

Call for Contribution to an Issue of RITA – Ni Una Menos, Ten Years Later: Struggles, Memories, and Political Horizons

On the tenth anniversary of *Ni Una Menos* (NUM), we wish to reflect on the genealogies, current events and legacies of this unprecedented cycle in the history of feminist protest in Latin America. While Argentina crystallized a turning point in 2015 with the mobilization on June 3rd, following the femicide of Chiara Páez, the slogan *Ni Una Menos* is rooted in a regional *continuum* of struggles—from Mexico to Chile, Peru to Uruguay—, inspiring, through diasporas and digital networks, feminist movements around the world (7N, Women's March, Me Too, Non Una Di Meno, IWS). *Ni Una Menos* is a slogan, a hashtag, a campaign and a feminist collective. It has become a social movement whose demands, initially focused on denouncing gender-based and sexual violence and its most extreme expression, femicide, led to the questioning of a system of exploitation and oppression, while developing a political imagination that transformed traditional militant grammars, driven by the emergence of sensitive artistic repertoires and innovative affective economies (Bertolaccini, 2023; Vacarezza, 2025).

Although NUM has been perceived as a new cycle of feminist mobilization, it nevertheless follows on from previous struggles against gender-based and sexual violence, while also engaging with broader historical processes in the region: the struggles for democracy, transitional justice, reproductive rights and the recognition of indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants. It is at the intersection of these dynamics that the denunciation of feminicide has taken on a foundational dimension, acting as a catalyst.

Developed in the Anglo-Saxon context as *femicide*, this conceptualization of ‘misogynistic murder of women by men’ (Russell, Radford, 1992: 11) finds particular resonance in certain Latin American countries. Adapted to local realities, the term has acquired a new meaning and scope to reflect structural responsibilities and institutional violence: the term *feminicidio*¹, popularized by Marcela Lagarde following the murders in Ciudad Juárez, emphasizes the responsibility of the state and the logic of impunity. In Costa Rica, Ana Carcedo and Montserrat Sagot (2002) translate *femicide* as *feminicidio* in order to emphasize the widespread and socially constructed nature of the murder of women by men, which they describe as the final stage in a *continuum* of misogynistic violence (Kelly, 1988). They also reveal the almost pedagogical significance of *femicide*, which appears to be a reminder of the patriarchal order. For her part, researcher Julia Monárrez Fragoso created the category of *systemic sexual feminicide* to highlight the interconnection between violence against women and other power dynamics linked to the reproduction of subordination and

¹ In the context of Ciudad Juárez, Marcela Lagarde considers the state to be responsible for maintaining widespread impunity for violence against women, even in its most extreme forms, and thus believes that ‘when the state is a structural part of the problem due to its patriarchal nature and its commitment to preserving this order, feminicide is a state crime’ (2008: 217).

otherness, revealing the inscription and interaction of feminicide with the dynamics specific to the geographical context of Ciudad Juárez.

These conceptualizations have contributed to a broader understanding of the plurality of systemic violences in Latin America, underlining that femicide is not merely an isolated crime but part of structural, institutional, and cultural frameworks of oppression. By situating *Ni Una Menos* within this complex landscape, we see how the movement has transformed the denunciation of femicide into a political tool that articulates regional struggles, demands accountability from states, and envisions new forms of social and affective organization. Over the past decade, NUM has not only catalyzed local and transnational feminist mobilizations but has also fostered critical reflection on memory, justice, and the imaginaries of a more equitable and inclusive political horizon.

These conceptualizations have made it possible to recognize the plurality of systemic violence and its links to militarization, racism, territorial dispossession and the ecological crisis. More recently, the emergence of terms such as *travesticidio* and *transfeminicidio* (Radi and Sardá-Chandiramani, 2016) has broadened the political scope of this critique by incorporating LGBTIQ+ struggles. This conceptual framework, along with activist experiences, particularly those in Ciudad Juárez, has strongly influenced the NUM. Directly inspired by ‘*Ni Una Más*’ (Not One More), proposed by Mexican activist Susana Chavez against feminicide in Ciudad Juarez, the NUM creates a *continuum* in the analysis of sexist violence and the struggle for life as a paradigm of the movement. Furthermore, beyond denouncing the systematization of feminicide, NUM has become involved in the fight for the legalization of abortion, thereby enabling the conquest of sexual and reproductive² rights while creating new dynamics of organizations, demands and agendas (Natalucci and Rey, 2018).

The slogan *Ni Una Menos* quickly crossed borders, where it was reconfigured according to political contexts, activist cultures and collective memories. In Chile, for example, the performance *Un violador en tu camino* by the collective *LASTESIS* (2019) translated and extended the spirit of NUM into a performative critique of patriarchal justice; in Peru, the *Ni Una Menos – Tocan a Una, Tocan a Todas* demonstrations (2016-2017) linked the denunciation of feminicide with transitional justice; in Central America, indigenous feminist collectives articulated the notion of *cuerpo-territorio* (Cabnal, 2010) with the defense of community life. The cycle has thus achieved rapid transnationalization, notably through the viral spread of its forms of expression and the activist use of social media. The dissemination of slogans, green scarves, glitter and performances testifies to the cross-border potential of the movement, which, beyond national identities, is helping to build a common feminist horizon.

² In Argentina, the Micaela and Brisa laws and the ones on gender parity and voluntary termination of pregnancy were adopted; similarly, the femicide registry and the Ministry of Women, Gender and Diversity were created.

On 8 March 2017, the first international women's strike marked a turning point: *Ni Una Menos* became a transnational platform linking reproductive labour, precariousness, debt, extractivism and gender-based violence (Gago, 2019). The movement thus asserts a deeply intersectional identity and broadens to include a radical critique of patriarchy and capitalism (Spyer-Dulci, 2024). By highlighting the role of feminized bodies in productive and reproductive work, as well as the feminization of care, the politicization of the economic dimension of gender has enabled the movement to become more cross-cutting, incorporating a feminist perspective into the trade union agenda while also reinforcing the economic interpretation of the movement's political situation.

Numerous studies have highlighted the centrality of the link between aesthetics and politics in the movement's expressive assemblages, as well as the activation of complex emotional and affective repertoires (Bertolaccini, 2021, 2023; Palmeiro, 2019; Gutiérrez 2023, Vacarezza 2025). This bibliography recognizes the emergence of artistic activism³ specific to feminist movements, thus tracing a continuity with the visual politics employed by human rights movements in Argentina. For example, the *pañuelo verde*, a green scarf chosen as a symbol by the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe and Free Abortion⁴, launched in Argentina in 2005, became a regional symbol of the struggle for the decriminalization of abortion in 2015. Attached to schoolgirls' backpacks, waved in the air during *pañuelazos*⁵, tied around the neck or used to hide the face during direct action, the green scarf creates a direct link with the white scarf used as a distinctive sign by the mothers and grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo in their public appearances to demand the return of their children and grandchildren who disappeared during the last military dictatorship (1976-1983). Ana Longoni (2021) sees the reappropriation of the scarf as a manifestation of the transformative power of feminism: by reinterpreting Argentina's past, it connects the 'madwomen of the square with the granddaughters of the witches they couldn't burn' in a sisterly alliance that breaks down political boundaries.

This renewal of forms of protest places the body at the center of the contestation: both as a material support for the demonstration and as an emotional and performative vehicle, the massive presence of bodies and the rebellious aesthetics they convey disrupts the regime of meaning, of the visible and invisible, that constitutes public space (Rancière, 2015). This

³ This category, developed by Ana Longoni in the early 2000s, refers to 'often collective productions and actions that draw on artistic resources to intervene in order to take a stand and have an impact in the political sphere'. (« *agrupo bajo esta definición producciones y acciones, muchas veces colectivas, que abrevan en recursos artísticos con la voluntad de tomar posición e incidir de alguna forma en el territorio de lo político* ».) Longoni, 2009, p. 18.

⁴ *Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito*.

⁵ The *pañuelazo* is a performative action carried out by a multitude of protesters in a square, in the street, or in front of an institution, which consists of waving a scarf in the air. It was widely used by the Argentine feminist movement, illustrating the green tide.

tactile, festive and physical dimension of feminist protest culminates in the *Marea verde*, in the harmony of thousands of people demanding together, in the streets, the right to decide over their own bodies, thus activating emotional repertoires that disrupt the affective framework established by the cis-heterosexual patriarchy (Vacarezza, 2025).

Ten years on, this cycle has profoundly transformed the political imagination of feminism. It has led to an unprecedented massification of the movement, public recognition of structural violence, and a reshaping of alliances between feminists, trade unionists, LGBTQ+ activists, students, domestic and rural workers. But this massification has been accompanied by tensions: between punitive justice and transformative justice; between militant horizontality and institutionalization; between the politicization of care and its exhaustion; and between the universalization of discourse and more local roots. Recent years have also seen the emergence of conservative counter-movements seeking to delegitimize feminist advances by invoking the idea of a “backlash” to criticize queer, trans and feminist policies, accusing them of having “gone too far”. This context poses a real challenge for critical and political thinking: ten years after the first mass mobilization, how can we take stock of *Ni Una Menos* in a way that allows us to lucidly question the punitive and identity-based issues of certain feminist agendas, without playing into the hands of conservative sectors? (Cuello, 2024; Mitidieri and Escales 2024).

This critical periodization that we propose to initiate here therefore invites contributors to reflect on the origins, dynamics, legacies and outcomes of this movement, recognizing the geographical and political diversity of Latin American feminisms. The aim is to examine *Ni Una Menos* as a moment of intensification in a long history of struggles, marked by multiple trajectories, temporalities and contexts — from the COVID-19 pandemic to the rise of the conservative right. In line with Juliana Esquivel (2022, 2025), we propose to move beyond the periodization into ‘waves’ in order to consider the continuities, local anchors and organizational processes that made the massiveness of 2015 possible.

In order to critically address this phenomenon, we propose five complementary lines of reflection, detailed below:

1. Conceptual and practical epistemological contributions of Latin American feminisms

Studies of the concepts of ‘femicide’ or ‘feminicide’, ‘travesticide’ and ‘transfeminicide’, ‘*acuerpar*’ or ‘body-territory’; dialogues between activist, academic and popular knowledge and dialogues with other movements in the region or internationally.

2. Political subject, intersections, victim paradigm and tensions

Plurality of actors: youth, dissidents, Afro-descendants, indigenous peoples, peasants, trade unionists. Modes of organization, coalitions and internal frictions.

3. Trans-American and transnational circulations

Dissemination of repertoires (strikes, songs, slogans, *pañuelo verde*), digital networks, diasporas, translations and local reappropriations.

4. Activist and artistic grammars

Performances, visuals, songs, feminist archiving devices, reconfigurations of the sensible and the political.

5. Assessments, periodizations and reactionary responses

Institutionalization, transformative justice, effects of the pandemic, responses to counter-movements. Reflections on the continuities and ruptures of the NUM cycle.

Submission guidelines

The call for papers is open to scientific articles, as well as field notes, reviews, interviews, opinion pieces and literary texts. Full articles are due by **1 March 2026** and should be sent to the following addresses:

- paulinecoeuret97@gmail.com
- tania.romerobarrios@gmail.com
- marjolainedavid44@gmail.com

Articles must follow the bibliographic standards of the RITA journal.

Issue coordinators

- Tania Romero Barrios, PhD student, Paris 8 University, LER/CERLOM/IFEA
- Marjolaine David Briand, PhD student, Bordeaux Montaigne University, AMERIBER/ University of Buenos Aires
- Pauline Coeuret, PhD student, Paris Nanterre University, CRIIA

Indicative bibliography

- Bertolaccini, Luciana (2021). *Desde el corazón de la marea. Estética y política en las protestas sociales del movimiento feminista en Rosario*, UNR Editoras, Rosario. Lien : <https://unreditora.unr.edu.ar/producto/desde-el-corazon-de-la-marea/>
- Bertolaccini, Luciana (2023). «Nos queremos vivxs, libres y sin miedo. Festividad, goce y alegría como repertorios de protesta social feminista» in *Conceptos*, n. 8, pp. 1-25. Lien : <https://doi.org/10.46608/conceptos2023b/art2>
- Caputi Jane, Russell Diana E. H. (2023 (1990)), «“Femicide”: speaking the unspeakable», in Spillard Katherine (ed.), *50 years of Ms. The best of the pathfinding magazine that ignited a revolution*, Knopf, New York, pp. 188-192
- Dawson Myrna, Mobayed Vega Saide (ed.) (2023), *The Routledge international handbook on femicide and feminicide*, Routledge, New York, 616p.
- Cabnal Lorena (2010). «Acercamiento a la construcción del pensamiento epistémico de las mujeres indígenas feministas comunitarias de Abya Yala». En *Feminismos diversos: el feminismo comunitario*, editado por ACSUR-Las Segovias, 10–25. España: ACSUR-Las Segovias.
- Chaparro, Amneris (2022). «Las olas feministas, ¿una metáfora innecesaria?» in *Korpus21*, pp. 77-92. Lien: <https://doi.org/10.22136/korpus21202284>
- Courau, Thérèse (2022). « Introduction. Activisme artistique et renouveau du militantisme en Amérique latine : Performer le XXI ème siècle ». *L'Ordinaire des Amériques*, n. 228. Lien : <https://doi.org/10.4000/orda.6919>
- Cuello, Nicolas (2024). Sobre el progresismo indolente : Imágenes de la culpabilidad y la moderación afectiva ante la crítica feminista, trans y queer. *Mora*, 2(30), 147-152.
- Curiel Ochy, Masson Sabine y Falquet Jules (2005). «Féminismes dissidents en Amérique latine et aux Caraïbes». *Nouvelles Questions Féministes* Vol.24 (2): 4–13.
- Esquivel, Juliana (2022). *La movilización feminista en el centro del debate : Hacia un estado del arte sobre la cuarta ola en Argentina*. <https://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/libros/pm.5550/pm.5550.pdf>
- Esquivel, Juliana (2025). *Entre arena y olas : La manifestación feminista en La Plata (2001-2019)*, thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Faculté de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación. <https://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/library?a=d&c=tesis&d=Jte3074>
- Fregoso Rosa-Linda, Bejarano Cynthia (eds.) (2010), *Terrorizing women. Femicide in the Americas*, Duke University Press, Durham, 382p.
- Friedman, Elizabeth. J., Tabbush, Constanza, Rossi, Felicitas (2020). *Género, sexualidad e izquierdas latinoamericanas : El reclamo de derechos durante la marea rosa*. CLACSO, 369p.
- Gago, Verónica, Gutiérrez, Raquel, Draper, Susana, Menéndez, Mariana, Montanelli, Marina, & Rolnik, Suely (2018). *8M Constelación feminista. ¿Cuál es tu huelga? ¿Cuál es tu lucha?*. Tinta Limón, Buenos Aires, 136p. https://tintalimon.com.ar/public/53lu3fymk97mvaolavou6munabo/pdf_978-987-3687-37-2.pdf

- Gago, Verónica (2021). *La puissance féministe ou le désir de tout changer*, Éditions Divergence: Paris, traduit de l'anglais par Léa Nicolas-Teboul, 268p.
- Galindo María (2022). *Feminismo bastardo*. 1a edición. Buenos Aires: Lavaca.
- García, Mailén (2021). «De pañuelos verdes y pañuelazos. Las relaciones entre la movilización social y la memoria en la lucha por los derechos de las mujeres» in *Clepsidra - Revista interdisciplinaria de Estudios sobre Memoria*, vol. 8, n. 15, pp. 116-133.
- Gutiérrez, Laura (2023). «Duelo y Resistencia Contra las Violencias Sexo-Genéricas. Articulaciones, Debates y Corrimientos en la Protesta Feminista, de Mujeres y LGBTIQ en Paraná (2015-2017)» in *Revista Punto Género* n. 20, pp. 92-123. Lien : <https://doi.org/10.5354/2735-7473.2023.73462>
- Lagarde, Marcela (2008). « Violencia feminicida y derechos humanos de las mujeres » in *XI Congreso de Antropología: retos teóricos y nuevas prácticas*, Universidad Autónoma de México, pp. 209-239.
- Lapalus, Marylène, Mora, Mariana R. (2020). « Fémicide/féminicide : Les enjeux politiques d'une catégorie juridique et militante » in *Travail, genre et société*, vol. 1, n. 43, La Découverte, Paris, pp. 155-160.
- Longoni, A. (2009). Activismo artístico en la última década en Argentina : Algunas acciones en torno a la segunda desaparición de Jorge Julio López. *ERRATA#*, 19.
- Longoni, Ana (2020). «Pañuelos : De cómo las Madres se volvieron feministas y las feministas encontraron Madres» in *Carta(s) : Tiempos incompletos*. Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía. Lien : <https://ri.conicet.gov.ar/handle/11336/194331>
- Mandelli, Thatiane, Spyer-Dulci, Teresa (2024). «En las redes y las calles: estrategias de atuação do coletivo argentino Ni Una Menos» in *Autoctonía. Revista de Ciencias Sociales e Historia*, Santiago de Chile, vol. 8, pp. 18-58.
- Mitidieri, Gabriela, Escales, Vanina (2024). Presentación. *Mora*, vol. 2, n. 30, pp. 105-108. Enlace: <https://doi.org/10.34096/mora.n30.16548>
- Monárrez Fragoso Julia Estela (2009). *Trama de una injusticia. Feminicidio sexual sistémico en Ciudad Juárez*, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, Miguel Ángel Porrúa, Ciudad de México, 2009, 321p.
- Natalucci, Ana, & Rey, Julieta (2018). «¿Una nueva oleada feminista? Agendas de género, repertorios de acción y colectivos de mujeres (Argentina, 2015-2018)» in *Revista de estudios políticos y estratégicos*, vol., n. 2, pp. 14-34.
- Natalucci, Ana, Fernández Mouján, Lucía, Mate, Ernesto (coord.) (2023). *La protesta social en la era Cambiemos: conflicto por la distribución y la respuesta represiva*. Base de datos en protestas sociales en Argentina, Buenos Aires. CITRA (CONICET-UMET), 87p.
- Natalucci, Ana, & Messori, Florencia (2023). «El feminismo de masas : La movilización de las mujeres y diversidades en el ciclo de la marea verde (Argentina,

2015-2020)» in *Revista Punto Género*, n. 20, pp. 178-205. Lien : <https://doi.org/10.5354/2735-7473.2023.73465>

- Palmeiro, Cecilia (2019). «Ni Una Menos : Las lenguas locas del grito colectivo a la marea global» in *Cuadernos de literatura*, vol. 23, n. 46, pp. 177-195.
- Rancière, Jacques (2015). *Le partage du sensible : Esthétique et politique*. la Fabrique.
- Paredes Julieta (2014). *Hilando fino desde el feminismo comunitario*. México: El Rebozo México.
- Rivera Cusicanqui Silvia (2010). *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores*. Buenos Aires: Retazos : Tinta Limón Ediciones.
- (2018). *Un mundo ch'ixi es posible: ensayos desde un presente en crisis*. Colección Nociones comunes. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Tinta Limón.
- Segato, Rita Laura (2016). *La guerra contra las mujeres*. Traficantes de Sueños. Lien : <http://repositorio.ciem.ucr.ac.cr/jspui/handle/123456789/148>
- Vacarezza, Nayla Luz (2025). *Las pasiones alegres del feminismo: O cómo agitar la imaginación política contemporánea*. Siglo XXI Editores.