

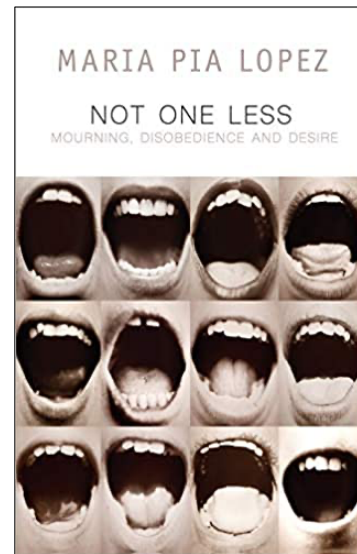
María Pia López, **Not One Less: Mourning, Disobedience and Desire**, Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2020, 192 pp., \$64.95 (hardcover), \$19.95 (paperback).

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In the last few years, massive women’s demonstrations and social movements have been taking place around the world, often traversing borders, and building transnational feminist spaces, something that has been facilitated by the use of digital media. Nonetheless, the initiatives that have been emerging in the Global North, such as #MeToo, have drawn so much visibility and attention that they have obscured the wide-reaching influence of other longstanding, grassroots feminist movements from the Global South, especially from Latin America. As a result, there is an inaccurate impression that, despite its long herstory of feminist transnationalism and lively praxis, this region has lagged behind and passively joined the feminist wave that originated in the United States in 2017.



This makes author María Pia López’s embodied chronicle and theorization of the Ni Una Menos movement in **Not One Less: Mourning, Disobedience and Desire**—aptly translated in English by Frances Riddle—an important piece that decenters the scholarly work on the most recent rise of popular feminism. The book highlights the significance of the South American movement worldwide, as it has been able to effectively challenge the structures of capitalist, colonial, and patriarchal power beyond national and regional boundaries. Related to this is the formation of a feminist collective subject, which emerges from the recognition of the vulnerability that feminized bodies share because of being exposed to violence, expropriation, and exploitation, although in different ways.

This is what, according to López, gives Ni Una Menos an extensive quality and the potential to transform social configurations globally. Instead of engaging in a hierarchical way of doing politics, it has grown as a truly popular feminist tide by putting into practice a real “politics in the feminine” (Segato, 2018, p. 62) that is decentralized, privileges emergence, transversality, and intersectionality, allowing its deterritorialization. The multiplicity of discourses and practices that materialize from this way of doing politics has contributed to conceiving gender violence as multiform and systematic, affecting mostly women of color, indigenous women, poor women, girls, and trans people.

The book is explicitly written from the firsthand experience of López as a key activist and scholar of Ni Una Menos. By recognizing how her voice entangles with those of others who have been involved with the movement, the author is capable of effectively weaving the debates taking place within feminist collectives and the explosion of practices and discourses surfacing in protests, from the concrete experience of feminized bodies gathering in the streets. According to the author, this enmeshment between the individual and the

collective body, the personal and the political, allowed her to develop a chronicle that does its part in furthering the movement by providing a living document of the ongoing Latinx *feminist tide*.

Ni Una Menos has many origins, and while López focuses mainly on what happens in Argentina, she emphasizes the various moments in time and the different territories that are foundational to the movement. In the book's first chapter, she recalls the first acts of protest under the name Ni Una Menos, which created the momentum for subsequent mass mobilization. She starts by mentioning the feminist performances of collective mourning against femicide that took place between 2013 and 2015. In them, Argentinian activists started generating meaning and contesting the image/message of young women as disposable, as well as the inaction of the state. The author, however, recognizes that these acts draw partly from the poem-protest of Mexican activist Susana Chávez Castillo against the femicides in Ciudad Juárez, more than 20 years before, from which the name of the tide originated.

From that point on, López traces the genealogies of rights-based movements in Argentina, such as Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, arguing how Ni Una Menos exists in a continuum with them as a direct inheritor of their practices and emotional scripts. Collective mourning, for the author, provides the affective space in which various actors, places, and temporalities enmesh, enabling the formation of a political community where those who had experienced gender violence can reinstate their agency and contest victimization. Moreover, López notices how desire arises from these formations, breaking private individuality and producing a shared image of the community we want.

In the second chapter, López describes different cases of gender violence and femicide in Latin America, to show how they are a product of the interaction of many individual and institutional actors aiming to preserve neoliberal capitalism and patriarchy. The strength of Ni Una Menos is in its capability to provide a structural understanding of gender violence and how, even when it affects different bodies in different ways, these are deeply interconnected, instigating myriad ways of collective action. Furthermore, it also creates the opportunity for the radical reformulation of existing modes of protest, such as the strike. In chapter three, López analyzes how the mobilization stretched beyond Argentina, to enmesh with the international women's strike. This led to the resignification of March 8, International Women's Day, as a date in which women and feminized people could gather everywhere to think about "another world and another way of life" (p. 53).

The women's strike challenges narrow notions of what work entails and who can be considered a worker, rendering visible the value and exploitation tied to gendered, unpaid reproductive work, informal, and semiformal work. The author notices that the strike functions as a myth that produces an array of actions that cut a break on everyday temporality, allowing women to stop producing and reproducing, so it is possible to foresee how to materialize collective desires. Furthermore, the strike makes explicit how feminized bodies are stripped of vital force, and consequently, of time through labor expropriation, which also translates into debt. Regaining time is, hence, radical in the sense that it leads to reconnection with the body and to claiming back life, refusing to be disposable once it has stopped serving the purposes of capital.

The centrality of the many bodies that articulate the collective body is also present in López's analysis of Ni Una Menos. In chapter 4, she emphasizes how even when the movement initially had a middle-class inscription, the composition of the mobilizations became much more diverse with time. These draw

the attendance of people from various class backgrounds, generations, ethnicities, sexualities, and gender identities, allowing other collectives and individuals to join the tide under the same slogan, but from different positions. The author highlights how these positions assemble outside of the moments of mobilization, in spaces that contest hierarchical power and the division of the public and the private, to articulate a vast, heterogeneous subjectivity that is not rooted in biology and can be transformed as more people join the tide. This subjectivity is not “ready-made,” as López argues, but inherits from a lineage of popular movements, moving this legacy forward and further (p. 77).

The massive character of *Ni Una Menos* unsettles the deterministic, binary language usually found in identity-based movements and provides the space for many modes of expression to take place. In the last chapter, López analyzes how the protection of life and the resignification of the bodies, which were crucial to the demonstrations, have laid a common ground for challenging the category “women,” understood as a fixed, limited political construction that is opposed to a masculine universal. The author also highlights how these discourses are mediated through numerous practices such as street performance, public art, social media content, and the use of specific garments, and how these contribute to affirming the belonging to an identity that is, nevertheless, unfixed, unfinished, and in constant construction.

*Not One Less* is an inspiring work for those scholars interested in understanding the force of popular feminism and its revolutionary capacity. It provides an encompassing, situated, ongoing herstory and theorization of one of the most important feminist movements of our time. In a context of global conservative backlash against feminized bodies, López’s book acts like an affective artifact that shows the potential of collectivity to resist and enact tangible change. While the legalization of abortion rights as a product of feminist mobilization in Argentina did not take place until after the publication of this work, López preempted its success, showing how *Ni Una Menos* gave way to the construction of new dialogues and new agendas that kept protesting multitudes alive.

*Not One Less* allows us to visualize the possibility of a more radical future for feminism, one that transcends the neoliberal, individualistic framework that defined the #MeToo movement (Banet-Weiser, 2022). It aims to call for the articulation of an international feminist subjectivity that is based on intersectionality and that is capable to unsettle the structures of patriarchal capitalism worldwide.

### References

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