



## **Otro Mundo es Posible** **- Transcultural Tongues and Times of Change**

*A critical ethnography on an indigenous movement's  
concept of time in relation to emancipatory social change*

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*“Their time is another (...) they don’t follow the time of our Western clocks  
‘if you don’t complete by a certain date, then it’s lost”. No! It’s the  
perseverance. And what is missing is yet to come. But they don’t give up.  
This is something we ought to learn from! It is not about winning or losing,  
but about continuing forward!”*

Interview (9/3/18) with philosopher Fernanda Navarro, about EZLN' and CNI's  
campaign that did not fulfill the requirements to ratify the candidature of their  
spokeswoman Marichuy prior the Mexican presidential elections July 1st 2018



*“It is the hard-nosed pragmatists who behave as though the World Bank and  
caffè latte will be with us for the next two millennia who are the real dreamers,  
and those who are open to the as yet unfigurable future  
who are the true realists”*

Terry Eagleton (2005:24)



*“We are inviting everyone not to dream, but to do something  
more simple and definite: To wake up”*

Subcomandante Marcos (now, Galeano), 1/1/99



*“This proposal is beyond the 2018-election; because this struggle will take a  
while, brothers and sisters, it will take a long time”*

Spokeswoman of CIG, Marichuy, during a village assembly  
in Tamazulápam, Sierra Mixe, Oaxaca, 30/1/18

## ABSTRACT

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In an era of economic globalization shaped by hegemonic capitalism, resistance movements introduce different alternatives for a life beyond capitalism. The powerful and dominant system logic criticizes such movements for being utopian dreamers with no pragmatic sense of plausible social change.

The 'ontology of the possible' for emancipatory social change is dominated by the coloniality of power and epistemic violence of modernity. **Time** becomes a powerful measurement tool developed by Western clocks in order to measure the successes and failures of social movements and categorize their impact on social change.

Based on the analysis of an ethnographic research with the campaign for Marichuy in Mexico, I argue that this indigenous movement constructs a conception of time related to social change, which challenge the Western notion of a measurable evolutionary timeline. Such iconoclastic strategy of indeterminacy becomes their emancipatory potential, which envisions the possibilities for emancipatory social change.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to a global conversation with scholarship and activism. Through a combination of theoretical literature and ethnographic data material, this thesis intends to challenge the status quo conception of time horizons for change.

**KEY WORDS:** Emancipatory social change, time horizons, social movements, indigenous resistances, concrete utopias, system critique, participatory ethnography, neocolonialism, ontology of the possible, indeterminacy, Marichuy, CNI, CIG, EZLN, Zapatismo

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## TYPOLOGIES

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### ABBREVIATIONS

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ACE	Asociación Civil "Llego la Hora del Florecimiento de los Pueblos" (Civil Association "Time has arrived for the blooming of the villages")
CDMX	Ciudad de México (Mexico City)
CIDECI	Centro Indígena de Capacitación Integral (An Indigenous Center for Integral Learning, part of UniTierra Movement)
CIG	Concejo Indígena del Gobierno (The Indigenous Governing Council)
CNI	Congreso Nacional Indígena (The Indigenous National Congress)
EZLN	Ejercito Zapatista Liberación Nacional (The Zapatista National Liberation Army)
FPRO	Frente del Pueblo Resistencia Organizado (The People's Front For Organized Resistance)
INE	Instituto Nacional Electoral (National Electoral Institute), formerly known as IFE (Federal Electoral Insitute)
MAÍZ	Movimiento Agraria Indígena Zapatista (Zapatista Indigeneous Agrarian Movement)
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México (National Autonomous University of Mexico)

### THE TRANSLATION OF UNTRANSLATABLE WORDS

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<i>Auxiliar</i>	Mexican civilian who is participating in the signature collection for aspirants for independent candidature prior the 2018-Presidential Elections
<i>Concejal(a)</i>	Councilman (or -woman) of CIG representing the various indigenous communities spread-out over Mexico
<i>Concejo vs. consejo</i>	In English both words are translated to "council". In Spanish, there is a distinction: A consejo leads over another unity, a concejo does not
<i>Cosmo-vision</i>	World view, however implying a philosophical and spiritual understanding of the entire cosmos and humanity's place in it
<i>Despojo</i>	Capitalistic exploitation of indigenous' heritage (natural resources, etc.)
<i>Gira por el país</i>	CIG's journey through secluded indigenous communities in the many Mexican states and presenting their organizational proposal
<i>Mesas de firmas</i>	Tables for signature collections for the aspirants for independent candidature for Mexican presidential elections 2018
<i>Organización</i>	Central word for indigenous resistances: Understood not as a formal "organization", rather the organization from below, mobilization, coordination and fostering of networks
<i>Pueblo</i>	People or community, important is the <i>representation</i> of the common
<i>Redes de apoyo</i>	The various support networks supporting the <i>gira por el país</i> and CIG, networks based on university, neighborhood, art group, collective, etc.
<i>Vocera</i>	Spokeswoman, not to be understood as individual, rather representing the collective entity of CIG

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 TIME AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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In the 21<sup>st</sup> century's global society, capitalism has become the status quo system logic. A logic by various scholars understood as "The Empire" (Negri and Hardt, 2000) and a "Neoliberal Era" (Piketty, 2014), due to the "policies of the New Right" (Potter, 2008:403), which is conditioned by rising political, economic and social inequality (Milanovich, 2016; Chang, 2011).

The present historical conditions of a hegemonic capitalist system reduce alternatives to the status quo to limited possibilities for change. Social movements and those who resist the powerful system logic are often downgraded to utopians or dreamers living in a fantasy world.

In practices of strategies towards **another** world, the **current** world's hegemonic logic on what is possible and not possible dominate the measurements for such strategies' success and failures. The **present** hegemony draws the limits of the possible **future**.

One powerful measurement tool of the possible is **time**. How one understands time shapes how one accepts or rejects the possibilities for change.

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### 1.2. CASE

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In order to create a common ground, it seems necessary to make a brief description of the unit of analysis of this thesis. A more detailed analysis of the case will wait for chapter 5; now the aim is simply to contextualize.

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#### 1.2.1 CONTEXT: POLITICAL SUBJECTS IN MEXICO

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Spanish is the only official language in Mexico, nonetheless it is acknowledged that more than 68 languages are spoken and that at least 2 million people do not speak Spanish (Embassy of Denmark in Mexico, 2018). The cultural diversity of Mexico is vast, however many indigenous groups face discrimination on a daily basis (ibid).

For more than 30 years, the organizational potential of the indigenous communities in Mexico has been increasing. The Zapatistas gained worldwide attention when EZLN rebelled against the Mexican government and claimed the right to autonomy. The auto-organization of these indigenous groups in the Southern Mexican state, Chiapas, was followed by the foundation of CNI in 1996, which "has helped give voice to indigenous peoples as political subjects in Mexico" (Hesketh, 2017:165). Ever since the mid-90s, the indigenous



resistances in Mexico have had a key point of joint alliance between CNI and EZLN (Navarro, 2018:9).

Numerous great research and artwork have been made being inspired by these resistances and all deserve to be mentioned. Considering the scope of this thesis, they will not be presented here, however they do form part of this thesis' subconscious framing of the indigenous realities in Mexico.

The 2018-electoral year marks a milestone in Mexican history, inasmuch as the July 1<sup>st</sup>-presidential elections will be the first to permit independent candidates. INE<sup>1</sup> required independent aspirants to gather signatures of 1 % of the nominal electoral roll in order to ratify ones nomination (INE, 2017). Additionally, one needed to form a Civil Association. 87<sup>2</sup> Mexican citizens intended, 48 fulfilled the requirements and became aspirants, which meant they were given 120 days to collect 866.593 signatures through a smartphone application from citizens of 17 states (out of 31) before the 19/2/2018.

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### 1.2.2 CIG AND THE *VOCERA* MARICHUY

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One of these aspirants was the 53-year old Nahuatl indigenous healer, María de Jesús Patricio Martínez, colloquially known as Marichuy. If the ratification for her nomination would fulfill the requirements set by INE, she would be the first indigenous woman to run for presidency in the history of Mexico, which was generally understood as “a first step towards addressing the underrepresentation of indigenous people in politics” (Tucker in The Guardian, 2017).

Marichuy was nominated as *vocera* for CNI and EZLN. These broad coalitions of indigenous groups decided during the three phases of the 5<sup>th</sup> National Indigenous Congress between October 2016-May 2017 to establish a new council, CIG. Such council should function as “The voice of the indigenous people<sup>3</sup>” and consists of approximately 150 *concejales* and *concejalas*. Furthermore, the ACE was founded, which is the moral and financial support, and consists of mainly intellectuals and artists (Navarro, 2018a). The campaign process of 120 days included an organization of the various *redes de apoyo*, which would organize *mesas de firmas*, cultural events, conferences, meetings, etc. Marichuy and CIG embarked on a *gira por el país*. A visual illustration of the process is presented below:

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<sup>1</sup> INE has the mandate to control the elections in Mexico and designed the smartphone application for gathering signatures and would daily publish a report on the quantitative signature process of all 48 aspirants. Appendix 9 presents the final evaluation report.

<sup>2</sup> Only one out of the total 87 fulfilled the requirements by INE: Margarita Zavala, the wife of former president of Mexico, Felipe Calderón.

<sup>3</sup> The campaign's name is: ‘Mi Voz Es Tu Voz’: ‘My Voice Is Your Voice’. Marichuy was merely the formal representative of the collective body of CIG.

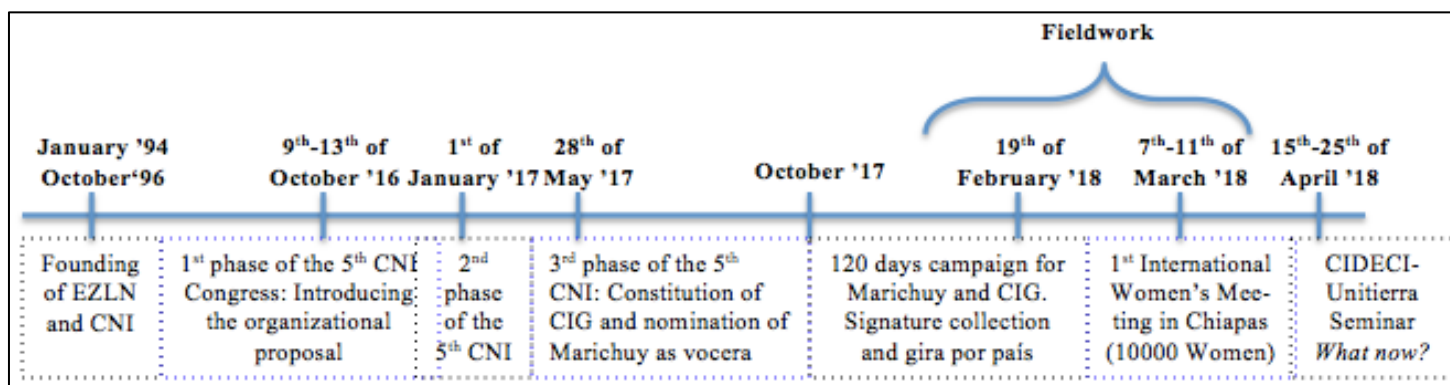


Figure 1: Overview of events related to CIG and Marichuy

The campaign did not manage to gather the required signatures in order to postulate Marichuy as independent candidate for presidency for elections. 266.395 signatures were gathered (INE, 2018). 94,48 % of these signatures were valid<sup>4</sup> (ibid; Navarro, 2018b), which was a higher percentage than any other aspirant for independent candidature (Igarúa, 2018).

In the period after the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 2018, I observed a well-known pattern in social movement research: the categorization of success or failure (Harrebye, 2016). The mainstream Media and general public would evaluate the campaign as a failure and of irrelevant significance as Marichuy did not manage to ratify her nomination. Simultaneously, the *redes de apoyo* and CIG themselves would claim the process to have been a success, because the campaign had managed to gain public attention and foster the organizational potential of the indigenous communities in Mexico.

This disjuncture triggered my research question and analytical approach to case: They seemed to be speaking with different tongues on the time horizons for what makes social change possible.

<sup>4</sup> For a signature to be "valid", INE is revising all signatures (gathered by their application) to check if the names handed in appear in the nominal electoral roll and generally checking for consistencies.

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## 2. RESEARCH AIM

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“Another world is possible” became a famous slogan of the famous alter-globalization movements of Battle of Seattle in 1999 (Harrebye, 2016), also framed as the 'global justice movement' (McMichael, 2008:232). A few years earlier, the Zapatista movement in Southern Mexico rose and became known for the slogan: “Another world is necessary, a world where many worlds fit” (EZLN, 1996).

In discussions of strategies for emancipatory social change, research often asks: When and how does social change happen? Such approaches limit themselves for possible imaginations for the future.

By spending time in the field with an aspect of the indigenous movements in Mexico, the campaign for Marichuy, I realized that that the temporal logics of those who **resist** the system do not coincide with the temporal logics of the system they resist. Their concept of time in relation to social change illustrates how different understandings of time holds different possibilities for social change.

By using **the concept of time** as a handle, this thesis is about envisioning social change. Its aim is to build bridge between the mystified indigenous resistances and theoretical discussions on emancipatory social change.

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### 2.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

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The research question developed is thus:

- *How does the campaign for Marichuy understand time in relation to social change and how can such conceptualization challenge the status quo conception of time horizons for change?*

In a Habermas-framework related to critical science, the research question is actively analytical rather than passively descriptive (Bryman, 2012:99).

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### 2.2 PURPOSE

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In a recent open call for Papers on Critique and Social Change (Kern et al., 2015), a special emphasis was put on the importance of a combination of empirical and theoretical studies beyond existing approaches to studying social change.

Through a combination of philosophical skepticism and a political commitment to make visible the position of the suppressed (Spivak, 1985), this thesis aims to contribute to such a “conversation with scholarship and activism across the globe that strives to achieve a truly postcolonial world” (Loomba, 2015:265).

Loomba argues that “such theoretical debates need to be developed alongside political movements, and vice-versa” (ibid:247) which has inspired the ethnographic approach to the unit of analysis of this study. By going beyond Western academy and academy itself and “reclaiming philosophical and activist traditions as our own” (ibid:249), this thesis intends to challenge how we think about our own conception of time horizons for change.

### 3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND FRAMEWORK

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Following the Zapatista uprising in 1994, there has been developed an immense body of literature on the Zapatista philosophy and practice, worth mentioning are works by post development scholars Holloway, Escobar, Villoro, Cassanova, Zibechi, etc. Despite the impossibility of knowing **all** literature, I have to the best of my knowledge not found anyone applying **time** as a main theoretical framework in their analysis of the Zapatistas. Now on the other hand, I am studying time in a very particular aspect of the indigenous movements in Mexico, that of the Marichuy campaign. What I **can** be sure of, is that applying time on this case, no one else has had the time to do.

#### 3.1 CONCEPTS – CONSISTENCY OF TERMINOLOGIES

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In order to avoid confusion of terminologies, it appears pivotal to define the concepts used in the research question. First, it should be made clear that this thesis operates with the concept of **time** always **in relation to** social change. More abstract conceptions of time as a general philosophical concept is beyond the scope of this study.

Furthermore, the concept of **social change** is understood in the framework of **emancipatory social change**, which suggests breaking with the hegemonic capitalistic system and moving towards a truly postcolonial and egalitarian society.

When framing CIG as a **movement**, I have chosen to contextualize them as such with the aim to speak into a more general debate on social movements. Many other concepts could have been used (resistance, struggle, etc.), and it is not to neglect these conceptualizations of CIG, but simply in order to create a consistency of terminologies, that **movement** has been chosen. Such word is furthermore closely related to the verb **to move**, which in discussions of time becomes interesting. A movement moves in time without a definite direction or time frame.

Finally, the concept **logic of capitalism** is in this thesis understood as a dominant hegemonic system logic that entails coloniality of power, epistemic violence of modernity and a linear way of thinking **time**.

#### 3.2 THEORIES

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Different temporal logics have been developed about those who resist the dominant system. The aim of this section is not to make a timeline for philosophers' reflections on the abstract concept of time, but to present and discuss some of the literature, which concentrates on the relationship between time and social change.

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### 3.2.1 DEMYSTIFYING UTOPIAS

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After reviewing the literature on temporal logics of social change, what comes over and over is the debate on what I frame as the **ontology of the possible**.

Bloch characterized his **concrete utopia** through a “not yet” ontology. The objective-real possible is a moment of not-yet, which keeps the future open.

“The imagination and the thoughts of future intention described in this way are utopian, this again not in a narrow sense of the word which only defines what is bad [...], but rather in fact in the newly tenable sense of the forward dream, of anticipation in general”  
(Bloch, 1954/1986;introduction)

This quote exemplifies Bloch’s focus on the **anticipation**. He argued for the necessity of dreaming meanwhile keeping both feet solid on the ground. Not abstract dreams, but fantasies for the near future and visions for the far future are what characterized his principles of hopes.

Bloch’s “concrete utopia” can be put into perspective to Wright’s “Envisioning Real Utopias” written half a century later<sup>5</sup> (2009), which discusses alternative strategies to the dominant capitalist system. Wright argues, “we now live in a world in which these radical visions are often mocked rather than taken seriously” (ibid:6). Furthermore, these alternative strategies seem to disagree on the relationship “between the intended and unintended consequences of deliberate efforts at social change” (ibid:5). The unintended consequences can be the crack, which breaks the historical continuum, in his trajectory of social change (ibid:207). The **uncertainty** becomes the central part of the liberation. According to Wright, the real blocker for envisioning utopias is a **strategic problem of imagination**. It is difficult “to imagine things we can do now which have reasonable chances of opening up possibilities under contingent conditions in the future.” (ibid:232). Thus, in order to move towards social change, one has to look beyond what Wright calls the “**opacity of the future limits of possibility**” (ibid:269).

“Any plausible project of emancipatory transformation must adopt a long time horizon, for the kinds of fundamental structural and institutional changes needed for a creating democratic egalitarian society cannot be achieved in the immediate future, and yet our capacity to generate scientifically credible knowledge about social conditions beyond the near future is very limited. There is thus a gap between the time-horizons of scientific theory and the time-horizons of transformative struggles.”  
(Wright, 2009:19)

Jacoby also comments on such “gap between the time horizons” by classifying this polemic as the difference between **iconoclastic** utopian traditions vs.

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<sup>5</sup> This book is a result of Wright’s almost 5 decades of work, which all started in 1970 with his student-run seminar called “Utopia and Revolution”. In the 1990s, he began *The Real Utopias Project* “as an attempt at deepening serious discussion of alternatives to existing structures of power, privilege and inequality (Wright, 2009:ii). The project resulted in 6 books before this one.

**blueprint** utopian traditions. He suggests that iconoclastic utopians' "dreamt of a superior society but declined to give its precise measurements" (Jacoby, 2005:xv) and argues that such hopeful spirit of the willingness to accept new possibilities for society can teach the rest of us something: That by **not** having a blueprint for the ideal society, we open ourselves to new imaginative ideas of the future (ibid).

Holloway (2012) additionally advocates to "Walk by asking<sup>6</sup>" into the uncertain future. Having a blueprint for the revolution equals homogenization of time. Instead, he argues that the urgent revolution cannot be an answer, but a question, inasmuch as "there can be nothing certain about the creation of a self-determining society. Certainty can only be on the side of domination" (ibid: 12<sup>th</sup> thesis). The aim of Holloway's revolution is liberation of the past, here understood as emancipatory social change: "the death of the old certainties is to be welcomed as a liberation" (ibid).

Zibechi (2010) agrees that the "other possible world", which is the goal for many social movements, does not necessarily need to be ready-made. As such world is "one that is not only new but also different from the present one, based on a different logic of construction" (ibid:3), it can be strategically difficult during **this system logic** to have concrete ideals to realize.

"The future will be utopian or there will be none", Zizek claims in a documentary (2004) where he argues for why we must learn how to dream of utopias and to actively live in them. In another documentary (2016), Zizek reminds us that when we talk of what is possible and impossible, our task is to remember, that "we are talking about ideology, not about cold facts"(ibid:2:44min).

Finally, Eagleton demystifies the concept "utopia" by claiming that it is inherent in our present in the sense that "without some dim notion of justice, freedom and equality, we would have no standard by which to judge the present, and so would be incapable of identifying its defects" (2005:22).

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### 3.2.2 HETEROGENEITY OF TIME AND HISTORY

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Another recurrent theme in the literature reviewed is **history writing** and its power of knowledge-creation.

Benjamin's philosophy of history rejects **one** history and **one** single trajectory of events. Rather than accepting the history of the victorious, consequently of today's leaders, one should uncover the barbaric past (1940/1969). Through his

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<sup>6</sup> Holloway's 12 theses on "How to change the world without taking power" are directly inspired by the Zapatista movement.

famous analogy of the **Angle of History**<sup>7</sup> (ibid: 249), Benjamin poetically shows how the barbaric memory becomes a storm from Paradise, which sparks the hope and drive women and men to revolt. It is thus important to look at the past in order to take control of the memory. Today's struggle for the suppressed past becomes a revolutionary chance, why he is famous for the concept of a '**positive notion of barbarism**' (Negri, 2000:215). In this sense, remembering the barbaric past is a future potential for envisioning social change, as becomes the powerful storm during what Benjamin calls "**moments of danger**".

The philosopher, Dussel, claims that **time** is a **cultural** construction, rather than **natural** (1995). Through a culture of coloniality of power, it becomes a central concept to understand "the epistemic violence of modernity that is already/always colonial" (Dube, 2017:ch2). Dussel invites *other* expressions of time in order to query time as colonization, and unravel the heterogeneous interpretive understandings of time.

These critical considerations of time as colonization is in line with Santos' insistence of including "**Epistemologies of the South**" (2016) in academia in order not to commit "epistemicide"<sup>8</sup>. As Santos point out: "... the diversity of the world is infinite. It is a diversity that encompasses very distinct modes of being, thinking and feeling; ways of conceiving of time..." (ibid:20), which is why "we need other knowledges, we need other conceptions of time" (ibid:22).

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### 3.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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Inspired by the above-mentioned literature, the claim I put forward inspired by the campaign for Marichuy is that different understandings of time hold different possibilities for social change. The framing of visionary dreams as "utopian" is, as with every other concept, an ideological construction (Zizek). Understanding time as Dussel, it appears highly relevant to discover these "heterogeneous interpretive dispositions and understandings of time" (Dussel) in order to avoid the homogenization of time.

By transforming our notion of an evolutionary timeline and thus demonstrating "the ability to imagine a counter concept of the commons" the following analysis of CIG' conception of time is one step closer to "extending the time-frame of our self-understanding" (Baucom, 2012:18 in Loomba, 2015:249).

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<sup>7</sup> Appendix 10.

<sup>8</sup> Introduced in his article as "the destruction of the knowledge and cultures of these populations [indigenous people, red.]" (ibid:18).



## 4. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

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*“Acknowledging one’s positionality or subjectivity should  
not mean abandoning fieldwork”  
(Peake and Trotz in Sultana, 2007:376)*

### 4.1 ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

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Inspired by the epistemological position “interpretivism” (Bryman, 2012:28), the subject matter of social science is fundamentally different from that of natural science, and thus requires a different logic of research design. With a constructivist view on scientific knowledge, this thesis explores to **understand** rather than **explain** human behavior. Such ontological viewpoint draws the attention to the meaning and interpretation individuals ascribe to their surroundings, actions and practices (ibid:33) which is consistent with this research’s aim.

Through an inductive approach, this research did not aim to deductively test any theory or hypothesis; instead it was inspired by the ground and from the field spent with the unit of analysis. Instead of theory testing, this inductive research is developing theory with a small t: The aim is not to invent time here, but to develop a theoretical argument.

### 4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

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Shaped by the above-mentioned ontological and epistemological understanding of research, its design for collecting data has been through a qualitative ethnographic field study. The unit of analysis has been the case elaborated in chapter 1.2.1. Approaching CIG with a humble learning-by-being-there-attitude, instead of a fixed plan, I could allow a research process and more specifically data collection to be as inductive as possible. Inspired by grounded theory, understood here as a method to qualitative research in its own right (Bryman, 2012:387), the theoretical ideas emerged out the data, instead of vice versa.

A crucial part of my methodological reflections was to be flexible and adaptable to the situation, rather than arriving with a blueprint. With one single contact in the field, my so-called “local gatekeeper” (Schevyens, 2014:172), I was able to gain direct access to the campaign. Before arrival to Mexico on January 6<sup>th</sup> 2018, the time-line of constitutional politics was so deeply embedded into my system logic, so that I thought I was going to research the signature-collection part of the campaign and its aftermath related to only this aspect. My time horizon for social change had internalized a Western obsession with deadlines and electoral power. However, something interesting happened due to my flexible approach: While being in the field, I slowly learned to conceive time according to **their** conception of time (or at least learned to understand their

logics of time for change). Consequently, it became natural to broaden my 'expected' case of the signature-campaign of 120 days to a more general case of the time logics of CNI, EZLN and CIG. Had my research design been less flexibly formulated, I doubt I would have been able to make such findings and develop such theoretical argument.

I spent 82 days in the field following CIG and Marichuy. Through participatory observations and a combined set of sampling strategies, I approached the case. This resulted in a variety of data collections not purely on people, but also on documents, contexts, spaces, times, debate cultures, discourses, etc.

As with most ethnography, various forms of purposive sampling methods (Bryman, 2012:418) were applied, including snowball and opportunistic sampling (ibid:424). In order to ensure a maximum variation sampling, some of the interviewees were strategically selected and not "solely" by spontaneity. I did not intent to go native or immerse, but rather **understand** as many realities of the organization of the campaign as possible. One example was my deliberate efforts in observing as many *mesas de firmas* as possible, as well as speaking with *concejales* and *concejalas* of CIG from various Mexican states.

"We can attempt to achieve an understanding of how social life is constituted by engaging in real or constructed dialogues" (Kim, 1994:82). The **conversation** as a learning strategy became a central part of this critical ethnography, as an attempt to be "hyper-reflexive" about my complicities in order to move "toward a non-hierarchical encounter with the Third World/subaltern" (Spivak in Kapoor, 2004:641). In line with Spivak's critique of the privileged researcher in fieldwork, I intentionally put myself in an "accountable positioning" (Haraway in Kapoor, 2004:641) penned by Fanon as "decolonization" (ibid) in an attempt to "unlearn" (ibid). Inspired by England's insistence that fieldwork is personal, I did not threat the personal but instead enhanced the "immediate relationship between the researcher and the people being investigated" (England, 1994:87). My "befriending approach" was the practical implication of a constant reflexivity (ibid:82) and self-scrutiny about not wanting to treat people like objects and instead engage in mutual conversations, in order to find our "shared meanings" (ibid). As England points out, fieldwork is a dialogical process (ibid:80). "If we are able to have a conversation across wide differences (...)" (Spivak in Kapoor, 2004:642) and "engage in an intimate and dialogical manner" (ibid:644), I believe we are one step closer to avoid a hierarchical and dominating research practice.

Always attempting to be appropriate to the context meanwhile making use of spontaneous opportunities, I prioritized the informal setting, which allowed another kind of intimacy. Thus, I wrote copious "mental notes" in the moment of dialogue (Bryman, 2012:450). This research strategy of mixing "solicited and unsolicited accounts of interviewees" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995 in Bryman, 2012: 440), allowed for vaster spontaneity and naturalism.

## 4.3 DATA

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The data is the empirical material gathered during the 82 days of participatory ethnographic field study. The *primary* data consists of interviews, recordings, field notes and photographs. The secondary data consists of campaign material (pamphlets, posters, etc.), minutes from meeting, street art, and online ethnography.

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### 4.3.1 PRIMARY DATA SET

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None of the 44 interviews are alike when it comes to type of neither interviewees nor type of interviews. The interviewees range between intellectuals, indigenous community villagers, *concejales* and *concejalas*, artists, activists, *auxiliaries*, students, and general citizens. This diverse set of informants is a result of the purposive effect of my sampling strategy, and thus represents the heterogeneous set of human beings that the campaign for Marichuy convokes. The types of interviews range between focus group interviews, non-formal conversations, semi-structured interviews and spontaneous interviews, what is also called “causal questioning during conversations” (Bryman, 2012:440).

As explained above, it was not always suitable to record or take notes, however most interviews are recorded, and those who are not have been summarized in my notebooks either during the interview/conversation or directly afterwards. Appendix 1 presents a detailed description of the interviewees, locate them as well as categorize the types. Due to security and the fact that some of the interviews were unsolicited, names of non-public figures have been removed from the public appendix and are only kept in a private file. Another vital data set for the analysis is the audio-material of 47 recordings from a variety of participations in the campaign: From village assemblies (when on caravan with CIG and Marichuy), ceremonies, meetings (campaign groups, organizations, supporters), *mesas de firmas* and speeches. Appendix 2 presents an extended summary of participations with location and date. Appendix 3 presents a summary of the fieldwork whereabouts from day 1-82.

In addition to the audio material, the main corpus of primary data is the own production of field notes. Appendix 4 presents a visual illustration of these, and follow the classification by Lofland and Lofland (1995 in Bryman, 2012:450): Mental notes<sup>9</sup>, the full field notebook<sup>10</sup> (photo a), scratch notes<sup>11</sup> (photo b), a

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<sup>9</sup> Used when inappropriate to take notes, later written down and/or forms part of a subconscious framing of context.

<sup>10</sup> Main data source. This book consists of 104 handwritten pages and make up the extensive note taking every day in the field. Detailed explanation of its system is explained in the subchapter ‘analytical approach’.

<sup>11</sup> Made up of “little phrases, quotes, key words and the like” (ibid:450). These notebooks have the size of a passport and would always accompany me to jot things down as “rough notes and jottings”

personal diary<sup>12</sup> and 4200 photographs. This immense collection of photographs works not as sources of data in their own rights but as an “aide-mémoire” (ibid:457): they form an essential component of the field notes.

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#### 4.3.2 SECONDARY DATA SET

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The main corpus of the secondary data set is a suitcase full of non-uniform campaign material. A selection of these is presented in appendix 6, in order to contextualize for the analysis. Another central part of the secondary data is documents by CNI, CIG and EZLN, including CNI's seven guiding principles (appendix 7) and CNI and EZLN's proposal to constitute CIG (appendix 8). The pamphlet book “El ABCIG de la organización de los pueblos” (2018) written by a lady involved in the campaign is an important secondary data source: The thesis bases its conceptual framework of the campaign on this “CIG dictionary of the *organización* of the *pueblos*”, rather than an Oxford Dictionary, as a part of my decolonizing approach (Smith, 1999). Lastly, the online ethnography material forms part of the secondary data collection. The *redes de apoyo* communicated through various Whatsapp threats, Facebook groups and especially the encrypted application “Telegram”'s page “EICIGVa” with daily posts of links to relevant news articles, events and artistic expression in form of short videos, songs and posters. I became a follower of “EICIGVa” in October 2017 and keep following it in the writing-up process.

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#### 4.4 ETHICS AND POSITIONALITY

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Being in academia is a privileged reality and poses a list of numerous ethical questions in regards to the practice of doing fieldwork: Is three months enough to observe a phenomenon and make inferences from such observations? To what extent can someone from a Western university be able to observe complexities of Mexican rural realities and present such reflections in a thesis?

These ethical concerns are outmost vital. Reflecting on them by continuously showing “critical self-scrutiny” (Mason, 2002:7 in Schevyens, 2014:62) is the only way to avoid falling into a neocolonial practice, i.e. the “use of marginalized people as objects”. Driven by constructivist ontology of knowledge, I am aware that the conclusion of this research is a specific and subjective version, rather than definitive and objective, of a social reality (Bryman, 2012:33).

In ethnography, one aims to be as discrete and unobtrusive as possible in order to reveal embedded cultural values (Schevyens, 2014). Being discrete and

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(Atkinson, 1981:131-132 in Bryman, 2012:449-450). I would even bring them to festivities if something important came up, and then later transfer to the bigger book.

<sup>12</sup> Personal reflections, despite not being part of the “formal” note-taking, may be helpful for formulating a reflexive account of fieldwork.

unobtrusive could also be understood as an attempt to 'immerse' into the field. However, a constant reflection on positionality is essential. I am not naïve and I did not expect to fully 'immerse' into the group inasmuch as I was only staying for three months, I am tall, white and do not have a Mexican accent, etc. I did, nevertheless, fulfill some important commonalities with the people in the field, which turned out to be my “gap-bridger” (Sultana, 2007:378) in all senses.

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#### 4.4.1 THE TRANSLATION OF UNTRANSLATABLE WORDS

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*“In brief, every language has words which are not translatable, because they fit into its culture and into that only”*  
(Malinowski, 1978:12 in Chomsky et al., 2010:30)

When carrying out this type of research, the importance of language and awareness of local context cannot be underemphasized, especially related to ethical issues (Schevyens, 2014:161). In any attempt to explain another subject’s reality, the researcher becomes an interpreter rather than a neutral translator (ibid) of the unit of analysis. Besides ones biases (researcher, urban, person, Chamber:1981), an important bias is the **language bias**. As a result of having lived and studied in Latin America and Spain and thus speaking fluent Spanish, my language bias has been diminished. When no intermediary was needed as a translator, a more natural and not least direct contact was able to take place during the field study. Even though I do not speak any of the 68 indigenous languages, Spanish was the common language of the campaign, and notwithstanding many ceremonies would be bi- or trilingual, Spanish was always the main language of communication.

Despite my constant reflections on my role as interpreter, I was forced to make important and difficult decisions about translations of “texts, contexts and subtexts” (Chomsky et al., 2010:26). Humbled by Malinowski’s warnings (1978), I acknowledge that some concepts lose their cultural context if translated; thus, I have kept these in Spanish and expressed them in *italic*<sup>13</sup>. The chosen “untranslatable” words listed in the typology (page 4) and the explanatory footnotes throughout the thesis are both attempts to “bridge the contextual meanings” (ibid). Integrated into a holistic understanding of neocolonialism and the dominant power of the English language not only in economic globalization but **also** in academia, the reflexive awareness and focus on translation and interpretation form a central part of the ongoing critical self-scrutiny in this research.

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#### 4.4.2 LIMITATIONS

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Choosing a participatory approach as an outsider to the field introduces

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<sup>13</sup> Any other emphasis on words is expressed in **bold**.

numerous limitations. Striving to gain an insider perspective on a group's practices is an ambitious goal, which include several obstacles. As with most ethnography, there is a possibility that I as a researcher has changed the natural way a culture behaves simply by being present (De Vaus, 2012 and Chambers, 2008). These biases have tried to be reduced through strategies explained in the research design above. In light of Spivak's critique of "representing the subaltern" (Kapoor, 2004), it is important to emphasize that this research does not try to understand "the subaltern others" but more so a phenomenon: the campaign for Marichuy. Such phenomenon exemplifies not one body of **people** in particular but more so the various realities of resistances for justice in Mexico. It is thus not the aim to search for 'true thoughts' of a particular community, convinced that "thought processes continuously (re)formulate themselves on the shaky and always shifting terrain on which the battle between desire, meaning, and interpretation is waged" (Poggiali, 2005:4). It is neither the aim to 'speak for' the movement, which would contradict the noted decolonizing approach (Smith, 1999) of wanting to create conversations amongst equals (Chomsky et al., 2010:21).

Despite the issue of wanting to comprehend a social phenomena through fieldwork is full of dilemmas, it is also full of potential. I argue, that any intention to measure and conceptualize a social phenomenon is an abstraction from reality, which is always partial, why the popular criticism of ethnography for being "too partial" is not convincing. Value-free research does not exist and should be replaced by "conscious partiality (Mies in Bryman, 2012:40); even a quantitative study would be a partial abstraction and representation of reality. Another popular criticism of ethnography on a case study is that its micro-perspective cannot be generalized to a wider universe (Bryman, 2012:71). The purpose is **not** to generalize, but to generate theoretical concepts out of the findings and say something more general about other constructions of time in relation to social change. What is sacrificed in breath, is gained in depth through this case study and by going in depth with one case and putting it into perspective with the existing literature, and then using such literature to conceptualize the specific case, one shifts from micro to macro constantly in a hermeneutical spiral (Trigg:1985/2005).

Despite the crucial limitations listed, this research is believed to fulfill the four following quality criteria: "Sensitivity to context, commitment and rigor, transparency and coherence & impact and importance" (Yardley, 2000 in Bryman, 2012:393).

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#### 4.5 ANALYTICAL APPROACH

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The ethnographic writing-up of all of the above-mentioned data material is framed as "postmodern ethnography" (Bryman, 2012:463). An overtly insinuated researcher within the data and findings and an overall intense

reflexive approach characterize this genre of ethnographic writing. The Glaserian school to grounded theory inspires the analysis of data: Emphasizing the induction and emergence of general wonderment followed by the individual researcher's creativity within a clear frame of stages (ibid:573).

In the full field notebook, a creative system was created already from day one (shown in appendix 5). Underneath each day's detailed descriptions of location, dialogues, people characterizations, scenes, etc., there would be the categories 1) Key words, 2) Interviews (if any) and 3) Inspirations. This strategy was developed to find 'regularities', i.e. a way to remember the most-often occurring themes. Consequently, the data analysis already began *during* the fieldwork.

In order to analyze the large data set, these regularities from the full field notebook were then formed into concepts and thus shaped the conceptual framing of this thesis. It was a process of moving from open coding into focused coding (Emerson et al, 1995:ch6). Listening to all interviews, recordings and reading all field notes, core themes, key quotes and observations were written in separate word documents. Such focused coding helped me find conceptual and analytical tools to create an interpretive framework for the campaign's time horizon for social change. Through "abductive reasoning" (Bryman, 2012:401) I could thus ground a theoretical understanding of the context in the language, meanings and perspective that form their *cosmovisión* and finally arrive at a social scientific account without losing "touch with the world as it is seen by those whose voices provided the data" (ibid).

## 5. ANALYSIS OF DATA

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By presenting the conclusions of the analyses of the extensive empirical data material presented in chapter 4.3, the aim of this section is to answer the first part of the research question: *How does the campaign for Marichuy understand time in relation to social change?*

### 5.1 AN ORGANIZATIONAL, NOT ELECTORAL, PROPOSAL

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Long time before the 120-day period for signature collection for Marichuy<sup>14</sup>, it was made clear by CNI and EZLN: Such proposal was organizational, not electoral. In the official communiqué, “May the Earth Tremble from its Core<sup>15</sup>”, it shows that:

“We confirm that our struggle is not for power, which we do not seek. Rather, we call on all of the originary peoples and civil society to organize to put a stop to this destruction and strengthen our resistances and rebellions”  
(CNI and EZLN, 2016:6)

Building on this secondary data document, there is empirical evidence that framing the campaign as successful was not just a matter of a 'rationalizing after' not gathering the required 1 % signatures. It was **never** the aim of the campaign to seek power, but about strengthening the organization of the resistances. As Marichuy would repeat during all the assemblies, I attended: “*This proposal is not electoral, but organizational*”. To register Marichuy as aspirant for independent candidature became their excuse to play with the system:

“*We intervene in the party of the politicians, even though we are not invited. We want to interrupt in the party of the powerful, not to dance with them, but so that they listen to us*”<sup>16</sup>  
(Marichuy 24/1/18, SME, CDMX)

Attempting to speak with the variety of artists, collectives and organizations that formed part of the *redes de apoyo*, I perceived a general understanding in these groups that the campaign should be seen as an excuse to intervene in the powerful people’s game:

“*I feel that is an actress. She herself knows that she is acting*”  
(Initiator of Galeon Pirata, Culture House which is part of the *redes de apoyo*, 23/3/18)

“*The aim is the strengthening of the communities and to organize. To be part of the national agenda, put light where there was darkness before*”  
(Raúl Romero, academic at Institute of Social Research, UNAM, 7/1/18)

During the many hours of collecting signatures at *mesas de firmas*, I would speak with the various *auxiliaries*. Especially during the last week before the deadline the 19<sup>th</sup> of February, I would visit the *mesas* every day, observe and

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<sup>14</sup> As illustrated in figure 1.

<sup>15</sup> When the proposal became public for the first time (Appendix 8).

<sup>16</sup> Note that all quotes in *italic* are from my primary data set.



listen to their perception of not having gathered the required 1% of the nominal electoral roll:

*“We knew from the beginning that it would be a challenge. So we are not disappointed. We are simply not in these calendars. Our organizational work will continue!”*  
(Female auxiliary, *mesa de firma* Metro Zapata, 8/2/18)

Such *organizational* proposal is in line with Bloch’s “Principle of Hope” (1954/1986), which argued for a “self-organization against the clock” (ibid) as the anticipatory result of the dissatisfaction-hope state (ibid) and as a central element for human beings and their practices.

*“This is what we offer. Not in order to govern the people of this country, no, rather so that the people of this country govern, to dismantle this power, which suppresses us, and make new forms of organization”*  
(Marichuy, 24/1/18, SME, CDMX)

The logic of such self-organization was built on the logic that an organized community feels encouraged and thus over time will grow stronger:

*“It injects the encouragement, to see ‘Oh, we are not alone [...] there are others who also think we can change the world’. This is the feeling we need to follow, to profound”*  
(National coordinator or MAÍZ, Tehuacán, 16/1/18)

*“Thank you Marichuy, your presence is symbolically strong, it gives us strength and a feeling that we are united and being listened to”*  
(Local mépha woman during assembly in Tlapa, Guerrero, 28/1/18)

*“They want to shaken us and separate us in our communities, instead, we unite! Only together we can continue forward”*  
(Marichuy in Buenavista, Guerrero, 28/1/18)

Their constant focus on the organizational potential of the communities is part of the wider Zapatista long-winded process, which interrupts the calendars from above in order to visualize the geographies of those below.

*“The change will not come from above, but from us below”*  
(Marichuy, in Comunidad General Enrique Rodríguez Cruz; Guerrero, 26/1/18)

## 5.2 BEYOND STATUS QUO POLITICS, TO ANOTHER SYSTEM LOGIC

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*“My resistance is much bigger than any government program”*  
(*Concejala*, 20/2/18, evaluation meeting in CDMX)

The statement above by one of the most active and charismatic *concejalas* of CIG expresses how the campaign should be understood: Something that went **beyond** the constitutional political agenda of the 19<sup>th</sup> of February and the 1<sup>st</sup> of July. During this evaluation meeting, we had evaluated the campaign during four tables of discussions themed “**Before, during, after, and forward**”. In this evaluation, one discussant uttered:

*“People have not understood the proposal, they keep following the system. It is difficult to make people understand. Now people just say: ‘Oh, Marichuy didn’t make it!’”*  
(Concejal of CIG, 20/2/18, evaluation meeting in CDMX)

According to him, this confusion and constant focus on the signature collection is conditioned by what he called “*an obsession with the system’s logic*” (ibid). Significantly, these members of CIG understood the campaign as much bigger than this 2018-election, namely one step in a much larger process.

Rather than thinking of the campaign only in relation to the elections in July, it was framed as “*not a question of politics, but a transformation of life*” (Marichuy, Xochimilco, 10/2/18). Such framing beyond constitutional politics is also shown in this quote:

*“When my friends and families ask about my opinion on the proposal by CNI and EZLN, I answer them with the following phrase: Where others see a president, a Zapatista sees an organizational process”*  
(Male auxiliar, mesa de firma by Cineteca Nacional, 7/1/18)

As Marichuy would repeat in all of her speeches:

*“We will keep struggling until we can keep going. And we won’t give up. We will keep struggling, because this struggle is for everyone and it is for life”*  
(Marichuy in Buenavista, Guerrero, 28/1/18)

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### 5.3 THE ANGEL OF HISTORY: TAKING CONTROL OF THE MEMORY

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*“They want to bury us, but they have forgotten that we are seeds”*  
(Mixe activist at OÍDHO, Oaxaca, 29/1/18)

The metaphor of seed is here understood as the potential strength of the past. The category ‘to be indigenous’ means to be member of a bloody human history of 500 years of colonization. The act of remembering the past – and present – of suppression of indigenous *pueblos* has continuously appeared in my empirical data, and expresses a circular, rather than linear conception of time: The past is not dead but can be returned to.

I would seldom attend a meeting, conference or assembly and not hear a quote by the philosopher of history, Walter Benjamin. His Angle of History is a suitable analogy for the movement’s internal and external appeal to the past: The barbaric memory of the indigenous communities represents the ruins in his analogy, which takes form as the storm that sparks the hope to revolt. “To remember is to struggle” (Benjamin, 1940) which is why CIG would invite everyone during the village assemblies to take control of the memory:

*“And you teenagers, do not be embarrassed about your indigenous community, don’t forget your roots! These give you strength. Respect and listen to your ancestors”*  
(Marichuy during village assembly in Tamazulapam, Oaxaca, 30/1/18)

*“We have already been existing in these territories for more than 500 years [...] and now they want to exterminate us [...] but we won’t let them”*  
(Marichuy in Buenavista, Guerrero, 28/1/18)

Such “positive notion of barbarism“, the necessity to recover the *pueblo* was a theme, which would appear again and again. To **return** to the tradition of assembly decision-making and restructure such original organization became the message during their *gira por el país*. Such (re)emphasis on the importance of an indigenous past is clearly in accordance with Benjamin’s philosophy.

Such construction of a time where the **past** is necessary and powerful for the **future** struggle can also be found in the already-mentioned communiqué<sup>17</sup>:

*“This is the power from below that has kept us alive. This is why commemorating resistance and rebellion also means ratifying our decision to continue to live, constructing hope for a future that is only possible upon the ruins of capitalism.”*  
(CNI and EZLN, 2016: 5)

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#### 5.4 THE LIGHT AND SEED AS HOPE

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It is Saturday evening; we are gathered in the Zapatista territory “Caracol Morelia”, in the Zone Tzotz Choj, Chiapas. During four days, we have been attending the “First International Gathering of Politics, Art, Sport, and Culture for Women in Struggle”. In the dusty field, during this Saturday evening’s twilight, a masked Zapatista insurgent addresses the crowd charismatically:

*“Sisters and comrades. That day, the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, at the end of our participations, we lit a small light for each one of you [...] this light is for you. Carry it with you (...) We have only just begun to walk and what is missing is yet to come”*  
(Zapatista Insurgent, closing ceremony of International Women’s Meeting, 10/3/18)

This light given symbolically to almost 10.000 women of more than 38 nationalities (Esteva, 2018) represents hope. As Bloch argues, the art of organizing hope is an art of shaping a reality which does “not yet” exist in this world, but which is to be anticipated in the indeterminate future. The International Women’s Gathering, where Marichuy was present and indeed had turned into an iconic symbol already, was an expression of such art.

*“We will be many and raise together. Like a flower which grows when given water”*  
(Concejala in Xhostlihuaca, Guerrero, 26/1/18)

*“This is beyond the 19<sup>th</sup> of February and beyond the 1<sup>st</sup> of July.  
We plant a seed, which can grow”*  
(Marichuy in Chilpancingo, Guerrero, 25/1/18)

Here, the metaphor of a seed develops from the ruins of the past into a blossoming future. Such blossoming will take time, and the flower is yet unknown, however many people supporting the campaign were aware of this:

*“Us who are in this struggle, we will be the seeds and not the fruit”*  
(National coordinator of MAÍZ, Tehuacán, 16/1/18)

If not aware of this time horizon for change, some were in the process of internalizing such logic:

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<sup>17</sup> Appendix 8.

*“Something deep is coming (...) But we, when we spoke in the microphone in Bellas Artes<sup>18</sup>, we were practically being pessimists and apocalyptic! [Imitating himself] The end of the world is coming! [...] And the Zapatista was like: ‘No no, there is still time...’ And we, we think that there is no time left [...] And he, [imitating a Zapatista] ‘No, we have a looot of time...’ [...] And I, ‘I don’t understand, how do we still have time?’ And he reminded me calmly: ‘The voice is growing,’ that is fundamental for those guys. The symmetry between Western thinking, or urban thinking, what Marichuy calls stress, it is not the same symmetry of time relativity of the indigenous people. It is completely different!”*  
 (Auxiliar in red de apoyo, Hormiguero Zero, 13/2/18)

Significantly, this 28-year old urban activist expresses how this long-term time horizon was not naturally embedded in his mindset before seeing the light by dialoging with a Zapatista.

## 5.5 REJECTION OF BLUEPRINT STRATEGIES

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*“We still have a long way ahead, a freaking long way ahead. Something freaking good will come out of this, but we don’t know its face yet, we don’t know what it’s gonna look like yet”*  
 (Male auxiliar from the mesa de firma most efficient in the country, 13/1/18)

An ongoing tendency, I would observe during my participations at meetings, events, etc. was the wish **not** to define how this “other world” should look like in details, other than being anti-capitalistic and egalitarian. Generally, the message from CIG during their *gira por el país*, was: *“We should organize ourselves from below and we won’t tell you how”*. During most village assemblies, Marichuy would openly invite the people to organize themselves freely in their communities, according to the form and mode they found most appropriate.

Their understanding of time contested any blueprint utopian thoughts, which reflected their mobilizations strategy. *“Organize yourselves, from below and from the left”* was the only coordination message given to the numerous *redes de apoyo*, which would participate in the campaign. Thus, there was not a uniform and standardized strategy and design, but rather a diverse set of approaches. The diversity and non-standardized campaign material is illustrated in appendix 6.

*“This is the invitation we bring: Not money or gifts as other political parties, no, what we bring is work.”*  
 (Marichuy, Buenavista, Guerrero, 28/1/18)

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<sup>18</sup> Here refers to one of the *mesas de firmas*, where one of the biggest ceremonies with CIG in CDMX was held 11/2/18.

## 6. DISCUSSION

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This section aims at answering the last part of the research question: [...] *and how can such conceptualization challenge the status quo conception of time horizons for change?*

What would a conceptualization of their understanding of time in relation to social change be? A brief summary of the analysis is, that 1) the campaign of Marichuy was an organizational, rather than electoral proposal, 2) it was understood as something that went **beyond** the constitutional political agenda, 3) it was inspired by a Benjaminian flash by (re)emphasizing and (re)defining the past, taking control of the memory as a potential to move ahead in the future, thus understanding time circular rather than linear 4) the aspired change was influenced by a time relativity, i.e. it would take a long undefined time, and finally, 5) their understanding of time contested any blueprint utopian thoughts, which reflected their mobilizations strategy.

### 6.1 EPISTEMOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES

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Marichuy's insistence on rejecting the power from above and looking beyond constitutional politics becomes an answerback to the logic of capitalism "in this thesis understood as a dominant hegemonic system logic that entails coloniality of power, epistemic violence of modernity and a linear way of thinking time (Winther, 2018:12). As discussed by Zibechi (2010), political culture can be changed through non-institutional politics from below following his logic: "Why should those from below have to do politics in the same way as those from above?" (ibid:1). Marichuy's campaign presented another way of doing politics.

The confusion expressed above by the 28-year old urban activists does, however, introduce an interesting dilemma: Such complex time logic might not be embedded in everyone who sympathizes with the movement. When I discussed this with a philosopher during the International Women's Meeting, she uttered:

*"It is understandable that it is not easily understood"*  
(Fernanda Navarro, Caracol, Morelia, Chiapas, 9/3/18)

Referring to my own epistemological discovery described in the methodology section (page 16-17), my time horizon for social change was dominated by a Western conception of deadlines and electoral power before following CIG. Slowly learning and understanding another logic of time, I began to question the limited possibilities for change I had internalized. Post development scholars such as Rockwell, Esteva and Santos comment on this debate. Rockwell argues that the resistance of the Zapatistas constructs their public identity in the present struggle and thus transforms our notion of "an evolutionary timeline that culminates in a Eurocentric image of progress and relegates indigenous people

to a primitive past” (Rockwell in Chomsky et al, 2010:165). Such transformation has the potential to shaken us and to rethink alternative timelines instead of committing “culturecide” (Esteva in Chomsky et al, 2010:115). It questions the modern epistemology, demystifies “Utopia” and pays attention to what Santos calls “The Epistemologies of the South” (2016).

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## 6.2 A BENJAMINIAN FLASH

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Batalla argues that the indigenous conception of time in Mexico is circular rather than linear, inasmuch as: “The past, in other words, is not something dead but rather something that can be returned to and appealed to in order to reimagine the present” (Batalla, 1996:38 in Hesketh, 2017:135).

The evolutionary timeline embedded in modernity is a product of our present historical conditions, here understood as the hegemonic capitalist system. The campaign for Marichuy’s emphasis on memory control was a strategy to challenge modern history writing. As Benjamin suggests:

*“To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it ‘the way it really was’ (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger”*  
(Walter Benjamin, 1940)

Framed by Benjamin, the current system is threatened by a “moment of danger” and only by returning to the memory, Marichuy did not only attempt to *represent* history, but also to *redefine* it. According to Rockwell, history classes in Mexico starts with the Conquest and pays little attention to the 35.000 years of Prehispanic civilizations (cited in Chomsky et al, 2010:177), why she suggests connecting timelines with local identity (bid:174). This can help create new social relationships, “that are born of the struggle, and are maintained and expanded by it (Zibechi, 2010:4). Once again, the **past of struggles** becomes the driver for social change.

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## 8.3 REJECTING TO PLAN THE YET UNFORESEEN FUTURE

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Referring to the iconoclastic utopians, as understood by Jacoby, the lack of a standardized campaign strategy or blueprint ideal society furthermore challenges the system logic. By **not** having a blueprint for social change, the campaign for Marichuy opens up for “new imaginative ideas for the future” (Jacoby, 2005:xv), which becomes their strength.

Inspired by these thoughts, I would argue that a healthy community does not aspire to create the perfect plan and then implement it; it rather grows and develops plans over time. This is in line with Holloway’s analogy of “Walking by asking”, where walking into an uncertain future is an essential part of envisioning the process of social change. Inspired by his argument that “certainty can only be on the side of domination” (Holloway, 2002, 12th thesis), I am convinced that **not** having a blueprint does not mean failure. I would rather

argue that it appears necessary inasmuch as the **present** hegemony draws the limits of the possible **future** and it is an ideological question to decide what is possible and impossible (Zizek, 2016:2:44min). By **not** knowing how the yet unforeseen future will look like and allowing for non-uniform campaigning, Marichuy challenged the **present** status quo.

#### 6.4 EMANCIPATORY POTENTIAL OF AN ICONOCLATIC STRATEGY

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Epistemological discoveries, Benjaminian flashes of the barbarian past and rejecting blueprint planning. The skeptic pragmatist might wonder, how can these conceptualizations challenge the system logic? Marichuy did **not** gather enough signatures to even run for presidency, so how can her campaign claim to have been successful? How will such movement be a movement towards emancipatory social change?

I argue the following: The modern construction **time** as measurement for change dominates the ontology of the possible and “internalize the systems of oppression of what is normal and what is deviant” (Loomba, 2015:58). How one understands time shapes how one accepts or rejects the possibilities for change. The campaign for Marichuy transforms our notion of time and they furthermore allow themselves to imagine but not plan the yet unforeseen future. As the Mexican writer rhetorically asked at the beginning of the campaign for Marichuy: “Is it possible to measure the size of hope in digits?” (Villoro, 2017).

Four months after Villoro's question, the Zapatista insurgent gave almost 10.000 women from all over the world a new hope in form of a “light”. She rounded up her closing speech with this metaphor: “*Bring this light with you and put it together with other lights [...] and perhaps we can meet again in order to put fire on the system!*” Significantly, in his “Principle of Hope”, Bloch applies “the flickering light” as a metaphor for hope. The **hope** that another world is possible is vital. The long-term visions of planting a seed **now** and not knowing **when** it will blossom become the emancipatory potential of Marichuy’s campaign. The perseverant belief that “we will always be more” is a visionary understanding of change, one that does not foreclose the possibility that a flickering light may just be around the corner, as a crack in the historical continuum.

“In our current geopolitical situation, though, where the relationship between global North and global South is sustained by and through clandestine economic transactions, war, band-aid humanitarian interventions, and patronizing development projects, the Zapatistas have provided us with a glimpse of another reality.”

(Poggiali, 2005:18)

The analysis above was made 13 years ago and focuses solely on the Zapatistas, and not the CNI and CIG, however it appears ever more relevant in today’s geopolitical situation and in the case of Marichuy. Through the campaign’s practice and discourse of another time horizon for social change they challenge



the status quo time identity and provides us with a glimpse of hope for another future.

And there **is** a need to hope for glimpses in an era of “opacity of the future limits of possibility” (Wright, 2009:269). In order to envision real utopias, “plausible visions of radical alternatives with firm theoretical foundations” (ibid:6) are necessary. However, these radical alternatives ought to “loosen the grip of unilinear trajectories of development, as such perspectives can result in a highly capitalocentric viewpoint” (Gibson-Graham, 2006 in Hesketh, 2017:7).

“The people must be thinking about, and acting toward,  
the real possibility of retaking social control”  
(Maldonado in Chomsky et al, 2010:372)

A Benjaminian recovery of the memory and liberation of the imagination are necessary for decolonization (ibid). The emancipatory potential of CIG is that they grasp the complex nettle of temporal conceptions and accordingly introduce such radical alternatives that **proliferate** rather than **foreclose** possibility.



## 7. INTERMEZZO

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The scope of the primary data material analyzed in this research is set to the 82 days in the field, which is only a small fraction of the **ongoing** *organización* of CIG<sup>19</sup>. It is difficult, if not impossible, to write a story about something that is daily rewritten. However, one methodological reflection shows relevant before moving to the conclusion: During the writing-up process, I have been in continuous **conversations** with various people involved in the campaign, shared my analytical focus and checked for consistency in quotes. Particularly have I been in correspondence with one of my key interviewees, Fernanda Navarro, who teaches Zapatista philosophy at UNAM and is a member of the ACE. After sending her my abstract and a quote of hers, I received an email from her on May 17<sup>th</sup> 2018, attached as appendix 11, which assured me that my analytical path of CIG was on the right track – in terms of representing and redefining my **memory** of the 82 days, but apparently also of the **present** situation.

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<sup>19</sup> As figure 1 (page 9) shows, there was for instance a 10-day seminar arranged by CIG in April 2018.

## 8. CONCLUSION

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By using time as a handle, the purpose of this research was to contribute to a narrowing of the gap between the mystified indigenous movements and theoretical discussions on emancipatory social change. With a foot in both worlds and thus being able to combine empirical data analysis with a theoretical discussion, this thesis has intended to challenge the status quo possibilities for social change.

Rather than limiting itself to the current system logic's "opacity of the future limits of possibility" (Wright, 2009:269), this research has been driven by an observed disjuncture and thus questioned its own internalized epistemology.

In conclusion, it has been shown that CIG understands time of social change in a way that has an emancipatory potential. The key finding is that by challenging the modern construction of time, which dominates the current system logic of imagination, CIG challenges the ontology of the possible and the internalized systems of repression. Different understandings of time hold different possibilities for social change and such epistemological discoveries proliferate the possibilities for a latent social change.

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### PROPOSAL FOR *CONTINUED RESEARCH* WITHIN THE FIELD

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In the process of arriving to such conclusions, this research furthermore made a discovery. It encountered that some of those involved in resistances **against** the status quo have internalized the same system's logic of repression that they attempt to transform. Here is an interesting area to explore not only philosophically, but also empirically with a foot in both the theoretical and empirical world: How do activists' ontology of the possible (dis)juncture with that of the system they want to transform? And in which way could epistemological discoveries on the ontology of the possible proliferate their understandings and strategies for social change?

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### 9.3 EMPIRICAL

#### Front-page visual material:

- Lund University logo: <http://seekvectorlogo.com/download-vector-logo-1425/>
- CIG logo: [http://radiozapatista.org/?page\\_id=18920&lang=en](http://radiozapatista.org/?page_id=18920&lang=en)

#### Field notes - appendix 3, 4 and 5

- The extensive observation book (big black) and the brown and grey note book

#### Interviews – appendix 1

#### Recordings from various participations - appendix 2

#### Campaign material - appendix 6

The telephone application "Telegram" "EICIGVa", with daily posts, visual material, artistic expression in form of short videos, songs and posters

Speeches by Zapatista women during the "First International Gathering of Politics, Art, Sport, and Culture for Women in Struggle" held in Zapatista Caracol Morelia, Chiapas, 7-11<sup>th</sup> of March, 2018.

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- [Blog: ActividadesdelCIGylavocera](#)
- [Mapeomarichuy \(Appendix 7\)](#)
- [Congresonacionalindigena \(CNI official\)](#)
- [Suvozesmivoz \(ACE official\)](#)
- [Enlacezapatista \(EZLN official\)](#)
- [Llegó la hora del florecimiento de los pueblos](#)
- [www.INE.mx \(Appendix 9\)](#)

#### Mexican web sources of independent Media:

- [La Jornada \(UNAM\)](#)
- [Subversiones](#)
- [Radio Zapatista](#)
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## 10. APPENDICES

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### PRIMARY

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1. OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEWS

2. OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPATIONS DURING FIELDWORK

3. DAY 1-DAY 82

4. OVERVIEW OF FIELD NOTEBOOKS

5. NOTE-TAKING SYSTEM OF CATEGORIES

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### SECONDARY

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6. NON-UNIFORM CAMPAIGN MATERIAL

7. CNI'S SEVEN GUIDING PRINCIPLES

8. CNI AND EZLN'S PROPOSAL TO CONSTITUTE CIG

9. INE'S FINAL EVALUATION REPORT

10. THE ANGEL OF HISTORY

11. EMAIL FROM FERNANDA NAVARRO 17<sup>TH</sup> 2018

12. COMMUNIQUÉ BY CIG AFTER CIDECI-SEMINAR

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## Appendix 1 – Overview of interviews

Formal	Semi-structured interview w/ note-taking, questions and often recording
Nonformal	Spontaneous opportunity, not appropriate to take notes until afterwards
Monologue	The interviewee speaking, recorded and note-taking
Informative conversation	Conversation turning into an interview w/ note-taking and questions
Focus group	More than one interviewee, interview form w/ questions and note-taking

No.	Date	Place	State	Gender	Affiliation	Type	Audio	Minutes
1	07/01/18	Mesa de firmas, Cineteca Nacional, Coyoacán	CDMX	M	Auxiliar, red de apoyo Coyoacán	Nonformal	No	x
2	07/01/18	In apartment, Santo Domingo, Coyoacán	CDMX	M	Raúl Romero, academic at Institute of Social Investigation UNAM, my local "gatekeeper"	Monologue	Yes	72:34 min
3	08/01/18	Street food, Santo Domingo, Coyoacán	CDMX	M	Former migrant in USA/Canada, now working in tourism agency in CDMX	Formal	Yes	12:14 min
4	08/01/18	In a café, centro histórico	CDMX	F	Danish anthropologist	Informative conversation		x
5	08/01/18	In apartment, Santo Domingo, Coyoacán	CDMX	M	Raúl Romero (op.cit.)	Informative conversation		49:15 min
6	09/01/18	In café, Coyoacán	CDMX	M	Social entrepreneur	Nonformal	No	x
7	16/01/18	MAÍZ regional office, Tehuacán	Puebla	M	National coordinator for MAÍZ (Tehuacán)	Formal	Yes	33:42 min
8	16/01/18	MAÍZ regional office, Tehuacán	Puebla	M	La Comisión de Derechos Humanos y Laborales del Valle de Tehuacán	Nonformal	No	x
9	17/01/18	Kitchen, Guadalupe La Patrona	Veracruz	F	Guatemalan migrant arriving via "The Beast" cargo train	Nonformal	No	x
10	17/01/18	Kitchen, Guadalupe La Patrona	Veracruz	F,F	Founding sister and daughter of Las Patronas	Focus group	Yes	32:14 min
11	18/01/18	Local and autonomous radio station, Zacatepec	Puebla	M,M, M	2 concejales (CIG) and 1 delegado (CNI)	Focus group	Yes	123:11 min
12	22/01/18	Danish Embassy, Polanco	CDMX	F, M	Health advisor and political advisor at the Danish Embassy in MX	Focus group	Yes	75:02 min
13	24/01/18	Auditorio in SME: Union for electricians	CDMX	M	Member of ANNUE: Asociación Nacional de Usuarios de Energía Electrica	Formal	Yes	22:01 min
14	24/01/18	Auditorio in SME: Union for electricians	CDMX	M	Auxiliar at Bellas Artes and from Hormiguero Zero (Nicolás Romero)	Nonformal	Yes	02:47 min
15	27/01/18	In a café, Marquelia	Guerrero	M,M, M	3 concejales from mountain villages, Guerrero	Formal	Yes	61:18 min
16	27/01/18	In village house, Buenavista	Guerrero	M	Concejal from Buenavista, mountain village in Guerrero	Monologue	Yes	61:18 min
17	29/01/18	In OÍDHO (Organización Indígena Derechos Humanos Oaxaca)	Oaxaca	M,M, M	Mixe activists in CINPA (Coordinador Indígena Popular Autonoma)	Informative conversation		x
18	30/01/18	In conference room, Tamazulápan Mixe	Oaxaca	M	Concejal from Tamazulápan Mixe	Nonformal	No	x
19	07/01/18	Mesa de firmas, Bellas Artes	CDMX	M,M	Auxiliares at Bellas Artes and from Hormiguero Zero (Nicolás Romero)	Nonformal	No	x
20	08/02/18	Phone	CDMX	F	The Institution, which has designed the application for smartphones	Not successful	No	45:14 min

21	08/02/18	Mesa de firmas, Metro Zapata	CDMX	F, M	Auxiliares and active in UPREZ Benito Juárez	Formal	Yes	11:03 min
22	10/02/18	San Gregorio, Xochimilco	CDMX	F, M	Concejales from Valle de México	Focus group	No	x
23	11/02/18	Círculos de Mujeres Malinaltok, Nicolás Romero	Estado de México	F,F,F, F	Women Circle, the four most active and accountable participants	Focus group	Yes	85:24 min
24	12/02/18	Phone	Estado de México	F	The Institution, which has designed the application for smartphones	Not succesful	No	x
25	13/02/18	Hormiguero Zero, Nicolás Romero	Estado de México	F,M, M	Cultural education center, auxiliar network for campaign	Focus group	Yes	124:49 min
26	14/02/18	Phone	Estado de México	F	The Institution, which has designed the application for smartphones	Not succesful	No	x
27	15/02/18	UnioS, Headquarters for campaign, CIG, CNI and EZLN en CDMX	CDMX	M	Lucas Alvarez Olvera, Leader of FPRO	Nonformal	No	x
28	15/02/18	Mesa de firmas, Mesa Rojas	CDMX	M,M, M	Auxiliares (Comunidad Otomi) at Metro Rojas	Formal	No	x
29	17/02/18	UnioS, Headquarters for campaign, CIG, CNI and EZLN en CDMX	CDMX	F	Secretary at FPRO	Nonformal	No	x
30	18/02/18	Poetón by Mesa de Firma Bellas Artes	CDMX	M	Auxiliar, red de apoyo Magdalena Contreras	Nonformal	No	x
31	18/02/18	Poetón by Mesa de Firma Bellas Artes	CDMS	M	Professor of Sociology Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa	Nonformal	No	x
32	18/02/18	Mesa de firmas, Beniciclio Juarez	CDMX	M, M	Auxiliares, Red de Cautémoc	Nonformal	No	x
33	04/03/18	Tlahuitoltepec in private house	Oaxaca	F	Receiver of "la Prospera" (CCT program in Mexico) from Sierra Mixe	Informative conversation		x
34	06/03/18	2nd Congreso Internacional de la Comunalidad, Tlahuitoltepec	Oaxaca	F, M, M	Locals (and partipants/moderators of discussions)	Informative conversation		x
35	09/03/18	4th Caracol Morelia (International Women's Meeting)	Chiapas	F	Fernanda Navarro, philosopher at UNAM and member of ACE	Fomal	Yes	56:44 min
36	09/03/18	4th Caracol Morelia (International Women's Meeting)	Chiapas	F,F	Zapatista women from Morelia Caracol	Informative conversation		x
37	10/03/18	4th Caracol Morelia (International Women's Meeting)	Chiapas	F,F	Zapatista women from La Realidad Caracol	Nonformal	No	x
38	10/03/18	La Junta de Morelia	Chiapas	F	I am being interviewed why I want to gain access	Formal	No	x
39	10/03/18	4th Caracol Morelia (International Women's Meeting)	Chiapas	F,F, M	Zapatista women and one husband from Morelia Caracol	Nonformal	No	x
40	14/03/18	XX Caracol Oventik	Chiapas	M	Guide showing me around Oventik Caracol	Informative conversation		x
41	15/03/18	CIDECEI cafeteria	Chiapas	F	CIDECEI student of bakery, sewing and alfabetization	Informative conversation		x
42	15/03/18	CIDECEI	Chiapas	M	Dr. Raymuno, general coordinator of CIDECEI-UniTierra	Informative conversation		x
43	17/03/18	5th Caracol Roberto Barrios	Chiapas	M	Security guard, intention to speak with La Junta	Formal	No	x
44	23/03/18	Culture House, Galeon Pirata/Casa del Escritor	Quintana Roo	M	Initiator of Galeon Pirata and organizar of Independent Art Festival	Formal	Yes	37:34 min

## Appendix 2: Participations during fieldwork

### Assemblies with Marichuy

Date	Location	Content
24/1/18	Auditorium in SME: Union for electricians, CDMX	Working groups and speeches by Marichuy, CIG, Pablo Cassanova, etc
24/1/18	Hemiciclo a Juárez (main square in CDMX)	Ceremony with Marichuy, CIG and support groups (parade, music, etc.)
25/1/18	Chilpancingo, Guerrero (at University UAGro)	Ceremony with university support group, CIG and Marichuy (parade, music, etc.)
26/1/18	Ejido General Enrique Rodríguez, Guerrero	Ceremony on village assembly square with local community and Marichuy and CIG
26/1/18	Xochistlahuaca, Guerrero	Ceremony at main square with support groups, locals, Marichuy and CIG, (parade, music, etc.)
28/1/18	Buenavista, Guerrero	Ceremony at main square with support groups, locals, Marichuy and CIG, (parade, music, etc.)
28/1/18	Tlapa, Guerrero	Ceremony at main square with support groups, locals, Marichuy and CIG, (parade, music, etc.)
29/1/18	Huajapan, Oaxaca	Ceremony at main square with support groups, locals, Marichuy and CIG (first a march, then parade, music, etc.)
29/1/18	Zócalo, Oaxaca City, Oaxaca	Ceremony at main square with support groups, locals, Marichuy and CIG
30/1/18	Tamazulápam Mixe, Oaxaca	Ceremony at main square with support groups, locals, Marichuy and CIG
10/2/18	San Gregorio, Xochimilco, CDMX	Meeting with indigenous groups of Valle De Mexico with Marichuy and CIG (working groups and then speeches)

### Meetings and conferences related to the campaign

Date	Location	Content
11/1/18	Magdalena Contreras, CDMX	Citizen reflections on the new "Law on Homeland Security" organized by <i>red de apoyo</i> to CIG 'Magdalena Contreras')
13/1/18 and 14/1/18	Caracol "Que junta al Universo", Santa Clara Huitziltepec, Puebla	Meeting for Sexual Diversity and Anticapitalism, organized by <i>red de apoyo</i> 'Diversidad Sexual Anticapitalista Puebla'
17/1/18	Cholula, Puebla	Analysis forum/press conference on the "Law on Homeland Security" (press, politicians, etc. the mayor has appealed to the Supreme Court, they condemn the new law to be anti-constitutional)
22/1/18	Uníos, headquarters, CDMX	Press Conference about the attack on CIG's caravan (21/1/18)
24/1/18	Auditotio in SME, Union for electricians, CDMX	Big meeting between union for electricians, CIG and <i>redes de apoyo</i> . Working groups and speeches by Marichuy, CIG, Pablo Cassanova, etc.
11/2/18	Nicolás Romero, State of Mexico	Women circles' meeting "Malinaltok"
15/2/18	Uníos, headquarters, CDMX	Press Conference on the accident with CIG's caravan (14/1/18)
16/2/18	Café Zapata Vive, CDMX	Musical event "Sonidos en Resistencia" ("Sounds of Resistance") supporting the campaign organized by <i>red de apoyo</i> Café Zapata Vive
17/2/18	Uníos, headquarters, CDMX	Cultural and artistic support event for the Zapatista's International Women's Meeting
18/2/18	<i>Mesa de firma</i> Bellas Artes, CDMX	"Poetón" (Poetry "Marathon") Cultural and artistic all-day event) in support for Marichuy organized by <i>red de apoyo</i> to CIG 'Magdalena Contreras'
19/2/18	Uníos, headquarters, CDMX	"Llegó la hora del florecimiento de indígenas residentes en la CDMX. Meeting between indigenous residents of CDMX
20/2/18	Uníos, headquarters, CDMX	Evaluation meeting of that meeting and the campaign (the day after the deadline for signature collection)
7/3/18-11/3/18	Caracol IV Morelia, Zone Tzotz Choj, Zapatista territory, Chiapas	First International Gathering of Politics, Art, Sport, and Culture for Women in Struggle
15/3/18	CIDECI-Unitierra, San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas	Thursday Seminar about the International Women's Meeting and post-reflections on the campaign for Marichuy

### **Observations by mesas de firmas**

- Cineteca Nacional
- Metro Copilco
- Museum Bellas Artes
- Metro Zapata
- Café Zapata
- Rincón Zapata
- Punta Gozadera
- Mesa Rojas (Comunidad Otomí)

### **Miscellaneous**

- Job shadowing national coordinator of MAIZ, Puebla
- Observing a meeting of new community partner into the organization
- Visiting Hormiguero Zero, Nicolás Romero, State of Mexico - a cultural education center which forms part of the auxiliar network to Marichuy
- Visiting the following Zapatist caracoles
  - Caracol II Oventik
  - Caracol IV Morelia
  - Caracol V Roberto Barrios

### **Visiting and interviewing concejales y concejales**

- Zacatepec, Puebla: 2 (*Nahuatl*)
- Cuanalá, Puebla: 1 (*Nahuatl*)
- Marquelia, Guerrero: 3 (*Nahuatl*)
- Buenavista, Guerrero: 1 (*Mépha*)
- Tamazulápan Mixe, Oaxaca: 1 (*Mixe*)
- Xochimilco, CDMX: 2 (*unknown*)
- Generally, CDMX: 5 (*Marzahua, Otomí and Puréchepe*)

### **Museum and cultural visits**

- Trotsky Museum, Coyoacán, CDMX
- National Museum of Anthropology, CDMX
- UNAM – Biblioteca Central, Musum on Centemporary Art, Investigaciones sociales, la Facultad de Ciencia Política, CDMX
- International Museum of the Baroque, Puebla
- Various ruins from Prehispanic time (Maya, Zapoteca), such as Monte Alban, Toniná, Calakmul, Becan, etc.

### Appendix 3: Day 1-Day 82

From the first pages of the 'full field notebook'

- Día 1** Arrival at Raúl's home, (Oyoacán CDF), Cineteca Nacional I<sup>o</sup> mesa de firma
- Día 2** Discover the City (Oyoacán + center), meeting w/ Nico, more campaign talk
- Día 3** Lunch w/ old friend, Leon Trotsky's museum, "Amores Perros" and more debate
- Día 4** Local market, 5 hours in Nación Mus. for Anthropology, drinks w/ friend
- Día 5** Discover UNAM, Mesa firma (capileo), Foro sobre de La Ley de Seguridad Interior
- Día 6** Discover ONAH (CCU), MACU, pozoles and pol debate w/ R's colleagues
- Día 7** Encuentro por la diversidad sexual antiheteropatriarcal, LGTB apoyando al CIG
- Día 8** en Huitziltepec (templo/caracol que juntas al universo)  
Arrival at Tehuacán at ~~Primo~~ Coordinator of MATZ, Omar's home
- Día 9** Tehuacán: job shadowing coordinator of MATZ + talk w/ Martín Comisión de DDHH y laborales
- Día 10** Visit, help and interview for article @ LAS PATRONAS
- Día 11** Cholula: Foro Law on Homeland Security, Zacatepec: Concejales from radio interview
- Día 12** Cuarechi, St. Lukas hacienda, Cholula
- Día 13** San Miguel y La Milancha
- Día 14** Tlayacapan → day off!
- Día 15** Tlayacapan → back to CDMX. The attack in Michoacán
- Día 16** Meeting Danish Embassy a CDMX (interview) + Press conference about Hachuy and the event the 24<sup>th</sup>
- Día 17** Work at home: Article for Information about Las Patronas/La Bestia I<sup>o</sup> hand-in for uni, Diary Entry #1
- Día 18** Encuentro @ JME (Sindicato de electricistas - clase obrera) - CDMX  
Bienvenida a M en Benicio a Juárez
- Día 19** 1. day of caravan in Guerrero: Chilpancingo
- Día 20** 2. day: comunidad de Grt. Enrique Rodríguez Cruz  
Xochistlahuaca
- Día 21** 3. day: w/ Concejales in Margueta playa + arrival at Buena Vista
- Día 22** 4. day: Buenavista village  
Tiapa el Zocalo
- Día 23** 5. day of caravan in Oaxaca: I tumba en Chila, event in Huajuapam  
and in zocalo CD Oaxaca
- Día 24** 6. day of caravan: Tamaulápan Mix
- Día 25:** Tlahuítoltepec
- Día 26:** Tlahuítoltepec → Oaxaca ciudad
- Día 27-30** VACATION by the coast Huatulco, Pt. Angel, Zipolite,  
Puerto Comate, Miermejitá, Ventanilla
- Día 31** Back in CDMX. Paper work + article



- Día 32** CDMX. Paper work, Mesa de Firmas Bellas Artes
- Día 33** CDMX. Paper work, Mesa de Firmas Metro Zapata  
INE interview attempts
- Día 34** CDMX - Paper work + "Sociedades de Resistencia" en Café Zapoteca.
- Día 35** Xochimilco (San Gregorio Atlapulca) event w/ Mariachy wedding in
- Día 36** Nicolas Romero - Encuentro de ♀ce Malinalxok
- Día 37** Nicolas Romero - mountain visit
- Día 38** Nicolas Romero - visit at Hormiguero Zero
- Día 39** Back in CDMX. Accident CIG/M caravan in Baja California Sur!
- Día 40** CDMX. Press conference about accident + Observing Mesa Rosa (Metro Insurgentes) Otomí
- Día 41** CDMX. Writing Field diary entry II.
- Día 42** CDMX. Carmaná y Valle event Rincón Zapata Mesa Bellas Artes
- Día 43** CDMX. Mesa Bella. Artes Poética
- Día 44** → 19th of Feb! Last day of signatures  
CDMX: UNIOS: Encuentro de pueblos originarios en CDMX
- Día 45** CDMX: Evaluación de la reunión ayer
- Día 46-57** Puebla, Oaxaca, Tlahvitoteppec, Guadalupe Victoria, Yocoichi, Totontepec, Villa Alta
- Día 58** Tlahvitoteppec: 2<sup>nd</sup> Congreso Internacional de Comunalidad
- Día 59** Tlahvitoteppec: 2<sup>nd</sup> Congreso Int. de Comunalidad
- Día 60** Arrival at San Cristóbal de las Casas (Chiapas) → to Caracol
- Día 61-64** 1<sup>o</sup> Encuentro Internacional Deportivo, Cultural, Artístico, Político para ♀ que luchan. 4<sup>th</sup> Caracol Morelia, Chiapas
- Día 65** Ruins Toniná, by Ocoingo
- Día 66** San Cristóbal de las Casas
- Día 67** Caracol Oventik, Chamula, CIDECI
- Día 68** Frayha, CIDECI Thursday Seminar
- Día 69** Heading east from San Cris → back to ruins 8 Omeo & Antanina
- Día 70** 5<sup>th</sup> Caracol Roberto Barrios
- Día 71** Sunrise: Arrival at Bacalar (el Portadero)
- Día 72-73** Bacalar days; sailing and swimming
- Día 74** 4<sup>th</sup> FANBAC Festival, independent art, defensa de territorio
- Día 75** Ruins Becan, Calacmul and Vulcan de Morcialogos
- Día 76** Galeon Pirata, interview Adrian, Bacalar
- Día 77** Heading North, ferpe carillo Pt. (haya entrance) Cruz Palante (Mariachy ceremony place). Playa del Carmen
- Día 78** Valladolid, cenotes X'keken & Samuán, colonial Izamal, Mérida
- Día 79** Mérida, Flying from Cancún, back to CDMX, talk w/ students from Danish "Krogerup Højskole" about my field studies w/ Mariachy
- Día 80-81** Last 2 days in CDMX
- Día 82** Flying ~~back~~ out of México



## Appendix 4: Overview of field notebook



**Photo A:** The 'full field notebook'



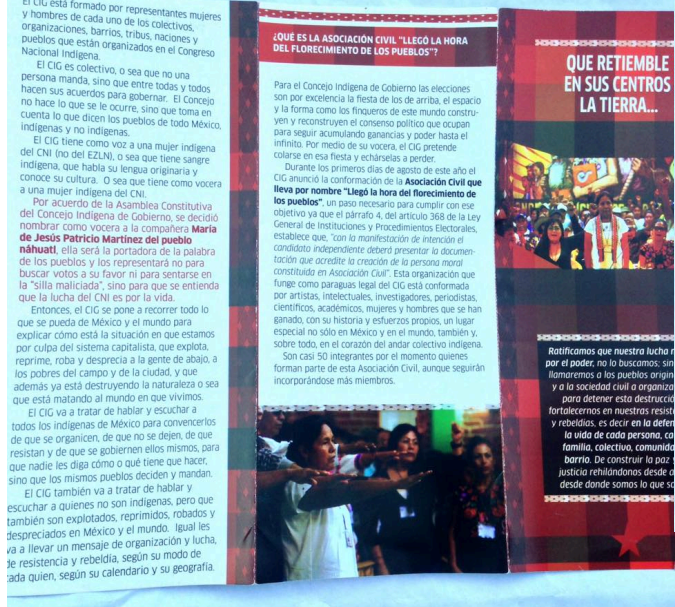
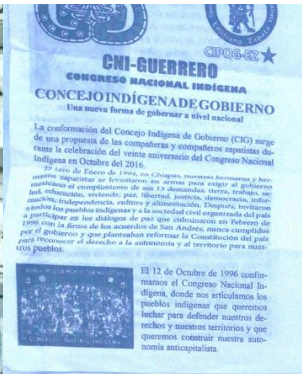
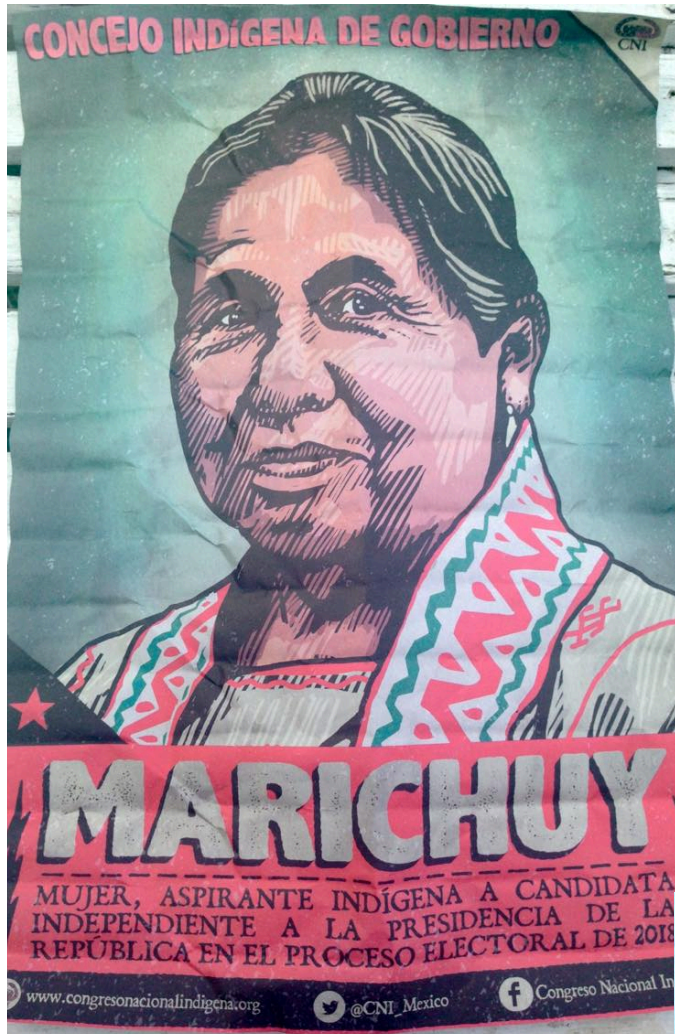
**Photo B:** The 'scratch notes'







# Appendix 6: Non-uniform campaign material



The campaign for Marichuy's understanding of time contested any blueprint utopian thoughts, which reflected their mobilizations strategy. "Organize yourselves, from below and from the left" was the only coordination message given to the numerous *redes de apoyo*, which would participate in the campaign and *mesas de firmas*. Thus, there was not a uniform and standardized strategy and design, but rather a diverse set of approaches. The diversity of campaign material is illustrated here, where it is clear that it was not standardized.



## Appendix 7 - CNI's Seven Principles

**7 PRINCIPIOS DEL CONGRESO NACIONAL INDÍGENA**

- 1 OBEDECER y no mandar**
- 2 REPRESENTAR y no suplantar**
- 3 SERVIR y no servirse**
- 4 CONVENCER y no imponer**
- 5 BAJAR y no subir**
- 6 PROPONER y no imponer**
- 7 CONSTRUIR y no destruir**

El Congreso Nacional Indígena designó a **Marichuy como candidata independiente** para las elecciones de **2018**

*Translated to English:*

"Command Obeying"

1. To serve, not serve oneself
2. To build, not destroy
3. To represent, not supplant
4. To convince, not defeat
5. To obey, not command
6. To go from below, not from above
7. To propose, not impose.

## Appendix 8 - CNI and EZLN's proposal to constitute CIG

Published originally in Spanish: October 14<sup>th</sup> 2016:

<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2016/10/14/que-retiemble-en-sus-centros-la-tierra/>

Translated version published October 18<sup>th</sup> 2016:

<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2016/10/18/may-the-earth-tremble-at-its-core/>

### "MAY THE EARTH TREMBLE AT ITS CORE"

*To the people of the world:*

*To the free media:*

*To the National and International Sixth:*

Convened for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the National Indigenous Congress and the living resistance of the originary peoples, nations, and tribes of this country called Mexico, of the languages of Amuzgo, Binni-zaá, Chinanteco, Chol, Chontal de Oaxaca, Coca, Náyeri, Cuicateco, Kumiai, Lacandón, Matlazinca, Maya, Mayo, Mazahua, Mazateco, Mixe, Mixteco, Nahuatl, Ñahñu, Ñathô, Popoluca, Purépecha, Rarámuri, Tlapaneco, Tojolabal, Totonaco, Triqui, Tzeltal, Tsotsil, Wixárika, Yaqui, Zoque, Chontal de Tabasco, as well as our Aymara, Catalán, Mam, Nasa, Quiché and Tacaná brothers and sisters, we firmly pronounce that our struggle is below and to the left, that we are anticapitalist and that the time of the people has come—the time to make this country pulse with the ancestral heartbeat of our mother earth.

It is in this spirit that we met to celebrate life in the Fifth National Indigenous Congress, which took place on October 9-14, 2016, in CIDECI-UNITIERRA, Chiapas. There we once again recognized the intensification of the dispossession and repression that have not stopped in the 524 years since the powerful began a war aimed at exterminating those who are of the earth; as their children we have not allowed for their destruction and death, meant to serve capitalist ambition which knows no end other than destruction itself. That resistance, the struggle to continue constructing life, today takes the form of words, learning, and agreements. On a daily basis we build ourselves and our communities in resistance in order to stave off the storm and the capitalist attack which never lets up. It becomes more aggressive everyday such that today it has become a civilizational threat, not only for indigenous peoples and *campesinos* but also for the people of the cities who themselves must create dignified and rebellious forms of resistance in order to avoid murder, dispossession, contamination, sickness, slavery, kidnapping or disappearance. Within our community assemblies we have decided, exercised, and constructed our destiny since time immemorial. Our forms of organization and the defense of our collective life is only possible through rebellion against the bad government, their businesses, and their organized crime.

We denounce the following:

1. In Pueblo Coca, Jalisco, the businessman Guillermo Moreno Ibarra invaded 12 hectares of forest in the area known as El Pandillo, working in cahoots with the agrarian institutions there to criminalize those who struggle, resulting in 10 community members being subjected to trials that went on for four years. The bad government is invading the island of Mexcala, which is sacred communal land, and at the same time refusing to recognize the Coca people in state indigenous legislation, in an effort to erase them from history.
2. The Otomí Ñahñu, Ñathô, Hui hú, and Matlatzinca peoples from México State and Michoacán are being attacked via the imposition of a megaproject to build the private Toluca-Naucalpan Highway and an inter-city train. The project is destroying homes and sacred sites, buying people off and manipulating communal assemblies through police presence. This is in addition to fraudulent community censuses that supplant the voice of an entire people, as well as the privatization and the dispossession of water and territory around the Xinantécatl volcano, known as the Nevado de Toluca. There the bad governments are doing away with the protections that they themselves granted, all in order to hand the area over to the tourism industry. We know that all of these projects are driven by interest in appropriating the water and life of the entire region. In the Michoacán zone they deny the identity of the Otomí people, and a

group of police patrols have come to the region to monitor the hills, prohibiting indigenous people there from going to the hills to cut wood.

3. The originary peoples who live in Mexico City are being dispossessed of the territories that they have won in order to be able to work for a living; in the process they are robbed of their goods and subjected to police violence. They are scorned and repressed for using their traditional clothing and language, and criminalized through accusations of selling drugs.
4. The territory of the Chontal Peoples of Oaxaca is being invaded by mining concessions that are dismantling communal land organization, affecting the people and natural resources of five communities.
5. The Mayan Peninsular People of Campeche, Yucatán, and Quintana Roo are suffering land dispossession as a result of the planting of genetically modified soy and African palm, the contamination of their aquifers by agrochemicals, the construction of wind farms and solar farms, the development of ecotourism, and the activities of real estate developers. Their resistance against high electricity costs has been met with harassment and arrest warrants. In Calakmul, Campeche, five communities are being displaced by the imposition of ‘environmental protection areas,’ environmental service costs, and carbon capture plans. In Candelaria, Campeche, the struggle continues for secure land tenure. In all three states there is aggressive criminalization against those who defend territory and natural resources.
6. The Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Chol and Lacandón Maya People of Chiapas continue to be displaced from their territories due to the privatization of natural resources. This has resulted in the imprisonment and murder of those who defend their right to remain in their territory, as they are constantly discriminated against and repressed whenever they defend themselves and organize to continue building their autonomy, leading to increasing rates of human rights violations by police forces. There are campaigns to fragment and divide their organizations, as well as the murders of *compañeros* who have defended their territory and natural resources in San Sebastián Bachajon. The bad governments continue trying to destroy the organization of the communities that are EZLN bases of support in order to cast a shadow on the hope and light that they provide to the entire world.
7. The Mazateco people of Oaxaca have been invaded by private property claims which exploit the territory and culture for tourism purposes. This includes naming Huautla de Jiménez as a “Pueblo Mágico” in order to legalize displacement and commercialize ancestral knowledge. This is in addition to mining concessions and foreign spelunking explorations in existing caves, all enforced by increased harassment by narcotraffickers and militarization of the territory. The bad governments are complicit in the increasing rates of femicide and rape in the region.
8. The Nahua and Totonaca peoples of Veracruz and Puebla are confronting aerial fumigation, which creates illnesses in the communities. Mining and hydrocarbon exploration and exploitation are carried out through fracking, and 8 watersheds are endangered by new projects that are contaminating the rivers.
9. The Nahua and Popoluca peoples from the south of Veracruz are under siege by organized crime and also risk territorial destruction and their disappearance as a people because of the threats brought by mining, wind farms, and above all, hydrocarbon exploitation through fracking.
10. The Nahua people, who live in the states of Puebla, Tlaxcala, Veracruz, Morelos, Mexico State, Jalisco, Guerrero, Michoacán, San Luis Potosí, and Mexico City, are in a constant struggle to stop the advance of the so-called *Proyecto Integral Morelos*, consisting of pipelines, aqueducts, and thermoelectric projects. The bad governments, seeking to stop the resistance and communication among the communities are trying to destroy the community radio of Amiltzingo, Morelos. Similarly, the construction of the new airport in Mexico City and the surrounding building projects threaten the territories around Texcoco lake and the Valle de México basin, namely Atenco,

Texcoco, and Chimalhuacán. In Michocan, the Nahuá people face the plunder of their natural resources and minerals by *sicarios* [hitmen] who are accompanied by police or the army, and also the militarization and paramilitarization of their territories. The cost of trying to halt this war has been murder, persecution, imprisonment, and harassment of community leaders.

11. The Zoque People of Oaxaca and Chiapas face invasion by mining concessions and alleged private property claims on communal lands in the Chimalapas region, as well as three hydroelectric dams and hydrocarbon extraction through fracking. The implementation of cattle corridors is leading to excessive logging in the forests in order to create pastureland, and genetically modified seeds are also being cultivated there. At the same time, Zoque migrants to different states across the country are re-constituting their collective organization.
12. The Amuzgo people of Guerrero are facing the theft of water from the San Pedro River to supply residential areas in the city of Ometepec. Their community radio has also been subject to constant persecution and harassment.
13. The Rarámuri people of Chihuahua are losing their farmland to highway construction, to the Creel airport, and to the gas pipeline that runs from the United States to Chihuahua. They are also threatened by Japanese mining companies, dam projects, and tourism.
14. The Wixárika people of Jalisco, Nayarit, and Durango are facing the destruction and privatization of the sacred places they depend on to maintain their familial, social, and political fabric, and also the dispossession of their communal land in favor of large landowners who take advantage of the blurry boundaries between states of the Republic and campaigns orchestrated by the bad government to divide people.
15. The Kumiai People of Baja California continue struggling for the reconstitution of their ancestral territories, against invasion by private interests, the privatization of their sacred sites, and the invasion of their territories by gas pipelines and highways.
16. The Purépecha people of Michoacán are experiencing deforestation, which occurs through complicity between the bad government and the narcoparamilitary groups who plunder the forests and woods. Community organization from below poses an obstacle to that theft.
17. For the Triqui people of Oaxaca, the presence of the political parties, the mining industry, paramilitaries, and the bad government foment the disintegration of the community fabric in the interest of plundering natural resources.
18. The Chinanteco people of Oaxaca are suffering the destruction of their forms of community organization through land reforms, the imposition of environmental services costs, carbon capture plans, and ecotourism. There are plans for a four-lane highway to cross and divide their territory. In the Cajono and Usila Rivers the bad governments are planning to build three dams that will affect the Chinanteco and Zapoteca people, and there are also mining concessions and oil well explorations.
19. The Náyeri People of Nayarit face the invasion and destruction of their sacred territories by the Las Cruces hydroelectric project in the site called Muxa Tena on the San Pedro River.
20. The Yaqui people of Sonora continue their sacred struggle against the gas pipeline that would cross their territory, and in defense of the water of the Yaqui River, which the bad governments want to use to supply the city of Hermosillo, Sonora. This goes against judicial orders and international appeals which have made clear the Yaqui peoples' legal and legitimate rights. The bad government has criminalized and harassed the authorities and spokespeople of the Yaqui tribe.
21. The Binizzá and Ikoot people organize to stop the advance of the mining, wind, hydroelectric, dam, and gas pipeline projects. This includes in particular the Special Economic Zone on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and the infrastructure that threatens the territory and the autonomy of the people on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec who are classified as the "environmental Taliban" and the "indigenous rights Taliban," the



precise words used by the Mexican Association of Energy to refer to the Popular Assembly of the Juchiteco People.

22. The Mixteco people of Oaxaca suffer the plunder of their agrarian territory, which also affects their traditional practices given the threats, deaths, and imprisonment that seek to quiet the dissident voices, with the bad government supporting armed paramilitary groups as in the case of San Juan Mixtepec, Oaxaca.
23. The Mixteco, Tlapaneco, and Nahuatl peoples from the mountains and coast of Guerrero face the imposition of mining megaprojects supported by narco-traffickers, their paramilitaries, and the bad governments, who fight over the territories of the originary peoples.
24. The Mexican bad government continues to lie, trying to hide its decomposition and total responsibility for the forced disappearance of the 43 students from the Raúl Isidro Burgos Rural Teachers College in Ayotzinapa, Guerrero.
25. The state continues to hold hostage: *compañeros* Pedro Sánchez Berriozábal, Rómulo Arias Míreles, Teófilo Pérez González, Dominga González Martínez, Lorenzo Sánchez Berriozábal, and Marco Antonio Pérez González from the Nahuatl community of San Pedro Tlanixco in Mexico State; Zapotec *compañero* Álvaro Sebastián from the Loxicha region; *compañeros* Emilio Jiménez Gómez and Esteban Gómez Jiménez, prisoners from the community of Bachajón, Chiapas; *compañeros* Pablo López Álvarez and the exiled Raul Gatica García and Juan Nicolás López from the Indigenous and Popular Council of Oaxaca Ricardo Flores Magón. Recently a judge handed down a 33-year prison sentence to *compañero* Luis Fernando Sotelo for demanding that the 43 disappeared students from Ayotzinapa be returned alive, and to the *compañeros* Samuel Ramírez Gálvez, Gonzalo Molina González and Arturo Campos Herrera from the Regional Coordination of Community Authorities – PC. They also hold hundreds of indigenous and non-indigenous people across the country prisoner for defending their territories and demanding justice.
26. The Mayo people's ancestral territory is threatened by highway projects meant to connect Topolobampo with the state of Texas in the United States. Ambitious tourism projects are also being created in Barranca del Cobre.
27. The Dakota Nation's sacred territory is being invaded and destroyed by gas and oil pipelines, which is why they are maintaining a permanent occupation to protect what is theirs.

For all of these reasons, we reiterate that it is our obligation to protect life and dignity, that is, resistance and rebellion, from below and to the left, a task that can only be carried out collectively. We build rebellion from our small local assemblies that combine to form large communal assemblies, *ejidal* assemblies, *Juntas de Buen Gobierno* [Good Government Councils], and coalesce as agreements as peoples that unite us under one identity. In the process of sharing, learning, and constructing ourselves as the National Indigenous Congress, we see and feel our collective pain, discontent, and ancestral roots. In order to defend what we are, our path and learning process have been consolidated by strengthening our collective decision-making spaces, employing national and international juridical law as well as peaceful and civil resistance, and casting aside the political parties that have only brought death, corruption, and the buying off of dignity. We have made alliances with various sectors of civil society, creating our own resources in communication, community police and self-defense forces, assemblies and popular councils, and cooperatives; in the exercise and defense of traditional medicine; in the exercise and defense of traditional and ecological agriculture; in our own rituals and ceremonies to pay respect to mother earth and continue walking with and upon her, in the cultivation and defense of native seeds, and in political-cultural activities, forums, and information campaigns.

This is the power from below that has kept us alive. This is why commemorating resistance and rebellion also means ratifying our decision to continue to live, constructing hope for a future that is only possible upon the ruins of capitalism.

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<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2016/10/14/que-retiemble-en-sus-centros-la-tierra/>

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<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2016/10/18/may-the-earth-tremble-at-its-core/>

**Given that the offensive against the people will not cease, but rather grow until it finishes off every last one of us who make up the peoples of the countryside and the city, who carry profound discontent that emerges in new, diverse, and creative forms of resistance and rebellion, this Fifth National Indigenous Congress has decided to launch a consultation in each of our communities to dismantle from below the power that is imposed on us from above and offers us nothing but death, violence, dispossession, and destruction.**

**Given all of the above, we declare ourselves in permanent assembly as we carry out this consultation, in each of our geographies, territories, and paths, on the accord of the Fifth CNI to name an Indigenous Governing Council whose will would be manifest by an indigenous woman, a CNI delegate, as an independent candidate to the presidency of the country under the name of the National Indigenous Congress and the Zapatista Army for National Liberation in the electoral process of 2018.**

**We confirm that our struggle is not for power, which we do not seek. Rather, we call on all of the ordinary peoples and civil society to organize to put a stop to this destruction and strengthen our resistances and rebellions, that is, the defense of the life of every person, family, collective, community, or *barrio*. We make a call to construct peace and justice by reweaving ourselves from below, from where we are what we are.**

**This is the time of dignified rebellion, the time to construct a new nation by and for everyone, to strengthen power below and to the anticapitalist left, to make those who are responsible for all of the pain of the peoples of this multi-colored Mexico pay.**

Finally, we announce the creation of the official webpage of the CNI:  
[www.congresonacionalindigena.org](http://www.congresonacionalindigena.org)

From CIDECI-UNITIERRA,  
Chiapas, October 2016  
For the Full Reconstitution of Our Peoples  
Never Again a Mexico Without Us  
National Indigenous Congress  
Zapatista Army for National Liberation

**Cumplimiento del porcentaje de apoyo ciudadano requerido para el registro de candidaturas independientes a la Presidencia de la República en el Proceso Electoral Federal 2017-2018**

-Etapa	Total
<b>Manifestaciones de intención</b>	<b>87</b>
No cumplieron con los requisitos exigidos	- 39
<b>Aspirantes al iniciar la captación de apoyo</b>	<b>48</b>
Renuncias presentadas durante el proceso	- 2
<b>Aspirantes con proceso vigente durante la captación de apoyo</b>	<b>46</b>
Aspirantes que preliminarmente NO alcanzaron el umbral	- 43
<b>Aspirantes que preliminarmente alcanzaron el umbral y la distribución geográfica mínima de los apoyos</b>	<b>3</b>
Aspirantes que no cumplieron por casos de simulación de la Credencial para Votar	- 1
Aspirantes que no cumplieron por fotocopias presentadas	- 1
<b>Aspirantes que no cumplieron al eliminar DUPLICADOS con otros aspirantes</b>	<b>- N/A</b>
<b>Aspirantes que cumplieron con lo dispuesto en el art. 371, numeral 1 de la LGIPE</b>	<b>1</b>

Núm	Aspirante	Umbral	Apoyos ciudadanos recibidos por el INE	Apoyos ciudadanos en Lista Nominal	Apoyos ciudadanos duplicados mismo aspirante	Apoyos ciudadanos en otra situación registral			Apoyos ciudadanos con inconsistencias	Fuera del régimen de excepción	% Apoyos válidos respecto a umbral	Mínimo de entidades requeridas	Entidades donde se cumplió 1%	Cumple umbral	Cumple dispersión
						En Padrón (No en lista nominal)	Bajas	Datos no encontrados							
1	MARGARITA ESTER ZAVALA GÓMEZ DEL CAMPO		1,578,774	870,170	132,602	13,358	10,193	4,949	546,798	704	100.41 %		21	Sí	Sí
2	JAIME HELIODO RO RODRÍGUEZ CALDERÓN	866,593	2,034,403	849,937	266,357	11,748	15,938	6,630	881,924	1,869	98.08 %	17	17	No	Sí
3	ARMANDO RÍOS PITER		1,765,599	242,646	112,359	14,816	36,585	11,501	1,321,376	26,316	28.00 %		3	No	No

\*Se eliminaron los registros *duplicados por captura* del total de apoyos recibidos y que habían sido contabilizados de manera preliminar.

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 This is an excerpt from the final evaluation report by INE, published on their website March 23rd 2018:  
<https://www.ine.mx/candidaturasindependientes/>

It shows that out of the 87 Mexican citizens who attempted to become independent candidates for the presidential elections in July 2018, 48 fulfilled the requirements and became aspirants during the 120-day signature-collection campaign period, and only 1 gathered enough valid signatures. Her name is Margarita Zavala, the wife of former president of Mexico, Felipe Calderón.

May 17th 2018 she resigned from the campaign and is no longer running for presidency.  
 Source: [https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/05/16/mexico/1526493957\\_472938.html](https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/05/16/mexico/1526493957_472938.html)



## Appendix 10 - The Angel of History

*By Walter Benjamin (1940)*  
*"Ninth Thesis on the Philosophy of History"*

"A Klee drawing named "Angelus Novus" shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating.

His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread.

This is how one pictures the angel of history.

His face is turned toward the past.

Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe that keeps piling ruin upon ruin and hurls it in front of his feet.

The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead,  
and make whole what has been smashed.

But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them.

The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward.

This storm is what we call progress."

## Appendix 11:

### Email from Fernanda Navarro, member of ACE and professor of philosophy at UNAM

May 17<sup>th</sup> 2018 4:43 AM

My dear Clara,

What a joy to hear news from you! I find it excellent that you remain convinced of the subject of your thesis!

It is a way to extend it from the local to the global level, and that is very important.

Today I was happy with my class because my students are also excited about the Zapatismo and with CNI and Marichuy.

You're right: it has not been easy for everyone to understand the fundamental thing: that this does not end with the elections in July.

This goes on, with other TIMES/TEMPORALITIES crossing the country, pronouncing its true word.

so different from the demagogy and verbiage of institutional politics!

We, the Civil Association [ACE, red.] that played a role of support and accompaniment in the first stage, we will continue

doing the same, but we do no longer have to comply with the clock of INE, the most horrible of the tricky institutions.

We will do it with more freedom, always besides CIG and Marichuy, who luckily I keep hugging often!

I like that you have quoted me. You can do whatever you want. The bad thing is that I could not give you some writings that I have

About the Zapatismo and the hope that influenced us to continue fighting, according to these Times, that are so Different

very different even from those of recent history. I see that this is clear to you, dear Clara.

I congratulate you and if I see any phrase, data or material that may interest you, I will send it to you through email.

Ahead! and good luck with everything

Receive a big hug

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#### *The original version in Spanish*

Mi querida Clara,

Qué alegría tener noticias tuyas! Me parece excelente que sigas convencida del tema de tu tesis!

Es una manera de extenderlo del nivel local al global ! y eso es importantísimo.

Hoy llegué contenta de mi clase pues mis alumn@s también están emocionados con el Zapatismo y con el CNI y Marichuy.

Tienes razón: no ha sido fácil que todo mundo entienda lo fundamental: que esto no termina con las elecciones de Julio.

Esto sigue adelante, con otros TIEMPOS/TEMPORALIDADES atravesando el país, pronunciando su palabra verdadera.

tan diferente de la demagogia y verborrea de la política institucional!.

Nosotr@s, los de la Asociación Civil que jugó un papel de apoyo y acompañamiento en la primera etapa, seguiremos

igual pero ya no teniendo que cumplir con el Reloj del INE,, lo mas horrible de la institucionalidad tramposa.

Lo haremos con más libertad, siempre al lado del G.I.G. y Marichuy, a quien por suerte sigo abrazando seguido!

Me gusta que me hayas citado. Puedes hacer cuanto quieras. Lo malo es que no te pude regalar algunos escritos que tengo

sobre zapatismo y la esperanza que nos influido para seguir luchando, de acuerdo a estos Tiempos, que son muy Otros

muy diferentes incluso a los de la historia reciente. Veo que ésto te queda claro a ti, Clara querida.

Te felicito y cuando vea alguna frase, dato o material que te pueda interesar, te lo enviaré por este medio.

Adelante! y suerte en todo

Recibe un gran abrazo

## Appendix 12 - Communiqué by CIG after CIDECI-Seminar

Published originally in Spanish: May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018:

<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2018/05/02/falta-lo-que-falta/>

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<http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2018/05/06/whats-missing-is-yet-to-come/>

### "WHAT'S MISSING IS YET TO COME"

April 2018.

*To the CIG and Marichuy Support Networks:*

*To those who participated in the Civil Association entitled, "The Hour for Our Peoples to Flourish Has Come":*

*To the National and International Sixth:*

*To the Mexican people:*

*To the free, autonomous, alternative and independent media:*

*To the national and international press:*

Faced with the intensification of war, dispossession, and repression in our communities, and as the electoral process advances, we, in accordance with the path walked by our spokeswoman Marichuy together with the councilmembers of the CIG [Indigenous Governing Council], respectfully address the Mexican people to say:

We hear the pain of all the colors we are, all of the colors which make up Mexico from below.

Under the pretext of collecting signatures, we traveled throughout the indigenous territories of our country where together we grew our political proposal from below, and through this process made visible the struggles, problems, and proposals of many ordinary peoples.

Through our participation in this electoral process, we reiterated to the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples of Mexico that we will not be silent while those above steal and destroy our land, which we inherited from our grandparents and which we owe to our grandchildren. We will not remain silent while they poison rivers and blow holes in mountains to extract minerals; we will not sit idly by as they turn the peace and life that we have been building every day into war and death via the armed groups that protect their interests. Have no doubt: our response will be organized resistance and rebellion to heal the country.

With the massive mobilization of thousands and thousands of compañeras and compañeros from the support networks around the country, we realized, and it became shamelessly clear, that to get on the ballot we would have had to prove ourselves as bad as or worse than those above. If we collect signatures, they must be fraudulent or else they won't count; if we spend money it should come from a shady source; if we say anything it has to be a lie; if we come to any serious agreements, they must be with corrupt politicians, extractivist corporations, bankers, or drug cartels, but never, ever, with the Mexican people.

Getting on the ballot is only for those who seek to administer power from above to oppress those below, because the power they seek is rotten to the core.

It's a competition that can be won with deceit, money, and power, as the political class' elections are merely a commodity. There is not nor will there ever be room there for the word of those below—those who, whether they are indigenous or not, despise power and build democracy by making collective decisions which then become a form of government in the street, barrio, town, ejido, collective, city, or state.

The electoral process is one big pigsty where the competition is between those who can falsify thousands of signatures and those who have billions of pesos to coerce and buy votes. Meanwhile, the majority of the Mexican people are caught between poverty and misery.

That's why our proposal isn't like theirs. That's why we're not campaigning, falsifying signatures, or collecting and spending the monies that the people of Mexico need to meet their basic needs. That's why we don't need to win any election or get involved with the political class. Rather, we're in search of power from below, born of the pain of the peoples. That's why we're seeking out the suffering of all the colors that make up the Mexican people: that's where hope lies, in a good government that rules by obeying and which will only be able to emerge from organized dignity.

The racism inherent in the political structure is not the only thing that kept our proposal off the ballot. Well, even if those who oppose the destruction wrought by the capitalist system on the world had different eyes, whether they were blue or red, public policy and this supposed democracy would still be meant to exclude them.

The originary peoples and those of us who walk below and to the left don't fit in their game. This is not because of our color, race, class, age, culture, gender, thought, or heart, but rather because we are one and the same with the Mother Earth and our struggle is to stop everything from being turned into a commodity, as this will mean the destruction of everything, starting with our destruction as peoples.

This is why we struggle and organize ourselves. This is why not only do we not fit into the structure of the capitalist state, but we also feel more disgust each day for the power above which makes its profound contempt for all Mexicans more obvious by the hour. Our peoples are facing a very serious situation, a situation which has only gotten worse in recent weeks as repression and displacements have increased, and this has been met with complicit silence by every candidate.

As a consequence, and as agreed upon during the second working session of the Indigenous Governing Council which took place April 28-29 in Mexico City, neither the CIG nor our spokeswoman will seek or accept any alliance with any political party or candidate, nor will they call for people to vote nor for people to abstain from voting. Rather, we will continue to seek out those below to dismantle the rancid power above. Whether you vote or not, organize yourselves. We will walk forward by building the keys to heal the world.

Among the originary peoples of this country—where the formation of the Indigenous Governing Council was decided, and where our spokeswoman walked, weaving bridges as she was mandated to do by the general assembly of the CNI—we find the resistances and rebellions that give shape to our proposal for the whole nation. For this reason, we traveled together with the councilmen and councilwomen from every state and region through their geographies, where every day people face war and the invasion of the capitalist monster; where people are expelled from their land so that it can be taken out of collective hands and transferred into the hands of the rich, so their territories can be occupied and destroyed by mining companies, so the aquifers can be devastated by fossil fuel extraction, so the rivers can be poisoned and the water privatized in dams and aqueducts, so the sea and air can be privatized by wind farms and aviation, so native seeds can be contaminated by genetically modified seed and toxic chemicals, so cultures can be turned into folklore, so territories can be configured for the ideal functioning of international drug trafficking, and so that organization from below can be suppressed by the terrorist violence of narcoparamilitaries at the service of the bad governments.

We saw ourselves reflected on paths illuminated by the worlds that have preserved their cultures, where the words and plans of all the indigenous peoples are being drawn, and where from each struggle and each language arise the fundamental reasons for the existence of the Indigenous Governing Council.

That's where we see the glimmer of hope we set out to find. We also see it in the parts of civil society organized as the Sixth and in the CIG Support Networks and groups that stepped forward not only to show their solidarity and create an agenda for the whole country, but also to build, from below and out of these capitalist ruins, a better country and a better world. We have deep admiration and respect for all of them.

We call on all the women and men of the Mexican people, all the compas from the CIG Support Networks in all the states of the country, and all the compañeras and compañeros who made up the "The Hour for Our Peoples to Flourish Has Come" Civil Association to continue their process of discussing and evaluating our work, making assessments, and finding and walking the paths we decide upon, always organizing ourselves, regardless of whether we vote or abstain from voting for any candidate. Your words, feelings, and proposals are important to us.

We will continue to extend respectful bridges toward those who live and struggle in order to together grow the collective word that helps us resist injustice, destruction, death and dispossession, and to reweave the fabric of the country with the consciousness of those below who dream and rebel with their own geographies, cultures, and customs.

The collective proposal of the peoples contains our word that we share with the world. We will continue walking further below, towards the indigenous peoples, nations and tribes we are. For this reason we call for a General Assembly of the National Indigenous Congress in October 2018 in order to announce the results of the evaluations by the originary peoples who make up the CNI, and to advance on the next step.

Sisters and brothers of the Mexican people and the world, let us continue together, as what's missing is yet to come.

*For the Integral Reconstitution of Our Peoples*

*Never again a Mexico Without Us*

*National Indigenous Congress*

*Indigenous Governing Council*

*Sixth Commission of the EZLN*

*May 2, 2018.*