

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Ortiz and Brady, “One Woman Is Behind the Most Up-to-Date Interactive Map of Femicides in Mexico.”
2. This quote is from our research team’s interview with María Salguero. From here forward, when the book quotes activists, the source is our research team’s interviews with them unless otherwise noted.
3. Semple and Villegas, “Grisly Deaths of a Woman and a Girl Shock Mexico and Test Its President”; Salguero, “Yo te nombro: El Mapa de los Femicidios en México” [I name you: Map of Femicides in Mexico].
4. Official data can be found from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) and the Secretaría de Salud (SSA). Femicide is defined in article 325 of the Federal Penal Code, and there is a law titled General Law on Women’s Access to a Life Free of Violence. See Mejía Berdeja and Monreal Ávila, *Iniciativa que reforma el artículo 325 del código penal federal*; ONU Mujeres, INMUJERES, and Conavim, *Violencia Femicida En México*; and *Ley General de Acceso de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia*.
5. D’Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*, 38.
6. Driver, *More or Less Dead*, 7.
7. Temporarily renaming streets is becoming an increasingly prevalent activist tactic in Mexico. For example, the art collective Colectiva SJF produced a project called *Nombrar, No Olvidar (Name, Don’t Forget)* in 2020, which renamed streets in Mexico City after the forty-three students from the Ayotzinapa Rural Teachers’ College who were abducted and executed in Iguala, Guerrero, Mexico, in 2014.
8. Mobayed, “Recontar Femicidios.”
9. I have a deep aversion to the unspecified “we,” so I want to make it clear that unless otherwise specified, all instances of *we* used in this book mean you, the reader, and me, the author.

10. Fregoso and Bejarano, *Terrorizing Women*, 5.
11. Femicide is not only invisibilized in the Global North, and especially the United States and Canada, but also in English-speaking countries like Jamaica that, due to British colonialism, have similar legal frameworks to the United States and Canada. I thank Silvana Fumega for making this point clear based on her work with ILDA in the Caribbean.
12. Alvarez et al., *Translocalities/Translocalidades*.
13. UNODOC, *Global Study on Homicide—Gender-Related Killing of Women and Girls*.
14. McHugh, “Opinion | Why Aren’t Women in the U.S. Also Protesting against Femicide?”
15. Semple and Villegas, “Grisly Deaths of a Woman and a Girl Shock Mexico and Test Its President”; Salmenrón Arroyo, Carrión Rivera, and Montoya Ramos, *Un Manual Urgente Para La Cobertura de Violencia Contra Las Mujeres y Femicidios En México*.
16. Latin America includes South America (including Brazil), Central America, and Mexico. Femicide statistics for the region come from: CEPAL, “Prevenir El Femicidio. Una Tarea Prioritaria Para La Sociedad En Su Conjunto.”
17. “Femicide Watch Initiative”; *Femicide Volume VII*.
18. Fregoso and Bejarano, *Terrorizing Women*, 25–27.
19. Taylor, “Until Black Women Are Free, None of Us Will Be Free.”
20. This nomenclature is also in line with visual theorist Johanna Drucker, who reminds us that we shouldn’t even be calling anything “data” in the first place but rather “capta.” She writes, “The notion of data as ‘given’ and thus self-evident is patently false—all data are constructed, made, and should be referred to as constructa (or capta).” See Drucker, “Visualization.”
21. Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*.
22. See the glossary in chapter 8 for precise definitions of racial capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy, and other systems of power.
23. Benjamin, *Race after Technology*; Broussard, *More Than a Glitch*. For a more liberatory take on the potential of glitches to resist domination, see Russell, *Glitch Feminism*.
24. Benjamin, *Race after Technology*, 54.
25. Erin Genia was an artist in residence with the City of Boston’s Department of Emergency Management in 2020–2021, and she used that time to explore techniques to approach cultural emergencies. You can learn more about her work at <https://www.eringenia.studio>.
26. Lucchesi, “Mapping Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls.”
27. Perera and Pugliese, *Mapping Deathscapes*; Fregoso and Bejarano, *Terrorizing Women*; Wright, “Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide”; Falquet, “Violence against Women and (De-)colonization of the ‘Body-Territory’”; Segato, “Las Nuevas Formas de La Guerra y El Cuerpo de Las Mujeres.”
28. Ricaurte, “Data Epistemologies, the Coloniality of Power, and Resistance,” 352.
29. Milan and van der Velden, “Alternative Epistemologies of Data Activism,” 63–64.

30. Cifor et al., *Feminist Data Manifest-No*; Carmi, “A Feminist Critique to Digital Consent”; Edenfield, “Queering Consent”; Lee and Toliver, *Building Consentful Tech*; Leurs, “Feminist Data Studies.”

31. The Stanford Institute for Human-Centered Artificial Intelligence aims to raise \$1 billion for its university-based research center. My own institution, MIT, has sought to raise over \$1 billion for the creation of the Schwarzmann College of Computing, which aims to produce leaders with “the cultural, ethical, and historical consciousness to use technology for the common good.” Reid Hoffman, Pierre Omidyar, and the Knight Foundation created the \$27 million Ethics and Governance in AI Fund to address algorithmic discrimination. Far, far less of these funds are going to Black-led and women-led centers like the UCLA Center for Critical Internet Inquiry, coled by Safiya Noble and Sarah T. Roberts, and the Distributed Artificial Intelligence Research Institute (DAIR), led by Timnit Gebru, former colead of Google’s AI Ethics group. Gebru’s research on the potential harms of large language models was censored by Google, and she was then unceremoniously fired in 2020. You can listen to Noble and Gebru in conversation with J. Khadijah Abdurahman as they outline the risks of these funding disparities in terms of producing tech that is truly focused on transformative justice: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WqAMkmX9AuE>. For the censored research paper, see Emily M. Bender, Timnit Gebru, Angelina McMillan-Major, and Shmargaret Shmitchell, “On the Dangers of Stochastic Parrots: Can Language Models Be Too Big?,” in *Proceedings of the 2021 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency* (New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 2021), 610–623, <https://dl.acm.org/doi/10.1145/3442188.3445922>.

32. Bietti, “From Ethics Washing to Ethics Bashing”; Green, “Contestation of Tech Ethics”; Young, Katell, and Krafft, “Confronting Power and Corporate Capture at the FAcCT Conference.”

33. De Waal and de Lange, “Introduction—the Hacker, the City and Their Institutions,” 2.

34. Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 237–240.

35. See <https://idatosabiertos.org>.

36. Our website can be found at <https://datoscontrafemicidio.net>. And our funding—which is always something important to ask about—is detailed in the acknowledgments section of this book.

37. I make this point explicitly because people have misunderstood our work as a project to collect and aggregate activist data. It is not. We have never asked activists for their data and do not intend to do so. See chapter 5 for activist-led efforts to aggregate and share data through Red Latinoamericana contra la Violencia de Género (Latin American Network against Gender Violence).

38. Our annual events are archived at <https://datoscontrafemicidio.net/en/edicion/2020-edition/> and <https://datoscontrafemicidio.net/en/2021-edition/>.

39. The course was called Datos contra el Femicidio: Teoría y práctica; see <https://datoscontrafemicidio.net/curso/>.

40. Specifically, we began with Helena’s list of other femicide projects, which can be found on the Femicidio Uruguay website: <https://www.femicidiouruguay.net/otros-sitios>.

41. D'Ignazio et al., "Femicide & Machine Learning"; Suárez Val, Martínez Cuba, Teng, and D'Ignazio, "Datos de Femicidio, Trabajo Emocional y Autocuidado"; Suresh et al., "Towards Intersectional Feminist and Participatory ML"; D'Ignazio, "Human-Centred Computing and Femicide Counterdata Production"; D'Ignazio et al., "Femicide and Counterdata Production"; Suárez Val, D'Ignazio, and Fumega, "Data Against Femicide"; Bhargava et al., "News as Data for Activists"; Fumega, "From Bias to Feminist AI."
42. Monárrez Fragoso, "Victims of Ciudad Juárez Femicide"; Lagarde y de los Ríos, "Preface: Feminist Keys for Understanding Femicide"; Fuentes, "(Re)reading the Boundaries and Bodies of Femicide"; Fuentes, "'Garbage of Society'"; PATH et al., *Strengthening Understanding of Femicide*; Lucchesi, "Mapping Geographies of Canadian Colonial Occupation."
43. Merry, *Seductions of Quantification*; Nelson, *Who Counts?*; Walklate et al., *Towards a Global Femicide Index*.
44. Merry, *Seductions of Quantification*, 45.
45. Shokooh Valle, "'How Will You Give Back?'"
46. Driver, *More or Less Dead*.
47. Dean, *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women*.

CHAPTER 1

1. Annunziata et al., "El Caso de Argentina."
2. Belotti, Comunello, and Corradi, "Femicidio and #NiUna Menos."
3. From Annunziata et al., "El Caso de Argentina"; and Chenou and Cepeda-Másmela, "#NiUnaMenos."
4. Russell, "Defining Femicide."
5. Radford and Russell, *Femicide*.
6. Activists and scholars are frequently confronted with questions about why it matters to disaggregate the murders of women. Dawn Wilcox, who runs Women Count USA, explains it like this: "I've had the question many times, 'what about men?' It matters when men are killed, too, so why should we count women's murders separately? My argument is that women's murders typically look very, very different than men's . . . these murders are especially brutal and vicious." Thus, differentiating by gender allows us to visibilize and disentangle patterns that are gendered. See Wilcox, "Invisible Women: Understanding the Scope of Lethal Male Violence against Women in the U.S."
7. Wright, "Public Women, Profit, and Femicide in Northern Mexico."
8. Tabuenca C., "From Accounting to Recounting."
9. Grupo de 8 Marzo translates to "group of March 8" (International Women's Day). Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa translates to "bring our daughters home." Lourdes Portillo's documentary on the topic—*Señorita Extraviada* (2001)—showcases the lack of judicial and media response, the

victim-blaming, and the committed work of mothers and families to continue seeking justice. Other early work that describes the climate of impunity includes Benitez et al., *El Silencio Que La Voz de Todas Quiembra*; and Amnesty International's 2003 report *Mexico: Intolerable Killings*.

10. Chavez, *Primera Tormenta*.

11. Benitez et al., *El Silencio Que La Voz de Todas Quiembra*, 6.

12. In addition, Monárrez Fragoso developed the concept of *serial sexual femicide* to describe those femicides in which sexual violence (in the form of systematic torture, rape, mutilation, placement of the corpse) played a significant role. These have been prevalent in Ciudad Juárez since at least the 1990s. Monárrez Fragoso, "Feminicidio sexual serial en Ciudad Juárez 1993–2001."

13. Monárrez Fragoso, "La cultura del feminicidio en Ciudad Juárez, 1993–1999"; Monárrez Fragoso, "Crímenes en Ciudad Juárez, El feminicidio es el exterminio de la mujer en el patriarcado."

14. *Maquiladoras* are duty-free factories that proliferated in Northern Mexico following the signing of NAFTA. The 2006 documentary film *Maquilopolis* is a good starting point for learning more about them. They often employ women, who often end up in hazardous working conditions with few labor protections and low pay. Monárrez Fragoso, a sociologist by training, undertook one of the earliest academic projects to count femicide in the context of Ciudad Juárez. To do so, she followed methods similar to the activists outlined in this book, and her monitoring project is ongoing (see appendix 1). Her methods and findings are described further in Monárrez Fragoso, "La cultura del feminicidio en Ciudad Juárez, 1993–1999"; Monárrez Fragoso, "Las Diversas Representaciones Del Feminicidio y Los Asesinatos de Mujeres En Ciudad Juárez, 1993–2005"; PATH et al., *Strengthening Understanding of Femicide*, 78–84.

15. Lagarde y de los Ríos, "Preface: Feminist Keys for Understanding Femicide." Lagarde y de los Ríos's work on femicide was pathbreaking and central to the concept's formulation in Latin American legislation and feminist movements. While her words here are strongly intersectional, in more recent years, Lagarde y de los Ríos has characterized the queer and trans rights movements as being a threat to women and to feminist movements, a position most often taken up by TERFs, transexclusionary radical feminists. It is disheartening and angering to witness this shift. I find myself traveling from deep admiration to profound disappointment. It isn't the first time someone I have admired turns out to be TERFy, and I'm sure it won't be the last. But here I will state my own position and hope that anyone leaning toward TERFdom might listen: Trans rights and queer rights and women's rights are not in competition—our fates and our liberation are bound together. If feminism fails trans women, trans people, and queer communities, then feminism fails all of us.

16. Lagarde y de los Ríos's work laid the groundwork for an important case before the Inter-American Court on Human Rights in 2009, called the Campo Algodonero case. The court ruled that the state failed to prevent, investigate, and prosecute disappearances and deaths of women killed in Ciudad Juárez.

17. See Carcedo, *No olvidamos ni aceptamos*; Carcedo Cabañas and Sagot Rodríguez, *Femicidio en Costa Rica 1990–1999*; Segato, "Cinco debates feministas."

18. Dawson, "Punishing Femicide"; Driver, *More or Less Dead*; Menjívar and Walsh, "Architecture of Femicide."
19. García-Del Moral, "Transforming Femicidio"; García-Del Moral, "Murders of Indigenous Women in Canada as Femicides."
20. CONAMI and CHIRAPAQ, *Levantando nuestras voces por la paz y la seguridad de nuestros pueblos y continentes*.
21. Here and throughout the book, I do not translate the gender identity *travesti* because it is specific to the Latin American context. Originally a transphobic slur, *travesti* has been reappropriated by Latin American activists and used to reclaim the rights of gender nonconforming people. To learn more about the emerging areas of travesti art and theory, see cárdenas, *Poetic Operations*; Garriga-López et al., "Trans Studies En Las Américas."
22. Marco, "Social Movement Demands in Argentina and the Constitution of a 'Feminist People'"; Revilla Blanco, "Del ¡Ni Una Más! Al #NiUnaMenos: Movimientos de Mujeres y Femenismos En América Latina"; Alcaraz, "#NiUnaMenos."
23. Gago and Gutiérrez Aguilar, "Women Rising in Defense of Life."
24. Annunziata et al., "El Caso de Argentina."
25. *Ámbito*, "Raquel Vivanco Renunció al Ministerio de Mujeres Por 'No Encontrar Síntesis En Lo Que Desde Allí Se Debe Generar.'"
26. "Eleven Black Women: Why Did They Die? A Document of Black Feminism."
27. Williams, "#SayHerName"; African American Policy Forum, and Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies, "Say Her Name"; Threadcraft, *Intimate Justice*.
28. Threadcraft, "North American Necropolitics and Gender."
29. Patricia Hill Collins has also written about Ida B. Wells's data activism in relation to violence as a "saturated site" where intersectional forms of domination become visible. See Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 160–167; Wells, "Red Record"; Brubaker, "Who Counts?"
30. See Mbembe, "Necropolitics"; Mbembe, *Necropolitics*.
31. Fuentes, "(Re)reading the Boundaries and Bodies of Femicide," 61.
32. Threadcraft, "North American Necropolitics and Gender," 566.
33. List, "Counting Women of Color"; Threadcraft, "Like Breonna Taylor, Black Women Are Often Killed in Private."
34. African American Policy Forum, and Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies, "Say Her Name," 4.
35. Green-Gopher, "My Sister Was Murdered"; Nowell, "What to Know about Missing and Murdered Indigenous Persons Awareness Day"; Remarkable Women 2014, "Mona Woodward."
36. The woman's name is not spoken aloud or written here to honor the wishes of her family. Dean, *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women*. As we will see throughout the book, there are diverse family wishes for both naming and counting victims.

37. Conn, "Women's Memorial March."
38. Culhane, "Their Spirits Live within Us," 593.
39. Simpson, "The State Is a Man."
40. Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 54; Perera and Pugliese, *Mapping Deathscapes*.
41. Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape*.
42. Cabnal, *Feminismos diversos*.
43. I want to thank Geraldine Guerra Garcés for emphasizing this link between femicide and dispossession based on her work with Indigenous women and communities in Ecuador.
44. Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 95–118.
45. García-Del Moral et al., "Femicide/Feminicide and Colonialism," 63.
46. George, Lucchesi, and Trillo, *To' Kee Skuy' Soo Ney-Wo-Chek'*; Sovereign Bodies, *To' Kee Skuy' Soo Ney-Wo-Chek'*; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (Canada), *Reclaiming Power and Place*.
47. Lucchesi, "Nationwide Data Crisis."
48. From Lucchesi's feedback on the first draft of this manuscript.
49. I want to thank my collaborator Helena Suárez Val for our discussions on this point. Also see Manjoo, "United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women."
50. This table is reprinted from the original publication in the Harvard Dataverse, where each entry's sources and citations are documented. See D'Ignazio et al., "Table of Laws and Official Data about Femicide."
51. Our team documented activist challenges to these laws in support of trans women in the notes that accompany the table at D'Ignazio et al., "Table of Laws."
52. United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
53. See CDC, "Leading Causes of Death—Females—All Races and Origins—United States, 2018."
54. See CDC, "Leading Causes of Death—Females—Non-Hispanic Black—United States, 2018."
55. Puerto Rico, Ley Num. 40.
56. Laws include Savanna's Act and the Not Invisible Act, both passed in 2020, and Executive Order on Improving Public Safety and Criminal Justice for Native Americans and Addressing the Crisis of Missing or Murdered Indigenous People, issued by the president on November 15, 2021.
57. See US Department of Justice Consultation with Tribes, "Savanna's Act: Data Relevance and Access." Families and grassroots organizations have also criticized recent efforts such as Operation Lady Justice and the Not Invisible Commission for their failure to meaningfully and respectfully engage survivors, families and grassroots advocates. See Sovereign Bodies Institute, "Public Statement on Operation Lady Justice, from MMIWG & MMIP Grassroots Advocates."
58. Fumega, "Manos a La Obra."

59. Sovereign Bodies, *To' Kee Skuy' Soo Ney-Wo-Chek'*.
60. Data Cívica and Intersecta, *Datos para la Vida*.
61. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Latin American Model Protocol*, 6.
62. Breña, "Las Feministas Saludan La Rectificación Del Fiscal Gertz Sobre El Tipo Penal de Femicidio."
63. In the 2009 Campo Algodonero or Cotton Field case, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights used international frameworks of violence against women to condemn the state of Mexico for negligence in protecting the rights of women citizens of Ciudad Juárez.
64. Walklate et al., *Towards a Global Femicide Index*; Walklate and Fitz-Gibbon, "Re-imagining the Measurement of Femicide."
65. *Femicide Volume VII*; "Femicide Watch Initiative."
66. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Latin American Model Protocol*.
67. ILDA, "ILDA Femicide Data Standard (V2.0)."
68. Fumega, *Guide to Protocolize Processes of Femicide Identification*.
69. D'Ignazio, "5 Questions on Data and Femicide with Silvana Fumega."
70. Monárrez Fragoso, "Las Diversas Representaciones Del Femicidio y Los Asesinatos de Mujeres En Ciudad Juárez, 1993–2005," 357.
71. National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (Canada), *Reclaiming Power and Place*, 234.
72. Milan, "Data Activism as the New Frontier of Media Activism."
73. Milan and van der Velden, "Alternative Epistemologies of Data Activism"; Gutiérrez, *Data Activism and Social Change*; Milan and Gutierrez, "Technopolitics in the Age of Big Data."
74. Milan and van der Velden, "Alternative Epistemologies of Data Activism," 67.
75. Gray, Lämmerhirt, and Bounegru, *Changing What Counts*.
76. Renzi and Langlois, "Data Activism."
77. Pine and Liboiron, "Politics of Measurement and Action."
78. Pine and Liboiron, 3149.
79. Fregoso and Bejarano, *Terrorizing Women*, 25–27.
80. Suárez Val, "Caring, with Data."
81. Chenou and Cepeda-Másmela, "#NiUnaMenos."
82. Suárez Val, "Affect Amplifiers."
83. Lucchesi, "Mapping for Social Change."
84. Lucchesi, "Mapping Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls."
85. Carroll et al., "CARE Principles for Indigenous Data Governance."

86. Milan and Trere, "Big Data from the South(s)"; Couldry and Mejias, *Costs of Connection*; Dutta, "Whiteness, Internationalization, and Erasure."
87. Crooks, "Seeking Liberation."
88. Ricaurte, "Data Epistemologies, the Coloniality of Power, and Resistance."
89. Ricaurte.
90. Milan, "Counting, Debunking, Making, Witnessing, Shielding."
91. Fotopoulou, "Understanding Citizen Data Practices from a Feminist Perspective."

CHAPTER 2

1. Avilés and Rodríguez Reyes, *La Persistencia de La Indolencia*.
2. See Centro, *New Estimates*; Peoples Dispatch, "Puerto Rican Governor Ricardo Rosselló Resigns"; Alexandra, "Puerto Rico between Neoliberalism and 'Natural' Disasters."
3. Driver, *More or Less Dead*.
4. Kishore et al., "Mortality in Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria."
5. Avilés and Rodríguez Reyes, *La Persistencia de La Indolencia*, 9.
6. Avilés and Rodríguez Reyes, 9.
7. Enders, *Applied Missing Data Analysis*; Fernstad, "To Identify What Is Not There."
8. Gargiulo, "Statistical Biases, Measurement Challenges, and Recommendations."
9. Dawson and Carrigan, "Identifying Femicide Locally and Globally."
10. Danner, Fort, and Young, "International Data on Women and Gender," 252; Boulding et al., *Handbook of International Data on Women*.
11. See kanarinka, "Missing Women, Blank Maps, and Data Voids"; Perez, *Invisible Women*.
12. Onuṣoḡa, "On Missing Data Sets."
13. Onuṣoḡa; D'Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*.
14. Mills, *Racial Contract*, 1999.
15. Tuana, "Speculum of Ignorance," 11.
16. Bowleg, "'Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House.'"
17. Carlson, "Data Silence in the Settler Archive." In addition, on data silences, literary scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot has posited the idea of "archival silences" surrounding historical phenomena, such as the records that document the Haitian Revolution. Building on that work, Lauren Klein has outlined digital methods, including data visualization, to render visible those archival silences. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*; Klein, "Image of Absence."
18. Davis, *The Uncounted*.
19. Tuana, "Speculum of Ignorance."

20. Thanks to Paola Ricaurte for pointing me to Bhattacharyya, “Epistemically Produced Invisibility.”
21. Οηυοηα, “On Missing Data Sets.”
22. Spade, *Normal Life*, 4.
23. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*.
24. D’Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*, 35–39.
25. Figueroa, “Tipificación de feminicidios y transfeminicidios.”
26. Avilés and Rodríguez Reyes, *The Persistence of Indolence*, 9.
27. Fumega, “Manos a La Obra.”
28. Sovereign Bodies, *To’ Kee Skuy’ Soo Ney-Wo-Chek’*; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (Canada), *Reclaiming Power and Place*.
29. Menjívar and Walsh, “Architecture of Femicide.”
30. Segato, “Rita Segato”; Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres*.
31. Sutherland et al., “Mediated Representations of Violence against Women”; Fairbairn and Dawson, “Canadian News Coverage of Intimate Partner Homicide”; Tiscareño-García and Miranda-Villanueva, “Victims and Perpetrators of Femicide”; Wright, “Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide”; Richards, Kirkland Gillespie, and Smith, “Exploring News Coverage of Femicide.”
32. England, *Writing Terror on the Bodies of Women*. Lorena Fuentes has also written powerfully about “disposable women” in the context of Guatemala. Fuentes, “‘Garbage of Society.’”
33. Instituto Patrícia Galvão, *Papel Social e Desafios Da Cobertura Sobre Femicídio e Violência Sexual*.
34. Avilés and Rodríguez Reyes, *The Persistence of Indolence*.
35. Vanoli Imperiale, “El doble asesinato de las identidades transgénero.”
36. List, “Counting Women of Color.”
37. See Hopkins, “If I Am Taken, Will Anyone Look for Me?”
38. Based on search results from the *New York Times* website on January 30, 2023. A search for “Gabby Petito” returned nineteen results for the period from September 2021 to January 2023. Then I searched for “missing and murdered Indigenous women” and excluded Canada, resulting in eighteen entries about the United States, with the first mention from 2018.
39. Carlson, “Data Silence in the Settler Archive”; Barrowcliffe, “Closing the Narrative Gap”; O’Sullivan, “Lived Experience of Aboriginal Knowledges and Perspectives.”
40. Gellman, “Landmark Femicide Case Fails to Fix El Salvador’s Patriarchy.”
41. Dalton and Thatcher, “What Does a Critical Data Studies Look like, and Why Do We Care?”
42. Currie et al., “Conundrum of Police Officer-Involved Homicides.”

43. Meng and DiSalvo, “Grassroots Resource Mobilization through Counter-Data Action.”
44. Crooks and Currie, “Numbers Will Not Save Us.”
45. In particular, as I elaborate further in this book, Indigenous-led organizations and scholars explained that counterdata does not resonate for them because they do not see their work as a counterpoint to the settler state. There is a way in which counterhegemonic approaches still center the powerful people and institutions responsible for producing violence in the first place.
46. Segato, *Contra-pedagogías de la crueldad*.
47. Guerra Garces, “Algunas notas sobre el texto.”
48. ILDA, Comunicando Datos, Data against Femicide Course 2022.
49. Avilés and Rodríguez Reyes, *La Persistencia de La Indolencia*.
50. Deer, *Beginning and End of Rape*, 9.
51. Lauren Klein and I discuss the pitfalls of proof in D’Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*, 57–59. See also Walcott, “Data or Politics?”
52. Merry, *Seductions of Quantification*, 46.
53. Datos Contra Femicidio, “Challenges of Measuring, Comparing, and Standardizing ‘global’ Fem(in)icide Data.”
54. See Walklate et al., *Towards a Global Femicide Index*. In a separate paper, Walklate and Fitz-Gibbon argue for “thick” femicide counts over “thin” femicide counts. Thick counts would be those that incorporate more context and indicators for each case, and they have a higher chance of getting at what the authors characterize as *slow femicide*—the violence that leads up to femicide and makes women’s lives unlivable. Walklate and Fitz-Gibbon, “Re-imagining the Measurement of Femicide.”
55. Ball, “Bigness of Big Data.”
56. Keyes, “Counting the Countless.”
57. Indeed, there is a good reason to be suspicious of data-driven targeting of minoritized groups by the state: it has happened a lot. See Seltzer and Anderson, “Dark Side of Numbers.”
58. Walklate et al., *Towards a Global Femicide Index*, 68.
59. Here I want to thank Annita Lucchesi, Geraldina Guerra Garcés, Margaret Pearce, and Melissa Q. Teng in particular for their generative feedback and brainstorming with me on alternate framings.
60. Lagarde y de los Ríos, “Preface: Feminist Keys for Understanding Femicide.”
61. Simpson, “Ruse of Consent”; Tuck and Yang, “R-Words: Refusing Research.”
62. D’Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*, 26.
63. Segato, *Contra-pedagogías de la crueldad*.
64. Mobayed, “Kintsugi Method to Recount Data against Femicide.”

65. There is extensive work on the origins and meaning of the word *science* and, indeed, a whole field of STS devoted to exploring this in historic and contemporary relief. It is outside the scope of this book to engage with all of that literature, so I offer readers the pragmatic definition of science as “people seeking, systematizing and sharing knowledge” (Butler-Adam, “Weighty History and Meaning”).

66. In particular, Collins describes how feminism, critical race theory, and decolonial theory all constitute “resistant knowledge projects” that arise from theory and practice and have strong presences both inside and outside academia. Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 87–121.

67. Helena’s list of *mapeadoras* can be found on Femicidio Uruguay’s website: <https://www.femicidiouruguay.net/otros-sitios>.

68. Data Against Femicide has not published our list of femicide data activist projects both to prevent enabling individual or systematic targeting of these groups and because we would want to obtain consent from the groups to be listed in any open database or directory. If you are interested in accessing the larger list of projects, contact us and we can have a conversation.

CHAPTER 3

1. Red Feminista Antimilitarista, “Historia.”
2. Falquet, *Por las buenas o por las malas*; Segato, “Territory, Sovereignty, and Crimes of the Second State”; Federici, Gago, and Cavallero, *¿Quién Le Debe a Quién?*
3. See the glossary in chapter 8 for a definition of neoliberalism.
4. Red Feminista Antimilitarista, *Violencia Neoliberal Femicida En Medellín*.
5. Unzúeta, “Articulaciones Feministas.”
6. Martínez, “How Many More.”
7. Lucchesi, “Inspirational Interview.”
8. Néias—Observatório de Femicídios Londrina, “Quem somos,” <https://www.observatorioneia.com/quem-somos>.
9. Periodistas de a Pie (see <https://periodistasdeapie.org.mx>) covers many human rights issues in Mexico and works to build capacity and integrate a gender perspective into the reporting of journalists in its network.
10. Carol, “Personal Is Political”; Combahee River Collective, *Combahee River Collective Statement*.
11. Combahee River Collective; Sharpe et al., *Trying to Make the Personal Political*.
12. D’Ignazio et al., ““Personal Is Political.””
13. Red Feminista Antimilitarista, *Paren La Guerra Contra Las Mujeres*, 8.
14. For a good summary of how this debate unfolded in the last quarter of the twentieth century, see Westmarland, “Quantitative/Qualitative Debate and Feminist Research”; Fonow and Cook, “Feminist Methodology”; Kelly, Regan, and Burton, “Defending the Indefensible?”

15. Merry, *Seductions of Quantification*.
16. There is now a wealth of scholarship on the harms of big data. For some starting points, see D'Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*; Umoja Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression*; Crawford, Gray, and Miltner, "Critiquing Big Data"; Mattern, *City Is Not a Computer*; Walter and Andersen, *Indigenous Statistics*; Buolamwini and Gebru, "Gender Shades."
17. See, for example, the work of the Algorithmic Justice League, the Ban Facial Recognition coalition, and the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition.
18. See Pine and Liboiron, "Politics of Measurement and Action," 3149.
19. Stray, *Curious Journalist's Guide to Data*.
20. The designation of Hispanic as a US census category has an interesting history of its own. In 1930, the census included the category "Mexican" but dropped it in subsequent decades. The category of "Hispanic" was introduced in the 1980 census following advocacy from Mexican-American policy groups as well as political elites, who, Laura E. Gomez asserts, may have used it as an accommodationist counterpoint to "Chicano," which was perceived to be aligned with radical politics. See Gomez, "Birth of the 'Hispanic' Generation." Ultimately "Hispanic" was added as an ethnicity category, and information scholar Melanie Feinberg discusses how advocates tried to reform and simplify ethnic and racial categories in the 2020 census but were ultimately blocked by a right-wing government (whose interests were served by undercounting Hispanics). Although the 2020 census citizenship question received a great deal of press, Feinbaum asserts that the consequences of *not* reforming race and ethnic categories had similar effects as the citizenship question: the significant undercounting of Hispanic/Latinx people in the United States. See Feinberg, *Everyday Adventures with Unruly Data*, 125–126, 196.
21. Merry, *Seductions of Quantification*.
22. See Suárez Val, "Discordant Data," 54. Also, thanks to Susana Galen for pointing out that naming the violence is a long-standing feminist strategy, reaching back at least to second-wave feminists' conceptualization of marital rape and sexual harassment to describe practices that were normalized as routine aspects of a woman's life.
23. De Haan, "Violence as an Essentially Contested Concept"; cited in Krook, "Continuum of Violence."
24. Kelly, "Continuum of Sexual Violence."
25. Pine and Liboiron, "Politics of Measurement and Action," 3153; Liboiron, "Plastic Pollution."
26. See Alcaraz, "#NiUnaMenos."
27. Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 35–36.
28. Collins, "On Violence, Intersectionality and Transversal Politics."
29. This continues in a historical trajectory of women's and feminist groups' work going unacknowledged for their significant efforts to assemble data about gender-related violence, only to have it appropriated without attribution by others. For example, writer Roberto Bolaño's novel *2666* goes into graphic detail about murders of women and girls, which are widely known to

have been inspired by his research into the Ciudad Juárez crisis and communications with journalist Sergio Gonzalez. What is less widely known, according to scholar Julia E. Monárrez Fragoso, is that to create his “fictionalization,” Bolano used the database assembled by the 8 de Marzo women’s activist group, which contained detailed information about specific cases. He did this without attribution of the group’s work, taking credit for creating “masterful” narratives of violence without acknowledging the labor and real people’s lives that made it possible.

30. Ricaurte, “Data Epistemologies, the Coloniality of Power, and Resistance.”

31. See the glossary in chapter 8 for definitions of systems of power such as patriarchy, settler colonialism, and racial capitalism.

32. Suresh, “Framework for Understanding Sources of Harm”; Gebru et al., “Datasheets for Datasets”; Gebru et al., “Documentation to Facilitate Communication”; Mitchell et al., “Model Cards for Model Reporting”; Peng, Mathur, and Narayanan, “Mitigating Dataset Harms Requires Stewardship.”

33. Pine and Liboiron, “Politics of Measurement and Action.”

34. Pickles, *History of Spaces*.

35. Porter, *Trust in Numbers*, 26–27, 206.

36. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*.

37. Benjamin, *Race after Technology*; Rich, *Blood, Bread, and Poetry*, 3.

38. These are discussed further in chapter 6. One key example from the Alianza is the multi-media mapping project Flores en el Aire (2022): <https://www.spotlightinitiative.org/es/news/flores-en-el-aire-mapas-para-la-memoria-y-reparacion-de-victimas-del-femicidio>.

39. See the toolkit in chapter 8 for more on data epistemologies.

40. DiSalvo, *Design as Democratic Inquiry*, 165.

CHAPTER 4

1. The Supreme Court of Argentina keeps a registry of femicides, which activists initially criticized for not including transfemicides, travesticidios, and cases where the perpetrator committed suicide. While they have reformed some of these counting practices, La Casa del Encuentro, Argentina’s longest-running civil society femicide observatory, still considers the court’s database to be significantly undercounting femicides compared with their own numbers. Ada Rico, president of the organization, stated to our team unequivocally, “No. We do not believe the official data.”

2. The name of their observatory in Spanish is Observatorio MuMaLá: Mujeres, Disidencias, Derechos. Here I chose not to translate the concept of *disidencias* because there is not a completely corresponding concept in English. *Disidencias* names gender identities that are “dissident”—that is, that do not conform to cisgender and heterosexual norms and expectations. For more on Latin American theoretical approaches to *disidencias*, see Ortuño, “Teorías de la disidencia sexual.” Although one could translate this in English as “LGBTQ+ people,” the acronym style of

naming these identities in English does not communicate the same insurgent meaning as “dissident identities.” *Disidencias* is something a bit closer to Kate Bornstein’s framing of “gender outlaws”; see Bornstein, *Gender Outlaw*. That said, there is also not total agreement on the concept of *disidencias* across Latin American regions and political struggles either. For example, some members of the community reject its usage on the grounds that gender and sexual normativity itself is a fallacy.

3. *Compañeras* designates women members and *compañeres* designates nonbinary members of the collective. The *-es* ending for gendered language in Spanish is part of a movement, in Argentina and across Latin America, for the inclusion of nonbinary people in a language that has historically not acknowledged their existence. That said, the movement has faced right-wing backlash and bans. See Lankes, “In Argentina, One of the World’s First Bans on Gender-Neutral Language.”

4. Sovereign Bodies, *To’ Kee Skuy’ Soo Ney-Wo-Chek’*.

5. Sovereign Bodies Institute, *MMIWG2 & MMIP Organizing Toolkit*.

6. See the concept of the information ecosystem as outlined in “Why Information Matters,” 10–17.

7. I’ll take this moment to remind you that because the geographic scope of this project is broad—grassroots feminicide data activism in the Americas—this is not a comparative geographic analysis. For example, I’m not going to say “Here’s what activists in Argentina said about missing data versus what those in Mexico said and what that reveals about those two places.” The primary goal here is to look at common informatic challenges around feminicide data that surface for activists *despite* significant variation in geographic context. This is in line with Chandra Mohanty’s notion of feminist solidarity that works by focusing on *commonalities across differences*—examining common struggles across diverse contexts while still attending to local differences and particularities; see Mohanty, “‘Under Western Eyes’ Revisited.”

8. Google Alerts was used as a case discovery tool by many activists but often discarded because they encountered many irrelevant results. These experiences led to the co-design of an email alerts tool I describe further in chapter 7.

9. Crenshaw et al., *Say Her Name*.

10. D’Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*, 149.

11. The Not Invisible Act (2019) had provisions for improving MMIW data collection and accessibility, along with directing the Department of Justice to develop better protocols to address missing and murdered Indigenous people.

12. Puig de la Bellacasa, “Matters of Care in Technoscience”; Suárez Val, Martínez Cuba, Teng, and D’Ignazio, “Datos de Femicidio.”

13. Suárez Val, “Affect Amplifiers.”

14. Sun and Yin, “Opening up Mediation Opportunities.”

15. West, Whittaker, and Crawford, *Discriminating Systems*.

16. US Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey."
17. Duffy, *Making Care Count*.
18. Feinberg, *Everyday Adventures with Unruly Data*, 58.
19. Roberts, Sarah T., "Digital Refuse"; Irani, "Cultural Work of Microwork"; Miceli, Posada, and Yang, "Studying Up Machine Learning Data."
20. Roberts, *Behind the Screen*.
21. Posada, "Coloniality of Data Work"; Hao and Hernández, "How the AI Industry Profits from Catastrophe"; Miceli, Posada, and Yang, "Studying Up Machine Learning Data."
22. See Sambasivan et al., "'Everyone Wants to Do the Model Work'"; Muller and Strohmayer, "Forgetting Practices in the Data Sciences."
23. Rothschild et al., "Interrogating Data Work as a Community of Practice."
24. See also Lucchesi, "Mapping Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls."
25. Ricaurte, "Data Epistemologies, the Coloniality of Power, and Resistance."
26. Feinberg, *Everyday Adventures with Unruly Data*, 59.
27. For example, Sambasivan et al. talk about the ways that ignorance about upstream data limitations lead to *data cascades*—the magnification of harms downstream in the process. In the high-profile case involving Timnit Gebru and Margaret Mitchell from Google, researchers were censored and then fired for calling attention to the limitations of and significant potential harms of large language models. Sambasivan et al., "'Everyone Wants to Do the Model Work'"; Bender et al., "On the Dangers of Stochastic Parrots."

CHAPTER 5

1. Colectivo de Geografía Crítica del Ecuador, *Manifiesto Contra La Violencia Hacia Las Mujeres Desde La Geografía Crítica*.
2. Fundación ALDEA, *Feminicidios en Ecuador*.
3. Native Women's Association of Canada, *Voices of Our Sisters in Spirit*; Pearce, "Awkward Silence"; It Starts with Us, "Background."
4. Gartner, Dawson, and Crawford, *Woman Killing*.
5. Dawson, "Punishing Femicide."
6. D'Ignazio, "5 Questions on Data and Femicide with Silvana Fumega."
7. Taillieu and Brownridge, "Violence against Pregnant Women."
8. Fundación ALDEA, *Feminicidios en Ecuador*.
9. George, Lucchesi, and Trillo, *To' Kee Skuy' Soo Ney-Wo-Chek'*.
10. This doesn't necessarily mean those categories are irrelevant, but it does reflect the difficulty in obtaining information to determine such categories. Whether a person was trafficked,

smuggled, or experienced FGM would be extremely difficult for activists to ascertain unless it was explicitly reported in the press.

11. Carcedo, *No olvidamos ni aceptamos*, 15; Sagot, “Violence against Women.”
12. McLemore and D’Efilippo, “To Prevent Women from Dying in Childbirth, First Stop Blaming Them.”
13. Trying to document indirect feminicides gets complicated when the official data are themselves missing. For example, see the Lost Mothers project about maternal mortality, discussed in chapter 8.
14. Bowker and Star, “Building Information Infrastructures for Social Worlds,” 235.
15. Martin and Lynch, “Counting Things and People.”
16. Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, ch. 3.
17. Bowker and Star, *Sorting Things Out*; Bouk, Ackermann, and boyd, *Primer on Powerful Numbers*.
18. Helena Suárez Val’s data frame is different from a data frame in the R programming language, but perhaps not as different as we might think. The R data frame operationalizes and arranges data into rows and columns, and Helena’s data frame reflects on the implications of such arrangements, what impacts they enable, and what impacts they foreclose. Suárez Val, “Data Frames of Femicide.”
19. Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres, *Informe de Muertes Violentas de Mujeres-MVM En Guatemala*.
20. Bowker and Star, “Building Information Infrastructures for Social Worlds.”
21. Other groups describe this violence as “Femicide, stigmatized occupations” so that it could include strippers, escorts, and others who may not actually engage in sexual acts. And while the prostitution/sex work position is often depicted as a binary, there are also places where these two strands overlap and agree. A good primer complicating the sex worker/abolitionist binary can be found in Mackay, “Arguing against the Industry of Prostitution.” For work on advocating for sex workers’ rights, especially in relation to digital technology, see Kuo and Lee, *Dis/Organizing: How We Build Collectives beyond Institutions*.
22. Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability, “Types of Femicide”; Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability, *Call It Femicide*; UNODOC, *Global Study on Homicide*, 36.
23. The exclusion of trans voices, and particularly trans women, from feminism is called *TERF feminism*, with TERF standing for *trans-exclusionary radical feminism*. Proponents of this position do not call themselves TERFs but rather use the term *gender critical*. Scholars have pointed out that TERF politics are bound up with gender essentialism and whiteness. For a further introduction, see Pearce, Erikainen, and Vincent, “TERF Wars.”
24. Suárez Val, “Marcos de Datos de Femicidio.”
25. Caswell, “From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics.”
26. Ruppert, Isin, and Bigio, “Data Politics,” 1.

27. Mills, *Racial Contract*, 18.
28. Walter, "Conceptualizing and Theorizing the Indigenous Life."
29. Bouk, Ackermann, and boyd, *Primer on Powerful Numbers*.
30. Merry, *Seductions of Quantification*, 77.
31. Bailey, "Strategic Ignorance."
32. Suárez Val, "Caring, with Data."
33. Ruppert, Isin, and Bigio, "Data Politics," 2.
34. Lucchesi, "Mapping Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls," 390.
35. Ruppert, Isin, and Bigio, "Data Politics," 5.
36. Bold, Knowles, and Leach, "Feminist Memorializing and Cultural Counteremory." The domain of femicide data activism is not unique in this regard. Another powerful contemporary project that foregrounds the use of data in the service of counteremory is COVID Black, discussed further in chapter 8.
37. Ruppert, Isin, and Bigio, "Data Politics," 2.
38. Hanna and Park, "Against Scale."
39. Tsing, "On Nonscalability," 506.
40. This resonates with the way in which Lauren Klein uses topic modeling to probe the multiple scales of invisible labor in abolitionist archives from the nineteenth century. See Klein, "Dimensions of Scale."

CHAPTER 6

1. See chapter 1, note 21, and chapter 4, note 2, for why I chose not to translate *travesti* and *disidencias*.
2. Kedar, *International Monetary Fund and Latin America*.
3. The formulation of these themes of activist data communication draws in part from a session Lauren and I co-organized with some of the authors of the Feminist Data Manifest-No, including Anita Chan, Tonia Sutherland, Marika Cifor, Patricia Garcia, T. L. Cowan, Lisa Nakamura, and Jasmine Rault, at the Allied Media Conference in 2020. The title of that workshop was "Feminist Data: Refuse, Reform, Reimagine, Revolt."
4. Wright, "Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide." Other significant works about femicide and necropolitics include Sagot Rodríguez, "Femicide as Necropolitics in Central America"; Fuentes, "(Re)reading the Boundaries and Bodies of Femicide."
5. Romeo, "Towards a Theory of Digital Necropolitics," 8–9.
6. Threadcraft, "North American Necropolitics and Gender."
7. Carlson, "Data Silence in the Settler Archive."

8. Snorton and Haritaworn, "Trans Necropolitics," 314.
9. Portal NE10, "#UmaPorUma."
10. Tronto and Fisher, "Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring."
11. See, for example, Chambers-Letson and Diaz, "Reparations."
12. Mobayed, "Kintsugi Method to Recount Data against Feminicide."
13. Otros Mapas, "Flores en el Aire."
14. See Janssen and Singh, "Data Intermediary."
15. In the case of the group that did not remove the person requested, it was because the perpetrator had been convicted of killing his wife and was serving time in jail. The children stated that they believed in their father's innocence, and the organization talked with them at length, on the phone and in person. Ultimately, the organization decided not to remove the name since the judicial system had ruled against the man.
16. Blanco and García, "Cortar el Hilo."
17. Blanco and García.
18. A short documentary about the stitching process is viewable at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hu65ww5Ijrg>.
19. Wendel, *Rwanda's Genocide Heritage*.
20. Members of the Red Chilena contra la Violencia hacia las Mujeres described to our team how they have faced misogynist pushback to their memorial when they have installed it in public spaces in Chile. Men have walked on top of it on purpose or told the women taking care of the memorial to "go back to your kitchens" or said of the killed women, "There must have been a reason they were killed." See <http://www.nomasviolenciacontramujeres.cl/lazamiento-campana-regiones-2019/>.
21. Suárez Val et al., "Data Artivism and Feminicide."
22. See No Estamos Todas at <https://www.instagram.com/noestamostodas>. In November 2022, Data Against Feminicide organized a panel discussion and workshop in which No Estamos Todas described more about their process; see <https://datoscontrafeminicidio.net/visibilidades-arte-y-datos-de-feminicidio/>.
23. As described in chapter 5, Dawn Wilcox, who runs Women Count USA, pays special attention to collecting (and sometimes retouching) the photos of women in her database. She created a video from all of the photos from her database in 2018 and set it to music. And in 2021, the African American Policy Forum partnered with Janelle Monáe and other celebrities, plus the #SayHerName Mothers Network, to release a video—"Say Her Name (Hell You Talmbout)"—to honor the lives of Black women and protest their killings by police. Women & Girls Lost to Male Violence in 2018; Janelle Monáe, "Say Her Name (Hell You Talmbout)."
24. Asociación Civil La Casa del Encuentro and Beatriz Rico, *Por Ellas*.
25. Dean, *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women*, 4.

26. Black, *REDress Project*.
27. Harjo, "Community Caretaking."
28. Red Feminista Antimilitarista, *Paren La Guerra Contra Las Mujeres*, 7–8.
29. "Presentes."
30. "Presentes."
31. "Argentina's Third Violent Transgender Death in a Month Sparks Call for Justice."
32. Such maps, their ethics, and their effects have been the subject of excellent scholarship by Annita Hetoevehotohke'e Lucchesi and Helena Suárez Val. See Suárez Val, "Affect Amplifiers"; Suárez Val, "Vibrant Maps"; Lucchesi, "Spatial Data and (De)colonization."
33. Walter, "Voice of Indigenous Data"; D'Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*, 58–59.
34. Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres, *Informe de Muertes Violentas de Mujeres-MVM En Guatemala*.
35. Veronica Cúzco, representing Ecuador's National Institute of Statistics and Censuses, gave a public talk discussing this collaboration to the Data Against Femicide course that Silvana, Helena, and I organized in Spring 2020. See ILDA, "Conversatorio."
36. This law is commonly referred to using the name of a child orphaned by femicide in a high-profile case, but groups are trying to avoid the use of her name so as not to revictimize her. See the Data Against Femicide event coproduced with the Interamerican Network against Femicide (RIAF): "More than Numbers: Voices of Relatives of Victims of Femicide," <https://datoscontrafemicidio.net/en/visibilities-art-and-femicide-data/>.
37. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*.
38. Gellman, "Landmark Femicide Case Fails to Fix El Salvador's Patriarchy."
39. Bowleg, "'Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House'"; Krieger, "Data, 'Race,' and Politics."
40. Kennedy et al., "Work That Visualisation Conventions Do."
41. Fiscalía General de Justicia—Ciudad de México, "Atlas de Femicidios de la Ciudad de México."
42. Pine and Liboiron, "Politics of Measurement and Action."
43. Here I use LGBTTTIQ+ because this is what Data Cívica uses. This acronym stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, transsexual, two-spirit, intersexed, queer and beyond.
44. Andrés Manuel López Obrador (a.k.a. AMLO), the Mexican president in 2020, has blamed femicide on his predecessor's economic policy and on moral decay. He has repeatedly denounced feminist graffiti and protests, claimed that he is being unfairly targeted by the feminist movement, and is widely seen as not engaging seriously with the issue of femicide. As Maricruz Ocampo, an activist quoted in the *Guardian* stated, "The message he's sending women is: I don't care." Agren, "'Message He's Sending Is I Don't Care.'"
45. There are, in fact, counterdata being assembled to document these actions. A group called the Restauradoras con Glitter (Preservationists with Glitter), comprised of preservationists associated

with Mexico's most prestigious museums, is working on assembling archives of feminist protests and documentation of graffiti on monuments. In some cases, they have intervened to delay government cleaning so they can visually document feminist graffiti. Restauradoras con glitter, Facebook page.

46. Buolamwini, "Facing the Coded Gaze."
47. See Cifor et al., "Feminist Data Manifest-No."
48. Lorde, "Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House."
49. Lorde.
50. Crooks and Currie, "Numbers Will Not Save Us."
51. Lorde, "Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House."
52. Carlson, "Data Silence in the Settler Archive," 99.
53. Vera et al., "When Data Justice and Environmental Justice Meet."
54. Muravyov, "Doubt to Be Certain."
55. Aguirre, "NO SON NÚMEROS, SON VIDAS QUE NOS ARREBATARON . . ."
56. Crooks and Currie, "Numbers Will Not Save Us"; Suárez Val, "Caring, with Data."

CHAPTER 7

1. See the glossary in chapter 8 for short definitions of systems of power like white supremacy, settler colonialism, and patriarchy.
2. A great many authors have described the extractive tendencies of academic research in relation to minoritized communities, and these insights have led to the development of whole research methodologies such as participatory design (PD), which this case study discusses at length, as well as participatory action research (PAR), community-based participatory action research (CBPR), feminist participatory action research (FPAR), insurgent research, research justice, and more. If this is a new perspective for you, a brilliant starting point is Linda Tuhiwai Smith's classic book, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.
3. Muller, "Participatory Design"; Bødker et al., "Utopian Experience."
4. For a starting point for some of this work, see these articles: Ogbonnaya-Ogburu et al., "Critical Race Theory for HCI"; Rankin, Thomas, and Joseph, "Intersectionality in HCI"; Thomas et al., "Discovering Intersectionality: Part 2"; Fox et al., "Imagining Intersectional Futures"; Bray and Harrington, "Speculative Blackness"; Kumar et al., "Engaging Feminist Solidarity"; Alvarado Garcia et al., "Decolonial Pathways."
5. Feminist HCI directly influenced me and Lauren Klein as we articulated the data feminism principles (see chapter 8). Bardzell, "Feminist HCI." Another important HCI paper we drew from was Dörk et al., "Critical InfoVis."
6. Dimond, Fiesler, and Bruckman, "Domestic Violence and Information Communication Technologies"; Gautam, Tatar, and Harrison, "Crafting, Communitarity, and Computing"; Haimson et

al., “Designing Trans Technology”; Scheuerman, Branham, and Hamidi, “Safe Spaces and Safe Places”; Sterling, “Designing for Trauma.”

7. Dimond, “Feminist HCI for Real.”

8. Silveira, dos Santos, and da Maia, “Estamos Juntas.”

9. Shelby, “Technology, Sexual Violence, and Power-Evasive Politics,” 558.

10. For more on carceral creep in HCI, see Kuo and Mohapatra, “Institutional Capture of Abolitionist Dissent”; Chordia, “Leveraging Transformative Justice.”

11. Vigil-Hayes et al., “#Indigenous.”

12. Strohmayr et al., ““We Come Together as One.””

13. Crooks and Currie, “Numbers Will Not Save Us”; Cullen et al., “Intersectionality and Invisible Victims”; Ruse, “Experiences of Engagement and Detachment”; Suárez Val et al., “Monitoring, Recording, and Mapping Femicide”; Suárez Val, Martinez Cuba, Teng, and D’Ignazio, “Datos de Femicidio.”

14. Alvarado García, Young, and Dombrowski, “On Making Data Actionable.”

15. Krüger et al., “It Takes More Than One Hand to Clap.”

16. This resonates with Donna Haraway’s call to “stay with the trouble.” And public scholar and designer Mushon Zer-Aviv exhorts us to use design to embrace (rather than eliminate) friction. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*; “Mushon Zer-Aviv Presents Friction & Flow at Better World X Design 2022.”

17. See the introduction for a longer explanation of the origins and goals of Data Against Femicide.

18. DiSalvo, *Design as Democratic Inquiry*; Dantec and DiSalvo, “Infrastructuring and the Formation of Publics in Participatory Design.”

19. Asad, “Prefigurative Design as a Method for Research Justice.”

20. For a good primer on how feminism and anticarceral approaches intersect, see Davis et al., *Abolition. Feminism. Now*. The abolition that the authors are talking about is the abolition of mass incarceration, not the abolition of sex work (which is often what abolition means in Latin American feminist discourse and is, paradoxically, a carceral approach to sex work that results in criminalizing its practitioners). For a practical primer on abolition, see Interrupting Criminalization, Project Nia, and Critical Resistance, *So Is This Actually an Abolitionist Proposal or Strategy?*

21. Lecher, “Police Are Looking to Algorithms to Predict Domestic Violence.”

22. Honeywell, “Honeywell Wins Bengaluru Safe City Project.”

23. Radhika Radhakrishnan, PhD student and research affiliate in the Data + Feminism Lab, has written about the ways that the Safe City project surveils and controls women’s bodies. Radhakrishnan, “Cost of Safety.” In the US context, Andrea Ritchie details the long history of sexual assault and violence perpetrated by law enforcement against Black women, gender nonconforming people, and women of color. Ritchie, *Invisible No More*.

24. Shokooh Valle, “How Will You Give Back?”; Stengers, *Invention of Modern Science*, 90.
25. Bødker and Kyng, “Participatory Design that Matters,” 10.
26. De Castro Leal, Strohmayr, and Krüger, “On Activism and Academia,” 6.
27. In fact, Helena often cites the “Friendship as Method” paper to describe how we work together. See Tillmann-Healy, “Friendship as Method.”
28. Asad, “Prefigurative Design as a Method for Research Justice.”
29. I’m not asserting that everyone could or should use start-up funds or leftover grant money. This happened to be a tactic available to us that we used to secure ourselves time and flexibility for exploration and relationship-building while still being able to compensate interviewees and participants as well as staff and students working on the project. If you are reading this and you are a funder, please consider investing in long-term relationship building and unrestricted operational funds over funding individual projects and novelties! For more on the structural limitations imposed by the nonprofit industrial complex, see INCITE! Women of Color against Violence, *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*.
30. Okun, “White Supremacy Culture.”
31. Interviewees were paid seventy-five dollars or the equivalent in their home currency, either to themselves personally or their organization, per their preference. Participants in the co-design process were paid hourly at twenty-five dollars per hour. Participants in the pilot study in which groups used our tools and provided feedback on them were paid \$200 per organization.
32. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xi.
33. It takes a village to raise a software tool. Please see the acknowledgments for all the staff, students, and activists who contributed to the tools.
34. Roberts et al., “Media Cloud.”
35. A team of five people, including myself, Helena, and three graduate students—Angeles Martinez Cuba, Mariel García-Montes, and Harini Suresh—labeled the first sets of training data in Spanish and English. The process of reading articles about brutal violence was intense for all of us. We held space for discussing our emotional reactions and any stories that stayed with us. I am grateful to scholar and UX researcher Julia DeCook for speaking with us about secondary trauma at one of those sessions. The HCI community has recently begun to discuss researcher trauma and systematize resources for researchers engaging emotionally demanding topics through a workshop: Feuston et al., “Researcher Wellbeing and Best Practices in Emotionally Demanding Research.”
36. D’Ignazio et al., “Femicide & Machine Learning.”
37. See <https://datoscontrafemicidio.net/en/2021-edition/>.
38. Abebe et al., “Roles for Computing in Social Change.”
39. We have not made these datasets public to date because we see potential for misuse and misinterpretation of ML models about femicide by actors who have less expertise than the activists in femicide and in the flawed information ecosystem surrounding femicide, as well as fewer

ethical commitments to and relations with the people described by these news stories. That said, we encourage projects to get in touch with us if they are interested in using our training data and we would be happy to talk.

40. Sovereign Bodies, *To' Kee Skuy' Soo Ney-Wo-Chek'*.

41. D'Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*, 149.

42. Harini Suresh presented this paper at the FAcCT 2022 conference, and it received a Distinguished Student Paper Award. Suresh et al., "Towards Intersectional Feminist and Participatory ML."

43. There are many ways in which participation and participatory methods can themselves be exploitative and undemocratic. For example, by requiring enormous amounts of time and free labor from communities, by imposing inappropriate cultural norms of participation from outside a community, by requiring people to show up at inconvenient times to have a basic say in their political future (e.g., voting in the United States), by operating as window-dressing for decisions that have already been made by people in power, by profiteering on people's participatory contributions (e.g., social media), and more. See, for example, Terranova, "Free Labor"; Cooke and Kothari, *Participation*; Busch and Palmås, *Corruption of Co-Design*.

44. This is why the widely cited "Gender Shades" paper by Joy Buolamwini and Timnit Gebru used the Fitzpatrick skin type classification system from the field of dermatology (a skin color scale) rather than racial classification to demonstrate bias in facial recognition technologies. Buolamwini and Gebru, "Gender Shades." For more on race as a technology, see the work of Falguni Sheth, Wendy Chun, Beth Coleman and Ruha Benjamin: Sheth, "Technology of Race"; Chun, "Introduction: Race and/as Technology"; Coleman, "Race as Technology"; Benjamin, "Catching Our Breath."

45. Thank you to Annita Lucchesi for making this point during the review process.

46. The same can be said about gender—which is also a social, political, and historical system of classification. There is a growing body of work that is challenging technologies that try to undertake gender inference from names, photos, and voices, as these are often based on harmful, trans-exclusionary, binary (and empirically wrong!) notions of gender. See Keyes, "Misgendering Machines"; Scheuerman et al., "How We've Taught Algorithms to See Identity"; Albert and Delano, "Sex Trouble."

47. De Castro Leal, Strohmayr, and Krüger, "On Activism and Academia"; Bødker and Kyng, "Participatory Design That Matters."

48. Sloane et al., "Participation Is Not a Design Fix for Machine Learning."

49. Bødker and Kyng, "Participatory Design That Matters." Also see the group called The Maintainers, who advocate for putting a focus on the care and maintenance of technical and informatic systems: <https://themaintainers.org/about/>.

50. Irani and Silberman, "From Critical Design to Critical Infrastructure."

51. The authors emphasize that deploying these technologies is not about technosolutionism for trans people: "We, and many of the participants in our study, are well aware that technology

cannot solve the systemic problems that trans people face, but that technology can make small inroads to making trans lives more livable.” Haimson et al., “How Transgender People and Communities Were Involved in Trans Technology Design Processes.”

52. Ghoshal, Mendhekar, and Bruckman, “Toward a Grassroots Culture of Technology Practice,” 7.

53. Ethan Zuckerman runs the Initiative for Digital Public Infrastructure at the University of Massachusetts Amherst: <https://publicinfrastructure.org/>. See also Zuckerman, “Case for Digital Public Infrastructure.”

54. I want to thank James Scott-Brown for pointing me to Oliver’s work. Oliver, Savičić, and Vasiliev, *Critical Engineering Manifesto*; Oliver, “36C3—Server Infrastructure for Global Rebellion.”

55. Barendregt et al., “Defund Big Tech, Refund Community.”

56. Bødker and Kyng, “Participatory Design That Matters,” 19.

CHAPTER 8

1. Although this quote ended up circulating on the internet as the work of one person—Lilla Watson—Watson herself describes it as the outcome of a collective process, and she desired that it be credited as “Aboriginal activists group, Queensland, 1970s.”

2. Suárez Val, “Datos Discordantes.”

3. Adapted from D’Ignazio and Klein, *Data Feminism*.

4. Adapted from UnLeading, “Ableism.”

5. Adapted from Murrey, “Colonialism.”

6. Adapted from Vera et al., “When Data Justice and Environmental Justice Meet.”

7. Drawn from Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor.”

8. From the Challenging White Supremacy Workshop: <https://www.cwsworkshop.org>.

9. Nenquino, “Mapeo Territorial Waorani.”

10. McLemore and D’Efilippo, “To Prevent Women from Dying in Childbirth, First Stop Blaming Them.”

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Data Feminism in Action

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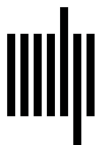
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