



RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE POLITICIZED ART AND ANTI-FEMINICIDE ACTIVISM IN CIUDAD JUÁREZ AND ABROAD

The murder of women is neither a new phenomenon nor a topic of historical research that has garnered a large body of research. In this essay, Ryan Bailey Patterson, University of Oregon '16, delves into the topic of femicide, studying the gendered contexts of the murder of women in terms of pervasive patriarchal power structures. Patterson focuses much of her analysis on the feminicides of Ciudad Juárez, looking at the role of politicized visual art in combatting the troubling trend. This essay follows a grassroots art movement that evolved into a transnational fight for basic human rights.

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Since 1993 more than 550 bodies of mutilated women have been discovered in the desert of Ciudad Juárez, Mexico.¹ Thousands of female bodies still remain missing. Approximately one-third of these murders occurred under similar circumstances: the victims were captured, raped, sexually tortured, and mutilated, and their bodies were disposed in peripheral, desolate areas of the city.² The crisis exacerbated Ciudad Juárez's notoriety as a place of rampant disappearances and brutal murders of women and girls. Scholars, activist groups, and the media associated the murders with a culture of impunity that devalued women's lives, rendered women dispensable and disposable, authorized unpunished sexual violence against them, and dismissed the severity of such a profound violation of human rights. Women's rights advocates and scholars call it femicide.

Femicide as a phenomenon has always existed, particularly in times of war, but Marcela Lagarde first introduced the term to academia in 1987. Julia Monárrez Frago used the term *feminicidio* to describe the sexual murders of women and girls in Ciudad Juárez first observed, documented, and publicized in 1993 by women's rights activist Ester Chávez Cano.³ Femicide is often used interchangeably with 'femicide'; however, the terms differ. Femicide denotes the murder of women and girls because they are female, while femicide expands on that definition to include the gendered contexts of these acts of violence – murders founded on a patriarchal gendered power structure.⁴ This definition suggests that femicide is also a form of systemic violence, infiltrating the public and private spheres, and is deeply rooted in social, political, economic and cultural inequalities. The anti-femicide activism I will examine in this paper worked to expose the visible forms of violence that are rooted in this patriarchal gendered power structure, rather than simply portraying these crimes as a gendered form of homicide. Therefore, I will rely on the term femicide for the purposes of this research.

In reaction to the growing presence of femicide in Ciudad Juárez, the past two decades of activism across the U.S.-Mexico border have embodied more than the traditional protest repertoire of strikes, demonstrations, rallies, and marches. Because of increasing rates of femicide in Ciudad Juárez, cross-border activist organizations and independent artists have recognized the need to adopt more innovative and unique forms of protest, as well as consciousness-raising efforts to capture public attention and demand justice. These organizations and activists distinguished themselves by producing captivating visual art for both local audiences and broader art exhibitions, which traversed political borders, encouraged collective witnessing, and expanded support bases. This transnational, social movement expanded its range of intervention to make the struggle for social justice politically relevant in the broader context of globalization.

Significantly, the anti-femicide movement used cross-border cultural productions to create, preserve, and reclaim the memories of its victims and the Ciudad Juárez community. Memory is crucial to the establishment of a collective identity; thus, artistic cultural

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productions provided a platform for memorializing and restoring agency to victims – to give voice to those affected by femicide and gender-based violence and proclaim that the violence would not remain invisible.

The politicization of American and Mexican – as well as transnational – visual art between 1993 and 2010 reframed femicide and gender-based violence as human rights violations that warranted global attention. This reconceptualization occurred as the anti-femicide artistic movement transitioned from a grassroots effort to a transnational, activist coalition of artists and activists. By framing gender-based violence as a human rights issue, femicide in Ciudad Juárez became an emblem for gender-based human rights violations. Femicide in Ciudad Juárez also became an international point of reference in the assertion that human rights include women's rights, a concept that is still not universally recognized. With this framework, activists also exposed deeply-rooted, state-sponsored systems of violence, impunity, and patriarchy – institutionalized misogyny that normalized mass-femicide and gender-based violence in Ciudad Juárez for nearly twenty years.

As a result of Ester Chávez Cano's documentation and publicization of femicide crimes in 1993, many scholars refer to that year as the start of the femicide crisis. But picking a single year as the starting point of femicide overlooks how deeply entrenched female violence truly is, while also disregarding the lived experiences of individuals. Thus, I seek to address the pre-1993 factors that led to women's rights and anti-femicide activism, and its evolution from a grassroots to a transnational, artistic-activist movement. The paucity of literature on anti-femicide artistic expression does not address this change over time but rather assumes an ahistorical approach, focusing on (often) sensationalized depictions of femicide in media, film, and literature.⁵ Instead, I have chosen to focus on visual art forms – arts and crafts, photography, performance art, and video – to demonstrate the role of visual art in reframing femicide narratives, constructing femicide as a human rights issue, restoring agency to women, and facilitating collective memory creation.

“THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM,” 1965-1993

A careful examination of the events that precipitated the explosion of violence in Ciudad Juárez during the early 1990s reveals how mass femicide and gender-based violence could occur, and why artistic activism at the transnational level would ultimately become necessary. In the mid to late 1980s, high concentrations of young, poor, and vulnerable women in Ciudad Juárez, a large city on the U.S.-Mexico border, enabled an unparalleled magnitude of femicide. Ciudad Juárez became a hunting ground for innocent female victims with the establishment of the Maquiladora Program, which replaced the Bracero Program in 1965. The Bracero Program,⁶ which placed approximately 4.6 million migrant Mexican workers in agricultural jobs in the U.S. between 1942 to 1964,⁷ fa-

cilitated the migration of Mexican migrants across the border, especially to Ciudad Juárez. The termination of the Bracero program precipitated a local jobs crisis; the Mexican government created the National Border Development Program (PRONAF), which allowed foreign (primarily American) corporations to outsource production to Mexico, where labor was cheaper, and export finished goods back to the United States at little to no tariff cost. Thus, the Maquiladora Program was born.⁸ Lastly, neoliberal policies of the 1980s increased Mexico's reliance on foreign investment, while structural adjustment programs made the maquila sector essential to the Mexican and American economies. A coalition between the United States, Mexico, and Canada, which culminated with the adoption of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, further expanded foreign investment in the border region, which drew scores of young women to find work.⁹

Feminist activism has a rich and complex history along the U.S.-Mexico border that developed out of young female migrant workers' agitation for better working conditions in the maquiladoras. Mobilization began on both sides of the border in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when local non-governmental organizations sought to increase wages and improve workforce training. Even as the female presence in the Mexican workforce increased in the 1960s, wages remained paltry and working conditions inhumane, forcing many women to work informally, in unregulated sectors, to supplement their incomes.

A growing population of vulnerable females stimulated the growth of new, local activist organizations and movements. A pioneering organization in Ciudad Juárez was the Centro de Orientación Obrera (COMO), the Center of Worker Orientation, founded in 1968 by Guillermina Villalva de Valdés. Villalva, a tireless advocate for the rights of working-class women, sought to help women acquire diverse skills that would enable them to transition into various occupations with greater job security. Building up a globally conscious network¹⁰ of women, COMO flourished in promoting alternative employment for maquiladora workers, as well as education and cooperative societies. While COMO did not articulate violence against women as a central organizing tenet, their activism for working-class women nevertheless created a foundation for women's rights activists, who would later mobilize against femicide in the Mexican-American border region.¹¹

After COMO's nearly twenty years of border activism, a 1986 documentary called *The Global Assembly Line* exposed employment in the expanding Maquiladora Program as tedious, exhausting, poorly compensated, and dangerous. The victims were predominantly young, female, and unskilled laborers. A maquiladora worker for Zenith Corporation confirmed the exploitative nature of the maquiladoras: "Within Mexico a worker has certain constitutional rights, individual guarantees, federal laws, labor laws that are supposed to protect us, and yet, we're kind of semi-slaves."¹² The systematic exploitation of women within the maquiladoras manifested in various forms: denial of basic freedoms, deprivation of good health, and consignment to a life without opportunities for economic

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advancement. After *The Global Assembly Line's* premiere, *The New York Times* heralded the documentary for its revelation of the hidden negative consequences of the establishment of free-trade zones.¹³ A visible affirmation of the systemic exploitation COMO had been mobilizing against for years, the documentary confirmed the necessity of securing greater rights for workingwomen. Yet, the shifting trend toward overseas production did not slow; worker exploitation continued. The long-standing dehumanization of workingwomen only contributed to the further exploitation of women's bodies, setting the stage for the wave of femicide that would plague Ciudad Juárez in the years to come.

THE EVOLUTION OF ARTISTIC ACTIVISM COMBATING FEMICIDE, 1993-2010

In addition to the Maquiladora Program and the northern migration of young women to the U.S., corrupt, apathetic, and overwhelmed local and state law enforcement further set the stage for femicide of Ciudad Juárez women. With the noticeable increase in the murder of women and girls in the early 1990s, a diverse group of women united to confront it. Victims' mothers, concerned family members and friends, and local activists gathered information and developed a substantive base of evidence to circulate among activists and distribute to the public. The victims' mothers also pressured the local police to take action and staunch the tide of murders. Despite their determined efforts, the women were typically ignored; their daughters' reputations were often, shamefully, tarnished. Mourning mothers united in solidarity by sharing memories of their daughters and their own experiences with the inept police force. Most women bemoaned the police's lack of cooperation, recounting stories of being shuffled from office to office pressured to deliver bribes to have cases pursued, or being informed that evidence was lost, mishandled or misplaced.¹⁴ In Ciudad Juárez, victims' families and human rights activists fought for justice against, not with, apathetic law enforcement.

Despite several years of police negligence in investigating the Ciudad Juárez femicides, women refused to be bullied into submission. They responded in 1999 by increasing local mobilization, raising public awareness through visual art to engage a broader community of artist-activists. As a subtle, yet omnipresent, reminder of the pervasiveness of femicide and police impunity, grieving mothers and local activists began painting black crucifixes on telephone poles along main streets and walls throughout the city (Appendix A). Black crucifixes, on top of a layer of pink paint, became the colors of the anti-femicide movement. Activists also placed a large wooden crucifix at the international border crossing that connected the downtowns of Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, Texas; each nail around the crucifix symbolized a victim (Appendix B).¹⁵ Flooding the streets with crosses provided silent witnesses to experiential instances of violence; the crosses represented the losses of daughters and the repressed anger that could no longer be stifled. As visual proclamations,

they represented a claim to public space for organized activism. Public officials, however, lambasted these crucifixes as scandalous; but when the mayor of Ciudad Juárez himself publicly ordered the mothers to stop, they refused.¹⁶ Their defiance was a determined reclamation of physical space within the city, their crosses a visual declaration of agency against the region's gendered power hierarchy, their efforts a demand for justice for the murdered women.

The demand for justice also continued a tradition among human rights activists and organizations that sought truth and justice through vivid publicization of the details of such gruesome violations of human rights. This tradition evolved to draw attention to the collective suffering that might otherwise fade into obscurity in Ciudad Juárez. Eduardo Galeano, a notable journalist and writer often referred to as “the voice of Latin America,” used the phrase “the kidnapping of history” to refer to the mechanisms that impede the development of democracy, justice, and collective memory: “For those who are starving, the system denies them even the nourishment of memory. So that they don't have a future, it steals their past.”¹⁷ The artistic expression of mothers and local activists established a strong resistance to the kidnapping of history in Ciudad Juárez. By sharing their stories, memorializing the dead, and seeking the truth, those women challenged historical amnesia; in solidifying collective memory, they strove to prevent the dead from being rendered anonymous and insignificant. The struggle required the development of symbols to memorialize “the lived traumatic experience”¹⁸ of the families and activists, by which they could ensure the conservation of their collective memory.

The twenty-first century saw a noticeable increase in international public awareness of femicide in Ciudad Juárez, largely because of extensive press coverage of the Cotton Field Murders in 2001. The mutilated bodies of eight women were discovered in a Ciudad Juárez cotton field, and the state police failed to effectively investigate their abduction and murder.¹⁹ The striking image of eight pink crucifixes at a memorial site featured prominently in the international media coverage. In addition, Lourdes Portillo's documentary *Senorita Extraviada (Missing Young Women)*, which premiered at the Toronto Film Festival in 2001, helped to increase awareness. At the Sundance Film Festival in early 2002, the film received international critical acclaim for exposing femicide in the border town.²⁰ Both the documentary and the Cotton Field Murders media coverage served as catalysts for a broader anti-femicide artists' movement, and over the next few years imagery and visual art developed as an effective means of spreading awareness about femicide. This growing awareness helped transform the artistic anti-femicide movement from a local to transnational activist movement.

Imagery and symbolism as a medium for communication and exposition were significant in breaking the international silence and stigmatization surrounding femicide. During the height of the anti-femicide movement from 2002 to 2004,²¹ graphic design-

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ers harnessed visual art as an effective way to spread awareness. They invited others to express their outrage by designing posters inspired by the slogan ‘The Woman of Juárez Demand Justice.’²² In 2002, the first design activity, initially proposed by Rafael López Castro, coincided with the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, when protest marches took place in several cities across Mexico. Nine designers produced an initial series of designs, which were eventually given to other anti-femicide activists and organizations as a way to encourage them to apply their own text and messages. By 2003, designers from across Mexico and abroad had created sixty large format images to display in a metro station in Mexico City (Appendices C, D). In a city of more than twenty million, the images were able to reach a massive audience largely unaware of the severity of the crisis in Ciudad Juárez. This demonstrated visual art’s potential to encourage a new artistic-activist collaboration that could raise social consciousness and engender political action. The images’ accessibility helped make femicide a topic of discussion nationally and internationally. Alejandro Magallanes, a designer intimately involved in the project, marveled at the the crowds of people standing in front of the posters, discussing such a difficult subject.²³

Femicide showed no signs of abating by 2004, but artistic activism created necessary exposure for the anti-femicide movement. Public pressure mounted and compelled the Office of the Federal Prosecutor to review 150 previous murder investigations on behalf of the national government,²⁴ a substantial improvement over corrupt and incompetent local law enforcement. The chief prosecutor, Maria Lopez Urbina, eventually concluded that there was probable cause for criminal and administrative investigations into more than 100 Chihuahua state public officials for negligence, omission, and other offenses. However, the federal authorities did not have jurisdiction to officially investigate, so unfortunately, the cases were returned to the local Prosecutor’s Office and courts in Chihuahua that initially mishandled the investigations.²⁵

The *Frontera 450+* exhibition, an amalgamation of global representations of anti-femicide artistic-activism, marked a shift from localized to transnational activism. The exhibit took its name from the 450 Ciudad Juárez women who had been murdered or disappeared up to that point, with the ‘+’ representing future victims if decisive action was not taken. *Frontera 450+* was the first full museum exhibition on femicide in the United States, running from October 2006 to January 2007 at the Station Museum of Contemporary Art in Houston.²⁶ Although the museum did not keep a record of attendance rates for that exhibit, Alan Schnitger, a curator of the museum, stated that the show was well-received by the community and free to the public, which enabled greater accessibility.²⁷ The *Houston Chronicle* wrote that, amid the horror conveyed in the art, the exhibit conveyed an undeniable call for consciousness and hope for healing.²⁸ Margo Handwerker, an art critic for “Art Lies: A Contemporary Art Journal,” stated that while individual artistic representa-

tion varied, common themes prevailed that aspired to transform sympathy into empathy: “impassioned work, like the entire exhibition at its core, stirred emotions, potentially raising awareness and, most importantly, action.”²⁹

Seventeen artists from Ciudad Juárez, El Paso, and elsewhere contributed art for *Frontera 450+* that linked art, social justice and political awareness. Many of the artists not native to Ciudad Juárez traveled to the city and immersed themselves in the local environment, often speaking with victims’ families as well. They drew upon such experiences to inspire their art, which used unique aesthetics to explore various angles of looking at femicide. This immersion experience for the artists demonstrated the importance of the artistic process in creating political meaning. The exhibit also marked a notable increase in the number of artists contributing anti-femicide pieces to an organized event. The exhibit was also a demonstration of the international character of the movement; while located in the United States, artists from multiple countries contributed and attended. In fewer than ten years, the movement had become an irrepressible transnational effort.

A crucial aspect of *Frontera 450+* was a captivating performance piece by Costa Rican artist Elia Arce. Arce recited the names of femicide victims and invited audience members and victims’ family members to read names as well.³⁰ Through recitation and audience involvement, Arce provided space for symbolic participation and for collective memory to coalesce. She connected bodies and identities; personalizing the murdered and disappeared was a crucial step in the recovery of truth and the breaking of silence. The performance piece also focused on the politics of memory – drawing attention to shortcomings of the historical/official record, which ignored the existence of hundreds of women. Through the recitation of names, Arce and fellow participants defied denial.

The participation by family members also presented a physical and emotional testament to the severe effects of femicide on the people of Ciudad Juárez. Arce’s performance piece marked an evolutionary step in the anti-femicide artistic-activist movement. Prior to the exhibition, performance art had not been a common medium in the anti-femicide movement, but Arce demonstrated that the art form could invoke a stirring spirit of solidarity, thus growing the activist base.

In 2010, an art exhibit at Drexel University, *Ni Una Más, Not One More: The Juárez Murders*,³¹ symbolized the culmination of cross-border artistic activism. For the first time, social media played a substantial role in an exhibit’s reception. The interactive comments section of an online article about the exhibit, published in the *Philadelphia Weekly*, encouraged viewer involvement and produced such comments such as, “*Ni Una Mas* spreads a powerful message and reiterated that art can create social change.”³² The exhibit also received international attention when reviewed by *Reuters*. Prior exhibits had received mostly local attention; *Reuters’* coverage marked a shift in exhibit scope, mirroring the movement’s expanding trajectory on the international stage. *Ni Una Más* featured paintings, photog-

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raphy, performance art and installations from twenty American, Mexican and European artists, including well-known artists such as Yoko Ono, Kiki Smith, and Brian Maguire. In conjunction with the art exhibit, academic, student and institutional departments collaborated to organize multiple events including lectures, concerts, film screenings and ARTMARCH, a public rally and performance arts piece.³³ ARTMARCH served as the launch of the exhibition and other events, and involved 700 female Drexel University students, as well as other students and community members, dressed in pink marching through the streets of Philadelphia. The 700 female Drexel students represented the 700 women that had been murdered, or abducted and presumed dead, since 1993 in Ciudad Juárez. The march ended at the Leonard Pearlstein Gallery so ARTMARCH participants could engage with other activists and discuss the art on display.

The agendas of individual artistic-activists varied. While some wanted to make a point of identifying the victims in an effort to challenge their suppression from official narratives of cultural memory, others called attention to their absence. Yet others focused on the individual and/or collective rage elicited by the violence and used visual art to expose the endemic violence, to break the silence, and to give voice to the victims and their families.

The curators of the exhibit stated that *Ni Una Más* was created to be “unabashedly activist and political in intent,” to draw attention to the femicide in Ciudad Juárez and to connect the issue of gender-based violence to broader societal power relations.³⁴ Included in the exhibition was Andrea Marshall’s “The Rice Bath Diptych,” a self-portrait depicting the fictional femicide of Maria Gonzales, whom her husband kills while she prepared a *mole poblano* dish (Appendix E). The first photo depicts a young woman preparing the meal for her husband and the second photo shows the gruesome scene of Gonzales’ naked and bloody corpse dumped in a bathtub along with *mole* and rice from the previous photo. There is no clear indication of what transpired between the two photos, and the ambiguity surrounding Gonzales’ death left the audience frustrated. This frustration was designed to provide a glimpse into the frustration felt by the families of femicide victims. Marshall said she intended to evoke a reaction similar to what she felt in response to the Ciudad Juárez femicides – shock and sadness.³⁵ Some representations of femicide purely serve to sensationalize and serve the interests of the perpetrators and proponents of that violence. Marshall’s self-portrait, however, should be interpreted as an artistic vehicle meant to convey outrage and solidarity toward the femicide victims, rather than a celebration or mere reproduction of violence..³⁶ The gruesome nature of Marshall’s self-portrait also encapsulated the escalation in the intensity and explicitness of the art produced by artistic-activists since women began painting crucifixes throughout the streets of Ciudad Juárez. Femicide crime rates remained relatively unchanged throughout the seventeen-year period despite growing media attention and public pressure on the Mexican state. Artists took

to more intense, graphic art to capture public attention and push for a substantive government/institutional response.

Another striking piece exhibited at *Ni Una Más* was Teresa Serrano's performance video entitled *La Piñata*. The video features a piñata in the shape of a young woman dressed in a maquiladora uniform being destroyed by an unidentified man. Similar to *The Rice Bath Diptych*, the video displayed brutality that would horrify any audience. Marshall's and Serrano's pieces are a small sampling among all those included in *Ni Una Más*; but they captured an escalation in intensity, compared to works at prior exhibits. Naturally, the motives of individual artistic-activists varied, but many focused on communicating the individual and/or communal rage elicited by the violence. This shift in artistic representation and message suggested growing frustration, despair, and sadness among the artistic-activists.

Other artists of *Ni Una Más* worked to reestablish women's identities and elevate them from obscurity and anonymity. By doing so, they hoped to restore the individual lived experiences and humanity of these victims. Lise Bjørne Linnert's "*Desconocida, Unknown, Ukjent*" began in 2006 as a response to the Ciudad Juárez feminicides and developed into an international community art project (Appendices F, G). Linnert's exhibit at *Ni Una Más* spanned 8 feet by 30 feet, with the names of Ciudad Juárez feminicide victims embroidered on white cotton labels. Over 4,000 people from across the world contributed to the project by embroidering a name on a label.³⁷ The labels were then laid out to communicate a Morse code message of the Mexican national anthem, an artistic choice laced with political motives that hoped to re-emphasize the geographic context within which the feminicides occurred and to hold the Mexican state accountable for its consistent inaction.³⁸ The politicized embroidery project demonstrated the power of invoking community participation to spread awareness of feminicide. The project also demonstrated how politicized art, created at the individual and grassroots level, can amount to a worldwide movement. Art as a communicative and cathartic tool began as painted crosses along local Ciudad Juárez streets and evolved into a transnational, collective effort that united multiple artistic mediums and articulated the sociopolitical urgency of feminicide as a human rights issue.

The evolution of anti-feminicide artistic activism demonstrates that there are myriad ways to combat violent phenomena, especially as a grassroots movement evolves into a transnational effort. Over the course of many years, politicized art compelled an international audience to look at something they had not seen before, or were previously too horrified to examine, and encouraged understanding through a new lens. Violence in Ciudad Juárez permeated all facets of society, and its consequences reached far beyond the U.S.-Mexico border, necessitating global attention and action. Cross-border social movements therefore engaged in innovative activism that resisted suppression, significantly increased public awareness, and reframed feminicide and gender violence as human rights issues.

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NOTES

1. Leslie Cecil, *New Frontiers in Latin American Borderlands* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 49.

2. Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano, *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Américas*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 6.

3. Fregoso and Bejarano, *Terrorizing Women*, 4.

Cano was appalled by the feminicides occurring in Ciudad Juárez and that these crimes were largely unpunished. Beginning in 1992, by primarily using press reports, Cano documented the names of murder victims, the date of their deaths, the circumstances of their deaths, who discovered the bodies, and the name of the person in charge of the various investigations. After amounting extensive notes and evidence that substantiated the claim that there was an alarming trend of feminicides occurring in Ciudad Juárez, Cano founded the Grupo 8 de Marzo, which consisted of Cano and other women lobbying for women-oriented legal reforms and pushing the municipal, state, and federal governments to create special investigators and prosecutors for sexual violence and femicide.

4. Fregoso and Bejarano, *Terrorizing Women*, 5.

5. Related research: Alice Driver, *More or Less Dead: Femicide, Haunting, and the Ethics of Representation in Mexico* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015); Héctor Domínguez-Ruvalcaba and Ignacio Corona, ed., *Gender Violence at the U.S.-Mexico Border: Media Representation and Public Response* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2010); Marietta Messmer, "Transfrontera Crimes: Representations of the Juárez Femicides in Recent Fictional and Non-Fictional Accounts," *American Studies Journal* 57 (2012), <http://www.asjournal.org/57-2012/transfrontera-crimes/>

6. The Bracero Program developed from an executive order in 1942 and then a series of bi-lateral agreements between the United States and Mexico that enabled millions of Mexican men to go to the United States and work. Their labor contracts were short-term and primarily consisted of agricultural labor. Many workers returned to work in the United States on different contracts. The program was the United States' largest contract labor program. The argument made for this program was that World War II would result in massive labor shortages to low-income agricultural jobs and an influx of Mexican migrant workers would alleviate this labor shortage.

7. The Bracero History Archive, "About the Bracero Program," <http://braceroarchive.org/about>.

8. Carol Mueller, "The Binational Roots of the Femicides in Ciudad Juárez," in *Binational Human Rights: The U.S.-Mexico Experience*, ed. William Paul Simmons and Carol Mueller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 131-132.

9. Mueller, "The Binational Roots," 131-132.

10. "Globally conscious network" denotes groups of people focusing their minds on the same thing, so they can influence "the world at large" (See Radin 1997: ch. 10).

11. Kathleen Staudt, *Violence and Activism at the Border: Gender, Fear, and Everyday Life in Ciudad Juárez* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 80-81.

12. *The Global Assembly Line*, directed by Lorraine Gray, aired April 18, 1986 (New Day Films), TV.

13. Walter Goodman, review of *Global Assembly Line*, dir. by Lorraine Gray, *New York Times on the Web*, April 18, 1986, <http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9A0DE2D71738F93BA25757C0A960948260>

14. Carol Mueller, Michelle Hansen, and Karen Qualtire, "Femicide on the Border and New Forms of Protest" in *Human Rights Along the U.S.-Mexico Border: Gendered Violence and Insecurity*, ed. Kathleen Staudt, Tony Payan, and Z. Anthony Kruszewski (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 126-129.

15. Staudt, *Violence and Activism at the Border*, 82.
16. Angela Fregoso, Cynthia Bejarano, and Andrea Trimarco, "Photo Essay: Images from the Justice Movement in Chihuahua, Mexico" in *Terrorizing Women in the Américas*, ed. Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 263-269.
17. Eduardo Galeano, quoted in *Searching for Life: The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared Children of Argentina*, Rita Arditti, (Oakland: University of California Press, 1999), 162.
18. Elizabeth Jelin, "The Politics of Memory: The Human Rights Movement and the Construction of Democracy in Argentina," *Latin American Perspectives* 21, no. 2 (1999): 39.
19. In 2009, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights officially ruled that Mexico had failed to properly investigate the cotton field murders by falsely accusing two men of committing the crimes and fabricating evidence to earn a conviction.
20. The documentary earned the Special Jury Prize Documentary at Sundance and eventually received from praise from the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Boston Globe*.
21. These years are considered the height of the movement because activism reached a crescendo by 2004 with the massive V-Day movement, a cross-border solidarity march, which drew an estimated 5,000-8,000 people. See Staudt (2008).
22. The Center for the Study of Political Graphics (CSPG) maintained an online exhibit entitled "The Women of Juárez Demand Justice." Although this exhibit is no longer available through the center's main website, the images can be found through the internet archive www.waybackmachine.com by simply searching for the archived images from the site <http://www.politicalgraphics.org> in April 2004.
23. Daoud Sarhandi, "Femicide posters: 300 murders near the Ciudad Juárez sweatshops provoke a graphic 'shout,'" *Eye Magazine* (2003), <http://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/femicide-posters> (accessed May 18, 2015).
24. Sarhandi, "Femicide posters," *Eye Magazine* (2003).
25. Amnesty International, "Mexico: Justice fails in Ciudad Juárez and the city of Chihuahua," *Amnesty International, USA* (2005), <http://www.amnestyusa.org/node/55339>
26. Station Museum of Contemporary Art, "Frontera 450+," Accessed May 21, 2015. <http://stationmuseum.com/index.php/exhibitions/19-exhibitions/219-frontera-450>
27. Alan Schnitger, email interview by the author, 4 June, 2015.
28. Patricia C. Johnson, "Frontera 450+ speaks of death, hope," *HoustonChronicle.com*, November 16, 2006.
29. Margo Handwerker, "Frontera 450+ Station Museum of Contemporary Art," *Art-Lies.org*, 2007.
30. Station Museum of Contemporary Art, "Frontera 450+.
31. *Ni Una Más* is the name of a grassroots campaign launched by family members, human rights activists, and representatives of the border community to end femicide in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua.
32. Eric, May 14, 2010 (1:44 p.m.), comment on Gustavo Martínez Contreras, "A Piece of Ciudad Juarez in Philly," *Philadelphia Weekly*, May 14, 2010, <http://www.philadelphiaweekly.com/news-and-opinion/A-Piece-of-Cuidad-Juarez-in-Philly-93789119.html>.
33. Sponsoring Drexel partners from the College of Arts and Sciences, Goodwin College, Earle Mack School of Law, Pennoni Honors College, the Intercultural Engagement and Diversity Initiative, Office of Multicultural Programs, Office of Student Life, Intercultural Journeys and the Antoinette Westphal College of Media Arts & Design. This is demonstrative of the coalitional activist effort within Drexel University to arrange this event/exhibit, which mirrored the coalitional effort of the anti-femicide artistic-activist movement.

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34. J. Gregory, A. Dean, and D. Pellicia, *Ni Una Más, Not One More: The Juárez Murders*, Curators' Statement, Exhibition Catalogue, Philadelphia: The Leonard Pearlstein Gallery, Drexel University.

35. Yasmin Bilbeisi, "ni una mas," *TheGlassMagazine.com*, June 5, 2010, <http://glassmag.users20.interdns.co.uk/forum/article.asp?tid=1451#title> (accessed June 7, 2015).

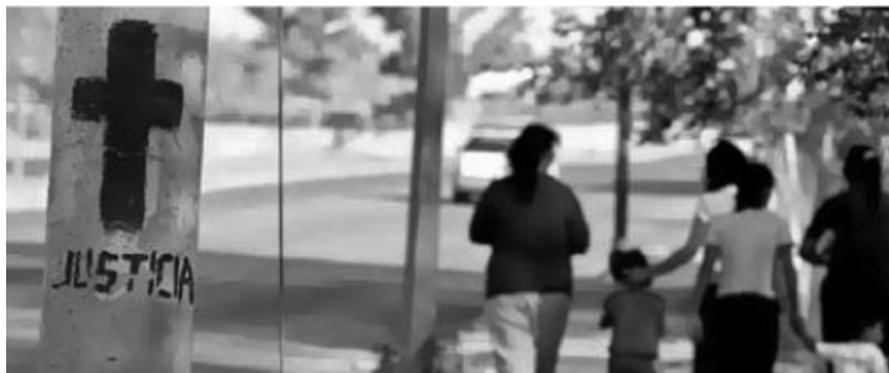
36. *La nota roja*, or the crime beat, is an entire newspaper industry built on publishing daily, gruesome front-page photographs of the newly discovered feminicide victims. It is a brand of yellow journalism that focuses on physical violence related to crime.

37. Lise Bjørne Linnert's Personal Website, "Desconocida, Unknown, Ukjent, 2006-Ongoing" http://www.lisebjorne.com/art_projects/desconocida-unknown-ukjent/.

38. Lise Bjørne Linnert, "Artist's Statement," Accessed May 21, 2015, <http://stationmuseum.com/index.php/exhibitions/19-exhibitions/230-frontera-450-lise-bjorne>.

APPENDIX A

Description of the image: A telephone pole painted pink with a black crucifix and the word *justicia* (justice) painted on it.



Source: Victoria Delgado, Untitled, 2015, <http://victoriadelgadillo.com/blog/how-do-you-start-a-revolution/>.

APPENDIX B

Description of the image: Graphic art depicting a female body alongside the statement, “Ciudad Juárez: 300 mujeres muertas, 500 mujeres desaparecidas,” (“Ciudad Juárez, 300 women dead, 500 women disappeared.”)



Source: Alejandro Magallanes, *300 Murdered Women*, 2002, The Center for the Study of Political Graphics (CSPG).

APPENDIX C

Description of image: Graphic art depicting the lower extremities of body with the statement, “Las muertas de Ciudad Juárez demandan justicia.” (The dead of Ciudad Juárez demand justice.)



Source: Alberto Castro Leñero, Unknown title, 2003, The Center for the Study of Political Graphics (CSPG).

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APPENDIX D

Description of image: A diptych depicting a woman preparing *mole poblano* in the first photo and her gruesome murder in the second photo.



Source: Andrea Marshall, *The Rice Bath Diptych*, 2010, *Ni Una Más* at the Leonard Pearlstein Gallery at Drexel University.

APPENDIX E

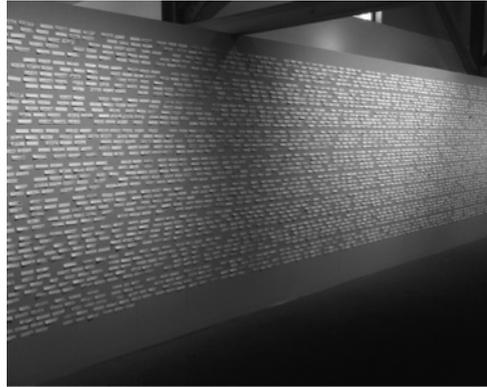
Description of image: A localized snapshot of the embroidered names of femicide victims for *Desconocida*, *Unknown*, *Ukjent*.



Source: Lise Bjørne Linnert, *Desconocida*, *Unknown*, *Ukjent*, 2006-, embroidery, *Ni Una Más* at the Leonard Pearlstein Gallery at Drexel University.

APPENDIX F

Description of image: An expansive view of the embroidery project *Desconocida, Unknown, Ukjent* that showcases its meticulous layout.



Source: Lise Bjørne Linnert, *Desconocida, Unknown, Ukjent*, 2006-, embroidery, *Ni Una Más* at the Leonard Pearlstein Gallery at Drexel University.

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TITLE IMAGE

Description of the image: Located at the U.S./Mexico border, a crucifix nailed to a wood panel painted pink with the phrase, “Ni una más,” (Not one more) along with several nails representing femicide victims.

Ellis, Richard. *Juarez Drug War*. 2009. <<http://ellisphotos.photoshelter.com/image/I0000mMoP.HAULC4>>.