



Machismo and feminicide: Sharing culture and difficult heritage in Mexico

Marco Antonio Chávez-Aguayo¹
and Cristina Garduño Freeman²

1 Sistema de Universidad Virtual, Universidad de Guadalajara, Mexico,
marco.chavez@suv.udg.mx

2 ACAHUCH, University of Melbourne, Australia,
cristina.garduno@unimelb.edu.au

Abstract

In this article, we present a Latin American perspective on four heritage concepts: shared culture, difficult heritage, contested heritage, and gendered heritage. We present the case of *El Ángel de la Independencia*, an iconic landmark in Mexico City, which was graffitied as part of public protests against femicide and feminicide in August 2019.

The protests were triggered by the ineffective actions of local and federal authorities to address the rising rate of murder and abuse of women in Mexico City and across the nation. The protestors harnessed the monument's social value and employed a new layer of significance, transforming the meaning of *El Ángel*. The graffiti was proactively defended by a community of heritage professionals and restorers, united under the name *Restauradoras con Glitter*, raising questions about cleaning, gendered heritage and contested meanings.

In this exercise of a double-way academic dialogue between Australia and Mexico, we find that the social use of a national heritage icon does not undermine the status of the monument; instead, it speaks loudly of a shared social problem in the present, as part of a shared culture that is difficult and distressing and needs to be addressed urgently by society.

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous présentons un point de vue latino-américain sur quatre concepts patrimoniaux: culture partagée, patrimoine difficile, patrimoine contesté, patrimoine généré. Nous présentons le cas d' *El Ángel de la Independencia*, un lieu emblématique de la ville de Mexico, couvert de graffitis lors des manifestations publiques contre le féminicide et femicide en août 2019.

Les protestations ont été déclenchées par les actions inefficaces des autorités locales et fédérales face au taux croissant de meurtres et d'abus contre les femmes à Mexico et dans tout le pays. Les manifestants ont exploité la valeur sociale du monument et créé une nouvelle couche de signification, transformant le sens d'*El Ángel*. Les graffitis ont été défendus de manière proactive par une communauté de professionnels du patrimoine et de restaurateurs, réunis sous le nom de *Restauradoras con Glitter*—soulevant des questions sur le nettoyage, le patrimoine généré et les significations contestées.

Dans cet exercice de dialogue académique à double sens entre l'Australie et le Mexique, nous constatons que l'utilisation sociale d'une icône du patrimoine national ne porte pas atteinte au statut du monument; au contraire, elle met en relief un problème social partagé aujourd'hui, dans le cadre d'une culture commune difficile et pénible que la société se doit de redresser.

Introduction

In this paper, we present a Latin American perspective on shared culture, one which is difficult and confronting: femicide. This shared culture, one which results in gender-based violence perpetrated against women, comes to light through the graffitiing of one important monument in Mexico City. ‘The Angel of Independence’ (*‘El Ángel de la Independencia’*), a monument of national heritage significance, has become the focus for public outrage. The graffitiing of *El Ángel* raises questions about the relationship between shared culture and heritage, about difficult heritage in Latin America, and about present-day social values that challenge values of the past.

Femicide, feminicide and machismo in Mexico, a shared culture

The term ‘femicide’ has been in use since 1976 as a way to differentiate the violent crimes and deaths of women from the more gender-neutral term ‘homicide’. The concept has brought attention to a ‘social order which [is] blind to those deaths’ as a strategy for inciting change (Corradi and Bandelli 2019: 131; Radford and Russell 1992) in the countries where this is prevalent.

In Mexico, feminist Marcela Lagarde (2006) redefined femicide into the Spanish *‘feminicidio’* (feminicide in English) to include the ‘ensemble of violations of women’s human rights, which contain the crimes against and the disappearances of women’ (Lagarde 2010: xv). In the Federal Penal Code of Mexico, feminicide is clearly defined as a crime (Gobierno de México 2012), but this is not the case at state level throughout the country. Only 19 of Mexico’s 32 states recognise feminicide (Observatorio Ciudadano Nacional del Feminicidio 2018: 17). In English, femicide and feminicide are used synonymously. However, in this paper, we use both concepts, the former to differentiate the gender-based crime of murdering a woman, and the latter to include the continuum of violence (including inaction) and human rights violations against women.

The shared culture of feminicide needs to be contextualised in relation to misogynist attitudes; in Mexico, machismo¹ is culturally embedded and widespread. Machismo is a complex set of beliefs associated with the prejudiced misconception of women as inferior to men at its core. ‘One of the most persistent narratives in our society is the notion of machismo, with its inherent sexism... a definite feature of all Latino cultures’ (Hurtado & Sinha 2016: xi). Machismo, perhaps, offers individuals and society a way to rationalise the mistreatment of women. This problem is not isolated to Mexico; many other Latin American nations have struggled with it for decades, if not centuries. It is sobering that the number of women killed annually in Mexico is only second to Brazil (Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America & the Caribbean 2018). And the problem is growing: since 2017, the rate of feminicide in Mexico has increased from seven to 10.5 cases *per day* (Xantomila 2020) and increased 1.6% across the same period in the previous year (Monroy 2020).

The problems of femicide and feminicide in Mexico are serious and much more complex and nuanced than our discussion or expertise can explore here. We want to be clear that we are not seeking to report on, resolve or comment on the issues of femicide or feminicide themselves, except to state that we absolutely do not support such heinous acts of violence. What we are attempting to do here is to describe how such acrimonious practices are examples of shared culture, and, secondly, how in certain instances they can become contested heritage. The lack of government actions on feminicide has led to massive protests in several towns and cities in Mexico since 2019. People have taken to the streets and called for justice and peace for women across the country. It is the entanglement of heritage within the actions of protestors that prompted our reflection on a contemporary instance where shared culture and national heritage meet, where the social use of a monument transforms shared culture into difficult heritage.

***El Ángel de la Independencia*, authorised heritage**

One of Mexico City's most iconic monuments is the '*Columna de la Independencia*' ('Column of Independence'). The monument is a 45-metre-high 'victory column' celebrating Mexico's 1821 Independence from the former Spanish Empire. At the top of the column stands a golden sculpture of the Greek goddess, Nike. This '*Victoria Alada*' ('Winged Victory') stands atop a single tapered column that resembles those erected by the ancient Romans to honour their emperors and gods (Figure 1).

In Mexico, where Roman Catholicism dominates and its rich iconography abounds, the *Victoria Alada* is colloquially known as '*El Ángel*' ('The Angel'). A quirk of Spanish grammar requires the use of a masculine pronoun. The column rises from a rectilinear base embellished with stone and bronze figures that are allegories of law, war, justice and peace—a powerful symbol of the city recognised by tourists and loved by Mexicans alike.

El Ángel de la Independencia was erected in 1910 under the auspices of Porfirio Díaz Mori, Mexico's president at the time, to celebrate the centenary of the commencement of the War of Independence. The monument was initially designed as a cenotaph by Mexican architect Antonio Rivas Mercado. In 1923, it was converted to a mausoleum when three niches were added to the interior of the column to enshrine the relocated remains of Mexico's 12 heroes of Independence, who successively led armies of mixed race ('*mestizos*') and Indigenous insurgents to fight against colonial Spanish rule. In 1929, an 'eternal flame' to honour Mexico's heroes was installed under the presidential decree of Emilio Portes Gil.

The heroes interred within *El Ángel de la Independencia* included highly respected figures, such as the 'Father of the Nation,' Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. Most of the heroes are men, with one exception: Leona Vicario is recognised here as a heroine. Vicario was one of the first female journalists in Mexico and played a key role in the War of Independence. She supported the insurgents financially and with intelligence, secretly informing them of enemy movement within Mexico City. Vicario, unlike many of the insurgents, was from a conservative aristocratic background. She could be understood to be one of Mexico's first feminists. Indeed, the Mexican government has declared 2020 the year of 'Leona Vicario, Meritorious Mother of the Nation' (Gobierno de México 2020).

However, the remains of the heroes (including Vicario's) are no longer located at *El Ángel de la Independencia*. In May 2010, under the presidency of Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, they were moved to the nearby federal palace and museum, *El Castillo de Chapultepec* (The Castle of Chapultepec).

El Ángel was listed as a site of national heritage in 1987. The column, stone base, sculptures and golden victory are protected and defined as an 'artistic' monument, inscribed for its significance as an urban and aesthetic symbol of Mexico City (Gobierno de México 1987). 'Artistic' monuments are managed by the *Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes y Literatura*



Figure 1: *Victoria Alada* (Winged Victory). Top of the *Columna de la Independencia*, Mexico City. (Courtesy: Restauradoras con Glitter, photo by Brian Nolasco, 2019)

(INBAL: National Institute of Fine Arts & Literature), whereas ‘historic’ monuments (limited to those dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries) are managed by the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (INAH: National Institute of Anthropology & History).

The urban context and location of *El Ángel* also contributes to its symbolic, and, arguably, its social value. The monument is situated along one of Mexico City’s major arteries, a 14.7 km celebratory boulevard, known as *Paseo de la Reforma* (the Promenade of Reform). *Paseo de la Reforma* connects the *Castillo de Chapultepec* with the centre of the city. It is a large, wide, multilane traffic route with several large ‘*glorietas*’ punctuating its trajectory. The ‘*glorietas*’ along this boulevard are large circular plazas positioned at major intersections that serve as traffic roundabouts. Many historic monuments and sculptures are located on such ‘*glorietas*’, making them urban landmarks and popular tourist attractions in this densely populated metropolis.



Figure 2: The urban location of *El Ángel* on *Paseo de la Reforma*, Mexico City. (Creative Commons Licensed, photo by ‘carlosr chill-commonswiki’, 2006)

The power of *El Ángel* as a symbol of Mexican identity, as well as an urban landmark, means it is frequently used for both celebration and protest. While it is its aesthetic symbolism that is protected in the national inscription, the contemporary use by Mexicans and visitors alike indicates it is also socially significant. In Australian heritage discourse and legislative frameworks, social value,

has developed as an important way that concepts such as shared identity can be expressed in relation to heritage places. Globally it offers a much needed perspective, aligned with ‘people-centered approaches’, and with the potential to co-create understandings of values with those who hold those values (Johnston 2017).

Large groups of people congregate at *El Ángel* to celebrate sporting wins as often as they do to advocate for political change. One example is the political protest led by the current Mexican president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, as a response to his election loss to his opponent Felipe Calderón Hinojosa in 2006. López Obrador claimed there had been electoral fraud and led a campaign to block the whole of *Paseo de la Reforma* for 47 days causing

turmoil and unrest, as well as severe economic damage to local business (Milenio Digital 2019). The use of *El Ángel* for political resistance or for celebrating a sporting win (Figure 3) reveals the social value of this urban landmark.



Figure 3: Celebration of Mexico's national university soccer team 'Pumas' in 2011 at *El Ángel*, Mexico City. (Creative Commons Licensed, photo by 'Eneas de Troya', Flickr user)

In this sense, a monument is more than a historic reminder, but rather 'evokes the continuous, daily and often unconscious engagement between us and our environment, where people, place and memory all have agency' (Johnston 2017). It is the agency of *El Ángel* to bear witness to the uncomfortable shared culture of femicide that is significant here.

Over its lifetime, *El Ángel* has required maintenance and restoration due to Mexico City's propensity for earthquakes. The monument's structure was damaged in 1957, causing the golden sculpture of Nike to crash to the ground. Again in 1985, *El Ángel* was damaged in a terrible earthquake in which some 5,000 people died. This revered icon has sustained damage on many occasions, but until 2019, it had never been defaced intentionally.

Contesting heritage: *El Ángel*

In 2019, women and men gathered in Mexico City *en masse* to protest the increasing rate of femicide and feminicide. Their rage had been incited by two recent episodes of endemic sexual violence: first, an underage girl on her way home after a party was raped by four policemen in Mexico City. Days later, another girl was raped by a policeman in a museum (BBC 2019; Salinas Maldonado 2019). Protestors, particularly women, were as indignant as they were fearful. No amount of disruption seemed to be enough to motivate officials to address the sustained violence towards women, from constant catcalling to murder.

The suspected policemen were suspended, and an investigation commissioned. Mexico City's mayor, Claudia Sheinbaum, addressed the protestors stating she would not comment and instead remain impartial until the investigation was complete (Gómez Romero & Iribarne González 2019). Some people interpreted this as a guise to protect the policemen. Sheinbaum was judged as betraying women (Salinas Maldonado 2019). Protestors expected stronger support against feminicide from the first female mayor of the capital city. They saw her behaviour as further evidence of her lack of support for women's safety, as several civil rights organisations had been demanding a 'gender alert' in Mexico City since 2017 (Contreras Camero 2019; Mejia 2019; Ramos 2019).

Declaring a 'gender alert' or a 'gender-violence alert against women' activates an emergency law. This forces the Government to take action by adopting economic and social measures to address the cause of the alert; in this case, femicide and feminicide violence. This legal mechanism is articulated in Mexico's federal law for women's human rights (Gobierno de México 2007). Article 23 describes the motives that can trigger a 'gender alert,' which include:

I. [When] the common crimes against the life, freedom, integrity, and security of women disturb the social peace in a particular territory, and so the Society reclaims, [...]

III. [When] the Human Rights organisations on either the national or state level, the civil and social organisations and/or the international organisations request. (Gobierno de México 2007: article 23, authors' translation)

Considering such continued horrendous acts by policemen, it seems unthinkable that a 'gender alert' had not been declared. The lack of action to reduce and eliminate feminicide propelled protestors to take a new approach to public action. On 12 August 2019, a group of (mostly) female protestors gathered in front of the headquarters of the Ministry for Citizen Security of Mexico City. As Jesús Orta Martínez, Mexico City's Minister for Security and Chief Police Officer, exited the building, protestors showered him in pink glitter. The minister's slicked black hair became stained with 'Mexican pink'. The magenta hue, synonymous since the 1950s with Mexico, visually contaminated, even subverted, the minister's masculine authority by covering him with the ultimate feminine shimmer. Rivulets of pink sparkle ran down over his pristine, black, tailored jacket. In that instance, pink glitter became a symbol of defiance for protestors (Nación 321 2019). The image, of this authoritative man, at the same time a policeman, a government security officer and, most importantly, a government minister, 'wounded' by pink glitter was widely publicised (BBC 2019; Reporte Indigo 2019). The upset minister described these actions as a provocation but did not press charges (Sin Embargo 2019).



Figure 4: Social media response to assault with pink glitter.

'Diamantina rosa sobre el monumento "Victoria Alada" mejor conocido como Ángel de la Independencia, Mexico 2019' (Pink glitter on the monument 'Winged Victory' better known as the Angel of Independence, Mexico 2019). #NoMeCuidanMeViolan (They don't protect me, they violate me) (Source: Instagram account of 'sonicarol')

Social media exploded with commentary, memes and tweets in response to the glitzy assault on Orta Martínez. Images of the protestors with clouds of pink mist, pink placards denouncing police as protectors, illustrations of angry naked women dusted in glitter, solid squares of magenta, and glitter (Figure 4), proliferated online.

People shared photographs of Orta Martínez covered in pink and addressed his emotional indifference with irony:

Wey, te echaron diamantina morada en tu trajecito, no te violaron colectivamente 4 policías, eso sí debería emputarte, no mames...

Dude, they threw purple glitter on your precious suit; you weren't raped collectively by four policemen, *this* is what should piss you off, come on, don't bullshit me... (Larusso 2019, italics added, authors' translation)

Larusso's tweet was retweeted 2000 times and liked 7300 times. Many other potent examples of the resonance of this incident played out online as people participated in the protests. Like the PussyHat project, where pink knitted beanies identified women's rights marches in the USA in 2016 (Zweiman 2020), in Mexico, pink, purple and magenta glitter—so usually associated with demure, passive and objectivised femininity—became vehicles for civil disobedience, a weapon against rape culture; a revolution.

Four days later, on 16 August 2019, further acts of femicide were reported: the body of a woman in the state of Hidalgo was found discarded under a bridge after she had been tortured and abused; and a six-year-old child was brutally stabbed while she slept during a visit to her grandparents in Cuernavaca, Morelos, a neighbouring state to Mexico City.

A massive crowd of protestors marched some 850 m from *La Glorieta de los Insurgentes* (the largest roundabout in Mexico City) to *El Ángel*. On their way, the protesters broke glass and hurled pink and purple glitter throughout the central district of Mexico City, seeking to make themselves seen and heard. When they reached *El Ángel* they inscribed their voices on the national symbol of independence. They etched and painted graffiti onto the stone and bronze base of Mexico City's national heritage icon. The social significance of these wilful inscriptions on heritage was evidenced by how widely images of the inscriptions were shared in traditional and social media, nationally and internationally (Castañeda 2019; Garduño Freeman 2018; Phillips 2019).

Some of the protestors' words which were graffitied over the monument stated: 'Mexico femicide'; 'policemen rapist'; 'the police kill us'; 'I want you alive, I want myself alive'; 'do not play with us girls'; and, 'you do not protect us, you kill us'. The graffiti covered the plaque celebrating the sacrifices and efforts of the heroes who had brought independence to Mexico (Figure 5). Their protestors' words now subverted the plaque's values, and demanded women's safety and independence.



Figure 5: *El Ángel* (detail) after the 16 August 2019 protest, Mexico City. 'Mexico femicide' graffitied over 'The Nation to the Heroes of the Independence' engraved in the marble. (Courtesy: Restauradoras con Glitter, photo by Brian Nolasco)

In the days that followed, the city authorities boarded up *El Ángel* with plain wooden barricades, intending to immediately clean and restore the monument. Their move provoked intense public debate on the removal of the graffiti of the protestors. Some criticised the defacement of the monument while others could not understand why the severe problem of violence against women was not at the forefront of people's concerns. Some people felt outraged because the authorities seemed more eager to restore *El Ángel* than to investigate the feminicides that had occurred in the past and were continuing to occur nationwide.

In the midst of this debate, a group of all-female qualified heritage professionals quickly formed via social media. This kind-of-union called themselves '*Restauradoras con Glitter*' ('Female Restorers with Glitter'): cleverly referencing the pink glitter thrown at Orta Martínez a few days earlier. The group petitioned their profession to stand against femicide by refusing their professional services to the Government (in particular to INBAL) to clean and restore *El Ángel*. *Restauradoras con Glitter* asked their colleagues to undertake this protest 'until the safety of women in Mexico is guaranteed' (*Restauradoras con Glitter* 2019b).

The *Restauradoras con Glitter* hoped that this form of industrial action could force the government to address Mexico's continued femicides and feminicides. They were taking hostage their national heritage. Official spokesperson for the group, Ayahuitl Estrada, declared: 'no monument is more important than a woman or any person. It is our motto'. She went on, arguing that, 'what is the point of preserving a monument, if the people are being killed?... a monument's damage is reversible, but the murder of a woman is not' (Ayahuitl Estrada, interview with authors, April 2020). The *Restauradoras con Glitter* had a point.

Five days after the 'defacement' of *El Ángel*, on 21 August 2019, *Restauradoras con Glitter* posted a kind-of manifesto on Twitter; their collective letter to the federal and local authorities and media carried over 600 signatures from many of the most important restoration and preservation professionals in Mexico. Notably, '[h]eritage conservation is a female-dominated field' in Mexico (Castañeda 2019). The letter stated their refusal to collaborate with the Government to restore *El Ángel* (*Restauradoras con Glitter* 2019b).

The manifesto was extensively shared by traditional and social media channels (Aristegui Noticias 2019; Gómez Romero & Iribarne González 2019). This pressure convinced Mexico City's mayor, Sheinbaum, and later the culture minister of Mexico City, José Alfonso Suárez del Real, to meet with representatives of *Restauradoras con Glitter* (Ayahuitl Estrada, interview with authors, April 2020). Through these meetings, *Restauradoras con Glitter* were able to negotiate permission to enter behind the wooden barricades that obscured the graffiti on *El Ángel*. Their goal was to document and create a digital register of the graffiti.

Over three separate days, a group of 30 '*restauradoras*' were granted access to *El Ángel*. They made a record of the graffiti through photography, video, drone footage, photogrammetry and laser scanning, using their own equipment (Ayahuitl Estrada, interview with authors, April 2020), clear in the knowledge that their access was highly contingent. They understood the cultural significance of the graffiti, how it was a new layer of meaning—a conversation—with the monument. Their intervention intended to ensure that the voices of the women protesting against femicide would not be silenced or purely articulated as a digital 'echo on the media and the internet' (Ayahuitl Estrada, interview with authors, April 2020).

The use of *El Ángel* as the literal and figurative foundation for the issue of femicide did not stop with the protests, industrial action and documentation of the graffiti. On 24 November 2019, three months after the initial August protests, several feminist community groups, including *Restauradoras con Glitter*, invited women to congregate anew at *El Ángel*. The purpose of the gathering was to reclaim their voice, obscured by the authorities' plain wooden barricades, by reinscribing their graffiti. The group decorated the barricades around the base of the monument with paintings, stories of missing people, slogans, pink glitter and knitted pink-purple hearts (Figure 6). This reaffirmation, however, did not last long. 'On the next day, everything was cleared by the city authorities,' said restorer Gilda Pasco Saldaña, a member of *Restauradoras con Glitter* based in Guadalajara who participated that day in the activities (Gilda Pasco Saldaña, interview with authors, April 2020). Femicide was silenced once again.

The inaction by authorities and their continual censorship and disregard for the protestors' message served to increase the protestors' rage and discontent. During the last months of 2019, civil organisations continued to demand a 'gender alert' be declared by the federal and the city governments. These authorities (autonomous, but part of the same political party at the time, *'Morena'*) repeatedly refused, citing their existing measures as sufficient to eradicate and prevent violence against women, in spite of evidence that these were both ineffective and insufficient (Ruiz 2019). The civil organisations took the authorities to a judicial inquiry (*'amparo'* trial number 968/2019-I). The final judgment ordered the alert be declared. However, before she was obligated by law, Mayor Sheinbaum conceded of her own 'free will'. Finally, in late November 2019, Mexico City declared a 'gender alert' (Contreras Camero 2019).

For now, *El Ángel* remains boarded up. The monument remains closed and inaccessible to tourists and public alike. Once a major landmark of Mexico City, a place of pride, now it is obscured and appears abandoned and derelict. The monument's cleaning and restoration program have been halted by the protests of women, the standby heritage professionals, and the measures required for social isolation in response to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

However, since the initial protests with pink glitter in August 2019, many other demonstrations have taken place: from hundreds of red shoes representing missing women in *El Zócalo*—Mexico City's main square (Orsi 2020)—to mass vocal protests in various Mexican cities on International Women's Day, Sunday 8 March 2020 (McDonald & Trovar 2020). The International Women's Day marches were followed by a strike—through absence from work on the next day—and Monday 9 March 2020 was named 'A day without women.' A worldwide call asked women to abstain from working in any way, both employment and domestic work. The call in Mexico was supported by many universities, schools, businesses, banks, factories, official institutions, etc., who gave their female workers the opportunity to strike. The impact was felt at a national level. 'A day without women [was] a historic strike' (Averbuch 2020).

Pink glittering the golden Angel

At the start of this paper, we described *El Ángel* as a monument that depicted Nike, the golden goddess of Victory as a symbol celebrating Mexico's independence. For decades, this heritage place was associated with freedom, justice, lawfulness and peace. *El Ángel* was a place for shared culture, for national identity, for the celebration of sporting achievements, for presenting collectively to tourists and for honouring heroes. *El Ángel* was a way to mediate personal and collective identity, to aspire to a democratic future while recognising the sacrifices of the past. These embodied experiences give meaning to everyday life, and culturally embedded practices create a sense of community. This participatory culture is directly connected to its social significance (Garduño Freeman 2018: 161).

As a community or as a society, we select certain examples of culture and decide that they should be recognised as 'heritage' (Smith 2006). Traditionally, heritage was seen to be



Figure 6: Intervention around *El Ángel* on 24 November 2019, before it was cleared by the city government, Mexico City. (Courtesy: Gilda Pasco Saldaña)

inherent to the physical object or place. However, this more contemporary understanding sees heritage as instrumental. Heritage is not predetermined, rather we *make* heritage; a process which is framed within social values (Byrne, Brayshaw & Ireland 2003; Johnston 2017; Mornement & Garduño Freeman 2018). In this paper, we assert that heritage is the shared culture which we choose to conserve as representative of ourselves and our ideas. Heritage is therefore always shared culture, but shared culture is not always heritage.

At times, however, some examples of shared culture—such as femicide—are not something to be celebrated. They are hard and difficult shared culture. After some time has passed, such shared culture may become heritage as a way of remembering and acknowledging past atrocities perpetrated against, or bygone tragedies experienced by, particular groups of people. This has been conceptualised as ‘difficult heritage’ (MacDonald 2015: 6; see Brown & Vileikis this volume); its purpose serves as a reminder of events that we do not want to experience again. Importantly, in this conceptualisation, difficult heritage recognises shared culture of the past; it does not focus on violent atrocities occurring in the present and extending into the future.

The proposed restoration of *El Ángel* by the Mexican government was presented as a simple act of conservation and repair. However, it subversively constituted a politically symbolic act of erasure. To the protestors against femicide and the *Restauradoras con Glitter*, the graffiti was a culturally charged and significant artefact. Their resistance to ‘cleaning’ and thereby ‘restoring’ the monument was founded on their understanding that social value can be embodied across practices, places and digital proliferation. However, it is important to consider how our notions of restoration and conservation are contextualised within certain value systems. Cleaning, and restoration by extension, are always selective conservation decisions. Why do we choose to keep the patina from one period of time over another? Why do we privilege cleaned stone over pollution that is, arguably, as much our cultural heritage (Otero-Pailos 2007)? In proposing the restoration of *El Ángel*, the Mexican authorities were clearly intending to institutionally articulate what is valued, what constitutes national culture and which meanings are to be authorised. The cleaning and restoration of this national monument, we argue, were a means to obfuscate the authorities’ lack of action against femicide and feminicide.

The anger, rage, desperation and impotence to make themselves heard incited the protestors to use their national icon, with all its social significance, to give voice to a shared culture that needs to speak. One of Mexico’s most beloved monuments was transformed into a canvas—a substrate—on which to spell out the growing political, social and cultural complacency that sees itself fit to be complicit in the murder of women. Is this a form of spontaneous social iconoclasm (González Zarandona 2015)? And is it a form of defacement intended to challenge and contest the traditional meanings and values ascribed to a monument?

The glitter, the graffiti, the resistance to cleaning and the re-inscriptions on the wooden barricades, all work to contest the authorised meaning of *El Ángel*. The monument’s urban location and symbolic role as a venue for celebration and meeting, as an icon for the city and a touristic landmark, all make it a powerful site to protest and claim agency. This engagement between people and place aligns with the social significance of heritage (Johnston 2017). The engagement between people and heritage is highlighted within the Mexican National Anthem itself. Whilst some media outlets argued the graffiti was a defacement of *El Ángel*, many others on Twitter, including *Restauradoras con Glitter* (Figure 7), shared the sixth stanza of the Mexican National Anthem (Restauradoras con Glitter 2019a).

The lyrics of the Mexican National Anthem were written in 1853 by Francisco González Bocanegra. The sixth stanza describes a foreign enemy attack where only the ruins of Mexican civilisation are left to speak out for the fallen heroes among the bloodshed. In sharing this particular stanza, the *Restauradoras con Glitter* drew a parallel between the ‘foreign enemy’ and the endemic problem: femicide and feminicide. Undoubtedly, González Bocanegra was not imagining a scenario where Mexican women were massacred by their kin—machistic Mexican men—when he wrote these lyrics. But his poetry, coupled with the



Restauradoras con Glitter
@RGlittermx



9:18 AM · Nov 27, 2019 · Twitter for Android

Himno Nacional Mexicano

Estrofa VI

*Antes, Patria, que inermes tus hijos
bajo el yugo su cuello dobleguen,
tus campiñas con sangre se rieguen,
sobre sangre se estampe su pie.
Y tus templos, palacios y torres
se derrumben con hórrido estruendo,
y sus ruinas existan diciendo:
de mil héroes la Patria aquí fue.*

Mexican National Anthem

Stanza VI

Motherland, before your children become unarmed
beneath the yoke their necks in sway,
may your countryside be drenched with blood,
on blood their feet trample.
And your temples, palaces and towers
may crumble with horrid crash,
and may their ruins exist saying:
the Motherland here belonged to a thousand heroes.

Figure 7: Above: Social media post drawing national rhetoric into the discourse around El Ángel. (Source: Instagram account of Restauradoras con Glitter). **Below:** Translation of the sixth stanza of the Mexican National Anthem (1853). Lyrics by Francisco González Bocanegra (Authors' literal translation)

music of Jaime Nunó, does express the potency of monuments in speaking on behalf of the silenced, the gagged, the repressed and the muted, and, ultimately, the murdered. By sharing the stanza, the *Restauradoras con Glitter* and others who liked, shared and posted in response or support were recognising the agency of heritage to give voice to difficult issues. As Silverman argues, 'heritage is an ever-present venue for contestation, ranging in scale from competitively asserted to violent claimed / destroyed' (Silverman 2010: 33). The shifting meaning of this national icon demonstrates how intangible acts, tangible places and the digital sphere (Figure 8) are interwoven within the meaning-making-process of heritage (Smith 2006); and how complex and painful aspects of shared culture are difficult to negotiate but essential to recognise.

When the protestors cried: 'What is the point of preserving a monument, if the people are being killed?', they were denouncing the inherent significance of *El Ángel*. When they covered the monument in inscriptions with graffiti and pink glitter, they intended their acts to be digitally mediated (González Zarandona, Albarrán-Torres & Isakhan 2018).



Figure 8: 'We were all of us women.' *El Ángel*'s meaning is forever transformed. (Source: Instagram account of user 'carmesi_sc', 2019)

Where does that leave the profession of restoration? What heritage structures and objects should be cleaned? Should graffiti be erased or honoured? Restoration, conservation and commemoration become significant when they acknowledge heritage as a social and political process. As Castañeda (2019) observes, 'making conservation decisions, such as removing or ignoring political graffiti, can enact narratives of violence and/or erasure'. Further, when women dominate the profession of restoration—as they do in Mexico (Castañeda 2019)—why should they not resist cleaning graffiti that demands respect and equality for women? Their acts are a stand not only against femicide, but also a refusal to comply with the patriarchal 'way heritage is defined, understood and talked about, and, in turn, in the way it reproduces and legitimizes gender identities and the social values that underpin them' (Smith 2008: 161). As Nausikaä El-Mecky (2020) so eloquently asserts, 'these attacks on monuments cannot simply be dismissed as unthinking acts of destruction. In many ways they are transformative and profound.'

In the assessment of social value in the case of Port Arthur, Tasmania, Chris Johnston (2017) identified heritage professionals as one of the communities for which the place has powerful associations. The formation and actions of *Restauradoras con Glitter* have similarly demonstrated the connection between heritage professionals and *El Ángel*. This interweaving of the shared culture of femicide and sites of national heritage significance is critical to ensuring heritage remains relevant. Otherwise, we run the risk of preserving the obsolete, the meaningless and the irrelevant. Or as Rodney Harrison observes, traditional approaches to heritage support a culture of stasis that 'non-problematically privileges accumulation' (Harrison 2012: 168). As heritage professionals, the *Restauradoras con Glitter* are exemplary in recognising the graffiti inscriptions as 'new' heritage warranting conservation.

This is not a singular case. The Edward Colston statue (aged 125 years) was also graffitied, pulled down and thrown into Bristol Harbour, England, during a June 2020 public protest. Like the *Restauradoras con Glitter*, in the case of the Colston statue, heritage professionals opted to conserve the graffiti as 'it has become part of the story of the object, of the statue, so our job is to try and retain that as much as possible, while stabilising the statue for the

long term' (BBC 2020). In the case of *El Ángel*, the reactions of authorities to the protests demonstrate that it is time in Mexico for conservation policy and practice to give agency to people, to social values, and to present-day examples of shared culture, including those that are hard and difficult, such as femicide and feminicide.

The new layer of meaning on *El Ángel*, one which both reveals and redefines the palimpsest of this heritage place, disrupts the national discourse. The *Restauradoras'* act of resistance to participating in the monument's restoration and cleaning is a refusal to endorse a shared institutional national narrative that is not seen to include women: half of Mexico's population. Graffiti is at times framed as a rebellious act; it is also a practice that engages in spatial and visual politics (McAuliffe 2012, 2016). The graffiti at *El Ángel* literally and allegorically covers the significance of the monument in ways that ridicule the sculptures and inscriptions that originally honoured freedom, justice, lawfulness and peace. These marks of pink paint and glitter have the power to subvert the monument into a canvas and therefore transform its meaning. This new layer of meaning renders the monument 'gendered heritage' (Smith 2008), leaving *El Ángel's* authorised historical and aesthetic narrative contested (Smith 2006); the graffiti claims the power of representation and an ownership of this place. Why else would authorities take such extensive efforts to repeatedly remove it from view by placing and replacing the wooden barricades? Logan and Reeves (2009: 2) state that the narratives of heritage sites are subject to rewriting for political gain. *El Ángel* had been owned by the nation, by the patriarchy. Yet now, with this 'gendered' contestation, perhaps it is at last really honouring Leona Vicario, the sole woman to be recognised amongst heroic men.

El Ángel was never built to commemorate atrocities of the past. Instead, it has been overwritten by the people's protests—in a spontaneous act of social iconoclasm—to demand the abatement of present-day atrocities. The protests and repeated inscriptions contest the original message of this iconic national monument (Silverman 2010) and change it from a place of national pride into a place of difficult heritage, one which calls for change. Therefore, to clean this second layer of significance off would be unethical; 'in this case, immutable preservation is the actual violence' (El-Mecky 2020).

Overall, it is remarkable to see such a paradigm shift in Mexico. Silverman, while reporting her research on the historiography of contested heritage at an international level, noted how 'Mexico, unlike the vast majority of states-party to the World Heritage Convention, is moving its concept of cultural heritage into the present era, seeing it as dynamic and in process' (2010: 19). This follows on from Bart van der Aa's assertions at an international level that Mexico is undertaking: 'an orientation *towards* new kinds of heritage that might represent "real" Mexicanness. It is, at the same time, a movement *away from* the former, one-sided, stress on pre-colonial and colonial heritage' (van der Aa 2005: 141, emphasis in the original). However, not much has really changed in Mexico at the time of writing. The graffiti remains on *El Ángel* and femicide and feminicide numbers continue to grow.

Conclusion

El Ángel de la Independencia is an institutionally authorised monument built in praise of Mexico as a free country. Now, the message of a protest movement has overwritten the original meaning of the monument and brought focus to the issues of femicide and feminicide. In a spontaneous social act of iconoclasm, people sought to change the meaning and symbolism of the monument. *El Ángel* has not been defaced. Instead, two contested narratives overlay the monument: one authorised and celebratory, the other activist and resistant. The heritage status of *El Ángel* was not damaged or undermined but sustained. Its second narrative uses the social significance of heritage to highlight a shared social problem that urgently needs to be addressed. In Mexico, the female golden 'winged victory' atop *El Ángel* institutionally represents freedom but fails to represent the reality of contemporary Mexican women's experience of insecurity and fear.

Restauradoras con Glitter, comprising female heritage professionals, have become exemplary activists in the protests against femicide and feminicide. They chose to resist the Governments'

intention of cleaning graffiti from *El Ángel*, regarding the graffiti as new heritage and worthy of conservation as a form of social memory and history. The restorers recognised the graffiti as representing subaltern voices and the people warranting documentation and protection.

In conclusion, since the 16 August 2019 protest against femicide and feminicide, *El Ángel de la Independencia* in Mexico City turned into a symbol of contested, gendered and difficult national heritage and social injustice—a ‘female’ heritage covered with pink glitter.

Acknowledgements

We want to dedicate this article to all the victims of femicide and feminicide in Mexico, their families and friends. To all the people who fight for the protection of women’s human rights.

We would like to take the opportunity to thank the members of *Restauradoras con Glitter* for sharing their experiences, particularly Ayahuitl Estrada and Gilda Pasco Saldaña, and Brian Nolasco for the pictures.

We are grateful for the constructive criticism of our peer reviewers and the guidance and patience of our editors Steve Brown and Ona Vileikis, ICOMOS GA 2020 Scientific Symposium Co-Chairs. Their understanding, supportive feedback, and efforts have been constant during difficult times.

In memoriam, Archaeologist María de la Cruz ‘Maricruz’ Paillés Hernández (1941-2020), PhD (UNAM). Paillés Hernández was a female pioneer researcher for the field of heritage in Mexico, as well as a member of the Mexican Legion of Honour and ICOMOS.

References

Aristegui Noticias 2019, Jannen Contreras Vargas, integrante del colectivo independiente Restauradoras con Glitter (@RGlittermx), comenta sobre la petición a las autoridades a que no sean removidas las pintas en el Ángel de la Independencia, en #AristeguiEnVivo, 9:46 am, Twitter, 23 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://twitter.com/AristeguiOnline/status/1164911690925989889>>.

Averbuch, M. 2020, “‘We’ll disappear’: Thousands of Mexican women strike to protest femicide”, *The Guardian*, 9 March, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/09/thousands-mexican-women-protest-violence-murders-femicide-government-inaction>>.

BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) 2019, ‘Mexicans march to vent anger at police over rape cases’, *BBC News*, 13 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-49327568>>.

BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) 2020, ‘Edward Colston statue graffiti will be preserved’, *BBC News*, 17 June, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-53083939>>.

Byrne, D., Brayshaw, H. & Ireland, T. 2003, *Social significance: a discussion paper*, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Sydney, Australia, viewed 1 August 2020, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/cultureheritage/SocialSignificance.pdf>>.

Castañeda, M. 2019, ‘Glitter conservators: thinking conservation through feminism’, *Nursing Clio*, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://nursingclio.org/2019/12/16/glitter-conservators-thinking-conservation-through-feminism/>>.

Contreras Camero, A. 2019, ‘Sheinbaum autodeclara alerta de género; organizaciones la ven incompleta (Sheinbaum declared ‘gender alert’; organizations see it as incomplete)’, *Pie de Página*, 22 November, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://piedepagina.mx/sheinbaum-autodeclara-alerta-de-genero-organizaciones-la-ven-incompleta/>>.

- Corradi, C. & Bandelli, D. 2019, 'Femicide', in L.J. Shepherd (ed.), *Handbook on gender and violence*, Elgar Online, pp. 131–45, doi:10.4337/9781788114691.00015.
- El-Mecky, N. 2020, 'Don't call it vandalism', *Image Journal*, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://imagejournal.org/2020/06/11/dont-call-it-vandalism/>>.
- Guardiño Freeman, C. 2018, *Participatory culture and the social value of an architectural icon: Sydney Opera House*, Routledge, London.
- Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean 2018, Indicators: femicide or feminicide, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://oig.cepal.org/en/indicators/femicide-or-feminicide>>.
- Gobierno de México 1987, Decreto por el que se declara Monumento Artístico a la Columna de la Independencia (Decree for which is declared Artistic Monument the Column of Independence), INBAL, viewed 1 August 2020, <https://inba.gob.mx/multimedia/transparencia/inmuebles/2/2-ARCH-02_columna_de_la_independencia.pdf>.
- Gobierno de México 2007, Ley general de acceso de las mujeres a una vida libre de violencia (General law of the access of women to live free of violence), Cámara de Diputados, viewed 1 August 2020, <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/LGAMVLV_130420.pdf>.
- Gobierno de México 2012, 'Artículo 325 (article 325)', Código Penal Federal (The Federal Penal Code of Mexico), Reform, 14 June 2012.
- Gobierno de México 2020, El Inmujeres celebra la declaración del 2020 como "Año de Leona Vicario, Benémerita Madre de la Patria" (Inmujeres celebrates declaration of 2020 of "Leona Vicario, Meritorious Mother of the Nation"), Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.gob.mx/inmujeres/prensa/el-inmujeres-celebra-la-declaracion-del-2020-como-ano-de-leona-vicario-benemerita-madre-de-la-patria>>.
- Gómez Romero, L. & Iribarne González, M.M. 2019, 'Mexican women are angry about rape, murder and government neglect – and they want the world to know', *The Conversation*, 21 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-08-21/mexican-women-are-angry-about-rape-murder-and-government-neglect-and-they-want>>.
- González Zarandona, J.A. 2015, 'Towards a theory of landscape iconoclasm', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 461–75.
- González Zarandona, J.A., Albarrán-Torres, C. & Isakhan, B. 2018, 'Digitally mediated iconoclasm: the Islamic tate and the war on cultural heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 24, no. 6, pp. 649-71.
- Harrison, R. 2012, *Heritage: critical approaches*, Routledge, Oxon.
- Hurtado, A. & Sinha, M. 2016, *Beyond machismo: intersectional latino masculinities*, University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Johnston, C. 2017, 'Recognising connection: social significance and heritage practice', *Córima, Revista de Investigación en Gestión Cultural*, vol. 2, no. 2, doi:10.32870/cor.a2n2.6306, viewed 1 August 2020, <<http://corima.udgvirtual.udg.mx/index.php/corima/article/view/6306>>.
- Lagarde, M. 2006, 'Del femicidio al feminicidio (From femicide to feminicide)', *Desde el Jardín de Freud. Revista de Psicoanálisis*, vol. 6, pp. 216-225.
- Lagarde, M. 2010, 'Preface: feminist keys for understanding feminicide', in R-L. Fregoso & C. Bejarano (eds), *Terrorizing women*, Duke University Press, Durham, pp. xi–xxvi.
- Larusso, B. 2019, Wey, te echaron diamantina morada en tu trajecito, no te violaron colectivamente 4 policías, eso sí debería emputarte, no mames... 6:01 pm, Twitter, 12 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://twitter.com/BrendaLarusso/status/1161050210837176321>>.

- Logan, W. & Reeves, K. (eds) 2009, *Places of pain and shame. Dealing with 'difficult heritage'*, Routledge, London.
- MacDonald, S. 2015, 'Is "difficult heritage" still "difficult"?', *Museum International*, vol. 67, no. 1-4, pp. 6-22.
- McAuliffe, C. 2012, 'Graffiti or street art? Negotiating the moral geographies of the creative city', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 189-206.
- McAuliffe, C. 2016, 'Young people and the spatial politics of graffiti writing', in T. Skelton, N. Worth & C. Dwyer (eds), *Identities and subjectivities: geographies of children and young people*, Springer, pp. 189-206, doi:10.1007/978-981-4585-91-0_15-1.
- McDonald, B. & Trovar, M. 2020, 'Mexico: protesting femicide', *New York Times*, 10 March, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/americas/10000007023396/march-femicide-women-mexico.html>>.
- Mejia, C. 2019, '¿Qué es y qué implica la alerta de género por feminicidios? (What is and what implies the gender alert for feminicides?)', *El Universal*, 19 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/sociedad/que-es-y-que-implica-la-alerta-de-genero-por-feminicidios>>.
- Milenio Digital 2019, 'Así protestó AMLO hace 13 años en Paseo de la Reforma (This is how AMLO protested 13 years ago in Paseo de la Reforma)', *Milenio Digital*, 30 July, viewed 1 August 2020 <<https://www.milenio.com/politica/amlo-asi-protesto-hace-13-anos-en-reforma>>.
- Monroy, J. 2020, 'Feminicidios en México se mantienen al alza; crecieron 1.6% en primer trimestre del 2020 (Feminicides in Mexico continue at high rates; they grew 1.6% in the first third of 2020)', *El Economista*, 21 April, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.economista.com.mx/politica/Feminicidios-en-Mexico-se-mantienen-al-alza-crecieron-1.6-en-primer-trimestre-del-2020-20200421-0112.html>>.
- Mornement, A. & Garduño Freeman, C. 2018, *Assessing and managing social value: report and recommendations*, Heritage Victoria and Heritage Council, viewed 1 August 2020, <http://heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/AssessingManagingSocialSignificance_Final-Reportwebsite.pdf>.
- Nación 321 2019, 'Por qué la diamantina es el nuevo símbolo de la lucha feminista (Why glitter is the new feminist symbol)', *Nación 321*, 14 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.nacion321.com/ciudadanos/por-que-la-brillantina-es-el-nuevo-simbolo-de-la-lucha-feminista>>.
- Observatorio Ciudadano Nacional del Femicidio 2018, *Informe de implementación del tipo penal de femicidio en México: desafíos para acreditar las razones de género 2014-2017 (Report on the penal implementation of femicide in Mexico: challenges to presume gender reasons 2014-2017)*, Mexico City, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://observatoriofemicidio.files.wordpress.com/2018/05/enviando-informe-implementacioc81n-del-tipo-penal-de-femicidio-en-mecc81xico-2014-2017-1.pdf>>.
- Orsi, P. 2020, 'Red shoes: Mexican women protest against femicide and gender violence', *El Universal*, 14 January, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/english/red-shoes-mexican-women-protest-against-femicide-and-gender-violence>>.
- Otero-Pailos, J. 2007, 'Conservation cleaning/cleaning conservation', *Future Anterior*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 3-8.
- Phillips, T. 2019, 'Mexico's 'glitter revolution' targets violence against women', *The Guardian*, 26 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/26/desperation-and-rage-mexican-women-take-to-streets-to-protest-unabated-sexual-violence-glitter-revolution>>.
- Radford, J. & Russell, D.E.H. (eds) 1992, *Femicide: the politics of woman killing*, Open University Press, Buckingham, England.

- Ramos, A.C. 2019, 'Segob niega alerta de género para CDMX (Interior ministry denies gender alter for Mexico City)', *Pie de Página*, 10 June, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://piedepagina.mx/segob-niega-alerta-de-genero-para-cdmx/>>.
- Restauradoras con Glitter 2019a, Restauradoras con Glitter (Image), 4:18 pm, Twitter, 26 November, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://twitter.com/RGlittermx/status/1199452503496175616/>>.
- Restauradoras con Glitter 2019b, Pronunciamiento ante las pintas de la manifestación y marcha feminista del pasado 16 de agosto (Statement about the inscriptions of the feminist demonstration and march on 16th August), 9:58 pm, Twitter, 21 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://twitter.com/RGlittermx/status/1164371199054548992/>>.
- Ruiz, M. 2019, 'Urgen aplicar alerta de género en CDMX (Urgent need for a gender alert in Mexico City)', *Pie de Pagina*, 27 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://piedepagina.mx/urgen-aplicar-alerta-de-genero-en-cdmx/>>.
- Salinas Maldonado, C. 2019, 'Las contradicciones marcan la investigación de una violación cometida por policías en Ciudad de México (Contradictions mark rape investigations against policemen of Mexico City)', *El País*, 14 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <https://elpais.com/internacional/2019/08/14/mexico/1565750466_001825.html>.
- Silverman, H. 2010, 'Contested cultural heritage: a selective historiography', in H. Silverman (ed.), *Contested cultural heritage: religion, nationalism, erasure, and exclusion in a global world*, Springer, New York, pp. 1-50.
- Sin Embargo 2019, "No voy a presentar cargos" por agresión con diamantina, dice Jesús Orta, jefe de la Policía de la CdMx ("I won't press charges" against assault by glitter)', *Sin Embargo*, 13 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.sinembargo.mx/13-08-2019/3628284>>.
- Smith, L. 2006, *Uses of heritage*, Routledge, London.
- Smith, L. 2008, 'Heritage, gender and identity', in B. Graham & P. Howard (eds), *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity*, Ashgate, Hampshire, England, pp. 159-178.
- Reporte Indigo 2019, 'Pintan a Jesús Orta, le exigen justicia en caso de presuntos policías violadores (They paint Jesús Orta, and demand justice in the case of alleged violator police)', *Reporte Indigo*, 12 August, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.reporteindigo.com/reportes/pintan-a-jesus-orta-le-exigen-justicia-en-caso-de-presuntos-policas-violadoresvideo/>>.
- van der Aa, B. 2005, 'World heritage as a means of marking Mexican identity', in G.J. Ashworth & B. Graham (eds), *Senses of place: senses of time*, Ashgate, London, pp. 133-148.
- Xantomila, J. 2020, 'ONU DH: en México se cometen en promedio 10.5 feminicidios al día (United Nations Office for Human Rights: an average of 10.5 feminicides are committed in Mexico each day)', *La Jornada*, 6 March, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.jornada.com.mx/2020/03/06/politica/004n1pol>>.
- Zweiman, J. 2020, Our story: PussyHat Project, viewed 1 August 2020, <<https://www.pussyhatproject.com/our-story>>.

Endnote

- 1 Also called 'chauvinism' in English. We prefer the use of 'machismo' because of the cultural links to the Mexican Spanish use of the word 'macho' (literally 'male') which is used to refer to a *chauvinist* male.