

8 de Marzo: An Analysis of Fourth-Wave Feminism
And The Rise of a New Political Generation in Mexico

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¡América Latina será toda feminista!

Abstract

This capstone project studies the events surrounding March 8, 2020, International Women's Day (IWD), as a turning point in Mexico. It takes into consideration the historical context and discusses its role within social, women's, and feminist movements. As well, it puts in conversation feminist waves, political generations and philosophies, protest behavior and organization, and cultural products from social movements. Finally, this paper examines how the IWD 2020 movement in Mexico City fits the larger feminist scene in contemporary Latin America.

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I. Introduction

International Women's Day (IWD) is annually observed on March 8th around the world to honor women's achievements in all fields, educate about gender equality, and demand better protection of women's rights. It originated in New York City on March 8, 1857 when seamstresses went on strike to demand higher pay and the improvement of their working conditions.¹ Women from the Socialist Party of America commemorated the strike and celebrated National Women's Day for the first time in the United States on February 28, 1909. The idea spread around the world, and German socialist Clara Zetkin led efforts at the International Conference of Working Women in 1910 to turn the day into a movement to advocate for universal suffrage. Due to its political associations with socialism and the Soviet Union, IWD did not become well-established in many countries. It was not until 1975 that the United Nations declared it an observance day as part of the International Women's Year.²

Observed in Mexico since the 1930s, many Mexicans use IWD as a celebration of women's role in society as mothers, daughters, and sisters. However, the rise of gender-based violence in the country has given a new meaning to March 8th: a day to reflect on women's activism, learn about gender equality, invite others to become feminists, and view women for their value beyond maternity and traditional social roles. Since recent years, there has been a push to not treat IWD as a celebration to congratulate women, but instead as a moment for introspection about how one advances women's rights.³ On March 8, 2020, IWD became the

¹ "History of International Women's Day." *WIN news* 29, no. 3 (2003): 72.

² Haynes, Suyin. "The Radical Reason Why March 8 Is International Women's Day." *TIMES*, March 7, 2019. <https://time.com/5187268/international-womens-day-history/>

³ "¿Sabes por qué no se celebra el Día Internacional de las Mujeres?" Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco. Accessed May 1, 2022. <https://www.jalisco.gob.mx/es/gobierno/comunicados/sabes-por-que-no-se-celebra-el-dia-internacional-de-las-mujeres>

largest social mobilization that has taken place in Mexico and turned into a watershed moment in Latin American feminist history. It was a response to the alarming levels of femicide⁴ in Mexico and produced significant interactions between the state and social actors, while producing new discussions surrounding collective identity and the cultural impact of women's movements.

IWD 2020 marked a nation-wide movement towards the protection of women's rights, but such collective actions were internally fragmented as diverse women-led groups and coalitions participated with different agendas. This capstone project examines such topic in an effort to answer the question: how is the mobilization of March 8, 2020 in Mexico City for International Women's Day a result of fourth-wave feminism and a new political generation? This paper argues that fourth-wave feminism's use of new technologies has resulted in a new political generation of feminists, which I coin *anti-feminidias*. Fourth-wave feminism's agenda in Latin America is centered on the rise of gender-based violence, which has created a shared social environment for overlapping political generations and resulted in a politically heterogeneous IWD 2020 with a mediatic homogenous front. The variables studied regarding IWD 2020 include: i) social actors; ii) collective identities; iii) feminist waves; iv) generations; v) feminist political philosophies; vi) protest behavior and organization; vii) and cultural legacies of social movements.

The pursuit of assessing and contributing knowledge to the fields of Latin American and women's studies is of utmost importance due to the lack of scholarly work on fourth-wave feminism in Mexico and modern manifestations of women's movements in Latin America. This capstone project aims to contribute to the discussion of how IWD and feminist activism has

⁴ Defined by Russell & Radford (2006) as "the murder of women, committed by men, for the simple reason of being a women." Russell, Diana and Roberta Harmes (2006). "Feminicidio: Una Perspectiva Global." Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, p. 74.

evolved throughout Mexican history and manifests differently in each political generation. Answering the research question will provide sociologists, historians, and experts from other disciplines with an analysis of IWD as a social movement in hopes that further research is conducted to better understand its formation and cultural contributions.

This capstone project first provides background information on IWD 2020, women's movements, and feminist waves. Moreover, it overviews how different generations interact with these through specific political philosophies, protest behavior, and different types of media. Existing literature is reviewed throughout the paper, including the work of Álvarez (2020), Bacallao-Pino (2015), Escobar (2018), Mannheim (1952), and Stahler-Sholk *et al.* (2007). It also analyzes how Mexico City's IWD 2020 was influenced by the greater Latin American feminist movement. Finally, the project concludes with key takeaways from IWD 2020 in Mexico City and what they reveal about the future of feminist movements in Mexico.

II. Background

Women's movements in Mexico are significantly influenced by the country's alarming cases of gender-based violence. From 2015 through 2019, femicide increased by 130%, and the number of victims of violent crime increased 2.5% from 2018.⁵ The high levels of femicide have incentivized women to raise awareness, mobilize resources, and lobby representatives to recognize the problem. In February 2020, three brutal femicide cases made national news and provoked an unforeseen mobilization in social media and the streets: Abril Pérez Sagaón, a 49 year-old mother of two who was a victim of domestic violence; Ingrid Escamilla, a 25 year-old

⁵ "Organized Crime and Violence in Mexico: 2020 Special Report." *Justice In Mexico*, Department of Political Science & International Relations, University of San Diego. <https://justiceinmexico.org/justice-in-mexico-releases-2020-organized-crime-and-violence-in-mexico-report/>

young woman killed and skinned by her husband; and Fátima Aldrighett, a seven-year-old girl who was abducted, raped, and murdered. Feminist groups called for a march on March 8th (IWD) and a national women's strike on March 9th.

The IWD 2020 protests became the largest mobilization in Mexico's history and the first big social movement during Andrés Manuel López Obrador's (AMLO) presidency. Mexico City, the capital of the Mexican Republic, has been the epicenter of the four feminist waves in the country's history. Around 80,000 women took the streets of Mexico City in 2020 and protested for women's rights.⁶ This movement was considered to be the result of a larger Latin American wave of feminism that fights machismo, domestic violence, femicide, inequality, and reproductive rights. It became characterized by the participation of young women, their militancy, and their ability to organize through social media. Feminist activists and groups were also responsible for the National Women's Strike, or *Un Día Sin Nosotras*,⁷ a day where women removed themselves from public view. They did not go to public spaces, attend school, work, or buy anything. This activity had an economic impact of 30,000 million pesos and affected the productivity of the private and public sectors.⁸

Fourth-wave feminism is having a tangible impact in Mexican politics and public agenda. According to a poll conducted by El Financiero newspaper, 82% of respondents disapproved of

⁶ Centro de Orientación Vial de la Secretaría de Seguridad Ciudadana de la Ciudad de México (@OVIALCDMX). "16:23 #PrecauciónVial | Continúan cortes de circulación en el Monumento a la Revolución, Paseo de la Reforma, Av. Juárez, Centro Histórico y San Antonio Abad con motivo de la marcha #8M2020 #DiaInternacionalDeLaMujer al momento con 80 mil mujeres manifestantes. #MovilidadCDMX8M." Twitter, March 8, 2020.

<https://twitter.com/OVIALCDMX/status/1236779503424323586?s=20>

⁷ Translation: "A Day Without Us"

⁸ "#UnDíaSinMujeres tuvo impacto de 30,000 millones de pesos: Concanaco." *El Economista*, March 10, 2020, <https://www.eleconomista.com.mx/empresas/UnDiaSinMujeres-tuvo-impacto-de-30000-millones-de-pesos-Concanaco-20200310-0066.html>

AMLO's handling of gender-based violence and femicide.⁹ AMLO has called the feminist movement "conservative," a term he reserves to criticize the opposition.¹⁰ This hints to the government's antagonistic role in fourth-wave feminism, particularly when looking at activists' demands and dissatisfaction with the State. The friction between the authority and protestors also created a divisive narrative in traditional media channels, leading to a saturation in social media on discussions, news reports, and information related to IWD 2020 and the events that followed after.

III. Social, Women's and Feminist Movements

To analyze the events of IWD 2020, it is necessary to understand women's movements and the theory of social movements. Escobar (2018) points out that social movements are concepts constructed by researchers as these do not accurately reflect the observed form of collective action. Moreover, he gives special attention to social movements' internal fragmentation and heterogeneity even when they look uniform from an outsider's perspective.¹¹ For example, women's movements are not to be understood as fundamentally feminist unless their basic goal is equality between women and men. Instead, Ray & Korteweg (1999, p. 48) define women's movements as "the range of activities in which women engage to better the

⁹ Moreno, Alejandro. "Encuesta; 82% desaprueba la respuesta del gobierno de AMLO por los feminicidios," *Nación231*, March 4, 2021, <https://www.nacion321.com/ciudadanos/encuesta-82-desaprueba-la-respuesta-del-gobierno-de-amlo-por-los-feminicidios>

¹⁰ "You have to see what's behind it, because two years ago, when the feminist movement began, many women participated. But you started to realize they had become conservative feminists only to affect us, only for this purpose," AMLO said. Agren, David. "Amlo ridiculed for saying Mexico's feminist movement began two years ago," *The Guardian*, September 29, 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/sep/29/mexico-amlo-president-feminist-movement>

¹¹ Escobar, Arturo. *The Making Of Social Movements In Latin America : Identity, Strategy, And Democracy / Arturo Escobar*. First edition. London: Taylor and Francis, 2018.

circumstances in their lives.”¹² The IWD 2020 mobilization in Mexico City gathered the participation of women who wanted to take public spaces to protest the lack of action from the government on gender-based violence. Diverse women-led groups and coalitions took advantage of the event to shed light on their specific concerns and demands. While all of the participants advocated for bettering the safety of Mexican women, not everyone identified as feminists or belonged to the same political philosophy.

A defining characteristic of IWD 2020 in Mexico was the participation of women from a wide range of social classes and economic sectors. The solidarity of women from diverse backgrounds comes from the shared experiences of gender-based violence. According to Escobar (2018), new social movement theories leave behind the division of the political space between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Instead, they propose that the political and social space is fragmented and composed of multiple social actors. Modern movements are characterized by “small” social actors like mothers or LGBTQ+ individuals, instead of “grand” social actors such as workers and peasants.¹³ Some of the social actors that defined IWD 2020 included the parents of femicide victims and missing women, LGBTQ+ people (specifically trans women), disabled women, pro-choice advocates, sexual assault survivors, students, and other allies. Since these actors attended the event with specific issues in mind, many of them agreed to not interrupt or intervene in each other’s activities and interactions with authorities. For example, Álvarez (2020) examined the behaviour of student-led feminist groups in UNAM and identified that they have “communal agreements” on substantial topics (i.e. denouncing sexual harassment) but respect

¹² Ray & Korteweg. “Women’s Movements in the Third World: Identity, Mobilization and Autonomy.” *Annual review of sociology*. 25 (1999): 47–71. Print.

¹³ Escobar, Arturo. *The Making Of Social Movements In Latin America : Identity, Strategy, And Democracy / Arturo Escobar*. First edition. London: Taylor and Francis, 2018.

each other's distinct approaches—some protest peacefully, while others use tear gas, fight police offers, and throw explosives.¹⁴

The women's movement is connected to identity and its interaction with culture, society, economy, nature, and institutions. Stahler-Sholk *et al.* (2007) note that modern social movements pay more attention to horizontal participation, are more cognizant to identities like gender, and seek autonomy from hierarchical institutions.¹⁵ Escobar (2018) argues that a new way of thinking about social movements is in terms of “collective identities,” which helps understand social action as the result of social processes where actors make decisions. Social movements become more than a political struggle for access to power but a cultural issue to search for identity.¹⁶ It is important to reflect on the concept of Mexican women's collective identity in order to understand what motivates them to act together. Traditional gender-specific identities such as being a mother, daughter, or sister are shared experiences for most, but the main identity that united protesters in IWD 2020 was being treated as second-class citizens (simply for being women). In this manner, institutions that perpetuate gender-based violence and the Mexican government—which has not taken significant action to reduce femicide rates—became the main opponents of IWD 2020 protesters.

IV. Fourth-Wave Feminism

While IWD 2020 is fundamentally a women's movement, it has been labeled as a feminist movement by the media and claimed by feminists throughout Mexico. This project

¹⁴ Álvarez, Lucia. “El movimiento feminista en México en el siglo XXI: juventud, radicalidad y violencia.” *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, UNAM, pp. 147-175. 2020.

¹⁵ Stahler-Sholk *et al.* “Globalizing Resistance: The New Politics of Social Movements in Latin America.” *Latin American perspectives* 34, no. 2 (2007): 5–16.

¹⁶ Escobar, Arturo. *The Making Of Social Movements In Latin America : Identity, Strategy, And Democracy / Arturo Escobar*. First edition. London: Taylor and Francis, 2018.

proposes that the events surrounding IWD 2020 in Mexico City reflect and are a result of fourth-wave feminism. The feminist movement has been outlined into four waves that represent different kinds of women who have advocated for gender equality. Such historical narratives have been critiqued because they take attention away from the interactions with women from diverse socioeconomic classes and races, while also downplaying small-scale actions directed by individuals and groups. Garrison (2005) reframed the wave metaphor to convey that the reach of feminism grows and moves further away with each wave. Moreover, it emphasizes that waves are not understood as generational experiences since there are many overlapping age cohorts that count in a specific wave.¹⁷

The first feminist wave appeared in nineteenth century European cities when women began advocating for their right to vote and access education. In 1904, the first feminist association came to existence in Mexico City under the name Sociedad Protectora de la Mujer.¹⁸ Women's political participation was limited, they did not have the right to vote or be elected and depended on their husbands for legal processes.¹⁹ Second-wave feminism, also known as "neofeminism," emerged in the late 1960s to demand equal rights. Women fought for the decriminalization of abortion and better distribution of domestic work. They also battled against sexual harassment, violence against women, and outdated gender roles. In 1979, second-wave feminists founded the Frente Nacional por la Liberación y los Derechos de las Mujeres,²⁰ which had a Marxist orientation and despised "bourgeois feminism."²¹ The third wave of feminism

¹⁷ Garrison, E. K. 2005. "Are We On a Wavelength Yet? On Feminist Oceanography, Radios and Third Wave Feminism." Pp. 237–56 in *Different Wavelengths: Studies of the Contemporary Women's Movement*, edited by J. Reger. New York and London: Routledge.

¹⁸ Translation: "Society for the Protection of Women"

¹⁹ González Jiménez, Rosa María. "The Normal School for Women and Liberal Feminism in Mexico City, Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century." *Resources for Feminist Research* 34, no. 1 (2012).

²⁰ Translation: "National Front for the Liberation and Rights of Women"

²¹ Cano, Gabriela. "El feminismo y sus olas," *Letras Libres*, November 1, 2018. <https://letraslibres.com/revista/el-feminismo-y-sus-olas/>

arrived in the 1990s and focused on women's involvement in politics. Women participated more in local governments and congressional spaces. In 1999, the Instituto de la Mujer del Distrito Federal²² (Inmujeres D.F.) was established and, two years later, the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres²³ (Inmujeres) was created under presidential decree.²⁴

While there is an ongoing debate on whether the fourth feminist wave has officially begun or not, this capstone project provides evidence of its existence and how it resulted in Mexico City's IWD 2020. This new wave in Mexico is characterized by its focus on women's human rights, a global framing of social movements (i.e. IWD), fighting against discrimination, and intersectionality.²⁵ Fourth-wave feminism is characterized for its advocacy against gender-based violence, specifically sexual. Soto Villagrán (2021) identifies contemporary women's rights movements such as *#NiUnaMenos*²⁶ and *#MeToo*²⁷ as proof of the existence of this new fourth wave. What sets apart the fourth wave from earlier iterations are the new technologies that allows feminist share resources and tools, and engage in wider efforts for advocacy and social organizing. Social media has become a platform for women to denounce the patriarchy. For example, in 2016 *#MiPrimerAcoso*²⁸ and *#AcosoEnLaU*²⁹ became trending topics on Mexican Twitter as thousands of women shared their personal experiences with sexual harassment.

²² Translation: "Women's Institute of the Federal District"

²³ Translation: "National Women's Institute"

²⁴ Lau, Ana. "El neofeminismo mexicano (1968-2010)." *Labrys, études féministes/ estudios feministas*, 2011.

²⁵ Matos & Pardis. "Los feminismos latinoamericanos y su compleja relación con el Estado: debates actuales, Iconos." *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 45, pp. 91-107, 2013.

²⁶ Translation: "*#NotOneLess*." Not One [Woman] Less is a grassroots Latin American feminist movement that began in Argentina to advocate against gender-based violence.

²⁷ *#MeToo* is a social movement that advocated for survivors of sexual violence and harassment. It began in the United States and in 2017 it spread around the world after it gained media attention from Hollywood.

²⁸ Translation: "*#MyFirstHarassment*." My First Harassment is a Twitter campaign that women used to share their first experiences with male bullying. It was predominantly used in Mexico and around Latin America.

²⁹ Translation: "*#HarassmentInTheU*." Harassment In The [University] is a student-led movement against sexual violence and harassment at schools. It began in the state of Nuevo León, Mexico and later spread around the country.

Furthermore, fighting femicide has become the defining emblem of fourth-wave feminism in Mexico. Student-led feminist groups took over the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México³⁰ (UNAM) to protest the femicide of students Lesvy Berlín and Miranda Mendoza and sexual molestations by professors.³¹ Besides occupying physical space, fourth wave feminists use their online presence to make public demands to the responsible institutions and those who perpetuate gender-based violence.

V. Generations in Feminism

The concept of “generations” in feminist activism can be understood in three ways: age cohort, historical cohort, and political generation. While age cohorts are considered as basic social categories for assigning roles and granting power, historical cohorts focus on how people’s identity and political awareness are shaped by historical events.³² This project pays special attention to how generations can distance themselves from others within a movement due to their political experiences and the formation of criticism of the legacies from the generations before them. Mannheim (1952) describes this as “political generations” or groups of people that become politically awake at the same time through common experiences that influence their beliefs, values and involvement in politics.³³ Reger (2011) interacts with Mannheim’s concept by adding that feminist generations are not categorized in time periods, but instead result from shared social

³⁰ Translation: “Autonomous National University of Mexico”

³¹ Soto Villagrán, Paula. “Algunas reflexiones sobre el movimiento feminista en México,” *Heinrich Böll Stiftung*: Ciudad de Mexico, April 9, 2021.

³² Wang, Qi. “Young Feminist Activists in Present-Day China: A New Feminist Generation?” *China perspectives* 2018, no. 3 (2018): 59–68.

³³ Mannheim, Karl. “The Problem with Generations,” *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, Keckemeti & Keegan, eds. (London: Routledge, 1952), 276-320.

environment. Therefore, political generations can overlap and coexist within a social movement.³⁴

IWD 2020 as a historical event generated a new historical cohort of feminists shaped by the massive social mobilization in March 8, 2020 and its cultural legacies. Such feminists belong to multiple age cohorts, however Álvarez (2020) argues that eighteen to twenty-three year-old women from middle and low socioeconomic classes have become the heirs of the Mexican feminist movement. This age cohort is characterized for their avid use of social media and particular demands. Most of them are high school or university students, hence have access to information and education on feminist theory. Similar to Escobar's (2018) analysis on the division of political space, Álvarez (2020) indicates that the feminist movement in twenty-first century Mexico is not limited or unified. Instead, Álvarez (2020) proposes that it is made up of multiple organizations and avenues of action related to gender-based issues and has been primarily led by activists, politicians, scholars, and grassroots organizers. Furthermore, Álvarez (2020) argues this is a new type of movement different to previous feminist manifestations; it identifies a particular, yet diversified, actor and does not have a specific source of leadership. Those who participate in it use strong, direct language and sometimes resort to violence as a medium to communicate.³⁵

If political generations are constructed through similar political awakenings, then the societal changes leading up to IWD 2020 can be credited as catalysts to the rise of a new political generation in Mexico. I denominate such political generation *anti-femicidas*³⁶ because it is a

³⁴ Reger, Jo. *Everywhere and Nowhere : Contemporary Feminism in the United States / Jo Reger*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.

³⁵ Álvarez, Lucía. "El movimiento feminista en México en el siglo XXI: juventud, radicalidad y violencia." *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, UNAM, pp. 147-175. 2020.

³⁶ Translation: "anti-femicides"

product of the gender-based violence crisis in Mexico, urges safer public spaces for women, calls for justice against sexual harassment, and primarily demands accountability to femicides. I designate 2015 as the starting year for this political generation, due to the 130% increase in femicide cases in Mexico between 2015 and 2019.³⁷ Furthermore, I argue that *anti-feminicidas* are fundamentally fourth-wave feminists because they use new technologies to advocate, denounce and organize. Such phenomenon is called “media activism” or using communication platforms like social media to achieve objectives and spread messages. Participants of events surrounding IWD 2020 used media activism to share live information related to the presence of police, violent protesters, and agent provocateurs.

IWD 2020 is the result of overlapping and coexisting generations in feminism as a social movement. In preparation for March 8, 2020, feminist activists and community organizers used social media to organize marches across Mexico, call for the National Women’s Strike in March 9th, and share best practices for protesting safely. *Anti-feminicidas* gathered such information under hashtags such as #8M, #8Marzo, #IWD, #NiUnaMenos, #NiUnaMas,³⁸ and #MexicoFemicida³⁹ in Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and other social media, hence using these online spaces for purposes beyond entertainment. *Anti-feminicidas* should not be confused with cyberfeminists; they can be overlapping identities, but the latter is not dependent on the former. Cyberfeminism is a philosophy and community that originated in the 1990s as part of third-wave feminism. It focuses on the intersection between feminism and technology, with a specific focus on the Internet. Cyberfeminism is not a political course of legal movement, but a strategy

³⁷ “Organized Crime and Violence in Mexico: 2020 Special Report.” *Justice In Mexico*, Department of Political Science & International Relations, University of San Diego. <https://justiceinmexico.org/justice-in-mexico-releases-2020-organized-crime-and-violence-in-mexico-report/>

³⁸ Translation: “#NotOneMore.” A variation of the #NotOneLess grassroots movement.

³⁹ Translation: “Femicide Mexico”

to open opportunities for women and girls. Cyberfeminists appropriate technology for means different than its original intention and focuses on collaborative cooperation.⁴⁰ On the other hand, *anti-feminicidas* have centered in diffusing information on the Internet to organize themselves for online and in-person advocacy to issues from the fourth-wave feminist agenda.

VI. Feminist Political Philosophies

Feminist political philosophy focuses on articulating how political theory can advance feminist concerns and aims. It guides the development of new ideals and practices for how political institutions should be organized. As a branch of philosophy, it centers on understanding the world as well as finding how it can be improved.⁴¹ Feminist political theorization can be evaluative by contesting the value of justice, freedom, and equality; hence, it helps in understanding the demands and practices of individuals.⁴² To better understand the demands of the participants of the IWD 2020 protests, it is important to consider their political philosophies as an added part of their identity.

In the analysis of fourth-wave feminism in Mexico, six feminist political philosophies have stood out: liberal, radical, socialist & Marxist, care ethics, decolonial & intersectional, and performative. Liberal feminism is arguably one of the strongest currents; it's primary concern is improving women's autonomy. Radical feminism focuses on power differentials, such as the patriarchy's domination of women and how it objectifies them for men. Socialist and Marxist feminists use ideas about class relations and capitalism to understand the exploitation of women

⁴⁰ "CYBERFEMINISM." *The Multimedia Encyclopedia of Women in Today's World*, 2013.

⁴¹ "Feminist Political Philosophy," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, March 1st, 2009.
<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-political/>

⁴² Bar On, Bat-Ami. "Feminist Social and Political Philosophy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Philosophy*. Oxford University Press, 2021.

through their labor and reproductive work. Care ethics feminism explore how mothering and society impacts women's approach to universality, reason, and justice. Decolonial and intersectional feminism focus on identity politics and questions about the essence of women and their representation. Lastly, performative feminists engage in performative political philosophy such as theorizing agency and identities.⁴³

While it is difficult to discover the political philosophy of each of the over 80,000 women who took the streets of Mexico City for IWD 2020, the study of poster design can reveal the political agenda of those protestors who use posters. Schnapp (1954) indicates that posters not only can act as one-liners or sound bites, they additionally shape people's perception of crowds.⁴⁴ Archeological and anthropological methodologies would be necessary to study posters as a sociological technology, but from looking at the posters used in IWD 2020 I make observations regarding the presence of feminist political philosophies. I argue that the posters refer to tropes from feminist political philosophies with the purpose to energize protestors and other audiences into adopting specific political agendas. The posters also bridge social gaps (i.e. socioeconomic, ethnic, regional, political, etc.) in efforts to create solidarity on behalf of other women, such as sexual harassment survivors, pro-choice supporters, femicide victims, indigenous women, etc.

Leaving aside the detailed examination of aesthetic decisions in the posters used for IWD 2020, I argue that their messaging represents the feminist political philosophies outlined earlier. Due to limitations of this project, I analyze three posters from photos taken during the

⁴³ "Feminist Political Philosophy," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, March 1st, 2009. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-political/>

⁴⁴ Schnapp, Jeffrey T. *Revolutionary Tides : the Art of the Political Poster, 1914-1989 / Jeffrey T. Schnapp*. 1st ed. Milano, Italy: Skira in association with Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., 2005.

protests in Mexico City on March 8, 2020. Image 1 (see Appendix for images) shows the Mexican flag with *Mexico Femicida* written on it with black letters and red stains simulating blood. This poster reflects care ethics philosophy because it draws attention to women as vulnerable subjects in the public and private space by describing Mexico (the State and country) as the culprit of femicide. Image 1 also captures a smaller poster made of cardboard that reads “All Cops Are Bastards ;*No Me Cuida La Policia! Me Cuidan Mis Amigas.*”⁴⁵ This smaller poster represents radical feminism because it takes in an issue that calls out on structures of domination that are larger than individuals. It specifically sees the police as an institution that abuses its power and perpetuates the patriarchy, power differentials, and male domination. Image 2 shows a large poster of a woman of color with purple and green hair; on the left she is raising her fist with a green handkerchief and on the right there is a heart with eyes and flowers. The poster reads *Si tocas a una respondemos todas*⁴⁶ and exhibits liberal feminism because it shows solidarity between women to protect their personal and political autonomy. The green handkerchief in the poster refers to the symbol of the pro-choice movement, hence reinforcing that the messaging of this poster is also the advancement of women’s ability to rule their own bodies. If more posters from the IWD 2020 protests were to be examined, the six feminist political philosophies would most probably be found represented.

VII. Protest Behavior & Organization

It is important to study the motivations behind the fourth-wave and how they position modern feminism in social movement theory in order to understand its effects on IWD 2020. Bacallao-Pino (2015) explains that the American tradition uses the classical approaches of

⁴⁵ Translation: “All Cops are Bastards The Police Doesn’t Protect Me! My Friends Protect Me”

⁴⁶ Translation: “If You Touch One of Us You Touch All of Us”

resource mobilization theory (RMT) and political opportunity structure approach (POS). These center on how and why social movements exist, specifically looking into the strategies, organization, and resources.⁴⁷ Using the American tradition, the *anti-feminicida* political generation created the social movement surrounding IWD 2020 as a response to the government's negligence and the complicity of other institutions in matters of gender-based violence. Therefore, *anti-feminicidas* resorted to deinstitutionalized strategies, like mobilizing resources through loose networks (i.e. online communities and pre-existing grass-roots groups) instead of formal organizations. The European perspective is the new social movement theory (NSM), which emphasizes the whys and factors related to identity that inspire people to be part of the collective action.⁴⁸ Through the European perspective, *anti-feminicidas*' reasoning to create the social movement continues to be credited to negligence and complicity, but it adds a deeper layer that considers their multiple identities. As discussed earlier with Álvarez's (2020) case study on UNAM's student-led feminist groups, social actors in movements can have various overlapping identities that provide common ground with other participants to create "communal agreements" that lead to collective action.

Feminist political philosophies can compliment the analysis of the motivations behind IWD 2020 as a social movement. According to Bacallao-Pino (2015), social movements are connected to social conflict because of the existence of an opponent. Moreover, inequality as a source of conflict is key to understanding relative deprivation theory (RDT), which proposes that social movements result from the individuals' experience of deprivation when their expectations of something are not met. This can be a negative evaluation because mobilization is directly

⁴⁷ Bacallao-Pino, Lázaro M. "Agents for Change or Conflict?: Social Movements, Democratic Dynamics, and Development in Latin America." *Voluntas* (Manchester, England) 27, no. 1 (2015): 105–124.

⁴⁸ Ibid

linked to discontent and possible violence.⁴⁹ From this perspective, each feminist political philosophy has at least one opponent. Liberal feminists take actions to combat institutions that aim to control women's autonomy (i.e. advocating in favor of abortion legislation). Radical feminists want to dismantle the patriarchy by opposing to the objectification of women (i.e. acting against porn). Moreover, socialist and Marxist feminists oppose capitalism and see reproduction as a form of labor that is intended to create the next generation of workers (i.e. supporting family planning). Care ethics feminists are against gender roles championed by the patriarchy (i.e. deconstructing the idea of one gender as sole caretaker). Additionally, decolonial and intersectional feminist are against the exploitation and dehumanization of women from different races, ethnicities, orientations, etc. (i.e. critiquing the universalization of feminism and institutions that marginalize women from historically marginalized groups). Finally, performative feminists oppose to pre-existing structures and ideas that limit the theorization of agency and new political judgements (i.e. avoiding normative conceptions of gender). Using Bacallao-Pino's framework, I conclude that each participant of IWD 2020 engaged in social conflict to the extent that it advanced the agenda against their respective opponent according to their specific political philosophy.

The relationship between *anti-feminicidas* and governmental institutions is fractured, hence their protest behavior during IWD 2020 treats authorities like opponents. On March 8, 2020, the Secretaría de Seguridad Ciudadana (SSC) de Ciudad de México⁵⁰ reported that three protesters were taken to the hospital and four police officers were hurt with burns and wounds in hands, arms, and legs. As well, it informed that the Escuadrón de Rescate y Urgencias Médicas⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Translation: "Mexico City's Secretariat of Citizen Security"

⁵¹ Translation: "Squad for Rescue and Medical Emergencies"

helped thirty-eight people who needed medical attention.⁵² Some participants gathered in the Palacio Nacional⁵³ to sing and make demands around a bonfire they created (see Image 3). As seen on Image 4, women members of the SSC formed a barricade in front of the *puerta Mariana*⁵⁴ of the Palacio Nacional to avoid damage to the building as it had been done in February 14, 2020 during the protests to demand justice for Ingrid Escamilla's femicide (see Image 5). Some protesters dressed in particular ways such as wearing black clothes or covering their faces with ski masks to become unrecognizable by authorities (see Image 6). A group of protesters also congregated in front of the *Mariana* door before firecrackers were detonated, however witnesses assure the protesters were not responsible for them.⁵⁵ The Secretary of Government announced the day before March 8, 2020 that 2,760 police women from the group Ateneas would guard Mexico City during IWD.⁵⁶ This created speculations that it was a strategy of the SSC to reduce confrontations between protesters and authorities. As a response, many police women throughout Mexico City wore a purple ribbon as an act of solidarity to protesters (see Image 7). This demonstrates the complexities of protest behavior: the dilemma of opposing structural authorities (i.e. SSC) when people who share the same identity as protesters (women) are used as scapegoats by such authorities. Therefore, IWD 2020 is also a case study of the considerations of identity, collective action, social conflict and protest behavior.

⁵² "Reportan 4 policías y 3 personas heridas durante marcha de mujeres en CdMx." *Milenio Digital*, March 8, 2020. <https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/marcha-8-marzo-cdmx-personas-4-policias-heridas>

⁵³ Translation: "National Palace." The residence of the Mexican President and headquarters of the country's government.

⁵⁴ The main door of the National Palace.

⁵⁵ Stettin *et al.* "'Nos quitaron todo, hasta el miedo': así fue la marcha del 8 de marzo en la CdMx." *Milenio*, March 9, 2020. <https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/marcha-8-marzo-2020-cdmx-vivo-marcha-feminista>

⁵⁶ Navarrete, Shelma. "2,760 mujeres policías vigilarán la marcha del 8 de marzo en la CDMX." *Expansión*, March 7, 2020. <https://politica.expansion.mx/cdmx/2020/03/07/-unos-2760-mujeres-policias-vigilaran-la-marcha-del-8-de-marzo-cdmx>

Fourth-wave feminism has been defined not only by its focus on gender-based violence, but also by its innovative ways for mobilization through technologies. Stahler-Sholk *et al.* (2007) consider it important to question if contemporary mobilization is more progressive in their organization. Moreover, Stahler-Sholk *et al.* (2007) argue that one of the main struggles for social movements is to connect localized identity-based forms of resistance when people are geographically dispersed since a collective consciousness needs to be built around an identity issue.⁵⁷ IWD 2020 is the result of fourth-wave feminism because feminists were able to form identity-based communities and organize them through social media even if their members were physically distant. In this way, IWD is an example of progress in the organization of mobilization because it created in-person collective action that was prepared online.

VIII. Cultural Impact of IWD 2020

The women's movement in Mexico has become a heterogeneous actor with political, social, and cultural impact. Two years after IWD 2020, women continue to take the streets of Mexico's capital on March 8th and protest to demand accountability from the government, which speaks to the impact of the first mobilization and value to continue with its legacy. Escobar (2018) indicates that social movements should not be simplified into measurable impacts like structural transformations because they also have impact in everyday life and culture.⁵⁸ The women's movement since the events of IWD 2020 has influenced social media, art, music, public spaces, and language.

⁵⁷ Stahler-Sholk *et al.* "Globalizing Resistance: The New Politics of Social Movements in Latin America." *Latin American perspectives* 34, no. 2 (2007): 5–16.

⁵⁸ Escobar, Arturo. *The Making Of Social Movements In Latin America : Identity, Strategy, And Democracy / Arturo Escobar*. First edition. London: Taylor and Francis, 2018.

Manifestations of feminist thought and support for the women's movement have been most evident through media such as art and music. Feminist activist Fernanda Dudette created a three-color avatar for people to show support for participants of the protests during March 8, 2020 (see Image 8). Replicating the Mexican flag's design of three bars of color, she used violet to reference the fight against gender-based violence, green to symbolize abortion rights, and pink in solidarity of trans women.⁵⁹ The icon was used by social media users, many of them reposting with the hashtag #8M (referencing March 8th) or replacing their profile photo with it. The song "Canción sin miedo"⁶⁰ by Vivir Quintana called out the Mexican President AMLO for his lack of action against femicide, honored victims of femicide, referenced feminist activism throughout Mexico, and included a re-worded stanza of the Mexican anthem.⁶¹ Quintana's song became the anthem of IWD 2020, was virally shared throughout social media, and is now commonly used at feminist protests in Mexico.

Activists have also taken over places to demand action, reclaim public spaces, and pay homage to the impact of IWD 2020. In September 2020, a group of feminist activists took over Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos⁶² in Mexico City's historic district due to the inaction of governmental institutions to provide justice to victims of femicide. Renamed to Ocupa Casa Refugio Ni Una Menos, Mexico,⁶³ activists repurposed the national organization's offices to be a refuge for affected families and a center for psychological and juridical attention for women. Furthermore, they intervened paintings of Mexican icons like José María Morelos,

⁵⁹ Dudette (@Le_Dudette). "Explico mi avatar de 3 colores para #8M: Violeta: color oficial del movimiento Verde: la lucha por el derecho a nuestro cuerpo y la legalización del aborto Rosa: manifestarme activamente en pro de mis hermanas trans y su pertenencia al movimiento El feminismo somos TODAS," Twitter, March 4, 2021, https://twitter.com/Le_Dudette/status/1367514578205212678?s=20&t=4RoDyXiPzRqUXyL9BQrI5g

⁶⁰ Translation: "Song without fear"

⁶¹ Vivir Quintana. "Canción sin miedo ft. El Palomar." YouTube, 2020. <https://youtu.be/VLLyzqkH6cs>

⁶² Translation: "National Commission of Human Rights"

⁶³ Translation: "Occupied House Refuge Not One Less, Mexico"

Benito Juárez, Francisco I. Madero, and Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla with graffiti, which were later sold in copies to fundraise money (see Image 9).⁶⁴ In 2021, victims of gender-violence replaced a statue of Christopher Columbus in Mexico City's Glorieta de Colón⁶⁵ with a 1.9 meter wooden sculpture of a woman raising her fist and demanded the place to be named Glorieta de las Mujeres que Luchan⁶⁶ (see Image 10).⁶⁷ In response, the Head of Government of Mexico City declared that the colonizer's statue would be replaced with a monument that honors indigenous women.⁶⁸

Language has also been impacted by the women's movement, since the beginning of fourth-wave feminism more people have used masculine words in feminine. An example of this is the *antimonumenta*, a symbol erected in Mexico City's Avenida Juárez for 2019 IWD (see Image 11). It is meant to represent the feminist movement through a purple Venus symbol with a fist in the center and the inscription "En Mexico 9 mujeres son asesinadas al día"⁶⁹ and "¡Ni una más!" The word *antimonumenta* stands for the word *antimonumento* from the Spanish language but gendered in feminine. The use of this word is meant to be a political statement against the invisibility of women in the Spanish language. In the public statement by the activists who took down the Columbus statue, they referred to their wooden sculpture as *antimonumenta*, hence revealing the wider impact of the original icon in public spaces and language.

⁶⁴ Rodríguez Calva, Patricia. "Cambian nombre a CNDH por Casa Refugio Ni Una Menos." *Excelsior*, September 7, 2020. <https://www.excelsior.com.mx/comunidad/cambian-nombre-a-cndh-por-casa-de-refugio-ni-una-menos/1404208>

⁶⁵ Translation: "Roundabout Colon"

⁶⁶ Translation: "Roundabout of the Women Who Fight"

⁶⁷ "Un grupo de activistas levanta una estatua 'a las mujeres que luchan' en el pedestal dónde estaba Colón." *El País*, September 25, 2021. <https://elpais.com/mexico/2021-09-25/un-grupo-de-activistas-levanta-una-estatua-a-las-mujeres-que-luchan-en-el-pedestal-donde-estaba-colon.html>

⁶⁸ Gobierno CDMX (@GobCDMX) "En el marco del #DíaInternacionalDeLaMujerIndígena anunciamos que en la glorieta donde se ubicaba la estatua de Colón, se colocará una escultura que reivindica a las mujeres, de cara a los #500AñosDeResistenciaIndígena. #CiudadDeDerechos," Twitter, September 5, 2021. <https://twitter.com/GobCDMX/status/1434635209543139332?s=20&t=wVe0ul565i8xO9zwY4lf9A>

⁶⁹ Translation: "In Mexico 9 women are assassinated daily"

As Escobar (2018) mentioned, social movements have impacts in culture and beyond structural change, hence it would be valuable to research the cultural ramifications of the women's movement. This would entail a separate assessment that is out of the scope of this paper since it would imply situated and ethnographic research that assesses and measures the interaction between people and culture within the context of the women's movement in Mexico.

IX. Mexico as Part of the Greater Latin American Feminist Movement

The events of IWD 2020 in Mexico City had an impact in Latin America and the multilateral system. In 2019, UN Women announced that the theme for IWD 2020 would be “I am Generation Equality: Realizing Women's Rights,” in alignment with its multigenerational campaign Generation Equality.⁷⁰ In March 10, 2020, ONU México⁷¹ published a press release stating that—under the IWD 2020 theme—“para eliminar la violencia contra las mujeres y las niñas es fundamental garantizar el acceso a la justicia y el combate de la impunidad, con una perspectiva de género y que ponga en el centro a las víctimas, a las sobrevivientes y a sus familias.”⁷² As well, it officially solidarized with the organizations that promoted the protests on March 8, 2020 and the National Women's Strike on March 9, 2020.

Since 2017, the chant “América Latina va a ser toda feminista”⁷³ has gained traction throughout the region. It became popular in Argentina when feminists protested against femicide

⁷⁰ “International Women's Day 2020 theme- 'I am Generation Equality: Realizing Women's Rights'.” *UN Women*, December 11, 2019. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2019/12/announcer-international-womens-day-2020-theme>

⁷¹ The System of United Nations in Mexico

⁷² Translation: “to eliminate violence against women and girls, it is essential to guarantee access to justice and combat impunity, with a gender perspective and that puts victims, survivors and their families at the center.” “ONU México llama a escuchar las voces de las mujeres que claman igualdad y justicia.” *ONU Mujeres*, March 6, 2020. <https://mexico.unwomen.org/es/noticias-y-eventos/articulos/2020/03/onu-mexico-llama-a-escuchar-las-vozes-de-las-mujeres>

⁷³ Translation: “Latin America will all be feminist”

during IWD 2017 in Buenos Aires. Throughout the 2010s, Argentina became a hub of conversations and debate regarding abortion laws. Argentinean feminists became the reference of excellence on pro-choice activism in Latin America due to their famous *marea verde*.⁷⁴ Proposed laws to guarantee the right to abortion have polarized the country's society between green and blue handkerchiefs—green supporting “safe, legal and free” abortion, and blue defending “two lives.” In 2018, the Project to Legalize the Voluntary Termination of a Pregnancy was presented to the Argentinean Congress, but it was rejected at the Senate.⁷⁵ However, in November 2020 Argentina's President Alberto Fernández sent the project of Legally Terminating a Pregnancy to the National Congress.⁷⁶ A month later it was approved by the Chamber of Representatives and Senate, making it a law in Argentina that protects women's decision to terminate their pregnancy within the health system.⁷⁷ The green handkerchiefs were an important symbol for the advocacy of abortion laws in Mexico during the events surrounding IWD 2020 in Mexico City, even before the law was passed in Argentina.

The song “Un violador en tu camino, el violador eres tú,”⁷⁸ written by Chilean feminist art collective Las Tesis, became viral in 2019 after a group of women came together on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (November 25) for a flash mob outside the Supreme Court in Santiago de Chile. The lyrics condemn Chilean authorities for the impunity of sexual abuse and rape cases in the country. The flash mob has been replicated

⁷⁴ Translation: “Green tide.” Referring to the social movement of reproductive rights and the green handkerchiefs used by its activists.

⁷⁵ Centenera & Rivas Molina. “El Senado de Argentina dice “no” al aborto y deja al país con una ley de 1921.” *El País*, August 9, 2018 https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/08/08/argentina/1533714679_728325.html

⁷⁶ Jastereblansky, Maia. “Qué dice el texto completo del proyecto de ley de legalización del aborto.” *La Nación*, November 17, 2020. <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/que-dice-texto-completo-del-proyecto-ley-nid2512754/>

⁷⁷ Giacometti, Marina. “Es ley el aborto en la Argentina.” *Ámbito*, December 13, 2020. <https://www.ambito.com/politica/aborto/es-ley-el-la-argentina-n5158619>

⁷⁸ Translation: “A rapist in your path, the rapist is you”

around the world with the same choreography, song, and dance.⁷⁹ In October 2020, Chileans voted to replace the country's constitution written by dictator Augusto Pinochet. It was decided that throughout 2021 and 2022 a 155-member constitutional assembly would draft a new constitution to be approved or rejected by Chileans. This represented a grand advancement in the inclusion of women in political processes since the constitutional assembly features an equal number of men and women elected by the public.⁸⁰ Female delegates have worn purple and green handkerchiefs with the slogan *Nunca más sin nosotras*⁸¹ to shed light on this being the world's first constitution to be drafted with gender parity. Like Chilean feminists, protesters in Mexico City's IWD 2020 wore purple, green, and chanted "Un violador en tu camino, el violador eres tú."

Brazilian women's protests for gender equality are not only a response to the high rates of violence against women, but also against their president Jair Bolsonaro. Even before his election, women mobilized against the far-right politician due to his misogynist comments. More than 2.5 million women joined *Mulheres Unidas Contra Bolsonaro*,⁸² a Facebook campaign to coordinate protests against Bolsonaro.⁸³ Discontent grew after he was elected due to his lack of action with the increasing rates of femicide. According to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, four women were killed every day in Brazil during the first months of 2019.⁸⁴ Furthermore, Brazilian feminism put intersectionality and decolonization at the center of the

⁷⁹ Soldati, Camilla. "The rapist is you, the Chilean protest song against gender violence that sparked a global movement." *Lifegate*, December 17, 2019. <https://www.lifegate.com/the-rapist-is-you-un-violador-en-tu-camino>

⁸⁰ Ward, Alex. "Chileans want a more equal society. They're about to rewrite their constitution to have it." *Vox*, October 26, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/21534338/chile-constitution-plebiscite-vote-pinochet>

⁸¹ Translation: "Never again without us"

⁸² Translation: "Women United Against Bolsonaro"

⁸³ Phillips, Tom. "'Stop this disaster': Brazilian women mobilize against 'misogynist' far-right Bolsonaro." *The Guardian*, September 21, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/21/brazilian-women-against-jair-bolsonaro-misogynist-far-right-candidate>

⁸⁴ "Brazil: four women killed every day in 2019, human rights body says." *The Guardian*, February 4, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/04/brazil-women-killed-2019-rate-alarming-iachr>

agenda when thousands of indigenous women mobilized in Sao Paulo for the country's first Indigenous Women's March on August 2019. Members of over 110 ethnic groups in Brazil carried banners with the slogan "Territory: our body, our spirit."⁸⁵ The strengthening of intersectional feminist political theory in Brazil influenced Mexico's IWD 2020 as more social actors, including indigenous women, participated in the protests.

In the last decade, Latin American countries have used IWD as a revolutionary movement to speak up against misogyny, injustice and gender-based violence. Data from the UN Organization for Women and CEPAL shows that, in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic, Latin America was the region with the highest rates of gender-based violence in the world. Six countries represented 81% of cases: Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Argentina, El Salvador, and Bolivia.⁸⁶ According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), in 2020 at least 4,091 women died of femicide in seventeen Latin American and nine Caribbean countries; only 10.6% less than in 2019 when 4,576 were reported. ECLAC's report indicated that most victims of femicide are between thirty and forty-four years old, and women between fifteen and twenty-nine years of age are the second-highest age group.⁸⁷ Violence against women became considered "a pandemic in the shadows" during the COVID-19 pandemic due to the increase of gender-based violence in Latin America. As a response, in 2020, the United Nations

⁸⁵ "Our Territory, Our Body, Our Spirit': Indigenous Women Unite in Historic March in Brazil." *Amazon Frontlines*, August 14, 2019. <https://www.amazonfrontlines.org/chronicles/indigenous-women-march-brazil/>

⁸⁶ García Nice & Borushek. "A Double Pandemic." *Wilson Center*, May 5, 2020. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/double-pandemic>

⁸⁷ "ECLAC: At Least 4,091 Women Were Victims of Femicide in 2020 in Latin America and the Caribbean, despite Greater Visibility and Social Condemnation." *ECLAC*, November 24, 2021. <https://www.cepal.org/en/pressreleases/eclac-least-4091-women-were-victims-femicide-2020-latin-america-and-caribbean-despite>

Secretary-General António Guterres called Member States to accelerate policy responses to gender-based violence as part of their response plans to the COVID-19 pandemic.⁸⁸

X. Conclusion

IWD is a day of observance and introspection about women's achievements and the path ahead to reach gender equality. As a social mobilization, it has shed light on issues regarding women's rights and safety. Fourth-wave feminism in Latin America has defined an agenda centered on combating all forms of gender-based violence and promoted the use of technologies to form identity-based communities in social media to achieve objectives and spread messages. In Mexico, the rising levels of femicide and sexual harassment provided an awakening for the *anti-feminicidas*, a new political generation in Mexico and one of the principal identities that led the organization of IWD 2020.

Although it is true that this capstone project examines how the mobilization in Mexico City for IWD 2020 resulted from fourth-wave feminism and *anti-feminicidas*, inspecting other social actors would require a much longer and deeper analysis that is not in the scope of this paper. As well, there is without a doubt a much-needed in-depth analysis of the relationship between fourth-wave feminism and media activism. As demonstrated in the case studies, IWD 2020 had a homogenous front in the public eye, but resulted from the work of protestors with heterogeneous identities. Perhaps conducting field research on the protest behavior of past and future IWDs will help further understand the internal fragmentations in fourth-wave feminism.

The events in Mexico City during March 8, 2020 reveal that we should expect future IWDs and feminist mobilizations to build on the cultural legacies of each other. We cannot

⁸⁸ ECLAC. *The pandemic in the shadows: femicides or feminicides in 2020 in Latin America and the Caribbean*. 2021.

continue treating women's movements as a social mobilization composed by a homogenous group. Instead, we must analyze its internal fragmentations and how these carry heterogeneous identities with their respective political agendas. As history unfolds, we should make an effort to understand our identities and their place within feminism.

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Appendix

Image 1. “Protesters holding an artistically intervened Mexican flag and a poster”



March 8, 2020. Photograph. Ene Equis. <https://www.m-x.com.mx/al-dia/no-era-paz-era-silencio-la-marcha-historica-que-unio-a-las-mexicanas>

Image 2. “Si tocas a una respondemos todas”



Vazquez, Rocio. March 8, 2020. Photograph, Getty Images.

Image 3. “Bonfire in front of the Palacio Nacional”



Salas, Nelly. March 8, 2020. Photograph, Milenio.

<https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/marcha-8-marzo-2020-cdmx-vivo-marcha-feminista>

Image 4. “SSC Barricade in front of the *puerta Mariana*”



Rivera, Carolina. March 8, 2020. Photograph, Milenio.

<https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/marcha-8-marzo-2020-cdmx-vivo-marcha-feminista>

Image 5. “Protest to demand justice for Ingrid Escamilla’s femicide”



Padilla, Lizbeth. February 14, 2020. Photograph, Animal Politico.Milenio.

<https://www.animalpolitico.com/2020/02/mujeres-protestas-pliego-petitorio-violencia-ingrid-femicidios/>

Image 6. “Protesters wearing black clothes”



Pérez, Ariana. March 8, 2020. Photograph, Milenio.

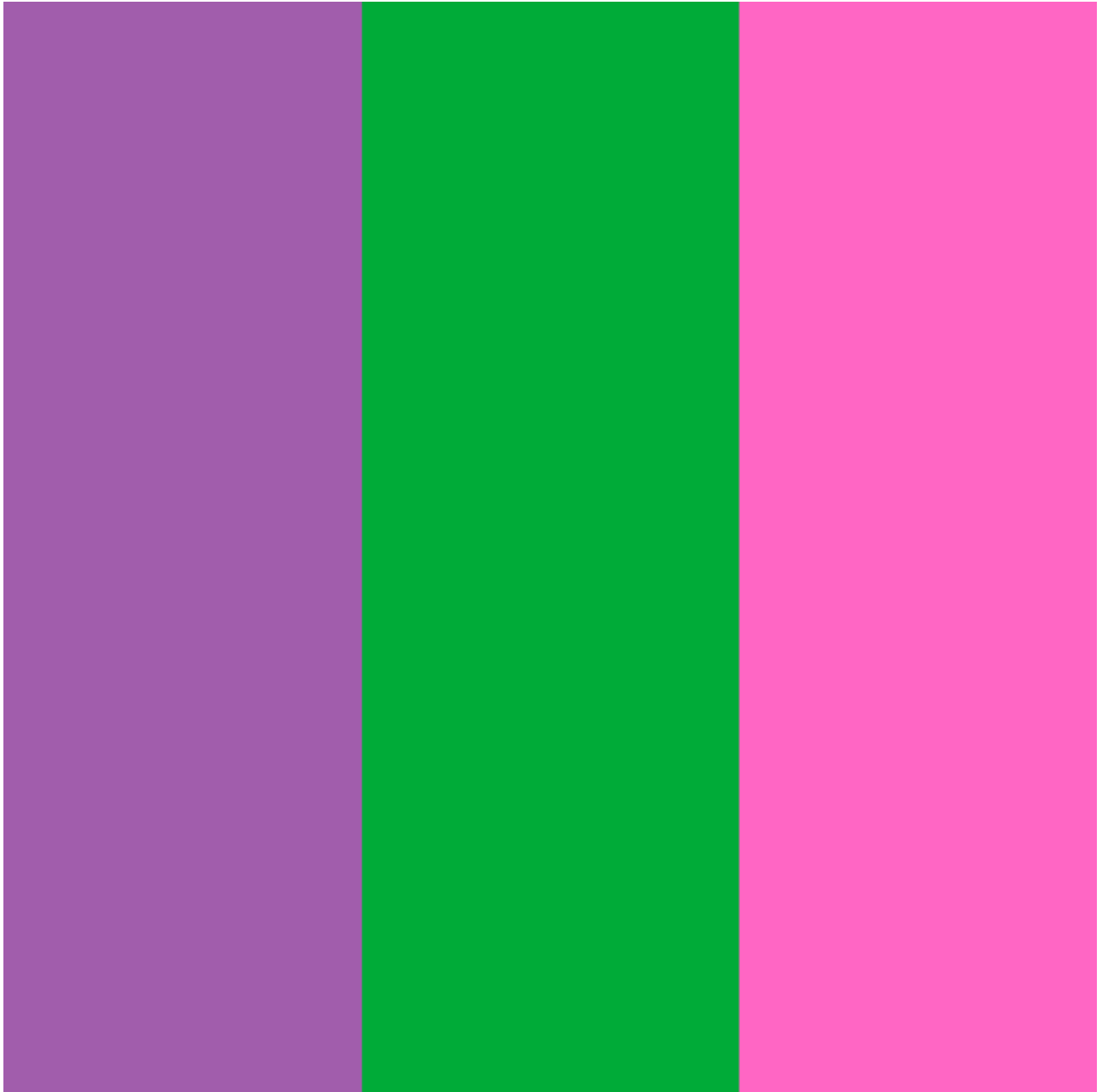
<https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/marcha-8-marzo-2020-cdmx-vivo-marcha-feminista>

Image 7. “Solidarity from police women”



March 8, 2020. Photograph, Milenio. <https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/marcha-8-marzo-2020-cdmx-vivo-marcha-feminista>

Image 8. “Three-color avatar for #8M”



Dudette (@Le_Dudette). *Avatar de 3 colores para #8M*. March 4, 2021. Avatar, Twitter.
https://twitter.com/Le_Dudette/status/1367514578205212678?s=20&t=4RoDyXiPzRqUXyL9BQrI5g

Image 9. "Paintings in Ocupa Casa Refugio Ni Una Menos"



September 23, 2020. Photograph, El Acontecer. <http://elacontecer.com.mx/2020/09/16/colectivo-de-feministas-toma-la-sede-de-cndh-en-la-ciudad-de-mexico/>

Image 10. “Glorieta de las Mujeres que Luchan”



Antimonumenta Vivas Nos Queremos (@antimonumenta). September 25, 2021. Photograph, Twitter.

https://twitter.com/antimonumenta/status/1441847528832397314?s=20&t=UVLm1dKWsHumHZtURIH_A

Image 11. “Antimonumenta in Avenida Juarez”



Cuartoscuro. March 8, 2020. Photograph, Noticieros Televisa.

<https://noticieros.televisa.com/ultimas-noticias/marchas-hoy-trafico-cdmx-9-marzo-2020/>