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# *Un día sin nosotras: the 2020 women's strike against gender-based violence in Mexico between intersectionality and activism*

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## **Abstract**

Il 9 marzo 2020 le attiviste femministe messicane organizzarono uno sciopero generalizzato, autoimponendosi un forzoso allontanamento dagli spazi pubblici e digitali al fine di riprodurre l'invisibilizzazione delle vittime della violenza di genere e dei femmicidi. Il giorno precedente, le stesse donne avevano marciato nelle strade per protestare contro la violenza strutturale, l'impunità e l'inazione da parte delle istituzioni. La performance portata avanti con inedito vigore e una massiva partecipazione nel corso dei due giorni, può essere analizzata alla luce della teoria femminista dell'intersezionalità adottando un'interpretazione decoloniale del femminismo, l'attivismo e la resistenza nel contesto del Sud Globale.

Il presente articolo intende esaminare i principi, le fonti d'ispirazione le modalità e le implicazioni dello sciopero femminista del 2020, oltre a problematizzare il dibattito generatosi al di là degli stretti confini del caso di studio qui presentato, per gettare luce sulla connessione tra violenza di genere, attivismo femminile e femminismi in un contesto sempre più digitalizzato, caratterizzato anche da un'intensa rete di scambi transnazionali tra gruppi e movimenti della società civile.

## **Keywords**

Mexico, feminist activism, intersectionality.

## **Introduction**

In 2020, on the occasion of the International Women's Day, massive feminist protests took place all over Mexico to demand justice and accountability for the victims of gender-based violence and femicides. Through international solidarity and transnational grassroots movements, a number of initiatives were organised in the region around feminist political petitions for reform. However, on March 9 a women's strike was announced in Mexico in an attempt to give visibility to the victims of gender-based violence. The great numbers in which girls and women adhered to the strike marked the success of the initiative through the voluntary self-removal of women's bodies and voices from the public sphere and from social media.

Examining the intersectional and decolonial tenets of feminisms, political participation and agency in the Global South via the analysis of the March 9 women's strike in Mexico (commonly referred to as 9M), we intend to unpack the complexities and criticalities of

grassroots initiatives and specifically feminist collectives both online and offline to problematise the motivations, agency and context of the 9M, as well as its significance for intersectional feminist activism in Mexico and in Latin America.

We write this chapter as three women based in Mexico and in the United Arab Emirates. We use the collective voice and write collaboratively despite our different voices and positionalities. We draw on our common experiences as feminists and activists pertaining to the University of Monterrey as students and a professor. By way of diversities in our background, age, nationality, personal struggles, and education level that influence our standpoints and the elaboration of our agency, we share a commitment to feminist scholarship and its liberatory agenda, and we engage in a collaborative research process and relationship that reject academia's hierarchical tenets based on authority to propose a research agenda rooted in our political and intellectual engagement. *Desde nuestras trincheras* (from our trenches).

### **Intersectionality, decoloniality and the neoliberal economy**

Feminism is currently the strongest and most widespread form of activism in Latin America, whereby street and online manifestations have progressively seen a marked feminisation of resistance in the Global South (Seppälä, 2016). From student movements to environmental protests, pro-democracy marches, demonstrations against gender-based violence, human rights commemorations, and protests against the effects of aggressive neoliberal economic policies, the streets and the online sphere have been massively occupied by women of all ages. The increased gender activism is a testimony to the multiple forms of oppression that women, particularly in the Global South, experience in their everyday lives and on their own bodies.

Intersectionality as a concept was theorised in relation to racialised women of colour in the United States, urging a consideration of the overlapping and cumulative axes of oppression, including gender, race, class, abilities, sexual orientation, among others (Crenshaw, 1989). Chicana and queer scholar Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) complicated the conceptualisation of intersectionality with the analysis of additional forms of gender oppression, namely the colonial experience, nationality and citizenship, belonging and attachment, all of which were encompassed in her theory of *border thinking*. For Anzaldúa, *la frontera* (the border) is an epistemological standpoint that, beyond the geographical, allows for a compenetration of the spiritual, the social, the political and the cultural on the margins of official narratives and national(istic) imagined communities. This marginalisation, however, can be and is appropriated as the *locus* of “*embodied consciousness* in which dualities and vulnerability are central for a decolonisation of how we think about the geo and body politics of knowledge, political economy and, of course, gender [and as the space for a] critical re-thinking” (Icaza, 2017, p. 29).

Intersectionality, beyond a mere conceptual academic tool, is here considered as an analytic framework for understanding and contextualising women's oppression and marginalisation, and specifically in relation to the case study here examined. As Carole McGranahan points out, “To theorise is to make an argument, to make sense of the world, to name and create. It is to stake a claim in and about the world” (2022, p. 1). For these reasons, it is important to recontextualise intersectionality within a decolonial

framework and strong Global South connotation. Is intersectionality equally applicable as an ontological concept in different geographical and cultural contexts? Does the colonial experience impinge on the very same concept? Also, how can we make sure that the intersectional framework works to “make sense” of gender-based violence and femicide? We maintain that, beyond the condition of marginalisation that prompted the intersectional theorisation, the concept needs to be reoriented and recontextualised with reference to Latin America, in order to facilitate its application while avoiding some sort of (re)orientalisation or folklorisation of the local forms of feminist activism and agency. In particular, we look into the work of María Lugones and Sayak Valencia to complicate the interpretations and applications of intersectionality as a standpoint.

María Lugones (2010) enriched the intersectional tenets with a complex and multifaceted analysis of gender oppression within a neocolonial and neoliberal setting. The theorisation of the coloniality of gender as “the analysis of racialised, capitalist, gender oppression” allows to “understand the oppressive imposition as a complex interaction of economic, racializing and gendering systems in which every person in the colonial encounter can be found as a live, historical, fully described being” (p. 747). The concept simultaneously serves as a critique and as a further reframing of intersectionality within a decolonial setting and a geopolitical identification in the Global South.

Moreover, Sayak Valencia examines the effects of neoliberalism, particularly in the form of imported instances from the Global North, as an ulterior form of oppression against women’s bodies in the economic and political sphere in Mexico (2010). Valencia problematizes hegemonic masculinity as a central component of violence in the Global South, whereby the production of capital simultaneously reproduces a mercification of bodies and an intrinsic level of violence as byproducts of the continuous reproduction of the commodification of life and death (Estévez, 2017). To this effect, Valencia (2010) terms this form of economic, social, political and cultural system *gore capitalism*, highlighting the cinematographic-derived image of extreme and senseless violence of contemporary neoliberal practices in the Global South. As will be investigated further, it was the rapid and worrisome increase in femicides that sparked outrage and indignation, igniting a fierce feminist activism (Anonymous, forthcoming) that creatively seeks to raise awareness and demand government action and reform.

### **Gender-based violence, femicides and Mexican feminist activism**

In the 1990s, Ciudad Juárez, a frontier town characterised by the exploitation of *maquiladoras* - manufacturing plants operating at low costs that are conveniently located near the border - and drug trafficking, became infamously notorious as one of the most dangerous places in the world for women: “[women] were kept in captivity for several days then killed and dumped in the desert [with] female corpses increasingly turning up in public spaces” (Orozco Mendoza, 2017, p. 356). Ciudad Juárez quickly became the epitome of the Mexican authorities’ ineffectiveness in preventing, investigating and processing women’s murders.

The mediatisation of femicides prompted the conceptualisation of the term *femicide* intended as a new “analytical category to describe the killings of women observed in Juárez since 1993” (Monárrez 2013, in Orozco Mendoza, 2017, p. 356). The term, based

on the earlier work of Diane Russell and Gill Radford, describes “the killing of females by males *because* they are female” (Russell, 2011, par. 8). Marcela Lagarde later transformed the term into “feminicide” (*feminicidio*) (Frías, 2021). Beyond a purely linguistic endeavour, Lagarde specifically intended to mark the social, cultural and political root causes of the phenomenon by accounting for the ingrained factors of institutional violence and impunity, as well as the gender tenets of Mexican society and its colonial legacy.

Before Ciudad Juárez’s feminicides, the Mexican feminist movement was already active on a variety of gender-related issues, but recently it has been revitalised particularly by the younger generations who are changing the way resistance is conceived of and carried out. Since 2017 increasing radical outbursts against gender-based violence perpetrators, institutions and the media have occurred, mostly located at the Mexico City-based Universidad Autónoma Nacional de México (UNAM), one of the biggest and most prestigious in the region (Álvarez Enríquez, 2020). In 2019 university feminist activists left their campuses and took to the streets to raise awareness on violence against women, including domestic and sexual violence, harassment, kidnapping, human trafficking, discrimination and abuse in the workplace, schools and households (Álvarez Enríquez, 2020). However, it was the increase in feminicides all over the country that built up the outrage. In an alarming trend, in 2019, 976 feminicides were registered, as opposed to 874 recorded in 2018 (Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública, 2018), while in the sole month of January 2020 the authorities registered 72 feminicides (Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública, 2020).

This suggests not only an ongoing emergency, but also a failure of the institutions to protect women’s human rights, as well as to ensure an effective judicial system of punishment and accountability towards the perpetrators. Two highly mediatised cases stood out in both traditional and social media and gave visibility and materiality to the victims of feminicides. After being murdered and dismembered on February 9, 2020, explicit revictimizing images of the remains of Ingrid Escamilla’s body were published by traditional media and became viral online, sparking outrage at local and international level (Picheta & Gallón, 2020). On February 15, 2020, a few days before the announcement of the National Women's Strike, 2020, seven-year-old Fátima Aldrighetti was sexually assaulted and murdered, also as a result of a "chain of negligence" on the part of the authorities (Olvera, 2020), whereby the legal protocols for action were not correctly followed, nor was a missing person report swiftly acted upon.

Acting on the rising numbers of gender-based violence and on the emotional wave of indignation for the cases of Ingrid and Fátima, on February 18, 2020 Las Brujas del Mar (The Witches of the Sea), a feminist collective from Veracruz, called for a National Women's Strike on social media, particularly on Twitter and Facebook, to take place on March 9, 2020. Rallying activist with catchphrases like “En el nueve nadie se mueve” (“On the ninth nobody moves”) and “Un Día Sin Nosotras” (“A Day Without Us”), feminist groups and collectives prompted women to temporarily refrain from engaging in their daily activities and thus making themselves invisible (Las Brujas del Mar, 2020).

### ***El 9M: the women's strike***

By voluntarily removing themselves from the public and digital spheres, women intended to raise awareness on the systemic gender-based violence and its pervasiveness, the impunity of perpetrators and the complex and nuanced system of implicated subjects. The choice of date was particularly significant as on March 8 massive International Women's Day marches were organised throughout Mexico to protest against government inaction.

Feminist collectives campaigned online to gather support and give indications on how such an unprecedented act of protest could be carried out. Women were urged to disappear from offline and online venues, to disengage and disconnect, remain at home, refrain from using apps, online services, shopping websites, but they were also urged to abstain from doing domestic chores and all those everyday activities that women typically perform in the private sphere (Ramírez, 2020). The strike was also intended as a day of critical awareness and self-care (Juárez, 2020): lists of reading materials and movies, series, documentaries and other texts were circulated online to engage women strikers in a broader reflection of their activism. On March 10, as women went back to their lives, they shared online and offline their thoughts on the 9M and on what they had been engaged with, as a moment of feminist discussion and critical awareness, propagating the significance of the strike beyond its actual date.



Image 1. To instigate women's participation to the 9M, on the campus of the University of Monterrey feminist collectives attached fake but credible alerts for *desaparecidas*. Credit: Anonymous, 2020.

A variety of voices took part in the 9M, including women students and workers, housewives, domestic workers, and LGBTQ+ communities. The impact of the strike was significant and unprecedented. However, the hegemonic feminism incarnated by Las

Brujas del Mar constructed “the woman” as a homogeneous category, disregarding the intersectional axes of oppression that complicate women’s agency and condition (Cumes, 2012). Even though the strike was intended for all women to take part in, it resulted, to some extent, in an exclusionary initiative that left out precisely the women from those sectors of the population that, for their informal working arrangements, family composition, socio-economic level, race, are routinely politically and socially invisibilised in their epistemological border condition. It can be argued that the 9M, by universalising “the woman” as a category, de facto ended up, on the one hand, to target women in a (moderately) privileged situation, and on the other end, revictimised those women who, by virtue of the intersecting factors of oppression (Lugones, 2010), are discursively marginalised, like indigenous women, trans women, and sexual workers.

However, the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN) (The Zapatista National Liberation Army), an insurgent anti-capitalist, anti-patriarchal, libertarian, community-based militant political group located in the rural indigenous Chiapas region, publicly supported the women’s strike. The *Zapatista* women joined as “women fighting for life” (Coordinadoras de Mujeres Zapatistas, 2020), further complicating the conceptualisation of Anzaldúan embodied consciousness (1987). Moreover, as the strike gained support from public figures such as female artists, politicians and broadcasters, the mass media saw a commercial opportunity in circulating the information (Larios Murillo & Díaz Alba, 2020), increasing the 9M momentum, but also opening up the debate on symbolic and systemic violence.

The strike had a substantial impact on Mexico's national economy, generating a loss of nearly 2 million US\$ (Ramírez, 2020). In the following weeks, headlines made reference almost exclusively to the financial repercussions rather than focusing on the goals of the 9M (Salazar Rebolledo & De la Garza Castro, 2020). Moreover, members of the government set out to discredit the 9M. Mexican president Andrés Manuel López Obrador declared that the strike originated from “conservative groups disguised as feminists” (Conservadores se disfrazaron de feministas, 2020), thereby accusing the feminist movement of being politically manipulated. Along the same lines, the woman minister of Public Administration suggested that a men’s strike should take place instead. As a result, the 9M was received with polarised opinions. Poll figures attest that 49% of respondents expressed support, while 44.9% did not back it and 6.1% did not answer (Campos & TResearch, 2020). Thus, despite the consistent bombarding of incomplete, antagonistic messages by both the media and the government, the 9M strike propelled gendered conversations on gender-based violence in Mexico.

The 9M women’s strike should also be considered in the context of the wider regional feminist movement. One of the most prominent feminist formations, the Argentinian *Ni Una Menos*, re-ignited social and political insurgency by rearticulating the tenets of feminism, class, labour, gender, community and everyday politics from the Global South. By launching new and innovative forms of protests, among which feminist strikes, the movement has posited itself as an analytical and epistemological reference for a new “Feminist International [intended as a] transnationalism from below” (Gago, 2020, p. 19). We maintain that the Mexican feminist intersectional movement, here exemplified by the women’s strike of March 9, forms part of wider instances and forms of insurgency “constructing *transversality* between radically different bodies, conflicts, and territories” (Gago, 2020, p. 18).



## Conclusions

The article sought out to investigate the context and root causes of the 9M women's strike in Mexico amid rising levels of violence against women and feminicides. While on March 8, 2020 massive street protests and online activism raised attention and awareness on the structural gender-based violence in the country, the following day feminist activists organised a women's strike to visibilise the absence of feminicides' victims by silencing themselves on social media and physically removing themselves from the public sphere for the day. A great number of women and girls joined the strike by remaining at home, thereby refusing to go to school, attend classes in university, go to work, rescheduling errands and outings. While the populist government downplayed and attempted to discredit the significance of the event blaming women's activists for causing irreparable damage to the economy, the strike was showcased and broadcasted all over the world and trended on social media, attracting the attention of a much larger audience. In a regional context of heinous gender-based violence, cuts to social welfare, public education and health services, limitations to sexual and reproductive rights, the othering of the LGBTQI+ movement, and a generalised patriarchal culture, feminist activists have taken to the streets and to the digital sphere to demand justice and reforms, actively networking to give visibility to a multitude of voices and causes.

The Mexican women's strike highlighted the elaboration of a new toolkit of creative actions and performance of contentious politics that revealed the complex interplay between intersectional oppression, decolonial instances, neoliberal economy and Latin American feminisms. The 9M viral social media presence, horizontality and a strong feminist collectives base contributed to the success of the initiative and the relevance it was given regionally and at internationally. However, it was also criticised as an event that was limited to activists in a privileged position. On the other hand, the government criminalised the activists in an anti-patriotic fashion and as irresponsible members of society. In this sense, the 9M can be problematised in a wider context, in terms of its legacy, limitations, opportunities and challenges, but also in terms of the failure of democratically elected institutions to protect women's life and safety. We argue that through everyday resistance practice, theory is created and discussed, and that the strike can be considered an imperfect, innovative initiative of feminist decolonial activism.

However, we suggest to frame the strike in a broader debate investing feminist activism, nationalism and populism, contentious politics, decolonial struggles, and to interrogate the terms of this multi-layered relationship (Anonymous and anonymous, 2022). Can the strike be regarded as a transformational moment of Mexican feminist activism? What are the lessons that can be learned at regional level? Can the 9M be considered part of a new creative feminist toolbox devised predominantly by millennials to propose unexplored ways to dissent and confront the institutions and the patriarchal oppressive structures?

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