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The Ni Una Menos Movement in 21st Century Argentina: Combating More than Femicide

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The Ni Una Menos Movement in 21st Century Argentina:
Combating More Than Femicide

By

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of Honors Requirements
for the Latin American, Latino, and Caribbean Studies Department
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ABSTRACT

The Ni Una Menos (Not One Less) movement was a march of over 200,000 people that took place in front of the Argentine National Congress in Buenos Aires, Argentina on June 3, 2015. A group of Argentine women journalists organized this march to focus national attention on the need to combat femicide (the misogynistic killing of women) in Argentina as the death rate estimated that one woman was killed by a man every thirty hours. Mobilization for the movement emerged through the social media platform, Twitter, which served a vital role in the dissemination of the message and slogan of Ni Una Menos along with the organization for the march. I analyzed *La Nación*'s coverage from May 12, 2015 to December 4, 2015 using MAXQDA, a qualitative content analysis software, to collect information, testimonials, and the overall coverage of the new media movement and massive mobilizations of Ni Una Menos. In using the Ni Una Menos movement as a case study represented in *La Nación*, this thesis contextualizes the role of new and traditional media coverage in bringing awareness to this specific movement and to the problematic of femicide in Argentina. This thesis also shows how gender violence and femicide became more visible as problems in Argentina because of the Ni Una Menos campaign. I suggest that *La Nación*'s inclusion and portrayal of women's voices and perspectives on gender violence and femicide challenge previously established arguments about how traditional media has sidelined women's voices and perspectives regarding gender violence. This work illustrates that by documenting the Ni Una Menos movement and placing the problematic of invisibility at its focus, *La Nación*'s coverage of the campaign reinforced and substantiated the calls for change in Argentina surrounding gender violence and femicide. The timing of these calls for change were crucial because October 2015 was a presidential election year that could end the twelve-year reign of the current ruling party. *La Nación* also had political motivations in reporting on Ni Una Menos because it could indirectly criticize the current ruling party through its coverage.

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INTRODUCTION

A single tweet from Argentine radio journalist Marcela Ojeda posted on May 11, 2015 sparked an ongoing global movement called Ni Una Menos (Not One Less). Ojeda tweeted, “Actrices, políticas, artistas, empresarias, referentes sociales...mujeres, todas, bah...no vamos a levantar la voz? NOS ESTAN MATANDO” (Actresses, politicians, artists, businesswomen, social referents, women, everyone, bah...are we not going to lift up our voice? THEY ARE KILLING US).¹ This tweet was Ojeda’s response to reporting on the discovery of the dead body of a pregnant fourteen-year-old girl. Ojeda’s words had a powerful impact that marked the beginning of street demonstrations across Argentina and beyond that sought to combat femicide (the misogynistic killing of women).² Ojeda, along with ten other Argentine female journalists (including television journalists Florencia Etcheves and Valeria Sampedro, print journalist Ingrid Beck and Hinde Pomeraniec, and writer Claudia Piñeiro) used Twitter to organize a march that sought to make public the frequent acts of femicide in Argentina.³ Not all of the women journalists had known each other prior to organizing the march, yet Twitter acted as a resource for these women to come together and create a call to action to reach as many people as possible.

The first meeting of the May organizers was held before the first Ni Una Menos march at the Casa del Encuentro (The Meeting House), a feminist and human rights NGO founded in 2008 to track femicide cases, record statistics of femicides, and educate the public on the proliferation of femicide in Argentina.⁴ Florencia Abbate, a writer and journalist who was among the organizers of the Ni Una Menos march, commented on not knowing the other women journalists

¹Marcela Ojeda, Twitter post, May 11, 2015, 9:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/MarcelitaOjeda/status/597799471368564736>. A social referent is someone socially significant.

² Jill Radford and Diana E. H. Russell, *Femicide: The Politics of Women Killing* (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1992), 3; Hinde Pomeraniec, “How Argentina rose up against the murder of women,” *The Guardian*, June 8, 2015.

³ Lucila Rolón, “Los familiares de las víctimas, en el corazón de la concentración,” *La Nación*, June 4, 2015.

⁴ “Quienes Somos,” *La Casa Del Encuentro*, October 4, 2003. <https://tinyurl.com/m69ecyv>.

at their first meeting at the Casa del Encuentro nor anyone who had come together from the group that formed on Twitter. She described how she was very worried about transmitting their message from a very heterogeneous group (referring to the various backgrounds and occupations of the women in the room), until she saw a twenty something-year-old woman who had been a victim of violence at La Casa del Encuentro. Abbate explained that this group was united and had agreed that they all shared the same pain: as women journalists, they did not want to continue to report more cases of femicide and decided that it was time to act.⁵ This sentiment of unity and Abbate's words speak to the nature of Ni Una Menos in its ability to bring many Argentines together. The first meeting that took place to organize Ni Una Menos demonstrated the commitment particularly amongst activist women to alter the culture of violence in their country. Women took the lead to create this change. This action followed the historical pattern of women in Argentina taking a stand to defend and expand their own rights to achieve true equality to men.

The journalists each had their own contingent of followers, but with Ojeda's tweet and their undivided message they built a mass of followers into one supportive group that adhered to the same message even before the first march: to combat femicide and to start making the problem visible. Organizer Claudia Piñeiro commented that their success in reaching so many people to mobilize was a result of everyone understanding the significance of their message.⁶ The organizers transmitted their message further by taking advantage of the networks of well-known people in Argentina and asking them to post photos with the hashtag, #NiUnaMenos. Piñeiro explained, "The idea is to arrive to everyone, this has to be an issue of all of society,

⁵ "#NiUnaMenos," *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

⁶ Ludmila Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo salir de Twitter y llegar a la calle," *La Nación*, May 16, 2015.

because without everyone it cannot be resolved.”⁷ They also created an official Ni Una Menos website and Twitter account. The Twitter account now has over 44,000 followers dedicated to continuing the organization and mobilization of the public under this campaign.⁸

In fact, the amount of support their message and idea to march on June 3 received surprised the coordinators. Organizer Ingrid Beck remarked that they did not imagine this level of convocation from Argentine civil society: the support rose above the organizers’ expectations completely and soon was out of their hands.⁹ Between May 11, 2015, the day Ojeda sent the call to action tweet, and June 4, 2015, the day after the first Ni Una Menos march, the hashtag #NiUnaMenos got over 958,000 tweets or mentions. In comparison, Ojeda’s initial tweet which had sparked the Ni Una Menos march only received 196 retweets and 251 likes overall.¹⁰ This progression demonstrates the speed and significance with which the organizers were able to disseminate their message and how crucial the motto “Ni Una Menos” became in creating awareness about the movement. As spreading the message moved out of the organizers’ control, they decided to create a document for the June 3 march to demand public policies, relating specifically to femicide.¹¹

Titled, “Ni Una Menos” the document was later read at the march by actress Erica Rivas, comic strip writer Maitena, and actor Juan Minujín which detailed nine demands for the Argentine government as essential causes for the march (see Appendix A).¹² One of the statements included in the document read, “Femicide is the most extreme form of violence that

⁷ Quoted in Moscato, “#Niunamenos cómo.”

⁸ “#Ni Una Menos,” Ni Una Menos, Last modified May 2015, <http://niunamenos.com.ar/>; Ni Una Menos, “Twitter/ @NiUnaMenos_” May 2015, https://twitter.com/niunamenos_?lang=en.

⁹ Moscato, “#Niunamenos cómo.”

¹⁰ Marcela Ojeda, Twitter post, May 11, 2015, 9:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/Marcelitaojeda/status/597799471368564736>.

¹¹ Moscato, “#Niunamenos cómo.”

¹² Erica Rivas, Maitena, y Juan Minujín. “En qué creemos y qué pedimos,” #NiUnaMenos, June 3, 2015: 1-6.

crosses every social class, beliefs or ideas. But femicide is also a political concept: it's the word that reveals the way in which a society sees something as natural when it isn't: sexist violence."¹³ The implication here was that addressing the problem of gender violence and femicide also required political action (from law enforcement to prevention and education). Highlighting the political nature of femicide was particularly important as 2015 was a presidential election year.¹⁴ Beck noted before the march that she "wanted the march to capitalize on the presence of many politicians on the brink of an election cycle."¹⁵ Hinde Pomeraniec also added that when politicians are called upon with a message of this nature, it is important that they respond and react through their own campaigns.¹⁶ Reaching out to this specific audience of politicians proved quite successful in results of the march which are discussed in further detail below and later.

As a result of these efforts and the timing of the organizers' message, over 200,000 people met before the National Congress in the capital, Buenos Aires on June 3, 2015.¹⁷ In addition to victims, thousands of actors, artists, journalists, illustrators, politicians, civilians, friends and families of victims, and others took part in this first Ni Una Menos demonstration.¹⁸ There were also other marches in cities and towns throughout Argentina that same day that were organized through new media too. On the day of the march, there were 516,000 mentions of #NiUnaMenos alone on Twitter. The most frequently used terms were: "violencia de género"

¹³ LB, "#NiUnaMenos: a deafening cry sweeps country," *The Buenos Aires Herald*, June 4, 2015.

¹⁴ Even after President Macri's election and his promises to fulfill some of the march's demands women marched again one year later in Buenos Aires on June 3, 2016 with a turnout of 14,000 attendees. A third march took place on October 19, 2016 due to the continued acts of femicide in the country. These latter marches were organized through the national Ni Una Menos Twitter page similarly to how the campaign began, but clearly as these lower turnout numbers illustrate the energy to mobilize was not as strong as it was in 2015. For full results of the 2015 Presidential election, see: Santiago Alles, Mark P. Jones, Carolina Tchintian, "The 2015 Argentine presidential and legislative elections," *Electoral Studies* 43 (2016): 184-187.

¹⁵ Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo." For more information on the 2015 Presidential candidates see: David Hodari, "Argentina elections 2015: a guide to the parties, polls and electoral system," *The Guardian*, October 23, 2015.

¹⁶ Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo."

¹⁷ LB, "#NiUnaMenos: a deafening cry sweeps the country," *Buenos Aires Herald*, June 4, 2015.

¹⁸ Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo."

(gender violence), “big bang,” “violencia machista” (machista violence), “las mujeres” (women), “las marchas” (the marches), “plaza congreso” (Congress Square), “un rato” (in a little), “#unidosar” (united ar, for Argentina), “los hombres” (men), “maria del carmen” (in reference to a victim), and finally, “las calles” (the streets).¹⁹ Some of these words such as gender violence, machista violence, and women speak exactly to the characteristics of femicide in Argentina. This exposure to gender violence and femicide increased the awareness of these problems to many Argentines.

Knowledge of these issues was crucial to mobilize support for the movement and to rally the desire to change how gender violence and femicide impacted and influenced the lives of many. In a poll taken on June 2, the day before the march by the opinion poll consultant firm Consultora Ibarómetro, about 1,000 responses on a national level indicated that 51% percent of Argentines intended to participate in the Ni Una Menos march. Also, 71% were aware of what the march was and what it stood for.²⁰ Thus, almost three-fourths of the country understood the demand and importance of the march for Argentine society. That more than one half of the survey participants planned on participating in the first march demonstrates the desire to take part in this mobilization and to stand against gender violence publicly.

Both new and traditional media played an important role in this movement in not only creating and organizing it, but in relaying the movement’s message and making the message visible. Femicide had become an increasingly prevalent problem for all of Argentine society, and the most effective and expedient way to bring this issue to the country’s attention was through a new media campaign. As a tool, new media can disseminate messages across a wide-ranging

¹⁹Augustin Gimenez, Twitter post, June 4, 2015, 7:36am, https://twitter.com/NiUnaMenos_.

²⁰ Teresa Sofía Buscaglia, “#NiUnaMenos sin banderías una sola consigna será el clamor de todos,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

audience. While this audience only includes Argentines, who have access to the internet and can still exclude Argentines unable to afford a device with this connection, about 80% of Argentines have this access.²¹ New media proved critical for Ni Una Menos in reaching this broad audience. This has also been the case for other social and political movements across the globe that were impacted by new media.²² Once the Ni Una Menos message was heard, it became key for it to be seen: this is exactly where traditional media coverage was pivotal in displaying the words of the movement put into action and brought to life. Traditional media coverage was essential as it acted as an informative news source for Argentines to stay up to date on the Ni Una Menos campaign. Argentines could track figures who spoke out in support of the movement. They could also take note of which politicians made campaign promises addressing femicide and gender violence as a consideration in their upcoming election votes.

This thesis investigates how traditional media made the Ni Una Menos campaign –and by extension– the larger issue of gender violence and femicide, visible and why this was important to the campaign. It also analyzes how traditional media coverage helped achieve greater recognition of femicide and gender violence. The traditional media coverage of the dialogue between the organizers, participants of the movement, families and friends of femicide victims, as well as the responses of government officials who have been called upon by the people to address femicide as a serious problem in Argentina helped to illustrate the degree to

²¹ “Internet Usage and Population in South America,” *Internet World Stats*, March 30, 2017. <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats15.htm>.

²² Some of these movements include #BlackLivesMatter, #LoveWins, and the Arab Spring in the Middle East and Northern Africa that utilized new media to disseminate information and fight for democracy. See the following sources for detailed information on these movements and the role that new media played: Tanya Sichynsky, “These 10 Twitter hashtags changed the way we talk about social issues,” *The Washington Post*, March 21, 2016. <https://tinyurl.com/k69stw3>; NPR Staff, “The Arab Spring: A Year of Revolution,” NPR, December 17, 2011, <https://tinyurl.com/lx4g6cy>; Heather Brown, Emily Guskin, and Amy Mitchell, “The Role of Social Media in the Arab Uprisings,” *Pew Research Center*, November 28, 2012. Another movement most relevant to #NiUnaMenos, #VivasNosQueremos, is discussed in the review of literature. More information can be found on it here: Florencia Laura Rovetto, “Violencia contra las mujeres: comunicación visual y acción política en ‘Ni Una Menos’ y ‘Vivas Nos Queremos,’” *Contratexto*, no. 24 (2015): 13-34.

which femicide had impacted the entire country. This work analyzes the Argentine daily national newspaper *La Nación* as a primary source for information on the Ni Una Menos campaign and march through a qualitative content analysis. This work is informed by the scholarly literature on gender violence, femicide, and the Ni Una Menos movement. Content analysis is used to examine the ways in which femicide and the resulting protests were covered in the newspaper.

By focusing on the traditional media's role and coverage of the Ni Una Menos movement this work investigates how traditional media acted as a tool to make femicide more visible in Argentina and how coverage helped to manifest this idea of visibility. The awareness of the existence of femicide and its consequences made possible by the Ni Una Menos movement worked to highlight the silencing effects of femicide, not only literally in the loss of many lives but also in its regard as a topic of concern to Argentine civil society and the public sector. *La Nación*'s coverage showed how the Ni Una Menos campaign and first march worked to reverse the silencing effects of femicide. I argue that *La Nación*'s coverage validated the Ni Una Menos movement and that its coverage helped to emphasize the campaign in bringing greater visibility to gender violence and femicide in Argentina.

The Ni Una Menos movement needs to be considered in conjunction with the long history of women's participation in social and political movements in Argentina (in particular, the use of public spaces to achieve social and political change). Women's political history in Argentina is necessary to contextualize and understand the causes of the movement and many of the fundamental references alluding to why femicide is a violation of women's rights. Additionally, by recognizing the struggle many women endured to get to the status that women hold today we can become more aware of the work that still needs to be done to bring about gender equality in Argentina. One of the most recent struggles that exists is combating femicide.

Women and Politics in Historical Context: Argentina a Country of “Firsts”

Femicide is one of the preoccupations of women’s rights activists in Argentina today. The fight against this form of violence could be understood in the context of a long history of social and political mobilization in Argentina. Argentina is one of the leading countries in advancing women’s rights in Latin America. Starting in the early 1900s, Argentina became known, in the characterization of Asunción Lavrin, as “the South American meeting ground for contemporary Western thinking on the changing role of women” as discussion surrounding the role and status of women in society began to evolve and become more prominent.²³ In Argentina, this was a time when questions surrounding the civilian status of women were circulating even as a precursor to the idea of women’s suffrage.

Women’s political rights for the first time were brought to the forefront of public discourse during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1869, prior to the extension of the civil code to include women President Pellegrini remarked how women needed to be educated to assume their natural rights.²⁴ Natural rights afforded to citizens included suffrage, but Pellegrini saw literacy as vital to political participation.²⁵ Lacking a formal education was one of the many barriers women faced at the time: among many forms of inequality they faced, there were barriers to citizenship, the right to vote, and equal opportunity in the home and workplace. Since women had no political authority and had just recently received legal status as citizens, philanthropic groups were a way for women to exert more authority and control and to push their perspectives in social policy. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many child welfare and

²³Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 257.

²⁴ Donna Guy, *Women Build the Welfare State: Performing Charity and Creating Rights in Argentina, 1880–1955* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 14. The civil code was revised in 1926, giving women legal, civilian status. This means that women were seen as members and contributors to Argentine society and belonged to this society.

²⁵ Guy, *Women*.14.

family welfare programs were run by women. Women in fact, were not legal guardians of their children until advocates later fought for this right.²⁶ It was not until much later in the 20th century that women became more included in issues surrounding politics.

During the 1940's, women's rights greatly expanded with the emergence of Eva Perón, the first prominent national female political figure in Argentina. Eva was President Juan Perón's second wife. In her role as First Lady, Eva (or Evita, as she was popularly known,) was instrumental in not only Juan Perón's campaign but also in helping gain suffrage for women, which became official in 1947.²⁷ While Eva did not start this idea of women's suffrage, she was a key advocate in the 1940s who built off the seeds planted by many other important feminists from the early decades of the 20th century.²⁸ Eva Perón never held elected office (she died in 1952) but after Eva died, Perón's third wife, Isabel, was elected Vice-President in 1973 in a Perón-Perón ticket and later inherited the position of president after Perón's own death in 1974. As a result of his passing, Isabel's presidency marked Argentina as the first Latin American country to have a female president. While her term was short and unsuccessful, due to a coup in 1976, it was a start to paving the way for women to follow in similar positions of power in the government. Isabel's presidency was important because a woman held a position no other woman had before and demonstrated the significance of female representation in the government.

The fight for women's rights during the 1960s and 1970s included women's participation in political mobilizations as part of political parties and armed movements. These decades served as a transformational time for women which, in the words of historian Valeria Manzano,

²⁶ Guy, *Women*.

²⁷ Jorge Nallim, *Transformations and Crisis of Liberalism in Argentina, 1930–1955* (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 171.

²⁸ For an overview of these movements, see Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), vii.-461.

“[questioned] the premises of domesticity and patriarchal authority.”²⁹ They did so by challenging cultural norms of dress, sexuality, and gender roles. In fact, the number of women in the “actively economic population” went from 18% in 1947 to 28% in 1970.³⁰ Ideals of European and North American feminism spread to Argentina, and groups formed by and comprised of women emerged to fight gender inequality.³¹ Unfortunately however, these feminist groups struggled to receive credibility as political actors and did not take to the streets as often as they did later.³²

It was not until the 1980s that women’s groups were viewed with more respect as political actors and took to the streets in political protest more regularly. For example, after 1982, with the return to democracy after the seven-year long dictatorship, some of the politically significant changes at this time were sparked by the surge of women’s organizations that had reacted to the violent and politically and socially restrictive period. These groups included Las Madres and Las Abuelas of the Plaza de Mayo [the Mothers and Grandmothers] that formed to act against the abuses of the dictatorship during their time in power from 1976 to 1983, and then continued their political activism afterward. They were instrumental in denouncing the crimes of the dictatorship and bringing justice and light to many who had disappeared at the hands of the government.³³ The Mothers and Grandmothers had a visible impact in the streets as a result of their marches every Thursday to ask about the fate of the disappeared.

As the actors of Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo show, the political

²⁹ Valeria Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina: Culture, Politics, and Sexuality from Perón to Videla* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 121.

³⁰ Manzano, *The Age*, 102.

³¹ Manzano, *The Age*, 202. For more information on these groups that included the Feminist Argentine Union (UFA), the Female Liberation Movement (MLF), and the Muchacha as well as other urban guerilla groups that were active in the 1960s and 1970s see Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina...*

³² Manzano, *The Age*, 203.

³³ Michelle Bonner, *Sustaining Human Rights: Women and Argentine Human Rights Organizations* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 3.

arena post democracy was no longer exclusive to elites and to political parties; now, groups with no previous affiliation or background in politics were able to engage and debate in political issues.³⁴ Further, as Michelle Bonner explains, groups like these have shown “how and why gender has played such an essential role in maintaining the relevance of human rights” in countries like Argentina that have experienced such treacherous dictatorships.³⁵ In a way, actions by groups in the later 20th century echoed those of groups of women one century prior when women were not even considered full citizens. These historical movements also show that there is a long tradition of the use of public spaces and street protests in Argentina to which the Ni Una Menos movement can contribute and reference as successful mobilizations it succeeds.

As part of the continued initiative to consider the pushes and demands made from women’s groups like Mothers of Plaza de Mayo and to consider women’s interests in the democratic transition, Argentina passed gender quota laws in 1991, thereby becoming the first Latin American country to do so in national candidacy legislation.³⁶ This quota law (Ley de Cupos) was a continued effort by the government to achieve equality after the dictatorship. Since the enactment of the quota law, Argentina now has around thirty percent female representation in its legislature and has served as a catalyst for gender quota laws in other Latin American countries. Today, Argentina has 41.7% female representation in its Senate and 38.9% female representation in its House.³⁷ Provincial legislature also established gender quota laws which in some cases exceed the proportion of the national government. The Province of Buenos Aires, for example, modified an earlier law in 2016 to grant a gender quota of 50% for the legislature and

³⁴ Maria del Carmen Feijoo, “Democratic Participation and Women in Argentina,” in *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. J. Jaquette and S. Wolchik (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 13.

³⁵ Bonner, *Sustaining*, 5.

³⁶ Mark P. Jones, “Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women Lessons from the Argentine Provinces,” *Comparative Political Studies* 31, no. 1. (1998), 3-21.

³⁷ “Women in National Parliaments,” *International Organization of Parliaments*, March 1, 2017, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

all city offices.³⁸ Even though these quota laws are in place and include women in governmental positions, however, a culture of gender violence still exists. The quota laws also show that progress for some women does not mean progress for all women. The coexistence of both phenomena points to broader cultural and social trends and to the persistence of patriarchal structure.

That said, Argentina was the first country to have a woman even in the position as President of the country, to have an all women human rights group propel a democratic transition, to pass gender quota laws in national candidacy legislation, to elect a woman president for two terms, and now to spark the global fight against femicide as other Ni Una Menos marches have since occurred in Mexico, El Salvador, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay.³⁹ These successes have worked toward removing violations of women's rights and expanding those rights in order to achieve equality with men. The Ni Una Menos movement is one of the most recent social and political preoccupations for women in Argentina today.

Gender Violence and Femicide

Argentina accomplished many initiatives regarding women's participation in social and political movements in the 19th and 20th centuries. It continues to positively influence women's political representation. Nonetheless, there is still the need for women in Argentina to mobilize today. Moreover, seven out of the ten countries in the world with the highest rates of femicide are in Latin America. These seven countries include El Salvador, Colombia, Mexico, Guatemala, Brazil, Bolivia, and finally Argentina.⁴⁰ There is still a need, however, for a more systematic collection and presentation of femicide statistics worldwide. While there is no current global

³⁸ Herald staff, "BA Province OKs gender parity on electoral lists," *Buenos Aires Herald*, October 5, 2016.

³⁹ Cristina Fernández de Kirchner served from 2007-2015. Uki Goñi, "As Argentina's Queen Cristina says farewell, her enemies wait in the wings," *The Guardian*, November 21, 2015; Uki Goñi, "Argentina's women joined across South America in marches against violence," *The Guardian*, October 19, 2016.

⁴⁰ Nadine Gasman and Gabriela Alvarez, "Gender: Violence Against Women," *Americas Quarterly*, October 2015.

count, existing statistics from the United Nations state that El Salvador has the highest murder rate of women in the world. In 2011, El Salvador had 647 deaths, Guatemala had 375, and in Honduras femicide was the second leading cause of death for women of childbearing years.⁴¹ Globally, according to a 2015 United Nations report, one in three women will become victims of physical or psychological violence. Further, sixty percent of these incidents will go unreported.⁴² These statistics and numbers illustrate the scope of gender violence not only in Argentina, but in the rest of the world.⁴³

In Argentina specifically, femicide is rampant as a woman dies from gender violence every thirty hours.⁴⁴ According to the Consejo de la Magistratura (Council of the Judiciary) in an article published in *La Nación* on November 26 after the first Ni Una Menos march, the rate of deaths per 100,000 inhabitants in Buenos Aires had grown from almost six deaths in 2010 to about seven in 2015: the national average per year is 8 per 100,000.⁴⁵ These numbers illustrate how femicide has grown as a problem over time. The importance of the Ni Una Menos movement extends beyond the borders of Argentina. It brought attention to a global problem.

⁴¹ “Femicide in Latin America,” *UNWomen.org*, April 4, 2013, <https://tinyurl.com/kcy63ps>.

⁴² Fabiola Czubaj, “La Argentina, ausente en un estudio de la ONU con datos clave sobre la mujer,” *La Nación*, October 21, 2015.

⁴³ See the following source provided by the UN as a toolkit for addressing femicide: “Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women,” The Regional Office for Central America of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Regional Office for the Americas and the Caribbean of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2014, <https://tinyurl.com/lqgh86y>.

⁴⁴ “Anger over femicides turns into calls for June 3rd march,” *Buenos Aires Herald*, May 13, 2015.

⁴⁵ “Durante 2014 aumentó el 13% la cantidad de homicidios en la Capital,” *La Nación*, November 26, 2015.

CONCEPTS AND SCHOLARLY REVIEW

Overview

“Femicide” was first mentioned by American author Carol Orlock in 1974 and utilized publicly for the first time two years later by feminist writer and activist Diana Russell.⁴⁶ At the first International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women held in Brussels in 1976, Russell defined femicide as “the misogynistic killing of women by men.”⁴⁷ Society segregates femicide as its own category of violence and detracts it from the gender neutral term “homicide” by specifically addressing acts of violence committed by men against *women*.⁴⁸ The term femicide has been coined as political in nature due to the fact that it is a crime, but the act has also been categorized as social and prevalent throughout all social classes, barriers, and aspects of society.⁴⁹ Separating femicide as its own distinct form of violence highlights the significance of the gender discriminatory nature of these acts of violence and how fighting for women’s rights is an ongoing battle. The Argentine government made the distinction between homicide and femicide when it officially added femicide to the Argentine Criminal Code on April 18, 2012 as a recognized type of homicide and as a category of violence against women.⁵⁰ However, femicide differs from domestic violence in that it can occur anywhere and is *not* confined to the home.

⁴⁶Sergio Chalub, “Un día que puede cambiar la historia.” *La casa del encuentro*, June 3, 2015.

⁴⁷ Russell, “The Origin”; Radford and Russell, *Femicide*, 3.

⁴⁸ Argentina passed the Gender Identity Law in 2012 that “established the right of individuals over the age of 18 to choose their gender identity, undergo gender reassignment, and revise official documents without any prior judicial or medical approval. Surgical and hormonal reassignment procedures are covered as part of public and private health insurance” according to the following report: Human Rights Watch, “Argentina,” *Human Rights Watch world report*, New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, January, 2016:7, <https://tinyurl.com/ks4btpa>. The definition of women in relation to femicide does not explicitly include transgender women; however, it can be inferred from the following source that a femicide of a transgender woman entails more layers behind the means for murder: “Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women,” The Regional Office for Central America of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Regional Office for the Americas and the Caribbean of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2014: 6, <https://tinyurl.com/lqgh86y>.

⁴⁹ “Femicidios,” *La Casa del Encuentro*, October 4, 2003, <https://tinyurl.com/n75emz6>.

⁵⁰ Graciela Rodriguez-Ferrand, “Global Legal Monitor. Argentina: Criminal Code Amendment to Include Femicide,” *The Library of Congress*, May 3, 2012, <http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/argentina-criminal-code-amendment-to-include-femicide/>.

This literature review seeks to put the Ni Una Menos movement in the broader context of existing scholarship on gender violence in order to evaluate how femicide is often overlooked and neglected in existing literature. This work can contribute to the larger scholarly context in the emerging analysis of this particular movement as a new phenomenon that puts femicide at the center of discussion of gender violence. At this time, the majority of scholarly research on the Ni Una Menos movement are from undergraduate and graduate research projects.⁵¹ The literature review reveals the interdisciplinary nature of scholars investigating the current manifestations of femicide and the scarcity of studies and evidence on the topic overall. Consequently, some of the gaps and inconsistencies in the scholarship parallel the discussion in the public forum and the need for awareness and visibility. These needs are highlighted in *La Nación*'s media coverage as areas that need to be addressed to stop femicide. For example, the fault of the justice system in its inactivity in handling femicide cases and providing current, accurate statistics on femicide; and the role of the dominant patriarchy in perpetrating gender discrimination.

I begin by discussing Argentine culture and society in connection to gender violence and patriarchy. After that, I examine the current state of statistical research and issues of legality through testimonials. Then, I detail the importance of the mobilization of women and the role of new and traditional media in visibility and recognition of gender violence. Finally, I discuss media analysis and traditional media coverage of issues relating to gender violence and femicide

⁵¹ The following papers are examples of student work on femicide in Argentina and the Ni Una Menos march in 2015 available at the time of this research: Michelle Carrigan, "Femicide Legislation: Lessons from Latin America," Master's Thesis, The University of Guelph, 2016; Michelle Rocha, "Argentina: How Long Will You Deny the Existence of Femicide in Your Own Backyard?" study abroad student paper, University of South Florida, 2015; Maggie Wetzel, "La visibilización: el desarrollo del femicidio como un problema social en Argentina según el estado y las organizaciones civiles," STI Study Abroad, Independent Study Project, Paper 2305, 2016, available at http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/2305; Hannah Jean Musgrave, "#NiUnaMenos: Femicide in Argentina," University of Chicago Law School, Chicago Unbound, International Immersion Program Papers, Paper 39, 2016, http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/international_immersion_program_papers/39; Mckinley Bleskacek, "Femicide in Buenos Aires: Social Change through Interpersonal Education," Senior Thesis in Sociology, Anthropology and Educational Studies, Swarthmore College, 2016.

to provide examples of studies that also highlight new media's importance.

Scholars that study gender violence and femicide in Latin America come from multiple disciplines that typically include sociology, political science, women and gender studies, and various forms of Latin American studies. There are scholars from other disciplines such as criminology and criminal justice, media studies, and anthropology that also delve into this topic as it cross lists with many different disciplines depending upon the methods and angle of approach for studying femicide and gender violence. The types of analytical approaches that these scholars typically utilize are statistical analyses, historical analysis, and ethnographic or interview-based analyses exploring the perspectives of victims of the violence as well as organizers of social groups and movements that deal with these issues. Statistical analyses help put femicide into the overall context of violence and showcases its prominence in Latin America as a region by providing quantitative data, while historical analyses of gender violence allows scholars to trace crime trends and domestic violence patterns attributed to femicide with qualitative data. Analyses based on interviews and testimonies give real examples of how femicide is affecting both individuals and communities in adverse ways. The personal testimonies help validate the realities of femicide.

Most of the scholars investigating gender violence and femicide highlight two key points surrounding femicide specifically as a discipline of study: the inconsistency of statistics on femicide rates; and that femicide is political and social in nature due to a country's patriarchal structure that facilitates male-dominance in society. Both central themes play a key role in how femicide is discussed and addressed in Latin America and more specifically in Argentina, and they also speak to the generally unreliable state of official femicide rates in the region.

Pointing to the Pre-existent Patriarchy

Historically, scholars have linked the dominant patriarchy and the social conditions of Argentina to the progression of gender violence and femicide in the country. According to Ara Wilson, a patriarchy is “a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.”⁵² In a patriarchal society, men hold much of the control and power over women who are most often excluded from positions of dominance and authority in society. Additionally, a patriarchal society favors and privileges most men.⁵³ Argentina continues to have a patriarchal culture just like many other countries worldwide. In her study of femicide in Argentina, Ana María Fernández remarks that femicide is “an extreme expression of patriarchal force.”⁵⁴ This makes sense as one of its definitions uses the word “misogynistic” (hatred and fear of women).⁵⁵

Diana Russell applies a feminist analysis in her co-published anthology of compiled research on violence against women called *The Politics of Women Killing*.⁵⁶ Russell makes a clear connection between patriarchy and violence against women in demystifying patriarchal culture stating that the home is actually not a safe space for women.⁵⁷ She explains that male dominance in all spheres of life (including the home) makes women more vulnerable to violence.

⁵² Ara Wilson, “Patriarchy: Feminist Theory,” *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women’s Issues and Knowledge*, eds. Cheris Kramaræ and Dale Spender (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1493-1497.

⁵³ It is important to note however, that a patriarchy does not include all men as oppressors: in some cases, men are oppressed in a patriarchy. Further, due to different opportunities and privileges afforded to women based on their different circumstances and experiences not all women are oppressed in the same way. See later footnotes on how men are oppressed in a patriarchy.

⁵⁴ Ana María Fernández, “Gender violence: Femicides in Argentina,” *Interdisciplinary Journal of Family Studies* 17, no. 2 (2012), 43.

⁵⁵ Paula M. Reider, “The Uses and Misuses of Misogyny: A Critical Historiography of the Language of Medieval Women’s Oppression,” *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 38, no. 1 (2012), 1-18, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23267757>.

⁵⁶ Radford and Russell, *Femicide*. A feminist analysis is theory investigating gender inequality. Diana Russell is one of the pioneers in bringing world attention to femicide during the 1990s and the user of misogynistic in her definition of femicide mentioned earlier.

⁵⁷ Radford and Russell, *Femicide*, 199.

Gabriela Barcaglione and her collaborators in *Femicidios e impunidad* accord that femicide is beyond the domestic sphere and traditional hierarchy of male dominance; they state that femicide connects with gender relations in patriarchal culture and explains the multiple mechanisms of violence, its silencing effects, and its impunity.⁵⁸

Femicide exists everywhere and has social characteristics and origins in gender inequality as women are marginalized and feel unsafe due to their perceived inferior positions to men. Fernández also concludes that it is the patriarchal nature of the state and the social conditions of gender inequality that perpetuate violence.⁵⁹ She supports this theory through her qualitative-quantitative study that sought to link female mortality from outside causes with that of gender violence. In a study she conducted from 2008 to 2009 per request of the National Health Ministry of Argentina, she found that the situational and environmental factors of a society can greatly influence and instill violence as part of the society's culture.⁶⁰ For example, she comments that in Argentina "patriarchy's weight [is] obstructing investigations" and that "for women, the home is more dangerous than the streets."⁶¹ Therefore, she concluded that Argentina's patriarchal structure supports a culture of violence against most women because of the ways in which the government handles femicide cases. The patriarchal influence in the government desensitizes and does not prioritize femicide which is how investigations become obstructed. Further, she stated that "a femicide never being cleared up or passing for a suicide is possible because the very same patriarchal asymmetry determining gender violence allows one to pull the strings to get data altered or to overlook the femicide evidence."⁶² Fernández's idea of

⁵⁸ Gabriela Barcaglione et al., *Femicidios e impunidad* (Buenos Aires: Centro de Encuentros Cultura y Mujer, 2005), 4-92.

⁵⁹ Fernández, "Gender," 42-48.

⁶⁰ Fernández, "Gender," 42-48.

⁶¹ Ibid, 46.

⁶² Fernández, "Gender," 46-47.

patriarchal asymmetry speaks exactly to the unequal, sexist nature that a patriarchy instills and that is exhibited in the state's inactivity regarding femicides.⁶³ It can be one factor in explaining this void between the state and necessitated action.

Gender discrimination and male domination through patriarchy greatly influences Argentine society and primarily, the lives of women in many adverse ways. In an opinion article published by *The Guardian* in November 2016, Nicaraguan novelist and poet Gioconda Belli, remarks that “in the patriarchal structure of power we have all inherited, very often women are still forced to prove that they are as ‘tough’ as the toughest of men.”⁶⁴ This idea builds on Barcaglione's conclusion that women are constantly battling men wherever they go. Belli's idea also coincides with Fernández's remarks that Argentina's patriarchal structure contributes to perpetuate gender violence. This continued battle illustrates the existing hurdle impeding gender equality.

Numbers and Testimonials

Another significant area of research on femicide that points toward obstacles in combating gender violence is the need for both quantitative and qualitative information about this manifestation of violence. Scholars agree that lack and inaccuracy of statistics constitute one of the biggest obstacles in combating femicide. Because of their political significance, statistics have received considerable scholarly attention. Scholars from numerous disciplines including crime studies, family studies, and feminist studies all agree that the inconsistent data on femicide

⁶³ This sexist nature was included in the document read at the march, “Ni Una Menos,” mentioned on pages 5-6.

⁶⁴ Gioconda Belli, “Why has ‘macho’ Latin America elected more female leaders than the US?” *The Guardian*, November 6, 2016. See the following documentary on this idea of “toughness” and how it can also work to oppress other men as well as women: Sut Jhally, Susan Ericsson, Sanjay Talreja, Jackson Katz, and Jeremy Earp, *Tough guise: violence, media, and the crisis in masculinity* (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 1999).

inhibits the ability to address the severity and reality of the crime. For example, before femicide was added to the Argentine Criminal Code in 2012 and considered its own specific form of violence, scholars at the Centro de Encuentros Cultura y Mujer (Meeting Center on Culture and Women) reviewed existing homicide statistics as a way to track female deaths.⁶⁵ This study was conducted in Buenos Aires over a seven-year period, from 1997 to 2003 and included testimonials from journalists and professors from multiple fields including social sciences and journalism as well as statistical and numerical evidence. The authors hoped to portray the atrocity of femicide through their analysis and to emphasize that femicide is not an accident, but a reality. The testimonials served to highlight and emphasize this latter goal as a way to give more emotion and meaning to incidents of femicide. The authors also note how the records that are kept remain secret to the public as they are only accessible to those with clearance in the Center of Police Operations in Buenos Aires.⁶⁶

More recently, Fernández tracked the inconsistencies in recording femicide statistics in Argentina from 2008 to 2009. She also found incongruent statistical recording and gaps in those records. Her research included suicide-homicide circumstances and the ways in which Argentina's record keeping compared internationally: Argentina's statistics differed greatly in that their data reflected significantly lower numbers than that of data from international counterparts.⁶⁷ Additionally, Fernández noted modifications in the recordings from her research in cases in which women's deaths were reported since her study looked at suicide and homicide

⁶⁵ Barcaglione et al., *Femicidios*, 4-92.

⁶⁶ Barcaglione et al., *Femicidios*, 7-8.

⁶⁷ It is important to note that femicide was not added to the Argentine Criminal Code until 2012 and this study was conducted in 2008-2009. Therefore, categorizing a death that most likely was a femicide as either a suicide or a homicide does not do the death full justice. What is essential to take away however, is the fact that Fernández's study showed that Argentina's data collected on homicide and suicide rates were different from international data on these rates.

rates of both men and women.⁶⁸ This oversight results in the neglect of many cases and the absence of justice to victims and their families. Overall, research regarding these inconsistencies and gaps is unanimous that femicide evidence is severely impaired because of the inconsistencies and limitations of current statistical recording. This is problematic because it furthers the silencing effects of femicide and hinders the awareness of femicide incidents.

Legal Issues

Studies investigating the problems of the state of statistics and legal matters in Argentina reveal that there is a disregard for gender violence. The fractured legal system in Argentina indicates reasons as to why statistics are haphazard and sporadic. In part, this fragmentation stems from various approaches in different jurisdictions. The lack of legal consensus and uniformity amongst national and provincial laws demonstrate this disregard because legal decisions illustrate how serious the government considers femicide as a *crime*. If national and provincial laws do not agree on how to address a femicide, then justice is unequally distributed throughout the country. Additionally, there are many limits to the litigation enforced in relation to femicides which can be attributed to the neglect of evidence of the issue.

The scholarship on legal issues and on Argentine legislation, in particular, reveals these weaknesses in how the state handles matters of violence against women and femicide. For example, specialist in gender rights Luz Oriana Rioseco Ortega conducted a diagnostic of regions and cities including Buenos Aires and Rosario as well as a comparative analysis of international actions and procedures to depict how Argentina handles violence against women. She studied how gender violence is made visible in the public policy agenda after the return of democracy in 1983 by looking at government mandates and the resulting mobilization efforts, or

⁶⁸ Fernández, “Gender violence,” 44.

lack thereof. She surveyed the practices of civil society, non-governmental organizations, and the country's overall lack of practices in recognizing this problem. Rioseco Ortega concluded that Argentina needs to devise a concrete, national plan of action to address cases of gender violence because it has been ineffective in doing so. She advised that this plan could stem from existing international decisions and agreements and include a method for collecting data on cases of gender violence. This way, Argentina can enact better laws and establish more equal norms surrounding violence against women, resulting in a uniform course of action. Such a plan would also grant women more opportunities and access to the justice system through these structural and legislative changes in the government.⁶⁹

In a patriarchy, women are seen as inferior members of society; it is therefore harder for women to receive priority in legal matters on top of other barriers that certain women may face including access to resources. As a result, when it comes to femicide, justice is often not fully enforced. Political scientist Catalina Smulovitz compares thirty-seven provincial domestic violence laws in Argentina that were enacted from 1992 to 2009 in order to measure their effectiveness in protecting women from domestic violence.⁷⁰ Smulovitz looks at the heterogeneity of the laws due to the ways in which each province applies and enforces them based on the capacities of their legislatures. In this way, she focuses on the institutional framework of federalism to depict the sociopolitical variations on the laws due to federalism's jurisdictional distribution which results in unequal decisions across the board. Smulovitz uses subnational electoral competitiveness, women's opportunity in provincial elected bodies as well as their involvement in local organizations as her three variables to empirically test the impact of

⁶⁹ Luz Oriana Rioseco Ortega, "Violencia contra las mujeres en las relaciones de pareja en Argentina," in *Seguridad y prevención: La situación en Argentina, Chile y Uruguay durante 2007*, ed. Carlos Guajardo García (Santiago de Chile: Centro Internacional para la Prevención de la Criminalidad–Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2008), 184-211.

⁷⁰ Catalina Smulovitz, "Legal Inequality and Federalism: Domestic Violence Laws in the Argentine Provinces," *Latin American Politics & Society* 57, no. 3 (2015), 1-26.

provincial law. Her research shows that the lack of consistency in provincial legislation regarding domestic violence laws leads to inconsistent action: this is the reality without an enforced national legislation. This shows flaws and weakness in the Argentine legal system that is also supposed to address cases of femicide and all other forms of gender violence. When the justice system is weak in this way, women seeking justice do not receive their full trial.

Sociologist Beatriz Kohen assessed the effectiveness of laws in Argentina as well. In a 2009 essay, she looks at legislative changes, defense of women's rights through legal instruments, use of litigation strategies, and obstacles to these strategies. Kohen's research of interviews with human rights and women's organizations helped her track the times women used the courts and legal system to pursue their rights. In following these case studies, Kohen noted the many discrepancies of systematic research and registry of statistics across jurisdictions.⁷¹ She suggested that there needs to be a better use of legal advocacy due to the gaps in law enforcement and low public attention that gender equality received at that time in Argentina.⁷²

In fact, Kohen remarked that human rights issues from environmental and consumer organizations had filed many more cases than women's groups on similar human rights issues.⁷³ She argues that in Argentina, mobilization to challenge laws comes from an individual standpoint: not from non-profit organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in the United States that works to defend individual civil liberties from government abuse.⁷⁴ This means that in Argentina, it is up to the amount of knowledge, resources, and money of an individual to rally support and defend their own rights. Nonetheless, many women are ill-equipped to attain what they need to seek justice. Also, in Argentina's legal system cases do not

⁷¹ Beatriz Kohen, "The Effectiveness of Legal Strategies in Argentina," in *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Jane Jaquette (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009), 109 and 110.

⁷² Beatriz Kohen, "The Effectiveness of Legal Strategies in Argentina," 83.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 100.

⁷⁴ "About the ACLU," *American Civil Liberties Union*, <https://www.aclu.org/about-aclu>.

set precedent for future, similar cases which points to yet another possible limitation of the legal redress.⁷⁵ Rooted in the patriarchal structure, the Argentine government additionally fails to see women as social actors and therefore does not give them priority in the courts.⁷⁶

Mobilization of Women

Gender became more included in the discussion of violence as a topic of study after the return to democracy in Argentina. In fact, the transition to democracy in Argentina starting in 1983 also sparked a shift in scholarship to include more case studies and comparative analyses oriented toward expanding women's rights. Feminist scholars Maria del Carmen Feijoo and Jo Fisher, who published studies about violence committed during the dictatorship, explored the rise of women's social movements and women as political actors in the decade following the return to democracy. The analyses by Feijoo and Fisher include feminist viewpoints, testimonies from female political actors, and closer scrutiny of gender issues as women's groups were instrumental in the discussion of gender roles and catalyzed not only the emergence of women's organizations but also aided significantly in the return to democracy.⁷⁷

In a historical analysis of political regimes, political scientist Michelle Bonner agrees that women were crucial in the democratic transition and that they used their gender to frame human

⁷⁵ Beatriz Kohen, "The Effectiveness of Legal Strategies in Argentina," 97. Argentina, like most countries in Latin America and Europe, follow a civil law system, not common law as it is the case in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. For more information on the difference between civil and common law, see: "The Common Law and Civil Law Traditions," *The Robbins Collection*, University of California at Berkeley, 2010. According to this source, the civil law system can result in the role of the judge as less influential than the role of the legislators who created the codes for the civil law.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 99.

⁷⁷ Maria del Carmen Feijoo, "Democratic Participation and Women in Argentina," in *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. J. Jaquette and S. Wolchik (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), vii.-241; Jo Fisher, *Out of the Shadows: Women, Resistance and Politics in South America* (London: Latin American Bureau, 1993), 1-234.

rights demands after the seven-year dictatorship.⁷⁸ She argues that “gender has played such an essential role in maintaining the relevance of human rights,” yet she is critical of studies published prior to 2000 that neglect to explain how and why gender is important to human rights issues.⁷⁹ Along similar lines, Kohen comments regarding Argentina that “[v]iolence against women continues to be the most significant violation of women’s human rights.”⁸⁰ Gender is indeed connected to human rights abuses as exemplified by the emergence of more female voices. This information also helps to understand the broader developments of gender politics and gender violence in which these social and human rights movements emerged. Continued gender discrimination, disappearances, and violence led to this wave of social mobilization from these groups. In the case of mobilization today, however, the main human rights abuses are femicides. While gender has been included as a central component to human rights issues, gender has not been portrayed in this same respect of importance in new and traditional media.

Visibility and the Media

New and traditional media can play an important role in bringing visibility to women’s perspectives and voices on issues. For example, coverage from these media can help advance mobilizations, like those mentioned by scholars in the previous section, that take place. Nonetheless, the perspectives of women have not always been included at the center of discussion in new and traditional media. This erasure of women’s perspectives had been noticed by scholars in earlier works. In a 1993 book titled, *Out of the Shadows*, journalist Jo Fisher commented on how women had few opportunities for publicity despite their leadership in

⁷⁸ Bonner, *Sustaining*, 4.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 5.

⁸⁰ Beatriz Kohen, “The Effectiveness of Legal Strategies in Argentina,” in *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Jane Jaquette (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009), 88.

women's organizations and social movements after the dictatorship.⁸¹ Even though they were leaders of these groups they were not given the opportunities in traditional media to speak about what their groups were doing and the roles that they held within their organizations. Russell concurred in *The Politics of Women Killing* that also analyzed the ways in which femicide is portrayed in traditional media: she added that the media often twists the audience to sympathize with the male perpetrator.⁸²

One of the central messages of Ni Una Menos is calling attention to the voices of the victims that are silenced in traditional and new media. Therefore, it is necessary to mention media studies that focus on the voices and perspectives of women as these studies can include an analysis approach that investigates the specific voices and representation of people portrayed in new and traditional media.⁸³ For example, a 2014 media analysis by three Argentine sociologists, Angélico Rocio, Violeta Dikenstein, Sabrina Fischberg, and Florencia Maffeo, on gender violence concluded that the traditional media disregard the voice of women in coverage of femicide cases. The study surveyed three hundred and ninety-five newspaper articles to compare and contrast the qualitative and quantitative publication details.⁸⁴ Two of the newspapers analyzed in this study had a national focus, one of which was *La Nación*, while the other two had a provincial focus: all four were selected on the basis that they were the most popularly read as well as some of the oldest press in the country. The study analyzed in which sections the articles appeared, how images were used, and whose story was told, among other details. The sociologists concluded that often the voices of women are silenced in these publications and that

⁸¹ Fisher, *Out of the Shadows*, 13.

⁸² Radford and Russell, *Femicide*, xi.-379.

⁸³ Florencia Laura Rovetto, "Violencia contra las mujeres: comunicación visual y acción política en 'Ni Una Menos' y 'Vivas Nos Queremos,'" *Contratexto*, no. 24 (2015) and Angélico Rocio, Violeta Dikenstein, Sabrina Fischberg, and Florencia Maffeo, "El feminicidio y la violencia de género en la prensa argentina: un análisis de voces, relatos y actores," *Universitas Humanistica* 78, no. 78 (2014), 281-303.

⁸⁴ Rocio et al., "El feminicidio," 281-303.

there is very little room for women to share their perspectives. They characterize this situation as gender discrimination and state this trend had not changed since the 1990s up until the completion of their study in 2014.

Another media study investigating voices represented in the media directly analyzed the Ni Una Menos movement. In a comparative analysis paralleling the Argentine case with a similar movement in Mexico called, “Vivas Nos Queremos,” political scientist Florencia Rovetto used image analysis to explore the ways in which each movement expressed its desired message.⁸⁵ This analysis also speaks to the true nature of the Ni Una Menos movement as it gained momentum and received coverage through new media. Rovetto analyzes how social imagery and visual culture share information through Facebook, which has acted as the medium of creating awareness regarding violence against women. She uses a media studies approach to uncover the meanings that these images are meant to portray, how they affect political decisions, how they exhibit power relations, and how these images turn into iconography (symbolic images) for their respective campaigns.

Alongside image and discourse analysis, Rovetto studies the geographic context in which each campaign emerged as well as the larger significance of violence in Latin America. This is quite relevant as Latin America, as noted earlier, has some of the highest rates of femicide in the world.⁸⁶ By tracking the campaigns through associated hashtags as part of Facebook social media campaigns, Rovetto highlights these current social problems in Argentina and Mexico and argues that the visual narrative provided by imagery use during the campaigns “makes visible and exposes the social and cultural consequences of patriarchal power structures in different spheres

⁸⁵ Rovetto, “Violencia.”

⁸⁶ Gasman and Alvarez, “Gender.”

of society.”⁸⁷

In conclusion, the findings of this review of literature put into context the scholarship and areas in need of more attention and focus to combat femicide in alignment with the goals of the Ni Una Menos march. It highlighted barriers to combating and addressing continued acts of femicide in Argentina (for example, how femicide is propagated and supported through the patriarchal culture in Argentine society). Studies detailed the inconsistent statistics and nonexistent statistics of femicide, the lack of legal action and fairness in gender violence cases, the disregard and neglect of women’s voices in narrating cases of femicide and as political actors seeking reform, and the importance of new media campaigns in creating more awareness of issues of gender violence. These issues are reiterated in the Ni Una Menos march demands and address concerns covered later in this thesis. In laying out a framework of existing knowledge and the problematics of gaps in such knowledge, this scholarship review helps to understand why the Ni Una Menos movement sought to create such awareness on some of these structural issues, among others. The campaign becomes more evident, clear, and important to enacting change in Argentine society. Gender violence is a known issue; but, what is often overlooked are the ways in which it is challenged.

Studies to date emphasize the invisibility of gender violence and femicide as topics of concern in Argentine society. The media analysis of scholars Rocio et al. exemplifies this invisibility in their argument that the traditional media source *La Nación* sidelines women’s voices and perspectives in the media. In using the Ni Una Menos movement as a case study represented in *La Nación*, this thesis shows how gender violence and femicide became more visible as problems in Argentina because of the Ni Una Menos campaign. I suggest that *La Nación*’s inclusion and portrayal of women’s voices and perspectives on gender violence and

⁸⁷ Rovetto, “Violencia,” 13.

femicide contradict the argument posed by scholars Rocio et al. This thesis also explores the context for this attention on gender violence by *La Nación*: it was in the context of the Ni Una Menos campaign. Because this campaign started and grew through new media, this study also shows the impact the movement had on traditional media and its coverage of gender violence. This work expands on and even challenges the invisibility of these problems in traditional media, noted by scholars Radford and Russell, and Fisher, by showing how the coverage in *La Nación* documented the movement and put the problematic of invisibility at its focus.⁸⁸

I argue that *La Nación*'s coverage of the campaign reinforced and substantiated the calls for change in Argentina surrounding gender violence and femicide. *La Nación* created more visibility because its coverage continued the organization of the new media campaign and increased the awareness of gender violence and femicide to many in Argentina and beyond, who have access to these new and traditional media, of the extent of the problems of gender violence and femicide. *La Nación* gave more visibility to voids in government action regarding legal reform and implementation as well as to the lack of evidence and statistics on gender violence and femicide in Argentina. The newspaper also gave more visibility to proposed educational initiatives and to various voices of Ni Una Menos through personal testimonies from victims of gender violence, their friends and families, celebrities, politicians and government officials, representatives of the Catholic Church, and others who were in alignment with the movement.

⁸⁸ Fisher, *Out of the Shadows*, 1-234; Radford and Russell, *Femicide*, xi.-379.

METHODOLOGY

This analysis of the Ni Una Menos movement uses a qualitative content analysis of the press coverage. In this way, my work can contribute to the existing research not only on femicide more generally, but additionally on the 2015 Ni Una Menos march as there is even less scholarship on the march because it is a very recent phenomenon. For this analysis, I have used a qualitative analysis software called MAXQDA 12.⁸⁹ In addition to allowing me to download articles directly from the web through the web data collector, this software facilitated the organization and coding of text. In alignment with the media theme of the movement, I used MAXQDA to analyze newspaper articles published by the Argentine newspaper *La Nación*, a major daily newspaper published in Buenos Aires with national coverage and circulation.

Founded in 1870 by Bartolome Mitre, who was President of Argentina from 1862 to 1868, *La Nación* was originally geared toward the elites and policy makers in the country.⁹⁰ The newspaper was critical of some governments, in particular during the Perón years (1946-52) and more recently during the years of Néstor Kirchner (2003-07) and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-15). Because of this opposition, observers define it as a conservative newspaper. Overall, *La Nación* is a well-respected newspaper and one of the most widely read in Argentina.⁹¹ I chose *La Nación* because of its national coverage, circulation, respect, and history of being critical of some governments. Also, the newspaper's accessible online archive facilitated my research and the analysis with MAXQDA. *La Nación*'s accessible online archive also shows how as a

⁸⁹ MAXQDA is a version of a CAQDAS or Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis software for Windows and Mac computers. For more information on CAQDAS programs, see the following source: Christina Silver and Ann F. Lewins, "Computer-Assisted Analysis of Qualitative Research," ed. Patricia Leavy, *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 606-638.

⁹⁰ The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Bartolomé Mitre," (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1998).

⁹¹ José Antonio Sánchez-Román, "La Nación, Peronism, and the Origins of the Cold War in Argentina," *Culture & History Digital Journal* 4, no. 1 (2015).

publication it has embraced new media and is attuned to its power. As a daily newspaper, I was able to analyze changes in the news as well as the progression of articles covering Ni Una Menos in order to evaluate the impacts before, during, and after the day of the march. Additionally, analyzing a traditional media source seemed crucial to illuminating some stereotypes and scholarship of its negative portrayal of women.

I began by searching *La Nación*'s article database and identified over 400 articles with the search word “#NiUnaMenos” between my search parameters of February 2015 to February 2017. I chose to start this search a few months before Marcela Ojeda's May 11 tweet when the discussion of Ni Una Menos began, and then ended the search in February 2017 at the time I did this qualitative content analysis. Rather than search femicide or another relevant term, I chose to focus specifically on the Ni Una Menos march with its official hashtag in order to evaluate more specifically how the press covered this campaign. The earliest article containing this search word was published in May 12, 2015 a little less than a month before the first Ni Una Menos march.

In total, I selected 94 of these articles for analysis based on their content following what authors Christina Silver and Ann F. Lewins in *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* would call a “grounded theory project” which they define as “an in-depth process of data familiarization, using annotation tools to mark and comment upon data segments that are of particular interest.”⁹² Many of the articles that appeared in my search were one or two paragraphs detailing cases of femicides. While I did include personal testimonies and cases in my analysis, I prioritized which articles I analyzed by the quantity and quality of their content and by the

⁹² According to these authors, “This often acts as a precursor to the inductive development of codes and the application of them to data segments as they are identified in the data. Although work may start inductively, it may become more deductive as emerging ideas are tested in further.” Christina Silver and Ann F. Lewins, “Computer-Assisted Analysis of Qualitative Research,” ed. Patricia Leavy, *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 615.

number of topics the articles introduced. For example, if I found that the articles contained many of the themes discussed in the secondary literature I decided to include them for my own analysis so that I could accord or challenge these claims later.⁹³ In alignment with Silver and Lewins' ideals, I approached my analysis as "a cyclical and iterative process" where I was "able to flick between tasks and processes as ideas [were] explored."⁹⁴ I found this to especially be true during the coding phase of this analysis. Coding was an evolving process as it helped me identify fully the themes that were present in the articles and was accomplished after having reviewed the content of all of the documents.

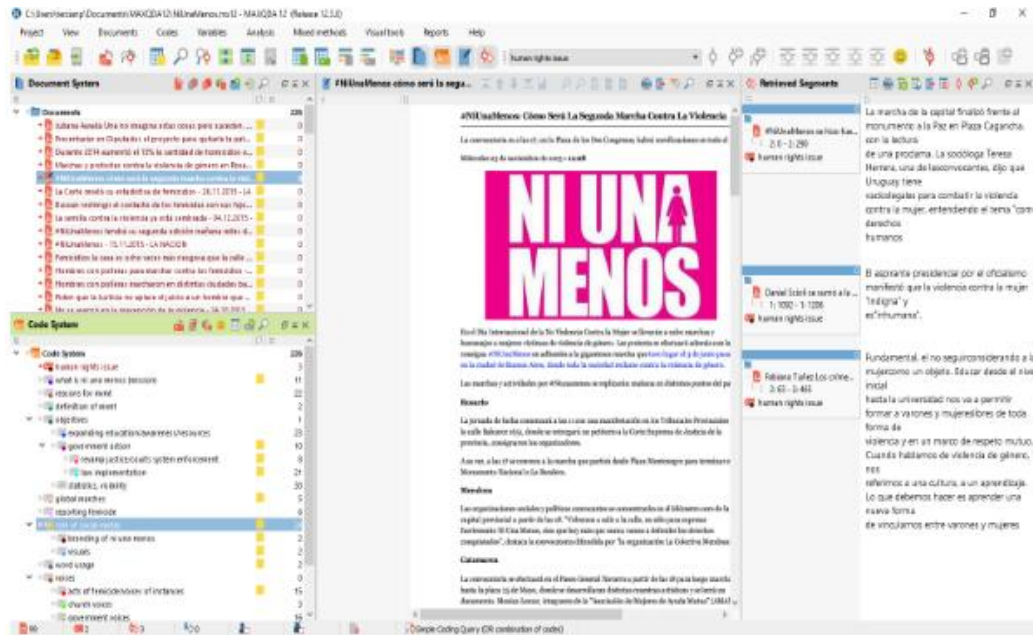
The majority of the articles published with the selected search term appeared in the weeks and days leading up to the movement, the actual day of the march, and then the few days immediately following the march. There were a few articles published exactly one month after, but the more time that passed since the June 3 march fewer articles were published. The latest article that I chose to analyze appeared on December 4, 2015. I stopped my analysis here because of the significantly fewer articles published over time up until this date from the first march and because of the quantity of articles I had already selected to analyze. After I imported the articles into MAXQDA, I went line by line to code sentences depending upon themes I identified as relevant for this analysis (see below) and gave each code a corresponding color. I then sorted the larger topics of analysis into subtopics so that I could do a more specific, detailed analysis within each main coded segment. After I finished coding, I retrieved all segments that had been coded with the relevant term so that I could analyze all of the text pertaining to that theme. All of these

⁹³ These themes from the secondary literature include issues of legal reform, the role of social media, mentions of patriarchy, the social/cultural/political influences of femicide and gender violence, and finally statistics /evidence of femicide and gender violence.

⁹⁴ Christina Silver and Ann F. Lewins, "Computer-Assisted Analysis of Qualitative Research," ed. Patricia Leavy, *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 614.

retrieved segments appeared in a separate word document for me to investigate specifically and to use for my own analysis (See Figure 1 below).

Figure 1: MAXQDA Analysis Screenshot



I created codes for my analysis based on trends that I found important throughout *La Nación*'s article content (See Appendix B). I formulated five main categories of how *La Nación* discussed the Ni Una Menos movement through their particular coverage and portrayal of information. First, I coded the role of social media and Twitter in the campaign in order to find out the ways in which its use continued and propagated the movement. Second, I noted discussions on the need to bring awareness and recognition of femicide and gender violence to Argentine society, including various educational initiatives. Third, I detailed calls for legal reform and actions taken related to the need for justice and legal systems. Fourth, I coded any reports on statistics and evidence of femicides. Fifth, I tracked the various voices, actors, and personal testimonials of the Ni Una Menos movement as portrayed in the newspaper coverage

and sorted them into the following groups: women who were victims of gender violence; families and friends directly influenced by acts of femicide and gender violence; men, who spoke out in solidarity of the movement and alignment with women; celebrities, which includes well-known individuals speaking out or taking a stance against femicide in support of the Ni Una Menos movement; politicians and the government, which includes any individual politician or current government official to emphasize the effect of the election year; and finally, the Catholic Church.

Through this analysis, I wanted to investigate how traditional media coverage facilitated the visibility of Ni Una Menos and the problematic silencing effects of femicide in Argentina. The topics I coded that transformed into categories of my analysis, which formed from from themes that I found in the secondary literature, helped me evaluate the ways in which *La Nación* published and presented article content on Ni Una Menos. These choices reflected *La Nación*'s stance as a traditional media source that this work argues contributed to the visibility of Ni Una Menos, gender violence, and femicide in Argentina and beyond.

THE NI UNA MENOS MOVEMENT AND GENDER VIOLENCE AS SEEN IN *LA NACIÓN*: PUBLICIZING THE CALLS FOR CHANGE

The coverage of the Ni Una Menos movement from *La Nación* reiterated the themes of structural and cultural gender discrimination in Argentina also discussed in existing scholarly literature. Additionally, the coverage revealed the ways in which the Ni Una Menos movement specifically sought to change Argentine culture both socially and politically and how it made the obstacles to stopping femicide in Argentina public. Calling attention to the problematics of femicide and how it is viewed in Argentina, the traditional media coverage created greater transparency regarding the extent and severity of femicide, and highlighted the actions needed to change it. For example, *La Nación's* coverage provided the context and origins of the movement with direct quotes and input from the organizers to illustrate why it was even important to start such a movement. The coverage included personal testimonials from victims of gender violence as well as those from families and friends of femicide victims. The publication of these testimonials not only recognized the violence that occurred, but it also gave those who had been impacted by such violence a chance to speak out against it when they may not have been given the opportunity to do so otherwise. By doing this, it also humanized the problem and it gave it concrete faces and voices.

The coverage also revealed the activity, or lack thereof, of the Argentine government in handling femicide cases and tracking evidence of femicides. It made public the failures of the government in implementing practices to prevent gender violence in reality. This exposure was especially important as October 2015 was an election year. Reactions to Ni Una Menos from government officials and opposition candidates were crucial as strategies for their own campaigns and to show their concerns and attention to the demands of the Argentine people. Coincidentally, the coverage included comments from both government officials and from

candidates in opposition to the national government who partook in the march. In a way, *La Nación*'s coverage was critical to call out and call on the government to act and react to the Ni Una Menos campaign to combat femicide, especially to candidates running for public office. Further, it followed and reported the changes that arose as a result of the movement in order to document both its successes and failures. In fact, this coverage sought to show the extent of femicide in all of Argentina and not just in one part of the country.

The Scope of Femicide

The articles published in *La Nación* made it clear that femicide is a problem of national proportion. For example, the coverage of the Ni Una Menos march included reports of mobilization all over the country and the reasons for people's action –that is, that femicide was a nationwide problem. For instance, on the day of the first march an article in *La Nación* reported that the Province of Tucumán registered eleven homicides in 2014.⁹⁵ The article reported that the division of gender violence in the provincial police station received an average of ten complaints of gender violence daily, while the office of domestic violence of the Supreme Court of Justice in Tucumán reported between thirteen and fifteen consultations per day. The article included that only 20% of the victims were encouraged to make a formal complaint. *La Nación* did not hesitate to characterize gender violence in Tucumán as a “social scourge” which also demonstrates its supportive stance of Ni Una Menos.⁹⁶

The newspaper also reported on gender violence in other provinces to provide comparisons across regions of the country. For instance, the same article included information on the Province of Córdoba as the province with the third highest femicide rates in the country. The

⁹⁵ “Fuerte adhesión en el interior a la movilización #NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

⁹⁶ “Fuerte adhesión.”

Province of Salta precedes it, yet both provinces average around twenty-one deaths per year.⁹⁷ Córdoba's high rates could explain why there was a massive demonstration of between 45,000 and 50,000 people also on June 3 in the province alone.⁹⁸ Scholars Gabriela Barcaglione et al. revealed in their study conducted in Buenos Aires from 1997 to 2003 that the existing homicide records in Buenos Aires, since femicide statistics were not recorded at the time, were inaccessible to the public.⁹⁹ This void can be connected to the fact that Buenos Aires Province, as the district with the largest population, was reported as the province with the highest numbers of gender violence: ninety-one women died in 2015.¹⁰⁰ Additionally each hour, sixteen women report an act of gender violence in the City of Buenos Aires.¹⁰¹

It is significant that the country's capital has the worst rates of femicide. These rates potentially explain why Barcaglione et al.'s study to find statistics of violence experienced difficulties in producing any results. This instance goes to show how imperative not only government action, but national government action is in setting a precedent and an example for the rest of Argentina to follow. I suggest that *La Nación*'s particular attention to coverage of femicide rates in Buenos Aires highlighted the need for new leadership in the capital. This coverage spoke to the large voter population who had the power to elect this leadership too. *La Nación* further portrayed the power in numbers by including the scope of new media's reach during the Ni Una Menos campaign in their coverage. The newspaper depicted the important role that Twitter played in catalyzing Ni Una Menos.

⁹⁷ Navia, "Hora."

⁹⁸ "Fuerte adhesión."

⁹⁹ Barcaglione et al., *Femicidios*, 7-8.

¹⁰⁰ "Durante 2014 aumentó el 13% la cantidad de homicidios en la Capital," *La Nación*, November 26, 2015.

¹⁰¹ Fernando Massa. "Cada hora 16 mujeres bonaerenses sufren casos de violencia," *La Nación*, June 5, 2015.

Twitter and the Origins of Ni Una Menos Mobilization

New media played a crucial role in the Ni Una Menos movement and in mobilizing people for the actual march. It acted as the tool and resource for the campaign to bring femicide awareness to the entire country. One of the foci of coverage in *La Nación* presented ideas and theories as to how and why the Ni Una Menos movement took off in the spontaneous way that it did through the use of new media. Moreover, the press revealed the details and causes of the successful mobilization of Ni Una Menos in May versus the similar yet unsuccessful attempt of mobilization a few months earlier in March (at that time, through Facebook) as a way to demonstrate the unpredictability of new media.

For example, in March of that same year a group of Argentine writers and journalists which included María Moreno, Marta Dillon, Gabriela Cabezón Cámara, and Selva Almada were angered by the death of nineteen-year-old Daiana Ayelén García and empowered to call for action. The women solely utilized Facebook to rally others together that same month in March in an emotional response brought about by Daiana's death. They were successful in organizing lectures in the Boris Spivacow Square, located near the Argentine National Library in Buenos Aires, but the momentum stopped there.¹⁰² One of the organizers of Ni Una Menos, Hinde Pomeraniec (who is a regular contributor to *La Nación*), commented in a *La Nación* article published on May 16 by Ludmila Moscato on the differences between the uses of new media outlets that were utilized in March versus in May: in her opinion, "Facebook was more popular then, yet unknowingly at the time it served as the antecedent for the June Ni Una Menos march."¹⁰³ There were others who also commented on the origins of Ni Una Menos through Twitter.

¹⁰² Ludmila Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo salir de Twitter y llegar a la calle," *La Nación*, May 16, 2015.

¹⁰³ Quoted in Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo."

Organizer Ingrid Beck added reasons as to why the Ni Una Menos movement took off the way it did and was also quoted in Moscato's article. Beck stated that "people were tired of having femicides happen day after day, in daylight, and in public spaces. At times, I felt as if femicide was a large subject and part of my day as a reporter. Many cases were published daily, some of youth, of defenseless women, of women who were assassinated in public places."¹⁰⁴ Beck continued, "[T]he public space is not a safe place for any woman anymore."¹⁰⁵ This idea of unsafe spaces is supported by scholar Fernández in her comment that the home is no safer than the streets.¹⁰⁶ Beck and Fernández's comments on public and private spaces demonstrate how no place is free of femicide.¹⁰⁷

Space also plays an important role in the different forms of new media. In a *La Nación* article published on June 7 after the first march, journalist Lorena Oliva discussed how Twitter has its own identity as a new media source different from Facebook in that it "occupies a different space: its higher frequency of posts highlight the moment, giving it a unique nuance."¹⁰⁸ Oliva's article is the main source of information for this section on new media and the origins of Ni Una Menos because her article had the most detailed information and varying perspectives on new media. Facebook is about sharing more personal experiences and photos while Twitter is about time and immediacy in sharing one's opinions and reactions. Tomás Balmaceda, a journalist and specialist in technology, remarked after the first march how "it is always difficult to explain these types of sensations going viral. The web is chaotic and resists to be explained sensibly. In the case of #NiUnaMenos, it produced a union of genuine stupor that was generated after the crime in Rufino (the town in Santa Fe Province where Chiara Paez was killed and

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo."

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo."

¹⁰⁶ Fernández, "Gender Violence," 46.

¹⁰⁷ Fernández, "Gender Violence."

¹⁰⁸ "Twitter la red social que cuestiona las lógicas de la política," *La Nación*, June 7, 2015.

subsequently spurred Ojeda's famous tweet) and the apparition of the expression, Ni Una Menos, catalyzed the indignation behind the succession of femicides."¹⁰⁹

Twitter served as the tool to rally Argentines together instantaneously in fighting femicide and gender violence in the entire country.¹¹⁰ I found that *La Nación*'s coverage justified this unpredicted development of how the Ni Una Menos hashtag spread rapidly. According to Oliva in the same article it was "the clamor of all of the society" ("el clamor de toda una sociedad") expressed by a new medium which showed how "legitimized this social media network is by the uses and customs of the society."¹¹¹ The women organizers made Twitter a space to gather and to speak publicly about a topic that many others were also consumed with. Ingrid Beck added that "social media is a unique medium to use, as everything is paired with a photo."¹¹² The Ni Una Menos Twitter account shared photographs of public figures (politicians, celebrities, artists, with the sign).¹¹³

Emotional recall is crucial in propagating a message and by adding images and symbolism to the movement, such as people posing with #NiUnaMenos signs, the campaign more readily stuck. This idea is supported by Florencia Rovetto's image analysis study of graphics used in Ni Una Menos that show the power of images in conveying a message and a conversation on an issue.¹¹⁴ Oliva continues that Twitter "acted as a channel of communication on the web, and unlike traditional media it is immediate, spontaneous, and its expediency enables its users to be the first contributors on issues."¹¹⁵ Lucas Lanza, director of the consultant firm ePolitics and specialist in political action 2.0, elaborated on this idea of immediacy and users

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Lorena Oliva, "Twitter la red social que cuestiona las lógicas de la política," *La Nación*, June 7, 2015.

¹¹⁰ Oliva, "Twitter la red."

¹¹¹ Oliva, "Twitter la red."

¹¹² Quoted in Moscato, "#Niunamenos cómo."

¹¹³ Ni Una Menos, "Twitter/ @NiUnaMenos_" May 2015, https://twitter.com/niunamenos_?lang=en.

¹¹⁴ Rovetto, "Violencia."

¹¹⁵ Oliva, "Twitter la red."

being the first to react and interact to information circulating on new media. He described how tweets come right from the person and arrive to viewers without mediation.¹¹⁶ He continued that if the content is not what viewers want, then they disregard it.¹¹⁷ People choose to use Twitter because they can more readily and expediently select what they want to see and read in their Twitter feeds. As Lanza noted, users can censor what content they want to see. The power of the Ni Una Menos message then and its success through Twitter demonstrated its relevancy and valued importance to Twitter users and more generally, to Argentinians who have access to Twitter because the campaign took off from this form of new media.¹¹⁸

Oliva also commented on the “democratic and horizontal” aspects of Twitter and how it has achieved a strong position as an informative medium in Argentina.¹¹⁹ For Oliva, Twitter is democratic in that anyone can participate and use it as a forum of communication; it is horizontal in that status is obsolete. Nonetheless, Oliva neglected to recognize that sometimes Twitter is inaccessible if people do not have access to the technology to use Twitter. As a result, it is not always democratic because of this inaccessibility and therefore it is not always horizontal because there is a hierarchy between those who can use Twitter and those who cannot. Thus, a vertical hierarchy does exist.

The degree to which the Ni Una Menos movement took off through this platform shows the potency of the internet today in social organization. In the case of Ni Una Menos, the demand to address femicide was there and just needed energy and people to act on these demands. This was exactly what Twitter enabled those who decided to partake in Ni Una Menos to do.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Oliva, “Twitter la red.”

¹¹⁷ Oliva, “Twitter.”

¹¹⁸ According to Twitter’s Vice President for Latin America, Guilherme Ribenboim, there were 11.8 million Twitter users in Argentina at the time the article was published in 2016. Ribenboim also said that there were about 15 million users of the mobile internet. He calculated then that 70% of the population could utilize Twitter. See more information in the following article: José del Río, “Guilherme Ribenboim: ‘En la Argentina ya tenemos 11,8 millones de usuarios de Twitter,’” *La Nación*, March 14, 2016.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Sometimes called an “epicenter of news,” according to Oliva, “Twitter is a reliable reflection of what the community uses” as the organizers witnessed in how quickly their message took off.¹²⁰ Similarly, Juan José Larrea, director of the consulting firm Dircom, said that “demonstrations on the web are as valid as personal words: both hold the same weight.”¹²¹ Indeed, Ojeda’s words in her tweet echoed personally with many Argentinians. The momentum behind the Ni Una Menos movement illustrated the community’s priority regarding social issues and how new media, in this case Twitter, played such an imperative role.

Oliva contributed that in Argentina, Twitter acts as a channel of communication with two platforms. She noted that it is beneficial for “both politicians and other public figures to transmit any type of message they wish to citizens, as it is a network of microblogging that is effective in resonating with the interests and claims of the public.”¹²² For example, a document called the “collective shout” (grito colectivo) was posted on the Ni Una Menos website exactly one month after the march as an organizational strategy of the movement to ask the national government to take their demands into account considering the upcoming October presidential elections.¹²³ The organizers called on the candidates running in the presidential election to discuss the agenda that many had demanded from the march, and as a result many candidates took advantage of new media to express their adhesion to the march.¹²⁴ Mariano Recalde, candidate for mayor of the City of Buenos Aires for the governing party Frente Para la Victoria (FPV, Peronist) wrote on his Twitter, “All and everyone are going to reject gender violence.”¹²⁵ His statement was important because Recalde was a candidate not only from the current ruling government party,

¹²⁰ Oliva, “Twitter.”

¹²¹ Quoted in Oliva, “Twitter.”

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ “A un mes de la marcha #NiUnaMenos los organizadores destacaron 14 avances en la lucha de género,” *La Nación*, July 3, 2015.

¹²⁴ “A un mes de la marcha.”

¹²⁵ “Para Larreta, Michetti sería ‘una buena’ vice de Macri y Marcos Peña, ‘excelente,’” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

but because he was running for a position to represent the capital of the country where femicide rates are the worst in Argentina.

It was noted by Oliva however, that “Twitter can be an everyday enigma for a good part of the political class, yet it is crucial to understand especially as politicians in order to get a grasp on public opinion.”¹²⁶ Politicians need to understand how to use forms of new media like Twitter because it is a way to recognize and communicate the issues that are important and on the minds of many in the Argentine public. While “Twitter may not be an electoral predictor, it alerts political figures of the situations, tendencies, and flows of communication in their society” she added.¹²⁷ This is true as exemplified by the Ni Una Menos movement. A politician’s engagement with the people can depend on his or her knowledge base of new media.

For example, Vice Presidential candidate for the FPV at the time, Leandro Santoro, said with respect to his tweet that he “took Twitter as a game.”¹²⁸ He added that Twitter “changed the manner of doing politics.”¹²⁹ As exhibited by the Ni Una Menos march and its results, it indeed did. Santoro commented on “politicians lagging in catching on to this social trend and how it is actually the principal error of politicians in continuing an old paradigm of communication and transmission.”¹³⁰ His viewpoint is crucial as he is a member of the current ruling government party. Santoro’s remark that it is an error of politicians to fall behind on methods of communication can allude to the fact that the national government had lagged on addressing issues of gender violence and femicide. As demonstrated by the Ni Una Menos movement, many citizens connected with and empowered one another through new media forums like Twitter and reached out to the national government to act.

¹²⁶ Oliva, “Twitter.”

¹²⁷ Lorena Oliva, “Twitter la red social que cuestiona las lógicas de la política,” *La Nación*, June 7, 2015.

¹²⁸ Quoted in Lorena Oliva, “Twitter.”

¹²⁹ Quoted in Lorena Oliva, “Twitter.”

¹³⁰ Quoted in Oliva, “Twitter.”

Greater awareness and involvement on the part of politicians better enables them to make the changes demanded of them from society. Further, in this case of an election year it could have helped secure their win or re-election. *La Nación* provided this detailed information on Twitter's power as a communication tool and as an organizing vehicle in order to illustrate the process of how the Ni Una Menos movement transformed and played out in reality. It also explained why the timing of Ni Una Menos before the elections helped the movement gain such support.

The Political Nature of Ni Una Menos

Politicians also had an important role to respond to Ni Una Menos because *La Nación* made public the lack of statistics, public policies, and femicide evidence through its coverage. In doing so, it called out politicians and the government for not doing their job in addressing femicide and gender violence. In choosing to emphasize the government's neglect, *La Nación* showed its stance against the government at that time. This text was crucial for the Ni Una Menos movement because it highlighted the work that had been done by many others, except the government. The coverage explains the original cause for the mobilization and reasons why the upcoming October 2015 elections were so important to change the ruling party, the FPV. The march's demands were written specifically to address the Argentine national government and asked for statistics and public policies to address the spread of femicide in Argentina. This is because the elections were highly contested as they could change the ruling party that had been in power for the last twelve years. In revealing these discrepancies, *La Nación* identified areas that deserved attention from the national government. This work found that reactions from politicians and government officials were a combination of desires to address public concern, but can also be interpreted as a Ni Una Menos campaign strategy to harness greater support.

The reports from *La Nación* on the lack of official national statistics in the country and government inactivity served as indicators that the successful and effective fight against femicide needed to come from avenues other than the current administration.¹³¹ *La Nación* reported that President Fernández de Kirchner mentioned the march for the first time on her Twitter account, thus recognizing its existence, not until 10:30 pm the night before the Ni Una Menos march.¹³² When the Argentine government failed to take the lead in advancing institutions which promoted education and awareness of femicide, *La Nación*'s coverage showed how La Casa del Encuentro did.¹³³ Fabiana Túñez is one of the founders and the executive director of La Casa del Encuentro who stated that the goals of the organization not only include recording and publishing statistics on femicide, but also to assist and educate women and others on the proliferation of femicide in Argentina.¹³⁴ La Casa del Encuentro is one of the leading organizations focused on combating gender violence.

Further, *La Nación* quoted and included Túñez's words and perspectives throughout its coverage of Ni Una Menos. The frequent mentions of Túñez and the work of La Casa del Encuentro were subtle ways for *La Nación* to point fingers at the national government in not taking the lead in the fight against femicide. In fact, La Casa del Encuentro declared that there was "a national emergency for combating violence against women and for the creation of a commission that follows the information in the legislatures at the provincial and national

¹³¹ Evangelina Himítian, "Femicidios la casa es ocho veces más riesgosa que la calle," *La Nación*, November 13, 2015.

¹³² "#Niunamenos para Cristina la violencia de género también es culpa de los medios," *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹³³ La Casa del Encuentro was founded in 2008 also around the time when Cristina Fernández de Kirchner began her term as President; and, at the end of her term mobilization for Ni Una Menos began: this is an unlikely coincidence and series of events. In fact, these occurrences allude to the inactivity of her administration in addressing femicide.

¹³⁴ Carolina Amoroso, "Fabiana Tuñez: 'Los crímenes contra las mujeres se pueden evitar,'" *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

levels.”¹³⁵ In other words, femicide had become so destructive in Argentine society that some viewed it as a national emergency that demanded greater institutional attention from the Argentine government.

Less than 24 hours after the march took place, Judge Elena Highton de Nolasco of the Supreme Court announced the creation of the first Registro Nacional de Femicidios (national registry of femicides) including data from all of the Argentine provinces under the Secretary of Human Rights.¹³⁶ The Casa Rosada (The Pink House), Argentina’s national government, published on its Facebook and Twitter accounts text that detailed the design and objectives of the registry.¹³⁷ This second iteration of the creation of the registry on the national government’s new media accounts demonstrated the government’s desire to show receptivity of responding to the people and their demands. Potentially, as it was the end of President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s second term, it was a way for her to appease the people before leaving office as well as to secure support for her party, the FPV, in the upcoming elections. Nonetheless, the timing and upset around femicides that sparked Ni Una Menos happened during her time in office. It potentially reflects that Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s administration neglected to address femicide which fueled the energy for Ni Una Menos. Further, it is important to note that laws passed during her administration were ineffective in their implementation until demands were made from society to command this implementation. Scholarship from Luz Oriana Rioseco Ortega and Beatriz Kohen had commented on this ineffectiveness as reasons hindering the prevention of gender violence.¹³⁸

Another institutional area necessitating attention that was part of the Ni Una Menos

¹³⁵ Navia, “Hora.”

¹³⁶ “A todos nos quedan deberes por hacer,” *La Nación*, June 7, 2015.

¹³⁷ Massa, “Cada hora.”

¹³⁸ Rioseco Ortega, “Violencia contra las mujeres en las relaciones de pareja en Argentina,” 184-211; Beatriz Kohen, “The Effectiveness of Legal Strategies in Argentina,” in *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*, ed. Jane Jaquette (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009), 83-112.

march demands was a call for legal reform specifically to protect the children of victims. Part of an Argentine custody law mandated bi-weekly visits between children and their parents. The amended law would release parental responsibility in cases where one of the parents committed a femicide.¹³⁹ Congresswomen Margarita Stolbizer and Virginia Linares, both members of the Generación para un Encuentro Nacional party, along with Ada Beatriz Rico, another one of the founders of La Casa del Encuentro, presented a project on December 3 detailing reasons why parental responsibility should be removed from the law in cases when femicide has occurred.¹⁴⁰ The date of their presentation “was not chance” as it occurred exactly six months after the first march (December 3, 2015).¹⁴¹ Their project sought to incorporate the following restriction in the Civil Code: “[I]f a father is found guilty as author, coauthor, instigator, or accomplice of the crime of homicide...against the mother of his children, the father will be excluded from parental responsibility.”¹⁴² This would eliminate the problems espoused from this law.

This law has been controversial because it states that children who lost a mother due to femicide on behalf of the father are still forced to visit the father (as the father retains parental rights). *La Nación* provided personal testimonials from families who were suffering as a result of this law. For instance, it detailed the story of a child named Josefina, who had been living with her mother after her parents separated, who has to visit her father despite their separation even five years after he killed her mother.¹⁴³ Similarly, it reported that even after a man named José Arce killed his wife, Rosana Galliano, he was still able to live with their two kids, Jerónimo and Nehuén who were four and three years old respectively, as Arce was only on house arrest and

¹³⁹ This law to date is still being discussed in the Argentine Congress. See source: Chloe St. George, “Congress Discusses New Law to Protect Children of Those Guilty of femicide,” *The Bubble*, April 26, 2017.

¹⁴⁰ “Presentarán en Diputados el proyecto para quitarle la patria potestad a los femicidas condenados,” *La Nación*, December 2, 2015.

¹⁴¹ Rolón, “Buscan restringir el contacto de los femicidas con sus hijos,” *La Nación*, December 4, 2015.

¹⁴² Rolón, “Buscan.”

¹⁴³ Sol Amaya, “#Niunamenos cómo es la vida de los hijos de las mujeres asesinadas por la violencia de género,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

still had parental responsibility.

Another case reported in *La Nación* was that of Rosana Galliano's family, who has been fighting for custody of the two children for the last seven years since her death. *La Nación* revealed that they were also present at the march, as was the sister of Rosana, Mónica Galliano, who was quoted saying that there were many other children in similar situations and that "it is madness that the justice system does not remove the power of the patriarchy in femicide."¹⁴⁴ This power of the patriarchy refers to the component of the law that allowed the father to exercise his parental responsibility. Russell constitutes this power as another way in which men dominate many women in having this upper hand.¹⁴⁵ The plans published in *La Nación* to change the law also included a program to assist children with an interdisciplinary team to provide psychological treatment.

Yet another idea proposed in Senator Stolbizer's and Linares' plan was to grant children a subsidy until they are eighteen years old so that the families left to take care of them have extra money for their needs.¹⁴⁶ An additional similar scenario presented by *La Nación* was that of the child of a twenty-eight-year-old mother, Adriana Marisel Zambrano, who was killed by her ex-husband. They had a nine-month-old child, yet due to the existing provision in the Civil Code even five years after the child's father murdered the mother the child had to visit the father twice a week.¹⁴⁷ Through these personal stories, *La Nación*'s coverage highlighted how this law created double victimization for the families that lost a loved one from femicide. For example, in the case of Rosana Galliano's family, the article revealed how her parents suffered both losing a loved one and receiving bad treatment from the police and justice system since they have still

¹⁴⁴ Amaya, "#Niunamenos cómo es la vida."

¹⁴⁵ Russell, *Femicide*.

¹⁴⁶ Amaya, "#Niunamenos cómo es la vida."

¹⁴⁷ Rolón, "Buscan."

failed to claim custody of her children.¹⁴⁸ This is why the march listed the need for legal changes and proposed legislative reforms. In including the voices and the experiences of these women as primary evidence, *La Nación* showed how not all traditional media sources neglect to put women at the center of their coverage, as claimed in the media analysis study by Rocio et al.¹⁴⁹

Despite the coverage of these personal testimonies and plans for legal reform, because of the continued lack of initiative on the national government in granting some of the other demands, a second march was held on November 25, 2015. Like this first march, the second was held in front of the Congressional building and replicated in cities and towns throughout Argentina. *La Nación* characterized it as an act to “strengthen the respect for women’s rights,” to call out against femicides, and to modify the culture of violence in the country. Again, the motives of this second march reiterated those of the first to ask for official statistics and legal practices to catch acts of femicide.¹⁵⁰ It was also classified by a *La Nación* article as “a meeting where persons, the majority women, of all social classes, beliefs, and ideologies visualized with their signs #NiUnaMenos, a problem that many times is underestimated or attended to when it is too late.”¹⁵¹

This second march occurred after national elections had defeated the ruling party. The timing and the lower turnout rates at the November march in comparison to the first could be results from this defeat. Further, there was less motivation and less tension now that the ruling party was out and there was not as much at stake. Regardless, the second march showed strength and accountability to the incoming government. In response, President-elect Mauricio Macri promised to fulfill at least five of the demands made at the Ni Una Menos march in June since

¹⁴⁸ Buscaglia, “#NiUnaMenos sin banderías.”

¹⁴⁹ Rocio et al., “El feminicidio.”

¹⁵⁰ “#NiUnaMenos tendrá su segunda edición mañana miles de personas volverán a reclamar contra la violencia,” *La Nación*, November 24, 2015.

¹⁵¹ “#NiUnaMenos tendrá.”

not all of them had been met six months after the day of the march.¹⁵² His statement could have served as a way for him to gain more leverage and support for his presidency. All of these responses were crucial to Ni Una Menos, and many came from new media accounts of politicians. These politicians displayed their knowledge of new media and used their positions of power to address various march demands. These responses were also reported in traditional media outlets like *La Nación*. Nonetheless, comments from politicians do not have control nor power over how others use new media unless legislative changes are made. This was an important aspect that Ni Una Menos sought to address as yet another strategy to fight gender violence and femicide.

Messages in the Media Matter

While the media can be a powerful and positive tool for new media campaigns, it can also act as a negative resource. *La Nación* depicted the problematics of new and traditional media coverage in order to illustrate the important role and influence that all media has on public perception. For example, new and traditional media can objectify and perpetrate harmful stereotypes of women. This was also a concern addressed as part of Ni Una Menos in how the portrayal of women and positive images are essential to the ways in which women are treated not only in the real world, but also in the virtual one. In highlighting this, *La Nación* illustrated its own stance on how women should be positively viewed and depicted. By doing so, it set an example for other media publications to follow and contradicted the negative stereotype of traditional media portraying women poorly.

On the day of the first march, Fabiana Tuñez was quoted in a *La Nación* article and

¹⁵² “La semilla contra la violencia ya está sembrada,” *La Nación*, December 4, 2015. “Exigíamos -y seguimos exigiendo- que se implementara el Plan Nacional de Acción para la Prevención, la Asistencia y Erradicación de la violencia contra las mujeres, establecido por la ley 26.485; que se garantizara a las víctimas acceso a la Justicia, con personal idóneo y patrocinio jurídico gratuito; que se elaborase un Registro Oficial Único de víctimas de femicidios; que se profundizara la Educación Sexual Integral en todos los niveles para formar en la igualdad; también, que se garantizase la protección de las víctimas de la Violencia.”

lamented how “the media acts as one of the principal engines of culture and opinion: the media every day shows stereotypes of women as being either good, just, chaste, or controversial to these positive ideals of what women should embody.”¹⁵³ Writer and journalist Paula Puebla described how “intending to justify a violation in any way appears to be cowardly: and this includes the comments on the way in which the victim is dressed which makes people (mostly other women) feel shame and disgust.”¹⁵⁴ It is a cop-out to excuse the behavior of a man and his crime and reiterates Russell’s findings that the coverage emphasizes with the male perpetrator.¹⁵⁵ Comments from these women demonstrate the problems of certain media coverage and how all media culture needs to change the way in which it depicts and discusses women. This is important in order to decrease femicide rates.

The objectification of women exists in all media platforms, but is most often noted on television in both news broadcasting and television shows. Television shows are often at fault in perpetrating skewed and more sensitized perceptions. North American critic Margaret Lyons asked “how many violations were too many” three days after the Ni Una Menos march in relation to a popular American show, *Game of Thrones*.¹⁵⁶ *Game of Thrones* is notorious for many violent, sexual assault scenes. In another show, *Outlander*, a scene where the protagonist is violated and tortured by a villain sums up the show’s season finale broadcasted on June 5.¹⁵⁷ Prompted by the Ni Una Menos movement, these depictions were reviewed in *La Nación*. Dolores Graña analyzed the negative impact of American television shows and discussed the debate in the United States about whether or not these violent characters are necessary.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Quoted in Caroline Amoroso, “Fabiana Tuñez: ‘Los crímenes contra las mujeres se pueden evitar,’” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹⁵⁴ Gonzalo Garcés, “Crítica al feminismo radical después de #NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, August 2, 2015.

¹⁵⁵ Radford and Russell, *Femicide*, vii.-394.

¹⁵⁶ Garcés, “Crítica al feminismo.”

¹⁵⁷ Garcés, “Crítica al feminismo.”

¹⁵⁸ Garcés, “Crítica al feminismo.”

Graña commented on the fear that such scenes of violence have on the audience (and their identification with the victim) and on the “escapist pact” that describes the spectator’s ability to remove themselves from reality with fiction television shows.¹⁵⁹ Graña revealed, “While these shows act as sources of entertainment, they also act as sources of many truths.” She parallels the characters that the viewer sees to the day-to-day faces and names of victims of gender violence. Graña added that the Ni Una Menos movement served to bring these faces to the public eye and to think more critically about these instances of fantasy. She remarked, “In a way, these shows demonstrate a perfect summary of the power of fiction in illuminating reality.”¹⁶⁰ As Graña argues, fiction has stems of the truth: character fates of violent deaths reflect modern day problems. The voices and perspectives of women discussing these problems in *La Nación*’s coverage helped bring these problems to reality.

In its June 3, 2015 editorial *La Nación* commented “with preoccupation on the existence of television programs such as these and have made points to degrade the pretext of humor and entertainment that these shows seek to bring about.”¹⁶¹ Through these shows, gender violence becomes socially acceptable in two ways: one, it is shown frequently as if it is permissible; and two, many times people emulate the behavior they have seen.¹⁶² The article commented that “it is necessary to place on the public agenda ways to address how issues of gender violence are propagated in society, including in the media...the march has become the central act that will call upon social change and call upon Congress to help implement this change. By creating

¹⁵⁹ Dolores Graña, “Cuando la ficción ilumina la realidad,” *La Nación*, June 6, 2015.

¹⁶⁰ Dolores Graña, “Cuando la ficción ilumina la realidad,” *La Nación*, June 6, 2015.

¹⁶¹ “Violencia contra la mujer una convocatoria necesaria,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹⁶² There is a lot of literature on issues relating to representations of gender violence and debate around the effects of these representations. For one scholar’s perspective see the following source: Patricia Bou-Franch, “Domestic violence and public participation in the media: the case of citizen journalism,” *Gender and Language* 7, no. 3 (2013): 275-302. For another scholar’s perspective using a frame analysis specifically on how these representations influence perceptions of femicide see this source: Lane Kirkland Gillespie, Tara N. Richards, Eugena M. Givens, and M. Dwayne Smith, “Framing Deadly Domestic Violence: Why the Media’s Spin Matters in Newspaper Coverage of Femicide,” *Violence Against Women* 19, 2 (2013): 222-245.

policy changes on how gender violence is shown, it is one way to respect the lives that have been lost.”¹⁶³ The organizers of the Ni Una Menos movement, who were all women journalists accustomed to the hateful stigmatization common in new and traditional media, brought awareness to acts of violence in Argentina and the many areas where it was perpetrated, including in new and traditional media. *La Nación* acknowledged the impact of the Ni Una Menos movement in making these problems visible and calling for society and government to act.

Norma Morandini, a national senator with the Civic Front Alliance party and writer who contributes frequently to *La Nación*, added in an article published the day after the march that the “public media has now taken a stance on promoting cultural changes through the diffusion of human rights, pillars of the democratic system, and anecdotes against violence.”¹⁶⁴ Further, journalist Luciana Vázquez described how the march brought itself to the center of television coverage and to the public eye through its dissemination in the media thus forcing a debate. For Vázquez, the march makes these topics “visible;” “it forces us to debate; to present better arguments to abandon the comfort of commonly-held ideas that have become natural.”¹⁶⁵ *La Nación* writer Adriana L Romo commented on how “the radio, the TV channels, and social media multiplied the infinite faces of victims Melina Romero, Lola Chomnalez, Gabriela Parra and so many other names of young women who had barely matured and who were quickly forgotten.”¹⁶⁶

Germán Garavano, a lawyer who served as the City of Buenos Aires’ Attorney General until 2014 and an expert on judicial reform, wrote in a May 2015 article for *La Nación* about how gender violence is an “uncomfortable reality that both men and women need to understand,

¹⁶³ “Violencia contra la.”

¹⁶⁴ Norma Morandini, “Los dolores solitarios se hicieron colectivos,” *La Nación*, June 4, 2015.

¹⁶⁵ Luciana Vázquez, “Quizás el inicio de un cambio cultural,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹⁶⁶ Adriana L Romo, “Hablemos de esto #NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, May 24, 2015.

including the scope and implications of society's behaviors."¹⁶⁷ Garavano stated that "to guarantee responsible treatment of the cases of gender violence, the media must be used to bring the cases to the forefront of the public's attention."¹⁶⁸ All of these statements not only reveal the importance of the media's role in a society and its culture, but more specifically how various actors were working toward changing the media's role and influence in these areas, which in turn influenced the responses to the Ni Una Menos call for action. Through the Ni Una Menos movement, the media is used positively and as a resource for change. The coverage in *La Nación* put women at the center of its article content and portrayed them as equals to men. The coverage also called for all of Argentina to portray women as equals. As *La Nación*'s articles recognize, this shift (from invisibility to visibility) was largely the result of the Ni Una Menos movement.

Changing the Culture

Alongside the need to change media culture, *La Nación* highlighted other initiatives to change Argentine culture and society. This includes creating new sets of cultural values to support and value women in all aspects of society that are also ideals reiterated in Ni Una Menos. Men were the primary targets of this need for a social re-education not only in the movement, but also in *La Nación*'s coverage. For instance, one of the plans proposed by Ni Una Menos is a minimum six-hour course that couples should take as part of the marriage process where they learn how to respect women, women's rights, differences between gender perspectives, and the harmful effects of gender violence. The goal is that couples will understand their roles and rights as individuals: and that these rights are equal.¹⁶⁹

A July 29, 2015 article quoted Ricardo Casal, Minister of Justice of the Province of

¹⁶⁷ Germán C. Garavano, "Sumar conciencia contra la violencia de género," *La Nación*, May 26, 2015. In December 2015, Garavano became Argentina's Minister of Justice and Human Rights under President Mauricio Macri.

¹⁶⁸ Garavano, "Sumar conciencia."

¹⁶⁹ "#NiUnaMenos el curso sobre violencia que tendrán que hacer los que se quieren casar," *La Nación*, July 29, 2015.

Buenos Aires, who explained the importance of altering Argentine culture in conjunction with the reason behind creating this program.¹⁷⁰ Casal detailed that the plan hoped “to establish a solid and definitive standard about the counter-culture of machismo and violence against women.”¹⁷¹ Also, he expressed concern that “despite a general consensus about eliminating forms of discrimination and of creating the figure of femicide, femicides have grown.”¹⁷² This last piece highlights that typification, or the creation of a standard based on what is characteristic or normal as accepted social practice, is crucial; but that changing the legal norms is not enough, and that cultural attitude must also change. The Ni Una Menos movement contributed to changing this situation. Now, the majority of Argentine society knows and understands why femicide is not acceptable as a standard for social behavior; as a result, society is working to change this aspect of their culture. Controversially however, this plan only applies to couples engaging in marriage and excludes informal couples and other types of relationships. Femicide happens in all types of relationships and one important aspect of counter culture that must be considered is this dynamic.

Education is one vehicle that can contribute to a new cultural perspective. This can be evidenced from the population in the penal system. More than 90% of the prisoners in Argentina have not completed “mandatory studies” according to information from the Annual Report of Statistics and Punishment Execution (Informe Anual del Sistema de Estadística y Ejecución de las Penas).¹⁷³ The information from this report raises the question of the connection between lack of education and the connection to violence.¹⁷⁴ Often times, the perpetrator of a femicide has been released early from a sentence or is allowed to maintain care of their children upon their

¹⁷⁰ “#NiUnaMenos el curso.” See page 71 for elaboration on machismo.

¹⁷¹ “#NiUnaMenos el curso.”

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Manuel Álvarez-Trongé, “Por la educación, contra la violencia,” *La Nación*, June 9, 2015.

¹⁷⁴ Álvarez-Trongé, “Por la educación.”

release. *La Nación* author Inés M. Weinberg highlights how “the leading thread to provoke a cultural transformation that is currently lacking in Argentina is to recognize the causes that bring the objectification of a woman, or realizing that she is a victim of violence and cruelty.”¹⁷⁵

People who are in the penal system particularly for violent crimes should, according to Weinberg, be educated about the severity of their actions and the adverse impact they had on the lives of others. Putting them away is one thing, but educating them so that they do not repeat their offense is another.

A program called, “Programa Hombres Violentos” (Program Violent Men) that was published in *La Nación* was formed by a team of psychologists, lawyers, and social workers two days before the march to serve as “a space of restraint and work for men to reverse violent habits.”¹⁷⁶ This is one example of a violence prevention program addressing men not in the penal system that could be applied in order to mitigate acts of violence especially for those more prone to committing violence.¹⁷⁷ Further, it is this extra step to create these types of educational programs that is necessary to change cultural attitude. This awareness and willingness to do so however, must come from efforts of both civil society and public policy.¹⁷⁸ Interdisciplinary teams such as the one in the Program Violent Men will prove essential for this group effort. Weinberg added that “the most profound change is cultural, and part of doing this is to break the patriarchal logic. Therefore, education proves fundamental.”¹⁷⁹ Weinberg’s words spoke to the other areas the Ni Una Menos movement brought to public attention.

Knowledge and Recognition are Power

La Nación’s coverage highlighted how recognition and awareness are the most important

¹⁷⁵ Inés M. Weinberg, “No se avanzó en la prevención de la violencia,” *La Nación*, October 24, 2015.

¹⁷⁶ “La ciudad presentó una brigada contra la violencia de género,” *La Nación*, June 1, 2015.

¹⁷⁷ “La ciudad presentó una brigada.”

¹⁷⁸ Weinberg, “No se avanzó.”

¹⁷⁹ Weinberg, “No se avanzó.”

tools to fight and prevent gender violence and femicide. Education and knowledge of the impacts and effects of these problems gives power to those working to stop them and to those who are victims. For example, the role of schools is vital in educating youth about gender violence. Even while the violence may occur between a child's parents, the child too is a direct victim of gender violence as they often are witnesses. If a child goes to school not realizing that violence is wrong and a problem, then they will accept it as normal and part of their life; however, there can be many adverse effects that hinder their future and their ability to learn. This problem is similar to how some women at times do not realize that gender violence, especially from an intimate partner, is wrong. *La Nación* writer Luciana Vázquez, in an article about the importance of education in combating gender violence, cited the words of the director of UNESCO's Division for Gender Equality, Gülser Corat, who noted the particular vulnerability that youth have. Corat underlined that "the beliefs and practices taught in schools are culturally rooted due to society's imbalance of power and gender norms."¹⁸⁰ If educators are unaware of what to do or how to talk about violence, then they cannot help youth stuck in these types of situations. In a way, educating youth is another method to give a voice to those who feel suppressed by acts of violence.

A public opinion poll from Ibarómetro cited in another *La Nación* article showed that 64% of Argentinians believe that there is inequality between men and women (71% of this 64% were youth under the age of 30).¹⁸¹ Because of the greatest awareness of inequality amongst younger people, the article characterized these numbers as an indicator of a "silent revolution."¹⁸² One educator took this idea to heart and created a workshop on femicide at a La Matanza district public school (in the industrial belt of the City of Buenos Aires) in December of 2015, the year

¹⁸⁰ "Quizás el inicio de un cambio cultural," *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹⁸¹ Lucila Rolón, "Igualdad los jóvenes menos machistas que sus padres," *La Nación*, July 7, 2015.

¹⁸² Rolón, "Igualdad los jóvenes."

of the first march. She asked her twelve and thirteen-year-old students to work on discussing machismo violence. They made photos, drawings, and wrote and acted in short plays. It was “important for these kids to see and to understand together, both boys and girls, what constitutes violence and to know that it should not be a part of their own lives.”¹⁸³ The teacher said, “The year was not long enough for them; they were eager to continue working” [but now] the seed has been sown in them.”¹⁸⁴ The enthusiasm expressed by the students shows the power of education and the benefits that result from greater awareness of femicide.

In May before the march, Argentina’s Federal Council on Education (which is the national office in charge of coordinating public education policies and strategies) met to reform and to “to strengthen the implementation of programs and actions under the laws Nos. 26.150 and 26.485 of Comprehensive Sexual Education and Comprehensive Protection of Women.”¹⁸⁵ The first law, No. 26.150, was created in 2006 to provide specific sexual education curriculum (ESI) as part of a national program applicable to public schools at the primary and secondary levels.¹⁸⁶ Through this reform in May 2015, this plan was made obligatory nationally, including workshop training for teachers and development of curriculum on gender violence.¹⁸⁷ It is possible that as a result of the Ni Una Menos march, the goals of this meeting were put to action when on June 25 and 26, the Council held these training workshops to which over five hundred teachers and students attended.¹⁸⁸

The second law, ley de Protección Integral de las Mujeres, N° 26.485, passed in 2009 by

¹⁸³ “La semilla contra la violencia ya está sembrada,” *La Nación*, December 4, 2015.

¹⁸⁴ “La semilla contra la violencia ya está sembrada,” *La Nación*, December 4, 2015.

¹⁸⁵ “A un mes de la marcha #NiUnaMenos los organizadores destacaron 14 avances en la lucha de género,” *La Nación*, July 3, 2015.

¹⁸⁶ República Argentina, “¿A qué llamamos Educación Sexual Integral?” Ministerio de Educación, 2008.

¹⁸⁷ República Argentina, “Resolución CFE N° 253/15,” Consejo Federal de Educación. Buenos Aires, May 27, 2015.

¹⁸⁸ “A un mes de la marcha #NiUnaMenos los organizadores destacaron 14 avances en la lucha de género,” *La Nación*, July 3, 2015.

the Argentine National Congress to protect women and prevent violence against women specifically in interpersonal relationships.¹⁸⁹ The law included statements to provide services, access to the justice system, and greater equality for women to address and stop gender violence. *La Nación* published a critical article on the day of the first march asking questioning the status of the law. It reported that accessible information was scarce and “inarticulate as there [was not one] state organism that centralize[d] such information: it [was] also dispersed on different sites.”¹⁹⁰ The law was reformed in May 2015 because it had been ineffective (better implementation of the law was listed as one of the Ni Una Menos march demands).¹⁹¹ The same article commented that “to design, implement, and monitor political agreements the law establishes [are] a responsibility of the government.”¹⁹² Clearly, *La Nación* covered the failures in law implementation as reasons hindering justice in femicide cases and reports. In revealing these discrepancies, *La Nación* made known areas that deserved attention that otherwise may have remained neglected without its coverage. It also showed its critiques of the national government for failing to effectively implement the law.

La Nación also detailed how the march itself provided more educational exposure on femicide and acted as a way to inform the public and those who were not as knowledgeable about the extent of its impacts. The use of personal testimonies contributed to highlighting this point. Coverage included a personal testimonial from Blanca Córdoba, a woman who brought her children to the march to educate them of the existence of femicide in their country, stated that

¹⁸⁹ Argentine Congress, “Ley de protección integral de las mujeres, *Consejo Nacional de las Mujeres*, April 1, 2009.

¹⁹⁰ “Chequeado: ¿qué fue de la ley de protección integral de violencia contra las mujeres?” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹⁹¹ República Argentina, Ley 26.485, “Ley de protección integral para prevenir, sancionar y erradicar la violencia contra las mujeres en los ámbitos en que desarrollen sus relaciones interpersonales,” Senado y Cámara de Diputados, March 11, 2009.

¹⁹² “Chequeado: ¿qué fue de la ley de protección integral de violencia contra las mujeres?” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

her kids needed to know that “everyone should respect one another regardless of whether they were a man or a woman.”¹⁹³ A small child who was at the march echoed that in being there, they did “not want to be valiant: they simply wanted to be free.”¹⁹⁴ Even actor Juan Minujín, the only male to speak in front of the attendees of the march, commented on how he had not been familiar with the term femicide until the Ni Una Menos movement despite being raised in a family with a feminist conscience.¹⁹⁵

Similarly, in light of the educational opportunities that the movement brought, many schools and universities cancelled classes and advertised the march on their campuses. For example, the Universidad de Buenos Aires, which went one step further to pass official school protocol denouncing femicide, the Universidad Nacional de las Artes, and the Universidad Nacional de Lanús were some of the schools noted to have publicly encouraged their students to attend the march.¹⁹⁶ The President of Universidad Nacional de La Matanza said that “violence against women is hidden which should be eradicated in order for our true maturation as a society.”¹⁹⁷ *La Nación* included these actions of both individuals and institutions to show the wide ranging impact of the march on these actors.

La Nación underlined that the march also empowered women to report acts of gender violence. The coordinator for one of the mobile hotlines for victims of gender violence, María Jimena Navas, commented on how more women have taken advantage of the hotline since the march. She stated that after the march, many women were “animated.”¹⁹⁸ One month after the march, the hotline experienced a one-thousand percent increase in calls and added fifty more

¹⁹³ “Fuerte adhesión en el interior a la movilización #NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹⁹⁴ “#NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

¹⁹⁵ Rolón, “Juan Minujín.”

¹⁹⁶ “#NiUnaMenos en universidades y empresas permiten salir antes para ir a la marcha,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

¹⁹⁷ “A un mes de la marcha #NiUnaMenos los organizadores destacaron 14 avances en la lucha de género,” *La Nación*, July 3, 2015.

¹⁹⁸ “#NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

operators to answer the reports.¹⁹⁹ Navas also added that 56% of the calls are people reporting for the first time, and that 44% of the calls are people reporting for the second time or more.

Another sign of educational progress in general which the march most likely helped to catalyze was reported by the President of the National Council on Women, Mariana Gras. Gras detailed that for some women, the time period of denial to realize that violence should not be a part of everyday life has decreased from between nine and fourteen years to between four and eight years.²⁰⁰ Specifically she disclosed that women who had been living in violent situations for such a long time were finally starting to think that they [had] “another possibility of life” (“otra posibilidad de vida”) and that remaining in violent situations was not their only choice.²⁰¹ Gras highlighted how since the march, calls to one specific hotline had increased from an average of about 1,500 calls daily to 13,700.²⁰² Not only was there an increase in calls for this hotline, but there was also an increase in queries and consultations at all institutions associated with femicide and gender violence.²⁰³

The Casa del Encuentro also had its own hotline to send help, and the city government had another line for women who were victims of domestic violence and sexual assault.²⁰⁴ These hotlines existed before the march, yet since the mobilization have been utilized more and more. *La Nación* covered these changes to show the successful impacts the march had on expanding resources for gender violence and femicide victims. Some of these resources included anti-panic buttons. In June 2015, *La Nación* reported that more than 7,000 anti-panic buttons had been

¹⁹⁹ “#NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² “#NiUnaMenos el curso sobre violencia que tendrán que hacer los que se quieren casar,” *La Nación*, July 29, 2015.

²⁰³ Evangelina Himítian, “Femicidios la casa es ocho veces más riesgosa que la calle,” *La Nación*, November 13, 2015.

²⁰⁴ Rolón, “Buscan.”

installed, 3,000 of which had already been used by victims of gender violence.²⁰⁵ These buttons serve to provide security to victims and give them help in whatever accident that has occurred or to act as a resource for witnesses. *La Nación*'s information detailing their usage shows their success. Each of these instances demonstrates the significance of learning about femicide in order to understand the importance of stopping it and how, through public education, society can effect change. While the march was incredibly influential in this way, repeat callers about the same offenses show that greater change is necessitated on other ends to stop acts of violence.²⁰⁶ This shows how crucial it is for both men and women to learn more about ways in which to prevent femicide and gender violence.

Other educational initiatives that *La Nación* highlights to increase awareness on gender violence include project Educar2050. The creator and president, Manuel Álvarez-Trongé, proposed this idea in 2006 to work in prisons as a method of violence education and future prevention. He remarked that he “had been moved by the Ni Una Menos campaign and how protection against violence deserved a reevaluation.”²⁰⁷ This is where his educational initiative can help make an impact not only in prisons, but in alignment with Ni Una Menos. Álvarez-Trongé pushed for Educar2050 further in 2015 after the Ni Una Menos march due to the election year in which the mobilization took place.²⁰⁸ He wrote an article in *La Nación* in order to demonstrate the importance of a strong, good education to help combat issues of violence in Argentina. Álvarez-Trongé stated, “There are consequences for all, a great part, from the lack of a good education and it conducts a society to suffer, amongst other wrongs, a high statistical rate

²⁰⁵ “La ciudad presentó una brigada contra la violencia de género,” *La Nación*, June 1, 2015.

²⁰⁶ “#NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

²⁰⁷ Manuel Álvarez-Trongé, “Por la educación, contra la violencia,” *La Nación*, June 9, 2015.

²⁰⁸ “Proyecto Educar 2050,” <http://educar2050.org.ar/institucional/>.

of violence.”²⁰⁹ This message parallels exactly with the that of the organizers of the Ni Una Menos movement: education is pivotal to stopping gender violence. The election year consequentially provides the perfect opportunity to bring forth the most important social demands such as education reform.

Even five days after the march, a *La Nación* article published in the community section of the paper elaborated on the need for an educational effort to stop femicide. It noted that “at some time Argentina is going to have to modify the education curriculum at all levels to introduce the theme of gender violence as part of human rights; it is also a topic integral to all areas of life.”²¹⁰ The article presented a strong assessment of the current situation and the needs for the country to address the problem effectively. It stated that Argentina needed to understand that this problem deserves an immediate response.²¹¹ This is exactly the ideals espoused in Álvarez-Trongé’s program and the Ni Una Menos organizers’ message: a unified community ready to act.

The heightened awareness and recognition of the dichotomy of issues such as gender violence and education levels is also reflected in the changing responsibilities of each generation. Society itself is more interconnected just like the issues it seeks to address. For example, *La Nación* author Graciela Melgarejo commented on how younger generations have to deal with more and more concepts that are not just black and white. Parents and teachers are not the only ones with all of the information, and children are no longer afraid to discuss issues that traditionally were reserved for some of the older generations. Society is much more dynamic than just the school and the home as two separate entities; rather, they are fluid and both act as “spaces for discourse in society.”²¹² This is important to note because this is exactly what the Ni

²⁰⁹ Álvarez-Trongé, “Por la educación.”

²¹⁰ “Los femicidios se pueden evitar,” *La Nación*, June 6, 2015.

²¹¹ “Los femicidios.”

²¹² Graciela Melgarejo, “Flexibles aun ante lo más inesperado,” *La Nación*, June 8, 2015.

Una Menos march did: it brought people together of all ages and backgrounds to unite in a cause regardless of individual experiences.

Organizer Marcela Ojeda remarked in a *La Nación* article published on November 15 how the first march had achieved the goal of teaching youth and the next generations to change how they want to raise their own children. It provided the opportunity for youth to learn and see what they want to model as behavior. She recounted how she received photos from colleagues and friends taken in the schools where people were going to vote in the elections later in October 2015. Many of the youth had drawn pictures of other youth and slogans from the Ni Una Menos march in June.²¹³ The march had an impact in how younger children, in particular younger boys, discussed and were curious about femicide. Ojeda recalled how parents told her many stories of children asking in their homes what femicide was.²¹⁴ In fact, some of these boys have convinced their teachers to take on the theme of gender violence in class.

Additionally, according to Pomeraniec in an article she wrote for *La Nación* published after the first march on July 7, more mothers and fathers “have to understand for the first time how to explain to their children what the significance of the word ‘femicide.’”²¹⁵ These types of conversations show how many are seeking to better understand the meanings behind the Ni Una Menos movement and how they are beginning to work collaboratively to increase this awareness. These results and initiatives taken before and after the march point toward the importance of education. Further, education has no one specific audience: every single individual needs and deserves a strong education so that they can both understand and be equipped to tackle society’s problems and challenges. As citizens, they have the power to control and shape the environment

²¹³ “#NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

²¹⁴ “#NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

²¹⁵ Hinde Pomeraniec, “Una receta para erradicar estereotipos que involucra a todos,” *La Nación*, July 7, 2015.

in which they live. In covering these discussions, *La Nación* acted as a resource to provide the public opportunities to increase their own breadth of knowledge and to criticize the national government for not doing so.

Solidarity in the Movement: Testimonials

La Nación's coverage of the wide variety of voices in the Ni Una Menos movement helped to illustrate the diversity of people involved in and affected by the movement. Also, *La Nación*'s particular inclusion of many women's voices and perspectives challenges the media analyses mentioned prior that concluded women's voices were sidelined in the media.²¹⁶ The coverage of the stories directly from women in Argentine society who had experienced gender violence also gave a sense of humanity and reality to the problem. Clearly the force of the Ni Una Menos movement acted as a catalyst in this process of increased media visibility about gender violence.

The Ni Una Menos movement gave a voice to many women who had been both directly and indirectly influenced by femicide who previously did not have a voice. *La Nación* published all of these perspectives in its coverage to demonstrate this diversity of voices. A large contingency of the march participants were friends and families of femicide victims and victims of gender violence. At the march, many of these people were able to speak out publicly about the personal injustices that they had experienced and share their stories with others who had shared in similar hardships. For example, Nadia Taddei, sister of Wanda Taddei who burned to death when her husband locked her in a room that was on fire, stated the importance of visibility and recognition on issues of violence. Part of visibility includes women's awareness that they have the power to put an end to such violence and that they are not on their own. In this way, they are then able to take control of their own lives and show that they will not stand for such

²¹⁶ See argument on page 31.

treatment.²¹⁷

Testimonies included in the articles published by *La Nación* present the clear message that in uniting, women and many others can feel empowered in that they are not the only ones suffering nor the only ones going through such tough experiences. This idea is clear in the reflections of her participation in the march from Adriana Belmonte, mother of a fifteen-year-old girl who was murdered. She noted her daughter's friends who were present, and who held signs that read, "We come with love and we go with peace."²¹⁸ She "took in the scene of all of the posters and flags that participants were holding: some of the photos were even of her daughter. She recalled it made her feel very cold, full of emotion, and wish that her daughter had been the 'one less'; however, she felt her daughter's presence in marching for her and in having others recognize her death."²¹⁹ Through the stories of these two women, the articles illustrate how their lives had been affected by femicide but also in how they took active stances to bring awareness and greater recognition to such violence by partaking in the march. These women exerted their own sense of agency to not let these instances control them. In a way, these women were there representing the loved ones that they had lost. In their presence, they were able to honor and bring back the memory of the women who were killed so that they and others could show that these women had not been forgotten. As a result, the voiceless were given a voice.

While the slogan "Ni Una Menos" stands for "Not One Less" (Woman), important participants of the movement were not only females. Actor Juan Minujín again serves as a prime example of a man stepping up into a leadership role supporting the movement. In an interview published in *La Nación* about his participation in the march and his views of the movement, he

²¹⁷ Sol Amaya, "#Niunamenos cómo es la vida de los hijos de las mujeres asesinadas por violencia de género," *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

²¹⁸ "#NiUnaMenos," *La Nación*, November 15, 2015.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

states that machismo is a problem for everyone, not just women.²²⁰ Machismo is a problem for both men and women because machismo can also oppress other men by placing them within certain confines and ideals of what it means to be a man. Machismo is supported in a patriarchy because it reinforces the same values of male dominance over women.²²¹ Just like a patriarchy, machismo is intertwined in many aspects of society socially and culturally meaning that it pervades the daily lives of everyone: it becomes an integral part of life.²²²

Minujín expresses how in most cases of gender violence women are the victims; however, he adds that in some ways men can be victims of gender violence too. This is true and also important to note. While femicide applies to women, men indirectly suffer from its consequences. Minujín further argues that men are responsible for not only one another but also for teaching younger boys about gender violence and why it is unacceptable. This also speaks to the nature of machismo in the country: there are men who perpetuate their dominance over women and pass this idea along to youth rather than correct their behavior. As such, for Minujín it is crucial that men support women in solidarity with Ni Una Menos and better represent one another by standing up for each other.²²³

Minujín later elaborated that “it is easy for people, in particular men to think that women will take care of these problems themselves and that their help is unwanted; however, this is not the case because everyone in society needs to contribute in order to instill change and alter the status quo.”²²⁴ *La Nación*’s coverage made clear that Minujín was not the only male to have a

²²⁰ The term for male superiority and domination over women and non-heterosexual men in Latin American cultures; also synonymous for ideas of chauvinism.

²²¹ For more information on patriarchy, see page 19.

²²² See the following sources by sociologist and specialist in gender studies, Michael Kimmel, for more ideas about masculinity and how masculinity is controversial in many ways for both men and women: Michael Kimmel, *The Politics of Manhood*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995; Michael Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2001.

²²³ Rolón, “Juan Minujín.”

²²⁴ Rolón, “Juan Minujín”

pivotal role in the Ni Una Menos movement. After the first march in June, a new phrase challenging men to “put on a skirt if you are a man” (“ponete la pollera si sos hombre”) circulated as a way to confront messages of machismo in the country. This particular phrase contradicts the traditional ideals of machismo to show that manhood is a socially constructed concept. It elaborates on the idea that perceived knowledge of manhood is just that: perceived, and not definitive. As a result of this phrase, a group of around three-hundred men responded and marched later on in the year with their own slogan of #unomasxniunamenos (a hashtag that translates as “one more man for not one less woman”). The slogan made clear that men needed to be actively involved in order to stop femicide; that it was a shared responsibility. *La Nación* characterized the march as “a small yet solid expression” which “had men as protagonists.”²²⁵ The need for men as protagonists for changing the culture of femicide and gender violence is clear in this coverage by *La Nación*.

One of the organizers of this later march by men, Román Mazzilli, spoke on how men “do not want to merely be on the periphery of addressing femicide. Instead, these men wanted to be included in denouncing femicide and taking a stand against it.”²²⁶ This type of action is what is needed to change the culture of violence that both machismo and a patriarchy support. Scholars Ana Maria Fernández and Gabriela Barcaglione in their analyses of gender violence and patriarchy would argue that this support from men can help bring to light the ways in which femicide cases are overlooked. Barcaglione highlighted how this solidarity eliminates the battle between men and women and instead uplift both genders.²²⁷ Mazzilli also added, “This is not a protest, it is the same wish of us. We are sick from love, we do not know how we are related with

²²⁵ “Hombres con polleras marcharon en distintas ciudades bajo la consigna #unomasxniunamenos,” *La Nación*, November 5, 2015.

²²⁶ “Hombres con polleras.”

²²⁷ Barcaglione et al., *Femicidiosu*

the other, we kill the person that we want to love, and we believe she is our property a person that is free, as we are. We have to change.”²²⁸ These male voices in *La Nación*’s coverage of the Ni Una Menos movement serve to highlight that men can, and have to be, protagonists to change the culture around traditional masculinity in the same way that women have been the protagonists in leading Ni Una Menos to stop femicide and gender violence. Although these two articles refer to two genders, thus perpetrating the binary, the articles emphasize unity.

This response of “one more man for not one less woman” reflected Minujín’s message exactly: for society to change, it takes all of society, men and women together. These articles emphasized that uniting and creating solidarity across gender lines illustrated how femicide is not just a “woman’s issue” nor a “woman’s problem.” It is integral to every single person in Argentine society because of its impact and influence in the country. These men demonstrated their support and alignment with the Ni Una Menos movement and showed their decision “to not remain bystanders of femicide by taking this stance.”²²⁹ Additionally, signs that the men held during their march read, “We want them alive, free and happy!” (“Las queremos vivas, libres y felices!”); “If they touch one woman, they touch us all” (“Si tocan a una nos tocan a todos!”); “Today we are all women” (“Hoy todos somos mujeres”); “Do not be indifferent to femicide” (“Que el femicidio no te sea indiferente”); and finally, “When one woman advances, no man recedes” (“Cuando una mujer avanza, ningún hombre retrocede”).²³⁰ This last statement alludes to a common fear espoused by machismo that in helping women, men become weaker and inferior to them. These testimonies emphasized that this is not the case as both men and women can advance together.

These messages showed the men’s unity with women and other mobilizers of the Ni Una

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ “Hombres con polleras.”

²³⁰ Ibid.

Menos movement and highlighted unity as a central and essential theme in order to actually deter femicide. The men quoted in these articles also go further to comment on the institutional structure of the country favoring men, which highlights Argentina's patriarchal structure. They generally commented that "Argentine law frees them as men from this patriarchy (as legislation sympathizes with the perpetrator), yet that this privilege and liberation has proved dissatisfying and unjust due to the ways in which femicide is perceived in the country and the ways in which victims of femicide are treated."²³¹ With this extra privilege, men must align with women in stopping gender violence to confront this patriarchal reality. The testimonies presented in these articles show that men generally were supportive of the movement and took action to show their support.

Another topic published in *La Nación* important to confronting the patriarchal reality was justice in the legal system. The first-person accounts presented by *La Nación* also served to put concrete faces to the limitations of the law enforcement system and the responsibility of those in power. The coverage in *La Nación* sought to criticize the justice system and the lack of interest of authorities by highlighting these injustices through testimonies from victims in its articles. This also mirrored one of the objectives of the movement. For example, Karina Lopinto, the mother of Daiana Ayelén García whose death inspired the first attempts through Facebook to organize a movement against femicide, expressed the impact of the march participants in bringing greater attention to femicide. She stated that "the march returned the soul of her daughter [in] that she was able to find [her soul] in the eyes of others."²³² She noted receiving poor treatment from the police and the need for more resources and help for those dealing with

²³¹ As found by Kohen's studies analyzed earlier in the literature review. Also see later details about this discussed on pages 62-62. "Hombres con polleras."

²³² "A un mes de la marcha #NiUnaMenos los organizadores destacaron 14 avances en la lucha de género," *La Nación*, July 3, 2015.

cases of femicide.²³³ She commented that “there are many people who lack the methods and resources to do so especially when they are recipients of poor treatment from the police and do not receive the help that they need.”²³⁴ The story made clear that as a mother, she marched for her lost daughter as a way to actively do something since she was unable to get the help that she needed from the police at the time when most necessary. *La Nación* portrayed the agency of women in the march by telling their stories.

Martin, the brother-in-law of victim Suhene Carvalhaes Muñoz, participated in the march as well. He stated similar laments as Karina in that the justice system needs to be more proactive and expedient in handling cases of violence. He added that “the necessary actions have not been taken to help victims of femicide nor to prosecute perpetrators of the crime fairly and deservedly for their actions.”²³⁵ These sentiments were supported by the findings of scholars like Catalina Smulovitz and Luz Rioseco Ortega of the need for uniform legal reform and activity across all of the Argentine provinces.²³⁶

There have also been other ways that the Argentine community has come together to criticize the justice system beyond personal testimonies that *La Nación* articles found important to cover: critiques through petitions and collective action. An article published in *La Nación* on October 29 told one story of how many in the Argentine community came together. For instance, the article reported that when the husband of Karina Abregú tried to kill her unsuccessfully by locking her in a room that was on fire, a petition circulated on “Change.org” asking the justice system to not delay his trial and to properly charge him for attempted homicide.²³⁷ The petition

²³³ “Femicidios los familiares de las víctimas mantienen el reclamo de justicia y respeto,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

²³⁴ “Femicidios los familiares.”

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ Smulovitz, “Legal Inequality” and Rioseco Ortega, “Violencia contra las mujeres en las relaciones de pareja en Argentina,” 184-211.

²³⁷ “Piden que la Justicia no aplase el juicio a un hombre que prendió fuego a su mujer,” *La Nación*,

also asked for all of the methods necessary to be taken to ensure Karina's protection and assistance. Karina had burns on 55% of her body, went through 30 operations, and had to receive medical care for six months. The petition had over 1,600 signatures and set a new goal of 2,500.²³⁸ These verbal and physical actions demonstrate how everyone is more encouraged, inspired, and empowered to talk about their traumatic experiences and the experiences of others as a result of the Ni Una Menos movement: the silence of many has been broken, and every voice matters even more so now to propel the momentum of the Ni Una Menos message.

One of the reasons why certain voices mattered, in particular, in aligning with the Ni Una Menos campaign was because 2015 was an important election year. The 2015 presidential elections were highly contested as the Peronist party had maintained power in Argentina for the last twelve years.²³⁹ Election campaigns created a context for broader discussions about political direction which contributed to placing the issue of gender violence as a national problem that demanded public action in a higher level. The growth of the Ni Una Menos movement was partly the result of the existence of this heightened political climate. Consequently, gender violence became a political issue, and candidates were obligated to take a clear stance. Like other media outlets, *La Nación's* coverage of gender violence and the Ni Una Menos movement included the positions of politicians in the government and in the opposition. These individuals had powerful voices because of their potential influence as elected officials in making changes in policies and legislation. Support of the Ni Una Menos message held more significance for the top two presidential candidates: Mauricio Macri, the mayor of Buenos Aires who represented the Cambiemos (Let's Change) coalition; and Daniel Scioli, the governor of Buenos Aires province, representing the ruling party (the FPV).

October 29, 2015.

²³⁸ "Piden que la Justicia."

²³⁹ Alles, Jones, and Tchintian, "The 2015 Argentine presidential."

La Nación covered the positions of the two main candidates. Both showed support for the Ni Una Menos movement. This support was shown in *La Nación* through various articles.²⁴⁰ One such article was published the day after the first march and reported statements made on new media accounts from well-known figures in Argentina, including statements from Scioli and Macri. The article quoted Scioli saying, “The victory of politicians against gender violence will be the victory of a peaceful and democratic society.”²⁴¹ Also, Macri was quoted stating, “We mobilize to repudiate violence against women.”²⁴² In another article published after the first march on August 6, *La Nación* covered the responses of the presidential candidates to a tweet posted on the Ni Una Menos Twitter page asking the candidates to make a promise to combat gender violence by signing a five-point plan of action.²⁴³ In response to this tweet Scioli replied, “I promise to prevent, eradicate, and punish violence against women” with a link to his personal Facebook page that had a photo and caption stating more details of this promise.²⁴⁴ Macri responded, “This is my public promise with @NiUnaMenos_” also followed by a Facebook link with a photo and a more detailed caption.²⁴⁵

La Nación also commented on more of the politicians’ tweets in support of the first Ni Una Menos march in an article published on the day of the first march.²⁴⁶ Macri appeared clearly supporting the Ni Una Menos public demonstration and calling for people to participate. A tweet

²⁴⁰ Some of these articles include the following: “Daniel Scioli se sumó a la campaña #Niunamenos: ‘Terminemos con esto,’” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015 and “¿Que políticos le pusieron el cuerpo a la marcha por #NiUnaMenos?” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

²⁴¹ “La política, la cultura y el deporte se expresaron en las redes sociales,” *La Nación*, June 4, 2015.

²⁴² “La política, la cultura.”

²⁴³ “Doce de las 14 fórmulas presidenciales que compiten en las #PASOnacionales se comprometieron contra la violencia machista,” *La Nación*, August 6, 2015. The five-point plan can be found on the Ni Una Menos website here: Ni Una Menos. “5 puntos para comprometerse,” Last modified May 2015, <http://niunamenos.com.ar/>.

²⁴⁴ Scioli’s caption read, “#NiUnaMenos. I promise to do...(then lists the five-point document).” Daniel Scioli, “#NiUnaMenos,” Facebook, August 5, 2015, <https://tinyurl.com/mlr3x7f>.

²⁴⁵ Macri’s caption read, “That no woman returns to feel fear” and “I am convinced that with a serious promise from the Nation we can end this wave of violence against women. With the first step, I promise to complete the five points planned by #NiUnaMenos.” Mauricio Macri, “That no woman returns to feel fear,” Facebook, August 3, 2015, <https://tinyurl.com/lhf3oye>.

²⁴⁶ “Los tuits de los políticos por el #NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

posted by Macri the day before the march reproduced in this article showed a photo of Macri holding a piece of paper with the hashtags, #NiUnaMenos and #BastaDeFemicidios.²⁴⁷ The presentation of Scioli's support is not as directly connected with the march (but it makes clear that he is still supportive of the larger issue of women's rights). *La Nación's* article reproduced a tweet posted on the day of the first march by Scioli in which he said he had participated in the Third International Forum on Women's Rights. Scioli's tweet read, "Power with Women, Another Construction is Possible."²⁴⁸ *La Nación's* choice to show these different tweets from both candidates spoke to the importance of their voices expressing their concerns about femicide and gender violence both for Ni Una Menos and for their own campaigns.

The support rallied for each of their campaigns was put to the test when it was time for the elections. This is because the 2015 presidential elections were the first presidential runoff elections in Argentine history.²⁴⁹ In the first election, on October 25, Scioli won a little over 37% of the votes as the plurality winner but was closely followed with Macri's with over 34% of the votes.²⁵⁰ The final election results showed Macri's triumph with over 51% of the votes and Scioli with almost 49% of the votes taking the Let's Change coalition to power and ending the long rule of the FPV.²⁵¹ These close election results show the tension of the heightened political climate in 2015.

Another group of people that also had a large following, sense of respectability, and leadership in the community that supported the Ni Una Menos movement were members of the Catholic Church. Their voices were also included in new media and in *La Nación's* coverage. The Catholic Church has had a massive following and influence on the perspectives and beliefs

²⁴⁷ "Los tuits de los políticos."

²⁴⁸ "Los tuits de los políticos."

²⁴⁹ Alles, Jones, and Tchintian, "The 2015 Argentine presidential."

²⁵⁰ Alles, Jones, and Tchintian, "The 2015 Argentine presidential."

²⁵¹ Alles, Jones, and Tchintian, "The 2015 Argentine presidential."

of its constituents for a long time. These members, therefore, also held significant power and influence over the public in Argentina. In publishing stances of the Catholic Church in its articles, *La Nación* appealed to an even greater audience and attracted more readers, and possibly more supporters, for the Ni Una Menos movement. Chief among these voices was that of Pope Francis, an Argentine native and a former archbishop of Buenos Aires, who was quoted as expressing that at times “it is inevitable” and “morally necessary” to divorce couples in cases of domestic violence.²⁵² This is significant because it is against strict Catholic doctrine. Pope Francis’ words show that gender violence does not receive any exceptions: it is always wrong and should never be supported regardless of existing traditional principles or doctrines. It is also significant because of traditional views about a woman’s duty to obey as well as the Catholic Church’s position on divorce.

Other Catholic Church entities in Argentina such as the Comisión Episcopal del Apostolado Laico y Pastoral Familiar (Celaf) and the Acción Católica Argentina (ACA) showed their support for the Ni Una Menos movement. Members of ACA were present at the march and commented on how the pain of female victims of gender violence was visible and that there would be a voice for those who could not speak because they were no longer with us.²⁵³ Additionally, the Catholic Church stated publicly that “femicide cases have captured the heart of Argentines and that any type of violence whether psychological, physical, sexual, or spiritual has caused many women to suffer. These women have suffered through threats, humiliation, harassment, and exploitation to the point where it has now come to femicide as the ultimate extreme of suffering.”²⁵⁴ The message the inclusion of these figures in the press conveyed was

²⁵² “Para el Papa Francisco las separaciones son ‘moralmente necesarias’ en casos de violencia,” June 24, 2015.

²⁵³ “La Iglesia adhiere a la marcha en repudio de los femicidios,” *La Nación*, June 2, 2015.

²⁵⁴ “La Iglesia adhiere.”

that femicide has affected so many in the country regardless of profession and social status. Violence knows no limits, and one's class, field, nor renown serve as barriers. In having more renowned figures in the country make public statements showing their support of the movement and by emphasizing this in the press along with celebrity use of social media, *La Nación* coverage gave the movement more power and legitimacy in showing that femicide affects everyone.

Alongside these well-known and powerful figures, many celebrities for example sought to support the march and provide their own experiences of gender violence. *La Nación* covered the participation of celebrities and provided them with a platform to express their views. Including celebrities in coverage of the movement helped demonstrate the scope of Argentinians involved in the movement and how vital celebrities were in particular to disseminate the movement's message. For *La Nación*, these articles connected potentially with an even wider audience and readership because of celebrity renown that attracted more people to learn about Ni Una Menos. For example, Argentine singer Diana Amarilla sang a song about gender violence called, "Malo" [Bad] written by a Spanish artist who goes by the name "Bebe." At the end of her performance, she encouraged her audience to take part in the march on June 3.²⁵⁵ Amarilla expressed how she has dealt with situations of gender violence and no longer desired to be silent ("no callarse más").²⁵⁶ She added that she has lived with violence and that she wants this to change.²⁵⁷

La Nación published reactions from a wide variety of celebrities. For example, it published a post by renowned football star Lionel Messi, a player from Argentina who currently

²⁵⁵ "Elegidos la cantante que conmovió por su mensaje contra la violencia de género," *La Nación*, May 22, 2015.

²⁵⁶ "Elegidos."

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

plays for Barcelona Football Club in Spain, on the day of the march: “No more femicides. From Barcelona we join all Argentines to shout loudly #NotOneLess.”²⁵⁸ Other celebrities joined Messi in posting on social media with photos supporting Ni Una Menos included actress Natalia Oreiro, singer-songwriter Abel Pintos, and popular Argentine television show diva, Susana Giménez.²⁵⁹ Giménez confessed that she had been a victim of gender violence and that she wanted to unite at the march to help activists advance their cause and to ask the authorities to respond to the growing cases of femicide and gender violence in Argentina.²⁶⁰ Turkish actor Ergün Demir, a popular figure in Argentine television, participated in the march and said that all of his life he has fought against gender violence and violence against women. “This (referring to the Ni Una Menos march) is where he needed to be and where he was going to be always.”²⁶¹ Kevin Johansen while at the march exclaimed, “¡Impresionante, plaza llena! #NiUnaMenos” [Impressing, a full plaza! #NiUnaMenos].²⁶² Argentine screenwriter and director Juan José Campanella said during the march that “he would not tweet anything about anything unless it had a focus on Ni Una Menos. He added that he hoped the march would be historic.”²⁶³

It is also important to be aware of the number of notable people who spoke out in support of the movement as their public statements were more widely recognized than those of everyday citizens partaking in the movement. All of these statements from people who came together in sharing the will and passion to stop femicide that were covered by *La Nación* reinforce how Ni Una Menos is an issue for all of Argentine society. As noted in the introduction when writer Florencia Abbate commented on organizing the movement and her concerns about bringing so many diverse people together, the common denominator was the intense pain they felt that was

²⁵⁸ “#NiUnaMenos Lionel Messi sumó su apoyo desde Barcelona,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

²⁵⁹ “#NiUnaMenos Lionel Messi.”

²⁶⁰ “Las famosas que se sumaron a la campaña contra el femicidio,” *La Nación*, May 28, 2015.

²⁶¹ “Ali Kemal se sumó a la marcha #NiUnaMenos,” *La Nación*, June 3, 2015.

²⁶² “La política.”

²⁶³ “La política.”

brought about by femicide. Conclusively, Argentines united in this shared pain and acted upon it together to change their society which the wide coverage of voice in *La Nación* sought to depict. The coverage and the testimonies illustrated true solidarity. By discussing the scope of understanding and recognition of femicide by citizens and presenting the claims of different people who expressed their interest and knowledge of the movement, *La Nación's* coverage about gender violence and femicide gave more visibility to these problems and to the campaign. The coverage also showed the number of people demanding change in Argentina which was even more significant during the election year.

CONCLUSION

Ni Una Menos has had a lasting impact in expanding the recognition of femicide today. This impact has also spanned beyond Argentina and has had a global influence. For instance, Ni Una Menos was mentioned by Angela Davis, renowned American feminist and political activist, in a letter she wrote in *The Guardian* read at another similar march organized to increase women's rights: the Woman's March on Washington held on January 21, 2017.²⁶⁴ Davis referred to Ni Una Menos and those behind the movement as the Argentine feminist counterparts also working toward the fight toward gender equality. As the Ni Una Menos movement is an ongoing effort; however, we will continue to see the extent of its full effects with time as we have seen with this mention.

The Ni Una Menos mobilizations continued the pattern in Argentina of street demonstrations to address social and political unrest that have been historically common.²⁶⁵ For example, to date the Ni Una Menos movement has again reemerged with protests in Buenos Aires. The death of Micaela Garcia, an Argentine feminist activist and supporter of #NiUnaMenos, on April 8, 2017 spurred more under #NiUnaMenos mobilization also in front of the National Congressional building in Buenos Aires.²⁶⁶ It is important to consider in the future what other, if any, impact Ni Una Menos will have on other manifestations not only in Argentina but also worldwide. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind where energy of Ni Una Menos will go or where it will resurface with time.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Meaghan Beatley, "Meet the Argentine Women Behind Ni Una Menos, the Feminist Collective Angela Davis Cites as Inspiration," *ReMezcla*, March 10, 2017.

²⁶⁵ See other social and political women's movements mentioned in this paper on pages 11-12.

²⁶⁶ Sofia Lotto Persio, "Murder of Feminist Activist Micaela Garcia Shakes Argentina in Latest Episode of Violence Against Women," *Newsweek*, April 10, 2017.

²⁶⁷ As seen with Micaela's death, there is still unrest with continued acts of femicide in Argentina: Ni Una Menos is not over. Complaints toward Macri's administration have surfaced according to the following article: Meaghan Beatley, "Meet the Argentine Women Behind Ni Una Menos, the Feminist Collective Angela Davis Cites as Inspiration," *ReMezcla*, March 10, 2017. These complaints include that "the government recently cut 67 million

The first Ni Una Menos march served as an example of the power of new media in bringing awareness to femicide and rallying people together to take a stand. New and traditional media coverage played an important role in not only propelling Ni Una Menos as a movement specifically, but also in creating greater recognition and awareness of the extent and severity of femicide in Argentina. Femicide is still a current problem, but because of this combined media coverage on the first Ni Una Menos march on June 3, 2015 when femicide was at the time not on the radar of many in Argentine society, this is no longer the case today. Now, people in Argentina know the word “femicide” and its definition.

In analyzing the role of traditional media coverage in how and why one media source, *La Nación*, helped to bring both Ni Una Menos and femicide to the forefront of concern in Argentine society, I could investigate the growth and progression of awareness on femicide. The coverage also contradicted the findings in the existing literature that women’s voices and perspectives are sidelined in new and traditional media as a result of *La Nación*’s inclusion of these voices and perspectives at the center of their content. In considering *La Nación*’s media coverage, it is additionally crucial to keep in mind that the publication chose what to include in its press and that many testimonies, voices, and perspectives were left out in these selections for their coverage. Nonetheless, the coverage in *La Nación* helped validate and sustain the energy of Ni Una Menos. As a result, I suggest that the traditional media coverage of *La Nación* gave the Ni Una Menos new media campaign and massive mobilizations emphasis. It gave more emphasis to the movement through what I perceived as its objective reporting of facts and of its reporting of the progression of Ni Una Menos. The extent to which *La Nación* highlighted particular coverage however, indirectly criticized the national government and took a stance against the

pesos from a gender violence prevention and eradication fund, leaving little more than 4 pesos per woman—Ni Una Menos takes hope in what appears to be a cultural shift on a more granular level.”

ruling government party, the FPV.

La Nación took this stance by calling on new policies needed to address femicide and gender violence, by highlighting the role that La Casa del Encuentro played in providing evidence and awareness of the extent of femicide in Argentina as a non-governmental organization, and by highlighting the views of politicians from other political parties.²⁶⁸

Moreover, *La Nación* made clear that Buenos Aires, as the province with the largest population, had the highest rates of femicide in Argentina. This concentration of people in Buenos Aires were crucial voters in the 2015 election cycle. Whether altruistic in their coverage of Ni Una Menos or politically motivated as a conservative newspaper critical of the ruling government party covering a liberal topic, *La Nación*'s coverage of Ni Una Menos was profitable.

La Nación capitalized on the movement and profited from it because Ni Una Menos was a topic that attracted a wide-ranging readership due to the extent of concern of femicide and gender violence that pervaded through much of Argentina. Further, Ni Una Menos gathered support from all kinds of Argentine figures that each had a large following. The inclusion of these figures along with personal testimonials from everyday citizens could have attributed to a broader readership for *La Nación* and to more copies sold. Election cycle pressures catalyzed the energy for Ni Una Menos too as the elections were on the minds of many Argentines. The elections also gave *La Nación* reason and justification to provide the extensive coverage of Ni Una Menos that it did.

²⁶⁸ Some of these views included those of President Macri (Let's Change Party) and presidential candidates Daniel Scioli (FPV) and Sergio Massa (United for a New Argentina Party).

APPENDIX A

Nine Demands from the Ni Una Menos March

1. Instrumentación en su totalidad y con la asignación de presupuesto acorde de la LEY N° 26.485 “Ley de Protección Integral para Prevenir, Sancionar y Erradicar la Violencia contra las Mujeres en los ámbitos en que desarrollen sus relaciones interpersonales”. Puesta en marcha del Plan Nacional que allí se establece.
2. Recopilación y publicación de estadísticas oficiales sobre violencia hacia las mujeres incluyendo los índices de femicidios.
3. Apertura y funcionamiento pleno de Oficinas de Violencia Doméstica de la Corte Suprema de Justicia en todas las provincias, con el objeto de agilizar las medidas cautelares de protección. Federalización de la línea 137.
4. Garantías para la protección de las víctimas de violencia. Implementación del monitoreo electrónico de los victimarios para asegurar que no violen las restricciones de acercamiento que impone la Justicia.
5. Garantías para el acceso de las víctimas a la Justicia. Atención de personal capacitado para recibir las denuncias en cada fiscalía y cada comisaría. Vinculación de las causas de los fueros civil y penal. Patrocinio jurídico gratuito para las víctimas durante todo el proceso judicial.
6. Garantías para el cumplimiento del derecho de la niñez con un patrocinio jurídico especializado y capacitado en la temática.
7. Creación de más Hogares/Refugio en la emergencia, Hogares de Día para víctimas, y subsidio habitacional, con una asistencia interdisciplinaria desde una perspectiva de género.
8. Incorporación y profundización en todas las currículas educativas de los diferentes niveles de la educación sexual integral con perspectiva de género, la temática de la violencia machista y dictado de talleres para prevenir noviazgos violentos.
9. Capacitaciones obligatorias en la temática de violencia machista al personal del Estado, a los agentes de seguridad y a los operadores judiciales, así como a profesionales que trabajan con la temática de violencia en diferentes dependencias oficiales de todo el país.”

APPENDIX B

Coding System Themes

- Role of social media
- Recognition/awareness of femicide
- Voices
 - Personal testimonies (families and friends of victims, victims of gender violence)
 - Government officials
 - Famous people
 - The Church
- Statistics/evidence of femicide
- Revamping justice system/law implementation/court enforcement
- Results of the march

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