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LAURA BARBERÁN REINARES in 2010 (["Globalized Philomels: State Patriarchy, Transnational Capital, and the Femicides on the US-Mexican Border in Roberto Bolaño’s 2666" South Atlantic Review: The Journal of the Modern Language Association 75.4 (Fall 2010): 51-72.](http://www.academia.edu/908781/_Globalized_Philomels_State_Patriarchy_Transnational_Capital_and_the_Femicides_on_the_US-Mexican_Border_in_Roberto_Bolanos_2666_South_Atlantic_Review_The_Journal_of_the_Modern_Language_Association_75.4_Fall_2010_51-72)**)**

**“The U.S.-Mexican border es una herida abierta [is an open wound] Where the Third World grates against the First and bleeds”- Gloria Anzaldúa** the semantics of neoliberalism and subaltern Women’s rape **American readers** may **remember the dreadful case of a female jogger raped in Central Park** in 1989; if only vaguely, you may perhaps recall that the incident prompted Donald Trump to take out “a full-page ad in ourNew York newspapers demanding that New York ‘Bring Back the Death Penalty, Bring Back Our Police’” (Crenshaw 184-5). **Miraculously, the victim survived the brutal attack, but her case outraged the community** and was widely reported and assiduously followed—**now there is even a Wikipedia entry under “Central Park Jogger case” explaining the nuances of the horror that this white, Yale-educated woman, who at the time worked in investment banking, endured. Without minimizing the completely undeserved violation this woman suffered, I am curious about the reaction**—more specifically, whose reaction—**this case generated, especially considering that there were 3,254 other cases of rape reported in New York that year, “twenty-eight” during that fateful week alone** (185): **Many of these rapes were as horrific as the rape in Central Park,yet all were virtually ignored by the media. Some were gang rapes**, and **in a case that prosecutors described as ‘one of the most brutal in recent years,’ a woman was raped, sodomized,and thrown fifty feet off the top of a four-story building in Brooklyn. Witnesses testified that the victim “screamed as she plunged down the air shaft. . . . She suffered fractures of both ankles and legs, her pelvis was shattered and she suffered yinternal injuries. This rape survivor, like most of the other forgotten victims that week, was a woman of color** **[and**, if I may add, **of a different social class**]. (185)Explaining why the Central Park jogger spiraled into a media spectacle and prompted the intervention of a New York-based real estate mogul would be stating the obvious. The reason all the other cases generated little or no attention seems, admittedly, embarrassing. **The above case**, though utterly unfortunate, **suggests a clear difference between victims of sexual violence who receive attention and action and those ignored because of their worthlessness in terms of class and race within the current neoliberal model. The insignificance of the abject presence of subaltern third-world is paradoxical in light of the fact that they have now been turned into a key component for the global economic engine to run smoothly—an engine that, as suggested in Gloria Anzaldúa’s metaphor, is being lubricated with subaltern women’s (literal) blood**. Readers may then be outraged to learn about the **shockingly high rates of rape and murder of women** that **have occurred since 1993 on the US-Mexican border, one year after the signing of the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).** **This treaty facilitated the installation of “maquiladoras”--assembly plants for transnational corporations** (80% of them American-owned) that mushroomed in the new export processing zones (EPZs). **As a consequence, widespread migration to the border,especially female, skyrocketed. Taking “signs for wonders,” many saw these maquiladoras as a capitalist-God-sent blessing, feeling that they  would bring a much needed boost to the Mexican economy.** In fact,during their stay in Ciudad Juárez--the largest border city, literally within walking distance of El Paso, Texas--**these plants allowed the municipality to boast the lowest unemployment rate of all Mexico (and, later,** less glamorously, **the highest incidence of domestic violence in the country). Like sweatshops, maquiladoras offered women the possibility of economic independence--at an appallingly exploitative price**, of course,but some independence nonetheless. **Looking for these new jobs,migrants from poor states such as Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Tabasco,and even poor countries like Guatemala, flooded Ciudad Juárez, forcing the city to accommodate the demands of a rapid population explosion. Ironically, part of the NAFTA agreement stipulated that the foreign assembly plants would be exempt from taxation in the host country, so the costs of social services and infrastructure generated by the influx of these migrant workers could never be met by the city’s already meager budget. As a result, the city’s slums grew exponentially, while basic services such as electricity, sewage, transportation, and public safety for these areas lagged behind, creating a breeding ground for the atrocious crimes for which Ciudad Juárez became notorious: the femicides.** Mexico, a country that during his stay in 1938 struck André Breton as the most “surreal” in the world, becomes the stage for gendered sexual terror in Bolaño’s narrative. Profoundly intrigued by the horror of the crimes and the impunity with which the perpetrators of the femicides operated, Bolaño began steady correspondence with Sergio González Rodriguez, one of the Mexican journalists covering the murders in Ciudad Juárez with courageous rigor. The result was 2666 (published posthumously in 2004), **Bolaño**’s monumental last novel in which the writer **sheds a tenebrous light on the way in which transnational capital,patriarchy, and the state have enabled the vicious deaths of subaltern“disposable” women. Here, the structural economic situation, with the majority of the population living in dire poverty and forced to migrate to the dangerous US-Mexican border in a quest for survival, combines with patriarchy and widespread impunity in a lethal concoction**. Basing his writing in the real crimes, Bolaño finds a rather unusual way of linking neoliberalism and patriarchy with sexual violence against subaltern women, yet there lies one of the strongest lures of his novel: through impassive repetition of the horror, **the author showcases an extreme example of an economic system that privileges profits over lives, while the narrative opens up the spectrum of feminist interrogation as these femicides seem lost in a theoretical limbo. To this day, no responsible party has been found for the Juárez femicides and, as time passes and contexts change**--if it wasn’t for novels like the one under analysis--**these women may very well end up lost in oblivion. After all, like New York’s “unimportant” rape victims, they are poor and they are dark.**

**POEM BY R.C.S**

I GO INTO MY ROUND WITH BUTTERFLIES IN MY STOMACH

FLUTTERING THEIR WINGS RAPIDLY

BUTTERFLIES THAT AREN’T JUST NERVOUS THEY ARE TERRIFIED

AND MY MIND IS PARALYZE OF  THE QUESTIONS THEY ANALYZE AS I SPEAK

MY HEART BEATS FASTER WHEN I THINK ON THE SPOT

 BUT NOBODY NOTICES IT BECAUSE

I AM GOOD AT CONCEALING IT

SINCE I GO TO A SCHOOL THAT IS HEAVILY POPULATED WITH ARROGANT CAUCASIANS

I SIT IN A ROOM WITH MY WHITE PARTNER

WHITE JUDGE

AND WHITE OPPONENTS

FEELING LIKE I’M PLAYING A WHITEWASHED GAME

I REMEMBER WAITING FOR MY SKIM IN THE CAFETERIA SEEING SEAS OF PEOPLE ALL THE SAME COLOR

EVERYONE EXCEPT ME AND A  FEW MULATO SISTAHS

NO BROHTAHS

I KNOW THAT EVERYONE IS WONDERING WHAT A GHETTO GIRL LIKE ME IS DOING IN THEIR VICINITY

AN UNDER-EDUCATED GIRL WHO USES SLANG IN HER SPEECHES

WHO USES SPOKEN WORD AS HER PERFORMANCE

WELL IMA TELL YA

I CAME TO DEBATE

TO ESCAPE MY WORLD OF POVERTY

TO CHANGE THE WAYS OF THINKING OF MANY INDIVIDUALS WHO THOUGHT THE ONLY WAY TO DEBATE WAS WITH PROPER RACES

TO GIVE HOPE TO THE KIDS IN MY NEIGHBORHOODS

WHO HAVE NO MOTHERS NO FATHERS LET ALONE FAMILIAR FACES

WHO RUN AROUND WITH LIVE AMMUNITION

READY TO BLOW THE SONS AWAY

WHO PUT THEIR FATHERS AWAY

10 YEARS AGO FAST FORWARD TO 16

I CAME TO EDUCATE THE YOUTH AND TO LEARN FROM MY PROSPECTORS

TO MAKE THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE NOT DISCUSS MY VIEWS ON POLITICS

BECAUSE POLITICIANS LEFT MY PEOPLE IN THE PROJECTS OR SHOULD I SAY THE SECTION 8 HOUSING

 VIOLENCE IN THE DAYTIME OR ENFORCED POLICE RAIDS

DRUG TRAFFICKING AREAS IN THE PARKS AT NIGHT

AND MOST OF ALL THEY FAILED TO EDUCATE

SILENCING OUR VOICES TO STOP NEGATIVE COMMENTS FROM EVOLVING ON THE BBC NBC AND ABC NEWS

DEBATE TAUGHT ME TO THINK CLEARLY

TO SEE ALL THE PIECES IN THE WORLD THAT WE ARE GIVEN

TO CREATE A VIVID PICTURE

TO EXPRESS OUR VIEWS IN A SAFE PLACE

WHERE WE CAN’T BE EXECUTED BY CRITICS

BUT IT SEEMS ALL THEY WANT TO DO IS ARGUE ON HOW I ARTICULATE MY WORDS AND DEMOLISH MY POINT OF VIEWS THEY MUST NOT SEE THE PICTURE

TAKE A SHOT WITH THE ASHTON KUTCHER CAMERA

BECAUSE WE DON’T SHAKE POLAROID PICTURES NO MORE

AND MI PARTNER N I  ARE NOT GOING TO ARGUE NO MORE

JUST LISTEN TO OUR R-O-T-B AS YOU WATCH THESE POTS AND PANS BEAT

**This debate is more than changing laws; it is about bridging movements together for political liberation for those who have faced oppression. From the Juarez femicides, to the hostile relationship we as black women have faced in debate, and now to the other Latin American women who face oppression, we join together in showing our disagreement and making a voice for ourselves in society through cacerolazos. Cacerolazos are the banging of pots and pans to show disagreement and is used as a weapon of not maternal protest but a new revolutionary protest to focusing not just on law making but creating overall social change.**

**Briones and Mendoza ‘03**

(Claudia Briones, Ph.D. Department of Anthropology, University of Buenos Aires and National Council for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET), Argentina Marcela Mendoza, Ph.D. Center for Research on Women, The University of Memphis, BEYOND MOTHERHOOD POLITICS: NEW FORMS OF PARTICIPATION AMONG ARGENTINE MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN, <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2003/BrionesClaudia.pdf>, *Prepared for delivery at the 2003 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Dallas, Texas, March 27-29, 2003)*

Throughout the twentieth century, Argentine **women have used their traditional**

**female roles to protest laws** and conditions **that were threatening their ability to fulfill**

**those roles** (Miller 1991:74). **Women’s roles as wives, mothers, and grandmothers were**

**used to legitimize a collective sense of injustice and outrage for the social situation at the**

**time when those protests occurred. This political participation was defined as “maternal**

**politics”** (Guy 1998) **or “maternalism,” and involved mostly lower class and lower**

**middle-class women who, in their struggle for basic survival and against repression,**

**focused their demands on the state** (Safa 1990**). *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* movement**

**epitomizes this idea of revolutionary motherhood** (Bouvard 1994; Feijoo 1991; Loveman

1998). We argue here that Argentine **women’s approach to political participation**

**changed during the 1990s.** While **middle-class women participated actively in the street**

**protests or *cacelorazos***of December 2001, and in the neighborhood assemblies or *asambleas barriales* that began to mushroom in Buenos Aires since late December**, this** **time** the **women have not resorted to their traditional roles to become involved**. Economic neoliberalism (Teichman 2001), a new model of development based on open economy and global competition, has deeply affected politics during the last two decades, and succeeded in changing the class structure in Argentina and in all the countries of the  (Portes and Hoffman 2003). We sustain that these **women’s revised class**

**composition and life circumstances favored the emergence of new forms of political**

**participation. *Cacerolazos* (the banging of pots and pans to show disagreement) became the**

**symbol of Latin American women’s political action since the late 1970s, and the kitchen**

**utensils became forms of weapons to express public protest.** We contend that the Argentine **middle-class women who participated in the latest *cacerolazos* did not so as a** **way to expand “their nurturing roles into the public sphere”** (West and Blumberg Department of Anthropology, University of Buenos Aires and National Council for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET), Argentina, [cbriones@fibertel.com.ar](mailto:cbriones@fibertel.com.ar) Center for Research on Women, The University of Memphis, [mmendoza@memphis.edu](mailto:mmendoza@memphis.edu) 3 1990:22). **Moreover,** **they were not seen as “peacemakers” or “moral guardians” resisting** **a discredited government**. Our argument about the emergence of new forms of political participation is based on the analysis of observations and interviews recorded in Buenos Aires from February 15th to September 30th, 2002. A team of Argentine researchers carried out observations at rallies, street protests, and *cacerolazos,* and covered weekly observations at two *asambleas barriales*. The researchers also interviewed 30 individuals (women and men) self-described as middle-class protesters. Additionally, the Buenos Aires and Memphis teams compiled an extensive electronic database on newspaper articles, Internet-generated news exchanges, magazines, and academic publications referring to the current economic crisis in Argentina. After an introduction to the events that define this period of political unrest, we analyze below the characteristics and modus operandi of two neighborhood assemblies. Then we discuss relevant topics from our interviews, particularly referring to women’s views about their own political participation. We substantiate our analysis of women’s participation “beyond motherhood politics” by discussing those materials in the conclusion.

**Cacerlazos protests have been seen to unite groups of people around the world ranging from toddlers in strollers to grandparents in wheelchairs. We as the affirmative are not going to claim to be the USFG or claim we have money to spend, but what we advocate for is that we invest time into uniting ourselves with our sisters in Latin America to speaking out against corruptions of the government that we are effected by on a daily basis, and sending the call for protest here in the debate community and across the country.**

**Peterson ‘12**

([**Freya Petersen**](http://www.globalpost.com/bio/freya-petersen)**November 8, 2012 18:26**, Pot-banging protesters of the 'cacerolazos' take to streets in Argentina and beyond Argentines took to the streets of Buenos Aires on Thursday night in some of the biggest protests in a decade, fueled by opposition to President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner's government, http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/americas/argentina/121108/argentina-cacerolazos-argentines-buenos-aires-protest)

**Argentines took to the streets of Buenos Aires** on Thursday night **in** **some of the biggest protests in a decade, fueled by opposition to President** Cristina Fernandez de **Kirchner's government**. In Buenos Aires, [the Associated Press reported](http://www.washingtonpost.com/business/thousands-of-argentines-vent-anger-at-president-fernandez-in-protest-march-through-capital/2012/11/08/bd995c0e-2a03-11e2-aaa5-ac786110c486_story.html), demonstrators converged on the pink presidential palace at the Plaza de Mayo square**, many of them joined** **by "toddlers in strollers and grandparents in wheelchairs."**  The AP cited **police officials as saying the crowd numbered at least 30,000, though local media put it at hundreds of thousands. In keeping with the call for a "cacerolazos," many protesters beat on cooking pots and pans to draw attention to issues like crime rates, inflation and political corruption,** [CNN wrote](http://edition.cnn.com/2012/11/08/world/americas/argentina-protests/index.html" \t "_blank). The pot-bashing protest scenes were be reminiscent of a decade ago, when **protesters banging pots and chants of "throw them all out**" rendered Argentina "practically ungovernable until Fernandez's late husband, Nestor Kirchner, assumed the presidency in 2003," [according to the Associated Press](http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/11/08/argentines-venting-anger-at-president-cristina-fernandez-in-pot-banging/" \l "ixzz2BfhXMQmb" \t "_blank). **This time, marches are expected to take place in not only Buenos Aires, but around the world in such locations as Miami, New York, London, Madrid, Paris and Rome**. [The Buenos Aires Herald reported](http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/116345/8n-pots-already-banging-in-australia!" \t "_blank) that a group had kicked off the protest in front of the Argentine Consulate in Sydney, Australia**. Banners read and "Freedom of expression and thought," "Stop the wave of Argentines killed by crime, enough with corruption and say no to the constitutional reform," and "We are going to trial you,"** seen as a clear message to Fernandez, whom many fear plans to alter Argentina's Constitution and run for re-election. Kirchner, 59, is currently barred by the Argentine Constitution from running for a third consecutive term, but her supporters in the Congress have been lobbying for a constitutional amendment**. The call to protest was sent across the country via social media websites**.

The role of the ballot for this debate then is to vote for whoever best methodologically and performatively stands in solidarity with the woman of Latin America