by the coloniality of power and the coloniality of gender that keep the social subordination of indigenous women to this day.

5.5 Summary

Nonrecognition as an obstacle for indigenous participatory parity, increasing and yet somehow limited female participation in indigenous social movements, and the lack of space to discuss gender were the themes constructed from the theoretical thematic analysis. The analysis was made considering the primary research question *what is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements*? The coloniality of power and the coloniality of gender affect the participatory parity of indigenous women and represent obstacles for achieving social justice. These women could benefit, thus, from using decolonial strategies, including decolonial feminisms, to change their reality so they can guarantee their rights as women along with their rights as indigenous, which is necessary, considering their intersectional position that also includes poverty, to achieve social justice.

6 Conclusion

The main research question of this project aimed to explore the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil, considering the subaltern position assigned to these peoples by the colonial process, the intersectional position occupied by indigenous women, and how these positions interfere with their participatory parity. To guide the analysis and to provide arguments for discussion, theories on the coloniality of power, the coloniality of gender, social justice, and recognition were used. Theoretical thematic analysis following the model of Clarke and Braun (2006) was applied to construct themes relating to the primary research question and indigenous participatory parity, which are relevant considering the importance of indigenous social movements and female participation in view of the current situation of indigenous peoples in Brazil.

As presented in Section 2 – Background and Literature Review, the current situation of Brazil's indigenous peoples is a result of the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000), which continues to interfere with how these peoples are perceived and treated by the non-indigenous Brazilian society. The dominant perception that indigenous peoples do not belong to the 'civilized' world affects their participatory parity, which is the form of politics of recognition for which Fraser advocates, necessary for achieving social justice, along with the politics of redistribution and representation. The creation of an international legal apparatus for defending minority rights – and then specifically to defend indigenous peoples' rights – fueled the emergence of indigenous movements in Brazil from the 1970s, which worked towards constructing national policies concerning indigenous rights. However, the development of international and national legal apparatuses to ensure their rights did not guarantee that these rights would be respected, in practice, necessitating the continued mobilization of indigenous peoples.

In that sense, the themes 1) nonrecognition in the way of indigenous participatory parity, 2) increasing and somehow limited female participation in indigenous social movements, and 3) gender: the elephant in the room, generated through the theoretical thematic analysis, provided insights into the continued subordinate status of indigenous peoples living in the urban perimeter of Manaus and of the lingering female subordination which hinders the participatory parity of indigenous women. Despite presenting evidence of improvement in their social subordinate status relative to indigenous men, such as their

growing participation in indigenous movements and presence in leadership positions, indigenous women living in Manaus revealed difficulties to include gender-related discussions in such movements' agendas, casting doubt that their increasing participation is sufficient for achieving participatory parity. The existence of a politics of nonrecognition in the urban context that perpetuates the exclusionary patterns put in place by the coloniality of power and coloniality of gender was also highlighted in the analysis, showing that the dominant society still invents strategies to deny indigenous peoples' rights and, thus, their participatory parity.

The recommendation is, therefore, for indigenous women to take the lead in embracing decoloniality as a strategy to end their social subordinate status and the subordination of their peoples. Decoloniality, according to Quijano (2007) and Mignolo (2011), starts with epistemological decolonization. It implies, according to Mignolo and Walsh, "the recognition and undoing of the hierarchical structures of race, gender, heteropatriarchy, and class that continue to control life, knowledge, spirituality, and thought, structures that are clearly intertwined with and constitutive of global capitalism and Western modernity." (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.17). Considering the struggle between "feminist ethnocentrism" and the "ethnic essentialism" (Hernández Castillo, 2001) indigenous women face due to their intersectional position, the alternative would be to adopt decolonial types of feminism that must consider the different contexts into which women are inserted (Mohanty, 1984) and work for the deconstruction of gender since "there is never going to be gender equity (understood as equality) because the masculine gender is created at the expense of the feminine" (Paredes, 2015, p.23).

Research about the political participation of indigenous women who live in traditional communities and their role in indigenous social movements may offer a better understanding of indigenous women's social subordinate status and could be used as a topic for further studies.

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Annexes

Annex 1: Letter of consent to participants

You are being invited to participate in a study called "The role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil: Coloniality of power, coloniality of gender and their impact on the participatory parity of indigenous women living in Manaus", whose objectives and justifications are to answer the following questions: 1) what is the role of indigenous women in the decision-making process of indigenous social movements in Brazil? 2) are the indigenous peoples and indigenous women aware of their human rights? 3) Are the indigenous women aware of their rights as women? 4) How are gender-based rights addressed by indigenous social movements? 5) Is there space for indigenous women to discuss their gender-based rights in the indigenous social movements? 6) Is the feminist perspective/agenda present in indigenous social movements in Brazil? The purpose of my research is to examine how indigenous women are participating in indigenous social movements and how the gender issue has been seen and treated by the Brazilian indigenous society. The project is part of a Master of Science in Human Rights and Multiculturalism at the University of Southeastern Norway (USN), campus Drammen.

You are being asked to participate in this study because 1) you are an indigenous woman; 2) you live in Manaus (Brazil); 3) you participate in the indigenous movement, and 4) you are comfortable with being interviewed in Portuguese.

Your participation in this study will consist of answering questions that will be asked orally during an interview - that should last between 45 and 90 minutes - about your life as an indigenous woman, your participation in indigenous social movements, and the space that such movements give to indigenous women's issues. Data will be collected via notes and audio recording.

Your personal data will be treated confidentially, and the only individuals who will have access to your data are the student, Luiza Nunes de Lima, and her supervisor, Gabriela Mezzanotti. Personal data information will be stored on an external hard drive apart from the rest of the data and a scrambling key will be utilized. Personal data and recordings will be stored on an external hard drive that is locked in a safe place. Data will be protected from unauthorized access by using encrypted passwords to protect the files.

The project is scheduled for completion by February 2021. Once the project is completed, data will be anonymized and then deleted six to eight weeks after the deadline of February 2021.

Your participation is voluntary and, therefore, you can refuse to participate in the study or withdraw your consent at any time, without having to justify your reasons to do so. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.

The researcher involved with this project is Luiza Nunes de Lima, and you will be able to keep in touch with her by phone (31) 99153-1987 or +47 4623-5561 or by email: luizalimajn@gmail.com.

The study has been registered with the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Having been guided as to the content of everything mentioned here and understood the nature and purpose of the aforementioned study, I express my free consent to participate, and I am fully aware that there is no economic value to receive or pay for my participation.

Name:

____

Signature of participant:

____

Date:

____

Annex 2: Interview Guide

Background questions

Name

Age

Civil Status

Children

Education level

Background/ life history questions:

- Where did you grow up?
- How was/is your family structured? Did you have contact with both your mother and father? What was/is their schooling level?
- Did they participate in indigenous social movements? How? Was this important for your participation in social movements? How?
- Tell me about your school life.
- Do you work? Where? Since when?

Human Rights questions:

- What do you know about Human Rights? How did you get to know that?
- What do you know about indigenous peoples' Human Rights? How did you get to know that?
- What about indigenous women's Human Rights? Do you know that women have gender-based Human Rights? How did you get to know that?
- Do you think that the indigenous peoples in Brazil know their Human Rights? Tell me more about that.
- What is your perception, and what is the general perception of Human Rights and indigenous Human Rights where you live?

Social movements/ Indigenous social movements questions:

- Tell me about the indigenous social movements that you know of.
- Can we say that there are different indigenous social movements, or is there only one? Does it depend on the ethnicity, region?
- How did you start participating in those social movements?
- What are the main goals of the social movements that you participate in?
- How is the process of choosing the leader/leaders? Are there women in leadership positions in these movements?
- Can you explain to me the power hierarchy inside of these movements? What are the women's roles?
- Can you explain to me the work that these movements develop?
- Do you know how the community sees these movements?

- In your opinion, what are the main problems faced by indigenous social movements in Brazil nowadays? How can these problems be overcome?
- Are there any problems inside of these movements that you can identify? What bothers you?
- Do you think that the indigenous social movements are effective? Are they being heard? What should be done, in your opinion, to change this situation?
- In your opinion, is there space for gender issues discussions inside the indigenous social movements?
- Is it possible for indigenous women to include their claims in the indigenous social movements? Are women allowed to speak inside the social movements?

Indigenous women / social movements / feminism questions:

- We've been talking about indigenous social movements in general… I'm wondering if there are indigenous women's social movements as well. Can you tell if there are specific indigenous women's movements? Is it possible to say that indigenous women have their own movements?
- Do the indigenous peoples consider indigenous women's struggles as indigenous struggles and vice-versa?
- Do you participate in specific indigenous social movements? How? What is the difference between the generic social movement and the women's social movement?
- Do you think your Human Rights as a woman are respected by society? What about the community? And inside of the social movements?
- Do you think that indigenous women's claims are present in the indigenous social movements' agenda in Brazil? How?
- What are your thoughts about feminism?
- Do you think that there is space for gender discussion in indigenous social movements in Brazil? Can you give me an example?
- How do you see gender issues as an indigenous woman? Do you think that gender issues for indigenous women are different from the gender issues faced by other women?
- What are the main problems faced by indigenous women nowadays, in your opinion? Do you think that the indigenous social movements and the indigenous women's social movements are doing the right thing to solve them? Explain.
- How do you describe the women's participation in indigenous social movements?
- Do you think that women have space in the decision-making process in these movements? How so? Can you give examples?
- Are the indigenous women allowed to put their specific claims on the agenda of the indigenous social movements?
- Which claims would you like to include on the indigenous social movements' agenda?
  - Do you think that being an indigenous woman is more difficult than being an indigenous man? Why?