

Identity, Ethnic Resistance and Tradition in Sutiaba, Nicaragua¹ (1950-1960)

Sylvia Torres

This paper explores the participation of women in the process of ethnic identity formation of the self-proclaimed indigenous population of Sutiaba, Nicaragua. The main assumption is that women are crucial to Sutiaba's resistance to a dominant discourse that in many ways threatens to undermine Sutiaba's indigenous identity, and that in the process of ethnic resistance Sutiaba women have also resisted gender subordination. Although struggles over gender rights and obligations are frequently subsumed under patriarchal biased narratives and categories of analysis, my contention is that women participation can be traced and made visible by gathering and analyzing oral traditions, personal narratives and historical accounts of the community, and that this process will show a struggle over gender rights and obligation. In this paper I will use a subaltern approach to analyze the intersection of gender with 1) ethnicity, 2) resistance, and 3) tradition. I attempt to show these categories not to be fixed and bounded but rather to be categories that continuously interplay over time and according to context.

A multidimensional gendered approach

Most of the studies of Sutiaba lack a gendered perspective, and have ignored the distinct contributions of women to the ethnic struggle. Studies of ethnic identity and gender oppression have been largely isolated from each other. On the one hand, while there are many accounts of the ways in which indigenous people use their ethnic identity in struggles against state incorporation or assimilation, there are very few which reveal women's specific participation in this struggle. On the other hand, while there are many accounts of women's subordination in Nicaragua, few of them discuss the subordination of women within the ethnic group, as if the recognition of the subordination of women in Sutiaba would undermine the ethnic movement as a whole. Florencia Mallon (1996) suggests that the apparent absence of women from studies of ethnic struggles is caused by the fact that when "women speak," (1996:178) the point of reference of the struggle shifts. Sometimes, women reject patriarchal defined meanings: the story of "La Malinche", about the indigenous Mexican who served as mistress and translator to the Spanish Conqueror Hernan Cortez provides an example. Recent re interpretations of this story have rescued Malinche from being a traitor of the Mexicans to being a victim of the male dominated societies to which she belonged Mallon 1996:174). Ignoring or neglecting the differentiated gender roles in social process results in more or less equating social actors with social men, thus obscuring women's roles and failing to achieve a better understanding of social processes. Furthermore, differentiating women and men's social roles but failing to analyze how patriarchal assumptions about proper gender roles cause or affects their social performances also results in the marginalization of women by removing their social agency. In addition, the male bias of social sciences (Ardener 1975), often results in muting women's voices through approaching them not as social subjects in their own right but as extensions (consorts) of the (male) social subject (Smith 1996; Mallon 1996).

Frequently the inability of social researchers to acknowledge women's social roles resides not in the fact that women do not participate in social issues, but that the ways in which they participate do not seem important to explore because the codes and categories of social analysis have for so long been male biased (Moore 1988, Ardener. 1975). Women, for example, often employ distinct strategies of resistance that social researchers fail to recognize such as choosing to wear or not wear ethnic clothes, speak or not speak the "ethnic" language etc. Using gendered approaches includes the use of a [feminist] methodology that challenges male biased codes and categories and recognizes the differentiated ways in which women "speak." As Scott

1. Presented at Lasa Conference in Guadalajara, Mexico 1997.

has pointed out many times, the dominated express themselves through "hidden transcripts," in this sense women's oral narratives and the representations of them in legends and traditions are the transcripts to be "translated" (Raheja and Gold 1994). I will attempt to apprehend new categories of analysis of Sutiaba's struggle by listening and translating women's narratives of their participation in these ethnic struggles (Raheja & Gold 1994). Such an approach will add texture and depth to the analysis of ethnicity in general and to the analysis of Sutiaba ethnic struggles in particular.

My work in Sutiaba expands on Scott's works on resistance (1985, 1990). Although he does not address gender in these works, I believe they are worth rescuing from their genderless state because they highlight the presence and play of power in most forms of relationships and activities (Ortner 1995:175). Scott's approach to resistance is useful, because it undermines dichotomies of symbolic and material, public and private, and analyzes everyday practices. I find this approach effective because it helps us to understand the multi-dimensionality of women's involvement in the process of ethnic resistance. The use of simplistic dichotomies (dominant/dominated, private/public) fails to connect the multiple aspects of the social phenomenon. It prevents the researcher from analyzing the complexity of power struggles within the subaltern² group, as well as its relationship to the superaltern³ group. I think that instead of examining Sutiaba's struggle from a two-dimensional perspective (either gender or resistance), a subaltern approach to the problems of gender and ethnic resistance in Sutiaba, Nicaragua will allow me to avoid fixed binary categories in which one part always plays the dominant role and the other plays the role of dominated.

Traditions and oral narratives can be better understood by analyzing them from a subaltern approach. Etymologically⁴ the concept of Subaltern describes an incomplete and awkward other, a subject that is inadequate, partial and not worthy of being considered a subject of history. In fact, the otherness of both women and indigenous has its origin in the Greek roots of the Western European civilization which define the citizen (*el varon excelente*) in terms of oppositions: male not female, Greek not Barbarian, Free not Slave, Adult not Child. Thus from the very beginning women were excluded from Western citizenship. The otherness of indigenous groups, as the Sutiaba, was created by the European conquest and colonization of the American territory and its people. The indigenous as a subaltern --racial, cultural, intellectual, and religious— different and inferior other was created to justify the colonial domination and exploitation as a redeeming and civilizing enterprise (Bonfil Batalla 1979, Said 1979)

Subalternity as a concept conceives a reality in which dominant and subordinated roles change depending on the context in which they occur. For example in the context a male member of the indigenous minority may be subordinated to a male a member of a dominant group. However in another context, this subordinate man in turn subordinates women and/or youth of his own minority group. Subalternity will allow me to work simultaneously with the gendered contradictions and commonalities within the subaltern ethnic group and to work with the relationship of it (the gendered subaltern group) with the gendered superaltern group. Using this framework to analyze how gender relationships of power intersect with ethnic resistance will shed light on the intricacies of ethnic struggles while allowing women's social participation to become visible. Both aspects are important to an understanding of the social phenomenon that takes into account that culture, identity and resistance are not fixed and bounded categories but rather than they interplay fluently over time and according to context. A subaltern approach is

²As a term subaltern describes someone of inferior rank whose inferiority could be expressed in "terms of class, gender, race or any other way" (Guha, Spivak et.al. 1988).

³I borrow the term from Michael Brow (1991), and I feel it properly expresses the nature of the contradiction the subaltern confront. The term dominant as well as its antonym dominated, conceal the complexities embedded in relationship of power.

⁴The Third College Edition of the Webster's New World Dictionary, 1994, define the term subaltern as "subordinate; of low rank".

also useful to decode women's voices. Rosalind O'Hanlon's approach (1988), Raheja and Gold (1994:15) explain that the demands of spectacular demonstrations of independence, will, and self-determining power on the part of the subaltern neglects the fact that many times the subalterns speak with the codes and language of the dominant discourse.

⁵

Background

Sutiaba is the largest and most organized of the 11 communities on the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua that claim an indigenous self identification despite having lost many attributes of ethnic identity such as traditional language, land, religious rituals, and ethnic dress. In Sutiaba's case this claim to indigenous identity has been linked to a strong sense of pride in their historic resistance to the Spanish conquest. This history is recorded in their oral and written narratives that recount a centuries old struggle for autonomous political self administration of Sutiaba's territory, and, most significantly, communal administration of its ancestral Sutiaba land. This land, 25,000 hectares according to some sources, or 35,000 hectares according to others, has vague and elastic boundaries. The land itself conveys great symbolic meaning in terms of historical and ethnic identity. It is also a physical, spatial and a geographical entity that opposes the hegemonic discourse of Nicaragua nationalism which claims Nicaragua as a homogeneous, modern, mestizo⁶ nation (Gould, 1993:94). Since the beginning of this century, one of the premises of the process of modernization was the (volver mercancia) commodification of the indigenous labor force, and the privatization of the indigenous communal land. Sutiaba land is, therefore, a highly problematic issue that raises questions of gender, the nation and ethnicity.

Sutiaba is now a neighborhood of Leon, the capital of the department⁷ of Leon, the second largest city in Nicaragua. Sutiaba's 35,000 inhabitants represent 17% of the department's total population. Although mainly an urban zone, Sutiaba's territory includes land dedicated to agriculture, and coastal territory dedicated to mangrove, shrimps and fish production. Small holders, seasonal agriculture workers, low middle class professionals, artisans and small merchants comprise Sutiaba's population. According to a recent survey (Ortega 1995), there are not great class differences among the members of the population. For example, there are no large estate owners or big entrepreneurs there.

The Sutiaba share their territory with mestizos from different parts of Nicaragua. During the past five decades, a growing number of mestizos moved to Sutiaba, thus breaking down centuries of the social and cultural closeness of the community. Mr. Enrique Fonseca, secretary of Sutiaba's Elder's Council, estimates that 40% of the current inhabitants of Sutiaba are non-indigenous; however, despite this "mestization" of the population, and that some Sutiabans only accept indigenous ancestry, but not indigenous identity, Sutiaba's dominant self definition is that they are the indigenous people of Sutiaba⁸. During the 1950's and 1969's ethnic ascription to Sutiaba, "being autochthon," is determined by whether they belong to a traditional indigenous family that has lived there "forever" thus sharing a common origin, and whether they possess

⁵Nicaragua present a percentage of 32 % of female headed household (Source)

⁶The mestizos are the offspring of unions between Indians and the descendants of the Spanish conquerors. As a ethnic category it was coined at the beginning of the 19th century. Mestizo opposes White, broadly defined, and Indigenous and Black ethnic minorities.

⁷A department (departamento) is the form of political administrative system in Nicaragua, and is the equivalent of a province in other places.

⁸ A 1995 survey, conducted by Marvin Ortega in Sutiaba, reports that 98% of the people interviewed in Sutiaba themselves as indigenous. My impression is that this percentage is too high, but still is important to show the persistency of the indigenous self identification.

certain physical traits such as straight hair, brown skin, and protuberant cheekbones⁹. In addition, indigenous last names usually associated with nicknames are used to contribute to the definition. Within the last ten years ethnic ascription to Sutiaba has been increasingly determined in terms of political participation.

Pre-colonial and colonial forms of social organization are still functioning in Sutiaba. There are two Elder's councils, which possess great moral authority over the Sutiaba. In addition, there are five Indigenous Communal Cemetery Boards corresponding to an equal number of Sutiaba's administrated graveyards; and one Lay Fraternity (Cofradia) of Holy Burial, whose task is the organization of religious activities. A modern form of social organization, dating to 1914, is the Sutiaba Indigenous Community Board (CIS) whose constituency includes the indigenous population as well as the mestizo inhabitants of Sutiaba, especially those involved in the struggle for land. The CIS board members are elected every two years by indigenous people and other residents who has lived in Sutiaba for seven years or more. Although the CIS does not belong to the political administrative structure of Leon, the CIS acts as a link between the official authorities, such as the mayor and the police, and the Sutiaban population. Since its revitalization in 1955, the main task of the CIS has been the organization and mobilization of the Sutiaba for the recuperation of the ancestral land they are entitled to by the Spanish Royal Land Title.

Ethnographic discussion

In order to show the interaction of gender and ethnic resistance in Sutiaba, Nicaragua, I will merge Sutiaba women's personal narratives with the analysis of four historical aspects of women's contribution in the struggle. These are: First, women's contribution to the reproduction of the ethnic group. By tending to stay in Sutiaba during adulthood women facilitate the biological maintenance of the group and the reproduction of Sutiaba cultural traditions, such as their participation in certain forms of cult to the ancestors, and the production of ethnic food. Second, women have for most of this century, held and guarded the Spanish Royal Land Title, dating from 1828 and according to which the Sutiabas possess 63 *caballerias* (25,000 hectares) of land. This Title is a powerful symbol of Sutiaba ethnic resistance. The fact that not just Sutiabas, but Sutiaba women have guarded a land title which recognizes Sutiaba's existence and proves its attachment to a territory is an important feature of Sutiaba ethnic origins. Third, Sutiaba women have participated enormously in the social struggle for land, which led them during the 1950's not only to achieve high positions of leadership but also to organize a female indigenous organization, which was the largest women's organization in Nicaragua at that time. Fourth, women are strongly represented in Sutiaba's myth of origin, the story of Princess Xochilt Acalt and her father Chief Adiact, a story that unifies meanings of Sutiaba self representation. I will attempt to link these scattered pieces of women's [symbolic and material] participation to the whole analysis of Sutiaba's ethnic resistance.

1. Gender and the reproduction of the ethnic struggles. Elsewhere women have been the bearers of ethnic emblems, and an example of this is the cross cultural concept of the feminine nation such as "Mother Nation" (Anderson 1991). Sutiaba's counter discourse and practices are profoundly gendered. Prior to 1940 Sutiaba ethnicity were strengthened by a tight policy of group endogamy (Gould, 1990). In the same manner Sutiaba's counter discourse of ethnic resistance is currently strengthened by denouncing the brutality of the Spanish conquerors against indigenous women during the Conquest. In a two volumes book of the History of Sutiaba written by the indigenous leader Mr. Enrique Fonseca, he rejects that prostitution was practiced in the New World, but rather that it was the Spanish Conquerors who brought it to America thus "polluting" indigenous women with sexual diseases¹⁰ (Preliminary Research 1996). The way in which he

⁹Personal communication with Ms. Tina Roque and Mr. Enrique Fonseca.

¹⁰Mr. Fonseca is arguing against the Spanish Chronicler Gonzalo Fernandez Oviedo, who recorded that Nicaragua women enjoy great bodily freedom, virginity did not have a special status and that women were given the faculty to prostitute herself before the wedding without that being

argues for the purity of the indigenous "race" is rather offensive for women. Showing the gendering of ethnic identity formation is a recent trend, and Gould's work (1990, 1996) has provided invaluable insights to better understanding it. However as Florencia Mallon (1996) has indicated although these approaches shed light on the interrelationship between gender and ethnicity, they still treat women as passive recipients of ethnicity, and do not acknowledge the active role women play in the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity.

Studying strategies of ethnic survival in Central America, Richard N. Adams (1991:195) has pointed out that a successful strategy for the replication of the ethnic group is actually its biological reproduction. In this sense he highlights the "readiness of the indigenous Miskitus of Nicaragua to incorporate people of whatever genetic extraction, as long as the Miskitus women kept control of the household within the Miskitus community, where the need for common ancestry and the inculcation of language and culture were met." Carol Smith (1992) has added gender to her study of the ethnic reproduction of Guatemalan Indians. She asserts that Mayan women reproduce the Mayan community biologically and culturally because they are expected to and tend to marry Mayan men, have many children and socialize their offspring within Mayan culture values. As Gould (1996) has recently pointed out, in the case of Nicaragua, gender is also important because the construction of the dominant discourses of mestizaje, a mestizo ideology of nationalism, has been built upon contradictory gendered images of Indians. According to Gould (1996), at the origin of the Nicaraguan discourse of mestizaje is both the image of virile prehispanic Indian warriors and present feminized inferior indigenous males.

As mentioned earlier, one important strategy for the replication of ethnic groups is its reproduction (Adams 1991; Smith 1987). In Sutiaba, during the beginning of the century, along with the attachment to an Indigenous community and common origins, endogamous marriage played an important role in the endurance of the ethnic group; thus all those who married outside the group were alienated from it. During the 1930's and 1940's many Sutiaba women worked as wetnurses and maids for the mestizo elite of Leon. In the process, many of these women were seduced or raped by their employers and then fired. Nonetheless, unlike the neighboring Chinandega, (a now extinguished indigenous population) the community of Sutiaba welcomed the offspring resulting from these unions as members of the ethnic group. According to Gould that played a key role in perpetuating the indigenous ethnicity in ideological and historical rather than in racial terms (Gould, 1990:231), thus allowing the survival of the ethnic group.

Although, "racial" purity is not critical for the definition of ethnic inclusion in Sutiaba, and ethnicity is passed down bilaterally (Membreno, 1994, Mrs. Tina Roque¹¹) it is important to note women's role in the endurance of ethnic identity. Ortega's 1955 survey reveals that both women and men identified themselves as Sutiaba in the same proportion; but 80% of the women asserted having Sutiaba's parents whereas only 64% of the men asserted having Sutiaban parents. This data seems to suggest that more women stay in Sutiaba and consequently they are important for the biological and cultural continuity of the group. According to my informants, "when Sutiaba men marry an outsider, they tend to leave Sutiaba in order to live in the women's communities, while when Sutiaba women marry an outsider, they tend to bring the men to live in Sutiaba. This allows the socialization of the offspring in Sutiaba's cultural traditions. Santos Roque, touches on this trend. She explained that two of her daughters married non-Sutiaba men but that "they moved to Sutiaba, learned our customs and now their children are Sutiaba." Emphasizing Sutiaba's acceptance of foreigners she added "People are really fond of my son-in-law, the technician." In this regard, as Adams (1991:196) has asserted, the practice of "fictionalizing reproduction," a reproductive policy whereby women bring new members to the group by having children with or marrying outsiders whose offspring acquire the ethnic group's culture, is important for the retention of the ethnic identity of the group.

a cause of scandal.

¹¹Personal communication.

Along with their symbolic role in the construction of an ethnic mythology there is a women's role in the preservation of cultural traditions. Ethnic groups also construct their identity by selecting and performing certain rituals that differentiate them from the others. These rituals or ritualized social relations, "act as critical symbols of the ethnicity itself" (Adams 1991:193). Women are critical participants in two key ethnic rituals of Sutiaba. The first are certain forms of the cult to the ancestors related to the communalization of the dead via the communal participation in funerals and wakes, as well as the communal administration and care of the cemeteries. The second ethnic ritual in which women are involved consist of the production of certain food such as the "mota de atol" dessert, the "Paco" tamale, and the "Tiste" beverage.

Funerals, Graveyard and Community

Mortuary rites, its social implications have long interested social researchers (Bloch and Parry, 1982:6). It is assumed that the study of these rituals would shed light on the social construction of emotion and on the relationship between the biological individual and the social collectivity. According with Bloch and Parry, mortuary rites allow for the disaggregation of the individual from the collectivity while re-establishing society. In this sense these rites 'create society and graveyard will be a symbolic representation of the social order. Tombs become a symbol of the property holding kinship group (1982:32). Studying the burial customs among the Bolivian Laymi, Olivia Harris (1982) has found how the location and inclusiveness of the cemetery reflects the changes in the character and autonomy of the local community. She points out how the colonial authorities centralized cemeteries in a effort for undermine the relative independence of the local pre colonial groups.

Cemeteries's communal care and administration as well as the funerary rites which follow the decease of a person convey a great symbolism of communal autonomy and solidarity, both principles, regarded as ancestral virtues of the Sutiaba's indigenous culture. As a remaining of its prior administrative autonomy, as an indigenous municipality (which conceded the Sutiabas the (management) administration of municipal (ejidal) land), five Indigenous Communal Cemetery Board control a corresponding number of cemeteries. Although most of the people buried in the indigenous cemeteries belong to autochthonos Sutiabas, it has been a tradition that Sutiaba's cemeteries will be open to other people who request to be buried there. Usually, non-Sutiaba people buried within Indigenous cemeteries are those whose families could not afford the payment asked by the mestizo municipality or those without family buried by public charity. It is also a Sutiaba's people pride that they have donated Sutiaba's land for other neighborhoods to have their own cemeteries. As Mrs. Tina Roque recalls the Sutiabas did so because they are "hermanables", kind as brothers [my translation].

Sutiaba's cemeteries are different from non-indigenous cemeteries in that people do not have to pay to have a relative buried there but in return the living relatives have to commit themselves to participate annually in two cleaning and ornamentation journey. These journey, called "Fajinas", usually take place in October close to the Death's Day, according to the catholic tradition, November 1. Usually performed at dawn, 3 or 4 am, the President of the Cemetery Board will parade through Sutiaba's street accompanied by drum's beat, male neighbors will then join the procession and spend the day cleaning the tombs of bad grass. Without regard of relatives participation, all the tombs will be cleaned.

This activity resembles of the communal agriculture that characterized Sutiaba's pre-colonial and colonial mode of production, and that is highly regarded by the Elders of the community. Mrs. Tina Roque, the guardian of the Colonial Land Title as well as Mr. Manuel Roque the current president of the Elder Council greatly highlight the benefits of communal work indigenous performed up until the 1940's and early 1950's. Mr. Roque said: "if somebody asked me to rent him a piece of land, I would agree but under the condition he would pay no money but would help me with my work (harvesting or so) [my translation]. Mrs. Tina Roque also related that in "past time" Sutiaba's men associated themselves to work one other's land. "Then there were no fences, and fifteen or twenty men would go *ra, ra, ra* to do that companero (Comarade, person)'s work, then they would go to do the other...," she remembers. The "Fajina" is today indigenous communal work, its allow the indigenous population to ritualized a social practice which reinforces their differences with regard non indigenous people.

Despite the differentiated task assigned to men and women during a “Fajina” both tasks are equally regarded. Women are expected to participate in the “Fajina” by providing food and beverages to the participating men. Mr. Manuel Roque explains: “If a woman is alone, a single mother or a widow, her Fajina work consists in bringing to the cemetery a small pot of chicha (corn’s soft fermented drink). The organizer of the Fajina would receive her contribution and make a note of that in the book”. The sense of commonality is also reinforced through women’s participation, in the same manner in that men will clean all the tombs, women would feed all men without regard these men are relatives or not. Parallelism and complementarity between the sexes has been found in some indigenous cultures, such as those on the Andes (Harris 1982, Stern 1996).

The rituals through which a soul is transferred from one social order to another (albeit imaginary) order is however, invoked, to explain the process by which a new social identity is crafted onto the individual. Citing the Galsworthy’s novel *To Let*, Bloch and Parry (34) illustrate how tombs constitute symbols of the continuity of the property holding kin. Thus they point out how groups creating themselves seal their association with a particular locality by the constructions of sepulchres. Regrouping the dead allows to construct an idealized map of the permanent social order (35).

Despite that Sutiaba’s cemeteries are not exclusively for Sutiaba people, it matters where a Sutiaba should be buried. Being allowed to be buried in the indigenous graveyard is somehow becoming part of the indigenous group. Moreover, the people take seriously in which of the five cemeteries they should be buried, and in the company of whom.

As a way to illustrate the importance Sutiaba’s people concede to their cemeteries, Mr. Manuel Roque narrated to me that when one of the “brothers” who was participating in the indigenous struggles of 1972 died, the community sent for his corpse and organized a wake in the communal house. “We buried him in our cemetery because he was a leader of us” he remarked. The cemetery in which Sutiaba people is expected to have their last (ultimate) residence, is the one which is closest to their home.

Regarding gender rules, indigenous spouses expect they would continue to be together in their graveyard, and that according to patriarchal rules women should follow her husband and so be buried in his graveyard. This “customary rule” however is often a motive of dispute and negotiation. As in the case of the marriage of Mr. Manuel and Mrs. Elista Roque, although he takes for granted that if she died before him, he would bury her in his graveyard “El Zapote”, he fears that if he died before her, her family would decide to bury her in their cemetery “San Pedro”. On her part Mrs. Elista related that she uses to tease him that she is going to be buried with her mother. I tell him, she says: ‘how can I live the old little women (her mother long ago dead) all by herself?’. As stated before, gender roles and their expression in tradition are negotiated in everyday life, sometimes inch by inch, by the men and women of Sutiaba.

According to Bloch and Parry (1982) mortuary rites contribute to the formation of social identity because death, as in Durkheim’s study of suicide, has a social and non-individual aspect (1982:3). It is a custom in Sutiaba that close female friends and neighbors, would assist the family of the dead by helping to clean and dress the deceased, ornamenting the house with a shrine and flowers, providing food or helping to cook for the people who assist with the funeral and wake, which are both performed at the house and consist of an entire night of grieving and praying, and a procession the next day to take the deceased to the graveyard. Although I need to explore further the organization and meaning of these rituals, I believe that women’s concern and effort in comforting those who suffer the loss of a relative strengthens the notion of fictive kin within the ethnic group. This is important in order to keep the group together.

Food and ethnic identity

When asked about what are the main expressions of their indigenous culture, Sutiaba people often point out the production and consumption of certain types of food considered to be indigenous such as “Mota de Atol”, “PinoI”, “Tamales Pacos” “Tiste” and others. They would also point out how they grow up consuming them, and most important how it were Sutiaba’s women whom, since memorial

time, used to prepare these food and sell it in the mestizo Central Market of Leon¹². Ethnic food production and consumption has played a role in the formation of indigenous ethnic ascription, several of my informants such as Dr. Elena Rojas, her Father Mr. Concepcion Rojas, Mrs. Elsita Rojas expressed their pride because according to them it was "Sutiaba's people who use to feed.

Food

Another aspect which needs further exploration is the production of ethnic food; since the preparation of it is almost entirely in women's hand, it seems that women are important keepers of this ethnic symbol.

The Land Title

At the core of Sutiaba ethnic resistance is the existence of a Spanish Royal Land Title which dates from the 19th century, and according to which the Sutiaba posses 63 *caballerias* of land (25,000 hectares). Its possession certifies Sutiaba's ties to their territory which is a crucial aspect of ethnic identity, and justifies both the struggle for land and the struggle for ethnic indigenous rights. The Title, two big, leather bound volumes with faded writing, is regarded by the community as "The Treasure", and is the focus of a rich oral tradition. Indigenous leaders hid the Title in the 1920's after several attempts by the mestizo authorities to sequester it. Prior to this time the Title was in the possession of Ms. Juana Roque¹³. One version of why the Title had to be hidden, is that ladino authorities of Leon sent men to Sutiaba, who through deceit, tricked Ms. Roque into given them the Title. The word of this event quickly spread through the Sutiaba community whose members ambushed and killed the ladino men and recovered the Title, before the ladinos were able to cross La Ronda, the boundary between Sutiaba and Leon. All attempts by the Mestizo authorities to find and punish the killers was met with a solid, impenetrable wall of Sutiaba solidarity. Despite the strong punitive actions against the Sutiaba, the identity of the killers was never revealed. That the identity of the killers was actually well known throughout Sutiaba is an important aspect of the story, raising the resistance to the mestizo to more significant levels. The Title itself disappeared during this time into the safety of the underground. In 1956 the Title reappeared publicly in the middle of a heated indigenous conflict against a rich mestizo of Leon who illegally fenced indigenous communal land (*sitios*). With regard to women's role in Sutiaba's ethnicity, it is important to note that beside Ms. Juana Roque role in the guarding of the Title, for most of this century it has been women, Petrona Ortiz during 1920's, and Tina Roque 1940's to the present, who have acted as the "guardians" of this important symbol of Sutiaba ethnicity. However this roles has not only been symbolic but that the women who have guarded the Land Title have played a relevant role in the ethnic conflict between Sutiaba and the mestizos.

Mrs. Tina Roque, the current guardian of the Title does not consider it an honor awarded solely to women, nor does the community. Ms. Roque for example attributes having the Title to familial circumstances. When her father who had it died, she received it. Roque has no living brothers and as a result, it was impossible for the Title to be passed on to a son. Still it seems intriguing to me that a patriarchal society would bestow that responsibility on a woman, as Roque could have passed the Title on to a member of the Elder's Council, or a friend, especially as the Title is perceived to belong to the people. This is just one example of how women seem to play a more than symbolic or passive role in Sutiaba's struggles. For example, the two women who have guarded the Title played a relevant role in the ethnic conflict.

In 1956, Ms. Tina Roque along with Dora Medina and other women, commanded the negotiations with the Nicaraguan dictator for the recovery of Sutiaba's land. Taking advantage of

¹²In fact, most of the food vendors of the main Leon's popular market are Sutiaba women. (Preliminary research).

¹³Version collected during the 1970's by Alan Bolt. Personal communication.

networks developed as a result of past employment as maids or nannies for the dictatorial president's children and family, these women managed to arrange a meeting with President Anastasio Somoza to discuss their demand for the acknowledgment of the indigenous ownership of the land.¹⁴ That meeting, along with the ongoing social struggle,¹⁵ opened the gates for a judicial process through which the centuries-old Spanish Royal Land Title was inscribed at the Office of Title and Deed, thus supposedly achieving legal status. Although the Sutiabas have used the existence of the Title in their political and legal battles, the land they have obtained has not been directly related to the acknowledgment of the Spanish Royal Land Title. Nevertheless, "The Treasure" guarded by Ms. Tina Roque constitutes an important political tool for Sutiaba ethnicity, conveying both a symbol of the historical continuity of Sutiaba's ethnicity as well as an argument that justifies the political organization and social mobilization of the Sutiaba around their ethnic rights.

Mrs. Petrona Ortiz, who before the 1920's during her teens guarded the Title for a short period, has also played an important role in Sutiaba's lands struggles. Mrs. Ortiz testified that, before dying, her grandfather Salvador Ortiz, gave her an Indigenous Royal Spanish Land Title regarding the possession of one indigenous communal parcel in "EL Polvon" at the northeast part of Sutiaba. Don Salvador only had a daughter, Petrona's mother, so Petrona was chosen to receive it. Regrettably ("de bruta", she said) the young women decided that guarding the Title had nothing to do with her and it would be better guarded by the members of the Elder's Council to whom she passed it. Despite that the Title was no longer in her possession the primordial lands right derived from it were so firmly embedded in her consciousness. Now 93 years old, Mrs. Ortiz continues to be a symbol of Sutiaba's land struggle.

In 1942, she took possession of a parcel of land in the traditional "sitio" of "EL Polvon," thus starting a battle, she along with her husband, fought judicially and physically, being violently expelled from the land many times. The "rich" who were claiming the property of "El Polvon" were the owners of the sugar mill San Antonio, which became an economic monopoly based on the bough of municipal owned (ejidal) land and on the invasion of indigenous land (Gould, 1990). After almost two decades of struggle, Mrs. Ortiz took San Antonio's owner to court. Based on her knowledge of the Title, Mrs. Ortiz claimed "El Polvon" was national land and reclaimed ownership based in her having lived there for 20 years. Failing to show legal possession of the land, the court ruled against the San Antonio's owners. Mrs. Ortiz won the judicial battle but lost the land immediately to the National Guard who expelled her and her family from it. Her brave resistance is a legend in Sutiaba, which has passed orally through generations. Even before starting my foray into Sutiaba's ethnic struggles I had learned of this courageous woman who on one occasion confronted, rifle in hand, a San Antonio lawyer who wanted to expel her from indigenous land.¹⁶

2. Gender and Resistance

To understand Sutiaba's ethnic resistance we should look both at the process of state formation in Nicaragua as well as at Nicaragua's incorporation into the capitalist world system. Ana Maria Alonso has stated that processes of state formation generate categories of Self and Others and that as a consequence of it minorities are created (1994). Hence, ethnic struggles for self-identification oppose the totalizing project of the State. In Nicaragua since 1880 the mestizo discourse proclaimed the victory of "civilization against barbarism" (Gould, 1993:401), the former representing the mestizos and the latter the indigenous people. Nicaragua's state formation was accelerated by the liberal revolution of Jose

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Mrs. Elsita Roque

¹⁵⁷ Gould (1990) has estimated that between eight and ten thousand of Sutiabas were involved in the struggle. This social mobilization includes nocturnal forays of up to two thousand men and women who cut down the fences of the land appropriated by richs (los ricos) mestizos.

Santos Zelaya (1893-1909) and its enterprise of modernizing the nation. This process meant for the Indigenous people an attack on their culture and the dispossession of their land. Since then, the different political regimes have promoted what Jeffrey Gould (1993) has called "the myth of a Nicaragua mestiza," a mythic nation generated through an ideology of "mestizaje" that denies colonial racial inequalities and renounces of [ethnic and gender] differences (Mallon 1996). This dynamic placed indigenous people and women outside the nation. Gender and Indigenous identities both coincide and split at different levels and circumstances. Most studies of resistance to state assimilation, however, have ignored the role of women in this process.

Patriarchal relation of power as a system of arbitrary power upon women and young people (Stern 1995) is expressed in Nicaragua through a culture of Machismo (Lancaster, 1992). The Nicaraguan concept of machismo organizes unequal relations between men and women based upon a) concept of manliness associated with risk, violence, bravado postures and danger, frequently expressed through drinking, gambling and womanizing, b) concepts of women associated with exalted notions of motherhood, planning in prevention of adversities, domesticity and action through networks of female and familial solidarity. Women are not expected to be passive violets but responsible providers for the well being of their families (Lancaster, 1992:93). According to Lancaster (1992) this creates separate gendered worlds, that on the one hand allow the rise of a female space where women can mobilize their own resources and establish alliances and resistance, but that on the other hand, by allowing men neglect their familial responsibilities, contributes to the reproduction of the male world. Within this context I will address the participation of Sutiaba women in ethnic struggles to show how within the process women empowered themselves in terms of gender.

Mass Participation of Women in Political Struggles

Sutiaba's women have, to a remarkably high degree, participated in Sutiaba's political struggles. During the early 1950's the Sutiaba faced a growing encroachment of their land by the emergent cotton capitalists, however, unlike other communities of small farmers who suffered the same process, the Sutiabas conceived of their political struggles as a reaffirmation of their ethnic rights awarded to them by the Title. As Gould (1993) has noted this notion of rights unified of diverse groups of Sutiabas artisans, merchants and urban workers, many of whom did not benefit directly from the communal land but who still fought side by side with the small farmers and ranchers who used the land. Although Gould does not mention the reasons for women's participation, I believe that the open participation of women in the struggle was triggered by the direct attack on their means of economic subsistence.

One of the most important events of Sutiaba ethnic struggle during this period was the conflict of 1954. It was originated by a mestizo estate-owner who illegally fenced a path which led to a river. His action prevented fifteen indigenous cattle ranchers from taking their livestock to pasture on the communal land (sitios). Moreover, the state owner's action prevented Sutiaba women from engaging in two of their main means of economic subsistence: gathering fruit they sold in Leon's market, and washing clothes both for their families and for the elite of Leon. In fact, a forgotten 1956 Minutes Book's of the Indigenous Community Board suggest that one of the main motivations was that washerwomen (las lavanderas) could no longer perform these activities. This point appears repeatedly in the minutes as well as in the public denouncement made at that time.

Mrs. Elsita Roque, who went to jail together with other three women during the events mentioned above said that the Sutiaba (women) used to feed the people of Leon: "were the people that sold food at the Central market, from here (the communal land) we took everything to sell: fruits, dessert, beverages, corn bread" (my translation). She also recapitulated that washing clothes at the river was an important economic activity but also a space for women to be together. "Men used to have 'pozas', places where they bathed at the river, but where we washed clothes was a place of our own. There I was free of the demands of my husband and children. They always say: 'give me a beverage, pass me that'." Mrs. Elsita, now in her 70's is upset because her family does not allow her to go to the river. However, she still is identified with the place, and for the last three years she has paid someone to keep the place clean. She urged me to go there, and see by my self how special the creek is. Steve Stern (1987) has argued that historical memory is an important part of resistance, and Mrs. Elsita memories's

of events from 40 years ago still inform today's ethnic resistance. Women's narrative of their challenges to custom of arranged endogamic marriages will still inform today's resistance of gender subordination.

Besides the identification of the river as the women's own space, the fact that the reduced access to the communal land affected their economic means of subsistence provided them with justification to participate in politics, a sphere of life taken as a male domain by patriarchal culture. False dichotomies establish the public domain where politics (and important) processes occurs as a male space, and private space where domestic and familial process occurs as female space. Moreover these dichotomies establish spheres of life that are bounded and inert. In earlier feminist discussion struggles related to the defense of the domestic obligation of women was not consider a feminist struggle because it was seen as a way of reinforcing patriarchy. As Safa (1990) and Escobar and Alvarez (1992), have noted, Latin American women have taken over the "public" arena of struggles against the state when obstacles posed by state 's policies hinder them from accomplishing their "private" roles as nurturing mothers. In the case of Sutiaba the closing of the access to the river (a female space) and communal land was viewed as a direct attack on women's roles as economic providers of their families and compelled Sutiaba's women to transcend boundaries of public and private, crossing the walls of their houses through struggle and becoming visible social subjects.

Steve Stern (1995) has pointed that it is especially in a crisis situation when women men feel that it is acceptable for women to assume public roles in defense of their kin or group. The obligation to care and defend family gives women permission to act publicly. He assert that notwithstanding the masculine qualitates of subaltern citizenship, women pushed their way into public space, often with the complicity of men. "Women authority in this case comes from cultural reputation as persons rather than from citizenship" (204). According to this perspective the participation of Sutiaba women in the struggles of their ethnic group undermined, at least temporary, patriarchal divisions of social roles.

Patriarchal Sutiaba conceptions of women, as the weak sex that men have to protect and treat with delicacy, which were shared to a good extent by the patriarchal authorities of Leon, played an important role in the mass incorporation of women into the struggles of the 1950's. Tomas Perez one of the main male leaders of the revolt, recalls that women headed the indigenous demonstration at the Mayor's office, and the Police headquarters. "Women headed those demonstrations and we thought they would be respected (not attacked) by the police. And this was true to a certain extent. However, when we started cutting down the fences, the police did not restrain from beating women, children, and men with their guns. Women's participation in the struggles decreased after this, but men's participation increased." It seems to me that although the first assumption that women would not be attacked was incorrect, and did not stop or minimize the repression, it may also have helped to increase Sutiaba men participation in the struggle. The male response was to increase their participation in the struggle in spite of police brutality as a result of "macho" reasoning that a) men have to protect their attacked (property) women, b) not to appear cowardly in front of courageous women. In any event, ethnicity and gender operate to mobilize the Sutiaba. The community was united by the contempt they held for the mestizo rich man who interfered with women's means of survival, and who tried to usurp indigenous communal property.

From women's accounts of these events I believe first, that historically, Sutiaba's women have translated the ethnic empowerment achieved through the struggle to their personal gendered empowerment. Their narrative both reinforces ethnic struggle and criticizes male discourses and practices. Women narratives of the struggle easily slips to personal matters. For example, the testimony of another Sutiaba female fighter (luchadora), the well known Ms. Santos Roque has many commentaries on Sutiaban men's marital infidelities, including those of her late husband who was perhaps the most important indigenous leader until 1992. In her narrative she mixes stories of political persecutions and conspiracies that she and her late husband suffered with the stories of how he used to cover up encounters with his mistress. Without resentment she also told me how, at the end of his life both women share the effort of caring for him. Likewise, other women mix the account of the political actions with their transgressions of patriarchal rules of proper behavior. For example Ms. Elsitá Roque told me how she abandoned her business (dejo tirada la venta [mercancia para vender]) in the middle of the street without warning her husband or family in order to witness the re-enactment of the shooting of a large estate - owner who was trying to sell indigenous land. Her actions resulted in her incarceration, and a

mass demonstration by the Sutiaban people asking for the liberation of their women (sacar a nuestras mujeres). Ms. Elsita not only transgressed patriarchal prohibition toward women being active in public political arenas, but also by ending up in jail she risked her reputation: it was common place that any female political prisoner could be sexually abuse. That did not happen to her, but in the event of it, rape would have made of her a stigmatized women¹⁷. Second, I also believe that Sutiaba women's relevant social role was at that time, different from that held by their female mestizo counterparts. Prior to the 1970's this type of female political leadership did not exist in the mestizo population. In the process of ethnic resistance, I argue, Sutiaba's women acquired more social visibility and respect¹⁸. I believe that the ethnic discourse of resistance that presents all Sutiabas as courageous rebels was also appropriated by women if not in their everyday struggles for gender rights and obligation, at least in the ways they represent themselves. They present themselves as proud, autonomous and hard working women, women who do not give up (no se dejan). Women's participation in the ethnic struggle did not prevent them from fighting their own battles over gender rights and obligation. In Sutiaba's case, women's ironies, rumors, gossips, folk stories, and veiled references to husband unfaithfulness or their stories of past defiance to familial restrictions will constitute their "hidden transcript" that resists both ethnic and gender domination. Lancaster (1992) argues that "small talk" or gossip are a means by which women, and also men, share information useful to give meaning to the realities of life. Gossip acts as an ordering force that reorders, signifies and re signifies a dominant discourse. Gossip itself is a form of discourse. Commenting on their heroes personal pitfalls, such as the poor treatment they gave to their wives and concubines could be interpreted as a critique to male narratives centered in public performances. At the same time women's stories about how they get away choosing the husband they wanted instead of those chosen en by their families could seek to reinforce women independence and free will.

Legend, women and ethnicity

Another terrain of women's participation in the ethnic struggles of Sutiaba is at the symbolic level. Struggles of power are struggles over meaning (Foucault 1979), and a common history strengthens ethnic self definition, giving meaning to the mere existence of the group. The past, as history, traditions or folk stories constitute the selection of prior events in order to reinforce current situations (Friedman 1992, Maddox 1993) and is very important in the construction of collective identity (Alvarez and Escobar 1992). The vision of a shared origin assumes the vision of a shared future. In the case of ethnic minorities, such as Sutiaba, folk stories as versions of the past are weapons of resistance against a dominant historic discourse that downplays their ethnicity (Scott 1990).

I will approach Sutiaba's cultural tradition as part of current identity formation, that is changing over time according to its contents, tellers and audiences. In this sense, oral tradition can be treated as ethnography, as a material social process, a "product socially constituted but also as socially constituting" (Peter Taylor and Herman Rebel 1981;cfr.Rebel 1988). Moreover, legends embody a distant past that can be grasped as representing a multiplicity of real actors across time, whose existence is legitimated by oral account or by some material (putative) proof of their existence (Rappaport 1994). Central to Sutiaba's cultural tradition is the legend of the indigenous princess Xochilt Acalt and her father Chief, Adiact. The legend has changed over time to convey different meanings allowing in this manner the expression of the "multiplicity of interpretation" involved in tradition (Linnekein 1993:123). This legend constitutes a key feature of the political myth making (reinvention of the past) that support Sutiaba self-identification, Adiact and Xochilt representing their resistance. The documentary record yields no trace of Adiact yet, borrowing from Keesing's (1989:19), I believe that it does not matter "whether the past being recreated and invoked is mythical or real" but its function as powerful political symbols." My aim

17 As the Nicaraguan psychologist Auxiliadora Marengo have pointed out, public shame is usually a product of sexual attacks on women. I Nicaragua, as elsewhere, victims of sexual abuse are blamed for what happen to them, and usually are signalized as the one who was raped.

18 Several authors, among them, Steve Stern (1995), Madeleine Perusse (1990), Irene Silverblatt () have argued that indigenous cultures, although patriarchal, are more balanced in terms of gender relationships.

using this approach is that as Scott (1990) pointed out, often, legends convey a discourse of resistance. In the context of Sutiaba gendered representations of the ethnic struggle have been central to the struggle as a whole.

The legend of princess Xochilt Acalt and her father Chief Adiact constitutes a key feature of the political myth making (re-invention of the past) that support Sutiaba's self identification¹⁹. Adiact and Xochilt Acalt are symbols of the autonomy, solidarity, courage, and resistance with which Sutiabas identify themselves. The nucleus of the legend says that during the 1600's²⁰ Princess Xochilt revenged her father's murder by killing a Spanish soldier, who was also her lover. However, the legend has many versions and has changed over time according to its tellers and audience.

According to Pablo Medrano, a Sutiaba leader, at the time Xochilt Acalt met the Spanish soldier, she was heading a mission, sent by her father to the vicinities of the Spanish city Old Leon in order to aid other indigenous groups that had been afflicted by floods and the eruption of a volcano. Seeing how energetic and beautiful she was the Spanish conqueror fell in love with her. Knowing this, a jealous indigenous admirer of Xochilt instigated a confrontation between the indigenous people and the Spaniards. As a result of this confrontation Xochilt's father was murdered and Sutiaba suffered great repression. Xochilt killed herself after killing the Spanish soldier. Her last word being: "Murderer of my people, and taker of my honor." In his account, Xochilt's story is used to strengthen ethnic identification. She symbolizes the sacrifice of one's own life on behalf of the group, the dangers of being associated with outsiders, and the punishment (death) that awaits foreigners who dare to attack the ethnic group. Medrano's version of Xochilt's story conveys a two-sided gender representation. On the one hand it shows a woman in a position of leadership, and on the other it shows how women's sexuality is at the origin of men's fall. At the end it was her beauty that triggered the events.

In the version of Ms. Candida Berrios, Xochilt's story is told this way. The princess was praying in a church²¹. When the Spanish came and attempted to kidnap her, she fled, and in revenge, the Spanish killed her father Chief Adiact, which led her to kill herself by jumping in the sacred fire. Although separated by time and space, Ms. Berrios's version seems to contest the sexist version of Medrano. In her version Xochilt was praying instead of flirting either with the Spanish soldier or with the indigenous admirer, which seeks to save her from male condemnation. Having neutralized the perils of female sexuality by recovering Xochilt's revenge on the Spanish soldier, Ms. Berrios preserves the "good side of her story," the courage of Xochilt. Her version denounces the conqueror, but defend Xochilt's and Sutiaba women's honorableness.

There could be as many versions of Xochilt's story as there are people in Sutiaba. What I want to emphasize here is that this story as well as other oral narratives constitutes an arena for gender struggles over representation within the ethnic group. Xochilt's story is used to strengthen differentiation to outsiders and self affirmation. Simultaneously, the story is used to strengthen Sutiaba's patriarchal assumptions about women's weakness and sexuality. The legend (its variations) have been passed down orally by men and women through generation, it is tell in everyday conversations as well as it re created in public speeches, poetry and paintings. Elders as well as the leaders of the CIS emphasize the necessity of telling it to the new generation. The guardian of the Title, Ms Tina Roque put it this way: "we have to keep our struggle alive, so we have to tell the history as it is" (my translation).

9 The documentary record yields no trace yet of Adiact, however it does not matter "whether the past being recreated and invoked is mythical or real but its function as powerful political symbol" (Keesing, 1989).

²⁰ This is the period of the first contact of Nicaraguan Indigenous and Spanish

²¹ Here is an overlap of times and circumstances, because the church she refers was built and destroyed later.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I think that personal stories, as well as the participation of women in the social struggles of Sutiaba described above, show first, that the differentiated lived experiences of women and men influence the ways in which they act and think of their ethnic struggles. As Agarwal (1994:83) has put it, women's resistance could have different aims: it could resist the ethnic social oppression and also gender subordination, within the household and outside it, and women may employ different weapons in doing so. The nature of indigenous women's subordination is both, related to and different from the oppression of indigenous men, and so are the weapons of resistance. In fact since women have similar interests to men in defending the ethnic group it is in their interest to participate within the ethnic struggles however this participation do not prevent them from fighting symbolic and very much material struggles for gender rights and obligations.

Bibliography

- Ardener, Ewin., (1975). "Belief and the Problem of Women". In S. Ardener (eds), Perceiving women, 19-27. London: Dent.
- Alonso, Ana Maria., (1994), "The politics of space, Time and Substance: State Formation Nationalism, and Ethnicity", Annual Review of Anthropology. Vol. 23:379-405.
- Agarawal, Bina. (1994). "Gender Resistance and Land: Interlinked struggles over resources and Meaning in south Asia. Journal of Peasant Studied. 22 (1):81-125.in south Asia. Journal of Peasant Studied. 22 (1):81-125.
- Alvarez Sonia E. and Arturo Escobar., (1992), "Conclusion: Theoretical and Political Horizons of Change in Contemporary Latin American social Movements", In Escobar, Arturo and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds, *The Making of social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy and Democracy*. Pp.317-364.
- Anderson, Benedict., *Imagined Communities: Refl ections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York: Verso.
- Adams, Richard N., (1991), "Strategies of Ethnic Survival in Central America", In Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, eds., *Nation States and Indians in Latin America*, Pp. 181-206. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- (1957), *Cultural Surveys of Panama-Nicaragua-Guatemala-El Salvador*. New York: World Health Organization.
- Bently, G. Carter., (1987), "Ethnicity and Practice", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vo. 29, No. 1:24-55.
- Brown, Michael F. (1991). "Beyond Resistance: A comparative study of Utopian Renewal in Amazonia" Ethnohistory 38 (4):388-413.
- Constable, Nicole ed., (1996), *Guest People: Hakka Identity in China and Abroad*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Cohen, Ronald., (1978), "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in anthropology". In Annual Review of Anthropology. 7:479-403
- Foucault, Michel., (1979) *Discipline and Punish:the Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan. New York" Vintage.
- Friedman, Jonathan., (1992), "The Past in the Future: History and The Politics of Identity", *American anthropologist*, Vol.94, No.4:837-859.
- Gutman, Matthew C. and James C. Scott., (1993), 'Rituals of Resistance: A critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance', *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol.20, 2:74-96.
- Guha, Ranajit and Gayatri, Spivak., (1988), *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York-Oxford-Oxford University Press.
- Gould, Jeffrey., (1990), "La Raza Rebelde: Las luchas de la comunidad indigena de Subtiava, Nicaragua (1900-1960)." Revista de Historia. 21-22:69-115.
- (1993),, "¡Vana Ilusion! The Highlands Indians and the Myth of Nicaragua Mestiza, 1880-1925." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 73(3):393-429.
- (1990). *To lead as equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912-1979*, Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press.

- (1996), "Gender, politics and the triumph of mestizaje in early 20th century Nicaragua". *The journal of Latin American Anthropology*. Vol. 2, No. 2:4-34
- Hart, Gillian., (1991). 'Engendering Everyday Resistance: Gender, Patronage and Production Politics in Rural Malaysia', *Journal of Peasant Studies*. Vol. 19, No. 1:93-121.
- Hale, Charles., (1996) "*Mestizaje, hybridity and the cultural politics of difference in post-revolutionary Central America*". *The journal of Latin American Anthropology*. Vol. 2, No. 2:35-61
- Raheja, Goodwin., and Gold, Grodzinz., (1994), *Listen to the Heron's words*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Ong, Ainwa. (1995) "Women Out of China: Traveling Tales and Traveling Theories in Postcolonial Feminism". In "Women writing *Culture*". Pp. 350-370. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ortner, Sherry. (1995). Comparative Study of Society and History 34(1):173-193.
- Ortega, Marvin., (1995) "*Informe sobre Sutiaba*" Draft.
- Rebel, Hermann., (1980) "Why not Old Mary... or someone very much like her?. An assessment of the question about the Grimm's contributors from a social perspective." Social History. 13:1-24.
- Rappaport, Joanne (1994). Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Safa, Helen., 1990. "Women's Social Movements in Latin America", In *Gender And Society*, Vol 4, No. 3:354- 369.
- Smith, Carol., (1996), "Myths, intellectuals and race/class/gender distinctions in the formation of Latin American Nations. *The journal of Latin American Anthropology*. Vol. 2, No. 2:148-169.
- (1987), "Culture and Community: The Language of Class in Guatemala", In *The Year Left*, ed. Mike Davis. London: MLP.
- Stern, Steve J., (1987), "New Approaches to the Study of Peasant Rebellion and Consciousness: Implications of the Andean Experience", In Steve J. Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries*, Pp. 3-25. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Scott, James C. (1985). 1985. Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- (1990). Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Tinzar, L. (1994). "Stories of gender and ethnicity: Discourses of colonialism and resistance in Burma. (Women's Difference, Sexuality and Maternity Discourses). Australian Journal of Anthropology. V5(1) 60-V5(1) 60-
- Keesing, R. M. (1989). "Creating the past in the Future: History and Politics of Identity." American Ethnologist. 10:241-252.
- Linnekin, Jocelyn S. (1983). "Defining Tradition. Variation on the Hawaiian Identity". In American Ethnologist. 10:241-252.
- Mallon, Florencia., (1996). "Constructing Mestizaje in Latin America: authenticity, marginality and gender in the claiming of ethnic identities." *The journal of Latin American Anthropology*. Vol. 2, No. 1:170-180.
- Mitchell, Timothy (1990). "Everyday metaphors of power." Theory and Society 19:545-577.
- Maddox, Richard. (1993). *El Castillo: The politics of Tradition in an Andalusian Town*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Moore L. Henrietta., (1988). Feminism and Anthropology. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Membreno, Marcos., (1994). *Estructura de las Comunidades Ethnicas*. Managua, Nicaragua: Editorial Envio.
- Urban, Greg and Joel Sherzer., (1991), "Introduction: Indians, Nation-States, and Culture", in Urban, Greg and Joel Sherzer., eds., *Nation States and Indians in Latin America*, Pp. 1-18. Austin: University of Texas Press.