

## THE FIGHT AGAINST GENDER VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA USING DIGITAL INSTRUMENTS

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### **Abstract**

The aim of this paper is to address the problem of violence against women, and femicide in Latin America through an analysis of the feminist social movement #NiUnaMenos. We are trying to bring a new perspective on the societal efforts to fight violence against women in Latin America, and emphasize the important role of social media in raising awareness about this terrible phenomenon. #NiUnaMenos is a somehow recent social movement that can offer powerful insights concerning this contemporary phenomenon but also the extent to which it fits into the traditional theories of social movements.

The work is focused on how this movement has evolved from a local to a regional and international phenomenon, bringing as arguments empirical, quantitative and qualitative methods. Compared with previous social initiatives, the new social media instruments, such as Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok or Twitter, changed the way in which these protests were organized and greatly spread their demands and objectives.

### **Keywords**

#NiUnaMenos; digital; gender violence; social protests.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of femicide in Latin America has long been the focus of national and international media attention, discussing the possibilities of preventing violence and abuse against women. However, the authorities and the media try to hide the real state of affairs, to disguise blatant cases of crimes and violence against women as suicide, accident, or domestic trauma (Lagos Lira 2008).

Due to a large number of acts of violence against women, to the violation of rights but also to the fact that, both legally and in the mass media, they did not receive the help they hoped for, leading to a feeling of unfair treatment, movements against femicide and women violence emerged. For example, thousands of women in Argentina took to the streets to demand systemic change in a country where women are often killed or treated unfairly. Over time, these movements have spread beyond the Latin American borders, having a global impact (Human Rights Watch 2020).

In the present paper, the aim is to address the problem of violence against women, and femicide in Latin America through an analysis of the feminist social movement #NiUnaMenos. The first to say "*Ni una mujer menos, ni una muerte más* / Not one woman less, not one more death" was Mexican feminist, journalist, and poet Susanna Chavez, who fought against femicide. Since 1993, in northern Mexico, near the city of Ciudad Juarez, on the very border with the United States, women started being cruelly killed. Between 1993 and 2001, more than 370 women were killed, and by 2012 the figure rose to over 700. These were young women and teenagers aged 15 to 25 from poor families. They were forced to leave school and go to work. Also, slave traders, human traffickers, and manufacturers of sadistic pornography were engaged in the torture and murder of women (Amnesty International Report 2004).

Since the 1990s, relatives of those killed began to create women's organizations to combat femicide. Human rights activists were also killed, and the corpses were mutilated. In 2011, poet Susanna Chavez was assassinated.

The words of Susanna Chavez became the name and slogan of the international movement #NiUnaMenos, spreading around the region to countries such as Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico, as well as Spain. The

#NiUnaMenos movement arose in order to draw public attention to this problem. They stigmatize the machismo of men who mistreat women and urge women who have ever experienced male aggression not to be silent but to come forward to a special commission specially created to protect women. Also, this movement is trying to be an awareness campaign for the male population not to accept violence against women (Piatti-Crocker 2021).

Starting in Argentina, this research will try to explain how the hashtag #NiUnaMenos led to a regional movement. Less than one year after its creation, thousands of militants were protesting on the streets of main cities in Latin America against specific issues and problems, but their main objective was fighting against misogynist violence. Compared with previous social movements, the new social media instruments, such as Facebook, Instagram, Tik Tok or Twitter, changed the way in which these protests were organized and spurred an extraordinary spread of their demands and objectives (Piatti-Crocker 2021).

Having in mind the motivation for women's rights and feminist social movements, the research hypothesis of this paper aims at demonstrating the importance of digital activism in diffusing a national social movement to regional, as well as international scale. This shall be done by analysing various social media platforms and elements associated with the Argentinian #NiUnaMenos movement, taking into consideration elements starting from online hashtags, to art and music. Analysing a wide range of elements using both qualitative and quantitative methods, we aim at introducing a novel perspective on the impact of Latin American fourth-wave feminism at the transnational level, supplementing existing scholarly work on the topic (Piatti-Crocker 2021).

This research tries to bring a new perspective on the societal efforts to fight violence against women in Latin America, and emphasize the important role of social media in raising awareness about this terrible phenomenon. The #NiUnaMenos initiative was the starting point of a real social mobilization; this simple hashtag spread via social media and women adopted it as a way to improve their position.

## 2. FIGHTING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

An increase in violence against women is reported in Latin America. Studies suggest that out of the 25 countries with the highest rates of female homicide, more than half are in Latin America. According to a study, women are most often killed by men they know well: their former spouses, family members or friends. It was also demonstrated that in countries with high levels of deadly violence, women are often attacked by criminal groups or gangs, most of the time in a general climate of indifference and dispensation (Rauls and Ziff 2018).

A study by the UN Human Rights Office confirms these findings, identifying an increase in organized crime, human trafficking, drug trafficking, and the proliferation of small arms as the main causes for many of the killings of women in Latin America. These factors are exacerbated by structural discrimination, including an insufficient legal framework (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean 2022).

In many countries, Latin American women and girls, but also children and members of the LGBTIQ+ community, are still subject to violence. Examining the reports of the Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean, documents of Human Rights Watch, among other sources, concluded about the violation of human rights.

The issue of femicide is currently widely covered both by researchers in various scientific fields of knowledge and by the media. Nothing can justify blatant cases of violence against women, which often occur in the family. However, the mass media in different periods have acted both as an instrument of legitimation and of delegitimization of femicide in the eyes of the general public. This was due to various extra-linguistic factors, among which the main role has always been attributed to the ideological attitudes of the political elite, who regulate and limit the activities of journalists. Latin America has always been at the centre of gender scandals. Every day, according to official figures, about 10 women die at the hands of men in Mexico alone. Because of neglect towards women, gender

discrimination, and ignorance of the problem at the state level, punishment is often avoided (Montero 2015).

An older, but still very relevant, analysis is related to Chile's case of dealing with the issue of gender-based violence, driven by a growing interest of state structures and the general public in solving this problem, as well as the need to overcome gender stereotypes and attitudes supported by the media, which in turn, leads to hiding the problem and the inability to stop femicide.

Thus, according to the author of the study on the media coverage of gender violence in Chile, the Chilean mass media, on the one hand, contributed to attracting public attention to this issue, which made it possible to differentiate between concepts such as "crime" and "femicide". However, on the other hand, the Chilean media supported gender inequality and tried to explain the rapists' motives through gender stereotypes, which in turn led to blurring and hiding the issue. An analysis of the representation of femicide on Chilean television (in series, films, commercials, and shows) showed that violence against women is presented as commonplace (Poblete 2011).

As a result, it was found that Latin American journalists, guided by the ideological guidelines of the government, legitimize femicide through an emotional evaluation strategy, which is reflected in the language of alternative names for femicide and euphemisms that deny the very existence of discrimination against women.

The delegitimization of femicide is achieved through a strategy of dehumanization combined with a strategy of moral evaluation: in this case, femicide is represented as cruelty to women and a violation of their rights. When dehumanizing femicide, journalists also use the strategy of blaming the state, highlighting blatant cases of law enforcement ignoring the problem and attempting to hide the real causes of female mortality (Poblete 2011).

#NiUnaMenos is a quite recent social movement that can offer powerful insights concerning this contemporary phenomenon but also the extent to which it fits into the traditional theories of social movements; nevertheless, a lack of academic literature on the movement can be observed. Even though there exists a vast amount of descriptive journalism on the movement, in academic literature, there is less attention granted to the topic (Graziosi 2023). The analysis

conducted by Giuliana Maria Graziosi focuses on the beginnings of this movement but also on the social struggle and how this movement is actually seen as an anti-hegemonic discourse.

Graziosi's article analyses this massive movement and the way it is perceived, being identified as anti-hegemonic. From Antonio Gramsci's theory on hegemony, it can be said that this is the process in which the values and world view of one dominant class are imposed on the subjects of other classes, understood as those who are dominated (Graziosi, 2023). The emphasis is, however, on the combination of cultural hegemony transmitted both through educational or religious channels, as well as through communication channels, being considered by the authors to be the most important and most easily spread.

The #NiUnaMenos movement, being a social movement, is considered an anti-hegemonic response, so, despite all the efforts, measures are not taken in a timely manner and its growth is quite slow. However, based on the increasingly frequent movements in Latin America and through the global spread at the communicative level, in particular of #NiUnaMenos, we conclude that this movement is constantly getting closer to recognizing women's rights and moving to another factual level (Graziosi 2023).

The work written by Paz Cabral and Juan Antonio Acacio gives us a complete picture of how violence, gender, violence against women and femicide are starting to be flagged as serious problems, making the transition to institutional and legislative bodies and the media's role. Furthermore, they acknowledge the importance and repercussions brought by movements like #NiUnaMenos (Cabral and Acacio 2016).

The presence of debates on this subject in academic environments and academic works also brings a significant contribution to this movement which, as previously mentioned, is in full swing and is increasingly drawing closer to a change.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This article is focused mainly on analysing the influence of the Argentinian feminist movement #NiUnaMenos on regional, as well as international feminist social movements. According to our hypothesis, this influence was mainly exerted by means of digital activism through social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok, as well as through streaming platforms such as YouTube and Netflix, by sharing documentaries and music. We have chosen this specific hypothesis to gain broader insight into the implications of the Latin American feminist movement, as existing scholarly research tends to focus rather on the local and national dimensions. The aim of this analysis is to contribute with a broader perspective, underlining the importance of social media platforms in feminist social movements, without focusing solely on numbers, though. Therefore, our chosen research design is empirical, based on a deductive approach, and on mixed research methods.

The collected quantitative data has allowed the authors to interpret data from various social media platforms (such as Twitter, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube), enabling us to support the main hypothesis of this study and to strengthen the following assumptions. Nonetheless, qualitative methods were applied in interpreting the primary data collected from various media articles, and social media posts. A qualitative analysis of the retrieved data has allowed a more flexible stance and the inclusion of the gathered information as observers of a social phenomenon.

Relying upon secondary sources that would strengthen the academic basis of our research, we have conducted our study starting from the assumptions of scholars from the field of feminist studies.

Although our study has focused on a broader area, encompassing not only the Latin American region but also the developments and implications generated by the #NiUnaMenos movement at the transnational level, it cannot provide a generalization of the phenomenon. The regions that our analysis has taken into account are mainly Latin America and Europe, due to the lack of resources and data accessibility to conduct research on a larger scale. Therefore, our research encounters limitations in emphasizing the complex experience of women across

the world and the extensive influence of Latin American fourth-wave feminism. This lays a possible point of departure for future studies, which may focus on a broader sample of interviewees, as well as on the identification of distinct patterns that the #NiUnaMenos movement might have had in different regions. Hence, we acknowledge that further research could be built on the findings that will be stated in our study.

This research will analyse the #NiUnaMenos' movement from its origins to its extraordinary spread in Latin American region. The article aims at exploring how #NiUnaMenos militants share similar requests, using traditional and non-traditional communication channels to disseminate their ideas. To analyse these research assumptions, this article is using qualitative research, including journalistic reports, academic journals, blog entries, posts on social media, and internet sources.

#### **4. THE REGIONAL IMPACT OF THE #NIUNAMENOS MOVEMENT - THE MEXICO CASE**

Mexico, the homeland of Susana Chavez, is by no mistake also the home of the abuse. Being a woman and simply walking on a crowded street is just as dangerous as being captive in a cage.

During the research, we tried finding a solution for women to feel safe while doing normal daily activities: going to school, to the mall, travelling, in other words, feeling safe while simply living their life.

The first solution would be just walking, as nothing should happen to one while walking in broad daylight on the street. Except, in Guadalajara, a woman was killed while going home on foot. Her murderers were not found, and the authorities stated in 2016 that three out of ten murders that happen in the country are against women (Rdiguez 2021).

So, if walking alone is clearly not an option, let's look at walking with a member of the family, which should grant one the security of not being alone. Unfortunately, this did not apply to Guadalupe Ramos, a 38-year-old woman



who was walking together with her family on the main street of San Juan Tahitic, when out of the blue they heard gunshots. They screamed for help, but it was already too late. She was shot and there was nothing they could do. Her murder, which happened in 2016, is listed as femicide 42, showing the number of women killed until that moment (Velazques 2016).

Until now we have reached the conclusion that we cannot choose walking either alone, or with a family member, the next option would be using a car, but what if one does not own one or does not have a driving license? Then one has no choice but to take an Uber, it is supposed to be safe, is it not? Their mobile application is supposed to track down every move of the driver, as they have the driver's name and all his personal information. But what shall be done when the representatives of the application, in order to clear their name, claim that they have no record of the user, their order, or the driver? This is the story of Karina Badilla Castro a young woman, aged 23, who after a Saturday party took an Uber back home. The driver sexually abused her and then beat her to death. On social media, along with the hashtag #NiUnaMenos, one more was created in her name #JusticiaPorKarina /Justice for Karina (Sinembargo 2020).

So, walking is definitely not an option for women, and if an Uber, which is a quite expensive service that not many people can afford, cannot be trusted, we do not even dare to think what can happen on public transportation, which is usually crowded; there is no control and surely there is no protection. What is there left for women to do? What are their options? To just never leave their home? Their home is supposed to be their safe space, the place where no one can hurt them. Unfortunately, the reality is different. A 50-year-old woman from the colony Observatorio was assassinated in her own house (Velazquez 2021).

The questions that come to mind are the following: why is no one helping the women, where is the help, where is the protection, why are women not asking for it, and, more importantly, why are they not receiving it?

The last case we present is that of a woman from Mexico with a tragic ending, the sad story of Victoria Salazar. The people who should be there for women, the people who took an oath to defend and protect them, are the exact same people who attack, assault, and kill without a motive. Victoria Salazar was a 36-year-old single mother of two daughters, who tried to run away from poverty

and came to Mexico in order to secure better opportunities and a much safer future for her and her kids. She was originally from El Salvador, considered the most unsafe country in the world.

After receiving a call that a woman was disturbing public order, the police showed up in front of the store where Victoria was at that time. She walked out of there calmly and peacefully, but they decided that she was dangerous, and they put her down, handcuffed her and pressed hard on her back. They could see that she was suffering, but instead of helping her, they put her in the car and let her die. The recording of a surveillance camera showed that she was not a threat to the public order, and therefore they had no reason to treat her in that manner. It was *machismo* and nothing more. They discriminated her based on her gender and her ethnicity. Later, the prosecutor confirmed that the cause of death was a fracture and injuries to the upper part of the spine, which coincide with the policemen's actions. The ones who should have helped, not only failed at doing their job, but they were the ones who brought death upon her. The president of Mexico, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, confirmed everything, and declared that the police officers treated her violently and were the ones that killed her.

As in Karina's case, along with the slogan #NiUnaMenos, the death of Victoria had massive support in social media, with the slogan "*Justicia para-Victoria. No es un policía, es toda una institución*" / Justice for Victoria. It is not a policeman; it is an entire institution (BBC News Mundo 2021).

In Mexico, #NiUnaMenos went viral, trying to give a voice to that part of the society that had focused for a long time on subjects related to sexual assault and the growing numbers of murdered women, but the hashtag was over time adapted to other domestic problems. Hashtags like #MiPrimerAcoso / #MyFirstAssault went viral as thousands of women shared online their sexual assault experiences. Also hashtags like #SiMeMatan / #IfTheyKillMe went viral after the murder of a young girl by her boyfriend. The wave of frustration grew because the authorities tried to explain that the girl victim of femicide had committed suicide instead. In 2020, the hashtag #JuntasOrganizadas / #TogetherAndOrganized was used by women and civil groups to strike and to show their power on social media, a first step in their fight against gender-based

violence (Piatti-Crocker 2021).

#NiUnaMenos and the new hashtags driven from it were adapted and developed from the initial movement into new initiatives throughout Latin America, sharing similar goals and objectives.

## 5. THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT OF THE #NIUNAMENOS MOVEMENT

Feminist scholars have identified that the mainstream form of feminism promoted in Western countries is not relevant to the same degree for women in the South, nor for the disadvantaged social categories of the North (Çağatay 2018, 58-80). The strong ties of mainstream feminism to neoliberalism tend to ignore the need for interdisciplinarity, encouraging women around the world to create their own form of resistance and liberation. Considering this, it is understandable how the Argentinian feminist movement has spread, not only across the Latin American region, but far beyond the regional borders. Not only has the #NiUnaMenos movement reached the world through the Latin American diasporas, but it has been embraced by women who adapted it to the national context, either by replicating the movement into a national feminist collective (e.g. #NonUnadiMeno in Italy), or by adapting the slogan, and the work of Latin American prominent artists who have influenced the movement, to their local context (Piatti-Crocker 2021).

The adaptability of the anti-femicide rhetoric used by #NiUnaMenos on the international scene is not an unusual phenomenon. For instance, Turkish feminist scholars tend to look at the studies of non-Western feminist authors, which developed a range of theories adapted to a context of violence where the state plays an important role, particularly in the study of violence against women in Latin America. In fact, the term “femicide” (*feminicidio*) as used in the recent contexts was coined by Mexican author Marcela Lagarde, which added to Diana Russel’s and Jill Radford’s original definition of the term ‘femicide’ the dimension of state involvement by referring to the impunity with

which such murders are usually treated (Russell 2013). In this part we will analyse how social media platforms have played a crucial role in the dissemination of the #NiUnaMenos movement beyond regional reach, exceeding linguistic barriers across the European continent, and contributing to already existing movements, and even establishing a replicated movement.

By analysing the usage of the hashtag #NiUnaMenos in its original form, as well as its verbatim translations into different languages, and the profiles registered under the same name, we have identified three ways in which feminist social movements have been influenced by the Argentinian movement at an international scale.

Firstly, we have identified the replication of the #NiUnaMenos movement. According to data retrieved from Twitter, in 2018, a notable replication of the #NiUnaMenos movement appeared under the same name in the diaspora in the United Kingdom, with the purpose of bringing together Latin American feminists living abroad. With slightly more than 1,000 followers on the social platform, the collective showed regular activity between 2018 and 2021. Among its activities are the mobilization of demonstrators in support of the legalization of abortion in Argentina prior to 2020, as well as the mobilization of women on the International Women's Strike Day in 2021 (Twitter).

A second replication was identified in Italy; however, distinctly from the #NiUnaMenos" UK, the #NonUnadiMeno movement in Italy was founded by Italian women, in the context of the anti-femicide movement in Italy. The movement established in 2016 in Rome by a group of feminist associations (*Io Decido*, *Unione Donne in Italia*, and *Donne in Rete Contro la Violenza*) defines itself as a "*transnational movement which aspires to a radical transformation of society and the subversion of power relations that transcend national boundaries*" (Declaration Non-Una di Meno).

Furthermore, the manifesto published by the Italian collective clearly states its radical stance against "racist and neoliberal policies" and affirms its solidarity towards women, and the LGBTQI+ community. It further adapts to the Italian national context by including marginalized communities such as migrants, stateless minorities, and people from the lower social strata (Declaration Non-Una di Meno). Besides benefitting from an audience of 30.000 followers on

Twitter, the movement relies as well on local branches in major and middle Italian cities from the north to the south of the country (Twitter Non-Una di Meno). At the local level, the movement organized demonstrations for the International Day for Elimination of Violence against Women on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November, as well as the strikes of “*Lottomarzo*” celebrating the International Women’s Day with resistance, similar to the Latin American “8M” demonstrations against gender-based violence (Twitter Non-Una di Meno).

Whereas the reality of Italian women cannot be compared to that of Latin American women in terms of statistics and functionality of the judicial system, the term ‘femicide’ (*femminicidio*) is a neologism in the Italian context. It first appeared in 2013 in the Italian Criminal Code under the law decree of October 15, 2013, n. 119, which implemented “...*new regulations to combat gender-based violence that aim to prevent femicide*”. In 2019, the regulations were complemented with an increased punishment for gender-based crimes (Marocco 2021).

Nevertheless, victim blaming still plays a major role in Italian society, with traditional media such as television and newspapers using sensationalist titles, which depict femicides as crimes of passion. In 2021, the MediaSet show “Forum” sparked a wave of digital activism in Italy, as moderator Barbara Palombelli questioned the behavior of the victims of femicide (Liso, 2021). This resembles the struggle of the #NiUnaMenos movement in Mexico, where activists underlined the problematic perspective of questioning the behavior of the women, and depicting femicides as a result of the victim’s behavior. For instance, in the context of the murder of Ingrid Escamilla, who was brutally killed by her partner, the murder was depicted by the printed media as a crime of passion (Mendez 2021). Therefore, a main challenge for the #NonUnadiMeno movement remains raising awareness, not only through digital activism on social media platforms, such as Twitter and Instagram, but also by trying to reach the general public accustomed to traditional media sources.

Secondly, the influence of the Argentinian movement can be identified through the popularity of the hashtag #NiUnaMenos, which was translated into different languages, however, without a replication of the feminist organization, as in the case of Italy. In Francophone countries, the hashtag has been translated into

#PasUneDePlus, preserving its original meaning, collecting over 400,000 views on TikTok, and being used for over 13,000 posts on Instagram. On Twitter, under the hashtag can be found reports and statistics regarding victims of gender-based violence, as well as updates on street manifestations happening mainly in Canada and France (FMHF, Tweeter). In 2021, French cinematographer Ève Lamont released a documentary with the same name as the movement, “*Pas Une de Plus*”, which aims at shedding light upon the lives of victims of domestic violence living in shelters (Caillou 2022).

In Poland, the slogan #NiUnaMenos was translated verbatim into Polish as #AniJednejWięcej and is used mainly in the context of the restrictive abortion laws implemented by the government (Abortion Support Network, Tweeter, 2022). The restrictions led to at least six women losing their lives after being denied safe and legal abortions. The slogan did not only appear on the signs held by women during the street protests held in Warsaw, but also on the grave of the first woman who lost her life in Poland after the restrictions were introduced (Biedroń, 2022). On Instagram, over 10,000 posts were published under the translated hashtag, with multiple posts raising awareness and commemorating the victims. Moreover, the #AniJednejWięcej hashtag collected 29 million views on TikTok, being used for raising awareness of the situation in Poland.

In Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, according to data retrieved from Twitter, the verbatim translation of the slogan into German language #NichtEineWeniger has been used collectively to raise awareness of femicides, via demonstrations or through social media activism (LINKS Brigittenau, Twitter, 2021). In 2020, German activists in Freiburg im Breisgau renamed officially the Augustinerplatz into #Ni-Una-Menos-Platz, establishing a memorial monument in honor of the women who have lost their lives (Rotermund, 2021). Similarly, an Austrian art initiative established temporarily the #Ni-Una-Menos-Platz in front of the Innsbruck Landestheater, in honor of the Latin American Movement (Gstir 2021).

Lastly, the “Ni Una Menos” movement exerted influence at the international level through the creative work of Latin American artists, such as documentaries, arts, and music. Since 2017 the photographer Juan Mathias has

been organizing an exhibition in Germany titled “Ni Una Menos – Nicht Eine Weniger”, showing pictures taken during the street demonstrations in Argentina (Rosa-Luxemburg Stiftung, 2023). The global streaming platform Netflix made available in numerous countries the documentary “The Three Deaths of Marisela Escobedo” (*Las Tres Muertes de Marisela Escobedo*) directed by Mexican producer Carlos Perez Osorio. The documentary raises awareness towards the disappearances and femicides happening in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, since the late 1990s. Furthermore, it sheds light upon the assassination of the activist Marisela Escobedo, who was murdered only one month prior to Susana Chavez, the Mexican poet who inspired the name of the #NiUnaMenos” movement.

In terms of influence and social media reach, two songs from Latin America became anthems for feminist resistance against gender-based violence, at both regional and international levels. In 2020, Mexican artist Vivir Quintana released the song titled “*Cancion sin Miedo*” (Song without fear), written in honor of the victims of femicide. Quintana’s song became the soundtrack for Carlos Perez’s documentary, as she honors the name of Marisela Escobedo in her lyrics. The song became an anthem across Latin America gathering 20 million views on YouTube. Furthermore, translations and covers in other languages collecting numerous views emerged on the platform. On TikTok, over 73,000 videos were uploaded using the song, with edited videos of demonstrations from around the world.

The largest impact at the international level was achieved by the Chilean feminist collective Las Tesis, with the song “*Un Violador en tu Camino*” (A rapist in your path). According to a map created by the Brazilian group GeoChicas, thousands of women from around the world, starting from Chile, to the entire Latin American region, North America, Europe, the Middle East, and a few African and Asian countries, united in solidarity to perform the song on the streets (El Universal 2021). The lyrics highlight the reality of women coming from diverse cultural and social backgrounds; the words act as a collective call for the world to stand up and put an end to male-perpetrated violence against women, be it individual or influenced by state policies.

According to Rita Segato, an Argentinian anthropologist, the success of the song

at the global level is attributed to a common factor, namely systemic violence, and therefore women from around the world can relate with the lyrics as much as women from Latin America (Larsson 2020). In some cases, the lyrics were translated into other languages, as it happened in Brazil, France, and Turkey. Despite slight changes due to translations, the meaning of the song remains the same – women worldwide want the state institutions to be held accountable as mentioned in the line “*Son los pacos, Los jueces, El Estado, El Presidente*”/ It’s the cops, the judges, the state, the President (Sprimont 2019).

However, in Turkey, the freedom of expression of women was limited, and the performances of “*Un Violador en tu Camino*” in Turkish language were punished by the authorities. In 2019, several performances were held in major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, along with the feminist marches protesting against the withdrawal of Turkey from the Istanbul Convention. Due to the translated lyrics, almost identical to the original song, which incriminate the actions (and inactions) of the state, several women were detained, including activists from the main anti-femicide organization active in Turkey, We Will Stop Femicides Platform (Altay 2019). In solidarity with the limitation on the freedom of speech of Turkish women, female deputies performed the song in Turkish inside the parliament. This led to criticism from Interior minister Süleyman Soylu, whose discourse has been analysed in other instances by Turkish feminist scholars, and identified as problematic as it downplays the severity of the gender-violence present in the country (Atuk 2020).

## 6. CONCLUSION

This research focuses on the Argentinian social movement whose name was inspired by the Mexican feminist, journalist, and poet Susanna Chavez, “*Ni una mujer menos, ni una más*”, and the manner in which it has affected and/or improved the lives of women worldwide. #NiUnaMenos was born as a social movement and a hashtag, with the primary objective of fighting for women’s rights.

The movement has the purpose of helping women who are going through a



rough time, who are abused physically or psychically. Usually, the victims are afraid to talk because the assaulters are someone they know very well, mostly men.

The popularity achieved by the movement on social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, Netflix etc. has brought exactly what the women were lacking – a voice, and this voice can no longer be silenced or stopped from being heard. All these digital platforms were the main tools to create the movement and recruit members. #NiUnaMenos has proven its capacity to bring into the spotlight the phenomenon of gender-based violence that became so common, regardless of social class.

By attempting to measure the impact that #NiUnaMenos has had at the regional and international levels, we have discovered three ways in which the movement has influenced feminist social movements around the world.

Firstly, through replication, as in the case of Italy and the Latin American diaspora in the United Kingdom.

Secondly, by means of using the hashtag #NiUnaMenos and its translation in different, but at the same time similar contexts, such as the restriction implemented on the procedure of abortion in Poland, or raising awareness against gender-based violence in German-speaking countries.

Lastly, multiple forms of artistic expression, particularly music stemming from the Latin American fourth-wave feminist movement have sparked performances and demonstrations around the world.

The identified elements demonstrate how #NiUnaMenos, an anti-hegemonic movement, was connecting women around the globe, and how a movement originating in the South obtained a considerable reach in the North. Moreover, the paper highlights the importance of digital activism and the impact of social media platforms, not only for the #NiUnaMenos movement but also for global feminist civil society at large.

Latin America continues to be marked by sexism and gender-based violence. A better awareness of the problems and a common effort to combat violence is a necessity. For this, we need the civil society, the government, the NGOs and the international organizations at the same table. #NiUnaMenos is just an initiative trying to stop the atrocities to whom women worldwide have fallen victim.

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