

## Art against violence: the persistence of a tradition

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Violence against women is a direct consequence of the rule of patriarchy. As Barbara Kruger notes, it may be vague type of violence, striking out with a glare, or it may be a paralyzing violence,<sup>1</sup> but in the end, "all violence is the illustration of a pathetic stereotype." Thus, women became "naturalized" as passive objects. Jenny Holzer reminds us that "violence is the result of an abuse of power, which is no surprise for women." Because from the very beginning, structural violence, inherent in the patriarchy as a repressive and normative system that has relegated women to the use and abuse of men, has been legitimized by cultural customs, mythical narratives, religious percepts, and laws.<sup>2</sup>

It is surprising that the theoretical and judicial thematization against gender violence arose as late as the 1970s. At both the UN World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 and the Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, gender violence against women was defined as any act perpetrated upon the victim because of her female sex which has as a consequence psychological, physical, or sexual harm or which involves any form of coercion to keep the victim from exercising her freedom, as permitted in the sphere of the family, community, and state. Today, although our country has a specific law against gender violence<sup>3</sup> along with public and private assistance programs bolstered by a growing social awareness, the findings of recent reports indicate that the persistence of old sexist stereotypes within the symbolic framework and the internalization of sexist gender models transmitted through cultural manifestations constitute the main obstacles to ending gender violence. Furthermore, "the invisibility of women, their undervaluation and dehumanization in the representations that appear in literature and in the visual and performing arts contribute to the suppression of women's self-esteem, both individually and collectively, as well as the internalization of patterns of domination and violence by men."<sup>4</sup> It is these patterns that impose the non-physical violence that is still fairly widespread, serving to foment abuse, rape, and murder. It is thus essential to "breach the relationship of complicity that the victims of symbolic domination establish with their dominators through a radical transformation

of the social conditions that not only produce the attitude adopted by the dominated with respect to the dominator, but which also lead the dominated to take on the same view of themselves as the dominator."<sup>5</sup> The representations created by artists to break passive, victimizing stereotypes are therefore every bit as important as their visual denunciations of gender violence.

### **Throughout history**

The exercise of physical violence on women is the oldest strategy in the history of male domination. In addition to its representation in literary narratives, it is also reflected in the history of images. Thus, the figure of women harassed, persecuted, raped, and murdered can be found in the roots of our culture since ancient times.<sup>6</sup> In the Middle Ages, to the classical Greco-Roman misogyny of antiquity was added the heritage of the Judeo-Christian tradition,<sup>7</sup> culminating in the Catholic Reformation, when "religious themes featuring [women] were dominated by the idea of sin" and its just punishment: the proto-Christian virgin martyr was left suspended in ambiguity.<sup>8</sup> The portrayal of violence against women, although sublimated, is common in the origins of European modernity. At the same time, however, in response to these representations there is a recognizable precedent to feminism in the visual arts.

In the seventeenth century, with the emergence of women artists who received recognition and admiration during their lifetimes, there was an inflection in the iconography of gender violence. Baroque painters such as Lavinia Fontana (1552-1614), Artemisia Gentileschi (1593-1652), Fede Galizia (1578-1630), and Elisabetta Sirani (1638-1665) focused on the subject of the avenging Judith, who beheaded Holofernes and carried his head off with the help of her maid, an iconographic motif with which these artists began to weave their own pictorial tradition. Their motivations ranged from the safe exorcism of the violence some of them had surely suffered, as is likely the case with Artemisia Gentileschi, to the cultivation of a genre that would put them in a position of solidarity with the victims of violence and make a firm statement against misogyny. Centuries later, Sigmund Freud would set forth the interpretation of the severed head as a potent castration image.<sup>9</sup>

From the numerous versions of Judith and Holofernes painted by Baroque artists, one can infer that the avenging scene did not merely transmit the rejection of male violence

against women at the time, a situation described by the Venetian Arcangela Tarabotti (1604-1652) in *Paternal Tyranny*, a pamphlet accusing men of being "pimps and procurers who abuse their daughters." Surely the image of the decapitated head grew into a sort of symbolic "trophy of war between the sexes,"<sup>10</sup> an explicit statement of the alliance of these painters against male domination within the framework of the *Querelles des Femmes*. This intensified later during the seventeenth century with the iconographic and literary galleries of *femmes fortes*, inspired by the female rulers, queens, and regents who abounded in Europe during that period,<sup>11</sup> and the resulting bursts of misogyny in reaction to this. This also occurred in art, as eloquently described by Erika Bornay in *Women of the Bible in Baroque Painting*,<sup>12</sup> and it influenced most of the best painters of the period, such as Rubens, who specialized in representations of abductions and similarly humiliating scenes about women.

In addition to the iconography of the vengeful and apart from their inclination to represent the heroines of antiquity such as Cleopatra or Melpomene, these seventeenth century painters, also distinguished themselves through their discreet, respectful treatment of the "fallen." While representations of the ecstatic rapture of penitent virgins such as Mary Magdalene by male artists of the time triggered an explicitly erotic iconography, one reserved for the private chambers of the powerful, representations of aggrieved biblical heroines such as Susanna and Bathsheba by female artists give off an aura of respect for their dignity and modest chastity, even when they appear naked. Furthermore, they added a fundamental iconographic element by defining the basis of this protofeminism, namely solidarity between women, as we can see in the representation of *Bathsheba's Bathroom* by Artemisia Gentileschi.

The boundaries of this sisterhood will be disputed from this point onward, but there is only one collective way to render gender violence and male domination over women extinct. This became obvious after the French Revolution, when the people's demands for independence and freedom were overthrown, as depicted in Cristina Lucas' video *La liberté raisonné*, in which the only woman among the group of revolutionaries ends up being killed by her comrades, forcing the rise of feminist movements.

In contrast, during the nineteenth century, movements ranging from Romanticism to Fin-de-siècle decadence imposed the representation of lonely women isolated in a

secluded home environment, which even today remains the basic strategy for the exercise of gender violence against women. In this era, however, it acquired the status of effective visual propaganda against the cry for universal suffrage, which was increasingly demanded by women. In the dominant artistic representations of the time, however, women not only continued to be assigned the role of object, but were infantilized to keep them safe. As Erika Bornay has shown in her study *Daughters of Lilith*,<sup>13</sup> this was often transmitted through sinisterly pedophilic fashions that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century, the absolute opposite of the figure of the *femme fatale*, which is also the construction of a misogynous system.

The difficulty in countering the imposition of this iconography of the lonely woman is interesting in that it sheds light on the difficulties encountered on the long road traveled by women in search of an imagery with which to express their freedom as a collective project.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, of the hundreds of artists who descended on Paris, attracted by a new paradigm of artistic thinking,<sup>14</sup> only a few explored the possibilities of a type of representation that diverged from the iconography of the solitary woman, and then only rarely. Most, even those from circles which must be considered friendly to feminist ideas,<sup>15</sup> simply reiterated the importance of highlighting the legendary heroes of mythology and history, with the occasional nod to raising humble and marginalized women from obscurity by providing them with a subject's perspective.<sup>16</sup> Every now and then, however, artists emerged who were aware of the importance of giving witness to the growing participation of women in various job sectors such as healthcare, was the case with Terese Schwartz,<sup>17</sup> or artistic training itself, as depicted by Marie Bashkirtseff,<sup>18</sup> or complicity in the sharing of knowledge between mothers, daughters, and granddaughters, as painted by Mary Cassatt,<sup>19</sup> or the representation of playfulness among friends, as illustrated by Suzanne Valadon's work.<sup>20</sup>

This lack was also noticeable in activist movements, which, apart from the success of some of their more spectacular, high-impact marches and demonstrations<sup>21</sup> and the effective codification of the colors purple, white, and green for the dissemination of their ideas,<sup>22</sup> produced no new iconographic imagery. They contented themselves with

a symbolic representation of the "suffragist," represented in various models. At first, the model was usually taken from mythology, but in the end they resorted to the patron saint Joan of Arc, martyr heroine<sup>23</sup> and Amazon, whose capacity for suffering was remembered in a letter written by Mary Richardson, imprisoned for her activism in the Women's Social and Political Union or WSPU, as opposed to the leader of the group, Christabel Pankhurst, who praised St. Joan's fighting spirit.<sup>24</sup>

## 2. Amazons and martyrs

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the intellectuals, artists, and avant-garde in Paris seem to have opted for a female model of distilled androgyny, à la Joan of Arc. On the one hand, a certain Amazon style emerged of the boy-like, emancipated, self-sufficient woman, much like the icon popularized by Tamara de Lempicka as well as by Romaine Brooks and other artists and photographers of the period. There were many links between them, as can be observed, for example, in the film "Paris was a Woman."<sup>25</sup> This profile, derived from a stereotype of the modern woman, appeared first as a fashion in the mass media, only later to be used derisively by the opposition.

In the arts, however, this model was discarded after the decline of modernism in the mid-1920s as a result of the First World War and the arrival of a more introspective trend, namely the search for identity, in which the image women had of themselves became distorted, fragmented, and broken, as can be seen in the self-portraits of Berenice Abbott (*Distortion*, 1930), Grete Stern (*Dream n.7*, 1949), Florence Henri, Dora Maar and others.<sup>26</sup> A kind of exorcism, these images express the suffering and even self-destructive components of the harrowing process of metamorphosis to finally overcome the legacy of the memory of the martyrs and the violated throughout history.

In the period between the wars, the destabilization of female stereotypes was also explored by several of the surrealist painters. For example, in *The Mannequin* (1927), Salvador Dalí unfolds multiple layers and silhouettes while in his work, Paul Delvaux represents rows of women sitting still, as if waiting for something (*The Village of the Sirens*, 1942, and *The Wonderful Sirens*, 1947). In his 1948 series *The Eternally Obvious*, René Magritte carves up the female image in his five paintings depicting isolated erotic areas (face, breasts, groin, knees, feet). At about the same time, Louise

Bourgeois represents a woman trapped and divided among the rooms of her home in *Femme Maison* while Frida Kahlo writes in her diary, "I am DISINTEGRATION."

Then, in 1949, Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex*, in which she writes "One is not born a woman, one becomes woman," which is to say that "woman" is a cultural construct, built under the watchful eye of the patriarchy. Beauvoir made a definitive epistemological break with the naturalization of female identity as being subject to the complementarity of man by showing that "women appear as the negative, since any type of determination assigned to them is done so as a non-reciprocal limitation."

The Hegelian dialectic of master and slave is the scheme used by Beauvoir to conceptualize the relationship between man and woman when she says: "History shows that men have always had all the concrete power. From the beginning of the patriarchy they have seen fit to keep women in a state of dependence, establishing female codes of behavior against the interests of women. In this way, she has been specifically converted into the Other." There was much debate over Beauvoir's assumption of the historical need of such domination before she became an activist in the MLF or *Mouvement de libération des femmes*.

What is perhaps more important as a symptom of the times is the harsh criticism that surfaces in many passages of *The Second Sex* against the internalization of subjugation by women themselves, from which it follows that gender stereotypes transmitted in the socialization process of women, despite being a form of symbolic violence, enable and facilitate the exercise of male violence on different levels, both physical and psychological. This is because they function as mechanisms of internalization and naturalization of patriarchal oppression. As Beauvoir asks: "Where did this submissive woman come from?" *The Second Sex* describes the mechanisms of the naturalization of violence against women as occurring through the assimilation of a thought process in which violence and inequality are not seen as the product of a historically constructed system of domination. Beauvoir bitterly reproaches women, pointing out the need to break the vicious cycle of "double victimization" that results from political and structural violence against women in the patriarchal system.

This is the approach taken from the sixties onward by artists like Yoko Ono (*Cut Piece*, 1965) and Marina Abramovic (*Rhythm 0*, 1974), among others,<sup>27</sup> who by flaunting their

deadpan passivity in the face of violence unravel the knot of "double victimization": *stigmatized*.<sup>28</sup> The contrast will be the compelling and provocative performances *Genital Panic* and *Tapp-und Tast-Kino* by Valie Export in 1968, when the old avenging tradition reemerges through mockery and provocation.

However, no sacrifice can fall into oblivion. In 1973, Ana Mendieta, in response to the rape and murder one year before of Sara Anna Otten, a student at the University of Iowa, recreated the murder in her dorm room (*Untitled [Rape Scene]*). Mendieta then made a second version, in which she appeared half naked and bloodied in the middle of the university campus. The importance of this tradition of identification with silenced victims and the embodied representation of the missing and murdered extends to the present day. Meanwhile, Judith Butler's discourse on the complex notion of "subjection" (*assujettissement*), in which "subject" and "submission" blend (since the latter constitutes the subject itself and is therefore not a form of oppression against the process of the constitution of the free subject<sup>29</sup>), has provided a deeper insight into this phenomenon as has the recognition of the universal validity victimhood and resistance. Because, as Butler affirms, "if what I do depends on what is done to me, or rather, on the ways in which I am shaped by these norms, then the possibility of my persistence as 'I' depends on my ability to do something with what is done to me." Thus, although the subject "is constituted by rules and depends on them, it also aspires to live in such a way that its relationship with them is critical and transformative." This approach maximizes the chances of a life worth living, one in which the subject is able to minimize "the possibility of an intolerable life or even of social or literal death."<sup>30</sup>

Finally, Gayatri Spivak's questioning of the condition of exclusion<sup>31</sup> in subordinate discourse, from which the figure of woman emerges by virtue of her double marginalization as both a woman and a colonized subject, has in recent decades become an essential reference in the postcolonial context, demarcating the limits of representation or mediation.

### **3. Consciousness-raising and collaborative projects - documentation and media campaigns**

The other criticism leveled by Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* refers to the lack of solidarity among women,<sup>32</sup> an argument that appears in the first pages and serves to justify her own research while disqualifying traditional feminist thought as confusing because it continues to be embroiled in a dispute without coming to the root of the problem. She then affirms that traditional feminism has not actually won anything, but rather has been conceded "abstract" victories. From the 1970s onward, the idea of solidarity with a common goal finally reached the art world through the construction of a theoretical foundation and a historiography. In addition, as a result of the feminism of difference, the sisterhood has become a key element in the process of consciousness-raising experienced by the first groups of feminist artists.

1972 was an important year, the year when raising awareness was transformed into activism. In the U.S., different groups of artists, critics, and feminist theorists finally came together at The Conference of Women in the Visual Arts, held in Washington.<sup>33</sup> Cindy Nemser, in the first editorial of the newly founded magazine *The Feminist Art Journal*, published nationwide, quoted English suffragette Christabel Pankhurst and concluded: "The war has begun."

In 1972, as a result of the sessions on discrimination against women in which the participants had talked for the first time of their experiences with rape, until then a highly taboo subject, Judy Chicago and Suzanne Lacy, together with Sandra Orgel and Aviva Rahamani, conducted an extensive study in Venice, California. They then organized a public performance of ablutions, a cathartic "blood ritual," performed as they listened to the recorded testimony of seven rape victims.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, Suzanne Lacy published *Rape Is*, a book devoid of images in which various aspects of sexual violence and victimization are defined; these would later be developed further in the book *Fallen Woman* (1976). Between these two publications, Lacy also worked on *Prostitution Notes* (1974), which, after four months of research, was transformed into a performance piece. These writings would inform Lacy's *Three Weeks in May*, the first "expanded performance piece," which was held in Los Angeles in 1977. The piece was based on two maps of the city, one showing health centers and support groups and another marking the locations of the ninety rapes that occurred during those three weeks. The maps were accessible to the public at the City Mall, a



shopping center located beneath the LA town hall, along with maps and other tourist information about the city's different neighborhoods and attractions. Co-sponsored by Woman's Building and the Studio Watts Workshop, other sponsors included several civic organizations of women against violence and other government agencies. The piece was structured as a series of four public actions whose purpose was not only to publicize the problem of rape, but also to transform the participating organizations. It would go on to become the core of many large scale public art projects which have continued to develop up to the present, including the mourning ceremony In *Mourning and Rage*, organized by Leslie Labowitz in December, 1977, to the complex performance *El esqueleto tatuado (Tattooed Skeleton)*, held in Madrid during 2011.<sup>36</sup> It also influenced all manner of collaborative activities that continue to swell the catalog of feminist art.<sup>37</sup>

Simultaneously, Nancy Spero carried out her series *Torture of Women* (1974-1976), which linked the outrages suffered by women with the horrors of war. It became a seminal work of political art against the Vietnam War. Martha Rosler also lent her art to this cause with the series *Bringing the War Back Home* (1967-1972), which included distinctive images from a gender perspective while opening the door for divergent treatments of military conflict, which to this day continue to be created from the perspective of feminism.<sup>38</sup>

Furthermore, in the mid-seventies the connection between victimization and the subordinate status afforded to women in the workplace was addressed in the UK with the informational project *Women and Work: a document on the Division of Labor and Industry*, presented in 1975 by Kay Hunt, Mary Kelly, and Margaret Harrison to the group COUM Hull Transmissions, which had already caused a stir in the media following a 1976 exhibition at the ICA in London addressing the legal inconsistencies with regard to prostitution.

The 1980s witnessed a deployment of representation strategies linked to the mass media. Through simple posters put up at bus stops and ads denouncing violence on subways, buses, marquees, and billboards, artists got involved in spreading simple, but effective messages about gender discrimination. One of the most popular campaigns of this era was Ilona Granet's *Emily Post* series on the streets of New York. This series

reacted to the more or less veiled sexual harassment suffered by female pedestrians in the city with an ironic street sign which – echoing dog control warnings for the safety of pedestrians – orders the onlooker to "control your animal instincts."<sup>39</sup>

Among these ad campaigns, the contributions of Barbara Kruger stand out. Kruger, who was selected for the Venice Biennale in 1982 and for the Whitney Biennial in the following year, developed a strong presence in public art, culminating in the late 1980s with her series of posters *Your Body is a Battleground*, produced by Arts Pro-Choice, with the sales profits going to The National Abortion Rights Action League. In the early 1990s she worked with the Women's Work Project on Domestic Violence (*Get Out*, 1990), the Public Art Fund (*Help!*, 1991), and with similar groups and institutions in cities around the world.<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, this period is remarkable for the fact that groups such as Gran Fury (*The Pope and the Penis*, 1990) and artists like Krystof Wodiczko (*The Border Project San Diego/Tijuana*, 1988) joined forces to develop lines of work that were already being promoted by feminist artists against gender violence.

Since the 1990s, with the expansion of feminist art beyond the U.S. and Europe, we see that the issue of violence against women is the central motif to which these artists return again and again in successive revivals of feminist art, giving voice to a theme which otherwise tends to be silenced and discredited in the rest of the art world.

In much of their work on gender violence, feminist artists tend to exceed the limits of the art system, modeling an understanding of art as public and collaborative. This tends to go beyond the mere production of visual culture to generate transformation processes in the practical, personal, and political arrangements of society.

In any case, through painting and sculpture, performance and video art, artists like Kiki Smith, Marlene Dumas, Sanja Ivekovic, Shirin Neshat, Elahe Massumi, Pilar Albarracín, Alicia Framis, Ana and Carmen Navarrete, Beth Moysés, Regina José Galindo, Lorena Wolffer, and a list of others too long to include here<sup>41</sup> have been joined in Spain, for example, by filmmakers such as Icíar Bollaín and Isabel de Ocampo, who have produced extraordinary work on gender violence. Many have been driven to explore new territory, where, if anything, the violence is even more despicable, exercised on girls and adolescents who are forced into human trafficking and prostitution before

they are killed. The continued barbarism of the constant harassment of women unfortunately justifies the persistence of this tradition of art against gender violence into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. I'm referring to the different versions of "Your gaze hits the side of my face" and "We have received orders not to move."

2. I am paraphrasing Solans, Piedad, *Contraviolencias. Prácticas artísticas contra la agresión a la mujer*, San Sebastián, Koldo Mitxelena/Sa Nostra, 2010, p.13. See also: WAA, *Femmes et violence Dans le monde*, L'Hatmattan, París, 1995.

3. Organic Law 1/2004, enacted on December 28 and entitled: Comprehensive Protective Measures Against Gender Violence. B.O.E. no. 313, December 29, 2004.

4. Martín Lucas, Belén, ed., *Violencias (in)visibles. Intervenciones feministas frente a la violencia patriarcal*, Barcelona, Icaria, 2010, pp. 10-11.

5. Bourdieu, Pierre, *La dominación masculina*, Anagrama, Barcelona, 2005, pp. 47-48. Passage highlighted in the interesting introduction written by Juan Vicente Aliaga, *Orden fálico. Androcentrismo y violencia de género en las prácticas artísticas del siglo XX*, Madrid, Akal, 2007.

6. See: Molas Font, Maria Dolors; Guerra López, Sonia; Huntingford, Antigas, Elisabeth; and Zaragoza, Joana, *La violencia de género en la Antigüedad*, Madrid, Instituto de la Mujer, 2008.

7. Arias Bautista, M<sup>a</sup> Teresa, *Violencias y mujeres en la Edad Media castellana*, Madrid, Castellum, 2007; "La violencia de género en la Edad Media," *Clio & Crimen*, no. 5, 2008.

8. Bolaños, María, "La historia vista desde abajo," *Figuras de la exclusión*, Valladolid, Museo Patio Herreriano/Museo Nacional de Escultura, 2011.

9. Freud, Sigmund, *Obras completas*, Madrid, 1981, v. III, p. 2697, section on the analysis of the Gorgon's decapitated head.

10. See the arguments of Solana, Guillermo, *Lágrimas de eros*, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2009, pp.71-74.

11. Anderson, Bonnie S., Zinser, Judith P., *Historia de las mujeres. Una historia propia*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2009, pp. 515-533 and 564-568.

12. Bornay, Erika, *Mujeres de la Biblia en la pintura del Barroco*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1998.

13. Bornay, Erika, *Las hijas de Lilith*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1ª ed. 1990.

14. See: De La Villa, Rocío, "Artistas heroínas", *Heroínas*, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2011, pp. 53-73.

15. The first association of women artists, the Society of Female Artists was founded in the UK in 1856, followed in France by the Union des Femmes et Sculpteurs Peintres, created in 1880. Before that, however, we can find groups such as the "brotherhood" of American Women Sculptors in Rome between 1850 and 1860, who were also prone to represent historical heroines. It is also worth noting the earliest exhibitions of women artists. In 1876, the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia set up a Women's Pavilion, with nearly 4,000 m<sup>2</sup> of exhibition space filled with the work of women from 13 countries. Because it was seen as segregationist, it was as controversial as the Pavilion of Women in the Columbian World Exposition in Chicago in 1893 had been.

16. The rejection of a reductionist colonial viewpoint transformed the symbolic figure being represented, as is already apparent in the portrait of a black woman, Guillermine Marie Benoist (1768-1826), which was shown at the Salon of 1800 six years after the abolition of slavery. This painting, with its respect for the model and recognition of her individuality as the subject of the portrait, became a manifesto in favor of blacks and, by extension, of the emancipation of women. (Benoist would later open a teaching workshop for women only). Other interesting examples include: *Portrait of Fellah* (1867) by Henriette Browne, *Portrait of a Breton* (1886) by the Finnish painter Amelie Lundahl, and *The Gypsy*, a portrait by the Polish painter Olga Boznanska.

17. Térèse Schwartze, *Three girls from the Amsterdam Orphanage* (1885). Later examples include the series on women workers by Natalia Goncharova, including her painting, *Laundresses* (1911).

18. Marie Bashkirtseff , *In the Academy*, 1881. An interesting precedent can be found in the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, which was admired in the Salon of 1785: with a statue of a Vestal Virgin in the background, it was a statement against the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, which, despite accepting the painting along with Vigée Le Brun two years before, continued to restrict the number of women artists represented to four, a vindication which Labille-Guiard would make again in 1790. However, with the breakdown of the right to women's emancipation, which came from the unraveling of the French Revolution, young women artists would be denied entry to the École des Beaux-Arts until almost the end of the 19th century.

19. Mary Cassat, *Family Group Reading*, ca 1901.

20. Suzanne Valadon, *Nudes*, 1919. In 1894, Suzanne Valadon, disciple and model of Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec and model for Puvis de Chavannes and Renoir, was the first woman painter admitted to the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts.

21. Of the many large-scale demonstrations, marches, rallies, and processions, which constituted one of the suffragettes' more theatrical and effective strategies and had a great social impact, the Women's Coronation Procession in London on June 17, 1911, stands out. With the assistance of the Artists' League Suffrage, the Actresses Franchise League, and the Suffrage Atelier, the entire event was carefully staged, led by Joan of Arc on horseback and followed by twenty-eight feminist organizations, who managed to gather some forty thousand women for the march. See: Mcquiston, Liz, *Suffragettes to She-Devils*, London, Phaidon, 1997, pp. 44-60.

22. In 1908, the WSPU (Women's Social and Political Union) adopted the color combination of purple, white, and green: purple to symbolize dignity, white to symbolize purity, and green to signify hope. These three colors were used for placards, banners, logos, and visual propaganda printed in a variety of decorative designs. Furthermore, it is believed that the colors "green, white and violet" were meant to form the acronym GWV or Give Women Votes.

23. Mcquiston, Liz, *Suffragettes to She-Devils*, op. cit., p. 47.

24. Nym Mayhall, Laura E., *The Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860-1930*, Oxford University Press, 2003 p. 87.

25. *Paris Was a Woman*, 1996, directed by Greta Schiller.
26. Gili, Marta and Ponsa, Marta, *A doble cara*, Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid, 2002. The fragmented image of the face in the broken mirror would be taken up later, probably without the knowledge of her predecessor, by Carolee Schneemann, *Eye Body: 36 Transformative Actions for Camera*, 1963. See: Schneemann, Carolee, *Imaging her erotics. Essays, Interviews, Projects*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001.
27. See the interesting interpretations of the Gina Pane's performances in: Aliaga, J.V., *op. cit.*, pp.268-275, and in: Ballester, Irene, *El cuerpo abierto*, Gijón, Trea, 2012, pp. 27-39.
28. Even though, like Abramovic, they had little contact with the feminist movement. For more on this discussion, see: Ballester, Irene, *El cuerpo abierto, op. cit.*, pp. 44-46.
29. Butler, Judith, *Mecanismos psíquicos del poder. Teorías sobre la sujeción*, Madrid, Cátedra, col. "Feminismo," 2001.
30. Butler, Judith, *Deshacer el género*, Barcelona, Paidós Ibérica, 2006, pp. 16-23.
31. Spivak, Gayatri C., *¿Pueden hablar los subalternos?*, Barcelona, MACBA, 2009.
32. "If women regard themselves as something inessential that will never return to being something essential, it is because they choose not to return. The proletariat says 'we', as do the Blacks. Embracing the subject role, they transform the bourgeois, the whites, into the "other." Women, except in certain abstract circles, do not say 'we'; men say "women" and we take these words to designate ourselves, but not from an authentic position of Subject. whereas the proletariat has brought about the Russian Revolution, the Blacks the revolution in Haiti, and the Indochinese the fighting in Indochina, women's actions have never been more than a symbolic agitation and have not won more than what men have seen fit to grant; we have not taken anything, we have merely been on the receiving end. This is because women lack the concrete means to join together in a unit to affirm their opposition. Lacking a past, a history, a religion belonging solely to them, they do not have, unlike the proletariat, a sense of solidarity with regard to their work or interests; they do not even possess the spatial promiscuity among themselves that African Americans in the slums, Jews in the

ghettos, and the workers of the Saint Denis or Renault factories have, namely a community. They live scattered among men, tied to certain men – fathers and husbands – chained to the environment, work, economic interests, social status. The bourgeois women are supportive of the bourgeois, not other women from the proletariat...”

33. From 1972 onward, exhibits by feminist artists have also increased in number. This exponential leap is made patently obvious in the chronology found in *Wack! Art and the Feminist Revolution*, Los Angeles, MOCA, 2007, p. 474 ff.

34. Broude, Norma and Garrard, Mary D., eds., *The Power of Feminist Art. The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1994, p. 93.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

36. See: Irish, Sharon, *Suzanne Lacy, Spaces Between*, University of Minnesota, 2010.

37. Lacy, Suzanne, *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, Seattle, Bay Press, 1995.

38. On the relationship between women and war, see: Palmer, Kathleen, *Women War Artists*, London, Tate, 2011. In the final pages, the book highlights the most substantial recent contributions, like those of Mona Hatoum.

39. See: Mcquiston, Liz, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Also see other examples in: Mcquiston, Liz, *Graphic Agitation*, London, Phaidon, 1995.

40. See: Kruger, Barbara, *Thinking of You*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1999.

41. For useful information, especially on Latin American women artists, see the recent study by Ballester Buigues, Irene, *op. cit.*