

**Women's Protest in Mexico:
Investigating Performative Tactics and Cultural Conceptions of Gender**

Bonnie Evans

University of Colorado Boulder

Department of Sociology

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Committee Members:

Dr. Rachel Rinaldo, Sociology – Thesis Advisor

Dr. Matthew Brown, Sociology – Honors Council Representative

Dr. Lorraine Bayard de Volo, Women & Gender Studies – Tertiary Reader

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the relationship between Mexican women's protest with gender and performance. I used mixed qualitative methods of semi-structured interviews with three Mexican women activists and the collection of primary source data from three Facebook group pages for Mexican women's protest groups. I analyzed the data using two main, deductive codes: Instances of Performance and Gender Issues. The inductive sub-codes that emerged were: Efficacy of performance in protest, Empowerment of marginalized populations, Discriminatory public action, Gender in context of protest, and Gender roles & stereotyping. My most significant findings were that performative tactics are especially effective means of protest due to the fact that they are more palatable to figures of power and that performance inspires populations to get involved with protest who had not in the past and normally would not. In terms of gender, there was an observed need to create a transformative relationship with authority figures, there was an emphasis on the importance of shared identities in women's protest, and gender roles for men and women in a Mexican context proved to still be salient in a modern context.

INTRODUCTION

“We only ask for our share of the world.” These words were conveyed to me by Teresa, a 39-year-old woman from Mexico, after she had already rattled off a laundry list of injustices that women in her country have been experiencing for decades. Sexual assault, lack of gender equity, human trafficking, and poor access to abortion were among those included. Teresa’s request for equal rights as a Latina woman is not solitary—it is echoed amongst women across Latin America. Modern history has shown the roots of feminist movements growing deeper in this region as time goes on, with the twentieth century serving as a marker of the mounting absorption of women into the public realm and the world of politics (Molyneux 2001). Latin American feminisms have become gradually more intersectional in their philosophies, integrating the identities and experiences of indigenous women and lesbians, for example. Despite these advancements in women’s rights mobilizations, gendered discrimination is still a major point of concern for the livelihood of Latina women.

I initially came to be interested in the gender concerns of Latin American women through my studies at the University of Colorado Boulder. I took courses in gender studies and anthropology that pointedly addressed gender and sexuality issues through the lens of Latin American issues and completed a global seminar in Havana, Cuba following my freshman year. In particular, a course taught on Gender & Politics in Latin America was a major starting point for this project. I acquired deeper knowledge about both historic and modern women-led protest across the region, but I found myself drawn especially to the protests of the *madres de los desaparecidos*, mothers of disappeared children. The form that these protests took was highly performative, utilizing iconic costuming like the white scarves of the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina or dancing *La Cueca Solo*, a culturally significant couple’s dance in Chile that the

mothers performed alone as a form of protest. As an active participant in the performing arts throughout my life, this was particularly striking for me. This background inspired my interest in investigating how the efficacy of performative protest and ideas of gender intersect.

Additionally, in the process of conducting this research, Mexico stood out as a relevant country to study specifically. It is reasonably representative of the Latin American region in terms of the gender gap between men and women regarding economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment; in the 2018 Global Gender Gap Report by the World Economic Forum, Mexico is ranked directly in the middle as number 12 out of 24 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean in terms of their overall gender gap index (World Economic Forum). In addition, Mexico's gender dynamics have more recently become a major talking point globally due to the extremely high rates of murder for women, as Mexico is ranked 16th in the world for female homicide victims, and the rate of female homicide has been rising steadily since 2007 (CDD & CMDPDH 2012). This specific condition for women in the nation adds dimension to the concerns of female protestors and activists in Mexico, putting these movements into a concerning but culturally relevant and modern frame.

With these considerations taken into account, the purpose of this study is to examine and document the performative tactics used by women activists in Mexico, with emphasis on how these tactics may be associated with their ideas of gender. If gender is a "performance" of specific characteristics for men and women, then we can see how protest movements themselves become performative and gendered acts. The gendered concepts of *marianismo* for women and *machismo* for men are especially pervasive in a Mexican context, and I was curious to examine how these influence protest tactics used by women activists.

My main research questions are: How is performance integrated into Mexican women's protests? How, if at all, do these performative tactics relate to culturally relevant ideas of gender? How do Mexican women activists express themselves in the context of a protest group? My study is based on an analysis of primary source material in the form of Mexican women's protest group social media postings as well as semi-structured interviews with women who are in or have formerly been a part of these protest groups. This data will contribute to developing a deeper understanding of the intersection of gender, protest, and performance in a Mexican context. My most significant findings were that performative tactics are especially effective means of protest due to the fact that they are more palatable to figures of power and that performance inspires populations to get involved with protest who had not in the past and normally would not. In terms of gender, there was an observed need to create a transformative relationship with authority figures, there was an emphasis on the importance of shared identities in women's protest, and gender roles for men and women in a Mexican context proved to still be salient in a modern context.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this thesis, I investigate the performative tactics used by Mexican women activists in protest movements and what they may indicate about their ideas of gender. I initially situate my study in the western feminist literature on gender performance, but I will also discuss relevant Latin American ideas of gender and theories of protest as performance. My aim is to bridge these different literatures to understand gender, protest, and performance in Latin America.

Gender as Performance

As an undergraduate student in sociology and gender studies programs at a university in North America, it is a natural starting point for me to draw on themes in western feminist theory to build my initial research. The primary concept in this theoretical arena that I am concerned with is the concept of gender as performance, an integral component of contemporary western feminism.

Feminist theorist Judith Butler popularized the performative theory of gender. Butler (1990) argues that gender is a form of improvised theatricality that creates identity. She is critical of the fact that, even when gender is acknowledged as a social construct, it still becomes associated with an expression of our true selves. Butler argues that this assertion is incorrect and that instead, our manifestation of gender is simply a repetition of actions in the ways that we behave. Because these performances conform to normative understandings of masculinity and femininity, they reinforce binary understandings of gender. Butler suggests, however, that performing these gendered acts to the degree of parody may encourage questioning and criticism of the practice itself. She references drag as an example, because the nature of drag depends on exaggerated performances of femininity. Butler writes “in imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself” (1990:175). Thus, the hyperbolic parody of

gender—gendered expectations for women in particular—points to the fact that gender is performed in day-to-day life as well.

In a more recently published article, Gertrude Postl (2009) expands on Butler’s theory through the connection of gender as performance to feminist performance art. She uses the case study of Austrian performance artist Valie Export in the 1960s and 70s to illustrate the point that this style of performance art ties directly to Butler’s proposal that performing gender as parody encourages criticism of gendered norms. Through performances like “Touch Cinema”, where the audience was encouraged to touch Export’s breasts through a curtain affixed to her naked chest that removed all visual stimulus of the action, Export drove commentary on women’s portrayal in society. In “Touch Cinema”, she was commenting on the film industry by bringing the female body from object to subject, and by taking away the visual components, she was challenging the audience to interact directly with a real woman’s body instead of merely watching filmed images (2009). This exemplifies the idea of pushing the boundaries of gender into parody as a way to critique social norms surrounding gender, as Butler presents decades after. Export’s endeavors in performance art serve as an example of how gender can be performed tactically as a manner of protest.

This overarching theoretical perspective provides context to my interest surrounding gender as it is contained in protest. Protests themselves take shape in ways that are performative, using common tactics from marching with large signs to donning costumes related to the protest matter. By integrating this knowledge from my academic background, I am able to approach gender through the same lens of performativity and hone my analysis on the intersection of these two ideas. My research project focuses on performance and gender within the context of Latin America. In this thesis, I will investigate not only how performance is integrated into Mexican

women's protests, but whether this idea of gender as performance holds cross-culturally. If so, it would present a novel empirical example of this theory.

Gender in a Latin American Context

Understanding Latin American ideas of gender is vital to understanding the questions that should be asked and the analysis that should be done in this project. In the following section, I examine both traditional gender roles and norms within Latin American culture and feminist theories that have gained traction in Latin America. In doing so, I hope to acquire proper understanding of both gender itself and gendered activism in this region to apply to my analysis.

Machismo and marianismo.

One set of concepts that is integral to doing research in relation to gender in Latin America is that of *machismo* and *marianismo*. These are the socially-ascribed, traditional gender roles for men and women in Latin American culture. One hallmark text on these concepts is Evelyn Stevens' 1975 article, "Machismo and Marianismo." Stevens explains the traditional characteristics of *machismo* for men in Latin American society: sexually aggressive and often abusive toward women, emotionally callous, and encouraged to engage in extramarital relations (1975). This is a gendered stereotype that is well-known and shared amongst Latin American countries. Stevens, however, also explicates the gender role in-turn for women as "*marianismo*." This phenomenon for women is aptly named for the Virgin Mary; under *marianismo*, women are considered morally and spiritually superior to men, and it is through the suffering inflicted upon them by men that women achieve a semi-divine status. This effect is amplified once the woman reaches motherhood, where she becomes both deified and more protected against men's abuse—the only woman that a man should show true affection for within this dichotomy is his mother. Stevens argues that this effect crafts a comfortable, symbiotic relationship between *machismo*

and *marianismo*, because men have no incentive to alter their behavior, and women do not want to lose the highly respected status they gain in later life. This dichotomous gender dynamic as outlined by Stevens provides a good starting point for conceptualizing gender roles in Latin American culture, though there is much contention that this relationship is at all beneficial for women.

Tracy Bachrach Ehlers argues that *marianismo* is a more complex issue than Stevens asserts. Using the cultural context of highland Guatemala, she claims that women's behavior in relation to men (i.e. *marianismo* as defined by Stevens) is not simply a response to *machismo*, but it is a survival strategy for women in a highly patriarchal society (Ehlers 1991). By remaining passive in response to men's abuse, women can achieve this morally superior status while keeping intact her relationship with her husband, who she may be dependent on financially. Ehlers also asserts that gender relations are not static and will vary across time and across individuals. That is to say, women's relationships to a traditional *machismo/marianismo* relationship are intersectional, dependent on financial, geographical, cultural, and personal factors. For example, despite focusing on economic dependence in rural communities through most of the article, Ehlers acknowledges the evidence found through anthropological research that Mexican women who acquired reproductive education and control had a greater ability to extract themselves from subservient relationships with men (Levine, et al. 1976). In a similar vein, Matthew Gutmann (1996) finds in an anthropological case study in Mexico City that *machismo* is nuanced and that a variety of different masculinities exist within a Mexican context. He argues that *machismo* is negotiated and re-negotiated in everyday practices by both women and men, and thus will vary across time and geography (Gutman 1996). These theories display

much more nuanced ways to approach existing gender roles in the Latin American cultural context.

Both perspectives provide important context for my own research on gender roles in Latin America and how they are expressed through protest. Stevens' perspective gives overarching definitions that I can apply to my research, and Ehlers' and Gutmann's perspectives allow me to broaden my interpretation and analysis to include variation in gender expressions.

However, a question that remains is how relevant such concepts are in an era when more and more Latin Americans are urbanized and educated. In doing research on more modern texts surrounding Latin American gender roles, articles generally do still address the existence of traditional *machismo* and *marianismo*, though there appears to be a shift to favoring *caballerismo* for men. Scholars use *caballerismo* to describe a sort of "chivalry" within Latin American culture, continuing emphasis on masculinity while also making room for emotional connectedness. Some argue that this form of masculinity is now considered preferable to traditional *machismo* (Arciniega et al. 2008). In a more recent 2016 study, male and female adolescent participants from Ecuador shared that they felt that these gender stereotypes were responsible for inequality in society, but also that they had absorbed these gender roles into their own belief systems (Pinos et al.). These modern findings suggest that Latin American populations may be less inclined to align automatically with traditional gender roles in more recent years and in younger generations, but that they are still prevalent in common culture.

Latin American feminisms.

In Latin America's recent history, these traditional gender roles have existed alongside feminisms. While feminisms may not be the norm in the same way that *machismo* and *marianismo* are, it is important to acknowledge this dissention to cultural gender norms among

certain groups of women, especially since this will likely align with the ideology of several Latin American women's protest movements. Below, I address three major varieties of Latin American feminism.

The first Latin American feminist perspective to address is liberal feminism. In its initial stages, this type of feminism, born in the 1970s from the historical context of military dictatorships throughout the region, focused on women's groups opposing state repression (Bastian Duarte 2012). These women leveraged the cultural respect for women's traditional roles, especially as mothers and grandmothers, to combat harmful government policies such as the silencing of workers' unions and the killing of political dissidents. This particular brand of feminism connects directly to Molyneux's (1985) theory of practical gender interests. Women protesting with these interests mobilize within the confines of current gender structures to achieve their goals, like taking advantage of the respect allotted to mothers under *marianismo* in this case. These approaches were not yet directly linked to feminism, but they played an important role in liberal feminism's development. This approach evolved to focus on women tackling gender issues within public policy and law, distancing themselves from grassroots women's movements (Bastian Duarte 2012). This also meant that their focus was on gender inequity and relations alone, with less regard for other intersecting issues of women's identity. Referring to liberal feminism in Latin America, Bastian Duarte writes "It is not an exaggeration to say that there is a clear monopolization of feminist discourse by a white, urban, middle-class elite with a heterosexist discourse. This feminism is more present in the media, has won greater public space, and enjoys better access to economic resources" (2012: 159). Despite the limitations of this feminism, it is considered the most socially palatable. This connects back to the practical gender interests, since it operates acceptably within social norms.

This obviously left many Latin American women feeling disenfranchised by the liberal perspective of a single voice for feminism, leading in large part to another important sector of Latin American feminism: indigenous feminism. Beginning in the 1990s, indigenous women's movements began emerging in Latin America. At the heart of these movements were feminist ideals that contrasted heavily against liberal feminism, instead prioritizing concepts of equality between both genders, as well as between humans and nature (Hernandez Castillo 2010: 540). Hernandez Castillo states "Even though indigenous women have allied with wider women's movements, they do not always define themselves as feminists. Most indigenous women associate feminism with urban middle-class women and regard it as divisive of their shared struggles with indigenous men" (2010: 541). This rings true according to the prior examination of the popular liberal feminist approach. For women bearing ethnic and economic privilege in this culture, it may be important to focus on gendered exploitation above all else, since it is the main disadvantage felt in their lives. Conversely, indigenous women often come from poorer and more remote communities, so it may be important for them to prioritize the maintenance of their indigenous culture or their economic struggles over gender alone.

Finally, lesbian feminism rose from a similar perspective, arguing that the more traditional liberal feminism did not account for marginalized identities among Latin American women. Lesbians began organizing in Latin America in the late 1970s, a trend which continued to spread into other countries across the region into the 1990s (Bastian Duarte 2012). In some regions, there is a particularly tense relationship between liberal feminists and lesbian feminists due to anti-LGBT attitudes among some liberal feminist groups. Beyond explicit anti-gay opposition in some cases, lesbian feminists also hold issue with the lack of visibility of lesbians in the feminist movement in the name of "greater feminist victories" (2012:166). This erasure is

part of making feminism more palatable to the greater public, and could be aligned with practical interests. Both indigenous and lesbian feminisms align more with Molyneaux's (1985) concept of strategic gender interests. These are women's interests that work to dismantle unjust, patriarchal, discriminatory institutions within society. These are the interests that women hold which are most subversive, working to change the culture around them. Indigenous women and lesbian women fall outside of the normative population of middle-class, white women in Latin America. Their gender interests are more likely to be non-normative as well, wanting to increase the visibility of their identities beyond being a woman in the larger feminist movement.

All of these forms of Latin American feminism are important to address to acquire a broad perspective on gender issues. By taking into account both the diversity of Latin American feminist frameworks and the strategies that women utilize in protest movements in Latin America, I am equipping myself with the knowledge to question and analyze both the gender and protest tactics among Latin American women.

Social Protest Theory

The first important point to touch on regarding social protest theory is the concept of collective action frames. In Erving Goffman's (1974:21) work on framing theory and analysis, he defines framing collective action as ways to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences in ways that created meaning for groups and inspired action. While Goffman's original work was not explicitly protest-oriented, this concept is important to build understanding around why protest groups mobilize in the first place. There exists something in these contexts that bonds individuals to mobilize. Several expansions on this theoretical framework exist, many of which are seated within a Latin American perspective. Lorraine Bayard de Volo (2006), in her consideration of collective identity in Nicaraguan activism, notes that these do not necessarily

have to be explicit identities like gender or race that tie individuals together, but can also take the form of shared experiences, emotions, or values. Rivera Hernández contextualizes this through a more modern example through the study of the ninth caravan of Central American mothers in search of disappeared migrants in December 2013. The women involved in this protest shared the experience of having lost a child and mobilized to look for them based on this shared experience and grieving emotional effervescence (Rivera Hernández 2017). These intersections of identity and experience were major ways that these poor, indigenous women were empowered to mobilize despite having no prior experience as activists (Rivera Hernández 2017). The power of collective action frames and is important to consider for this project, as it provides insight into the motivations for the women in question to engage in protest.

In analyzing different forms of protest, it is also important to review the idea of repertoires of contention. The term, coined by Charles Tilly, signifies that “a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice. Repertoires are learned cultural creations, but they do not descend from abstract philosophy or take shape as a result of political propaganda; they emerge from struggle” (1995: 42). This can be interpreted as means of protest for the purpose of this paper, and the repertoires of contention can be more or less traditional. A strike or march with signs and slogans is a generally shared understanding of what a protest looks like, whereas a play, song, or visual art piece may not be.

Performance, however, has been long used as a protest tactic, if less traditionally than the more widely-known repertoires of contention. A significant body of scholarship exists discussing the intersection of protests and performance, and in particular, performance studies scholar Diana Taylor’s work on how performance and protest intersect is vital to review for this project

because of her specific focus on these phenomena in a Latin American context. She argues that performance used in politics is a more impactful way of communicating important ideas, stating that in politics “the affective is the effective” (Taylor 2014:338). She notes specifically that in modern Latin American countries’ transitions from dictatorship to democracy, there is a newfound sense of nationalism that is often embodied by performance. One specific example of this that she offers is the “*Patria Entera*” concert that took place along the Panama Canal. Taylor writes “It created the very sense of a national ‘we’ that it invoked in the songs” (2014: 340). Thus, performance can be used to rally individuals in shared emotional effervescence as an effective strategy. She also notes that performance makes the invisible visible, using protests by the mothers of disappeared dissidents as mentioned under liberal feminism as an example. The white scarves and ritualistic marches by the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, for example, drew major attention to a government cover-up through performative means, and they have continued protesting in this way to this day. This theory of efficacy through performance in politics can be applied to my own research project as well; this framework is a useful tool to examine the tactics used by any Latin American women’s protest, both in terms of performativity as well as public response and effectiveness of their protest.

Expanding beyond the outward efficacy of performative protest, Taylor also argues that performance protest is a way to not only express political will, but also to heal collectively from trauma (Taylor 2006). The form that this “trauma” takes will naturally vary across groups, but the idea that performative tactics can be used as a way to heal is a theory that can be applied to the analysis of any women’s protest group. Taylor goes so far as to claim that trauma itself is performative, stating “Trauma expresses itself viscerally, through bodily symptoms, reenactments, and repeats. The fact that we cannot neatly separate trauma from posttraumatic

stress points to the centrality of the reiterated effects that constitute the condition” (2006: 1675). It makes sense, then, why protest would, too, lend itself to performance in reaction to an upsetting event. Women’s protest groups in this context are able to take traumatizing incidents that have been suffered collectively and turn them into productive civic action using means that are not only effective but that are emotionally healing expressions of trauma. I can apply this knowledge framework to analyze the effectiveness of the performative protests I examine, but also the experiences of the women within these protests.

Relevant Mexican Protest History and Terminology

In this paper, I discuss several Mexican protest movements with terminology and history that requires further explanation. While I will touch on these very briefly throughout my data analysis, this section of literature review serves as context for the information to come.

The first, and most important, topic to address is femicide in Mexico. The femicides in Ciudad Juarez are the most famous example of this female-targeted violence, and it is an issue that emerges in my data. There is some contention surrounding when these murders began in Juarez, but most are in agreement that the early 1990s is when it picked up momentum, and it has been continuing on from that point (Driver 2015). Women are killed very publicly in this area, and the fact that despite this, there remains a lack of credible suspects brought forth by police reflects a major inadequacy in the justice system (Driver 2015). The lack of authoritative care has created a culture of hostility and lack of resources for women in Mexico, which in large part is what the groups studied in this project focus on. One of the popular protest phrases regarding this violence against women is “*ni una menos, ni una más*”, translating to “not one less, not one more.”

It is also necessary to explain the naming convention for “*Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta*”, translating to Violet Sea Feminist Collective. This relatively new group that has gained traction in the Tonalá area of Mexico is named in part after a book titled *Un Mar Violeta Oscuro*, which translates to A Dark Violet Sea. This book focuses on three generations of women in a family, the first two of whom marry men who treat them very poorly through abuse, promiscuity, etc. Only in the third generation, do we see the woman stand up for herself in the face of patriarchal oppression in marriage (Barilli). This book is represented in the group’s name because it is symbolic of a woman (or women) standing up for themselves in the face of oppressive forces. Purple has also become one of several colors associated with feminism in Mexico, so the naming convention could also be associated with the imagery of a “sea” of feminist protestors dressed in violet.

Finally, throughout the primary source material, the stylized word “Latin@” as a derivative of Latina/o appears many times. The intention behind this choice is to remove sexist language by removing the masculine or feminine ending altogether, and instead replacing it with something gender-inclusive by using the @ symbol, which appears to the reader as both an “a” and an “o” simultaneously (Wallerstein 2005). This is a contested term next to the inclusive term “Latinx” as a descriptor, as some argue that term was born out of a need to move beyond both masculine “Latino” and the gender-inclusive, but binary, “Latin@” (Scharron et. al. 2015).

METHODS

In this chapter, I explain and justify the research methods used as part of this project. Qualitative research felt most appropriate for this research given the experiential nature of participating in protests. Discussing women's experiences with gender in a cultural context also lends itself more to qualitative methodology. Taking my overarching research questions into account, I decided to utilize a mixed-methods approach of semi-structured in-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis in order to acquire better depth of information and adjust to study limitations.

Research Methods

I conducted semi-structured interviews with three Mexican women who were in or associated with political and/or social protest groups. In order to find participants, I utilized purposive sampling, meaning that I chose my sample based off of selected characteristics (Onwuegbuzie 2007). These interviews were conducted between November 2018 and February 2019. As specified, these characteristics for my interviewees were that they were Mexican individuals, over 18 years of age, identified as women, and have been involved in at least one protest movement in Mexico. Interviewing these women gave me an opportunity to put their experiences in their own words as opposed to mine, from an outsider perspective (Hesse-Biber 2006). The utilization of a semi-structured interview format as opposed to a totally structured one is also a useful tool in eliciting information about the experiences of this specific population. In contrast to a structured interview where the researcher asks a defined list of questions with little room to deviate, a semi-structured interview maintains some structural integrity with an interview question guide, while also allowing the interview topics to stray and make the interaction more conversational. By doing this, the participant has more room to talk about

whatever it is that they are most interested about depending on their own life experiences (Hesse-Biber 2006). The methods by which I acquired contacts for participants were through requests from University of Colorado Boulder professors who had extensive research experience in Latin America, reaching out to friends and family members that had personal connections to politically involved Mexican women, and as a final method to acquire participants, I did online research for publicly available contact information of women known to have been involved in Mexican political protests. As the interviews were occurring, I also utilized snowball sampling to try to find participants after others had been interviewed; this is a sampling method in which participants are asked to recruit individuals with the sample characteristics (Onwuegbuzie 2007). This sampling tactic did not yield any additional participants, despite two out of the three women interviewed passing details onto their colleagues. The sample size was already low due to the difficulty in accessing the population because of geographical distance and language barriers, and there was little extrinsic incentive for these women to participate given that this was an unfunded study. With this in mind, yielding few candidates is consistent with expectations.

The sample that I studied required that the women I interviewed were both Mexican and had been involved in protests *in Mexico*. This meant that I could not use more generalizable sampling techniques, since those who would meet the sample requirements were often not immediately available in my area of residence. Since this study is unfunded, I also had no opportunity to travel to conduct my research. However, it was possible for me to connect with CU Boulder faculty, friends, and family members with the connections that I lacked in accessing this population, also referred to as “gatekeepers” to the population (Brown). Thus, utilizing purposive sampling to access the specific population that I needed for this study was the best plan of action to obtain effective data. While my sampling methods are, by nature, not

generalizable, my intention with my research is not to generalize to the greater population, but instead to acquire a deeper understanding of these women's opinions and experiences regarding gender, performance, and protest. Qualitative research at its core is not generalizable in the way that quantitative research is, but qualitative research allows the investigator to look deeply at cases rather than samples and to specify instead of generalize, which is useful in its own respect (Zussman 2004). In regard to my outgroup status as a white, North American, English speaker/non-fluent Spanish speaker, this allowed for ample amounts of "acceptable incompetence" in the interviews, possibly eliciting more detailed answers from participants (Brown 2018).

All of the women I interviewed were native Spanish speakers, but two out of the three felt comfortable enough to conduct the interview in English. These two women were also residents of Colorado at the time of the interview, so they were able to hold the interview in person with me. The first of these women that I interviewed was Alejandra¹ 46 years old, pursuing her PhD at a Mexican university remotely while living in Colorado. She was in the process of finishing her dissertation on gender violence, patriarchy, and capital accumulation, and she had been involved in activism in Mexico since the age of 18. The second woman was Bianca, a sociology student also pursuing a PhD, but at a university in the United States. She cited her interest in activism starting as early as she could remember, since both of her parents were politically active sociologists. Each in-person interview lasted roughly one hour in length, and audio recordings were collected from each interview with the consent of participants. I wrote down notes immediately after the interviews, taking notice of my mood, the interviewee's mood, any major themes or interesting points that jumped out to me during the interview, and any other

¹ Interviewees' names are pseudonyms.

information I felt might be relevant regarding the interview. The third woman I collected interview data from, Teresa, was 39 years old and living in Quintana Roo, Mexico. She earned Bachelor's degrees in archeology and history, and was working as a tour guide and as the operational manager of *Rio Secreto*, an eco-tour service in the region. She cited intrinsic motivation to act against violence in her community as the reason she became involved in activism. Since she was living in Mexico, we were unable to conduct the interview in person. Additionally, she noted that her English skills were not very developed. I initially proposed to conduct an interview in Spanish with her over video chat with my IRB-approved translator present, but she felt more comfortable writing responses to questions in Spanish. I e-mailed her the semi-structured interview questions I used with the other interviewees as documented in Appendix A translated into Spanish, and following the receipt of her answers, I translated them back into English with assistance from my translator. While this method does mean that the content does not have the same length and breadth as a transcribed, face-to-face interview, it still expressed Teresa's opinions and experiences. Additionally, the comfort of writing responses in her native language on her own time may have mediated some of the potential discomfort caused by the structure of a traditional interview.

After conducting the in-person interviews, I uploaded the audio recordings to my password-protected computer. I transcribed these interviews without the use of any word-to-text software to ensure the accuracy of transcripts. I used the audio player software Express Scribe to aide in the transcription of both interviews. For the written interview responses that I received from the third interviewee, I preserved the original Spanish version, but I used the English translation for analysis purposes.

Additionally, and for my most prolific source of data, I conducted qualitative content analysis of primary source materials. This method of data collection identifies a group of texts and studies them closely to better understand the characteristics of these documents (Hesse-Biber 2006). I chose to analyze the content posted to the Facebook pages of three different women's protest groups based in Mexico over the span of ten days, from 13 February to 23 February 2019; that is, the posted content itself is the primary source data used to investigate my research questions for this project. I selected these Facebook groups based on the supplemental qualitative interviews as a starting point. Each Facebook group analyzed is connected to one of the women interviewed, either through her direct involvement in the organization or a branch of said organization or by geographic location in Mexico. Given these guidelines, the groups whose content I chose to analyze were: *Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta*, *Mujeres Nuevo León*, and *Siempre Unidas*.

I first selected *Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta* (Violet Sea Feminist Collective) because of Alejandra's stated involvement with her local branch of *Colectiva Feminista*, a multi-national organization in Latin America, in Puebla, Mexico. Due to a lack of online activity from the Puebla branch, I chose *Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta* because they were also based in Mexico and had an active online presence. Their mission statement read "We begin with a common interest, stop being invisible, not allow the *machismo* that surrounds us to define our actions, to be the voice of protest against the patriarchy in Tonalá, Chiapas." Bianca was not as involved with protest specifically for women's issues in Mexico as she was with general anti-violence protest. So, I chose *Mujeres Nuevo León* (Women of Nuevo León) because Nuevo León is the same Mexican state in which Bianca participated heavily in her protest history, and because their Facebook page also had an active posting schedule. Their mission statement read "Women of

Nuevo León / All rights for women. No more no less.” Teresa explicitly mentioned her involvement with *Siempre Unidas* (Always United), and their group was active on Facebook as well, so I chose this page to analyze as well. In their mission statement, they claim “Our goal is to end gender violence from its root. For a Quintana Roo free of violence and a better country.” Additionally, all three of these groups were created within the last four years, which indicates their concern with present-day gender issues in Mexico.

These Facebook pages and posts were almost exclusively in Spanish, so content including captions, in-photo text, and article headlines was translated into English using a combination of my personal Spanish reading comprehension, translation software, and proofreading by my approved translator. The translated, primary source content from these Facebook pages can be found in Appendix B. My use of content analysis was a useful way to acquire data in this study. Since my sample size was comprised of only three women, I found qualitative content analysis to be an easily accessible way to extract themes related to my research topics. Due to the interpretive nature of qualitative content analysis, there exists a rich amount of potential extracted data from any selected texts (Hesse-Biber). By analyzing content posted by members of these protest groups, I was able to acquire a deeper understanding of these groups’ perspectives on gender and performance. Analyzing social media specifically had its own advantages as well. Social media data has the benefits of being publicly accessible, generated in real time and visibly documented, and demonstrative of the sample in question (Social Media Research Group 2016). This is obviously content being posted by those that run the pages, which presumably means that they are influential members of these respective groups, so this gives a worthwhile insight into the perspectives on these issues of the women involved as well.

Limitations of Research Methods

While my collected data served great value in my analysis, it is important to also acknowledge the various limitations that are inherent to the methods that I used in this study to ensure that the findings from this study are applied and interpreted appropriately.

Non-generalizability.

With the use of qualitative research, especially as compared to quantitative research, the first limitation that is almost inherent to the practice is its lack of sample generalizability (Hesse-Biber 2006). The samples are most often small and non-representative, making this a limitation of qualitative research more generally. This is true for my study as well, since my sample size was only three women's testimonies and ten days' worth of material from three selected Facebook pages.

Using this same logic concerning generalizability, both purposive and snowball sampling are not generalizable. They are non-probability sampling techniques, meaning that their purpose is not to establish a representative sample from a population but rather to identify specific groups of people who either possess characteristics or live in circumstances relevant to the social phenomenon being studied (Mays 1995). Thus, the sample cannot be generalized to the greater population. My small sample size dealt with only a select few protest movements in both interview data and primary source content, meaning that in my analysis I could not make claims about what women from other protest movements across Mexico felt regarding these topics, despite the fact that I had researched them as well. The women I interviewed also all possessed

degrees of higher education, so I also lacked generalizability to apply to Mexican women of all economic and educational creeds in my sample.

Lack of generalizability was also a limitation in my content analysis. The materials that I selected to analyze were contingent on very specific criteria, and thus were not saturating in number. Additionally, qualitative content analysis is centered around the interpretation of meaning, making it a more subjective methodology and less generalizable than quantitative analysis (Hesse-Biber 2006). Collecting primary source data from the internet, and especially social media, creates limitations as well. The available content can be modified quickly, and it is difficult to know what contexts have shaped the data outside of the online spaces in which they appear (Hesse-Biber 2006). This certainly is the case with Facebook groups, so analyses performed on this content are limited to only what is known to be true on the face value, since full context cannot be gleaned.

Out-group status.

My identity as a white, North American, English speaker/non-fluent Spanish speaker were all markers that differentiated me from my studied population and gave me an “outsider status” in regard to my sample (Hesse-Biber 2006). This status incurred several limitations to data collection during my in-depth interviews. Firstly, it made finding my sample more difficult than if I was an insider of this group. If I was of “insider status,” it is much more likely that I would have had little trouble finding willing participants, as I may already personally have known women who met the sample qualifications (Hesse-Biber 2006). Instead, due to my outgroup status, I had to rely on individual “gatekeepers” to give me access to this population, which was not always successful and warranted me a lower sample size than I may have had as an insider (Brown 2018). My privileged identities paired with my status as a researcher created

power dynamics between myself and my interviewees as well (Brown 2018). Though these women all have advanced degrees and are much more knowledgeable than I am on the subject matter, the fact that in-person interviews were conducted in my native language and country of origin paired with the inherent power held by an “interviewer” in this type of interaction, may have made participants less comfortable in the interview setting, even given concerted rapport-building on my part. This could have led to more reserved answers to questions, further limiting the scope of my data.

Outgroup status also affected my qualitative content analysis. As someone living in the United States, I had the greatest amount of access to online materials in terms of source material since they are what is most readily accessible, so that is what ended up being the source of my analyzed texts. While this is still a useful framework of content, if I were an individual living in the same environment as these women in Latin America, I would perhaps have had access to useful, physical materials to bolster my research as well.

Despite the limitations addressed, I argue that these were the best methods to use for my research given the content and circumstances of the project and the justifications provided for my methodology.

Data Analysis Methods

The overarching approach that I utilized in my data analysis was qualitative content analysis, both in my acquired social media materials and my interview data. The objective of content analysis is to draw out common characteristics and overarching ideologies of texts, which I decided would be a highly useful strategy for a research project in which I am trying to answer questions about large ideas like gender, protest, and performance (Hesse-Biber).

Based off of my research questions and existing theory, I deductively developed major themes for qualitative coding, and after this data was coded, I inductively developed the relevant sub-codes that were appearing in the data.

Table I: Definitions of Major Codes and Sub-codes

Code		Definition
Instances of Performance		Any instances where performance is displayed or alluded to
Instances of Performance Sub-codes	Efficacy of performance in protest	Indications of the use of performance in a protest being a particularly effective tactic
	Empowerment of marginalized populations	Performance empowering marginalized groups in a social, political and/or protest context
Gender Issues		Any instances in the text that refer to gender, including specific experiences where gender is relevant
Gender Issues Sub-codes	Discriminatory public action	Instances where government policy or other public/institutional work that discriminates against women or causes women harm is referenced
	Gender in context of protest	Experiences related to one's gender while participating in protest or related to one's participation in protest(s)
	Gender roles & stereotyping	Discussion of stereotypes and/or assigned gender roles for women and men

It should also be clarified that, when I am referring to performance, I am specifically referring to observable acts of visual art, theater, music, or costume. Performance is a very broad concept, so boiling it down to visible, staged or planned acts that would likely be interpreted as performative by the general public allows for clearer coding and analytical interpretation.

I uploaded my transcripts, Facebook posts, codes, and sub-codes into a qualitative analysis software, Dedoose, where I was able to highlight and pull direct quotes from the texts that corresponded to these developed categories. The advantage of using a secure, online

software to code the raw data is that it allowed me to better organize these themes and retrieve this information (Talanquer). After coding the data, I used these developed themes and subcategories to answer my research questions to the best of my ability. It is important, also, to re-emphasize that the women interviewed as part of this project are not native English-speakers, so any grammatical errors in quotation are due to the fact that interviews were transcribed without edits.

DATA ANALYSIS

Instances of Performance

The first primary research question I am investigating through this project is: How is performance integrated into protests in which Mexican women participate?

Efficacy of performance in protest.

In coding the data, one of the major motifs that emerged was how effective performative protests were in Mexican women's experiences, especially as told by the women interviewed. When I interviewed Alejandra, the 46-year-old woman from Puebla, Mexico, she explained her experience with performance protest in the form of street art advocating for human and environmental rights.

...we have done like music protests...Or involve like, okay, we are marching, but we do like music and do like art. We did, once, a protest and it was a, like painting graffitis, but in a park. And we actually, like, not breaking the laws, because you don't want to break the laws to tell the lawmaker that he is making wrong, right? So, we asked for the permission, and we said "Can we use this? We are gonna do a mural art" and we didn't say graffiti because that word is very stigmatized...And people, like, yeah the one that probably usually would only be angry and want to destroy everything, they were getting organized, they were getting together and they said "oh we can do something creative and express ourselves" so the park was very cool.

Alejandra frames the performative elements of this protest tactic in multiple ways. She first states the benefit of engaging in a creative means of protest in that it is more palatable for members of authority and the greater community at large. She highlights that they framed this protest act as an artistic mural, because this was something for which they would be able to acquire permission, and thus would be a more effective action overall. She makes the overarching point that it is counterproductive to break the law in a protest, because then you lose credibility with the "lawmakers," or the authority figures that are contingent on creating social change. Thus, an artistic, performative protest was an efficient way to get the intended civic

rights message across without alienating those who could help you achieve your protest's end goals. She, too, points out that through the use of creative means, protestors who would normally be inclined to lash out in protest due to their anger about the issues instead channeled their passion into creative expression, creating a mutually beneficial, peaceful protest piece. I asked Alejandra whether she thought protesting in this creative, non-traditional way made the protest more acceptable and/or resonated more with people.

Yes, I think so because a lot of people would get closer like oh, what is this - It's a calm show, it's a...yeah it's a play, it's a ...Or let's hear some music. And then you can do a handout like explaining like oh, we are doing this concert because of this, or we are talking...So, more people would be like open to listen...Yeah, and it becomes more like a community event. And it is like in a protest – like here [in the U.S.] it's safe, but in a protest in Mexico you know that oh I have to be careful with my kids because they can be killed or they can be things like that. So, uh, in a protest a lot of people won't participate unless they are really committed and involved in the social movement. But, in an art or cultural event with social content more people will be...you will be safer and you will reach more like families and the whole community.

Here, Alejandra addresses the idea that making a protest into a creative work also makes it more accessible to the public at large. By engaging in something that is less overtly politically/socially charged, it makes others feel more welcome to join the cause without feeling as though they have to be extremely convicted, thus welcoming in the whole community. Additionally, by framing it as a creative community event, people will be more “open to listen” as she states. This has the potential to encourage more people to get involved once they realize that protest can take forms that are both non-traditional and safe, as the idea of protests becomes less daunting following this exposure. This emphasizes the efficacy of performance in protest in its accessibility to the public and its encouragement to join.

Teresa, the 39-year-old woman living in Quintana Roo, Mexico from which I received written responses, re-emphasized this point when she wrote about her protest group's future plans.

In the previous marches, we have not had any serious show...but this next one March 8 will close with an artistic closure, a friend [of mine] sings professionally and will accompany us along with some girls who have a group of drums, we will say some chants and poetry something simple but with a lot of weight...on this occasion we believe that people who did not go to the march will be able to relate to the performance or will find it more approachable if they didn't go to one previously.

She reiterated the point that integrating performance—in this case singing and percussion—is a factor that encourages people to get involved with protests. So much so that in her case, the protest group she is involved with is using performance as a draw factor so that more participants can relate to the protest. The Facebook page of the protest group that she is a part of, *Siempre Unidas*, shared an image from a fellow Mexican women's organization on 21 February 2019, calling for female artists to design protest posters.

Call to women illustrators, designers, and artists to create visual content with a gendered perspective (protest, messages, consciousness, etc.). All of the material will be uploaded to a drive folder through the following link: [link in original post] You can participate with materials such as: sticker, poster, flyer, stencil, these are ideas but don't limit yourself. Specifications for files. Size: Tabloid (11 x 17 inches). The design can occupy all the space or you can arrange your design several times so that it occupies the whole space...We invite you to print, cut, and stick everywhere!

Crowdsourcing a drive for protest art designed by women reveals one specific instance of how creative protest tactics can be effective. To start a shared drive implies that women from anywhere can participate in adding their own designs, based on the issues that they are most passionate about. This type of initiative lends itself to a diversity of perspectives and an unlimited amount of submissions, both of which are useful and effective in the proliferation of protest materials. Beyond this, what sets a performative initiative over social media like this apart from others is that this would not be a practical option for traditional protest, which requires the physical manifestation of people in a certain place at a certain time. Through the use of this user-created visual art drive, individuals can access protest materials at any time and, as

mentioned in the post, print, cut, and stick them everywhere, creating an effective way to engage in protest at any time through creative means.

Bianca, the 35-year-old woman from near Tamaulipas, Mexico provided a different perspective on why performance has been effective in her protest experience when I interviewed her. Following the death of two students on the campus of the university she was working and studying at several years ago due to violence in the drug war, Bianca came up with the idea of holding a performance protest.

...we were all wearing black clothes with, uh, their mouths covered. And, they started walking in different parts of the university all together and then they started splitting up. And at some point, they just, like, fell as dead on the floor. And there was other people wearing white, were like marking with the chalk...[like] the body outline.

She helped facilitate several rounds of this protest, culminating in one that involved over 500 people in front of the main municipal building. I asked Bianca about the impact that she felt the protest had on those who were witness to it.

We got, uh, how you say that, when the newspaper put you in the front page. Oh, yeah, we get a front page after the performance, the big one. Yeah, after we all end up dead in the front of the municipality, we got the front page of the most important local newspaper. And, they didn't contact us or anything, they just knew that we were there. And, it was, it was a very, I don't know, it was a cool photo.

This example alludes directly to the effectiveness of protests that integrate performance. This protest not only gained traction after several rounds, stacking up participant numbers, but also drew the attention of the greater community, as evidenced by the important newspaper publication. The atypicality of a protest like this, coupled with the fact that it is nonviolent, making it palatable to authorities and the greater public, was clearly effective in spreading visibility of the protest in a way that a standard protest likely would not have. Bianca also touched on the effect that conducting a performative protest had on the actual participants themselves.

I think that was the main thing. People who had never participated before. And it was like, okay I like this, this is good, this is not violent. I don't know, most of my students have this idea of protest being like, just yelling with...I don't know what's in their heads, but they were afraid of it. And it's like, but you're just going to walk. And it's going to be fine, and we asked for all the permissions we need to walk around the city. It's fine, we're going to be protected, so good.

This example further emphasizes the fact that creating nonviolent, creative protests inspire more people to get involved with the protest, making it an effective tactic to integrate performance.

These students in particular, Bianca noted, were financially well-off students, many of them having not even taken public transportation for fear of something happening to them. To see this body of students mobilizing over this issue through performative means shows that this form of protest was especially effective in inspiring participation. Additionally, mobilizing individuals with economic privilege is both important in building the financial resources to achieve protest goals and legitimizing the protest in the eyes of the populace. The deviation of this protest from the idea that these students had of a "typical protest" was an important factor in their involvement, and this was contingent on the inclusion of performance to separate it from the standard, so it is clear that the inclusion of performance was effective in this example. Bianca, who is a student pursuing her PhD in the United States, also noted her thoughts on the effectiveness of performative protest through the comparison of Latin American protests to those she has encountered in the U.S., namely the first annual Women's March that she attended after the election of Donald Trump.

...so I think [protests in Latin America] are way more vivid and noisy. Like, people have instruments to make music, and to...or just things to make noise, because noise is important. But also, I don't know, there were a lot of signs here in the U.S., but more than that, it was not like...I don't know, I didn't feel very connected to what was going on.

This is an important example because it turns the analytic lens inward and indicates what she believes to be an effective protest method. In the comparison of Latin American protests to

protests that Bianca has experienced in the U.S., she finds herself to be more connected to those that are “vivid and noisy”, as these are the types of protest that she feels more connected to. Though this is likely a product of past experience with and an inclination toward performative protest, it is useful in the fact that it points to the internal justification for individuals choosing to get involved with performative protest over what we may interpret as “traditional protest,” more closely resembling the protests Bianca encountered in the U.S. due to a feeling of deeper connection to the protest.

Performative costuming is another way that the efficacy of performance was demonstrated in the data. In reference to the performative protests that Bianca organized, this costuming obviously took form in the black and white dress that protest participants donned for the demonstrations. But, there also were several instances where costuming appeared on protest groups’ Facebook posts. In a post from *Siempre Unidas* on 23 February 2019, they posted a status calling for a women’s demonstration on the 8th of March, International Women’s Day. At the end of the post, the text reads:

Arm your banners, come with your family and friends! We suggest orange garments, the distinctive color of the fight against gender violence.

This indicates in explicit terms that there is a color associated with this women’s activism issue in Mexico. Purple was also a commonly occurring color on these pages, as already touched on in part through the naming convention for *Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta*. Orange and purple are colors that appeared frequently in the data, with several images and logos integrating that color combination (see Appendix B for images).

- From *Siempre Unidas* – 17 February 2019, they shared a missing person poster for a woman from Quintana Roo with an orange and purple logo at the top reading “Alba Protocol Quintana Roo”; 14 February 2019, they shared an illustration of women protesting with signs, all of them dressed in orange and purple, with the text below giving women tips for how to stay safe walking home alone

- From *Mujeres Nuevo León*: 15 February 2019, they shared a post for the group “12624 Consultants” with an orange and purple logo, a group of female consultants committed to the advancement of women’s rights organizations

These examples state the symbolic colors less explicitly, but the pervasiveness of the orange/purple color scheme on these pages indicates its relevance to Mexican women’s protest issues, specifically to violence against women. The final example of costuming comes from *Mujeres Nuevo León*, displaying an image with a different colored garment.

Mujeres Nuevo León: 20 February 2019, shared a comic-style drawing with a man saying “Feminists make me tiiiiired [sic]”, and a woman responding “Go take a nap then, because it’s going to get worse.” The woman is wearing a bright green scarf.

Wearing a green scarf is a symbol of abortion rights for women across Latin America, an action that specifically nods to the activism of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina with their iconic white scarves (Campagna & Boulos). Both the examples of orange and purple as symbols of gendered violence activism and the green scarves as activism for abortion rights serve to create a cohesive imagery for women’s activism in Mexico. This performative costuming is effective as a protest tactic in that it both increases the visibility of the protest and indicates immediately to the public that the protest is concerned with women’s issues. Further, the immediate association created with these colors and garments allows for groups to appropriate these for organization logos and other initiatives to demonstrate that they stand for women’s rights in Mexico, making the protest mission more widespread.

From these interviews and Facebook page posts, it is clear that performative tactics within protests are effective in their tolerability to those in positions of authority, their draw for involvement as opposed to traditional protest styles, and their visibility. This has obvious ties to Diana Taylor’s concept that “the affective is effective” in terms of performative protest (2014:338). The experiences of Mexican women detailed in this chapter indicate the power of

emotional effervescence in a protest setting, heightened by the means being more accessible to a greater audience, which is true through the use of performance. There are also connections to Taylor's theory through the observation of women's sense of self within performative protest; while there was no explicit mention of healing trauma, there was a greater sense of "connectedness" within the self to these more creative forms of protesting.

Reaching beyond the theory, however, the data reveals a specific tendency for performative protests to draw in those who have never before been involved in protest whatsoever, specifically those who are concerned with safety in protest, like individuals with children or students from affluent backgrounds. This approachability of performance might also serve as a tool for radicalizing more moderate individuals through the guise of "practical" means, in reference to Molyneux's concept of practical gender interests (1985). The performance protests are deemed more socially acceptable and cooperative with authorities, but unlike the liberal feminist perspective which distances itself from grassroots feminist movements, this practical approach is being taken by the grassroots movements themselves. While the goals of these protest groups do not appear to be extremely radical, they certainly reach beyond the purely legal goals of liberal feminism, acknowledging the existence of patriarchy and sexual violence against women. Thus, the gender interests may be strategic while the means are practical, encouraging those who may have previously held more conservative beliefs surrounding women's rights to participate in organizations with more radical beliefs. Additionally, this analysis contributes new insights to the study of performative protest by observing it in a modern Mexican cultural context specifically.

Empowerment of marginalized populations.

The second theme that inductively emerged from the analyzed data was instances of performance empowering individuals or groups with marginalized identities. This motif emerged primarily from two data sources: my interview with Alejandra and Facebook posts from the group *Mujeres Nuevo León*.

In Alejandra's interview, she spoke multiple instances about indigenous women in the context of art and performance. She spoke prolifically on indigenous and rural women's issues due to the fact that she had worked with women's groups of these identities for years. She first explained that trying to form women's groups in indigenous regions can be difficult, because she had encountered testimonies from women in these regions that would not attend them because their husbands will not let them, assuming it must just be "gossip" between women and a waste of time. In this example, she talked about one form of economic empowerment for rural women that helps to counter this.

...in the universities when we're doing like, in Mexico by law you have as a quality student you have to do like a volunteer social service like...Social work service. Uh, so they did have some students come into their [rural women's] communities and help them like how to develop, like there are *artisanas*, weaving and embroidering like things...like better designs that will be more easy to sell in the cities and things like that. So, the students were taking the handicrafts to the cities and selling it to other students at the university and things like that. So, they start having, like, an extra income and having the chance to have a space to talk to each other, to express their needs, to yeah, to be aware of what are their living experiences. And to learn like, about human rights, and women's rights and health and better nutrition and like many things.

This serves as one example of artistic work contributing to the empowerment of women who are indigenous and live in rural settings. Alejandra implies in this excerpt that there are already existing "*artisanas*" in these communities that create these handicrafts, and that the students who enter these environments serve the purpose of both clarifying which designs are marketable to the buyer base and physically bringing the handicrafts to the university to sell them. Both the

process of making these crafts and the financial gain women get from selling them serve as avenues of empowerment for women in these communities to talk to one another about their lived experiences and issues they are facing. Regardless of the degree to which they receive student assistance, these women are selling handicrafts, indicating that there is value in creative goods for both the *artisinas* and the consumers as a way to empower these women.

Alejandra also shared one specific type of performance that she and her protest cohort engage in having to do with women's experiences.

...we do have, like some plays talking about patriarchy or, like, it says like "*Machismo se escribe con M de mujer*" That is like *Machismo*, chauvinism is written with M of woman. And like, how do you tell many stories of different woman, like the rural woman, the working woman, the secretary, the politician, and so any status, any profession, any socioeconomic status or whatever, and how we all experience them. So, it's a very fun sketch.

This example takes the most obvious form of performance as theatrics in the form of a sketch.

This sketch integrates an intersectional framework that empowers women of various overlapping identities. By putting the experiences of these marginalized women into the form of a sketch, the invisible becomes visible to patrons looking on during the performance who may not know anything about the lived experiences of rural women, working women, etc. Thus, this is an example of empowering marginalized women by crafting an observable version of their lived experience through performance. She bolsters this encouragement of diverse stories through emancipatory education including performance as well. She prefaces this statement by emphasizing that emancipatory education means breaking outside of the traditional mold of success in education that favors entrepreneurs and well-behaved workers.

...emancipatory education, like how can we access knowledge? And we be free and access technology and access...yeah. Many art and philosophy and many other things with a probably cultural diversity approach and different perspectives improves communities, always.

Alejandra integrates art and philosophy in her explanation of emancipatory education, which fall under the definition of performance in the context of this research. She notes the value of incorporating a diversity of perspectives in communities through this type of education, which implies the incorporation of marginalized voices. Since art and performance are creativity-based and up to interpretation by the individual, the outcomes of emancipatory education will empower a diverse population by integrating their subjective viewpoints.

Examining the *Mujeres Nuevo León* Facebook page reveals a much different manifestation of empowering marginalized individuals through performance. On 17 February 2019, the page shared an open letter written by a woman named Olga Gonzales to Yalitza Aparicio and Marina De Tavira, two stars of the Oscar-nominated movie *Roma*. In this letter, she detailed the importance of representation in the film, especially because Yalitza Aparicio is the first indigenous woman to ever be nominated for best actress at the Oscars and is a trailblazer in this respect.

Marina and Yalitza, Mexican sisters, with great pride we will witness you step through the red carpet. It is important that you know that you are not alone; at the time of getting down from the great limousine, please close your eyes for a second and feel the strength and company of millions of girls and women that in spirit will walk with you, because as Mexican women and men triumph in the world, you are also worthy ambassadors of our greatest dreams

The obvious element of performance here is through film. This example is a contrast to what has been examined thus far in that this is performance manifesting itself in popular culture. The empowerment of marginalized groups through performance that we observe in this case is the empowerment of indigenous girls and women, especially, in Mexico, because of the worldwide phenomenon that *Roma* has become and the worldwide acclaim that Yalitza has received as an actress. The visibility of an indigenous woman through performance is undoubtedly empowering to women and girls across the country, as indicated in the excerpt from the open letter.

In addition to this, the Facebook page shared a post specifically from the National Union of Domestic Workers Support and Training Center for Domestic Workers in Mexico on 16 February 2019 addressing Yalitza's role in the film and its impact.

We make an invitation to those who read us to recognize our work and to recognize ourselves as people; the film *Roma* has set a precedent for the Domestic Workers, although we are not actresses and we cannot speak from a criticism of that professional work, we express our deep appreciation to Yalitza Aparicio for making a portrait of us and our work, work that we It has allowed, as a union and struggle organization, to put the #WorkHelp on the public agenda to carry out deep transformations in Mexico.

This post even further drives the point that performance can empower marginalized groups because, unlike the open letter, this post comes from women who are domestic workers, a large percentage of whom are indigenous. The power of narrative is that it serves as a humanizing tool for individuals and populations we do not understand because we are not part of their ingroup. As noted in this text, the accurate and humane representation of indigenous, domestic workers in performance helps them to work toward their public agenda, since a greater portion of the populace can now sympathize with them, having been given a glimpse into their lives. This is empowering since it not only reflects representation and visibility, but also the potential to access important resources that may not have been available before people were aware of their situations.

The data reveals extremely different displays of marginalized groups' empowerment through performance, but all interpretations are worthwhile in judging the overall value of performance in this context. The invisible being made visible in these examples is the major existing tie and support to Diana Taylor's (2014) theory of performance, since it opens the greater public's eye to what indigenous' women's experiences are. Beyond this, however, the analysis of performance empowering marginalized populations in this project seems to be novel in the context of modern Mexico. This is especially true for Yalitza Aparicio's performance in

Roma, since this is a 2019 Oscar nominee, and thus a very recently released film. These findings also carve a new perspective into Rivera Hernández's theory on collective action frames. He makes the point that the shared experience of losing a loved one empowered poor, indigenous women to mobilize, but the evidence from this data indicates that a similar effect might hold true with protest (Rivera Hernández 2017). It seems that, in a similar fashion to the way that performance engaged those not apt to typically get involved with social protest because of their privileged identities, performance also engaged those not apt to get involved because of a perceived lack of space in women's activism with marginalized identities. Performance, then, becomes a highly effective vessel for intersectional interests, and could potentially be integrated into indigenous and lesbian feminisms as an effective tool to mainstream more "fringe" interests and beliefs. Whether the empowerment for these marginalized individuals and populations arises from performed sketches, the incorporation of art into their education and entrepreneurship, or through the representation of marginalized people in film, it is clear that performance has the capacity to empower individuals from the height of privilege to the margins of society in modern Mexico.

Gender Issues

I also investigated through this data analysis how culturally relevant ideas of gender emerged, and questioned: how do Mexican women activists express themselves in the context of a protest group?

Discriminatory public action.

One main subject that kept appearing in the data was the mention of government policies or public work that discriminated against women or caused women harm, especially in the protest groups' Facebook pages. The first major outcry was regarding a recent suspension of

government funding for women’s shelters across Mexico. The *Mujeres Nuevo León* page posts about this policy two separate times within the ten-day period analyzed. A particularly powerful post—a Mexican woman’s letter to the president that the Facebook page shared on 23 February 2019—reads:

... yesterday, the Shelters were dissolved, and we explained in a long and sustained manner the seriousness of this fact. The suspension of subsidies for Refugee shelters puts women, girls and boys who are victims of violence, mainly in families in poverty, in distress as we have already stated. We expect a comprehensive care policy for this serious problem that complies with the Law and the normative framework inscribed in our Constitution... The disappearance of the Social Co-Investment Program is worrying without the presentation of a public policy alternative to redirect gender equality policies. Since, if women's poverty is not addressed, it will be difficult to eradicate the misery and poverty of the country, which is the purpose of the Mexican government and of all Mexicans.

This excerpt reflects not only the damage that removal of this policy does for Mexican women and children, but also reflects the overall damage that it does for the collective mission of poverty alleviation in the nation. The same policy is lamented on the page for *Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta* through two article shares on 22 February 2019. The headlines of these articles read:

From *Plumas Atómicas* (Atomic Pens): “Federal Government cancels resources for shelters for female victims of extreme violence”

From *Animal Politico* (Political Animal): “Federal Government leaves shelters for female victims of violence without public resources”

These posts emphasize the dissatisfaction that these women’s groups have with the policy changes, as they endanger women. It is important to note that the outrage over this policy is indicative of another step away from liberal feminism in these groups’ philosophies. Though this again points to a legal concern for women’s equality, this particular policy would likely not affect affluent, white women that benefit from liberal feminism. Since these shelters are aimed toward women that have been victims of violence, this reflects intersectional considerations

about women's well-beings. As reflected in the excerpt from *Mujeres Nuevo León*, this policy primarily hurts women who are poor and may not have other options to escape an abusive situation unlike their more privileged female counterparts. While the women that make up these groups may be in large part middle to upper-class, the concern shown for this policy reflects distress toward women's issues that may not directly affect them, but will affect women of differing identities.

The other major concern regarding public action among these groups is neglectful law enforcement. The particular, gendered issues that the police have mishandled as reflected by the data have been femicides, sexual violence, and revenge pornography, or the revealing of sexually explicit images or videos of a person online without the consent of the subject. These concerns spanned across group Facebook posts and interview data, demonstrating how pervasive this issue is. In Teresa's written interview response, she detailed how the protest goals for *Siempre Unidas* were tied to the mismanagement of femicide cases by law enforcement.

[The goals were] That the cases of rapes and femicides were investigated and that justice be found for the victims, because for example for Vianca Labastida, one year after her death they have done nothing. For Ximena Longoria although there were security cameras near the place where she was raped almost 2 months ago, she has not been shown the videos.

This quote addresses both neglect toward a case of femicide and a case of rape in the Quintana Roo region. The long periods of time indicated in the quote directly emphasize the lack of action from police. A post from the *Siempre Unidas* Facebook page echoes this sentiment. In a post on 16 February 2019, promoting an event honoring Vianca Labastida's death, they wrote:

A year since Vianca was killed, no justice has been done. We invite you to join this tribute, "I did not die, I was killed". we demand justice! #AlwaysUnited #JusticeforViancaMorenoLabastida

This use of the slogan, “I did not die, I was killed” also points to the neglect from law enforcement. The phrase implies that police may suggest that she died from an accident or from natural causes, but that the truth is she was murdered and no justice has been done in the case. The *Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta* page shared multiple posts that, while their concern was primarily with passing legislation to make revenge pornography illegal, also touched heavily on the neglect that police have shown in female homicides. On 21 February 2019, they shared a post from a Mexican woman that included pictures with handwritten posters detailing several women’s experiences with revenge porn. Part of the caption to this post read:

Attempts to rape, kidnap and murder have been omitted and made invisible by the state judicial system, whose protocols are deficient, patriarchal and re-victimizing. A State that does not recognize violence in all its forms, will not be able to combat it; a government that omits the violence that we suffer daily as women in each of our spaces, the house, the street, the internet, is a government that strengthens rape culture and femicide. The Congress of the state of #chiapas today has a majority of women as its population, who historically have the power to reform our constitution and criminal code to highlight the violence that we suffer daily and that can culminate by threatening our physical integrity.

This caption continues to emphasize the neglect that public officials have shown to women’s issues, but it also empowers women for action. Pointing out the fact that women hold the technical majority in terms of state population and have historically made changes in the law for the betterment of women serves to call the women in Chiapas to action against this neglect. This points to both Rivera Hernández’s analysis on collective action framing theory and Diana Taylor’s protest theory. In both cases, shared trauma can be used as a point of mobilization for women that may not have acted in protest otherwise. In this example, the shared trauma that the women of Chiapas have endured through public neglect of the issues that directly affect them serves as a motivator for protest. In another post from the group from 19 February 2019, they detailed a specific case of revenge porn not being dealt with by authorities for a woman they refer to as Paty.

Ex-partner of Paty harassed her since they ended their romantic relationship in 2014...In November, intimate content of her was published by social networks and sent to their relatives, friends and colleagues...On the 15th of January of this year, a van tried to run her over outside her home. The digital is real. Even though Paty has made 4 complaints and suffered an attempt to be run over, the authorities have not given her a response. Intimidation, harassment and violation of her right to privacy continue. No is No.

This specific case is extreme but serves to show the severity of the neglect that authorities have shown to women suffering from the consequences of revenge porn and ex-partner violence. The specification of the timeline of events and the number of times that Paty had already attempted to alert law enforcement about the threatening behavior she was subject to further underline this point.

All of these discriminatory public action concerns point to the current structural inequities against women that exist in Mexico today. In an article shared by *Siempre Unidas* that also rings true for the analysis of these concerns, Mexico is ranked among the 20 worst countries in the world to be a woman by U.S News & World Report (2018). These results come from a perception-based survey from women that takes into account care about human rights, gender equality, income equality, progress and safety. Certainly, when government officials are pulling funding from women's safe housing programs and law enforcement officers are ignoring violations of privacy and violent crimes against women, it is understandable that Mexican women's perception of their quality of life as a woman in their country is subpar. These institution-level concerns provide valuable insights, revealing specific protest concerns and motivations for women in Mexico. In the relevant Mexican protest history portion of my literature review, I provided references to Alice Driver's 2015 coverage of femicides in Mexico. Driver's text highlighted the absence of police accountability for femicides in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Given the evidence presented through this data, it is clear that despite a concentration in Juárez, female homicides span across the country, and that accountability for law enforcement

officials regarding this problem is still a pervasive issue in the nation. These concerns for Mexican women's protest groups, and especially the apparent stagnancy of these issues, point to a need for further investigation into the most effective routes to hold public authorities accountable. While the efficacy of performative protest has already been addressed in this research, much of its power lies in the fact that it is perceived as less threatening to authority. Thus, a protest path to responsibility to Mexican women from authorities appears to be missing.

Gender in context of protest.

Other important experiences to contextualize in the data are those that related to gender while participating in protest or related to these women's participation in protest. The data, especially that coming from interviewees, revealed negative and positive sides to their identity as women in a protest setting. When I interviewed Bianca, I asked her if there were moments she was specifically aware of her gender since she had participated less in explicitly women's-oriented protests.

It's all the time, because you all the time need to be aware of your being a woman protesting, because it is way more complicated and way more dangerous for women to participate in these kind of activities. I remember protesting once with my brother, and then we were protesting in front of the US Embassy and they release... police on horses. ... we had to run, because you have a horse running over you. And I remember, my brother, he's older than us, my sister was with me too. And he was like okay, we're going to run, and we're going to meet at [some] tall place... And he could run faster, and I had to take my sister and like run with her and it was, it was not easy to do that. I was like what is going on?

Bianca's negative experience in this protest that turned somewhat violent and chaotic was, in this case, amplified by her identity as a woman in the protest. She details in this excerpt how her brother left her and her sister alone amongst the mounted police, assuming that they could easily meet at the location he had pointed out to them. Instead, they both struggled to make their way through the crowd. Bianca connects this experience to her gender in terms of her and her sister's

physical stature, making them more vulnerable to harm in this situation. Additionally, her brother's ability to leave quickly indicates the physical privilege that men hold in the protest space. Beyond this, in my interview with her, Bianca addressed her experience dealing with men in women's protest spaces and how they confront their privilege.

...when I have been at protests that have to deal with women's rights, men usually start getting...upset and they feel like they are not being like, oh you don't want me to walk with you! No, you can walk with me, just walk in the back...you can see how men love being in the front lines. They always want to be there. And even when there are women who really want to talk and really want to be in the front stage, there is always this guy who is like no, no I'm going to be the one who is going to talk. It's interesting, that always happens...But, when I see that the most is when it's a protest related to women and men really want to be there.

This quote directs attention to the space that men take up in protest settings, often at the expense of women's voices. Both of these examples draw attention to the problematic behaviors men exhibit that women are subject to, even under the guise of ally-ship. This behavior is not oppressive like traditional machismo, since the men in these spaces are protesting alongside women, but both of these examples draw connections to the idea of Gutmann's negotiations of *machismo* across time and geography (1996). The privileged space that men hold in generalized protest and the obtrusive space that they occupy in women's protest could be interpreted as signs of *machismo* in a contemporary, urban Mexican context. This presents a novel idea of men's relationship as false allies to women in protest and not acknowledging their privilege in these spaces. Taking a turn into the more sinister relationships that exist between men and women in protest settings, Bianca also alluded to the violence women face at the hands of authorities.

I never experienced that, but there is a culture of rape in protests in Latin America at the hands of the police...you cannot just go to a protest by yourself, you need to have a group of people that are there with you and can help you to run and are not going to leave you with this man. They're going to be with you and going to support you. Or all these other measures, like putting the tags on your skin so people know who you are and can help you in case something happened...I always think on my gender when I do that. Like what

you're going to be wearing, I don't know. A lot of stuff that maybe men doesn't have to think on...I don't think they're ever afraid of being raped in a protest, for instance.

In this example, Bianca indicates both instances of police violence against women, and again re-emphasizes men's privilege in protest contexts. This excerpt connects back to the neglect from police regarding femicides in Mexico as addressed under discriminatory public action. Beyond this, the actions of police as suggested here provides motive for why police may ignore or try to cover up femicides in Mexico—they might be among the individuals perpetrating these crimes against women. In regard to this potential violence, Bianca shared the fact that she marks herself with her name, blood type, and other details before attending a protest, a step that she says makes her reflect on her gender in this context. This is underlined by the point she makes that men likely do not have to think about the dangers of sexual violence or homicide that might occur within a protest setting. This lack of additional concern by men in their protest involvement points to privilege and to this idea of a modern, less overt form of *machismo* as well.

Though women's relationship to men in protest as Bianca described obviously carries negative connotations, when I interviewed Alejandra, she expressed positive associations with gender in the context of protest. In reference to her work with indigenous women coming together to mobilize around shared trauma, she stated:

[The women] realized like oh, I was ashamed because I thought it was only me that was suffering [domestic violence] and now I see that she is...living the same, she is experiencing the same. So they kind of find out that, ok we need to support each other and then start like learning and saying like...let's get information...get connected to the universities...

This provides an example of collective action framing working to empower marginalized women in protest. This experience of gender in protest reflects the mobilization that occurred when these indigenous women discovered shared, distressing experiences with one another. As opposed to the described protest interactions with men, these interactions were positive, empowering the

participants in terms of their shared gender as women, ethnicity as indigenous, and experience as victims of domestic abuse. A similar sentiment was reflected by Teresa in her written responses to me. I asked her to describe elements of her experience participating in protests in Quintana Roo. She concisely claimed:

Women do not feel alone, and those who participate help and raise awareness among the men and women around them.

This further drives the point that shared experiences relating to gender in a protest context are positive. In regard to the protests of *Siempre Unidas*, the group with which Teresa is involved, the concerns center mainly around violence against women. This, like the example Alejandra provided of indigenous women mobilizing over their shared experiences of domestic violence, reflects that trauma can unite groups in a positive way. This point ties back to both Rivera Hernández's collective action framework theory and Taylor's theory of trauma in protest.

Both the positive and negative examples of gender in a protest context reveal women's feelings from inside of these protests, which is itself valuable information. These insights also point to the need for collective experiences to facilitate a positive protest experience, especially in regard to marginalized social groups. In the examples that dealt with at worst male abusers and at best subpar male "allies" to women, the described protest experiences were negative. But when these protests were composed of women that held shared identities and experiences and that were directly affected by protest concerns, the experiences seem to be positive and enriching. This underlines the importance of collective action framing in modern Mexican women's protest, underlining the importance of Rivera Hernández's (2017) theory as well as expanding upon it.

Gender roles & stereotyping.

The final major theme that emerged from the examination of gender in the data is the discussion of stereotypes and/or assigned gender roles for women and men. Moving beyond the literature on *machismo* and *marianismo* in their traditional definitions (Stevens 1973), the data reveals more nuanced interpretations of gender roles in a Mexican context.

In regard to machismo, the data shows that this gender stereotype manifests itself in a variety of ways across circumstances, as indicated by Gufmann. The *Mujeres Nuevo León* Facebook group shared a post from the page “Enrique Stola” on 19 February 2019 including an article headlined “Suicide of Violent Machos.” The original caption reads:

There are many men who murder women, sons and daughters and then commit suicide. They don't do it for fear of jail or fear of a social conviction. They have been legitimized in their conduct for forever, what fear they will have? What worries and anguishes them is the loss of meaning of their lives when they cannot exercise domination over that woman-object that allowed them to stay psychologically structured.

This quote indicates the interpretation of machismo in which men are defined by their domination and control over their female partner. This is an extreme example of male chauvinism, but it does point out that the conduct of controlling women is normalized in Mexican culture when it states that these men have been consistently legitimized in their conduct. This same sort of control and abuse through *machismo*, as well as the legitimization of this violence, also appears on the Facebook page for *Colectiva Feminista Mar Violeta* through the screenshot of a tweet shared on 18 February 2019.

We all have a friend that her abuser called crazy. Everyone has a friend who talks about how his ex was crazy woman. We all know some woman who has been or is a victim of gender violence. No man knows any abuser.

This quote exemplifies both the themes of violence and abuse in traditional machismo and the legitimization of these beliefs by calling the woman “crazy.” This text points to solidarity in

machismo as well, with the last line implying that no man would ever consider his behavior or his male friends' behavior abusive. This social safety net provides means with which male abusers can continue their behavior and not face external consequences. In Alejandra's interview, she recalled a story from a migrant community that she worked in where this sort of male control was evident, but that also emphasized the glorification of the mother in *machismo*.

...the woman, she gets married. Then the husband went to New York. And the husband say like "oh you cannot be by yourself, you have to live with my mother"...So she has to be with the mother-in-law. But they didn't have like a very nice relationship...And then the husband starts sending money to his mother, so not to his wife.

This emphasizes male dominance and control over the woman in the relationship through the insistence that she not live alone while he is in an entirely different country, and also indicated the venerating of his mother by ensuring that she is the only woman receiving payments from him. This limits women's agency and serves as a tool to keep women financially dependent on men as well. Even in a non-abusive scenario, *machismo* still serves as a tool that harms women. As previously referenced under gender in a protest context, inefficient male ally-ship can be a form of modernized *machismo* as well. In Bianca's interview, she expands on this idea.

...it has to be a lot with this space that men have in the public world. And that they sometimes do not understand that they can share...that it belongs to everyone, not just to them. So, they are very used to being the one who speaks, and to be the ones who are in the front. So, it's, sometimes it can be a matter of machismo, but other times I think it's a matter of not being aware of their privilege.

Taking up space in this way harms women since it does not allow them room to speak in the public world. Addressing *machismo* in this light points out that the factors working against women can be less obvious and directly harmful, but still influence the power that they hold under patriarchal structures.

In regard to *marianismo*, the most significant point that emerged from the data was the internalization of this gender role for women. In an extension of the story that Alejandra told

about the man who left his wife to live with his mother in law, policing the behavior of other women under gender norms in this cultural context becomes clear.

...so everything was like, ruling through the mother. And then, the mother-in-law every month, like search in the trash can of the restroom... To find out if there was a pad full of blood to make sure that her daughter-in-law wasn't having sex or getting pregnant from other guy... So you see how patriarchy even gets woman to do, to perform that kind of activities.

In this quote, Alejandra points out that patriarchal gender norms lead the mother-in-law in this scenario to closely monitor the behavior of her daughter-in-law, making sure she was not being promiscuous. These values of purity are reflected in traditional *marianismo* and are clearly reflected in this example. Alejandra also recounted her experience working with women who felt apprehensive about engaging in women's protests that were deemed too radical from an outside standpoint.

So it is weird, because how they say like there some political things that are correct to be part of, and there are some other that they say like, "oh no, because they will think that I am a lesbian..." and things like that.

This idea that reaching beyond political activism that is deemed "appropriate", perhaps falling under Molyneux's (1985) idea of practical gender interests, means that you are a lesbian is a patriarchal tool to confine women's actions. It is clear through this quote that the women Alejandra worked with had internalized this message, and it left them reluctant to engage in certain political protests. Alejandra herself even acknowledged that she struggled with a similar thought process regarding how to convey herself as a strong woman.

...I remember even on myself, when I start like rethinking on my gender identity, I thought that I have to be dressing like a man, right? ...Like, oh I have to in order to show people that I am strong, I will have short hair, and I will have a manly look, a manly dress or things like that. And then I say, no I can dress whatever I want!

Even a woman who is writing a doctoral dissertation on patriarchal structures noted that she felt as though she had to dress like a man to be perceived as strong by the greater public. This feeds

into the belief in *marianismo* that women are expected to be feminine, delicate, and passive, and Alejandra's initial thinking reflects the internalization of this gendered ideal. Beyond her personal experiences, the internalization of gender norms for women also appeared in the Facebook group page analysis. Namely, *Siempre Unidas* shared two posts that reflected this. On 13 February 2019, the page shared an image that read:

The fight against *machismo* starts with women supporting other women. Do not criticize, do not tease, do not offend, no incriminating, do not generate gossip, don't be violent, do not attack, do not humiliate, do not judge, do not exclude other women #sisterhood Friends! Let's be part of the solution and not the problem, we wouldn't like to be raped and even less to be judged for being a victim of it! #AlwaysUnited

While this post encourages women to defy these gender norms, its creation implies that there is a necessity to lead women away from shaming other women under the structure of gender expectations for women. The allusion to rape also ties back into the perpetuation of rape culture through gender norms.

These examples all suggest that the traditional gender norms of *machismo* and *marianismo* in Mexico, while frowned upon by the women that I interviewed and the protest groups that I analyzed, are alive and well in the common culture. The findings surrounding *machismo* serve as an extension of the argument that Gutmann (1996) makes that *machismo* manifests itself differently across time and geography. *Marianismo* in the way that it is defined both by Stevens (1975) as a Virgin Mary-like ideal for women and by Ehlers (1991) as a survival strategy against men's abuse and financial control appear in the data as well. These perpetuations of norms somewhat mirror the findings from Pinos et al. (2016) that indicated male and female adolescents felt that these gender stereotypes were responsible for inequality in society, but also that they had absorbed these gender roles into their own belief systems. This, however, was within an Ecuadorian context. Through the data findings in this research, the same argument may

be made in a contemporary Mexican context. The internalization of gender norms for women within a Mexican context also appears to have little to no previous literature on the topic, so this may be novel research on the topic.

CONCLUSION

I began this research eager to learn more about women's protest in Mexico, with specific interests in how performance and gender were integrated. Through the analysis of three interviews with Mexican women that have been involved in protest and three Facebook group pages for Mexican women's protest groups, I have collected important findings from the data.

In regard to performance, my most significant findings were that performative tactics are especially effective means of protest due to the fact that they are more palatable to figures of power and that performance inspires populations to get involved with protest who had not in the past and normally would not. This included individuals from both extremely affluent and privileged backgrounds *and* those who were marginalized by identities such as indigenous populations. In terms of gender, there was an observed need to create a transformative relationship with authority figures to pay attention to women's safety concerns. The importance of shared identities in women's protest to create a positive environment was emphasized in the data, pointing to the importance of collective action framing. Finally, gender roles for men and women in a Mexican context proved to still be salient in a modern context.

The connection between performance and gender in this research stood out through their respective powers to mobilize women. Performance empowered marginalized women specifically in the data, and gender served as a powerful unifying identity for women to feel some sense of comfort and/or positivity in protest. Nearly all of the performative protest tactics addressed covered gendered issues, so it is clear that overlap exists between these two. In the Literature Review section of this paper, I hypothesized a possible connection to gender as performance through this research as well. I would argue that the continued prevalence of

Mexican gender roles and norms could constitute Butler's idea of gender as a performed set of actions and behaviors, but this would likely need more in-depth research to prove significant.

In terms of future research concerns, I would suggest more scholarly insights as to why performance speaks so significantly to marginalized groups and especially indigenous women in this context. I am curious as to if this may have some connection to Mexican indigenous cultural traditions or if there are other factors at play in this connection. I also would be interested in further investigation into how best to create substantive change in corrupt public authorities, including law enforcement and political figureheads, in this context. While this text did explain performance protest as an effective technique, this was in part contingent on the fact that it was cooperative with authorities. The femicide rates in Mexico have only gone up over the last decade, with rates more than doubling since 2007 (Rueckert 2017). Obviously, some action needs to be taken regarding public policy and law enforcement.

A final point of interest that I was unable to include in my analysis was the prevalence of varying other social issues within the data. *Narco* violence, government and judicial corruption, worker's rights, environmental justice, contentions with Catholicism, and animal rights were among the other issues mentioned in the data that were not gender-specific. These, too, could serve as interesting starting points for future research into how these intersect with women's issues in a Mexican context.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

- What is your country of origin, age, educational background, and current and former occupations?
- What organizations and/or protests have you been involved with?
 - Note: if the interviewee has been involved in just one organization/protest, these questions will be modified to the singular
- Why did you initially get involved with these organizations and/or protests?
- When did you participate in the organizations/protests? And for how long?
- How large were these organizations/protests?
- Where did the protests occur?
- Were there any common phrases that were repeated as part of the organizations/protests?
If so, what were they?
- What were the primary motives of these protests?
- Were the protests specifically about gender-related issues? How was gender integrated into your protest experience, if at all?
- What parts of the protests resonated with you and why?
- How did you protest (i.e. through what means)?
- Were there any theatrical elements to the protests (i.e. costumes, dancing, guerilla theater, etc.)?
 - In your opinion, did integrating performance have any special effect on the protest?
- How did you perceive this protest to affect others?

- Describe any other elements of your overall experience being part of these organizations/protests.
- What do you perceive to be the expectations of women in your personal, cultural experience?
- Do you feel that the protests were successful in achieving their goals?
 - Specifically, those goals related to gender?
- (Depending on previous answers) How did your tactics of protest help dismantle/reinforce widely-held expectations of women?

Appendix B: Primary Source Data from Facebook Pages

COLECTIVA FEMINISTA MAR VIOLETA

Data collected and translated from: <https://www.facebook.com/colectivaFemnistaMarVioleta/>
1,523 “Likes”/Page Followers as of 23 February 2019

MISSION STATEMENT: Violet Sea Feminist Collective

We begin with a common interest, stop being invisible, not allow the machismo that surrounds us to define our actions, to be the voice of protest against the patriarchy in Tonalá, Chiapas.

POSTS

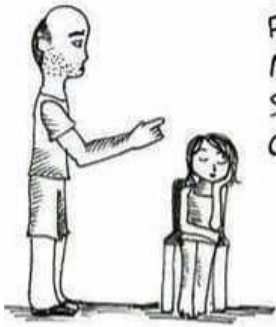
Date: 23 February 2019

Photo reads:

What happens - Daughter, you're not a little girl anymore. You have to be demure so that nothing bad happens to you. You cannot be out late or by yourself, you cannot wear short and tight clothes ...

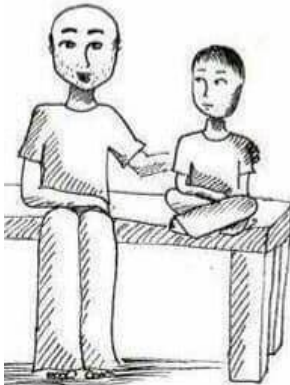
What should happen - Son, the body of a woman is exclusively hers. When she says "no" she means "no." You have to respect her because she is a human being like you.

LO QUE PASA



HIJA, YA NO SOS UNA NENA.
PARA QUE NO TE PASE NADA
FEO, TENÉS QUE SER RECATADA.
NO PODÉS SALIR TARDE NI
SOLA, NO PODÉS USAR ROPA
CORTA Y AJUSTADA...

LO QUE DEBE PASAR



HIGO, EL CUERPO DE UNA
MUJER ES EXCLUSIVAMENTE
SUYO.
CUANDO TE DICE "NO" QUIERE
DECIR "NO".
TENÉS QUE RESPETARLA
PORQUE ES UN SER HUMANO
COMO VOS.

*Tina Emery
2012*

No caption

Date: 23 February 2019

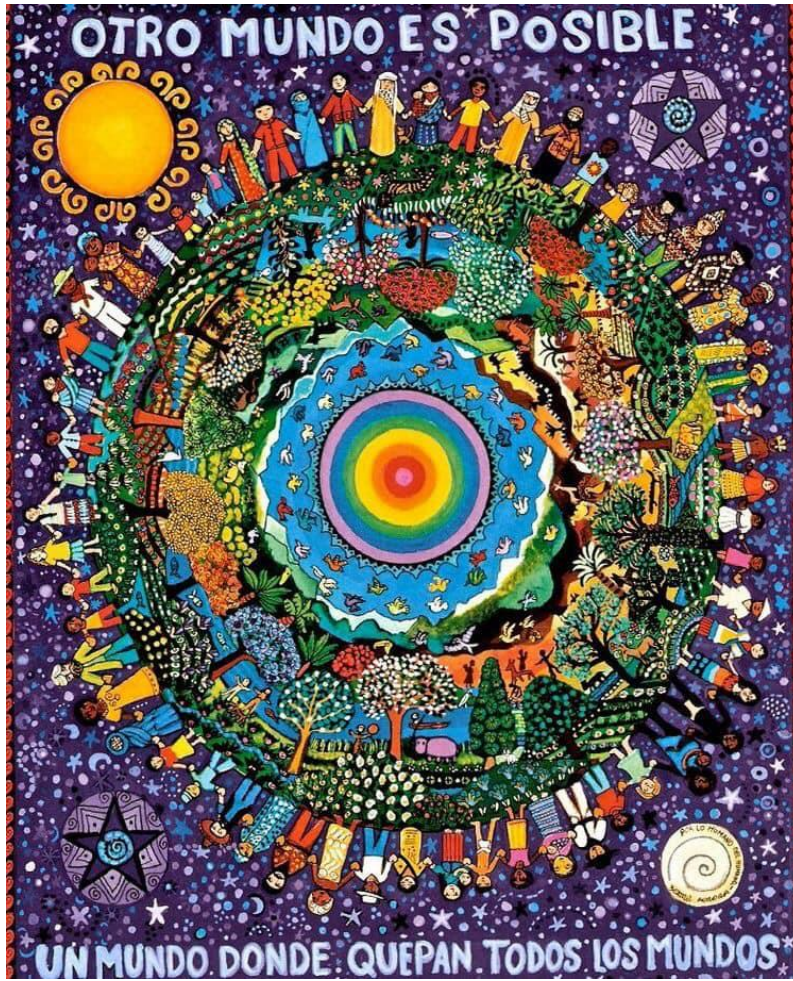
Photo reads: "Long Live Feminism 1936"



Caption reads: ALWAYS

Date: 23 February 2019

Photo reads: Another world is possible / A world where all the worlds fit



Caption reads: Another world is possible / A world where all the worlds fit

Date: 23 February 2019

Shared a video from the page “Freeda ES” of a woman being interviewed, dressed in a traditional shirt/jewelry, a blazer, and a plain skirt.

The original video caption reads: Beliza Coro is an indigenous woman, from the Puruwa culture, originally from Ecuador. She started helping her family selling vegetables on the market and now, she negotiates international contracts for new technologies: " I found in education my flag of struggle to change my life."

No caption

Date: 23 February 2019

Photo reads: Well, it’s my opinion that feminism does not represent me
Well, thanks to feminism, you are able to have an opinion [Virginia Woolf]



No caption

Date: 23 February 2019

Shared an article from El Siglo web page, headline reads Man kills and buries his three-year-old daughter in Matamoros

No caption

Date: 22 February 2019

Photo reads: Circle of women, Friday February 22 at 7pm, Cafeteria / Pastry shop "Venecia", September 16th Street, in front of the November 20 Elementary school, Tonalá Chiapas



Caption reads: What will you do today?
Come, give yourself a chance.

We are waiting for you at 7 PM

Come, if you're alone.
Come, with your friend.
Come, if you're curious.
Come, if you are not a feminist.
Come, if you are a feminist.

Fridays are violet.

Date: 22 February 2019

Shared an article from “Plumas Atómicas”, headline reads: Federal Government cancels resources for shelters for female victims of extreme violence

No caption

Date: 22 February 2019

Shared an article from “Animal Politico”, headline reads: Federal Government leaves shelters for female victims of violence without public resources

No caption

Date: 21 February 2019

Shared a post from a woman, Aless Muñoz, that includes several pictures of poster paper with text written on the sheets that say “Soy [woman’s name]” and go on to describe their account as victims of revenge porn.

Original post caption reads: “Femicide is just a small visible part of violence against girls and women, it happens as a culmination of a situation characterized by the repeated and systematic violation of women’s human rights. Its common denominator is gender: girls and women are cruelly violated by only the fact of being women and only in some cases are killed as a culmination of such public or private violence.

All this is legitimized by a hostile and degrading social perception of women. Arbitrariness and social inequality are reinforced with social and judicial impunity around crimes against women and girls.

Throughout life, girls, adolescents, female young adults, mature and old women are subjected to sexual, physical, emotional, verbal, patrimonial and symbolic assaults. Society considers this violence natural, blames girls and women, identifies them as victims of the crimes against them and exempts men; sometimes it is mocked and becomes part of the socially cultivated humor.”

I remembered these words of Marcela Lagarde while listening to and reading the cases of the fellow women who have been digitally violated and whose physical integrity has already been threatened, embodying the phrase that accompanies the initiative of #leyolimpia “the digital is real”. Attempts to rape, kidnap and murder have been omitted and made invisible by the state judicial system, whose protocols are deficient, patriarchal and re-victimizing.

A State that does not recognize violence in all its forms, will not be able to combat it; a government that omits the violence that we suffer daily as women in each of our spaces, the house, the street, the internet, is a government that strengthens rape culture and femicide.

The Congress of the state of #chiapas today has a majority of women as its population, who historically have the power to reform our constitution and criminal code to highlight the violence that we suffer daily and that can culminate by threatening our physical integrity.

For the life and freedom of women

#TheDigitalIsReal
NeitherPornNorRevenge
@ Congress of the state of Chiapas

No caption

Date: 21 February 2019

Photo reads: Circle of women, Friday February 22 at 7pm, Cafeteria / Pastry shop "Venecia",
September 16th Street, in front of the November 20 Elementary school, Tonalá Chiapas



Caption reads: See you tomorrow

Date: 21 February 2019

Shared an article from “Informador”, headline reads: Gymnast Alexa Moreno settles in the final of the World Cup

Caption reads: Do it like a girl!

Date: 21 February 2019

Shared a live video from a woman, Valeri Sastre, coming from the state congress in Chiapas at a town-hall style meeting

Original post caption reads: Opinion of the #leyolimpia in the Congress of the state of Chiapas

Caption reads: We share this link from the state Congress. About the #leyolimpia against digital violence and revenge porn <https://www.facebook.com/axul.cobain/videos/2367449586632578/>

Date: 20 February

Photo reads: The opposite of feminism is ignorance (not machismo [chauvanism])



Caption reads: This.

Date: 20 February 2019

Shared a post from the photo from “Católicas México” [Catholic Mexico]

Photo reads: Women who don’t want to have children don’t have to give explanations!

LAS MUJERES QUE NO QUIEREN TENER HIJ@S
¡NO NECESITAN DAR EXPLICACIONES!



www.CATOLICASMEXICO.ORG



Original post caption reads: No woman should have to explain why she doesn't want to be a mother. goo.gl/1kvCjP

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Shared an article from “El Sol de Chiapas”, headline reads: There are more than 120 markets of online sexual exploitation in Chiapas

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Photo reads: Circle of women, Friday February 22 at 7pm, Cafeteria / Pastry shop "Venecia", September 16th Street, in front of the November 20 Elementary school, Tonalá Chiapas



Caption reads: See you Friday at 7 PM. Free entrance.

Date: 19 February 2019

Photo reads: #PatyIsNotAlone

Ex-partner of Paty Harassed her since they ended their romantic relationship in 2014

In July of 2018, he forced his way into her home and threatened to hurt her with a firearm

On October 28th, Paty filed a complaint with the special prosecutor's office of women in the face of constant threats

In November, intimate content of her was published by social networks and sent to their relatives, friends and colleagues

In January of 2019, she received an extortion audio message requesting 200 thousand pesos to stop her intimate content being broadcast

On the 15th of January of this year, a van tried to run her over outside her home
The digital is real.

Even though Paty has made 4 complaints and suffered an attempt to be run over, the authorities have not given her a response. Intimidation, harassment and violation of her right to privacy continue. No is No.

#PatyNoEstásSola

La ex pareja de Paty la acosa y hostiga desde que finalizaron su relación sentimental en **2014**.

El **28 de octubre** Paty presentó una denuncia ante la Fiscalía Especial de la Mujer ante las amenazas constantes.

En **enero de 2019**, recibió un audio de extorsión pidiéndole 200 mil pesos para que su contenido íntimo deje de ser difundido.

En **julio de 2018**, se introdujo por la fuerza a su domicilio y amenazó con lastimarla con una arma de fuego.

En **noviembre**, contenido íntimo de ella fue divulgado por redes sociales y enviado a sus familiares, amistades y compañeros.

El **15 de enero de este año** una camioneta intentó atropellarla afuera de su domicilio.

LO VIRTUAL ES REAL

A pesar de que Paty ha realizado 4 denuncias y sufrió un intento de atropellamiento, las autoridades no le han dado una respuesta. La intimidación, hostigamiento y violación a su derecho a la intimidad continúan.

No es No

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Photo reads: Women are not rehabilitation centers

las mujeres
no son
centros de
rehabilitación

@la.amerillista

No caption

Date: 18 February 2019

Shared a photo from a woman, Arely Torres-Miranda.

Photo reads: Love yourself even when you are alone, when nobody believes in you, always love yourself. Love yourself.



Original caption reads: #GoodAndFeministDays

No caption

Date: 18 February 2019

Photo reads: We all have a friend that her abuser called crazy.

Everyone has a friend who talks about how his ex was crazy woman.

We all know some woman who has been or is a victim of gender violence.

No man knows any abuser.



La Hipogrifa
@LaHipogrifa

Todas tenemos una amiga a la que su maltratador llamaba loca.

Todos tienen un amigo que habla de la loca de su ex.

Todas conocemos a alguna mujer que ha sido o es víctima de violencia de género.

Ningún hombre conoce a ningún maltratador.

15:43 · 19/1/19 · Twitter for Android

No caption

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared a post from a woman, Ariana M. Perez, that is a collection of screenshots from a Facebook page called “Stolen Used G-Strings, We Want Anonymous Contributions 2”. The screenshots include pictures of these underwear with captions detailing that the men who posted them had stolen them from relatives of theirs (niece, daughter, granddaughter, etc.) and were using them for sexual gratification.

Original caption reads: I found this page on Facebook, and I'm very angry about how disgusting these men can become, how sad that they do these things, that they express themselves like this about their daughters, granddaughters, nieces, etc., it's disgusting, demeaning, and very fucked up, I already reported the page but I don't think a single report is enough, help report it.

Caption reads: When you have to take care of your dad

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared an article from “Diario de Chiapas”, headline reads: “They raped a woman!” about how a woman had been raped by two men.

No caption

Date: 15 February 2019

Photo reads: Circle of women, The Myth of Romantic Love

Date and time: Friday February 15, 2019 6pm, Cafeteria / Pastry shop "Venecia", September 16th Street, in front of the November 20 Elementary school, Tonalá Chiapas. Invited by Violet Sea Feminist Collective



No caption

Date: 14 February 2019

Post reads: Today our friend Tati was on the radio talking about myths of romantic love, a while later she was persecuted by a stranger, just for walking, just for being a woman; just because they think we are available to take when they please, just because they know they are protected by an incompetent authority, for an absent and deficient justice.

From the wall of Tati Na:

"I come from the radio. It was easiest for me to walk towards the first Oxxo [convenience store chain] of the boulevard. Because I had to deposit. It's my right to walk down the street. I come from a women's program. To talk to women. To build for women.

Two more streets down I encountered a kind of Blue T-shirt [wearing-person, implying a type of man]. He told me about things, disgusting as always, he turned around when I started running. I could run fast for two more blocks. I thought I didn't get to the Plus model. I'm tired, very tired of the same thing to survive, to relive these moments.

I say this, so that you know that this can happen to all of us, that the day I act to defend myself with what I have. Don't call me violent.
I'm tired of you for telling me I'm dramatic, I'm tired of your guys' shit."

Date: 14 February 2019

Posted a video of three people (one man, two women) giving an introduction to their radio show that they are hosting on the myths of romantic love.

No caption

Date: 14 February 2019

Posted a link to the radio station website that reads: Extremo Tonalá [Extreme Tonalá] 101.5 FM – Radio Nucleo

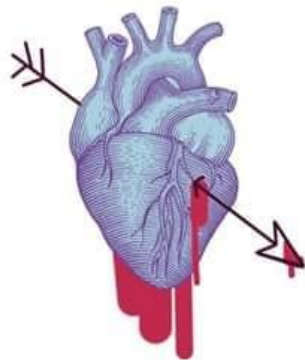
Caption reads: Listen to us at 6:30 pm.

The Myths of romantic love

[Www.radionucleo.com/tonala/](http://www.radionucleo.com/tonala/)

Date: 14 February 2019

Photo reads: Romantic love kills



**EL AMOR
ROMÁNTICO
MATA**

No caption

Date: 13 February 2019

Photo reads: We want to live! Danger! The general prosecutor's office and the judiciary of the state of Chiapas are releasing [committees of] femicides!



No caption

Date: 13 February 2019

Shared post from the page “Gráfico Chiapas”, with two photos side by side of a woman listing a car and a drawing of superwoman lifting a car.

Original caption reads: Yesterday in #Brazil, a plane crashed over the cabin of a truck, causing a collision, which instantly took the life of those who were on that plane (among them, journalist Ricardo Boechat) and leaving the truck driver between the irons.

What no one says about this accident is that a woman did not hesitate to pounce on the twisted iron of the truck to save the driver's life. While 5 men were spectators, recording with their mobile phones. Today everyone talks about the unfortunate accident, but no one about this woman and her immediate capacity to act.

I just hope, that in the world every time there are more than two things:

1. People on earth, not glued to a screen.
2. Women in the world.

Caption reads: "Her name is Leiliane Rafael da Silva, she is 29 years old, and on social networks they already consider her as a superhero.

Brazilian Illustrator Angelo France made a drawing from the video in which da Silva appears with Joao Adroaldo Tomanckeves, 52, who was injured in the accident.

Leiliane, who from her bike close to the crash of the helicopter, runs to save the life of the truck driver caught in the accident. A strong woman, of courage, who risks her life while the men around her only cared about recording, instead of helping ", writes the illustrator in a Facebook message shared more than 1.500 times."

Source: Actualidad.Rt.Com

Date: 13 February 2019

Shared a video compilation of photos and video clips from an event they held the previous Saturday, which includes footage of an introduction to feminism class, as well as women marching, chanting, and playing music in a protest march against violence in the region.

Caption reads: We share this compilation of photos of the event of Saturday, many thanks to all who attended!!!... we hope to see you soon at more events.

Date: 13 February 2019

Photo reads: Circle of women, The Myth of Romantic Love

Date and time: Friday February 15, 2019 6pm, Cafeteria / Pastry shop "Venecia", September 16th Street, in front of the November 20 Elementary school, Tonalá Chiapas. Invited by Violet Sea Feminist Collective



Caption reads: See you Friday at 6PM. Free entrance.

Date: 13 February 2019

Free Femicide

Jimmy Villatoro acquitted for Wendy Lizeth's femicide

#JusticeForWendy

MUJERES NUEVO LEÓN

Data collected and translated from: <https://www.facebook.com/Mujeres-Nuevo-Le%C3%B3n-1483382291977349/>

2,578 “Likes”/Page Followers as of 23 February 2019

MISSION STATEMENT/“ABOUT”: Women of Nuevo León

All rights for women. No more no less.

POSTS

Date: 23 February 2019

Shared a post by a woman, Magdalena Garcia Hernandez. Original post reads:

LOOK AND LOOK URBAN THINKERS

We express our concern for the dismantling of women's substantive equality policy; whose weakness and simulation should be replaced by powerful strategies, programs and actions.

#NotWithoutWomen #SustainableDevelopmentOnlyWithWomen @lopezobrador_ @m_ebrard

Mr. President, in December we acted arguing why not reduce or disappear the budgets of the annex for equality between women and men; We managed to recover some lines that were soon published in the Budget of Expenditures of the Federation (PEF) Decree, which you have now forgotten or changed political sentiment in a way that does not meet the needs and interests of women.

About this, we have written in this space in the same way for the case of the Day Care Centers, with the arguments that support why we said NO to your proposal. Today we only see the precariousness of this, because in 2007 it was assigned 700 pesos per girl / month per month, however, now 12 years later you decided that, in 2019, 800 pesos per girl / month will be allocated per month.

A program that was born deficient because in the surrogate nurseries (which are not these), they were granted these 4 times more per girl / or per month. Early childhood education is a recognized right of girls and boys, which integrates: care, safety and professionalized early stimulation that cannot always be granted in the family, because women also have the right—in many cases, a huge need—to integrate into paid work.

As we already wrote to you today, yesterday, the Shelters were dissolved, and we explained in a long and sustained manner the seriousness of this fact. The suspension of subsidies for Refugee shelters puts women, girls and boys who are victims of violence, mainly in families in poverty, in distress as we have already stated. We expect a comprehensive care policy for this serious problem that complies with the Law and the normative framework inscribed in our Constitution.

Now our call for attention is about the Social Co-Investment Program (PCS) of INDESOL that we had managed to recover in the PEF Decree; you have decided to disregard it, which means not addressing the irreducibility of this budget indicated in Article 58, third fraction , fourth paragraph of the FEDERAL LAW OF BUDGET AND RESPONSIBILITY, which to the letter says: "No reductions can be made to the budgetary programs nor to the investments directed to the attention of the Equality between Women and Men ..."

The disappearance of the Social Co-Investment Program is worrying without the presentation of a public policy alternative to redirect gender equality policies. Since, if women's poverty is not addressed, it will be difficult to eradicate the misery and poverty of the country, which is the purpose of the Mexican government and of all Mexicans. The CSOs [Civil Society Organizations] have formed a fundamental, human and professional ally for working with vulnerable groups. The strategy would be to strengthen it and redirect it in the new government policy, never to remove it.

Mexico is committed to the mandates and guidelines of the 2030 / ODS global agenda, like the State, Nation and Citizenship. The biggest challenge is "locating the global", which implies ensuring that ordinary women and men see how those postulates, principles, hopes and utopias on Peace, Security, the Right to a free life of Violence, are shared by the global village.

Mexico has been actively involved in the New Global Agenda, is a globally recognized advocate in the defense of rights when these frameworks are built within the United Nations, "street lamp", our ambassadors tell us in global meetings, in an act of camaraderie and complicity of the cross-border government-society relationship in which the horizons of the possible expand. And so, we want to continue in the global movement and achieve coherence with what happens in the bowels of our homeland, where the government deploys a real commitment to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, ODS 2030, through compliance with the agendas that make it possible.

The New Urban Agenda, the Sendai Framework on disaster risk reduction, the Paris Agreement for the protection of the environment, the Addis Ababa Action Program for financing for development and the Marrakesh Global Pact for Safe Migration, Ordered and Regular, are road maps that contain the proposals of civilizational change from the multiplicity of cosmovisions that are ours, built and agreed upon recently, through global participatory processes of which we were a part. A government that fulfills its commitment to the Montevideo Strategy for the implementation of the regional gender agenda in the framework of sustainable development by 2030, the Vienna Conference and the recognition of women's human rights, the Beijing Platform that highlighted the relevance of instances and mechanisms for the security and advancement of women. With the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, "Convention of Belém Do Para", the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities of 2006, among others.

It is this global framework from where the needs and demands of a dignified life for women and their ways to cope with it were placed, which were also efforts of civil society and its organizations. Mexico has also made efforts to incorporate itself into the OECD's orbit and this requires supreme drive to guarantee the rights and freedoms of women, as citizens and actors of economic growth and sustainable development.

We are convinced that the work of the vast majority of CSOs is invaluable because it complements and enriches governmental action, because the level of professionalism to which we have been subject to access public funds without privileges has filled us with experience, technical capacity and good workmanship that helps governments to develop and extend their management [structure].

Our work is part of the creation of citizenship, is a requirement of democratic governance, allows for the transformation of government policies into public policies, broadens the links with the affected populations, brings knowledge of the global world, contributes to the rendering of

accounts, that improves the government's work and is a human right of which we cannot be deprived.

Caption reads: INDISPENSABLE READING Themes: Day care centers and shelters for women living violence.

Date: 22 February 2019

Shared an article from “El Diario”, headline reads: “The Pope: ‘All feminism ends up being a machismo with a skirt’”

Caption reads: Machismo with a skirt is that of his [lordship]. Sometimes I would like to believe that he is a smart man, but then I hear his statements and it is clear that he is a simple male chauvinist

Date: 22 February 2019

Shared a post with two pictures from “Red Nacional de Refugios A.C.” [National Network of Refugees AC] one with notification of the suspended policy for refuge shelters for women, and one with text describing the harm it causes.

Original caption reads: More than 20 thousand women have been put at risk per suspension of federal grant for shelters and external care centers for women and infant victims of violence!

Women's lives can't be kept at risk!

Martha Tagle

Secretaría de Gobernación

Carlos Loret de Mola

@CarmenAristeguiOficial

Denise Dresser

Ciro Gómez Leyva

SemMéxico

Cimacnoticias

Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social - Cencos

National Human Rights Commission (Cndh)

Comisión de Igualdad de Género; LXIII Legislatura Comisión de Atención a Grupos

Vulnerables, H. Cámara de Diputados

No caption

Date: 20 February 2019

Shared a video from “Spotlight” that reads: “When they say you fight like a girl” [in English], video content is a young, white girl performing well-executed karate techniques.

No caption

Date: 20 February 2019

Shared a Video from “ONEA Mexico” [National Anticorruption Agency] that is a slideshow of images with captions about a corruption scandal with the national Tax Administration Service [SAT]

Original caption reads: In the past six years, corrupt officials of the SAT hired Cepra, a company unable to sign contracts with the public administration for giving false information, which "paid" a thousand 176 million pesos for phantom services.

No caption

Date: 20 February 2019

Shared a tweet from a man, Arturo Zaldivar.

Original tweet reads: “Acts of corruption and inexcusable negligence will not be tolerated, especially in sexual crimes against women and minors. I demonstrate with facts my commitment in the transformation of the #PJF.” This is a response to another tweet from CJF [Federal Judicature Council] that reads: “#Communicate The @CJF_Mx dismisses the Federal Judge for corruption. Jurisdictional decisions must generate a social change through their precedents, never be subject to particular or economic interests. Zero tolerance of this collegiate and its President @ArturoZaldivarL”

No caption

Date: 20 February 2019

Shared a video posted by a woman, Stephanie Carl Greene, of an elderly woman of color playing the electric guitar.

Original caption reads: She rocks!!! BEVERLY GUITAR WATKINS!! #almost80 #rocklikeagirl #lrcatl [in English]

No caption

Date: 20 February 2019

Shared a photo from the page “Mujeres libres” (Free women)

Photo reads: Feminists make me tiiiired [sic]

Go take a nap then, because it’s going to get worse



Original caption reads: Look how we put # LookHowWePutOn #FeministMovement #green #feminist #FreeWomen

No caption

Date posted: 20 February 2019

Shared a post from "Sin Embargo MX" [Without embargo], including an article and caption. Headline reads: "The SCJN [First Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation] revokes sentence against the journalist Carmen Aristegui for moral damage to the owner of MVS [new station]"

Original caption reads: The SCJN overturned the judgement for moral damage imposed by a federal court to journalist Carmen Aristegui, derived from her complaint about the entrepreneur Joaquín Vargas, owner of MVS.

No caption

Date Posted: 20 February 2019

Shared an article from "La Stampa", headline reads: The Pope: he who spends his life accusing the Church is a relative of the devil

No caption

Date posted: 20 February 2019

Shared a post from "El Pais America" [The country of America], headline reads: The judge of Los Porkys was dismissed for corruption, the pedophilia case that outraged Mexico"

Original caption reads: In March 2017, judge Anwar González Hemadi issued a protection to protect one of 'the porkys', the four young people accused of raping a minor in Veracruz, Mexico. However, the council of the judiciary has decided to dismiss the judge, because he ensures that his decisions may have been subject to "personal or economic interests"

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Shared a link from "El Economista" [The Economist], headline for link reads: Who does the gender perspective impede?

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Shared a post from a man, Tim Mitchell, including several photos of table displays in a large room, with different plate settings and women's names embroidered on the tablecloths
Original caption reads [in English]: The Dinner Party by Judy Chicago @ the Brooklyn Museum - it represents 1,038 women in history—39 women are represented by place settings and another 999 names are inscribed in the Heritage Floor

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Shared a post by "Sin Embargo MX" including an article and caption. Headline reads: Students of Faculty of Sciences (UNAM) accuse that they record them in the bathrooms and videos go to porn site

Original caption: UNAM students reported that a pornographic website will find videos recorded of them in the bathrooms of the faculty of sciences by people who climb on women's toilets and spy them.

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Shared a post from a woman, Pola Peña Molina, of an article from "Sem Mexico" [Women's special service], with headline and caption.

Headline reads: The transversality axis should be included in the PND of the current administration: Marcela Eternod Arámburu

Original caption reads: "after analyzing the first guidelines on the national development plan, she highlighted the importance of realizing that the gender mainstreaming is not included, it is now a recommendation of the governing body of the gender policy of the republic." Marcela Eternod

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Shared a post from a woman, Pola Peña Molina, of a link from "Incidencia Social" [social impact], with caption.

Original caption reads: What's happening...

This February 18th is the open Parliament: gendered political violence. Space has been opened to activists, experts, officials and popular representatives. We look forward to advertising the debate and the concrete proposals to end this practice.

+ info <https://www.canaldelcongreso.gob.mx/EnVivo/5c6ac6ecac5dc02f1c4a9e21>

The INE created the network of women elected for those who participated in the electoral process 2017-2018, in order to inform and advise on possible cases of political violence for gendered reasons. Information will also be provided for the public in general. Do you know if your congresswoman, Senator, municipal president or mayor has already joined? We hope that the reports of the cases will be published and that it is possible to draw a comprehensive care route that leaves an institutional precedent.

+ info <https://twitter.com/INEMexico/status/1094412636173860865>

Senator Blanca Estela Piña proposed on February 13 that political violence for gendered reasons is included in the catalogue of infringements of the general law of electoral institutions and procedures, including in the perpetrators not only to (pre) candidates, but also to citizens, public officials, institutions, electoral authorities and worship ministers.

+Info <http://comunicacion.senado.gob.mx/index.php/informacion/boletines/43635-necesario-acabar-con-violencia-politica-de-genero-blanca-estela-pina.html>

On the 15th of February, the "Mexican women's day" was commemorated, which has happened since 1960 by the initiative of the playwright and writer Maruxa Vilalta. Do you think it's a date that we have appropriated to demand a dignified life or is it a commemoration that reaffirms gender roles?

+ info <https://www.gob.mx/impi/articulos/15-de-febrero-dia-de-la-mujer-mexicana-147653>

No caption

Date: 19 February 2019

Shared a post by the page "Enrique Stola", including an article and caption.

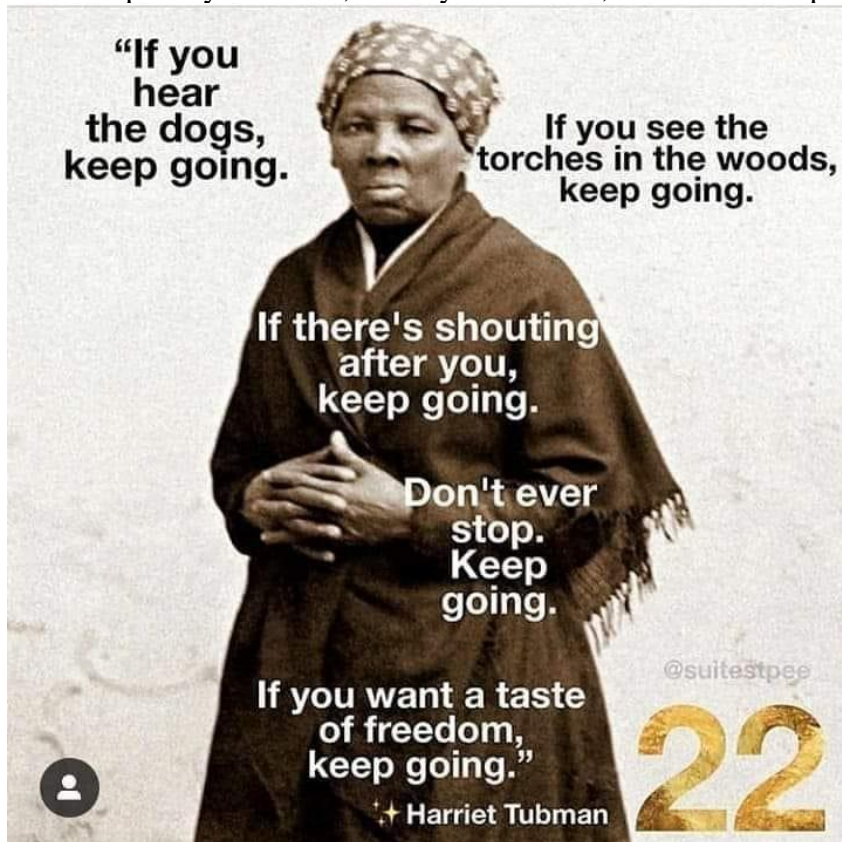
Headline of article reads: Suicide of Macho-Violents

Original caption reads: There are many men who murder women, sons and daughters and then commit suicide. They don't do it for fear of jail or fear of a social conviction. They have been legitimized in their conduct for forever, what fear they will have? What worries and anguishes them is the loss of meaning of their lives when they cannot exercise domination over that woman-object that allowed them to stay psychologically structured. In Patriarchal society women are the affective support of boys and give them security. Let them be him. Affective support doesn't mean those men love them. They are a necessary object and in doing so they take on an affective value for the psyches of the person who dominates. The enjoyment of the exercise of domination over a woman is not love.

No caption

Date: 18 February 2019

Shared a post by a woman, Shelley Henderson, that includes a photo and caption in English



Original caption reads: Keep going!

No caption

Date: 18 February 2019

Shared a post by "Verificado", including a picture and caption.

Photo reads: Verificado

2018 State Journalism Award – Digital journalism

Thank you so much!



Original caption reads: Guess who we won the 2018 State Journalism Award in the digital journalism category?

We thank the association of journalists of Nuevo León AC, this distinction and especially to you, our dear audience, for building this project with us day after day.

Many thanks and celebrations!

Caption reads: Very deserved, girls! Congratulations.

Date: 17 February 2019

Shared a post from the page “Cátedra Alfonso Reyes”, including picture and caption. Photo shows a middle-aged woman standing next to a banner, dressed professionally.



Original caption: The Director of Cátedra Alfonso Reyes was awarded the Regional 2019 Trophy. In its tenth edition, the editor of Regio.com gave the prize to 10 featured new lionesses. The Dr. Ana Laura Santamaría was distinguished with the trophy for her contribution to the cultural promotion in front of the Cátedra Alfonso Reyes of Monterrey Technology. The Poet Minerva Margarita Villareal was responsible for delivering the trophy.

Caption reads: Congratulations, dear friend Ana Laura Santamaria

Date: 17 February 2019

Shared a post from the page "Psic. Olga González", including a photo and caption. The photo is of Yalitza Aparicio and Marina de Tavira, two stars of the Oscar-nominated film Roma.



Original caption reads: Open letter to Yalitza Aparicio and Marina De Tavira:

Yalitza: Honestly, I have been holding for weeks the desire to answer each of the racist and classist comments, among others, that have been sent to you on social networks or in which you have been tagged. Messages that are disguised as "humble opinions", but that are nothing other than comments loaded with aggressiveness and ignorance, direct attacks not only on your performance as an actress (that the experts at the international level are taking care of evaluating), But also to your personhood, to your skin color, your roots... what makes me feel anger and sadness. And this even goes beyond, because they have gotten into a land as private as that of your mind and questioning if you deserve the recognition, glory and happiness that thanks to your effort and talent you are enjoying at this moment of your life. There are so many messages; some explicit and others, symbolic. But at the end of the day, all are aggression, attacks on the entire extension of the word.

So, this is the reason why I have been thinking about you for many days. I wonder how you will feel when facing these comments, how you will be coping with this world that is revealed to you, with its beautiful nuances and with the dark side of humanity. I thought you have Cuarón [the director], Marina, and they are surely surrounded by intelligent and sensitive people who are supporting you emotionally, so I concluded that writing these words was not necessary, although later, reflecting, I remembered that many times women can be stronger, smarter activists,

educated and revolutionary, unfortunately we cannot detect or stop internalizing critical voices that invalidate us, attack us and, somehow, manage to sneak into our minds making us feel insecure, they manage to settle in a deep place in our hearts and we believe them, we begin to question ourselves about whether we really deserve success, recognition, well-being, prosperity And finally destroy our dreams.

This is why I decided to raise my voice and join those other people that think you are enough, that you are worthy to be visible, recognized, and if the experts so decide, to be awarded. Because, Yalitza, the voices that are committed to telling us that as much as we strive we will never be beautiful or valuable or prepared to succeed are historical voices, are many and are everywhere, we are constantly beaten to submit to them. That is why, those who stand against those repressive ideas must be more, we must express ourselves more strongly and from all trenches.

I write to express my solidarity and my respects. To see that daring to dream in the midst of poverty and oblivion is not easy, making piñatas to pay for your studies, leaving your comfort zone and venturing into a completely foreign world is admirable. "I don't know how to express my feelings", you told Cuarón. "my family doesn't know when I'm sad, angry, or when I cried". Here you will learn, he told you. That was enough for you. There are those who say that you played yourself, that that was easy...don't listen to them, they dare to criticize you with their ignorance and classism, because you didn't clean houses, you did piñatas, and studied to be a teacher And even if it was. There are people, Yalitza, that no matter how many trips they make, they have not conquered the most important world, which is the interior, and they believe that those who do not look like them and they, instead, look like an average Mexican, surely they clean up houses (a very worthy job, by the way). They didn't even bother to find out who you are or what you were doing, they just took it for granted. I imagine you there, acting, trying to look calm in front of thirty or forty people, between microphones, producers giving you instructions, noise, and you focused, like every actress; you even tried to learn another language, the Mixtec, because you didn't master it. You tried, beat your fears and gave us an interpretation full of emotions expressed.

This letter also addressed to you, Marina de Tavira, who played a solidary and human woman in Roma, a character that undoubtedly you surpass in real life, because we saw you take the hand of your partner Yalitza, a gesture that seemed to say: We are together, do not be afraid. And in each gala, you even translated. You know, sometimes I think the tabloid press would have liked to see them fight, resentful of the attention one or the other has had, but you, Marina, broke paradigms and sent a powerful message to the world: sisterhood. Thank you for doing it. You fill me with emotion and hope, you make me believe that as women together we can, that we need to be more sure of ourselves, that there is room for all, because when you help another human being, your light does not diminish, but multiplies. Marina, in addition to living your dream, to give us a splendid performance, you are sending a message to many women in the world: we have the responsibility to support and link profoundly with the most disadvantaged women. This commitment becomes a wonderful opportunity for personal growth, satisfaction for making a more equitable world for all.

Yalitza, millions of girls and women around the world are watching you, make us believe that it is possible, that we can dare to reach our dreams, believe that stereotypes can be broken. I don't know what's going on in your mind right now. I heard you say you want to go to villages more disadvantaged than yours to promote art, especially to children, since parents believe art is a waste of time. I've also heard you say you don't know if you're still in the acting race. Well, I want you to know that you decide what you decide to do with your life, you have already given us a master class of how to take and create an opportunity and make dreams come. So, thank you, teacher Aparicio.

Marina and Yalitza, Mexican sisters, with great pride we will witness you step through the red carpet. It is important that you know that they are not alone; at the time of getting down from the great limousine, please close your eyes for a second and feel the strength and company of millions of girls and women that in spirit will walk with you, because as Mexican women and men triumph in the world, you are also worthy ambassadors of our greatest dreams. From all of my heart: thank you!

Ippc. Olga Gonzalez

No caption

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared a video from the page “Unidad para la Igualdad de Género - H. Cámara de Diputados” (Unity for Gender Equality - H. Chamber of Deputies) about female inventors through history.

Original caption reads: Exhibition: "Female Inventors."

Recovers the history of women in science.

from 11 to 15 February.

Organize: Mexican Association of museums and science and technology centers.

Location: Cámara De Diputados-H. Congreso de la Unión

Don't miss it!

#LegislateForEquality

No caption

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared a video post from “ONU Mexico Women” [UN Women, Mexico] with stereotypes/insults being directed at an animated woman, highlighting the lack of gender equality.

Original caption: Equality will only be a reality if we eliminate sexist stereotypes.

No caption

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared a photo from a man, Lucio Gilarranz Merino

Photo reads: Books, minds, and umbrellas on serve a purpose if they are opened



No caption

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared a post from "Prensa Cimac", including a photo and caption.

Photo reads: Sister, I do believe you -



Original caption reads: Once again the PGJ CDMX leaked data from women's research folders that were victims of attempts of deprivation of liberty in the vicinity of the Metrocdmx, exposing them to situations of risk and assaults, denounced Zúe Valenzuela, one of the complainants of attempted disappearances. <https://bit.ly/2BBXud8>

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared an article posted by “Mujeres por la igualdad” [Women for equality].

Headline reads: Women in music, silenced by gender inequality

Original caption reads: "the differences between men and women in the musical industry are abysmal, especially in the field of classical music. Discriminated against, underrepresented, with unfair salaries, women artists and songwriters want to leave the shadow in which they have been subjected forever. Women from all over the world fight to change the paradigm and voices are starting to listen"

No caption

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared an article from “Actualidad.RT”

Headline reads: They uncover more than 700 cases of sexual abuse in US Baptist Church

No caption

Date: 16 February 2019

Shared a post from the “Centro de Apoyo y Capacitación para Trabajadoras del Hogar” [Support and Training Center for Domestic Workers].

Caption reads: We condemn the racist, classist and misogynist expression used by the actor Sergio Goyri to refer to Yalitza Aparicio. Calling a woman this [a racial slur] just because she is

an indigenous person who represented domestic workers is not recognizing what our work means and the rights that domestic workers have. It is important for us to remind Mr. Goyri and all the people who read and follow us that:

1. In Mexico there are 2.4 million domestic workers; 2.2 million are women. More than half of the indigenous women in Mexico City work in the home.
2. We are still a marginalized sector: we work without regulation and without respect for our labor rights (almost 50% work without fixed hours, 70% receive less than two minimum wages, 92% do not have social security, we have days of work up to 12 hours).
3. Household work supports Mexican society and families.
4. 97% of us live discrimination

Therefore, expressions like Mr. Goyri's should not be repeated. We celebrate that after 20 years of struggle, today we are a society capable of making these forms of discrimination visible and that more and more we are raising our voices against these manifestations.

"Discrimination is a complex phenomenon that manifests itself concretely in exclusion and lack of social cohesion, and also manifests itself subjectively in sociocultural representations, stereotypes, traditions and stigmas, as well as in symbolic manifestations of inequity that do not necessarily have a direct link with the material conditions of life of the people ". Székely, 2006.

Indigenous women and domestic workers have rights. We make an invitation to those who read us to recognize our work and to recognize ourselves as people; the film Roma has set a precedent for the Domestic Workers, although we are not actresses and we cannot speak from a criticism of that professional work, we express our deep appreciation to Yalitza Aparicio for making a portrait of us and our work, work that we It has allowed, as a union and struggle organization, to put the #WorkHelp on the public agenda to carry out deep transformations in Mexico.

Sincerely,

National Union of Domestic Workers

Support and Training Center for Domestic Workers

No caption

Date: 15 February 2019

Shared a link to an animate GIF, showing animated rockets going off behind drawings of the three main characters from the film "Hidden Figures" in the "Rosie the Riveter" pose
Screenshot:



No caption

Date: 15 February 2019

Shared a post by “Red MIRA Pensadoras Urbanas” [MIRA Network of Urban Thinkers], including an article and caption.

Headline reads: Spreading North

Original caption reads: I am in the last phase of my candidacy to preside over the National Institute for Women, a process that has followed a path of good practices that will be an important reference in our daily actions.

I invite you to know my proposed plan <http://difusionnorte.com/27750-2/>

Caption reads: Do you know Magdalena Garcia Hernandez? I do, and she is a first-order expert in policies with gender perspective.

Date: 15 February 2019

Shared a post from Pola Peña Molina, with photo of the orange and purple logo for a business called “12624 Consultoras” [consultants]



Original caption reads: With great satisfaction, I present the members of 12624
CONSULTORAS, SC

About us?

We are a consultancy firm committed to justice, equality, democracy and electoral integrity in Mexico and the world. We firmly believe that a strong region requires a solid, inclusive, equal democracy, to which we want to continue contributing. Whoever we integrate, we have put our commitment, personal commitment and professional work for many years, from the academy, electoral institutions, mechanisms for the advancement of women or international human rights organizations.

<http://www.12624consultoras.com/>

No caption

Date: 13 February 2019

Shared a post from “Mundo Verde” [Green World]

Photo reads: This February 14th, Gift Sustainably

Give flowers in a pot, it lasts longer and takes care of the planet

Organic Soaps from natural ingredients

An organic fruit basket is a nice detail

Gift energy efficient electrical appliances, like solar chargers

Avoid giving disposable things; do not buy cards that you know will end up in the trash

Wrap your gifts in recycled paper, newspapers, magazines, or reusable bags

Avoid giving balloons, each year 8 million tons of plastic end up in the ocean



Original caption reads: This February 14 don't give balloons! And look for recyclable or paper wraps. A pot is a nice detail

Caption reads: Don't play the game of consumerism anymore. Make love to the planet.

SIEMPRE UNIDAS

Data collected and translated from: <https://www.facebook.com/siempreunidasPlaya/>
441 "Likes"/Page Followers as of 23 Feb 2019

MISSION STATEMENT: Always United Collective

It is a collective created by several women of different ages and from different countries that live in Quintana Roo, it was conceived in February 2018 because of the need to combat the growing violence that we are experiencing in our state and in Mexico, we believe that union [of us]

creates the strength, so we have invited other groups/collectives to join, including the group "Today for them [women], tomorrow for everyone" since everyone is welcome. We want to be part of a network of actions that lead us to live in a safer and more tolerant world, keeping us informed and united around what is happening in our community is very important to create alerts, as well as to demand the authorities to take action in the matter. We have organized several peaceful marches in Playa del Carmen, made requests to the government, and we have also asked for justice for the recent cases of assaults and femicides that have occurred in our community. We are a new group that we want to help take relevant actions for a change in our society, you can be part of this group, we need as many women and men as possible to join so that our voice is stronger, our claim is heard and can generate a change in laws and policies, in social practices and in culture. Our goal is to end gender violence from its root. For a Quintana Roo free of violence and a better Country.

POSTS

Date: 23 February 2019

March 8 marks the International Women's Day, which was born as a wake-up call to the injustices that women workers lived in 1857. This reality has not changed much. In Quintana Roo and in the rest of the country, it is increasingly common to find out about the many injustices that women close to us or even ourselves; These violences [sic] go through us regardless of our social class, race, age, sexual preference or educational level, we aa ALL Violations, femicides and harassment in different spaces are situations that we live with every day. Today, Mexico is one of the 20 most dangerous countries to be a woman in the world. Today we say ENOUGH!

We call for a peaceful march in Playa del Carmen to make visible the struggle of women in the world, and demand a halt to violence. We do not want more abuses or deaf authorities, we want justice and we shout for those who are no longer here!

See you at 5:30 pm at the junction of 5th Avenue with Av. CTM to walk to the old Municipal Palace, where we will deliver a petition request addressed to Governor Carlos Joaquín. Arm your banners, come with your family and friends! We suggest orange garments, the distinctive color of the fight against gender violence.

This day is not a party, it is a fight and protest!
If they touch one, WE ALL RESPOND
OrganizedWeStopViolence
NotOneLess
WeWanttoLive

Date: 23 February 2019

A video from TEDxRiodelaPlata titled: "Why women stay silent after a sexual attack"
Caption reads: We have to break the silence! Let's report! Let's demand justice! Silence IS NOT GOLDEN! #AlwaysUnited

Date: 22 February 2019

Photo reads: Not one +, Not one -, Friday Feb 22 we are waiting for you in the square July 28 in front of the municipal palace Playa del Carmen, Q Roo 7:00 P.M.



It's today! The "Discussion about femicides in Mexico", a year following the murder of #viancamorenolabastida, we invite you to join this talk, where they will give us important information, we must support and spread it!!! #JusticeforViancaMorenoLabastida #Alwaysunited

Date: 21 February 2019

A video of Vianca Labastida's mother giving an emotional speech about her daughter's death and the violence against women in Mexico at a candlelight vigil. There is a banner with the Siempre Unidas logo on it in the vigil.

Caption reads: Today we join the pain of a mother, the desperate cry of justice, today we don't stay silent. Why are women dead and men free? This is not a fight between men and women, this is a fight between good and bad. Unite! "Today they are those who will not sleep quiet, because we do not forget what they did"...

#NotOneLess

#JusticeForViancaMorenoLabastida

#FemicideNationalEmergency

#AlwaysUnited

Date: 21 February 2019

Photo reads:

Women in Struggle. Call to women illustrators, designers, and artists to create visual content with a gendered perspective (protest, messages, consciousness, etc.). All of the material will be uploaded to a drive folder through the following link: [link] You can participate with material such as: sticker, poster, flyer, stencil, these are ideas but don't limit yourself. Specifications for files. Size: Tabloid (11 x 17 inches). The design can occupy all the space or you can arrange your design several times so that it occupies the whole space. Format: PDF. The call will be open from 18th of February to 1st of March. We invite you to print, cut, and stick everywhere!

MUJERES EN LUCHA

CONVOCA

A MUJERES ILUSTRADORAS,
DISEÑADORAS Y ARTISTAS,
A CREAR CONTENIDO VISUAL CON
PERSEPECTIVA DE GÉNERO
(PROTESTA, MENSAJE, CONCIENTIZACIÓN, ETC.)

PLAYA DEL CARMEN Todo el material se subirá a una carpeta DRIVE
a través del siguiente link:
<https://drive.google.com/open?id=1Jo8jo2f3UC2iJiUXL5qHC6rAcpvYXmc>

Podrán participar con material como:

- STICKER**
- CARTEL**
- FLYER**
- STENCIL**

estás son las ideas pero no te limites.

ESPECIFICACIONES PARA ARCHIVOS:

- Tamaño: TABLOIDE (11x17pulgadas).
- El diseño puede ocupar todo el espacio o puedes acomodar tu diseño varias veces para que ocupe todo.
- Formato: PDF.

**LA CONVOCATORIA ESTARÁ ABIERTA
DEL 18 DE FEBRERO
AL 01 DE MARZO**

¡LAS INVITAMOS A IMPRIMIR, CORTAR Y PEGAR POR TODOS LADOS!

Caption reads: our friends from Women in Struggle PDC share this poster, inviting women, designers, designers and artists. The fight can manifest in different ways! #AlwaysUnited

Date: 20 February 2019

Reposted an article with the title “Karla, a victim of trafficking since she was 12 years old, talks about her hell and how she came out to help others.”

Caption reads: 45.6 million people around the world are victims of trafficking, some sexually enslaved, as was Karla Jacinto, who was named one of the 100 most powerful Mexican women by Forbes magazine in recognition of her activism for the victims of trafficking. Know a little more of her story: <https://www.sinembargo.mx/15-02-2019/3537133>

Date: 18 February 2019

Photo reads: Discussion about femicide in Mexico. Not one +, Not one -, Friday Feb 22 we are waiting for you in the square July 28 in front of the municipal palace Playa del Carmen, Q Roo 7:00 P.M. I did not die, they killed me. #JusticeforViancaMorenoLabastida

**PLÁTICA SOBRE
FEMINICIDIOS
EN MÉXICO**

Ni una + Ni una -

**viernes
FEB 22**

**LOS ESPERAMOS EN
Plaza 28 de julio frente
a Palacio Municipal
Playa del Carmen, Q Roo**

7:00 P.M

**Yo no fallecí,
a mí me mataron**

#JusticiaParaViancaMorenoLabastida

Caption reads: Amig@S, we join this talk, in support of the family of VIANCA MORENO LABASTIDA WHO 1 year ago was killed. The date is this Friday, February 22, in front of the

municipal palace center in playa del Carmen. See you there! #JusticeforViancaMorenoLabastida #AlwaysUnited

Date: 17 February 2019

Photo: HELP US FIND HER – Missing person poster detailing a missing woman in the Quintana Roo Region

**PRO+OCOLO
ALBA
Quintana Roo**

**AYÚDANOS A LOCALIZARLA
10/ZS/2019**

	Nombre: EMMA DEL SOCORRO GUZMÁN CARRASCO
Lugar de Nacimiento:	CHETUMAL, QUINTANA ROO
Edad:	54 AÑOS
Fecha de los Hechos:	15 DE FEBRERO DE 2019
Sexo:	FEMENINO
Nacionalidad:	MEXICANA
Cabello:	COLOR RUBIO
Tipo:	LACIO
Longitud:	A LA ALTURA DEL CUELLO
Color de ojos:	VERDES
Tamaño:	MEDIANOS
Tipo:	NORMALES
Boca:	MEDIANA
Labios:	DELGADOS
Estatura:	1.75 CENTIMETROS
Peso:	64 KILOGRAMOS
Complexión:	DELGADA
Tez:	CLARA
Ocupación:	COMERCIANTE

DESCRIPCIÓN DE LOS HECHOS: FUE VISTA POR ÚLTIMA VEZ EL DÍA 15 DEL MES DE FEBRERO DEL AÑO 2019, VISTIENDO UN VESTIDO DE COLOR CAFÉ CON NEGRO, UN SACO DE COLOR NEGRO Y UNAS ZAPATILLAS CAFÉS, CUANDO SALIÓ DE SU HOTEL DENOMINADO ESPAÑA EN LA COLONIA ADOLFO LOPEZ MATEOS DE LA CIUDAD DE CHETUMAL, QUINTANA ROO, A LAS 19:30 HORAS. DESCONOCIÉNDOSE EL PARADERO DE LA MISMA, POR LO QUE SE TEME QUE PUEDA SER VICTIMA DE LA COMISIÓN DE ALGÚN DELITO.

PARA PROPORCIONAR INFORMACIÓN, COMUNICARSE AL SIGUIENTE NÚMERO
983-83-500-50 EXTENSIÓN 1140.

Caption reads: Please spread...

Date: 16 February 2019

Photo reads: Homage to Vianca Moreno Labastida. Not one +, Not one -, Thursday Feb 21 we are waiting for you at the corner of Tanu street and Willows no 3, Fracc Bosque Real, Playa del Carmen, Q Roo 7:00 P.M. In her memory, wear white and bring a candle. I did not die, they killed me. 31 years old. Femicide: 21 Feb 2018. #JusticeforViancaMorenoLabastida

HOMENAJE A
VIANCA MORENO LABASTIDA

Ni una + Ni una -

Jueves
FEB 21

LOS ESPERAMOS EN
Calle Tanú con esquina
Sauces No. 3
Fracc Bosque Real
Playa del Carmen, Q Roo

7:00 P.M
En su memoria viste de blanco
y lleva una veladora

Yo no fallecí,
a mí me mataron
31 años
FEMINICIDIO: 21 FEB 2018

#JusticiaParaViancaMorenoLabastida

Caption reads: A year since Vianca was killed, no justice has been done. We invite you to join this tribute, "I did not die, I was killed". we demand justice! #AlwaysUnited #JusticeforViancaMorenoLabastida

Date: 14 Feb 2019



Caption reads: Alert in Quintana Roo

Dates have been given for several cases of rape in the area, but thanks to the brave girls who survived and who have reported we can know how to stay safe.

Many of the cases of rape were given in vacant lots, on land that has not yet been built inside and outside cities; in some cases, the attacker is a single individual but in others there are several.

Friends, we have to take precautions, if on your route home you go through a place with these features, please take note of these recommendations:

1. Change your route to be even longer.
2. Keep in contact with someone while you pass by and send your location to that person in real time.
3. If it's night, try to carry a head lamp, which allows you to have your hands free.
4. Bring with you something to defend yourself as pepper spray (be careful if you are against the wind, as it could blow to you).
5. Always tell where you are, something familiar or known, and what time you will arrive.
6. Don't use headphones while you walk alone, this can distract you from any sound nearby.
7. Don't go text on the phone, it's better to send short audio to stay alert.
8. Always be attentive to what's going on behind you and around you.
9. In case you see some strange behavior, don't ignore it, follow your instincts.
10. To run and ask for help is very important, enter an establishment even if you don't need anything from there.
11. If anyone comes out of unexpected and grabs you, Shout out!

Remember that it is preferable to discover that you were wrong, to be looked at as crazy in the moment, but it surely would be much worse if the subject attacked you.

If something happens to you, your story is very important! You're not alone! We can accompany you.

Stay safe and share! #AlwaysUnited

Date: 13 February 2019

Reposted an article from Forbes titled "Mexico, among the 20 worst countries to be a woman"

Caption reads: We have to reverse this trend! "Mexico, among the 20 worst countries to be a woman"; amig@s unite! Let's not keep allowing this... the fight is for tod@s [all of us]!

<https://www.forbes.com.mx/mexico-entre-los-20-peores-paises-para-ser-mujer/>

13 February 2019

Photo reads:

The fight against machismo starts with women supporting other women. Do not criticize, do not tease, do not offend, no incriminating, do not generate gossip, don't be violent, do not attack, do not humiliate, do not judge, do not exclude other women #sisterhood



Caption reads: Friends! Let's be part of the solution and not the problem, we wouldn't like to be raped and even less to be judged for being a victim of it! #AlwaysUnited

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