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Preface

The assassination of women in Ciudad Juárez has caught the attention of the world. Hundreds, if not thousands, of women have been brutally raped, mutilated, disfigured, and abandoned in empty lots in the city and in remote locations in the desert in a crime called feminicide.¹ This crime has spanned multiple political administrations in Juárez for over more than two decades. While many estimates of the total number of women killed in sexual assassination crimes and forced disappearances are often unreliable in Ciudad Juárez (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 3; Gaspar de Alba and Gúzman 2010: 10; Gaspar de Alba 2010: 70; Juárez 2012), Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez's (2013: 7) data set is systematic and shows 1411 women killed in feminicide (1993–2013).²

Multiple explanations of this heinous crime, often stressing the importance of one factor or another, have been advanced in the national and international news, blogs, academic and journalistic books, and articles. Feminicide in Ciudad Juárez

¹**Conceptual Note:** 1. The terms “feminicide” and “femicide” have generated conceptual debate and have witnessed varied usage over time in the literature on Ciudad Juárez (Chew Sánchez 2014: 266). The former concept was originally defined as “the murder of women and girls because they are female” (Russell 2001). In 2010, Latin American feminists added to this definition “founded on a gender power structure” so as to include the involvement of the state, individual perpetrators, and the rooting of such murder in social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities (Fragoso and Bejarano 2010: 5). *Feminicidio* then became the term most often used in the feminist literature on Ciudad Juárez (Staudt and Méndez 2015; Wright 2013; Fragoso 2014; Driver 2015). Chapter 1 defines “sexual assassination” as a complex crime which includes a misogynist or hate crime element precisely because the target is a female (girl or woman) and thus the gender of the victim is central to the crime (Russell 2011; Caputi 1989). Chapter 3 also examines the degree to which the state is implicated in forced disappearances in the Historical Center (corruption). Chapter 2 examines how sociopolitical inequalities in public and private security as well as the failure of vetting of security personnel for sexual violence facilitated sexual assassination at the neighborhood level. Such an analysis looks at the involvement of the state (directly or indirectly), individual perpetrators (private or state actors), and the rooting of such murder in social and political inequalities. As such, the terms “feminicide” and “sexual assassination” are used as appropriate.

²The Chihuahua Chamber of Deputies report of 1818 disappeared women (2008–2013) also provides a solid reference point (*El Financiero* 4/29/14).

has been linked to global capitalism, the complicity of public officials, and the rising power of organized crime—particularly drug cartels—in Mexico (Conversi 2015: 69–71; Mueller 2014; Olivera 2010; Domínguez-Ruvalcaba and Blancas 2007). Other accounts implicate the Mexican government in femicide crimes via impunity, negligence, complicity and/or corruption (Arizpe 2014), deficits in law enforcement and justice systems (Albuquerque 2007; Corona 2010), and/or a state weakened and underfunded by neoliberal reforms which has reduced its power to protect its own citizens (Weissman 2010: 237). Within the city of Ciudad Juárez, impunity and femicide have been related to a politics of “image” and to the exclusion of human rights organizations from the development of better policies to protect women (Fregoso and Bejarano 2010; Wright 2013). Still other accounts document how men take advantage of the impunity caused by impoverished civil rights protections in multiple neighborhoods in Ciudad Juárez to abduct rape and sexually assassinate (largely) poor women (Cornejo Juárez 2007; Borjón Nieto 2004; Pérez-Espino 2004; CNDH 2003; El Silencio 1999; Rodríguez 2007).

Yet, as Córdoba (2010: 114) notes, “to this day, we do not know why such sex-related serial crimes have occurred for the most part in Ciudad Juárez or whether groups in Juárez are the only ones keeping a careful count of these kinds of hate crime.” This book proposes that it is a particular combination of multiple factors that make the city unique for sexual assassination. These include the following: (a) industrialization without safe streets, (b) a criminal justice system with a history of impunity that fuels *machista* rape murder, (c) a drug war that increased the human trafficking of women by certain organized crime-related elements, and (d) a spatial geography which includes multiple empty lots without adequate public or private security. Taken together, these complex, multiple, interrelated factors *combine* to explain why sexual assassination has been a repetitive crime in Ciudad Juárez.³

This book advances a multifactorial analysis of these four elements with a case study and spatial mapping at the “meso-level” of analysis.⁴ Chapter 1 presents the general argument that sexual assassination is a specific type of violence against

³It is beyond the scope of this brief to analyze in detail all forms of systematic violence in Ciudad Juárez including male homicide (Albuquerque 2007), politically related homicides (Schatz 2011), and/or human rights abuses by the military (Staudt and Méndez 2015). Similarly, the present analysis does not conduct a city block-by-block spatial analysis of all murders of women in Juárez to correlate them with high crime zones. Nevertheless, it should be noted that with the exception of five downtown blocks in the Historical Center, the zones of sexual assassination identified in this chapter are *not* the highest crime zones in the city for such violent crimes as male homicide, robbery, and assaults (Fuentes and Hernández 2013: 250; 255).

⁴As a sociological concept, this refers to the effort to discover empirical relations among different levels of social reality. Theoretically, the aim is linkage; to analyze individuals (micro) within the context of their immediate, collective social neighborhood/zone (meso) as it is situated within a larger city and nation state (macro). As such, it links “micro”-level narratives of individual girls, teens, and women abducted in Ciudad Juárez with “macro”-level analyzes of the impact of industrial capitalism at the neighborhood or “meso”-level. The aim is also to avoid “all or nothing” (reductionist) approaches to sexual assassination and to foster communication between different theoretical traditions and disciplines.

women consisting of targeted, often premeditated, assassinations accompanied by brutal rape and overkill injuries. In the city, “place” is important because of the repetition of the crime (disappearances and abandonment of bodies) in the same zones over decades (*Norte Digital* 8/7/13). Chapter 2 is an in-depth case study of sexual assassination as a sub-type of femicide that occurs in several identifiable, poorer industrial neighborhoods with a strong *maquila* presence but with very poor public and private security on the streets, especially for pedestrians (1996–2001, 2011–2013). Groups of men often take advantage of impunity to engage in “cruising” auto-abduction sexual assassinations in such zones. In Chap. 3, it is argued that there is a bimodal spatial distribution in the city of multiple forced disappearances of women [2000–2014] concentrated in the Historical Center (a traditional market area for illegal sexual services), which intensified during the rise in organized crime-related human trafficking activity there during the “drug war” (2008–2012). At the same time, forced disappearances of women in Juárez also reflect the “southern–southeastern” expansion of femicide into areas of the city characterized by multiple empty lots without security (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 91–93; Bass and Pérez 2008: 10). Thus, Chaps. 2 and 3 show how industrialization, impunity in the criminal justice system, and human trafficking of women in a city whose spatial geography includes multiple empty lots interrelate to explain why sexual assassination repeats over decades Ciudad Juárez.

The “meso-level analysis” herein thus simultaneously examines how poverty, spatial segregation, and “gaps” in the rule of law mediate the relationship between impunity and femicide in Ciudad Juárez. It is known that poverty and femicide are related and that “social disruption happens in a context where structural factors such as insecurity, stressful conditions, lack of community kinship, absence of social support, and uprootedness prevail” (Chew Sánchez 2014: 268; Weissman 2010). Important advances have been made in correlating the residence (Hernández 2010: 50–51; Frago 2009: 120) of “systemic sexual femicide” with such mixed industrial neighborhoods as the Poniente [West], Historical Center, and South-East in the city. Currently, however, the existing “hot spot” literature mapping the spatial location of femicides in Ciudad Juárez does not yet discriminate out systemic sexual femicide from other sub-types of femicide (Cervera-Gómez 2011; Frago and Cervera-Gómez 2013).

The spatial analysis of sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez is of particular interest to the question of impunity and femicide because it demonstrates two elements. First, it is argued that *rape* is key to defining this sub-type of femicide rather than the woman’s relationship of the offender per se.⁵ Often, it is an emphasis

⁵This does not imply that intimate, domestic, or familial femicides (gender-based murder of a woman by a known partner or men close to her) are not violent, brutal crimes that can involve rape as well as the sexual abuse, assault, and murder of women, teens, and children by family members (Frago and Cervera-Gómez 2010: 14). Nor does it imply that knowing the woman’s relationship to the offender is not important information. Rather, it advocates linking this information more closely to location or place within the city to view potential repetitive patterns of different sub-types of femicide.

on this relationship which is behind the unresolved debate over what percentage of feminicides in Juárez are “domestic” versus “sexual” in motive. Some government officials have claimed that the majority of the murder of women in the city is not “sexual” at all but arises from domestic violence and communitarian violence (66 % with 26 % sexual and 8 % unknown [2004]) (*Respuesta del Estado* 2008: 31–32). It also stands behind the recent claim of the “myth of the feminicide narrative” in Juárez (Molloy 2014).

By understanding sexual assassination in terms of the rape aspect of these murders, this helps to clarify their gender-specific character. Using both non-governmental and governmental sources, confirmed sexual assault (9 %) is found along with sexual mutilation injuries (19.2 %) and overkill injuries (75 %) in over 145 girls, teens, and women murdered in Ciudad Juárez. Of the thousands of men murdered, mutilated, decapitated, and/or dismembered in Ciudad Juárez either due to organized crime-related violence or not (Shirk 2010; Cervera-Gómez 2013: 19–20), there few, if any, reports on their brutal *rape* and public abandonment as naked or half-unclotted bodies (Shirk and Ríos 2011).⁶

Second, it is shown empirically that many of the murders of women in Ciudad Juárez are *forced abductions*,⁷ often vehicular, for the central purpose of sexual assault against women. The act of abduction occurs at a specific geographical location that can be investigated and mapped. Furthermore, forced abduction “disappearances” are mediated and/or facilitated by several “gaps” in the rule of law in Ciudad Juárez (impunity), namely the exemption from law for the powerful and lack of access to the judiciary and to fair process by the underprivileged (O’Donnell 1999).

Third, poverty and neighborhood are analyzed in the context of industrial geography with respect to sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez. This analysis maps street information of the eyewitnesses of the last person to see the girl, teen, or woman alive in 133 sexual assassinations [1996–2001, 2011–2013] and officially registered disappearances [2000–2014]. On the basis of this geographical information, a systematic spatial mapping in the city over time reveals that female pedestrians in selected, industrial neighborhoods in the Poniente, South/South-East, Border, and Historical Center areas have been subject to repetitive sexual assassinations at the neighborhood level. Thus, the specific contribution of this book is a

⁶Studies of injuries in organized crime-related homicides typically include torture, defined as the binding or tying up of hands, often accompanied by beating or bruising to the face and head (Personal Communication, David Shirk 2010; TBI NarcoBarometer 2008). As the degree of organized crime-related violence in Juárez expanded after 2008, drug-related homicide mutilation came to include beheading, skinning, hanging, burning, or cooking of the body. Nevertheless, sexual assault-related injuries associated with murders in Juárez continue to be tied to women (Martínez-Amador 2012).

⁷The term “abduction” is also frequently used in relationship to these murders in Juárez across a spectrum of authors (Driver 2015: 157; Molloy 2014; Washington-Váldez 2006: 2; Pantaleo 2006; Amnesty International 2010). It should be noted that the abductions of girls, teens, and women that terminate in rape and murder are not the same as organized crime-related kidnappings for ransom where a specific request for money is made (Heinle et al. 2015: 37).

first systematic spatial study documenting the location of abduction sites in multiple sexual assassinations in Juárez and their mapping to specific, often industrial, zones in the city.

The sociological focus of the analysis on the social, public, and private security conditions in zones where such abductions occur can also help to clarify another of the so-called myths of feminicide in Juárez, the “*maquila*” myth. A singular significance placed on the *occupation* of the girl, teen, or woman as key to understanding these murders can lead to unresolved disputes over the relative percentage of women killed in Ciudad Juárez who were employed in manufacturing (Fragoso 2002: 10, 2009: 106) with some claiming that a profile of Juárez feminicide victims as “young, *maquiladora* workers” is a “stereotype” (Albuquerque and Vemala 2008: 8). By focusing primarily on “place” or location rather than on occupation per se, it is argued that while occupations may vary (students, *maquila* workers, housewives, unemployed, bar or night club workers, or unknown), the geographical concentration of sexual assassination remains relatively stable in specific repetitive zones with public and private security deficits over time in the city.⁸

Over a twenty-year historical span, there is little doubt that the violence in Ciudad Juárez is “extremely complex: the forms of victimization and their victims are multiple and varied (Fragoso 2014: 42)”. Yet, as Fragoso (2014: 44) notes, “there are two key international benchmarks for understanding this violence in this city: feminicide and the disappearance of women in the 1990s and the *Chihuahua Joint Operation*, which began the warlike conflict between the state and organized crime gangs in 2008. The damage that these caused and continue to inflict has not been calculated, neither in physical terms nor psychological, economic, social, or political.”

This book captures both of the pivotal historical benchmarks—feminicide in the 1990s and disappearances before and after the 2008 *Chihuahua Joint Operation*. A road map to the analysis begins with the geographical fact that feminicides in Ciudad Juárez cluster in zones which lack social investment in neighborhood public security and equipment, particularly in the Poniente [West] and that many disappearances of women in Ciudad Juárez over time have been concentrated in a few specific areas in the city, especially in the Historical Center after 2008 [1987–2011, n = 180] (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2011; Fragoso 2009; Volk and Schlotterbeck 2010: 130; Hernandez 2010: 51; *Norte Digital* 8/7/13; Fragoso and Cervera Gómez 2013: 18). The argument advanced herein is that there is a pattern of assassinations

⁸This also does not imply that knowing the occupation of the girl, teen, or woman who died from sexual assassination is not important information. Rather, the point is that the interpretation of its significance be taken in context of multiple other features importantly location. Another issue is to take care with the relatively high percentages of “unknowns” in relationship to occupation data (31 % unknown, Fragoso 2009: 106; 21 % unknown, Albuquerque and Velma 2008: Fig. #1). Similarly, caution in interpreting “not employed” (51 %) as an occupational variable without further specification of this category into “students” or others is encouraged (Albuquerque and Velma 2008: Fig. #1).

in repetitive locations to silence girls, teens, and women after sexual assault and when human trafficking victims are no longer considered “useful.”⁹

Chapter 2 focuses heavily on the time period of 1996–2001 with updates from 2011 to 2013. It presents a micro-level analysis of how exclusion from public and private security and a lack of vetting of public and private security personnel for sexual violence facilitated lethal, confirmed sexual assaults upon girls, teens, and women engaged in routine activities (walking to and from school and work) in the Poniente, South/South-East, and Border zones. A close mapping reveals repetitive crimes, often on the very same pedestrian pathways along abandoned railroad land corridors to and from urban industrial parks (Poniente) and on federal lands and *maquiladora* plants located at uninhabited areas of the city (South-South-East). The repetition of daytime, blitz auto abductions on public streets (Border, Poniente) also points to a history of impunity in the criminal justice system which produces “pockets of opportunity” at the neighborhood level for repetitive sexual assaults.

In Chap. 3, an analysis is presented of a series of officially registered disappearances with the Special Prosecutor of Gender Crimes of the State Attorney General’s Office [Fiscalía Especializada en Atención a Mujeres Víctimas por Razones de Género [FEM] of multiple girls, teens, and women in Ciudad Juárez (2000–2014).¹⁰ It is argued that their spatial distribution in the city follows a

⁹Survivor testimonies reveal similar coercion tactics such as forced auto abductions and death threats against self and family (Baldwin et al. 2014). One escaped teen survivor of human trafficking in the Historical Center of Ciudad Juárez recounted at a subsequent court trial how she tried to refuse to show up for work when she realized the “store” where she had been “hired” was a front for sexual slavery. She was then immediately picked up at her home, driven back to the “store,” and threatened by the trafficker that “none of this would have happened to me if I had “behaved” and that from now on, they would remind me of the name of my daughter so that I would remember why I was there” (*Diario* 7/26/13).

¹⁰It is beyond the scope of this brief to conduct a spatial analysis of the abduction point of every sub-type of femicide in Ciudad Juárez. Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez (2010: 14) estimate that 22.4 % of 833 femicides and assassinations in Ciudad Juárez and the Valle de Juárez (1993–2009) were intimate femicides. They argue that intimate femicides in Juárez display a distinctive, more private configuration than “systemic sexual femicides.” This is because the majority of bodies (63 %) are abandoned in interior, often private spaces [house—50 %, inside an auto—6 %, business—3 %] and also in bars (1.5 %), hotels (1.5 %), prisons (1.5 %), hospitals (0.7 %) with only 14 % unknown; 10.9 % uninhabited area, 10 % on the street, 3 % other] (Hernandez 2010: 131). Research also correlated residence with a sample of 125 girls and women who died from intimate femicide (1993–2009). It was found that the majority lived in the North-Poniente and South-East zones of the city (Hernandez 2010: 48). Furthermore, it is also beyond the scope of this brief to analyze the multiple kidnappings, disappearances of young men, and the killing of innocent citizens in Ciudad Juárez. Heinle et al. (2015: 37) estimate a total of 23,605 disappeared persons in Mexico (2007–2014) with the National Attorney General’s Office searching for about 2.7 %, at least in the state of Mexico. Finally, this book’s focus on sexual assassination also does not mean to imply that every violent act (intimate femicide, female organized crime and drug-related, imprudent, communitarian deaths) which represents a heinous crime against women should not be studied in its own right. As European Parliamentarian for Social, Health and Family Affairs Veronika Vremová (2005: 100) noted: “What made the Ciudad Juárez murders of women visible in the end was their sheer overwhelming number. Also, every victim deserves to be counted (and her story told)”.

bimodal pattern in the city: concentrated where there is a market for illegal sexual services (55 %, Historical Center) and where more diffuse forms of human trafficking are suspected (40 % in several smaller “hotspots” in the Poniente/South-South-East). Chapter 3 also presents a detailed institutional analysis of the roots of judicial, police, and public security-related impunity or lack of monitoring in these zones. It is found that fiscal incentives (corruption, collusion) and bureaucratic obstacles (budgetary) perpetuate a situation lacking in proper public security equipment such as surveillance cameras (Cervera-Gómez 2011: 57) and often a failure to use such security equipment correctly. Limited institutional capacity, budgetary constraints, and a US policy of dumping sexual offenders in El Paso or repatriating them to Juárez hamper recent governmental efforts to reverse judicial and police apathy toward the investigation and prosecution of sexual assassinations in the city.

In sum, a lack of social investment in neighborhood public security and equipment (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2011), a failure of private security and a lack of vetting of public and private security personnel for sexual violence facilitate sexual assassinations in specific, mixed industrial neighborhoods (Poniente, South-South-East, Border) and the Historical Center. This combines with the use of force (violence) in the abductions (solo and group auto abductions, bus abductions, attacks on solo pedestrians) irrespective of whether offenders were engaged in unorganized and organized crime and/or were “off-duty” organized crime assassins. Together, these elements (lack of public and private security, violent abduction tactics) help explain the repetition of sexual assassinations over time in specific zones in the city.

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Chapter 1

Impunity and Sexual Assassination in Ciudad Juárez: Exclusion, Cruising, Collusion

Abstract In this chapter, it is argued that in Ciudad Juárez, the key factors causing sexual assassination of women are: (a) industrialization without safe streets, (b) a criminal justice system with a history of impunity that fuels machista rape-murder, (c) a drug-war that increased the human trafficking of women by certain organized-crime related elements, and (d) a spatial geography which includes multiple empty lots without adequate public or private security. Taken together, these complex, multiple, inter-related factors help explain why sexual assassination has been a repetitive crime in Ciudad Juárez over decades.

1.1 Introduction

The assassination of women in Ciudad Juárez sparked national and international attention when a series of brutal murders of women were first heavily reported in the city in 1993. Academics, the press and non-governmental organizations argued these were a new type of killing in Juárez called feminicides, although the crime amalgamated a number of sub-types of murders against women including shooting deaths, overkill shooting deaths, individual rape-murders, gang rape-murders, and the abduction rape-murders of women and female children (Washington-Valdez 2006; Alpízar 2003; Garwood 2002; Wright 2001). Multiple national and international movies, non-profit advocacy groups, the U.N. and other international organizations have continued to document the carnage as woman are raped, brutally injured and abandoned in the city (*Observatorio Femicidio* 11/15/14). Over twenty years later the recurrent questions for most scholars, journalists and the public alike continue to be: *why Juárez* and *why so many feminicides* (Córdoba 2010:114; Norte Digital 8/7/13)?

Some scholars argue that Ciudad Juárez is *not* unique for sexual assassination and the idea of feminicide as a novel and rising crime against women in the city starting in 1993 was false. This empirical research tied high overall female homicide rates to high male homicide rates to argue that femicide in Juárez was relatively the same as in such other border cities as Tijuana, Reynosa, Matamoros and Nuevo

Laredo (Albuquerque and Vemala 2008; Melloy 2014). Such empirical research, however, is based on the NAAIS (Núcleo de Acopio y Análisis de Información en Salud) data set which does not well differentiate the sexual mutilating murder of women from female civil homicide deaths (see Appendix). In other words, such research tends to overlook sexual assassination as a specific *sub-type* of murder characterized by savage rape, brutal overkill, sexual mutilation and the public abandonment of women's bodies in positions of "sexual disarray" (Fragoso 2009: 94; Ressler 1988).

Other scholars have acknowledged that there is a need to further disentangle the murder of women from the murder of men in Ciudad Juárez to better understand *femicide* or *feminicide* (Fragoso and Bejarano 2010: 7). In the Juárez context, the concept has been further differentiated into sub-types [systematic sexual feminicide, victims of sexually stigmatized occupations and intimate feminicide, female organized crime-and drug-related, imprudent, communitarian deaths] (Fragoso 2010; Fragoso and Bejarano 2010: 7; Tejada Puentes 2014). Empirical studies have recently been conducted which map the girl or woman's neighborhood of residence with all of the different sub-types of feminicide in Juárez (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013; Flores 2011; Cervera-Gómez 2011; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013). These works begin to address the observation that feminicide is complex concept and the motivation for the crime is not reducible to one single dimension alone (Beltrán 2015).

Such differentiating empirical work is important because the sexual assassination of women is a particular sub-type of violence against women caused by multiple factors. Often called "serial sexual femicide" (Fragoso 2002), "systemic sexual feminicide" (Fragoso 2009) and "sexual homicide" (Skrapec 2010: 248), sexual assassinations as a *type* of crime involve abduction, rape and often extreme brutality to the bodies of girls, teens and women. As a *gender-based* murder, the motivation for the crime can be due to "hatred, contempt, pleasure or a sense of ownership of women (Caputi and Russell 1992: 15)". As *structured violent events*, sexual assassinations are caused by multiple, inter-related factors that combine and can be studied. Feminicide has been documented world-wide including in Latin America and other states within Mexico (WHO 2012; Wilson 2014; *Observatorio Femicidio* 11/15/14). This book argues that in Ciudad Juárez, the key factors causing sexual assassination of women are: (a) industrialization without safe streets, (b) a criminal justice system with a history of impunity that fuels *machista* rape-murder, (c) a drug-war that increased the human trafficking of women by certain organized-crime related elements, and (d) a spatial geography which includes multiple empty lots without adequate public or private security.

Taken together, these complex, multiple, inter-related factors help explain why sexual assassination has been a repetitive crime in Ciudad Juárez over decades. Chapters 2 and 3 present a series of case narratives and spatial mappings (1996–2001, 2011–2013) of over 265 sexual assassinations and forced disappearances to demonstrate how each of these four factors together help explain the type, degree and pervasiveness of this heinous crime in Juárez.

First, it is argued that structural changes in society which gave rise to industrial employment for poor women also thereby exposed them and their children more

heavily to pedestrian related dangers in specific zones of the city. As girls, teens and women traverse certain neighborhoods streets with little or no public or private security, pass through unregulated industrial pathways to go to work or school, or even take public transport to and from industrial work, they are at higher risk for forced vehicular abductions, sexual assault and sexual assassination in certain, often semi-isolated, industrial corridors in the city as illustrated in Chap. 2 (*industrialization without safe streets*).

Second, this occurs within the socio-legal context of a criminal justice system with high levels of impunity for murder, little or few prosecutions and a low status for female victims, especially those who are factory workers (Garwood 2002). This facilitates such crimes as arrogant sexual offenders increasingly develop a sense that impunity for murder is likely (CNDH 2003: 103-F; Lugo 2008: 242; Washington-Valdez 2006: 161–162) (*a criminal justice system with a history of impunity that fuels machista rape-murder*). Impunity as botched criminal investigations in which precise forensic evidence of sexual assault is not included in the prosecution further contributes to a climate of tolerance for rape-murder, not infrequently committed by groups of men (Skrapec 2010: 249) in autos or by local men associated with human trafficking rings.

By this, it is important to note that sexual assassination is perpetrated *both* by unorganized criminal elements and by organized crime elements under certain circumstances. In other words, such acts of heinous violence against women are *not* just the product of organized crime drug-related gangs,¹ despite the cited association of femicide with communal violence (Respuesta del Estado 2008: 31–32). Nor it is clear the extent to which groups of men who may, or may not, be under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time of their rape-murders (CNDH 2003: 82-F; 116-F; 73-F) are members of a formal “gang” in the sense of an organized, relatively stable group of men with a common, self-nomination technique who live in a similar residential area (Pyrooz et al. 2013: 246).² Rather, multiple official

¹Hector Hawley, head of the Chihuahua State Crime Analysis and Forensics unit which investigates and documents the crime scenes of most of the women killed in Ciudad Juárez, has suggested that the majority of the femicides are “gang and drug related” and “jealous men” (*NYT* 6/23/12). It is less clear, however, if his assumption in at least one case is based on forensic analysis which ruled out rape. In this instance, Hawley argued that the male killer of a woman subject to brutal overkill wounds (stabbed 63 times and abandoned on a public street) must have “been on drugs” to commit such a murder but no forensic analysis which ruled out rape was referred to (*NYT* 6/23/12). Furthermore, as Meloy (2000: 6) argues, such massive violence to a victim can be consistent with so-called “catatymic elements [rage]” often found expressed in sexual homicides.

²In the 1993–2009 period, Cervera-Gómez (2010: 115; 2011: 26) found that only 9 % of all femicides in their data base were woman killed as the result of “communal violence” per se (n = 81) (1993–2009). Of this 9 %, almost half (4 %) were robbery related, with 1 % “fight or dispute” related and 1 % “revenge” related. This means that even under the category of “communal violence”, only 3 % of these could be directly related to gangs per se (youth violence). With respect to “organized crime and narco-trafficking related violence” femicides (29 %), it is not surprising given that these are drug-related assassinations (and thus subject to the strategic element of deception [White 2008: 5]), that little is known about the perpetrator in the majority (26 %) of cases (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 115).

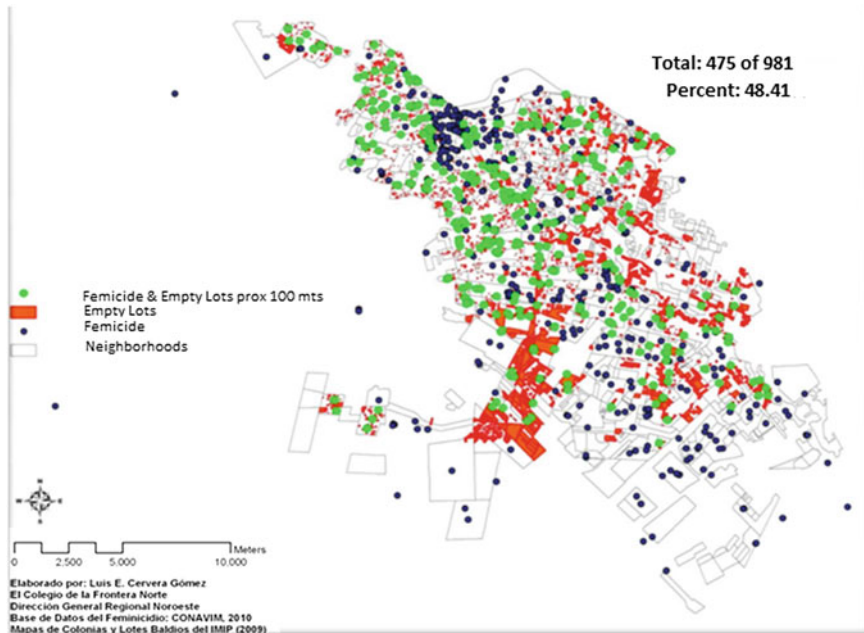
testimonies by members of small groups of sexual assassins often suggest a more haphazard collective membership motivation: partying and cruising for rape (Scully and Marolla 1998: 113, 121; Sanday 1990; Ehrhart and Sandler 1985).³ Thus, groups of men often take particular advantage of impunity to engage in “cruising” auto-abduction sexual assassinations in certain industrial zones of the city without safe streets.

Third, the presence of organized crime elements in the Juárez femicide is related importantly to the market for legal and illegal sexual services in the city which is traditionally concentrated in the Historical Center of the city (Juárez 2012). There was an empirical association between the rise in extortion of small business by armed enforcers of several Juárez cartels (*La Línea*) and the *Zetas* and an increase in the forced disappearance of women in the Historical Center during the “drug war” (2008–2012). This increase in organized crime-related human trafficking activity in the Historical Center and an increased demand for sexual services there are inter-related. Chapter 3 argues that the rise in the presence of organized crime-related elements in the sexual assassination of women in the Historical Center is strongly structured by the market-driven opportunities for extortion and profits from sexual slavery coinciding with the influx of military forces and the relative increase in power of organized crime elements there (*the drug-war increased the human trafficking of women by certain organized-crime related elements*).

Fourth and finally, the city of Ciudad Juárez is characterized by a spatial geography which includes multiple empty lots. Several of these spaces are well-known sites where women have been dumped after sexual assassination such as “Lote Bravo” (the Wild Parcel),⁴ Lote Algodonero (Cotton Field) and other

³All of the following quotes were the self-proclaimed “motivations” of sexual assassins as to how and why they initially got involved in a subsequent horrific, brutal rape-murder: “They told me to get in the car to go cruising and just to have fun” (Lugo 2008: 242); “They told me to get in the car because we were going to collect a shirt that I had lent to “T3-82-F” (CNDH 2003: 82-F); “They said ‘Hi’ to me on the street and invited me to go for a ride with them” (CNDH 2003: 82-F); “I happened to be walking down [the street] when I met up [some friends in a taxi] (CNDH 2003: 116). All of these narratives, irrespective of their relative veracity, illustrate the somewhat circumstantial coalescence of small groups of men who then get into autos and together go onto to participate in atrocious violence against women. In contrast, neighborhood street based gangs tend to “keep to their own streets”, often display obvious signs of social ranking within the group and do not exclusively engage in sexually-related violence against women (Hughes and Short 2014). This having been said, however, the limited existing data on the identity of sexual assassins in the city does not preclude the possibility that networks of sub-groups of men who work for trans-national criminal organizations (TCO’s) and/or gangs do not also regularly engage in off-duty blitz and/or partying-related auto-abductions. Much more research is necessary into the identities of sexual assassins in Juárez if we are to clarify their occupational trajectories and crime histories.

⁴It was reports of *partying* that preceded sexual assassinations by *La Línea* organized crime related elements. The Dallas Morning News, for example, reported in May 2004 that informants told law-enforcement officials that *La Línea* kidnapped and killed women during sex parties that often followed successful drug-smuggling runs across the Texas-Mexico border (5/2/2004).



Map 1.1 Femicide in relation to empty lots in Ciudad Juárez (1993–2010)

empty lots and open spaces around mountains in the desert (Cerro Bola, Cerro Cristo Negro, Lomas de Poleo) (Fragoso 2009: 98–99). In fact, geographer Cervera-Gómez (2010: 62, 92) has found that 48.5 % of all femicides in the city intersect spatially with empty lots ($n = 981$ cases, 1993–2000) (Map 1.1). As Map 1.1 shows, empty lots are particularly concentrated in the south and south-west zones of the city (shown in red). Chapters 2 and 3 further illustrate the “southern” expansion of femicide and forced disappearances into areas of the city characterized by multiple empty lots without security (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 91–93; Bass and Pérez 2008: 10) [2000–2014]. Thus, the spatial geography of Ciudad Juárez which includes multiple empty spaces is another factor explaining why sexual assassination repeats over decades in the city (*a spatial geography which includes multiple empty lots without adequate public or private security*). Thus, the analysis also builds on current mapping empirical research which seeks to better understand the variegated dynamics of violence against women in Ciudad Juárez.

In sum, this book presents a series of case narratives, spatial mappings and typological analysis of hundreds of sexual assassinations, as a specific *type* of murder of women in Ciudad Juárez, to argue that many of the killings are *sexual* in nature, occurring repeatedly in several identifiable *maquila* industrial zones and the Historical Center over several decades. These sexual assassinations are the product of four key factors: (a) industrialization without safe streets, (b) a criminal justice system with a history of impunity that fuels *machista* rape-murder, (c) a drug-war

that increased the human trafficking of women by certain organized-crime related elements, and (d) a spatial geography which includes multiple empty lots without adequate public or private security.

1.2 Femicide and Impunity in Ciudad Juárez

1.2.1 *Femicide, Industrialization and Globalization in Ciudad Juárez*

Early research linked femicide with the industrial character of Ciudad Juárez through the direct association of female workers in the factory system there. Some feminist scholars correlated the murder of women in Juárez with their employment in *maquilas* [factories] and hence the term “*maquiladora* murders” emerged (de Alba and Gúzman 2010: 1; Arriola 2007; Quiñones 1998). Theorists argued that female *maquila* workers were killed in a disposable human resource of labor in *maquiladora* production and profit, consumed and discarded in a cycle of waste (Wright 2001). This sparked an empirical debate over the occupations of murdered women in Juárez, as scholars sought to understand the depth of the connection between the *maquila* industry and femicide in the city. Fragoso (2002: 10), for example, found roughly 20.2 % of women were employed in the *maquilas* (1993–2001). Later, Fragoso (2009: 106) focused more narrowly on “systemic sexual femicide”, and found women were twice as likely to be associated with work in the *maquila* industry (20.8 %, n = 144) (1993–2004).⁵ In contrast, Albuquerque and Vemala (2008: 10) contended only 10 % of all women killed in Ciudad Juárez were employed in manufacturing (1993–2003).

Other scholars have made a broader link between *maquila* industrialization, culture and femicide in Ciudad Juárez. Some argue that the murder of women in Juárez was the result of the degradation of women in Mexican culture, often linked to the low status of female victims who were factory workers (Garwood 2002). Others argue that the new found fiscal and social status and power of female *maquila* workers in the context of a culture which assumed men were the primary wage earners triggered male resentment putting them at greater risk for femicide (Kopinak 1995; Penida-Madrid 2011).

Journalistic accounts of femicide in Juárez pointed toward the idea that structural changes in Juárez which gave rise of industrial employment for women also them exposed them more heavily to forced abductions. Rodríguez states in her book *Daughter's of Juarez* (2007: 2) that many girls and women “...had been

⁵This includes *maquila* workers (13.2 %, workers who were also students (3.5 %) and teens and women who went to look for work at a *maquila* (4.2 %). Students made up an additional 13.2 %. In other words, 34 % of Fragoso’s (2009) sample of 144 systemic sexual feminicides were *maquila* related workers and students.

snatched from the downtown area, while waiting for a bus or shopping in stores. An alarming number were abducted en route to their jobs at the assembly plants, known locally as *maquiladoras* that made parts and appliances for export”. Arriola (2007) documented a general connection between femicide and residence near industrial plants. She noted that the influx of many new workers to a city unable to meet their housing needs meant that many families “stake[d] out plots of land near public utilities or industrial parks, where they pirate essential public services and live in shacks made of sticks, cardboard, rags, or discarded construction platforms. Some even make their homes next to trash dumps”.

Currently, however, there is no single spatial study documenting the location of abduction sites in sexual assassinations in Juárez and their potential association to industrial sites.

Globalization and the *maquila* industry also directly impact government funding for public services in the city. In Juárez, the “global assembly line” production model (Sassen 1991) has led to “an expansive urban land pattern with wide areas devoid of public services” (Fuentes and Peña 2010: 106–107). According to Peña (2002), municipal governments can often control speculative urbanization that can accompany rapid industrial development through such powers as eminent domain and strong property tax base. Yet, as Fuentes and Peña (2010: 106–107) note, eminent domain is a state power in Chihuahua and a strong local property tax base is lacking in the city. This has led to a strengthening of politically connected developers to control land development in the city and to an urban development model that “privatizes benefits and socializes costs” (Peña 2002). In some documented instances, millions of dollars (\$US) in public resources are allocated for road construction related to industry needs. Yet, basic public services including public security, equipment are lacking in the growth of large, working-class neighborhoods. In Lomas de Poleo, for example, a principal sector in the city where the bodies of assassinated women are left (Fragoso 2009: 99), public opposition to its initial urban development on the grounds that insufficient public services were planned for the zone was over-ridden by entrepreneurs on the City Council (Fuentes and Peña 2010: 106).

Furthermore, despite the globally-driven vicissitudes of employment in the Juárez *maquila* industry,⁶ education and employment levels still remain especially low in poor or working class districts to the West [Poniente] and South of the city (International Crisis Group 2015: 19). These remain those industrial zones where there is a chronic shortage of public funds for street lightings and access to justice institutions (Observatorio Ciudadano 2014: 403,409, 412).

Finally, even enhanced public security funding to combat the global “drug war” has also not given rise to a robust community-based policing model in the city. Despite exponential nation-wide increases in public security spending by the

⁶The 2008 global financial crisis led the *maquila* industry in Juárez to let go of tens of thousands of workers of their jobs (Rueda 2009) but the U.S. economic recovery fueled a job recovery in the industry by 2014, although formal employment remains below its January 2008 peak (Villapando 2014; Gaceta Caseem 2013).

Mexican government on improving the operational capacity of the police to combat organized crime (216 %, 2006–2011), this has not translated into improved community level public security spending. Municipal police spending remains at 0.4–0.5 % of GDP in Mexico, well under the average spend by OECD countries (1.6 %, 2008) (Montaño and Palma 2013: 12–13,17). At the city level in Juárez, even significant increases in federal funds for police in Juárez (2012) did not bring the police to citizen ratio to that of the national average (International Crisis Group 2015: 14–15). By early 2014, more than 90 % of city residents were unaware of neighborhood policing initiatives including enhanced police patrolling or other crime-prevention programs according to a survey.⁷

1.2.2 Impunity, Femicide and the Criminal Justice System in Juárez

Impunity for femicide as well as for male homicide is well-known in Ciudad Juárez, although reliable statistics are not often available. de Alba (2010: 70) notes that nobody really knows the exact number of victims in Ciudad Juárez so it is likely that the overwhelming majority of murder crimes against women are never prosecuted. Acosta Urquidi (2005: 3) argues the prosecution data on the Juárez feminicides show a disproportionate number of cases remaining open and/or without adjudication with only a total of 12 criminal sentences for 21 perpetrators of some 340 murders by 2005. This represents a 6.1 % prosecution rate; significantly lower than the average prosecution rate for civil homicide (17.2 %-national rate, 2001) (Zepeda Lecuona 2004: 278).⁸

Yet, the Chihuahua government claimed that due to enhanced investigations and prosecutions, it resolved 68 % of 53 female killings from 10/2004 to 11/2008 with convictions or detention, or order of arrest by 2010 (El Norte 1/4/10). Yáñez-Romero (2004: 171) argues that the prosecution of feminicides suffers from a similar set of problems characteristic of criminal investigations in Mexican State Attorney General's Offices, i.e. "criminal investigators who do not investigate but 'integrate' information, police interrogators that do not know how to scientifically investigate but rather "interrogate", forensic personnel that only comply with the most basic information (photographs, reports on physical integrity), improvised politics, discontinuous politics without inter-institutional coordination, without systemized information, arbitrary decisions which have no long-term institutional coordination; all of which runs contrary to the needs of citizens and to their right to justice".

⁷Federal funds did bring some improvements such as building new schools and community centers in some low-income neighborhoods in the city (International Crisis Group 2015: 14–15).

⁸There were no reported homicide prosecution rates for the state of Chihuahua before 2008–2009 (Magaloni and Zepeda 2004: 185).

Criminologist Skrapec (2010) made a link between culture, femicide and the criminal justice system in Juárez. Skrapec reviewed hundreds of files of girls and women who were specifically raped and murdered (1993–2002). [She did not review intimate/domestic violence, prostitution or drug-related murders of women].

On the one hand, Skrapec found that a dominant motive for sexual assassination was what is seen elsewhere or “sexual violations of victims for purposes of personal gratification on the part of the offenders who then discard the bodies (Skrapec 2010: 248)”. On the other hand, Skrapec (2010: 249) also argued that a striking feature of femicide in city was the high number of groups of men (2–3 or more) committing sexual murders because “each member of such a group is a potential threat to every other member of the group as a potential witness against him”. She suggests that these group killings may be explained by the cultural devaluation of the woman, the female, in society, which is also reflected in the tepid prosecution of femicides. Skrapec (2010: 249) noted:

It’s not such a big deal when they kill a woman because the worth of the woman really has not been established in society as anything of importance. However, if you were to kill anyone who is higher up in the drug cartel or something like that, then you would not talk about it because that person was valued, had importance in the society. There would be ramifications—you would be essentially the target; a rival drug group might go after you. But what we have seen is that, by and large, these murders have gone by unprosecuted. This tells the perpetrators of these crimes that they can essentially continue to conduct business as usual, which includes the killing of women and girls in this city.

After years of domestic and international pressure from women’s groups to improve the policing and prosecution of femicide in Ciudad Juárez⁹ (de Alba 2010: 67; Washington-Valdez 2006: 257; Arce 2010: 256; Staudt 2008; Flores 2010), the Costa Rica based Inter-American Court of Human Rights issued an obligatory court order to the Mexican government to seriously address the pattern of disappearances, punish the perpetrators of earlier femicides and take measures to prevent violence against women in Ciudad Juárez (Simmons 2014). In response this and other international legal orders, the Chihuahua State Attorney General’s Juárez Special Prosecutor of Gender Crimes of the State Attorney General’s Office [Fiscalía Especializada en Atención a Mujeres Víctimas por Razones de Género [FEM] was created in 2012.

⁹One example of the type of inadequate criminal investigation frequently discussed in the literature on femicide in Ciudad Juárez is that of Rosalbi Espinoza López. The official National Mexican Human Rights Commission (2003: 48-F) severely questioned the Social Representative of the Chihuahua State Attorney General Office for his/her line of investigation which linked the murder of Rosalbi to the *Ruterros* (Bus Driver) gang; a group of bus drivers found guilty in the femicides of 8 girls and women (Mariano-García 2005: 4). Apparently, the Medical Department of the State Attorney General’s forensic report found the rape committed by only a single individual with a precise genotype. Yet, this report was not even been included in Rosalbi’s file. Instead, the investigation was dropped and then “without foundation or motivation” linked to the investigation of Brenda Patricia Méndez Vázquez.

1.2.3 *Forced Abduction and Impunity in the Historical Center in the Context of the “Drug War”*

In 2008, the federal government launched a “war on drugs” on organized crime in Mexico that resulted in more than 121,669 murders in the nation by 2012 and 155,464 by 2014 (Heinle et al. 2015). Early on, as violence intensified between organized crime elements and the government in 2008, Juárez became a “red zone” for murder which was estimated at 33 % of the national average (Department of Interior 2010). The city was also largely the urban center of a massive surge of military and federal troops who replaced the local police in the downtown Historical Center of Juárez.¹⁰ Despite this huge increase in armed forces, however, the level of violence remained much the same in Juárez, at least until late 2013–2014 (Moloeznik 2013: 3; International Crisis Group 2015: 27). Organized civil society actors also intensified their protests of increased femicide, disappearances, human trafficking, and the militarization of the city during this same period (Fragoso 2014; Staudt 2015).

While federal troops were stationed in the Historical Center of Ciudad Juárez (2008–2013), violence and unemployment coupled with the closing and/or abandonment of many small businesses led to a rise in the extortion, payment for “protection” and kidnapping of those businesses and businessmen that remained. These changes took place in the context of a failed renovation plan for the zone (Wright 2013: 839). Not only did the organized-crime related killings of women surge during this period but so did the involuntary disappearances of young women and girls with the Historical Center as the geographic epicenter for these disappearances (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 8–10,18). One data set found that 86 % of the involuntary disappearances over a nineteen year period [1993–2012] took place at the time when federal troops were concentrated downtown (211 of 246 cases, surging in 2008 to a peak in 2010 then dropping in 2011–2012 to 2008 levels) (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 9, 14).

For Gustavo Llamas, director of the Juárez non-profit organization “*Sexualidad Responsable*” (Responsible Sexuality), there is a direct spatial link between the rise in involuntary disappearances of women and the “war on drugs” in the Historical Center of the city. According to Llamas, there has been long-standing official toleration of the prostitution of minors in some of the 500 night clubs, bars and massage parlors in the Red Light zone controlled largely by organized crime groups which also control prostitution in the zone. Llamas also found the participation of some corrupt police who exploit women (*La Jornada* 10/5/12). By 2011–2012, however, *Sexualidad Responsable* detected “new” organized groups of “watchmen” downtown in their investigation of prostitution in the Historical Center. These “watchmen” have been identified as members of *Barrio Azteca*, a group dedicated

¹⁰Mainly focused in and around urban Ciudad Juárez, the state of Chihuahua saw an increase of 13,800 deployments from 2008 to 2011 (Astorga and Shirk 2010; SEDENA 2010, Schatz 2014: 31).

to the extortion of downtown business who were forced to pay “tax” quotas until the group was disbanded in late 2012 (*Redacción* 4/11/13). Ominously, *Barrio Azteca* allegedly gave the option that local businesses could supply their group with women who they would then force into sexual slavery (*Norte Digital* 5/4/15) thereby both avoiding the “tax” and adding a new, strong fiscal incentive for the forced abduction of girls and teens in the Historical Center.

1.3 The Centrality of Sexual Assault in Sexual Assassination

1.3.1 *Definitions and Centrality: A Contentious Terrain?*

Meloy (2000: 13) argues that sexual murder crimes of women involve the pairing of sexual arousal and extreme violence toward women. Fragoso (2009: 12) contends that two main features define sexual murders: “the desire of lust and the desire to kill”. A specific sub-type of femicide—“systemic sexual femicide” (Fragoso 2009) occurs when:

the murderer or murderers is/are motivated by sadistic sexual impulses, and the victim becomes a sexual object for the murderer(s) (Cameron and Frazer 1987:17–19). The torture and the disposal of the body are part of the sexualization and eroticization of the crime. These murders do not lack a motive: the kidnapping, rape, torture, mutilation and, finally, the killing of these women are a ‘sexual assassination’ (Caputi 1987).

Radford (1992: 3) and Egger (1990) argue that sexual murder crimes of women, as a form of sexual violence, also involve the seeking of power and control of men over women. There exists some controversy in society and the literature over whether the pursuit of sadistic pleasure or the achievement of power and control is the principle causative (versus secondary) motive in such violence (Myers et al. 2006). Many argue that the motive behind such sexual murder is not primarily “for material gain” (Egger 1990). Nevertheless, young girls are frequently “disappeared” and later murdered in the sexual exploitation of children for material commercial purposes in Mexico and in Ciudad Juárez in particular (Azoala 2010).

Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez (2013: 7) contend that “systemic sexual femicide” is *one of the most pervasive* expressions of women killing in Juárez [emphasis added]. As the authors note:

Femicide has different expressions in this city, and since 1993 up to April 9, 2013, according to our data base 1441 girls and women have been killed. Girls and women are killed by relatives, or known and unknown men. Motives for being a victim are based on gender discrimination. Although all lost lives are important, in order to document one of the most pervasive expressions of women killing, we focus on what is defined as “Systemic sexual femicide”. [Specifically] Systemic sexual femicide [is] “the assassination of women who are kidnapped, tortured, and raped. Their nude or seminude corpses are left in the desert, in empty lots, in sewer pipes, in

garbage dumps, and on train tracks. Through these cruel acts the assassins strengthen the unequal gender relations that distinguish the sexes by emphasizing otherness, difference, and inequality (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 7)".

Furthermore, they note that this type of murder of girls and women continues (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013).

In contrast, as aforementioned, Meloy (2014) and some government officials claim that the majority of the murders of women in Juárez are largely not sexual but arise from domestic violence and communitarian violence (Respuesta del Estado 2005).

1.3.2 Sexual Assassinations as Premeditated Abduction-Rape Crimes

The term "sexual assassination" refers to a complex, extremely violent crime. As an assassination, it is a *targeted* crime whereby solo or groups of men deliberately pre-plan to abduct a girl or woman who is engaged in an everyday activity on a public street often in broad daylight. Many of these abductions occur under the threat of violence or death to the girl or woman if she does not get into the vehicle and/or by the forcible physical act of pulling the person into the automobile itself.

Such deliberate targeting means that even when young girls or women are "lured" into the automobiles or into the company of men who later kill them, it is still an assassination because of the use of deception or treachery in the execution of crime; both hallmark traits of assassinations (White 2007, 2008). It is also a "lethal hate" crime or misogynist crime precisely because the target is a female (girl or woman) and thus the gender of the victim is central to the crime (Russell 2011; Caputi 1989). As Fragoso (2009: 15) notes, "femicide is an assassination where misogyny is present".

It is also a premeditated sexual murder (Meloy 2000: 9) because solo or groups of men plan ahead to "silence" the girl or woman's ability to recount the rape and/or testify against them. Typically in Juárez, this occurs after their transport to less populated areas in and around industrial areas. Very high levels of impunity in the criminal justice system in the city further fuel such *machista* crimes and facilitate their brutality.

Sexual assassination is also typically characterized as an "overkill" crime because of the infliction of more injury than is necessary to kill a person (Ressler 1988: 55). Fragoso (2009: 94) argues that that sexual part of the Juárez feminicides have often remained invisible in the official statistics because forensic classifications of the cause of death such as "strangulation", "head injury" or "heart attack" simply overlook sexual violence and "other types of violence done to women's bodies."

In this book, it is centrally argued that the *rape and mutilation* of women along with their murder is a key defining element (gender-specific character) of these sexual assassinations. The gender-based of rape cannot be underestimated. Nearly

92 % of rape and rape-murder victims are women (Felson and Cundiff 2014: 277).¹¹ The murder and mutilation of thousands of men in Ciudad Juárez are simply not accompanied by descriptions of their savage rape and the public abandonment of their bodies in positions of “sexual disarray” characteristic of sexual assassinations (Ríos and Shirk 2011; Ressler 1988).¹²

In contrast, this analysis finds confirmed sexual assault (9 %), sexual mutilation injuries (19.2 %) and overkill injuries (75 %) in over 145 girls, teens and women murdered in Ciudad Juárez. As such, rather than focusing on disputes over what percentage of feminicides are/were “domestic” versus “sexual” in motive, a spatial analysis is conducted of the abduction site of multiple sexual assassinations (1996–2001, 2011–2013) and officially registered disappearances of women in city (2000–2014). The argument advanced herein is that there is a pattern of assassinations in repetitive locations to silence girls, teens and women after sexual assault and when human trafficking victims are no longer considered “useful”.

1.4 Sexual Assassinations, Disappearances and “Place”

Córdoba (2010: 114) raises the question of the importance of “place” or geography in the Juárez feminicides, noting that one plausible reason for the repetition of “sex-related serial crimes” in Ciudad Juárez “perhaps it is, because when we inscribe our geographies, we create artifacts that impose significance on the world”.

Fuentes and Peña (2010) argue that a “hot spot” approach to the analysis of femicide in Ciudad Juárez offers a promising avenue for understanding how immediate living conditions as indicators of both lack of economic resources and lack of public security, put women more at risk for femicide.

1.4.1 *Spatial Segregation or Exclusion and Femicide in Juárez*

“Place” and/or “hot spots” defined as spatial segregation are, in fact, a determining factor in understanding violence against women in Ciudad Juárez. Using GIS tools related to spatial analysis and geo-statistics techniques, 11–15 distinctive femicide “hot spots” have been found in the city (a spatial pattern defined as clusters, Geary and Moran index). These multiple “hot spots” occur in the zones of the Historical Center, the Northwest [Anapra & Lomas de Poleo], the Poniente, and the

¹¹Smith et al. (2012: 138) found only 8 % of rape and rape-murder victims are men from a data set of 300,000 sexual assaults in the US (2000–2007) (NIBRS data) in 17 US states.

¹²Ressler (1988: 59) described “sexual disarray” as bodies left completely nude, private parts displayed or clothing removed to expose private areas of the body.

South-East (Cervera-Gómez 2011: 49–55; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013). Such hot spots do *not* largely overlap with areas of the city where male homicide (drug-trafficking and civil) is concentrated.¹³

Instead, these feminicide “hot spots” are located in specific zones or clusters of neighborhoods which lack of access to basic urban infrastructure, equipment and adequate public security (Cervera-Gómez 2011; Flores 2011; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013). Despite differences in the relative concentration of feminicides, *all* of the 11–15 hotspots were located in middle to lower-class neighborhoods which lack of access to basic urban infrastructure, equipment and adequate public security including both police stations and security cameras. Cervera-Gómez (2011: 49) notes:

Relating the hotspots with urban public security elements, it becomes evident that the only zone in which there are either police stations or security cameras is in the critical central historical zone. Nevertheless, even within this commercial zone, the placement of security cameras is biased [toward businesses]...What is evident is the exclusion of these urban elements from the majority of critical regions of feminicide.

Thus, spatial segregation or exclusion from basic urban infrastructure, equipment and adequate public security including both police stations and security cameras characterizes the “hot spot” research on feminicide in Ciudad Juárez.

Another line of research on “place” focuses more narrowly on “systemic sexual femicide” and correlates residence with a sample of 84 girls, teens and women (1993–2009). Hernández (2010: 50–51) found that 95 % resided in poor neighborhoods in the North-West, Poniente (North, Central and South Poniente) and South-Eastern zones of Juárez. This has given support to the proposition that victims of sexual violence in Juárez live in low income neighborhoods (Fragoso 2009).¹⁴

¹³Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez (2013: 20) note that “unlike the hotspots for feminicide and disappeared girls, spatial analysis of male homicides indicates that its territory is not correlated to poverty or infrastructure deficits. [Instead] ... it is possible to relate the two northern hotspots of homicide with the international bridges linkages to the main territory used to control drugs movements into the U.S.A. The second hotspot may be theorized as a territory of domestic drug dealers at Ciudad Juarez”.

¹⁴Saldaña Hernández (2010: 61) correlated residence in the Poniente as further divided into a North, West, Center and South. In the North were the neighborhoods of Mexico 68, Puerto Anapra, Azteca, Libertad, 16 de Septiembre, Mariano Escobedo, Plutarco E. Calles, Lomas de Poleo, Rancho Anapra, Francisco Villa, Ampliación Fronteriza, Adolfo L. Mateos, Juárez, Barrio Alto and Galeana. In the Center and South Poniente, this includes the neighborhoods of Granjas de Chapultepec, Oasis Revolución, Pánfilo Natera, Santa María, División del Norte, Revolución Mexicana, Iro de Mayo and Nuevo Hipódromo. The South-East includes the neighborhoods of Héroes de la Revolución, La Cuesta, Senderos de San Isidro, Lomas de San José, Ampliación Aeropuerto, Granjero y Zaragoza. The North-East zones of Juárez includes the neighborhood of Moradas del Porvenir. The *colonias* in the North-East [NE] of Ciudad Juárez are predominantly those in higher-income areas as measured by socioeconomic status, resident level of education, access to piped water and proportion of houses with solid roofing (Fuentes and Hernández 2013: 249; McDonald and Grineski 2012: 200, 202; Saldaña Hernández 2010: 72).

1.4.2 Human Trafficking Disappearances and Impunity in the Historical Center

Since the 1990s, girls, teens and women have been repeatedly subject to forced abductions or “disappearances” consisting of physical seizures on public streets, in public downtown markets and near major bus transit terminals (Washington-Valdez 2006: 16–18; *La Policiaca* 10/8/10; Legarde y de los Ríos 2010: xxii; Juárez 2012). Some journalists even speak of a first and second generation of disappearances in the city (Monterrosa 2014). These disappearances of women in Ciudad Juárez over time have also been concentrated geographically in a few specific areas in the city, namely in the Historical Center and a few smaller spots in the South and South-East (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 18; *Norte Digital* 8/7/13; Juárez 2012).

Repetitive forced abductions in the same zones over time point toward collusion or at least acquiescence in the criminal justice system (Holmes 2009; Shelley 2010: 6; Domínguez-Ruvalcaba and Blancas 2010). Juárez (2012) directly links the disappearances of girls and teens in the Historical Center for commercial sexual exploitation and their subsequent assassination (when they are no longer deemed useful) to impunity. He writes (2012: 71):

In Juárez, reality supersedes fiction. The center of Juárez is a red zone for child prostitution, of sexual slavery of young girls who barely are 18 years old and are subject to prostitution with all the permission of the authorities and police. In Juárez, with money, anything you want, you can have....The entire zone between the Monument and the Cathedral is the red zone for the disappearance of young girls in Ciudad Juárez. In this space, barely two kilometers in diameter, dozens of adolescent girls have been seen for the last time whose paths were subsequently lost. It is a zone replete with small businesses and street shops which in many cases serve as the perfect shells to camouflage their real function: The capture of young girls...Many of the disappeared went to the Center to shop, in some cases, to look for work, or some even worked or had worked in the zone.”

1.4.3 The Importance of “Public Space” for Sexual Assassination

Research has also been conducted into the places where the abandoned bodies of victims of “systemic sexual feminicides” are left in the city. It points toward the importance of public spaces for the execution of sexual assassination. Cervera-Gómez (2010: 136) found that only 2.5 % of systemic sexual feminicides were found in a private space (house or hotel) (1993–2009, n = 86). This means that in 97.5 % of all systemic sexual feminicides, the body of girl, teen or women was found in uninhabited/unpopulated places, often on the outskirts of the city. In contrast, only 10.9 % of women killed in Juárez by intimate feminicide were found in uninhabited places and/or empty lots (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 131). The use of vehicles (auto or buses) to transport and abandon women on the outskirts of Juárez

matches stranger rape or “cruising” auto-abduction feminicides (Scully and Marolla 1998: 113,121; Sanday 1990; Ehrhart and Sandler 1985).

Current studies on systemic sexual feminicide also analyze the person’s age (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 11–59.5 % aged 10–19; 21.9 % aged 20–30), victim residence (Hernández 2010: 50–51) and city of origin (Fragoso 2009: 108).

While each of these studies adds vital information on sexual assassination in the city, the current spatial “hot spot” studies do not discriminate out systemic sexual feminicide from the other sub-types of feminicide (Cervera-Gómez 2011; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013). In part, this is because, as Fragoso (2009: 19–20,118) notes, certain information is very difficult to obtain on these feminicides, such as the street address of the place the person was last seen before they disappeared.

1.4.4 A Spatial Analysis of Abduction Zones

This study begins with the fact that a majority of sexual assassinations in Juárez start with the act of the *abduction* of girls, teens and women in a specific location. Investigation into the place of abduction is critical both to solving sexual assassinations and in terms of their prevention. The head of the Juárez FEM [Juárez Special Prosecutor of Gender Crimes], Ernesto Jáurequi Venegas admitted that multiple investigations into feminicides were stalled because it is key to determine the place and the moment that the girl or woman was abducted which was not originally done (*La Jornada* 7/20/12). The forced nature of abductions (originating in violence) occurs whether they are profit-generating [human trafficking-related] or not [sexual assassination]).

Using women’s non-profit group and official legal sources, Chaps. 2 and 3 of the analysis systematically record the city zone, based on street information of eye-witnesses of the last person to see the girl, teen or woman alive of 133 sexual assassinations [1996–2001, 2011–2013] and officially-registered disappearances [2000–2014]. On the basis of this geographical information, a systematic spatial analysis in the city over time of reveals that female pedestrians in selected, industrial neighborhoods in the Poniente, South-South-East and Border areas have been subject to repetitive sexual assassinations at the neighborhood level. Chapter 2 examines, at the micro-level, how the inter-play of exclusion from public and private security and a lack of vetting of public and private security personnel for sexual violence facilitated such lethal sexual assaults upon girls, teens and women engaged in routine activities (walking to and from school and work). Chapter 2 also shows how blitz auto abductions on public streets (Border, Poniente) and impunity in the criminal justice system produced “pockets of opportunity” for repetitive crimes on often the same pedestrian pathways along abandoned railroad land corridors to and from urban industrial parks (Poniente), federal lands and *maquiladora* plants located at uninhabited areas of the city (South-South-East).

Chapter 3 of this book finds a spatial pattern in the disappearances of multiple girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez. This pattern follows a bi-modal

distribution in the city. 55 % of the FEM registered disappearances are concentrated where there is a market (Historical Center) for illegal sexual services. 40 % of the officially-registered disappeared girls, teens and women either spoke to, or were seen by, family members, friends or witnesses in several smaller “hotspots” in the Poniente/South/South-East. There, more diffuse forms of human trafficking are suspected and (again) certain men take advantage of the impunity to sexually assassinate girls, teens and women (Cornejo Juarez 2007; Borjón Nieto 2004; Pérez-Espino 2004; CNDH 2003; Ortiz 1999; Rodríguez 2007).

Forced abduction disappearances are facilitated by several “gaps” in the rule of law in Ciudad Juárez; namely the exemption from law from the powerful and lack of access to the judiciary and to fair process by the underprivileged (O’Donnell 1999). Chapter 3 thus also presents a detailed institutional analysis of the roots of such judicial, police and public security related impunity or lack of monitoring in these zones. The analysis finds that fiscal incentives (corruption, collusion) and bureaucratic obstacles (budgetary) perpetuate a situation lacking in proper public security equipment such as surveillance cameras (Cervera-Gómez 2011: 57) and a failure to use such security equipment correctly.¹⁵ Recent governmental efforts to reverse judicial and police apathy, while laudable goals reached in locating some disappeared girls, teens and women and in prosecuting some sexual assassinations, still remain hampered by limited institutional capacity, budgetary constraints and a U.S. policy of dumping sexual offenders in El Paso or repatriating them to Juárez.

Appendix

The Mexican data set NAAIS (Núcleo de Acopio y Análisis de Información en Salud) classifies 23 sub-type categories for female deaths in Mexico under the category of-External Causes of Death by Traumas, Poisoning and Some Other External Causes. Within this category, under the sub-category of “traumas”, there is the further specification of deaths by specific traumatic origin (to head, throat, abdomen, multiple regions and complicating traumas and their sequelas). The NAAIS homicide data under the general category of—Basic Causes of Female Deaths yields 35 sub-causes of deaths. These sub-types include multiple types of accidental death (pedestrian, bicycle, motorcycle, vehicular [car/truck/heavy truck/bus and other vehicular accidents], water transport accidents, air/space accidents, falls, accidental drowning, electricity-related accidents, smoke/fire accidents), death by explosion from inanimate mechanical objects, aggression, contact

¹⁵Staudt (2008: 14) noted in 2005 that even a high-tech surveillance camera installed by the new State Prevention Police was turned upward making it useless to identify a perpetrator in a murder case. 60 % of Juárez municipal police officers contended in 2009 that the conditions for patrolling (equipment, cars) were in “bad” or “very bad” condition (Justiciabarometro 2011: 29). For a more detailed analysis of the cultural and institutional problems of the Mexican and Ciudad Juárez police, see: Sabet (2012), Justiciabarometro (2011).

with heat-related deaths, deaths from animals/poisonous plants and other nature-related deaths, accidental poisoning, deaths from excess effort, travel or privation, accidental explosions, self-inflicted wounds, war operations, drug-overdose using legal substances, and three subtypes of medical procedures related deaths (iatrogenic deaths). The specific sub-category of the NAAIS data used by Albuquerque and Vemala (2008) in their study of female death rates on the US-Mexican border is not detailed in their article nor in their 2014 article (Albuquerque and Vemala 2014). In his 2007 article, however, Albuquerque details those male and female border homicides in selected Mexican border cities were drawn from the NAAIS using the ICD-9 (WHO International Classification of Diseases). He notes that the homicide rate was created by combining codes E960–E969 (homicide and injury purposely inflicted by other persons) and E980–E989 (injury undetermined whether accidentally or purposely inflicted), while in the years under the ICD-10, it was created combining codes X85-Y09 (assault), Y10-Y34 (event of undetermined intent), Y87.1 (sequelae of assault), Y87.2 (sequelae of events of undetermined intent), and Y89.9 (sequelae of unspecified external cause). While such classification is clearly functional for defining an *entire universe* of civil murder crimes against women, it does not provide details on the incidence of sexual assault-related deaths within that universe. To give an example just using the WHO (ICD-9) homicide and injury codes, Albuquerque and Vemala (2008) included sexual assault (E-910), assault by strangulation (E-963), assault by cutting/piercing (E-966) and adult and child abuse (E-967) which are subsumed into a larger universe along with (E961) assault by corrosive or caustic substance, except poisoning, (E962) assault by poisoning, (E964) assault by submersion [drowning], (E965), assault by firearms and explosives, (E966) assault by cutting and piercing instrument, (E968) assault by other and unspecified means and (E969) late effects of injury purposely inflicted by other person. Yet, the type, degree and repetitiveness of injuries sustained in the murder are precisely the level of detail required to differentiate a sexually related murder with sexual sadistic injuries (DiMaio 2000; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 7–8; Fragoso 2009: 63 [mutilation and rape]) from a robbery-related murder or a neighborhood dispute related murder or even an organized-crime related murder.

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Chapter 2

“Dangerous Streets”: Sexual Assassination, Impunity and Industrial Zones in Ciudad Juárez

Abstract In this chapter, it is argued that a lack of social investment in neighborhood public security and equipment, a failure of private security and a lack of vetting of public and private security personnel for sexual violence facilitated sexual assassinations in three main specific mixed industrial neighborhoods zones in Juárez: the Poniente [West], South/South-East and the Border. A spatial analysis finds that lethal sexual assaults upon girls, teens and women engaged in routine activities (walking to and from school and work) took place on public streets and unlighted foot pathways in all zones. In the Poniente, frequently-used pedestrian pathways along abandoned railroad land corridors to and from urban industrial parks greatly increased the risk for sexual assassination. In the South/South-Eastern zones, sexual assassination also took place near the railroad corridor, federal lands and maquiladora plants located at uninhabited areas of the city. Very high levels of impunity in the criminal justice system particularly fueled blitz auto abductions and produced “pockets of opportunity” for repetitive crimes at the neighborhood level in all zones.

2.1 Introduction

Sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez is heavily concentrated in and around identifiable, poorer neighborhoods with a strong *maquila* presence but with very poor public and private security on the streets, especially for pedestrians. An spatial analysis of the last place multiple girls, teens and women were seen alive in Ciudad Juárez before their femicide (1996–2001, 2011–2013) reveals they occurred in three main *specific* mixed industrial neighborhoods zones in Juárez: the Poniente [West], South/South-East and the Border. These zones encompass several industrial areas including the Gema-Juárez-Fernandez Triangle, North Gate [Poniente], Flourex, Electrolux [South/South-East] and Alta Vista *maquila*, Magna Flex, Parque Industrial Hermanos Escobar [Border] outside of the Historical Center.

The argument advanced in this chapter is that a lack of social investment in neighborhood public security and equipment (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2011),

a failure of private security and a lack of vetting of public and private security personnel for sexual violence facilitated sexual assassinations in these mixed industrial areas. Lethal sexual assaults upon girls, teens and women engaged in routine activities (walking to and from school and work) took place on public streets and unlighted foot pathways in all zones. More specifically, in the Poniente, frequently-used pedestrian pathways along abandoned railroad land corridors to and from urban industrial parks greatly increased the risk for sexual assassination. In the South/South-Eastern zones, sexual assassination also took place near the railroad corridor, federal lands and *maquiladora* plants located at uninhabited areas of the city. Very high levels of impunity in the criminal justice system particularly fueled blitz auto abductions and produced “pockets of opportunity” for repetitive crimes at the neighborhood level in all zones.

2.2 Rape, Sexual Assassination and Impunity

2.2.1 *Rape as an End in and of Itself*

In this section, it is argued that sexual assassinations in Ciudad Juárez are “abstracted from other aspects of human activity and turned into final and exclusive end” (Marx 1975: 326–327).

Scholars have linked the feminicides in Ciudad Juárez with the process of globalization through the concept of commodified labor. The concept of “commodification” typically refers to the social process by which something which does not have an original economic value is assigned a value within a market. It refers to a modification of social relationships which were formerly outside the commerce system into commercial relationship in everyday use (Marx 1884; Rushkoff 2005).

The (mal)-treatment of the bodies of female *maquila* workers in Ciudad Juárez as commodities within an international capitalistic system reflects a view of women as abstract use-objects (of labor) rather than as complex persons (Wright 2009; Wood 2002; Villa quoted in Livingston 2004). Wood (2002: 34) argues that “*maquiladoras*, representing the commodity exchange relationship of capitalism, come to symbolize prostitution”. Villa in Livingston (2004: 339–340) takes the analogy between capitalist workers (*maquiladora workers*) and prostitution even further to argue that Mexican prostitutes who serve foreigners is a type of commodification. This is due to the perception of the borderland as an area of endangerment because it is where Mexico meets “the country that for many years was considered the historical enemy, the country that, according to Mexican narrative, stole half of the national territories (339)”. As such, *maquiladora* workers, like prostitutes who service foreign men, represent “the openness of the border to the needs of the ‘other’ (340)”.

Marx, however, (1975: 326–327) was not directly referring to rape per se with his discussion of commodification but to the relegation of sexuality to exclusively

the private realm of the home. This relegation occurs as part of the larger process of alienation which happens in “the division under capitalism between the public world of work and the private world of the home, of which sexuality is a part (Wilson 2013)”.

Feminist and non-feminist theorists alike have long recognized that individual sexual assassins lack any recognizable sense of empathy for the women whom they afflict with their violent actions (Dobash and Dobash 2011; Silcox 2010; Fragoso 2009a, b: 292). To utterly lack empathy for another human being by raping them is to “view of women as [abstract] objects, commodities, ‘things’ to be owned, used and consumed” (Caputi and Russell 1992: 18). Skrapec (2010: 248) argues the Juárez feminicides are “sexual violations of victims for purposes of personal gratification on the part of the offenders who then discard the bodies”.

This chapter understands rape as a form of sex that is abstracted or alienated from the complexity of human social relationships as referring to the *social process* by which it is “abstracted from other aspects of human activity and turned into final and exclusive end” in itself (Marx 1975: 326–327).¹ It is a forced (not voluntary) sexuality imposed by another. Rape, which treats the victim as less than fully human, has thus been understood as an impoverished form of sexuality or “alienated sexuality” (Wilson 2013) while sexual assassination has as its purpose the complete destruction of the person.

2.2.2 *Impunity Facilitates Sexual Assassination*

Rape thus cannot not be understood as separate from society and from social relations. In terms of rape and sexual assassination, the State mediates the relationship between the individual’s body and the social contexts in which rape occurs. It does so either by facilitating the conditions, making it more likely to occur (low levels of prosecution for sexual assault and sexual assassination, lack of adequate neighborhood public security infrastructure, blaming the victim attitudes) or restricting those conditions (active prosecution of rape and sexual assassination, rigorous localized public security, campaigns to denigrate rape and to promote women’s rights).

The relative degree that the right of a citizen has to transverse public spaces without being abducted and/or sexually assaulted or sexually assassinated reflects “the degree to which the rule of law is effective across various kinds of issues,

¹This concept of commodification used in this chapter does *not* mean, however, expropriation as applied to an embodied service (Dripps 1992: 1789). A theory of rape built around the idea of the body of another as expropriated sexual property that is forcibly used conflates the human body with the social process of an exchange relationship itself. Nor is the concept of commodification used in this chapter synonymous with the objectification of sex per se (West 1993), although rape as a form of sex that is abstracted from the complexity of human social relationships is often experienced phenomenologically by the individual as separate from one’s self.

regions and social actors, or equivalently, the extent to which full citizenship, civil and political have been achieved by the entire adult [and minor] population (O’Donnell 1999: 307).²

A legal system that does not punish offenders for sexual assassination (Fragoso 2009a, b; de Alba and Gúzman 2010: 4, 10; Acosta 2005: 3; Yáñez-Romero 2004) is a clear manifestation of impunity. It sends the message that men can “continue to conduct business as usual, which includes the killing of women and girls in this city (Skrapec 2010: 249)”.

High levels of impunity for rape and for sexual assassination also facilitate a particular kind of stranger rape or “cruising” auto-abduction feminicides. As Scully and Marolla (1998: 113, 121), Sanday (1990) and Ehrhart and Sandler (1985) contend, cruising rape by groups of men who are strangers to the girl, teen or women driving around “an area, looking for girls as ‘a diversion’ is directly linked to impunity in the criminal justice system because men perceive it unlikely they would go to prison for the rape”.

The legal testimony of “El Gaspy” José Gaspar Ceballos, sentenced for the feminicide of Celia Gomez de la Cruz precisely reflects a situation of “cruising” rape in which the men do not appear very worried about potential apprehension for conducting a public abduction in broad daylight in the Poniente. Such attitudes thus illustrate the fusion of impunity with the arrogance or sense of entitlement often characteristic of sexual assassins (Fragoso et al. 2010: 98; Meloy 2000: 18).

They [El Gaspy’s friends] arrived in a 69 Nova, a two-door car... They told me to get in the car to go cruising and just to have fun. We cruised all throughout Juárez, partying til dawn... in the morning, we headed toward a crossroads in the Poniente... and [the leader] put the car in park. He said that there was a woman standing on the corner and that he liked her and that he was going to ask her if she wanted a ride. [The leader] got out of the car and asked her if she wanted a “ride” but she responded that “No” [and] to “Go away”. But [the leader] insisted with the idea of “the ride”, and the girl told him to go away and yelled: “Go away, you slime”. In reaction to that, [the leader] embraced the girl by force and forced her into the car... (Lugo 2008: 242).

Washington-Valdez (2006: 161–162) has documented that sexual assassins in Juárez often “invite” other men to participate in their horrific crimes and brag about their ability to get away with feminicide with impunity from the police. The few convicted sexual offenders of feminicides in the 1990s showed little remorse for their sexual assassinations; instead blaming other members of the group for their actions and/or used euphemisms to describe their sexual assault and murder tactics (CNDH 2003: 103-F; Lugo 2008). Such testimony is a reflection of rape as directly linked to a sense of impunity understood as arrogance or being “above the law”, on the one

²This understanding of the “rule of law” however, should not be understood in technological terms either as a “finished” goal or achievement found in some societies but not others. Rather, as O’Donnell (1999: 310–311, 318–319) argues, the relative timing and sequence of the extension of different rights (political, civil, social) as well as the degree of social inequalities in a given society give rise to greater variability to the relative effectiveness of the rule of law.

hand. Yet, such rapes also end in assassinations to avoid detection so they also reflect the use of murder to evade the law (impunity also as “not subject to the law”).

2.2.3 *Sexual Assassination not Randomly Distributed in the City*

Sexual assassinations are *not* randomly distributed geographically in the Ciudad Juárez because the conditions or lack of conditions of public safety also reflect an aspect of society and social relations. Fragoso (2009a) looks at the relationship between the city’s industrial geography and the point of abductions of girls, teens and women. She has found that multiple women have disappeared from industrial parks and the center of Juárez. She also links the city’s infrastructure, particularly paved roads and system of public urban transport to the needs of the *maquiladora* industry as inserted in a larger process of globalization. Fragoso (2009b) argues that the urban transport system is largely from the Poniente (West) to the East to transport the working population to Eastern industrial parks. For Fragoso (2009b), femicide is thus linked to conditions of social exclusion in Juárez, i.e. to the fact that the majority of femicide victims are poor, live in the Poniente and are young.

Ciudad Juárez’s industrial character also includes many empty lots which has created unsafe pedestrian corridors for poor women. Volk and Schlotterbeck (2010: 130), for example, argue that the speculative nature of *maquila* expansion created an urban geography which “produced a form of marginality that ultimately affects all women who have no choice but to negotiate specific neighborhoods, a situation particularly acute for female *maquila* workers”. Empty lots linked to the early land speculation that accompanied the first [*maquila*] plants meant that large parcels of urban space were never developed and simply left vacant. “In their movement through the city, poor women on foot traverse these *lotes baldíos*, spaces in which the bodies of murdered women are frequently found (Volk and Schlotterbeck 2010: 130)”.

Cervera-Gómez (2005, 2011) has specifically correlated femicide “hot spots” with a lack of social investment in neighborhood public security and equipment in certain zones of the city. One includes the Poniente, a lower-income mixed industrial and residential neighborhood that is home to three Industrial Parks (*Parques Gema, Juárez* and *Fernandez*). Within the urban history of the city, certain industrial neighborhoods in areas such as the Poniente produced *maquila* employment and intense urbanization in the 1970s–1990s which were not accompanied by an integrative growth of public investment in infrastructure and equipment (Cervera-Gómez 2005: 15, 19, 23, 90, 92). By 2005, the Poniente represented 34 % of the Juárez urban sprawl and was still lacking in adequate public equipment and services such as electricity, running water and sanitation services. Poverty rates were estimated as upward of 50 % (Cervera-Gómez 2005: 90).

Three large industrial parks in the Poniente—*Parques Gema, Juárez* and *Fernandez*—also abut the railroad corridor that parallels Eje Vial Juan Gabriel. The latter is a major North-South Street that bisects Ciudad Juárez and runs southward

through the Poniente past the *Ázteca*, *Zaragoza* and *Northgate* Industrial Parks. In the 1990s, criminologist Robert Ressler noted a specific association between femicide in Ciudad Juárez and the fact that many girls and women’s bodies are abandoned near the railroads (Washington-Valdez 2006: 163).³

One sexual assassin precisely picked his abduction spot near these railroad tracks in the Northgate industrial area of the South Poniente because he knew girls, teens and women frequently walked to and from work and to and from home by there and that there was no functioning public or private security in that area (CNDH 2003: 59-F). Another convicted sexual assassin was very precisely looking to “abduct young girls” from the *maquiladoras* on the week-ends in order to take them to the ‘desert sands’; an uninhabited area in the South of the city (Servidor Noticias 12/2/11). The sexual assassins who forcibly abducted María Eugenia Mendoza Arias (age 32) into their auto at six am in the Poniente deliberately drove West to a known, unpopulated area used as a dump located 500 m from the last house on the street close to the mountains of Cerro Bola to further their heinous crime (Table 2.1, Map 2.1-MarE-Lugo 2008: 242; CNDH 138-F; CA 10/4/98). Frago (2009a, b: 99) maps nine repetitive sectors of the city selected by sexual assassins to “leave the bodies of assassinated women in Juárez [1993–2004].”⁴ Thus, there are likely *specific* zones (Poniente, South, South-East) where girls, teens and women have been repeatedly abducted, raped, murdered and specific, often unpopulated sites where they have been abandoned in Ciudad Juárez for years.

2.2.4 *Not Everyone Equally at Risk Even in Industrial Zones*

In the US criminological literature, there exists an explanation for sexual crimes against women called the “routine” activities theory. According to “routine activities theory”, younger women are at greater risk for rape–murder because they spend more time around younger men, who, in turn comprise the demographic groups that commits the majority of crimes including rape, murder and rape–murder (Mustaine 1997; Mustaine and Tewksbury 1999; Ploughman and Stensrud 1986; Thornhill and Palmer 2000; Wilson et al. 1997). As applied to teens, tweens or child abductions with rape–murder, it is further contended that: “Routine activities most often bring potential victims and offenders together. Crime is most often a

³Ressler even theorized that a set of railroad serial killers, some US citizens, might be directly responsible for a number of femicides in Ciudad Juárez (Washington-Valdez 2006: 163). Córdoba (2010: 111) contends that Robert Ressler always maintained that at least one single serial killer alone, known in the US for murdering people in and around railroad (Resendez Ramírez) was responsible “for at least six murders in Ciudad Juárez, if not a dozen.”

⁴These include Cerro Cristo Negro & Lomas de Poleo [NW], Cerro Bola [Poniente], Granjas Santa Elena & Carretera a Casas Grandes [South], Lote Bravo [South-East], Ave. Ejército Nacional, Lote Algodonero [East] and el Valle de Juárez.

Table 2.1 Sexual assassination with confirmed rape (1996–2001, 2011–2013)

| Age | Occupation | Last seen alive | Place last seen alive and criminal sentence | Name | Source | Found |
|--------|------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 5 | Preschool | Casa Amiga/scholars HC walking near home, Chaveña | CNDH Artículo 27/Melchor Ocampo St** | Brenda Berenice Delgado Rodríguez | CNDH 231 | |
| 10 | | HC (near) auto, colonia Raul Garcia | Confirmed, 30 year, 1 penal sentence | Cinthia Rocío Acosta Alvarado | CA 3/11/97 | |
| 11 | Student | PON auto on way to school | Gabino Barrera school | María del Rocio Cordero Esquivel | CNDH 28/3/11/94 | |
| *11 | | PON-auto abduction | Confirmed, 14 year, 2 penal sentences | Ana María Gardea Villalobos | CA 3/14/97 | PON |
| 12 | Student | HC auto on way to school | Monumento | Gladys Janneth Fierro | CA 5/12/94 | |
| *13 | Student | PON auto, school Parque Ind. Gema | Confirmed, 34 year, 1 penal sentence | Esmeralda Leyva Rodríguez | CNDH 129/12/15/93 | |
| *13 | Maquila | PON left home, Parque Ind. Juárez | Confirmed, 1 penal sentence | Sonia Ivette Ramirez | CA 8/10/96 | |
| *13 | Maquila | PON leaving Gema Industrial Park | Gema/Fernandez Industrial Park** | Irma Angélica Rosales Lozano | CNDH 177/2/17/99 | |
| 13 | Students | SE | 1 minor sanctioned for crime | Alma Chavira Farel | CNDH 33/1/23/93 | SE-C. Virreyes |
| *13 | Student | PON leaving school at Zaragoza Ind | Confirmed, 1 penal sentence** | Celia Guadalupe Gómez de la Cruz | CNDH 88/12/10/98 | |
| 13–15 | 4 students | BOR school at Alta Vista Industrial | Confirmed, multiple penal sentences | Names withheld% | FEM 8/2/12 | Cristo Negro |
| 13, 19 | | SOUTH-auto abduction | Confirmed, 6 penal sentences | Names withheld% | FEM 9/11/11 | South-Electro. |
| *11–15 | Students | HC on way to school, Calle Libertad | Confirmed, 5 year, 1 penal sentence | Brenda Najera, Susana/Ana Flores | CA 12/7/96 | SOUTH |

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Last seen alive | Place last seen alive and criminal sentence | Name | Source | Found |
|-----|------------|--|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| *14 | Student | Casa Amiga/scholars HC | CNDH Bus Terminal: Membril/Man. Acuña** | Brenda Patricia Meléndez Vázquez | CA 6/27/98 | Lote Bravo |
| *14 | Maquila | PON auto, Gema Industrial Park | Leaving maquila Imp. Forestal | Miriam Arlem Vázquez Mendoza | CNDH 22/2/24/95 | |
| 14 | Maquila | SOUTH bus, Carretera a C. Grandes | Confirmed, 1 penal sentence | Nancy Villalba González% | CA 3/22/99 | South-Airport |
| *15 | Maquila | Valle | 1 sentence suspended on appeal | Guillermina Hernández Chávez | CNDH 98/11/20/94 | Guad D.B. |
| 15 | Maquila | PON left home for maquila | Eje Vial Juan Gabriel/Zaragoza** | Silvia Gabriela Laguna Cruz | CA 1/27/98 | |
| 15 | Student | Auto-Valle | Confirmed, 4 arrested probable cause | Estefanía Valenzuela González | FEM 8/2/12 | BOR-Alta Vista |
| 16 | Stud/work | HC seen boarding public bus w man | 1 arrest warrant issued/not exec.** | Silvia Elena Rivera Morales | CNDH 19/9/2/95 | |
| 17 | Maquila | PON-Left home to go to downtown | Fiscal violates rule of law c/o CNDH | Amparo Caixba Gúzman | CNDH 94 | PON-Cerro Bola |
| 17 | | BOR school at Alta Vista Industrial | School next to Alta Vista Indus. Park | Identity unknown | CA 6/11/93 | |
| 17 | | SOUTH | | Case # 96/16243 | CA 8/19/96 | PON-Gema |
| 17 | Maquila | HC-corner of Villa/Juarez | Confirmed, 20 year, 1 penal sentence** | Elizabeth Castro Garcia | CA 8/19/95 | |
| 17 | Maquila | BOR leaving work at maquila | Seen abducted into auto by boss** | Eréndira Ivonne Ponce | CNDH 17/78/31/98 | |

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Last seen alive | Place last seen alive and criminal sentence | Name | Source | Found |
|--------|------------|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 17 | Student | Casa Amiga/scholars BOR near home | CNDH &confirmed, sentencing in process | Gabriela Yaneth Ayala Paz | FEM 7/20/12 | |
| 17 | Maquila | EAST, on street leaving work | Fiscal violates rule of law c/o CNDH | Lilia Alejandra Garcia Andrade | CA 2/21/01/79-F | EAST-lot |
| *18 | Maquila | PON auto, leaving Gema Industrial | Confirmed, multiple sentences 24-40 year | Rosario Garcia Leal | CNDH 82/4/8/96 | NW |
| *18 | | PON dance club, near maquila | Confirmed, 1 penal sentence | Erendira Buendia Munoz | CA 11/1/797 | South-Flourex |
| *18 | Bar worker | NE-suspected | 1 arrest warrant issued** | Irma Rebeca Sifuentes Castro | CA 5/13/01/185-F | NE |
| *18-20 | | | Confirmed, 1 penal sentence** | Rosalbi López Espinoza | CNDH 48-F | PON-railroad |
| *18 | | HC-last seen w 3 men | Confirmed, 1 charged/2 more suspects | Martha Y. Gutiérrez Garcia | CA 9/9/97 | HC: Ocampo/Mina |
| *19 | Worker | HC | Confirmed, 29 year. 1 penal sentence | Gloria Escobedo Piña | CA 8/20/95 | South-C. Grandes |
| 20 | Worker | HC-5 Mayo, 16 Sept/V. Guert. | Confirmed, 24-40 years, 5 penal sen.** | Olga Alicia Carrillo Pérez | CNDH 22/9/10/95 | Lote Bravo |
| *24 | Night club | Worked in HC on Calle Mariscal | 1 arrest warrant issued 4 years before | Araceli Lozano Bolaños | CA 8/5/98/118-1 | East-motel |
| 25 | | HC-suspected | | Patricia Cortes Campos | CA 8/8/95 | HC-Velarde/Fcamp |
| 25 | | PON-Cerro Bola | | Identity unknown | CA 5/13/93 | PON-Cera Bola. |
| 30 | | HC-Guerrero Ave bw Para/Bolivia | | Identity unknown | CA 11/1/94 | HC |

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Last seen alive | Place last seen alive and criminal sentence | Name | Source | Found |
|-------|------------|---|---|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 32 | Housewife | Casa Amiga/scholars PON-Aztecas/Ponciano Arriaga | CNDH Charged dropped against several** | María Eugenia Mendoza Arias | CNDH 138/10/4/98 | PON-near dump |
| *34 | Not employ | HC-Railroad/Eje Vial Juan Gabriel | 2 arrest warrants issued | Francisca Epigmenia Hernández | CNDH 99-F/199 | HC-by railroad |
| 35 | | SE | Satellite near Ortiz Rubio | Identity unknown | CA 5/5/93 | |
| 40-45 | | SOUTH near airport | Suspect confesses | Identify unknown | CNDH 59-F | South-C. Grandes |
| Young | | SOUTH | Confirmed, 1 arrest warrant executed | Juana N% | FEM 5/17/13 | SOUTH-Electro. |

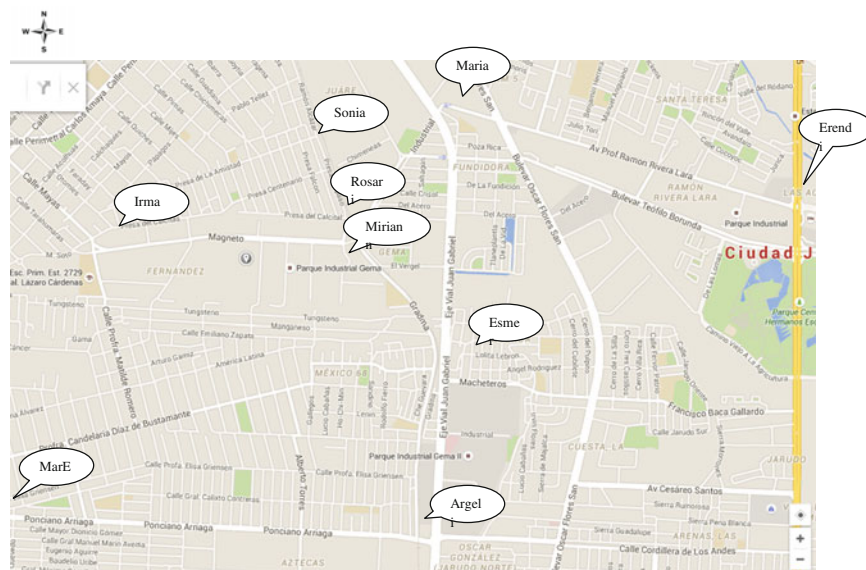
Sources *Casct Amiga*, CNDH (2003), Mariano-García (2005), Frago et al. (2010), FEM

*indicates also classified as FSSO or FSSD by Frago et al. (2010)

**indicates controversy in the prosecution, c/o CNDH

%indicates person(s) survived assault

Overlapping CNDH with subsequent date indicates also *Casa Amiga*



Map 2.1 Poniente industrial triangle. *Source* Map data @ 2014 Google, INEGI

result of interactions between motivated offenders, available targets, and lack of vigilant guardianship to prevent crime ... often, it is this vulnerability, coupled with ease of access that is apparent to offenders and serves to elevate their interest in children as desirable prey (Boudreaux et al. 1999)”.

In Ciudad Juárez, young female *maquila* workers work and interact with young men in approximately five major industrial parks located in Ciudad Juárez. These include: in the North-East [NE–Parque Industrial Los Fuentes, Vicente Guerrero/Tomás Fernandez, *Maquila* America], in the West [Poniente–Parques Gema, Juárez and Fernandez Triangle, Aztecas, Zaragoza, North Gate], in the South and South-East [Flourex, Electrolux, Parque Industrial Río Bravo, Aeropuerto], in Border regional industrial areas of the city [Alta Vista *maquila*, Magna Flex, Omega, Parque Industrial Hermanos Escobar] among other industrial sites.⁵ Girls and teens interact with young men in gender-mixed schools across the entire city Juárez.

⁵IMIP (2014:16) sub-listed a total of 23 separate industrial parks in Ciudad Juárez located in 15 major zones including Magnaplex, Omega [Border], Los Fuentes, Lear [HC], Maquila America, Bermudez [NE], Plásticos Soltecs Mex, Johnson Control, Ramon Rivera Lara, Lear Corp., Las Lomas, ABH, Río Bravo [East], Juarez, Fernandez, Gema, Bermudez II, Aztecas, North Gate, Henequen, Zaragoza [Poniente/South Poniente], Aeropuerto, Centro Juárez, Thompson, Salvacar Americas, Los Bravos, Torres Sur, Axial, Panamericano, Intermex [South-South-East], among others. It is beyond the scope of this brief to analyze private security within each of the separate industrial parks. Several analyses suggest that the post-2008 drug-related insecurity in Ciudad Juárez had minimal impact on *maquila* plant security in Juárez due to solid internal security within the plants (TECMA 2014; REDCO 2010).

Were mere “routine” or proximity to young men a dominant explanation for sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez, the crime should be distributed relatively evenly across all industrial sectors of the city. This would occur as girls and teens interact with young men in gender-mixed schools across the city and as female *maquila* workers interact with men in at least five geographically distinct industrial zones of the city.

Yet, empirical studies by *El Colegio de México* show that the *only* sub-type of femicide found distributed spatially equally across Ciudad Juárez was organized crime-related feminicides which were found to be dispersed in virtually every part of the city (Flores 2011: 32–35).

Furthermore, government and non-governmental organizations accounts (the National Mexican Human Rights Commission, *Casa Amiga*) document very few feminicides in or near schools or *maquilas* located in wealthier North-Eastern zones of the City. The *colonias* in the North-East [NE] of Ciudad Juárez are predominantly those in higher-income areas as measured by socioeconomic status, resident level of education, access to piped water and proportion of houses with solid roofing (Fuentes and Hernández 2013: 249; McDonald and Grineski 2012: 200, 202; 2000: 20; Hernández 2010: 72).

Instead, Hernández (2010: 51) has argued that it is in the Poniente [West] where adolescent girls in Juárez are at risk for sexual assassination and which has the “greatest number of geo-referenced cases with respect to the available information”. This suggests then even in “routine activities” or proximity to young men per se in industrial zones in Juárez and near all public schools, not everyone is equally at risk for sexual assassination.

2.3 City Zones and Everyday Social Activities

2.3.1 *The Spatial Analysis of Sexual Assassination*

In this section, the analysis introduces Table 2.1—“The Geography of Abductions Sites in Sexual Assassination, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua (1996–2001, 2011–2013)”. The aim of Table 2.1 is to summarize in tabular form the zone-specific geography of the last place forty-three girls, teens and women where rape was confirmed were seen alive in the city. Table 2.1 also presents information on the known age, occupation, and available legal information (eyewitness testimony, judicial processing and/or sentencing) on each murder. [See Appendix for a more detailed explanation of sources and methods].

By closely examining the last place the person was seen alive, Table 2.1 reveals the specific clustering of sexual assassination (56 %) in certain poor neighborhoods located in three *specific* mixed industrial neighborhood zones Poniente (30 %), South/South-East (16 %) and the Border zones (9 %) outside of the Historical

Center (32 %) [see Appendix].⁶ The three major mixed industrial-neighborhood zones incorporate several major industrial areas of Ciudad Juárez. This includes: The Gema, Juárez and Fernandez Triangle, Azteca, Zaragoza and North Gate *maquila* in the Poniente and the Flourex and Electrolux *maquila* plants in the South/South-East of the city. And, finally in the Border area, these *colonias* are home to the Alta Vista *maquila*, Magna Flex and *Parque Industrial Hermanos Escobar* industrial plants. A narrative of the socio-geographic conditions that gave rise to sexual assassination in each of these three zones is now presented below.

2.4 Lethal Walks to and from Work and School in the Poniente, not Routine Interactions

2.4.1 *Inside the Poniente in the 1990s: A Clustering of Abductions in the Gema, Juárez and Industrial Triangle in the 1990s*

As sexual assassins look for girls, teens and women, either by cruising by auto, or by abducting them on foot, public streets are a place where they are coming and going from work and school. For example, a young student, Ana María Gardea Villalobos (age 11), was one of the earlier reported cases of girls abducted in the Poniente. In 1997, Ana María, according to the family, was simply walking on a street near her house when forcibly abducted by four men in their auto (Maguire 2013; CNDH 1998).⁷ Her mother, Juana Villalobos, after years of social activism, argued in 2012 that continued lack of support from the government has led to “the same disappearances of girls and women since 1997 which keeps happening (*KINT News* 11/25/12)”.

Map 2.1 is a street map of the industrial cluster in the Poniente with the known abduction site of each girl or women indicated by the person’s first name, i.e. Rosario, Sonia, Miriam).

Photo 2.1a is an aerial view of how the three industrial parks abut both the railroad corridor and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel. This eje (highway) is a major North-South street that bisects Ciudad Juárez and runs largely parallel to the railroad tracks. On either side of the railroad tracks is a corridor of public land, often lacking in urban infrastructure and public security services.

⁶Of the 43 confirmed rape-murders, in 12 % of the time, the woman was also last seen alive at the Valle de Juárez (5 %), the NE (2 %), the East (2 %) or this information is unknown (3 %). In the narrative section of this chapter (Sect. 2.4), the girls, teens and women who were last seen alive in the Historical Center (HC, 32 % of the time) are discussed in Chap. 3 which highlights the particular role of the downtown district in the commodification of sex in Juárez.

⁷Four men were jailed for the rape-murder but one assassin, after being released 10 years later, was re-arrested for aiding in the stealing of a baby for re-sale (*La Policiaca* 4/29/11).



(b)



Photo 2.1 **a** Aerial view of Gema, Juárez and Fernández Triangle. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google. **b** Foot path on empty lot near high school and Aldama Municipal Police Station. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

Map 2.1 reveals a clustering of sexual assassinations occurred just in or near the triangle of the three Industrial Parks (Parques Gema, Juárez and Fernández) in the Poniente. For example, *maquila* worker, Rosario Leal García, was abducted in the Poniente leaving work at the *maquila* Philips (PCEP) (Table 2.1). The plant is located precisely in Parque Industrial Gema where it intersects with Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (Map 2.1-Rosar 12/7/95). According to her mother, Rosario left the plant to take the “special” bus to *colonia* Azteca but on that day (12/7/95) she never arrived

home (Torrea 2012; Cornejo 2007: 94).⁸ Sonia Ivette Ramírez was abducted near the railroad track and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (Map 2.1-Sonia) just north of Gema and just west of Juárez Industrial Parks. Miriam Arlem Vázquez Mendoza was last seen alive leaving *maquila* Imp. Forestal at Parque Gema (Map 2.1–Miriam; CNDH 2003: 222; CA 2/24/9). Irma Angélica Rosales Lozano was last seen alive at the *maquila* International Wire Group Inc. where she worked in Parque Gema (Irma, CNDH 2003: 177).

The repeated association between sexual assassination and industrial park concentration in the Gema-Juárez-Fernandez areas was also illustrated by Pérez-Espino (2004). He cites the abduction murder cases of Angélica Márquez Ledezma and Mireya Hernández Méndez within the exact same immediate locations. According to family and eyewitnesses, Pérez-Espino (2004) claims that both teens were waiting for the bus or standing just outside a *maquila* plant in the Parque Industrial Juárez area when abducted. Mireya Hernández Méndez also worked at the (PCEP) Philips plant.⁹ Angélica Márquez Ledezma had gone to Parque Industrial to look for work (Cornejo Juarez 2007: 72). Pérez-Espino (2004) argues that the repetition of abductions within the precisely same area raises too many coincidences to warrant the label of “passion crimes” often ascribed to the cases by officials.

2.4.2 *Impunity, in and Around Public Schools and Police Stations*

Schools in the Gema-Juárez-Fernandez area also played a prominent role in several auto abductions. Map 2.1 also reveals several public schools that directly abut the railroad land corridor near Eje Vial Juan Gabriel. For instance, school aged girl María Rocío Cordero’s (age 11, Table 2.1) primary school (Gabino Barreda) is located just between Gema and Juarez Industrial Parks near its cross-roads

⁸Government prosecutors, relying on confessions later alleged to have been forced under torture, claimed that Rosario was picked up by a gang of men called *Los Rebeldes*, sexually assaulted and then left dead in an empty lot in Lote Bravo beside several other girls and women. These sentences, however, left “doubts” which helps explain why some authors dismiss the *Rebeldes* prosecutions as “scapegoat” cases (Cornejo Juarez 2007: 95; Mariano-García 2005: 13; Segundo Informe 2010: 95). This is because the eyewitness participants later retracted their confessions alleging torture was used by the police to force the confessions; although Mariano-García (2005: 4) claims that no medical examinations were carried out to document torture. The U.N. Office against Drugs and Crime (2003: 16, 22) noted *Los Rebeldes* were also prosecuted for 6 other femicides but that two eyewitness and all of the accused except one would also claim to have been tortured under interrogation by police.

⁹Mireya Hernández Méndez, age 20, Philips plant worker was abandoned in the garbage dump in the Juárez Industrial Park (CA 10/14/93). The last time *maquila* worker Silvia Guadalupe Díaz, age 22, was seen alive was on industrial park on kilometer 5 of the highway, having gone to the *maquila* “Stratched” to ask for work, according to her mother (CA 3/29/97). Her body was abandoned completely naked in a cultivation ditch in the South.

(Map 2.1: María). María Rocío was abducted on her way to school. Esmeralda Leyva Rodríguez’s (age 13) middle school (Técnica 27) is located just southeast of Gema II Industrial Park (Map 2.1-Esme). On 11/15/93, she was walking down the street after leaving her school when forced into an automobile (CA 11/15/93).

Four men were prosecuted and sentenced for Esmeralda’s death (Table 2.1; CNDH 2003: 116-F). Yet, the criminal investigation of María Rocío’s sexual assassination did not even involve follow up on a suspect with a history of the sexual abuse of minors whose blood type was found at the crime scene. The failure to pursue this lead was simply because the suspect denied participating in the crime; an act which represented a violation of the human rights of the victim and her family (CNDH 2003: 28-F).

The criminal justice system’s capacity to properly investigate was again severely questioned by the Mexican National Human Rights Commission in the sexual assassination of student Celia Gómez de la Cruz. Celia was likely abducted on the way home from her middle school (Técnica 15) located further south in the Poniente next to the Zaragoza Industrial Park (CA, 12/10/98). Normally Celia’s grandmother walked her home every day from her school while her parents worked in the *maquilas* (CA 12/10/98; Cornejo Juarez 2007: 55; CNDH 2003: 85-F; Fragoso 2009a, b: 135). On 12/10/98, however, her grandmother did not go to pick her up. Her parents were anguished and devastated when their daughter did not return home that day to her house in the Nuevo Híppodromo neighborhood (Fragoso 2009a, b: 135, 212).

Casa Amiga (12/10/98) states that day Celia took public transportation home from school. The CNDH (2003: 85-F) reports, however, that Celia’s mother’s search of her daughter’s route home from school found a clerk at the Smart Oasis store reporting have seen Celia on November 15, five days later. Smart Oasis is located just inside the larger Zaragoza Industrial Park.¹⁰ It is also located at the same intersection of Zaragoza Boulevard and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel just half a mile away from the empty lot where her body was found 3 weeks later. On November 12, a relative searching for the teen went to Celia’s school principal and was told that in light of Celia’s disappearance, several students reported having seen an 88 Cutlass car circling the school a few days before at the end of the school day. They had written down the license plate and had given the principal the name and address of the owner (CNDH 2003: 85-F). The principal also told the family relative that a female student reported last seeing Celia alive on November 10, the day of her disappearance, just after school and just before getting on her bus. She testified that she saw Celia cross Blvd Óscar Flores and just behind Celia was a man in a black suit with a black shirt. After she got on the bus, the student turned around but neither Celia nor the man were visible any longer (CNDH 2003: 85-F).

Despite the lack of a coherent line of inquiry and various irregularities in the testimony, the State Attorney General’s Office would link the prosecution of Celia’s

¹⁰Smart Oasis lists its address as inside the larger Zaragoza Industrial Park (<http://www.s-martmx.com>).

death to the “*Ruteros*” or bus-drivers implicated in multiple other feminicides (Mariano-García 2005: 28). The CNDH (2003: 85-F) would dispute this linkage as “lacking foundation, motivation or sufficient elements”.¹¹ Celia’s mother also maintained the belief that her daughter had been abducted by force or by a lure crime (Fragoso 2009a, b: 211).

Not only was the credibility of the State Attorney General’s Office to investigate feminicide extremely low in Juárez, especially in the 1990s. Even further, Staudt (2008: 33) notes how police lost murder reports, evidence was lost, and cases were mysteriously closed or solved in domestic violence feminicides. Staudt and Ortega (2010: 77) argue that the impunity was so bad that police should have been considered “as accessories to crime, given their indifference and lack of response to women’s safety”.

In fact, the sexual assassination of Sonia Ivette Ramírez, age 13, occurred within a very close radius of both the Judicial State Police at the State Attorney General’s Office *and* the Poniente municipal police station. Sonia Ivette lived on Presa Falcón Street which is located just between Parque Gema and Parque Juárez (Table 2.1, Map 2.1 Sonia). On August 10, 1998 she left her house at 6 am to accompany her sister who worked in a nearby *maquila* but Sonia never returned home (CA 8/10/98; Cornejo Juarez 2007: 101). According to a witness, one of the perpetrators who was named el “Pelón” or el “Pedro” admitted to the crime and recounted the events to him but no one was ever sentenced in this feminicide (Cornejo Juarez 2007: 101; Benítez et al. 1999: 37). Sonia Ivette Ramírez’s body was left behind the Técnica Secundaria 48 High School, in a field that precisely abuts the land corridor adjacent to the railroad track and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel and is very near a municipal police station.

Photo 2.1b shows precisely this empty lot which also serves as a foot-path and short-cut from Eje Vial Juan Gabriel toward the High School.

This empty lot is sandwiched between an auto tire store and a private residence on Eje Vial Juan Gabriel, the railroad tracks and is across the street from Avery Dennison, a wireless metal tag security factory. The edge of this empty lot is also located about ½ a mile south of the Judicial State Police at the State Attorney General’s Office and about half a block south of the only municipal police station located in the Poniente (Estación Aldama, indicated by white star on map). Both of the police stations in the Poniente are situated on Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (at Aserradero and 2160) just north of the Gema-Juárez-Fernandez park triangle. Therefore, Sonia Ivette Ramírez was murdered in the morning in an empty lot behind a school located in a mixed industrial zone which is situated within a half-mile radius of two police stations.

¹¹The CNDH (2003: 85-F) argued that the Social Representative erroneously tied this investigation to the suspected bus abduction (*Los Toltecas*) of Brenda Patricia Méndez Vázquez—despite, in the opinion of the agency, sufficient evidence to justify this linkage. *El Gasp*y or José Gaspar Ceballos, one of the gang associated with *Los Toltecas* was prosecuted for the crime (Fragoso et al. 2010: 98) based on a confession (Lugo 2008: 242).

This suggests that it was not necessary just the *absence* of police stations in a zone that contributed to police apathy in preventing femicide during this period. Rather, and more insidiously, are the sheer inability and/or unwillingness of station unit police to be able to monitor an area within their immediate locale even near school zones.

2.4.3 Further South Down the Railroad Tracks in the Poniente

Certain social-geographic conditions at the neighborhood level, particularly the unregulated land that abuts the railroad next to Eje Vial Juan Gabriel continued to facilitate sexual assassination further south in the Poniente. For example, the Zaragoza Industrial plant area is located south of the Gema-Juárez-Fernandez plant triangle down Eje Vial Juan Gabriel to its intersection with Zaragoza Avenue. This particular street-railroad intersection was also known to be an unregulated area for pedestrians such as *maquila* workers who would pass over the railroad land corridor as a shortcut to work in plants that abut Eje Vial Juan Gabriel.

This area of Eje Vial Juan Gabriel and its adjunct railroad land corridor consists of residential neighborhoods but is also punctuated by junk yards, car lots and irregular and/or non-existent side-walks, empty lots and abandoned railroad wagons. As girls and women crossed in and out of areas immediately in or abutting industrial zones which do not have adequate security, numerous sexual assassinations occurred. For example, *maquila* worker Silvia Gabriela Laguna Cruz’s (age 16) body was found just off Eje Vial Juan Gabriel, 500 m south of Zaragoza Boulevard, 8 m from the train-tracks (CNDH 2003, 109-F). On the day of her murder, Silvia had left for work in the Poniente at 6 am to transfer to work at a nearby *maquila* (CA 1/27/98). One initial suspect to the crime was a known exhibitionist who said he would routinely “wait by the train tracks naked in front of the women who transited the area” (CNDH 2003: T5-109-F).

Specific industrial debris located in an unregulated pedestrian corridor abutting *maquila* plants in *colonias* already characterized by chronic lack of adequate public security and infrastructure (Cervera-Gómez 2011) also forms part of the socio-geographic conditions at the neighborhood level that gave rise to the sexual assassination of *maquila* worker Argelia Salazar Crispin.

2.4.4 Parque Industrial Azteca and Argelia Salazar Crispin’s Lethal Walk to Work

The events of *maquila* worker Argelia Salazar Crispin’s walk to work give a tragic example of the socio-geographic conditions at the neighborhood level in the Poniente. Azteca Industrial Park is located just further south of the Parque Gema,

Parque Juárez and Parque Industria complex. It also abuts both the railroad corridor and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel with Industrial plants located near empty lots adjacent to railroad tracks.

Argelia, aged 24, was, according to eyewitness testimony, abducted by force by various sexual assassins on her way to work to the Mallinckrodt Medical *maquila* plant in the Poniente (Table 2.1, 4/17/99; Map 2.1-Argel). She had left her home, also in the Poniente, at 6am on foot, walking to reach the main road to get to the plant. According to her family, about half-way there, Argelia had to cross over an empty lot located right beside the railroad that lacked any public security. Due to official neglect (Ortiz 1999), this particular empty lot near the intersection also housed nine old railroad wagon skeleton train cars on it and it was located under the train tracks near the main highway (Eje Vial Juan Gabriel near Calle Ponciano Arriaga) seen in Photo 2.2.

While traversing the intersection, Argelia was forcibly abducted, then sexually assassinated by a group of two to three armed men at knife-point at the nine railroad wagons (CNDH 2003: Case 179-F). Ortiz (1999) notes that this was known locally as a constant area of danger for *maquila* workers who had to cross this space on the way to work. So extreme was the situation that Argelia's mother, searching days later for her missing daughter, crossed the same strip of land and she remembered that:

“They had previously burned a woman there [Mireya Hernández Mendez (age 20)]. I stopped...and saw bunches of tires, I turned around to look in all directions. Where did they burn-up the girl? I asked myself. Then I remembered my daughter and I felt



Photo 2.2 Railroad Wagon cars: Parque industrial Azteca. Source Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

something, as if a premonition, that made me afraid and I walked home”...Argelia’s sister said to herself later that day when her sister did not come home: “Surely she had used the creek bed which was the shortest route [to work] and Argelia always used it...she was very brave; never afraid to walk there. I always asked her if she wasn’t afraid. She told me ‘Whoever messes with me, I will send them to the devil’...She needed to use this route to get to the main road faster because the bus was often slow or later and then she would arrive late to work (Ortiz 1999: 68–69)”.

At precisely this spot at the nine wagons behind the train tracks at the intersection of Ponciano Arriaga and the Eje Juan Gabriel thoroughfare, three reported feminicides occurred in 1998 alone. Only one investigation was opened into one of the murders—that of the burning death of a woman named Elizabeth but justice was still not done. The main suspect, although naming several accomplices who remain at large, was let out on bail (CA 2/21/98; Fragozo et al. 2010: 98).

2.4.5 Janus-Faced Policies Within the Criminal Justice System Fuel Repetitive Sexual Assassination at the Neighborhood Level

Impunity in the criminal justice system including contradictions in investigation, non-followed leads, non-interviewed suspects and/or following leads with no apparent direct causation to the crime (Bejarano 2012; de Alba 2010; Flores 2010; Arce 2010; Simmons and Copeland 2010; Staudt and Coronado 2010; Schmidt-Camacho 2005) facilitated repetitive sexual assassination. In particular, several “lost leads” in multiple investigations implicate private security guards who worked at the *maquilas* in several sexual assassinations at the industrial park.

Colonia Luis Olague was “a critical zone found in previous studies” for femicide in the 1990s (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 86) and is located around Calle Tungsteno visible on Map 2.1. Irma Angélica Rosales Lozano, age 13, worked at the Electro Componentes factory located at the western end of Parque Fernandez and her body was abandoned in an empty lot in the neighborhood contiguous to the industrial park (Calle Oliver Cromwell, Colonia Luis Olague) (Table 2.1, 2/16/99). The CNDH (2003: 117-F) pointed toward several *maquila* security guards, janitors and a human resources supervisor as serious suspects in her sexual assassination. Specifically, several guards gave contradictory testimony and appeared to lie about their whereabouts at the time of her death and this was never followed up on by the Social Representative of the State Attorney General’s Office.

Botched partial inquiries also characterized the investigation of sexual assassinations of both *maquila* workers Miriam Arlen Vázquez Mendoza and Argelia Salazar Crispin (Table 2.1, 2/23/95; CNDH 2003-204-F; Cornejo Juarez 2007: 63). Three private security guards were suspects in the sexual assassination of *maquila* worker Miriam as the tire-tracks from their vehicle were found near her abandoned



Photo 2.3 a–c Private *Maquila* Land between railroad tracks and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

body. Their vehicle was the only one accessible to the private *maquila* land corridor abutting the railroad track at Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (just south of the nine railroad wagons seen in Photo 2.2). One of the three was a private security guard with a history of sexually assaulting *maquila* workers with other men outside the plant (CNDH 2003: 204-F). Photo 2.3a–c show an aerial view with increasing magnification of the exact land corridor with the railroad tracks clearly visible in the left edge of Photo 2.3c.

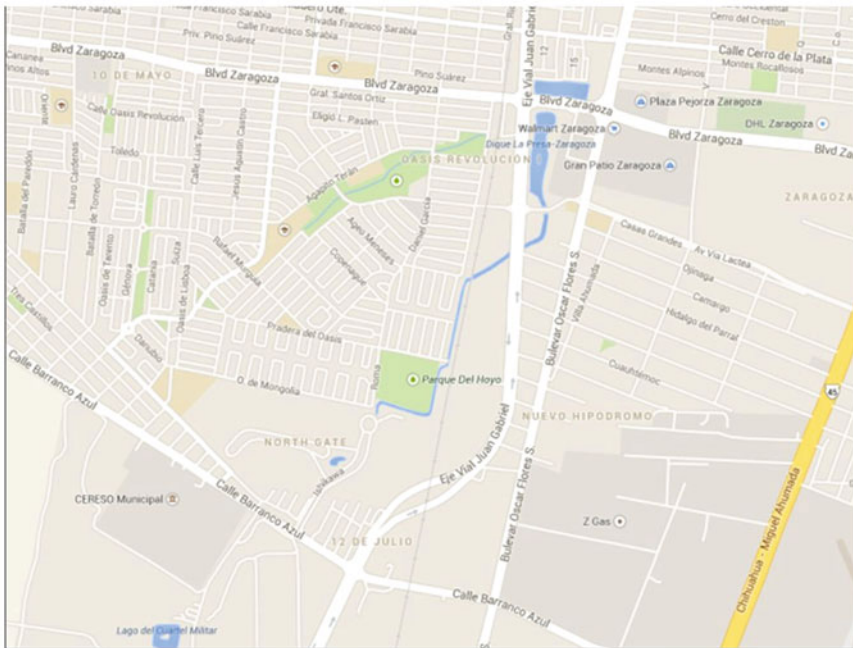
In fact, the 1999 line of inquiry *not* followed into Argelia’s death was that these same suspected assassins were precisely repeat killers who resided at the nine wagon railroad cars (Photo 2.2). In 1995, the State Judicial Police had actually called for an investigation into this group of men suspected in Miriam’s death. This was based, in part, on testimony of several persons who knew of a group of men who maintained a covered shelter at the nine railroad wagons at the railroad tracks where Argelia was found dead and who would “shoot at anybody” from the nearby neighborhood who came near their area (CNDH 2003: 179). Others testified that they were subsequently told or overheard several of the alleged suspects recounting that they abducted and sexually assaulted Argelia, murdering her because she resisted the rape. Yet this possibility of a repeat set of assassins was also line of inquiry never followed up on by the Social Representative of the State Attorney General’s Office, leading to violations of Miriam’s right to due process (CNDH 2003: 222).

Despite a total of four previous sexual assassinations within the same 1/2 mile railroad corridor/Eje Vial Juan Gabriel in the Parque Gema, Parque Juárez and Parque Fernandez Triangle in the Poniente, the inability to identify and punish suspects failed yet again in 1999. Argelia’s friends and family reported terrible subsequent judicial treatment by the State Judicial Police in the initial course of Argelia’s murder investigation. State policemen interrogated her best friend Claudia at length about Argelia’s sexual behavior, repeatedly asking Claudia whether she had a lesbian relationship with her (Ortiz 1999: 69). Not only was there no evidence of such a relationship (Báez 2006: 199) but even if there had been, its bearing on known facts in the investigation was null. Báez (2006: 199) argues such tactics are evidence of the patriarchic attitude that nothing really needs to be seriously

investigated or done to address such femicide crimes. These unfulfilled leads also strongly suggest that impunity in the criminal justice system may indeed have produced pockets of opportunity at the neighborhood level for repeated sexual assassination by unpunished assassins.

2.4.6 More Deadly Pedestrian Short-Cuts Along the Railroad Land Corridor in the Northgate Industrial Area

The issue of the relationship between sexual assassination and industrial parks in the Poniente which abut both the railroad corridor and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel is only further illustrated by the Northgate Industrial Park area. North Gate Industrial Park covers a relatively large area of territory whose perimeter is bordered by Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (east side), Calle Barranco Azul (south side), and the neighborhoods of 10 de Mayo and Oasis Revolución (west and north sides). Map 2.2 is a street map of the roads near North Gate Industrial Park. Within the larger Ciudad Juárez



Map 2.2 Entrance to north-gate industrial park and surrounding neighborhoods. *Source* Map data @ 2014 Google, INEGI

city geography, North Gate Industrial Park is located at the southern extreme of the Poniente in Ciudad Juárez. The Industrial Park, in geographic terms, is a southern extension of the same railroad abutment that runs through the Poniente by the Gema-Juárez-Industrial and Azteca *maquila* areas along the major auto thoroughfare Eje Vial Juan Gabriel southward.

The formal auto entrance to North-Gate Industrial Park lies on *Calle Barranco Azul* and is easily accessible by auto. One key pedestrian access to the *maquila* and nearby neighborhoods, on the other hand, requires a person to walk along the railroad land corridor which abuts Eje Vial Juan Gabriel on the east side of the plant grounds. In fact, this railroad land corridor offers a significant short-cut both directly to the plant and to nearby neighborhoods for workers and pedestrians who live in adjacent neighborhoods. These include the large *colonia* of Nuevo Hippódromo located due east also abutting Eje Vial Juan Gabriel. Map 2.2 also shows the various other neighborhoods (12 de Julio, Oasis Revolución) and soccer fields that surround the North Gate Industrial Park.

Another cluster of feminicides occurred precisely at this land corridor located along the North Gate Industrial railroad track. *Casa Amiga* lists 4 feminicides including (CA, Case 23, 1995), two women whose identities were unknown (CA 10/3/97; CA 3/22/99) and Rosalbi Espinoza López (age 18–20) that occurred at Calle Barranco Azul, North Gate plant next to the railroad tracks (Map 2.2: CA, 1/31/99). Justice was inconclusive in all of these investigations.

The area along Eje Vial Juan Gabriel next to the North Gate is characterized by large open spaces lacking in private or public security. In Photo 2.4—Orange Bridge, View from the South, the Plant is visible in the upper left corner of the photo.

Photo 2.5—Orange Bridge, View from the North is a view of the train tracks and land corridor as it runs northwest from *colonia* Nuevo Hippódromo toward North



Photo 2.4 Orange bridge, view from the south. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google



Photo 2.5 Orange bridge, view from the north. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

Gate Industrial Park. It displays a clearer view of the land corridor that abuts one of the railroad tracks. Pedestrians walking toward North Gate must pass under the orange bridge trestle as Eje Vial Juan Gabriel passes over one set of the train tracks.

At precisely this orange bridge along this land corridor toward the North Gate plant was where a fifty year old women whose name is unknown was brutally murdered and raped (CNDH 2003: 59-F; Table 2.1). This unidentified woman was simply walking along this strip of land one night when she was assaulted, stabbed, killed and then raped by a man (Table 2.1, 10/15/99). In this particular instance, the sexual assassin confessed to the crime after being positively identified by several eyewitnesses. According to the assassin, he claimed that he regularly waited precisely at the orange bridge to assault women because they routinely passed by it at night on their way to and from work or home. In this horrible incident, the three young male eyewitnesses said they threw rocks down at the assassin from the top of the orange bridge to get him to stop the rape at the moment of the sexual assault. Despite the confession, however, the CNDH (2003: 59-F) found that the Social Representative of the Attorney General’s Office still dropped the case after interviewing the confessed suspect who was classified as a “chronic psychotic schizophrenic”. This failure to prosecute violated the right of all persons of access to justice (CNDH 2003: 59-F).

2.4.7 Daylight Public Abduction Locations in the Poniente Over Time

The issue of the lack of public security, social exclusion from basic urban services such as electricity, access to adequate law-enforcement services, street lightening, paved streets and safe public transport in Ciudad Juárez has long been linked to the

killings of *maquila* workers coming and going from work (de Alba and Guzmán 2010: 5; Staudt and Coronado 2010: 177). Multiple news stories have reported since the early 1990s on how factory women have to traverse dark often mean streets either to get to work or to return from work after late night shifts, often in order to support themselves or their families on very low wages (Nieves 2002). Mothers of femicide victims have also made the clear link between lack of public safety and femicide in Juárez. Paula Flores, mother of femicide victim Maria Sagrario succinctly put it.

It's been brought to my attention that there are parts of the city where there is no electricity. This is true, because our own government has not been responsive to our demands, which constitute preventive measures. I don't know in what ways you are able to assist us in order to demand that the government implement preventive measures, that it provides electricity. When Maria Sagrario [a *maquila* worker] was murdered, that's what happened; she had to walk through dark streets in Lomas de Poleo because there were no streetlights. The town was still part of those communities that did not have electricity (2010: 64).

This chapter reveals that sexual assassination in the Poniente in the 1990s to be also a problem of lethal streets for commuting girls, teens and women *during daylight hours*. There were repeated instances of *maquila* workers, students and female pedestrians murdered in the Poniente walking *during the day*. Celia Gómez de la Cruz (age 13) was last seen alive at a store in the afternoon (Zaragoza Boulevard and Eje Vial Juan Gabriel) near the Zaragoza Industrial Park (CNDH 2003: 85-F; Table 2.1). María Rocío Cordero's (age 11) was abducted on her way to a school in the morning located just between Gema Industrial and Juárez Industrial Parks near its cross-roads with Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (Table 2.1). Esmeralda Leyva Rodríguez (age 13) was abducted by auto near her school in the afternoon which is located just southeast of Gema Industrial Park and abutting Juárez Industrial Park (CNDH 2003: 116; Table 2.1). Some of the teens who were abducted during late afternoon hours even worked at the same plant (Philipps, Mireya Hernández Mendez, 20, Rosario Leal García, 17).

Thus, it is the lethality of walking to and from work at *maquilas* and to school, not routine interactions with young men, which best explain sexual assassinations in the Poniente. Middle-school aged girls and teens (ages 11–13) were particularly vulnerable to forced auto abduction by single or groups of men in automobiles. The socio-geographic conditions that characterized pedestrian commutes for girls, teens and women (lack of public and private security services, empty industrial lots with industrial debris and relatively fewer potential eyewitnesses) put them at a much greater risk for physical and auto abduction than a worker traveling to a job in an automobile.

This dangerous daytime pedestrian aspect may also explain why only 5 % of girls, teens or women who suffered sexual assassination (Table 2.1) resided in the North-East of Juárez which is a zone of high income with the “greatest presence of urban services” in the city (Cárdenas et al. 2013: 48). It is at least plausible to assume that some of the female *maquila* workers there either had access to safer modes of transport to work and/or had better security at their plants.

Despite the chronic lack of adequate public and private security, repetitive sexual assassination and official acknowledgement and designation of the zone as “high-risk” for femicide, the extra vigilance, or even permanent vigilance promised by city officials since 2005 did not emerge in the Poniente (Respuesta del Estado 2005). By 2012, for example, only 7.8 % of the 1701 emergency buttons installed in the City were placed there and neighborhood watch programs in the Poniente did not form until late 2011 (*El Mexicano* 2/28/12; Tercer Informe de Gobierno 2010–2013: 46).

Sadly, María Leti, who lost her first daughter Rosario García Leal in the Poniente in 1995, would again have to face the excruciating pain of losing another daughter also in the Poniente sixteen years later. Leticia García Leal (age 22) disappeared after leaving work. She also was a *maquila* worker (at Río Bravo). Normally Leticia was dropped near her home in the Poniente by the plant bus and then walked about ten minutes on an unpaved road near a sandy area before ascending some unlighted streets to her home in the *colonia* Jurado. The day of her disappearance, however, she had to go home early to attend to her sick daughter.

According to one account, Leticia was last seen alive on Avenida de los Aztecas in the Poniente at 8 pm, where she was dropped off when the *maquila* security guard asked his friend to give her a ride home after she got special permission from the plant to leave early (Torrea 2012; *El Diario* 11/17/12). Avenida de los Aztecas is located several miles from *colonia* Jarudo, Leticia’s final destination (Torrea 2012). A second and different account is that Leticia disappeared a few blocks from her house where the fellow worker dropped her off. A year after her disappearance, the *Fiscalía* still had no leads in the investigation according to her mother (*El Diario* 11/17/12). Her mother said: “I don’t know what could have happened [to Leticia]... I always told her to be careful, look what happened to Chayito [Rosario]... I cannot believe this is happening to me a second time. I live because my God is very large and has a purpose for me. I have hope that someday God will bring her back to me alive (Torrea 2012)”.

2.5 More Deadly Pedestrian Commutes and Blitz Auto Attacks in the South/South-East

2.5.1 Sexual Assassination Further Down the Railroad Tracks

In 1999, criminologist Robert Ressler, in his review of 76 rape-murders in Ciudad Juárez of young women (ages 17–24) was able to pinpoint that at least 20 % had disappeared directly when going to or from their *maquila* employment (Saiz 1999). In fact, from this research, Ressler even developed a *maquila*-based perpetrator “profile” for the Mexican police to look for: “one or more men who work at or around *maquiladoras* and know when the women might be alone on their way to and from their jobs” (Sandoval 1999).



Photo 2.6 Pedestrian walkway along railroad corridors south of the city (satellite view). *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

In the South and South-East of the city, where federal government land, empty lots and pedestrian commutes to and from *maquilas* also intersect with the railroad tracks further south from the Poniente, another cluster of feminicides occurred. In the fields behind the federal PEMEX located at kilometer 17 Oscar Sanchez Blvd (also known as Carretera Casas Grandes) was the place where Nancy Villalba was left for dead after being sexually assaulted by substitute *maquila* bus driver Jesús Manuel Guardado Márquez (Trucios 2008: 16). In this bus abduction, Nancy had taken the *maquila* bus home from the border area *maquila* *Motores Eléctricos* as usual with the rest of the workers. However, she was the last passenger on the bus when the driver altered the route and drove her to kilometer 17 Oscar Sanchez Blvd, sexually assaulted and beat her and left her for dead (Cornejo Juarez 2007: 140).

Indeed, one specific stretch of the Casas Grandes Highway (kilometers 17–30) is a well-known deadly corridor for feminicide in Ciudad Juárez. Fragoso (2009a, b: 99) records four feminicides and one disappearance since 1997 from the area.¹² She also specifically lists the highway as a repetitive spot selected by sexual assassins to “leave the bodies of assassinated women (Fragoso 2009a, b: 99)”.

The area runs along the southern extension of the Eje Vial Juan Gabriel/Barranco Azul railroad corridor and further demonstrates a lack of private plant security and municipal, state or federal public security. Located at kilometer 17 of Oscar Sánchez Blvd and Santon Daurón is the Coca-Cola bottling plant *Embotelladora de la Frontera*. Photo 2.6 is a satellite view of the Coca-Cola plant (located in the center next to the railroad tracks).

¹²Other feminicides along this railroad corridor in the South included Maria Esther Luna Alfaro (CA 10/13/97) and Virginia Rodríguez Beltrán (CA 10/13/97). Elizabeth Castro García was left dead in 1995 at kilometer 5 of the Casas Grandes Highway (Cornejo Juarez 2007: 67; CNDH 2003: 29-F).



Photo 2.7 Pedestrian walkway along railroad corridors south of the city (street view). *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

Photo 2.7 is a street view looking southward down along the railroad track from Avenida Santon Daurón.

On the night of April 12, 1997, Miriam Aguilar Rodríguez (age 17) attempted to resist rape just behind the Coca-Cola plant between the 11 and 12 electricity towers of the Federal Commission of Electricity (CA 4/12/97) just visible at the right on Photo 2.7. *Casa Amiga* (4/12/97) writes that the “adolescent victim fought until her death and scratched her attacker in the struggle; this is evident in the substance found under her nails and a broken one. Various signs of blows were present, another example of the struggle between attacker and victim”. According to Miriam’s family, she had left the house with a friend to go look for work at a *maquila* (CA 4/12/97; Washington-Valdez 2006: 366).

A few miles further south, these same railroad tracks lie behind the Flourex *maquila* and the Federal Electricity tower (kilometer 24 on the Pan-American highway) (CNDH 2003: 151) Photo 2.8 shows a satellite view with the railroad tracks on the left of the plant and Photo 2.9 shows a street view of the intersection of the railroad tracks, the Flourex *maquila* plant and the Federal Electricity Commission lands.

Again, the lack of any type of public or private security on municipal or federal lands resulted in the death of yet another cluster of women on the grounds of a *maquila* plant near the railroad. Francisca Sánchez Gutiérrez (age 51) was left for dead a few yards from the Highway Patrol on the Flourex property (CA 12/4/98).¹³ 13 year old student Yessica Martínez Morales’s was left dead a year later along the

¹³The death of María Micaela Ríos Saldívar, age 55 outside the Flourex plant in 1996 would be prosecuted in 2012 with a criminal sentence for 40 years to her assassin (El Real de Chihuahua 2014).



Photo 2.8 Satellite view, Flourex Plant and federal electricity commission sub-station. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

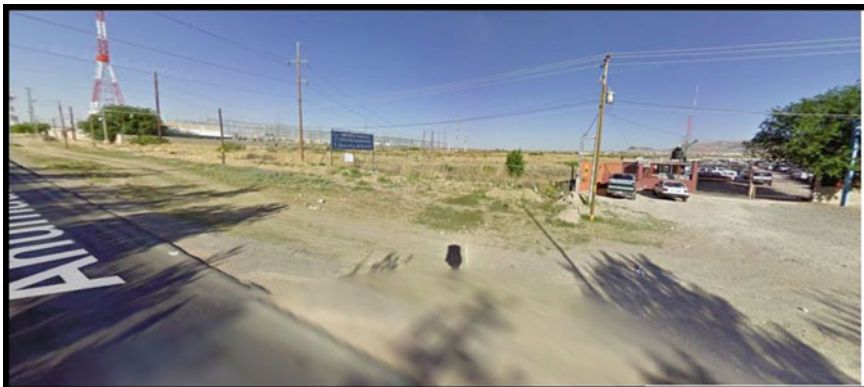


Photo 2.9 Street view, Yonkies (Junk) Yard between Flourex Plant and federal electricity commission sub-station. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

same railroad tracks entering from the highway a few miles south of where Miriam Aguilar Rodríguez was sexually assassinated near the Coca-Cola plant. Yessica was abducted into an auto on a public street while walking near her home on Zaragoza Street in the Southeast some miles north-east of where she was abandoned. A few days previously to her abduction, Yessica had purchased a new camera from a man with a record for rape and attempted homicide (*El Silencio* 1999: 24). On the day of her abduction, she had gone on foot to buy a roll of film for the camera. Her parents immediately reported her disappearance to authorities but she was not found until 10 days later (CA 3/3/98; Cornejo Juárez 2007: 119).



Photo 2.10 Access road to Electrolux Plant, view from North. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

2.5.2 The Electrolux Area: A Mini-Hot Spot at the South-Eastern Edge of the City

By 2006–2009, a new upsurge of feminicides hot spots in the Southern areas of the City began to be documented (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 86). This expansion of femicide into the Southern zone was considered a “new result” by 2009 and followed a southbound trend of femicide hot spots from the Historical Center, through the Poniente (*colonia* Luis Olague/Gema-Juárez-Fernandez Parks to Zaragoza Industrial Park), south from Calle Barranco Azul toward Granjas Santa Elena.

The Electrolux washer *maquila* plant is a large, Sweden-based household appliance manufacturer’s plant located at Parque Industrial Antonio J. Bermudez.¹⁴ Photo 2.10 shows the Northern entrance to the Electrolux factory and the surrounding fields. There is a north-south paved public access road that runs parallel to the plant and the road is easily accessible to the public. The plant itself, constructed in 2004, is located on 134 acres, employs around 6000 workers and is surrounded by a tall barbed wire fence. However, the company purchased about 500 acres of land so the Electrolux plant is surrounded by multiple acres of uninhabited desert lands. Both the access road to and from the plant and even the immediate entrance point to the plant are devoid of any private or public security as evidenced in Photo 2.10.

¹⁴This area is just south-east of the Juárez airport and the end of Blvd Óscar Flores but east of Highway 45 and the railroad tracks. The plant is located between the public streets of Calle Mar de la Plata (north) and Av. Miguel de la Madrid.



Photo 2.11 Av. Miguel de la Madrid Blvd. Independencia abutting the Electrolux plant area.
 Source Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

The use of the larger Electrolux *maquila* area at the south-eastern edge of the city as a repeated place to sexually assassinate girls and women again reveals how impunity fuels feminicide. It is at precisely these same fields behind Electrolux that at least *nine* different girls and women have been found dead. In October 2012, authorities conducted the first of two searches for human remains in the fields around the manufacturer's plant and found the bones of at least seven women of these women (*El Paso Times* 3/5/13).

One more teen was found dead outside the plant in February 2013. This was María Guadalupe De la Cruz Francisco, age 17, was last seen alive in January in *colonia* Los Aztecas (Poniente) but then disappeared. She had lived in a very poor house with her parents and had left on the afternoon of February 4 at 5 pm to go get her cell phone recharged, according to her mother (Torrea 2013a). Her mother activated the Alba Protocol which began a nation-wide search for the teen, according to the FEM head Ernesto Jáuregui (*El Diario* 4/5/13). Nevertheless, her bones were found two months later in the fields contiguous to the Electrolux plant. María Guadalupe's father—Moisés de la Cruz Guillén—was a security worker at a *maquila* plant who had lost his job three months before her disappearance and had gone back to Cárdenas, Tabasco State to his father's funeral but was unable to pay the return bus ticket to Juárez. FEM paid his bus ticket back to Juárez (Torrea 2013a). Moisés was very traumatized and embittered by the disappearance and assassination of his daughter and stated to one reporter: "I am going to say something and I hope it will not bring repercussions. Here the worst is that the criminal has more support than normal people and is more protected by the authorities than good people who dedicated themselves to working".

2.5.3 *Blitz Auto Attacks not Social Disintegration of the Family in the South and South-East*

Wright (2004: 378) has noted that social disintegration of the family has been a theory proposed to explain feminicides in Juárez. In “blame the victim” logic, women who are out on the streets, especially as sex-workers, are thought to have somehow provoked the violence against themselves (Martínez 2003; Prado 2003). Yet, the social disintegration of the family model has yielded contradictory theoretical propositions. On the one hand, it is assumed children and teens “from a dysfunctional family and who may already be the victim of sexual and/or physical abuse” are prime public abduction targets when they are out on the streets (Tedisco and Paludi 1996). On the other hand, and contradictory, Hanfland et al. (1997) reported that most (66 %) of girls and teens of non-family abduction and murder in Canada were described by those who knew them as normal kids with a good relationship with the family and typically of low risk.

As an explanation of sexual assassination in Juárez, several recent survivor accounts of abduction rape/attempted murder in the Electrolux *maquila* plant area show no evidence of self-provocation. Rather, there is clear evidence of a “blitz” attack method used often in auto abductions. Blitz attacks, often attributed to child sexual abductors, occur when a set of strangers appear suddenly in front of the girl (s) and physical force/weapons are used to limit escape (Burgess and Holmstrom 1974; Paludi and Kelly 2010: 52).

Two teens (age 13 and 19), whose identities and residence were withheld from the press, were on their way to buy some hamburgers and tacos at a local stand near two blocks from their homes (Table 2.1).¹⁵ According to the 19 year old, as they were walking down the street, a car with six men aboard pulled up beside them, called out the name of the 13 year old who said she did not know him. The perpetrator then told the teens that they should accompany them to a party (*El Diario* 1/18/13). When the girls refused, the driver cut off their physical passage, two men got out of the vehicle and told them that if they did not get in, they would kill them because the other men in the car were armed (FEM official quoted in *La Red Noticias* 9/14/11). In fact, the men inside the vehicle were heavily armed.

The two teens were then transported from their own neighborhood a relatively long distance to an unpopulated area near the Electrolux *maquila* plant. In her court testimony, the 19 year old girl remembered that on the way to Electrolux, they first arrived at the Southern Ciudad Juárez neighborhood of Parajes del Sur where she heard someone say: “Hugo [the name of one of the perpetrators] was there already” (*El Diario* 1/18/13). Then the young men began to argue among themselves to

¹⁵Nevertheless, news accounts do state that the girls were picked up, then immediately taken down Talamás Camandari boulevard which is located in an industrial area and the boulevard is bordered by several Southern neighborhoods. They were then transported to *Parques de Sur*, a neighborhood which also lies near Talamás Camadari and the unpopulated areas near the Electrolux *maquila* plant area where the rape and attempted murder took place (*El Norte Digital* 1/19/13).

determine the form in which they planned to kill the girls since they were “sure that they would turn them in otherwise (*La Policiaca* 9/15/11)”. Force was again applied to recapture the girls after they briefly fled the car near the plant (*El Norte Digital* 1/19/13). The 19 year old teen also heard one of the sexual assassins tell her younger friend to “say good-bye to the world” because since they had raped them, the teens would report them to the police and he was going to prevent this by murder (*El Diario* 1/18/13).¹⁶ These are clearly premeditated actions (Meloy 2000: 9) so that the girl(s) cannot testify against the men (Levinson 2002: 846).

Such survivor accounts not only reveal a lack of any recognizable sense of empathy for the women whom they afflict with their violent actions (Dobash and Dobash 2011; Silcox 2010; Fragoso 2009a, b: 29; Ritzenhoff 2009: 74). They also reveal how rape specifically occurs in a concrete location (the *Electrolux* plant) known to sexual assassins to be a place of impunity for their actions. Such known “spaces or places” of impunity are specifically located within the often new industrial sectors of Juárez that emerge from the process of globalization which lack in private and public security.

Another such place is the intersection of Av. Miguel de la Madrid and Blvd. Independencia (South-East) which is home to the Flextronics Manufacturing plant (right corner) and the empty fields (left). Both are at the cross-roads just southwest of the southern entrance to the Electrolux plant (Photo 2.11).

Juana N. survived the rape and near fatal beating to her head, face and teeth precisely in the field off this intersection (FEM 5/17/13; Table 2.1). Although not initially abducted as she accepted a ride home in the Southern part of the city from Héctor Amado Chávez on consensual grounds, Juana N’s rejection of his sexual advances toward her in the car turned it into an auto abduction as he then drove her even further to the southern edge of town (Photo 2.11). According to Juana N, Amado Chávez had planned, after the rape and severe beating, to abandon her there and left her for dead because he believed no one would find her at that location. Someone nearby, however, alerted the police to the presence of a woman in the morning at the cross-roads. Juana N., when approached by the police, identified Amado Chávez by name, thereby accelerating the execution of his arrest warrant for rape and attempted murder (*Diario* 5/13/13).

Such survivor accounts from the South and South-East of the city provide little evidence of the social disintegration of the family. Rather, they reflect premeditated

¹⁶In this particular horrific assassination attempt, the sexual assassins mercifully failed. Although one of them slashed the girls’ throats with knives and checked the heart of the older girl to see if she were dead, she held her breath and pretended to be dead. Thus, the girls survived as the assassins left the teens for dead. The girls then managed to walk several kilometers to an auto shop where an ambulance was immediately called and the paramedics saved them from bleeding to death (*El Norte Digital* 1/19/13). Despite several agonizing days in the hospital, the girls were also able to recount the story to FEM. This testimony led to multiple sentences by an oral court judge of the four perpetrators who acknowledged their participation in the crime. All four were sentenced for sexual abuse, one for murder (13 years in prison) and the other three for murder by omission because they were at the scene of the crime but did nothing to impede the murder (*El Diario* 1/10/13).

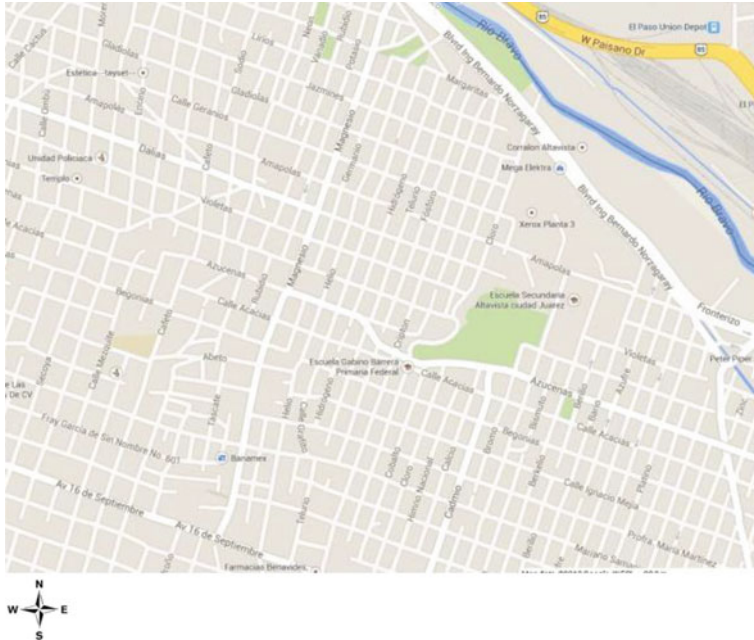
auto abduction rape with murder and attempted murder in areas known to sexual assassins as lacking both public and private security. Teens walking down public streets were caught in blitz auto abductions. Women who rejected sexual advances were also subject to auto abduction.¹⁷ The Electrolux and nearby areas represent more spaces known for impunity used by sexual killers to leave the bodies of assassinated women.

As female pedestrians cross in and out of these dangerous spaces in and around the railroad tracks and *maquila* plants to and from school, work and home, the further advance of the “Southern/South-eastern drift” of sexual assassination hot spots into new industrial areas (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 86) can be seen. The geography of the clusters of sexual assassinations (from Table 2.1) directly follow the line of the railroad tracks from *colonia* Luis Olague/Gema-Juárez-Fernandez Parks to Zaragoza Industrial Park, south to the North Gate Industrial area (at Calle Barranco Azul) in the Poniente, southward down Blvd Óscar Flores past the Coca-Cola, then Flourex plants in the South and then east to the new industrial plants at the Electrolux area (South-East) (1996–2013). This reflects a clear association between multiple industrial areas within the Poniente, South and South-Eastern zones of Juárez and sexual assassination along the railroad land corridor and major highway(s). As Chap. 3 reveals, repeated disappearances of girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez in 2014 only continue this “Southern/South-Eastern drift” toward specific points in and around the larger Av. Miguel de la Madrid, Blvd. Independencia and Talamás Camandari Boulevards.

2.6 Repeat Offenders in Dense Urban Contexts: School Playgrounds and *Maquila* Bosses at the Border

Caputi (1989: 39) writes that lack of punishment for femicide signals a climate of acceptance for violence against women in a society. Ms. Asma Jahangir, UN Special Rapporteur, in her visit to Ciudad Juárez in 1999 stated: “The events in Ciudad Juárez thus constitute a typical case of gender-based crimes which thrive on impunity” (UN Special Rapporteur, United Nations, 1999). de Alba and Guzmán (2010: 14) explain that *machismo* and lack of prosecution (impunity) particularly fuels rape and sexual assassination because the lack of an effective response by the criminal justice system enables “*machista* and dysfunctional men to continue their misogynistic rape and murdering spree[s].” In this section, it is evident that repeat sexual assassination can take place both in the same place within a neighborhood and by the same individual over time. Corruption and bribes to officials within the

¹⁷As happened to Juana N in the South, Yeira Elizabeth Fernández Chavira’s assassination did not begin as an auto abduction but became one which also ended in sexual assassination. Yeira was abandoned at Parque Industrial Independencia at the cross-roads of Custodia de la República y Santiago Troncoso (*Rumbo* 10/20/12).



Map 2.3 AltaVista high school playground and sexual assassination. *Source* Map data @ 2014 Google, INEGI

criminal justice system only fuel impunity and often render it extremely difficult to prosecute femicide even when efforts are made years after the crimes.

2.6.1 *Deadly School Playgrounds and Repeat Offenders*

In the densely urbanized Border zones of Ciudad Juárez without many empty lots, impunity for sexual assassination has also perpetuated a set of repeated spaces over time. For example, *colonia* Alta Vista is home to multiple *maquila* plants in and around the Alta-Vista maquila park. The Alta Vista/Calle Amapolas area is home to a complex of *maquilas* which include Xerox Planta #1, Oneita Mexicana, Autopartes y Narneases #4 and Arrow Games, among others. The Alta Vista *maquila* area is located immediately on the U.S.-Mexican border just south of the Rio Grande and just west of the border crossing into El Paso. Within *colonia* Alta Vista, the high-school (*Escuela Secundaria Altavista*) is located as the green zone on Map 2.3.

One of the earliest noted and documented feminicides in Ciudad Juárez happened to Angélica Luna Villalobos in 1993. Angélica’s body was found on Calle Telurio in *colonia* Alta Vista in 1993 (Fernández and Rampal 2008; Frago et al.

2010: 94; CNDH 2003: 122-F). She was 16 years old and pregnant (Cornejo Juarez 2007: 47). Multiple other feminicides have been reported from the *colonia Alta Vista* and contiguous *colonia Francisco Villa* (Fragoso et al. 2010: 55, 58, 61, 141).

In fact, a series of sexual assassination took place in a single border school playground located next to the Alta Vista Industrial Park in *colonia Alta-Vista* at the *Escuela Secundaria* (Map 2.3). In the earliest case (1993), a brutal attack, rape and murder of a 17 year old teen whose identity is unknown occurred (Table 2.1, CA 6/11/93; Cornejo Juarez 2007: 50). Her body was tied to a stake at the school playground on the way to a dirt road at the edge of the Rio Grande (CA 6/11/93).

In July 2012, a group of men abducted four teens (ages 13–15) from the exact same playground in *colonia Alta Vista*. The girls had been playing at a temporary carnival of rides held at the playground (Table 2.1, *La Jornada* 7/23/12). According to the Juárez Special Prosecutor of Gender Crimes of the State Attorney General’s Office (*Fiscalía de Atención a Mujeres Víctimas del Delito por Razones de Género* [FEM]), the four men allegedly “lured” into their auto the four teens on the promise that they were taking them to a nearby party. Once at the house, however, the crime turned into an auto abduction. The girls were then separated, raped, beaten and then forced back into the vehicle. Driven outside of town, the teens were abandoned at Cristo Negro, a mountain area where multiple girls, teens and women have been left dead over the years (FEM 8/2/12). The teens immediately sought help nearby with the police and all were hospitalized with one gravely wounded (*Somos Frontera* 7/24/12).¹⁸

Repetition over time of sexual assassination is not only limited to place but also to person. In 2012, a sexual assassin was sentenced to 37 years in prison for the rape and murder of student Gabriela Yaneth Ayala Paz (age 17) in nearby border *colonia Fronteriza Alta* (Table 2.1, *El Mexicano* 7/21/12). Sixteen years earlier in 1996 and a quarter of a mile away in *colonia Francisco Sarabia*, the same sexual assassin was convicted of co-participation in the 1996 rape and murder of student María Cecilia Navarrete Reyes (age 13) (Mariano-García 2005: 30).¹⁹ Thus, despite

¹⁸In this particular case, in 2012, four men were subsequently detained after a Special Operation by FEM and later sentenced. Even here, however, all of them were repeat offenders, having just sexually assassinated and abandoned 15 year old Ciudad Juárez high-school student Estefanía Valenzuela during the previous week in a nearby *colonia* (*El Heraldo de Chihuahua* 7/25/12; *Redacción* 7/22/12). Again, this sexual assassination involved a forced auto abduction in which Estefanía was forcibly abducted into an auto from a relative’s house, sexually assaulted and abandoned on a residential street about 6–7 blocks from a police station in contiguous *colonia Francisco Villa* (*El Paso Times* 7/25/12). Two sexual assassins were sentenced by an oral judge to more than 50 years in prison for Estefanía’s murder (*El Diario* 10/23/14).

¹⁹Until confronted with direct biological evidence of his culpability, the sexual assassin initially denied his participation in Gabriela’s death and even assisted in the initial search for her to take attention away from himself for the crime (*El Diario* 2/12/14). Similarly, the assassin also denied his participation in the murder of María Cecilia, appealing the initial sentence which was nevertheless upheld by the Chihuahua Supreme Court (CNDH 2003: 144-F). He served 8 years of his 22 year sentence for María’s feminicide and was sentenced to 37 years for Gabriela’s death (*Puente Libre* 2/18/14).

being sixteen years apart in time, both feminicides by the same sexual assassin would occur within a quarter of a mile of each other in the border region.

2.6.2 Maquila Boss Suspects at the Border and Obstruction of Justice by Evasion

There is a large literature on botched *police* investigations including non-followed leads, non-interviewed suspects, threats and even corruption which lead to impunity for feminicide (Bejarano 2012; de Alba 2010 Flores 2010; Arce 2010; Simmons and Copland 2010; Staudt and Coronado 2010; Schmidt-Camacho 2005 Staudt 2008: 121; Legarde y De Los Ríos 2010: xix).²⁰ Less well-documented, however, is evidence of direct threats from political representatives to school administrators and/or direct bribes or pay-offs to other members of the criminal justice system including the Social Representative and Investigators at the Attorney General's Office and/or judges in exchange for non-investigation or dismissal of sentences in feminicide cases.

Eréndira Ivonne, a 17 year old *maquila* worker, was last seen alive getting into an auto with her boss and an older woman as they left work at Foviste Chamizal, a recycling cardboard *maquila*. According to Eréndira's family, she had taken the ride to get closer to the bus route to her home to the Poniente (*El Silencio* 1999: 90; CNDH 2003: 177; CA 8/31/98). The Foviste Chamizal *maquila* is located in the Chamizal neighborhood adjacent to the border Parque Industrial Hermanos Escobar. Eréndira was raped and also abandoned with severe, overkill damage to her body behind same the federal PEMEX plant in the South of the city precisely at kilometer 17 Oscar Sanchez Blvd (Carretera Casas Grandes, noted earlier in this chapter) (Table 2.1) (Trucios 2008: 16). Thus, a ride-turned-auto abduction from a border *maquila* plant characterized Eréndira's death.

Eréndira's family always suspected her boss at the *maquila* (Professor Jose Luis Franco Almarez) as the sexual assassin. Nevertheless, in the course of the criminal investigation, Franco Almarez was merely called in once by the Social Representative of the Attorney General's Office but never actually interviewed because he said he was "really busy" and was allowed to leave. This oversight was found by the CNDH (2003: 160-F) to be a particularly egregious breaking of the rule of law given Franco Almarez had already been the subject of multiple complaints about sexual abuse during school hours when he worked at the *Escuela Estatal* 3002. This was according to the *Escuela Estatal* 3002's principal who also

²⁰In one survey of Ciudad Juárez municipal police, even the officers expressed doubts about their ability to handle homicide in the city. Only 2 % of those interviewed thought that municipal police had any ability to resolve the problem of murder, despite their acknowledgement by 52 % that homicide was the crime which most worried society (*Justiciabárometro* 2011: 41).

testified in the investigation. Some of these complaints of sexual abuse included allegations of illegal fondling of minors (CNDH 2003: 160-F).

Such accusations led the then principal of the *Escuela Estatal* 3002 to testify to the Social Representative of the Attorney General’s Office that so many complaints had piled up against Franco Almarez that he, the principal, reported him to a representative of the Chihuahua State Attorney. Nevertheless, while at the Attorney General’s Office, the principal alleged that he was told by a representative of the State Government of Chihuahua, “Do not touch Franco Almarez or on the contrary, I will hit you (*te voy a pegar*)” (CNDH 2003: 160-F [T-5-160-F]).

One of Eréndira’s school mates also testified that professor Franco Almarez had allegedly tried to kill another female classmate who subsequently fled to Sinaloa. The CNDH (2003: 160-F) also stated this lead was not followed up on in the course of the criminal investigation. Nor was any forensic material analyzed or even sent to a laboratory such as biological samples on Eréndira’s purse and under her fingernails that might directly implicate a sexual assassin. In sum, the CNDH (2003: 160-F) concluded that the State Attorney General’s Office failed to act with “impartiality and efficiency in the discharge of their duties” and “engaged in irregularities” that translated into failure to “execute their duties, office and commission”.

Fourteen years later, a judge would sign an arrest warrant for Franco Almarez for the sexual assassination of Eréndira but then immediately release him. Franco Almarez’s lawyer maintained his client was innocent, his family claimed he was “framed” and merely accused by the state because the statute of limitations on the case about to expire. The prosecutor at the Attorney General’s Office, on the other hand, said it would appeal the dismissal and wondered why the same judge who ordered the arrest warrant would then dismiss the case (*Norte Digital* 5/12/12). The *fiscal* in the case said it was the lack of direct, biological evidence linking Almarez to Eréndira that led to the release of the suspect (*El Mexicano* 5/10/12). There was



Photo 2.12 Street View: Bravo Eléctrico Sistemas, Border Area, Ciudad Juárez. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

no mention of the original CNDH (2003: 160-F) testimony of Almarez's ex-principal in the judge's reversal (*La Opción de Chihuahua* 5/8/12). Out of sheer frustration with the longstanding lack of justice, professor Franco Almarez was physically attacked by a member of Eréndira's family leaving the court room (*La Policiaca* 5/8/12).

Bravo Eléctrico Sistemas *maquila* worker Guadalupe Ivonne Estrada Salas (age 16) was last seen alive (1993) with a *maquila* plant supervisor at the Magna Flex Industrial Plant area. Magna Flex is very near the US-Mexican border and is contiguous with several other industrial neighborhoods (Parque Industrial Hermanos Escobar, Omega). Photo 2.12 shows the industrial character of the *maquila* and the immediate surroundings near the plant which workers without autos traverse to and from work. Guadalupe was found dead 21 days later, a few miles away, her body dumped from an auto in a field near a waste water plant and border park in the Chamizal neighborhood close to the *maquila* where Eréndira Ivonne Ponce worked. Frago et al. (2010: 94) classify the murder of Guadalupe Ivonne Estrada Salas as a "systemic organized sexual femicide". The main suspect was a *maquila* manager at the plant (CNDH 2003: 45-F; Washington-Valdez 2006: 40). Guadalupe had an infant daughter.

The investigation into Guadalupe's death was also stymied from its inception, this time due to bribery (CNDH 2003: 45-F). The CNDH (2003: 45-F) found that the same *maquila* manager (McKenzie 2008) with whom teen Guadalupe was seen alive appeared to have bribed the Social Representative of the Attorney General's Office and possibly two State Judicial Police to halt the investigation into his alibi. In its review of Guadalupe's femicide investigation, the CNDH (2003: 45-F) stated it was pertinent to clarify that:

Despite the fact that the sub-agent of the Attorney General possessed very important data that implicated PR-45-F (the *maquila* boss in the murder), who was detained along with other persons at the offices of the Judicial Police, he was permitted to leave the police station without ever seeing the Social Representative; it seems because he gave some quantity of money in exchange for his liberty; the cited functionary [the Social Representative of the Attorney General's Office then], failed to pursue this line of investigation, letting go, on the one hand, of the need to discover the identity of the police elements who participated in the detention of these persons; and, on the other, failed to attribute any criminal responsibility that corresponded to them with the outcome of this illegal conduct being that the probable culprit responsible for the homicide of Guadalupe Ivonne Estrada Salas evaded any criminal proceedings.

In the course of this original, botched investigation (1993–1999), this *maquila* plant suspect did state that he had often given rides to Guadalupe in his car but said he was working all day at the plant on the day of her disappearance. To the disgust of Guadalupe's parents, this alibi was never verified due to the aforementioned bribes he gave to the Attorney General's Office investigative personnel (CNDH 2003: 45-F).

In an effort to revive justice before the statute of limitations lapsed on this 1993 femicide, fourteen years later in 2007, this same *maquila* manager and suspect,

named Licenciado Higinio Bernardo González Shole, was arrested for the crime in the city of Querétaro in June (*El Universal* 6/7/07). Any hopes of justice, however, were again stymied. González Shole was then released three months later in September after he obtained an *amparo* which stated that the statute of limitations on prosecuting the crime had expired (McKenzie 2008).

By 2011, Guadalupe’s daughter was turning 19 and in an event to remember victims of violence in Juárez and to welcome the Caravan for Peace in the City, a quilt was sewn with her mother’s name on it. Peterson (2011) says of Guadalupe’s daughter that “the young woman stood at the edge of the quilt but declined to talk about a mother she never really knew. “All this is very difficult for her,” said Victoria Salas, the grandmother of the young woman and Estrada’s mother. According to Victoria, a *maquila* company professional was implicated in her daughter’s slaying but managed to wiggle his way out of punishment. Salas said. “We don’t have justice in Ciudad Juárez. There is none, and no explanation why (Guadalupe) disappeared. We are in a lawless land (Peterson 2011)”. Salas added that in 2011 young girls keep disappearing, including three from her own neighborhood.

2.7 Discussion

2.7.1 *Poniente, Southern and Border Industrial Areas as Concentrated Sexual Assassination Zones*

This chapter reveals a pattern in which confirmed rape and subsequent assassination happened mainly to students, *maquila* workers and other workers who were largely abducted by auto, near schools and *maquila* plants located in industrial neighborhoods in the Poniente, South-South-East and Border zones (1996–2001, 2011–2013). These zones are industrial areas in which girls, teens and women are often engaged in pedestrian urban transport. This is for the needs of the *maquiladora* industry as inserted in a larger process of globalization (Fragoso 2009a, b) and/or for the broader needs of the reproduction of labor or power relations through schooling (Inkeles and Smith 1974; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Levin 1987: 151). In contrast, Table 2.1 shows only a single instance in which the person was last seen alive in the wealthier North-East of the city (Identity unknown, CA 5/5/93) and one sexual assassination in the East, strongly suspected to be related to organized crime (Washington-Valdéz 2006: 204).

The Poniente was then, by far, the most common zone of the city (Hernández 2010: 51) where sexual assassination occurred. The area of the Poniente that runs along the railroad tracks and thoroughfare Eje Vial Juan Gabriel is a mixed industrial type zone, characterized by *maquilas*, small industrial-type businesses and working class houses in several *colonias*. The railroad land corridor of the track itself is further characterized by intermittent junk yards, car lots and irregular and/or

non-existent side-walks, empty lots and abandoned railroad wagons. The specific geographical concentration of such murders in Table 2.1 was particularly around the Gema-Juárez-Fernandez Triangle, the adjunct railroad land corridor to *Parque Azteca* (Calle Ponciano Arriago), to *Parque Industrial Zaragoza* (calle Zaragoza), southward to North Gate Industrial Park (calle Barranco Azul) in the 1990s and continued toward the “Southern-South-Eastern” drift by 2009 and after.

2.7.2 *It Is also About Place*

Schools located in and around industrial parks (Gema-Juárez-Fernandez complex, Alta Vista Industrial Park, Zaragoza Industrial Park) were also frequent sites in multiple auto abductions (CA 6/11/93; Cornejo Juarez 2007: 50; CA 11/15/93; CNDH 2003: 85-F; 116-F). In some instances, school playgrounds at these sites were directly utilized to abduct girls (*La Jornada* 7/23/12) while in other instances, the playground was used to abandon them after brutal sexual attacks (CA 6/11/93).

Eyewitness testimony by other girls and teens also suggests specific, pre-planned targeting of young girls at and around such schools. In the Poniente, fellow students saw unusual men hanging around the school (María Rocío Cordero). Also in the Poniente, one fellow student testified to having seen Celia Gómez de la Cruz (age 13) with an unusual man whereas another student said s/he saw an unusual car cruising slowly by the school at ending time a few days earlier (Cornejo 2007: 55; CNDH 2003: 85-F).

The suggestion of prior planning of abduction, as well as their zone specific nature, casts some doubt on the routine activities thesis that men “who murder children may do so when the opportunity arises. Therefore, any child could be at risk (Dalley and Ruscoe 2003)”. The walking of middle-school aged girls to and from school in the Poniente and Southern zones *is* an activity that can put them “in considerable involuntary contact with sexual assassins” (Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman 1994) cruising the streets in automobiles.

Nevertheless, getting abducted from a street is *not* a necessarily routine interaction of young girls with men throughout Ciudad Juárez. Rather, such assaults happen to girls, teens and women engaged in *routine activities* (walking to and from school and work) in *certain, identified femicide hot spots* (Poniente, South/South-East, Border). That it happens to students, *maquila* workers, night club workers and the unemployed is less the point than that sexual assassination occurs repeatedly in specific, poor mixed industrial-neighborhoods where girls, teens and women traverse public streets. As such, it is very important to know the *places* where girls, teens and women were last seen alive to better understand the repetitive nature of sexual assassination in Juárez.

In other words, sexual assassination occurs heavily in and around identifiable, poorer neighborhoods with a strong *maquila* presence but also with very poor public and private security on the streets, especially for pedestrians. As pedestrians, girls, teens and women on the streets in and around these industrial areas can be

subject to forced, blitz auto attacks. Frequently, school-aged girls were abducted from public streets coming and going from school occurred during *daylight* hours while girls were walking to school (Gladys Janneth Fierro, age 12, Esmeralda Leyva Rodríguez, age 13, Celia Guadalupe Gómez de la Cruz, age 13, Brenda Najera, Susana/Ana Flores, ages 11–15; Table 2.1).²¹

The deliberate, calculated, forced nature of such vehicular abductions also casts serious doubt upon the idea that self-provocation as an ultimate cause of such assaults. Their “blitz” nature is characterized by a set of strangers appear suddenly in front of the girl(s) and physical force/weapons are used to limit escape. Two teens (13, 19), for example, refused to get into a car with six heavily armed men at a local taco stand two blocks from their homes. They were then threatened with death if they did not get into the car (*El Norte Digital* 1/19/13). Esmeralda Leyva Rodríguez (age 13) was abducted on the street walking from school when four men deliberately cruised up next to her in a taxi, refused to respect her answer of “no” to the question of whether she wanted a ride, stopped the vehicle and forced her inside (CNDH 2003: 116-F). María Eugenia Mendoza was very clear in her verbal rejection of a “ride” in the Poniente (“No”, “Go away”, “Go away, you slime”) before she was physically forced into the car at 6 am (Lugo 2008: 242). Whether the act is executed by socially organized groups of men or by a solitary man, such sexual assassinations are acts with the purpose of annihilation (Fragoso 2009a, b: 282–283).

There is also some evidence that certain streets and areas in the Poniente, South and Border industrial areas are “known” for their impunity to arrogant sexual assassins who believe they are “above the law” because they “choose the places where we would abduct women because we knew perfectly well that they were places where nobody would see us as it actually turned out” (CNDH 2003: 103-F). In this instance, the alleged abductions sites were at commercial centers located on a boulevard—Avenida Ejército Nacional—that bisects the city at the Poniente.²² Also pointing in this direction is survivor testimony of teens who heard their abductors pre-selecting an abandonment site which they believed would increase the impunity for their murders (*El Diario* 1/18/13; *El Mexicano* 7/21/12).

The presence of industrial debris and/or un-regulated urban spaces—empty lots, land corridors by railroad tracks, bridges over railways, irrigation canals, creeks,

²¹In fact, the Chihuahua Institute for Women began to issue bulletins to girls and women of the danger of living in 23 *colonias* in the Poniente (and the Historical Center) and warning to students not to look for work at night and constantly change their daily routine (*Notimex* 9/12/11). Mieczkowski and Beauregard (2010) contend that daylight sexual assaults are more likely to be lethal because the girl, teen or woman may be more likely to be able to identify the assaulter, so the murder is done to evade apprehension.

²²In this femicide, one of the alleged sexual assassins claimed to have abducted eight teens and women, testifying to four specific abduction sites. The four descriptions of the abduction sites of his testimony include the Poniente (the S-Mart super market at López Mateos, the traffic circle at Carlos Amaya ave and Calle Mexicas), and it is highly likely the other two abductions sites were also in the Poniente (two commercial centers on calle Ejército Nacional) but could possibly be located in the NE (further east on calle Ejército Nacional, CNDH 2003: 103-F; Cervera-Gómez 2011: 61).

and PEMEX fields—only facilitates sexual assassination because they are also generally spaces that are relatively uninhabited or unpopulated. It generally requires an auto to transport women to these outlying places. This explains why auto or bus transport from a public street is a continuous aspect of these sexual assaults.

By way of contrast, only 7.5 % of women assassinated in conjunction with organized crime in Ciudad Juárez were found at an outlying public space. The majority were associated with the abandonment of women at businesses, bars, hospitals or on a crowded urban street (64 %, n = 154; Fragoso et al. 2010: 136). Similarly, as aforementioned in Chap. 1, only 10.9 % of women killed in Juárez by intimate femicide were found in uninhabited places and/or empty lots (Fragoso et al. 2010: 131). Thus, sexual assassination is a sub-type of femicide very closely tied to the larger issue of public security on the streets.

2.7.3 Overlap of the Lack of Public/Private Security, Lack of Vetting of Security Personnel and Accountability for Sexual Violence

This chapter also shows that in certain industrial neighborhoods spaces, the lack of *public* security often overlapped with lack of *private* security, especially along unregulated foot paths. Table 2.1 showed that in two sexual assassinations along the Eje Vial Juan Gabriel railroad corridor in the Poniente, private *maquila* security guards, sometimes with a history of sexual assault, were suspects (Miriam Arlen Vázquez Mendoza, CNDH 2003-204-F; Cornejo Juárez 2007: 63—Irma Angélica Rosales Lozano; CNDH 2003: 177-F). In the sexual assassination of Rosario García Leal, one convinced sexual assassin had been a private security guard at a nightclub in the Historical Center (Rodríguez 2007: 60).

Public and ex-public security officers have also been implicated in several sexual assassinations with the police often in a Janus-faced role. On the one hand, the State Judicial Police had called for an investigation into a suspected group of repeat sexual assassins in the Poniente (CNDH 2003: 222).

Yet, in another suspected sexual assassination in the South, a municipal policeman was the presumed suspect (CA 23, 1995).²³ The sentenced sexual assassin in the attempted femicide of Nancy Villalba González (Jesús Manuel Guardado) had been an ex-agent of the judicial police (*La Jornada* 7/5/03). According to Rodríguez (2007: 144), Guardado had a criminal record but had still managed to obtain a license to operate a factory bus despite the fact that it was illegal to issue such a permit to persons with criminal backgrounds.

In this chapter, the Mexican National Human Rights Commission (CNDH 2003) also raised the question as to why further testimony or lines of inquiry were not

²³Rodríguez (2007: 113–125) reports of a story of multiple police rapists who were not punished for suspected rape.

followed into managers, supervisors and/or security guards working at several *maquilas* who were suspects in sexual assassinations. As aforementioned, in the investigation of 13 year old *maquila* worker Irma Angélica Rosales Lozano’s death, the initial testimony of two *maquila* suspects (a human resources supervisor and head security guard) was contradictory but still not followed-up on. There was also a failure to examine a *maquila* video tape which may have suggested her death took place by multiple men near the plant itself (CNDH 2003: 177-F). In 2011, Leticia García Leal was allegedly dropped off by a *maquila* security guard after she got special permission from the plant to leave early (Torrea 2012; El Diario 11/17/12).

Thus, in multiple instances, it is possible to view the overlap of a breakdown in both public and private security systems.

O’Donnell (1999: 318) argues that continued acts of impunity either by private agents and/or security agents of the state to commit violence with the “often indifferent, if not complicit, attitude of the police and the courts toward these acts reduce the likelihood of a robust democratic rule of law”. Impunity can be understood in the context of public and private security agents to include adequate vetting of security personnel for sexual violence and procedures for accountability when sexual offenses are committed (Ferstman 2013: 5–6)

In this chapter, State Judicial Police, Social Representatives of the State Attorney General’s Office and poor forensic work in multiple femicide investigations colluded to produce the evasion of justice even for already known sexual offenders. For example, despite his record for the sexual abuse of minors, a secondary school teacher implicated in the femicide of Eréndira Ivonne Ponce in 1998 and again in 2012 was successfully employed in between these years at four state government offices.²⁴ In the femicide of Miriam Arlem Vázquez Mendoza, a key suspect was a *maquila* security guard who continued to be employed despite a history of cocaine abuse, pornography and a “marked tendency to sexually accost the female employees of the *maquiladoras* surrounding the wood factory (CNDH 2003: 204-F)”. Although the judicial police tied this same *maquila* security guard to the nearby sexual assassination of Angelia Salazar Crispin (CNDH 2003: 179-F), the Social Representative of the State Attorney General’s Office failed to exhaust this line of inquiry into her investigation.

Sociologist Borjón Nieto (2004: 451) examined a universe of 258 feminicides in Ciudad Juárez and found that 9.6 % of the women worked in *maquiladoras*. In reviewing the criminal investigations of fourteen cases of the feminicides of *maquila* workers, he argued that: “although a direct causal connection could not be made in the few cases examined, it is possible to infer that there exists an indirect responsibility by omission”.

By this, Borjón Nieto (2004: 451) refers to the failure to adequately vet bus drivers and the turning away of late workers from the plant and thereby exposing

²⁴Jose Luis Franco Almarez held two positions within the Chihuahua State Interior Ministry, one position as a state functionary at the State Municipal Prison, one position as an Instructor of Values at the Secretariat of Work and Social Prevention and was also a member of the PRI Territorial Movement (*El Mexicano* 5/1/12).

them to risk on the outskirts of the *maquila*. In the feminicides of Violeta Mabel Alvidrez and Juana Sandoval, a fellow worker at the Venusa de México *maquila* actually received a call at work of a man who worked at the *maquila* who said she had better “watch herself” or she would also end up dead like her friends because he was guilty of the feminicides. Nevertheless, neither the plant nor the authorities followed-up on this lead. According to Borjón Nieto (2004: 451–452), this suggests omission both by the plant in not insisting that its managers render detailed testimony to criminal investigators and by civil servants within the State Attorney General’s Office for not following-up on investigative leads.

Thus, an insufficiency to adequately vet government employees and public and private security personnel for sexual violence also importantly contributed to the heinous crime.

2.7.4 *No [Wo]man’s Land: Ambiguous Responsibility for Security*

The Electrolux plant deaths in the South can be seen as a single “high-risk place” or site which continues to raise the larger question of continued responsibility for public and private security in Ciudad Juárez, especially in areas known for repeated feminicides. The plant owns the 500 acres inside its fenced area and outside the fence (Lyne 2004) whereas the Chihuahua state government owns the larger, unpopulated land surrounding the plant. Electrolux paid US \$100 million to build the huge plant. Yet, as discussed previously, there is no visible public or private security along the public access roads to the plant to the *maquila* despite twelve known feminicides in the fields there (Graycor 2012; Photo 2.11).

The cost of the installation of one security camera (est. US \$9200) at one of the entrances to the paved public roads into Electrolux to prevent more feminicides could at least *possibly* act as a prevention to repetitive feminicides there. It would be an inexpensive social investment as compared with the more than US \$50 million dollars in public monies already spent to facilitate the original construction of Electrolux (Silva Montes 2008: 249).²⁵ Yet, there were no plans in 2013 to alter the security situation around the Electrolux plant. In fact, municipal authorities made only one mention of Electrolux in the Juárez municipal strategic development plan (2013–2016) which was in reference to repairing a damaged bridge in the

²⁵Silva Montes (2008) argues that the Chihuahua State government spent 50 million US dollars in land and fiscal incentives to help build the Electrolux plant in addition to millions in public dollars spent to train new technical personnel. Other companies associated with Electrolux’s construction such as Thompson, Delphi, Yazaki received extensions or reductions in their state taxes under the “Program to Retain *Maquilas*”.

nearby area (Plan Municipal de Desarrollo 2013: 127). Instead, it was argued that current public security around the plant was “adequate”.²⁶

The railroad corridors, especially along the Eje Vial Juan Gabriel and Calle Óscar Sanchez thoroughfares, appear equally ambiguous in terms of responsibility for security. Despite the abandonment of multiple sexually assassinated teens and women near the tracks, the federal railroad company *Ferromex* said it was not responsible for any deaths, even direct train-related accidents along its tracks in Ciudad Juárez. Instead, *Ferromex* argued it was the responsibility of the municipality to provide for public safety along the tracks with the municipal police within Ciudad Juárez responsible for public security within each of their city districts (*Televisa Juárez* 4/10/14). Nevertheless, the municipality disputed this, claiming *Ferromex* was responsible for investing more money into public security along the Ciudad Juárez tracks (*Norte Digital* 5/5/14).

2.8 Conclusion

The degree to which the government in Ciudad Juárez tolerates or punishes forced sexuality such as rape and the extent to which it facilitates the sexual assassination of women by perpetuating high rates of impunity in the city varies by zone and by time period. In this chapter, three *specific* mixed industrial neighborhoods zones (Poniente, South/South-East, Border) that encompass several industrial areas (Gema-Juárez-Fernandez Triangle, North Gate [Poniente], Flourex, Electrolux [South/South-East] and Alta Vista *maquila*, Magna Flex, Parque Industrial Hermanos Escobar [Border]) were the last places girls, teens and women were seen alive (Table 2.1, 1996–2001, 2011–2013). This chapter has thus revealed the non-random distribution of sexual assassination with confirmed rape within the city. Industrialization without safe streets and a spatial geography that includes empty lots were central factors explaining these sexual assassinations.

The extent to which girls, teens and women can traverse public spaces with or without abduction and/or sexual assault on their way to school or work is a reflection of the degree to which full citizenship rights have been achieved and “the degree to which the rule of law is effective” (O’Donnell 1999: 307) for women in the city. In the Poniente, this chapter found it was the lethality of walking to and from work at *maquilas*, especially along railroad land corridors, not routine interactions with young men, which best explain sexual assassinations in that zone. Several *maquila* plant(s) in outlying southern and south-eastern areas, also served

²⁶The Chihuahua State Secretary of Public Works plans to invest US \$1,382,418 in public monies in a megaproject to extend the railroad corridor in the area of public lands to the Electrolux plant. The plan includes no provisions for additional public security beyond the employment of a single watchman of the construction (Plan Municipal de Desarrollo 2013).

as known, repetitive sites of impunity where sexual assassins planned to silence the ability of girls, teens and women to testify against them. Armed attack-abductions of school aged girls and teens rather than the social disintegration of the family better explained such blitz attacks in the Poniente, Southern and Border zones. Thus, this chapter also demonstrates the centrality of groups of men who often take particular advantage of impunity to engage in “cruising” auto-abduction sexual assassinations.

Since 2005, permanent vigilance, or even extra vigilance, is still lacking and/or uneven even in some of the zones of the city originally defined as “high-risk” for women such as the Poniente (*Respuesta del Estado* 2005). Moreover, in the South in 2013, existing public security was considered “adequate” despite repetitive femicide “hot spots” in the zone.²⁷ Such lack of targeted public investment in security helps explain the repetition of brutal sexual assassins over decades, even at the exact same school playground, road intersections and/or unregulated fields near *maquila* plants, empty lots and/or on pedestrian pathways by railroad land corridors in the Poniente, South and Border areas of Ciudad Juárez.²⁸

This chapter, however, also suggests that chronic lack of adequate public security and urban infrastructure (Cervera-Gómez 2011) per se, is only one contributing factor to sexual assassination in these three specific mixed industrial neighborhoods zones. The femicide of women within a half-mile or even within yards of two police stations points again toward impunity in the criminal justice system as fueling these *machista* rape crimes. Specifically, this chapter found such impunity manifests itself in a legal sense in terms of lack of adequate vetting for private and public security personnel with histories of sexual violence, in the ability of wealthier perpetrators to evade justice and in the perception of vehicular sexual assassins that there are known places of impunity for sexual assassination in the city.

²⁷This includes a plan to add one patrol police sector to the larger Distrito Sur police zone for a demographic growth in a police sector with over 80,000 inhabitants (*Plan Municipal de Desarrollo* 2013: 127, 47; Vilata and Muggah 2014: 9). Of the six listed Ciudad Juárez municipal police stations, four of them are located in the North/North-Eastern Zones of the city (66 %).

²⁸This chapter reveals two more specific areas where sexual assassinations leave the bodies of girls, teens and women in Juárez. In the North-Gate *maquila* area alone, five women were sexually assassinated and abandoned within a 1–2 miles radius of the Eje Vial Juan Gabriel and Calle Barranco Azul intersection; most precisely along the railroad corridor abutting the North-Gate plant. Further south along the same railroad corridor, the Pan-American Highway (45) comes to parallel the tracks south of Juárez-Porvenir Highway 2. 13 year old student Yessica Martínez Morales was taken in the Poniente on Zaragoza Blvd but driven to and left dead just behind both the Flourex *maquila* and the Federal Electricity tower (kilometer 24 on the Pan-American highway) (CNDH 2003: 151). Eréndira Ivonne Ponce was abducted by auto in the border area but driven to and abandoned behind the federal PEMEX plant in the South of the city (CNDH 2003: 177; CA 8/31/98). Gladys Janneth Fierro was forced into an auto in the Historical Center but left in the southern zone of the city (kilometer 1 on Juárez-Porvenir Highway 2, behind the radio station) (CA 5/12/94).

This represents a *system* of institutional factors embedded within in the larger global economic context in which the city is situated that lead to impunity. It also reflects an institutional system in which indifference and lack of accountability for public and private security to prevent femicide importantly manifest as conflicts over jurisdiction (government versus private sector, federal versus state versus municipal authorities) which often leads to stale-mates in which proposed ideas and plans for increased security languish and fail to prosper. Or, with respect to the specific workings of the criminal justice system, the outcome has too often been the well-documented result of the non-investigation and/or partial investigation (Acosta Urquidi 2005: 3; Schmidt-Camacho 2005; Simmons and Copeland 2010; Bejarano 2012) of feminicides, if not the outright bribery of some members of the Social Representative and Investigators at the Attorney General’s Office to avoid investigation (CNDH 2003: 45-F).

This chapter also found several instances of a “Catch-22” in which efforts to revive justice before the statute of limitations lapsed on several 1993 feminicides led to court dismissal of sentences “for lack of direct, original biological evidence” and/or because of appeal by *amparo* (*El Mexicano* 5/10/12; McKenzie 2008). When courts demand high standards of original due diligence by forensics such as direct biological linking evidence in sexual crimes which has been difficult for official forensics to meet in Ciudad Juárez (Enlasco 2006; Skrapec 2010), the likelihood of justice for victims may be reduced (Taylor 2007: 5).

Fragoso (2014: 44) notes that two key international benchmarks help demarcate some clarity in the complexity of violence against women in Ciudad Juárez over the last twenty years. These include the femicide and the disappearance of women in the 1990s and the *Chihuahua Joint Operation* in 2008 which was the start of the armed conflict between the state and organized crime gangs in the city. The next chapter of this book examines forced disappearances of women which takes the analysis geographically to the Historical Center of Juárez because it is a central location within the city for legal and illegal sexual services (Juárez 2012).

Chapter 3 shows how both organized human traffickers, organized and/or unorganized sexual assassins take further advantage of impunity to utilize women as paid and unpaid sexual commodities over time. The book reveals more forced (not voluntary) impoverished, sexuality imposed by another, abstracted from other aspects of human activity and turned into final and exclusive (often commercial, commodified) end. The precise geographical concentration of human traffickers at certain, identifiable, repetitive blocks within the Historical Center again strongly suggests that lack of adequate neighborhood public security infrastructure facilitates the social process of the commodification of such brutalized, alienated sexuality. At the same time, the urbanization of Ciudad Juárez has expanded further south-ward into newer areas of the city with multiple empty spaces without adequate public or private security and femicide “hot spots” have followed (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 86). Forced disappearances have also followed this “southern” expansion and are examined in Chap. 3 in the context of a detailed institutional analysis of the roots of judicial, police and public security related to a lack of monitoring in these zones.

Appendix

1. *Historical Center and City Zones Defined*

This chapter defines the “border” area as those neighborhoods located along or just south of the U.S.-Mexican border. Fragoso et al. (2010: 55, 58, 139–141) originally defined this same area as the “NorPoniente” (North Poniente) in 2010 and included many neighborhoods in the Historical Center. The authors documented multiple cases of intimate and systemic sexual femicide which occurred there. By 2011, however, Fragoso (2011: 58) would make a further distinction between the Historical Center and the NorPoniente Hot Spot, now defined as slightly south-west of downtown, to include such neighborhoods as Plutarco Ellias Calles, Mariano Escobedo and Adolfo L. Mateos. This chapter, as it maintains a distinction with the Historical Center, maps as “Border” colonias, those neighborhoods located along the U.S.-Mexican border (See: maquiladoras.infomaquila.com).

2. *Rape and Sexual Assassination*

Rape was classified and confirmed by two sets of information the *Casa Amiga Centro de Crisis A.C.*, a non-government women’s organization report entitled “Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, México 1993–2000” and the official National Mexican Human Rights Commission Report entitled “Special Report of the CNDH about the Cases of Homicides and Disappearances of Women from Juárez Municipality” (2003). The *Casa Amiga* report analyzes 201 murders (1993–2000) and the CNDH (2003) report examines 310 feminicides of which 194 have sufficient information to be included in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Previous studies of murder crimes on the Mexican border have found the number of murders reported by Mexican newspapers is not systematically different from the numbers reported by government authorities (Albuquerque et al. 2008: 76). This is because the methodology for collecting cases by the CNDH absorbs the already existing non-governmental and news accounts. Thus, *Casa Amiga* and CNDH provide a reliable source of information on the Ciudad Juárez sexual assassinations during the 1993–2003 time period. More recent rape-murders were classified from The Special Prosecutor’s Office for the Attention of Crimes Relating to Gender [FEM] (*Fiscalía Especializada en Atención a Mujeres Víctimas de Delito por Razones de Género, Zona Norte*)–press bulletins (2011–2013).

The amount of detail per case varied from a paragraph to two pages in length in the *Casa Amiga* accounts. *Casa Amiga* lists the place the incident occurred, the place the person was abandoned, circumstances of the crime such as the person’s clothing, occupation, age, height, injuries and rape if verified by official forensics. *Casa Amiga* used the newspaper *Diario de Juárez* as a principal source (1993–2000) but also relied on official judicial documents in a majority of cases where rape was verified. Its study was carried out by the non-governmental organizations “Eighth of March Group of Ciudad Juárez” and the “Red de Jóvenes por los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos”. The CNDH

Table 2.2 Overkill and bodily mutilations

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of body left | Source |
|-------|------------|---|---------------------|-------------|
| 2 | | Head injury | Home | CNDH 168 |
| 3 | | Stabbed in the chest | Home | CNDH213 |
| 10 | | 8 deep cuts | Casas Grandes High | CA 3/9/96 |
| 13 | Student | Strangled and stabbed in the chest, body partially buried | Local abandoned lot | CA 12/10/98 |
| 13 | | Blow to right ocular region, bite marks, body found naked | Streambed by train | CA 1/3/98 |
| 13 | Student | Strangled, body found naked | Highway | CNDH 151 |
| 13 | Student | Head injury | Street | CNDH 161 |
| 13 | Maquila | Strangled | Empty lot | CNDH 194 |
| 14 | | Stabbed | Field behind PEMEX | CA 12/15/95 |
| 14 | Maquila | Stabbed in chest, stomach | Trench | CNDH 222 |
| 14 | Student | Strangled | Highway | CNDH 154 |
| 14 | Student | Strangled and mutilated | Street | CNDH 208 |
| 14–16 | | Asphyxiation, few bodily remains present | | CNDH 49 |
| 14–17 | | Head injury | Dump | CNDH 170 |
| 15 | | Strangled with a strap | | CA 5/24/98 |
| 15 | | Stabbed | | CA 1996 |
| 15 | | Beaten and choked, stabbed in the head and gluteus | La Esperanza road | CA 1998 |
| 15 | | Broken neck, right breast cut off, left nipple bitten off | Santa Elena Farm | CA 11/11/95 |
| 15 | Employed | Strangled | | CNDH 189 |
| 15 | | Mutilated body | Highway | CNDH 211 |
| 15 | | Head injury | Near maquila | CNDH 147 |
| 15/16 | | Stabbed in the chest and head trauma, skeleton | Pan-American High | CA 7/8/96 |
| 15–17 | | Severely beaten then strangled, 50 minor puncture wounds | Bush/train overpass | CA 9/3/97 |
| 15–17 | | Left nipple cut off, right breast cut off, stabbed in the chest | Ravine | CNDH 16 |

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of body left | Source |
|-------|------------|---|-----------------------|------------|
| 16 | Maquila | Beaten to death, stabbed and hit in the temples | Urban area | CA 4/20/98 |
| 16 | | Broken neck, deep wounds, hip dislocation, hands tied | Airport highway | CA 9/5/95 |
| 16 | | Strangled, pregnant | | CA 1/25/93 |
| 16 | | Strangled and stabbed | Lomas de Poleo | CA 3/19/96 |
| 16 | | Stabbed and strangled | Lomas de Poleo | CA 3/19/96 |
| 16 | | Head injury | Soccer fields | CNDH 32 |
| 16 | | Severe head trauma after beating sign of extreme struggle | Behind bottling plant | CA 3/7/97 |
| 16/17 | | Strangled | Lomas de Poleo | CA 3/12/96 |
| 16 | | Stabbed and strangled | Lomas de Poleo | CA 3/19/96 |
| 16 | Shoe store | Strangled | Near highway | CNDH 191 |
| 16 | Maquila | Strangled | Uncultivated lot | CNDH 228 |
| 16 | Student | Strangled | Uncultivated lot | CNDH 229 |
| 16–18 | Student | Strangled | Uncultivated lot | CNDH 230 |
| 17 | | Strangled | Next to Rio Grande | CA 7/10/96 |
| 17 | | Stabbed, skeleton | CG highway | CA 6/10/96 |
| 17 | Maquila | Strangled, stabbed 3 times in the chest and 2 in the back | Loma Blanca | CA 4/30/98 |
| 17 | Maq/Danc. | Beaten with a wooden board and strangled | Behind maquila | CA 6/7/99 |
| 17 | Bar worker | Stabbed in neck, strangled, disfiguring of the face, pregnant | Outside | CNDH 167 |
| 18 | | Stabbed and mutilated, tied with shoe laces | Lomas de Poleo | CA 3/29/96 |
| 18 | | Throat cut, circular cut on back, body burned | Buried Loma Blanca | CA 1/21/00 |
| 18 | | 9 blows with sharp weapon to the thorax region | Under bed in house | CA 5/29/97 |
| 18 | Maquila | Stabbed in the neck | Irrigation ditch | CNDH 160 |
| 18 | Bar worker | Strangled, also 6–8 weeks pregnant | Corner of 2 city str. | CNDH 202 |
| 18 | Housewife | Stabbed in the chest | | CNDH 214 |
| 18–20 | | Throat slashed, stabbed 7 times, pants down | Streambed | CA 12/1/97 |
| 18–20 | | Mutilated | Desert | CNDH 141 |
| 19 | Housewife | Strangled | In an automobile | CNDH 145 |

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of body left | Source |
|-------|------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 19 | | Strangled | Street | CNDH 146 |
| Minor | | Stabbed 9 times, thorax, left breast, lung, several teeth missing | Neighborhood | CA 1999 |
| Minor | | Burned | Behind train tracks | CA 12/21/98 |
| 19 | | Strangled | | CNDH 37 |
| 19 | | Strangled | Farm | CA 7/4/95 |
| 20 | | Stabbed in the neck and chest | Store | CNDH 162 |
| 20 | Maquila | Strangled, body decomposed | Garbage dump | CA 10/14/93 |
| 20 | Maquila | 21 puncture wounds in back, neck and chest, breasts exposed | Lot near Infonavit | CA 1/25/98/CNDH 223 |
| 20 | | Beaten to death had 2 children with perpetrator | Her parent's house | CA 8/15/96 |
| 20 | Employed | Strangled | Home | CNDH 46 |
| 20 | Housewife | Mutilated and brain trauma | Buried under patio | CNDH 198 |
| 20–24 | | Strangled, hands tied behind back | Fields | CNDH 53 |
| 20–25 | | Stabbed 30 times in chest and neck | Irrigation ditch-maq. | CA 3/18/98 |
| 20–25 | | Strangled | Soccer fields | CNDH 51 |
| 21 | | Stabbed 21 times | Home | CA 6/26/96 |
| 21 | Unemploy. | Stabbed in the neck, chest and stomach | Empty lot | CNDH 165 |
| 21 | | Deep wound in left parietal, bruises | Santa Elena Farm | CA 11/23/95 |
| 22 | Maquila | Strangled, cuts on the neck, stomach body left naked | Highway ditch | CA 3/29/97 |
| 22 | Maq/SexW | 9 stab wounds | Outside furniture store | CA 10/25/99 |
| 22 | | Strangled | Outside | CNDH 204 |
| 22 | Employed | Stabbed in the chest and stomach | Street outside home | CNDH 207 |
| 23 | Bar worker | Strangled, chest wounds, two fingers mutilated, head buried | Pan-American High | CA 4/25/94 |
| 23 | | Stabbed, bar fight | Streets | |
| 23 | | Beaten | Deserted area | CA 2/15/00 |

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of body left | Source |
|-------|------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 23 | Housewife | Stabbed | Home | CNDH 47 |
| 24 | Maquila | Stabbed in daylight in front of several people | In front of home | CA 8/21/98 |
| 24 | Housewife | Strangled | Home | CNDH 24 |
| 25 | Bar worker | Stabbed 3 times with an ice pick | Motel | CA 2/19/98 |
| 25 | | Strangled | Street | CA 4/21/95 |
| 25 | | Strangled, bruises on left hip, parietal and occipital right side | | CA 1/1/94 |
| 25 | Student | Throat cut, strangled, naked, beheaded | Hotel | CA 9/21/98/CNDH 218 |
| 25 | Maquila | Stabbed in the chest | Street | CNDH 139 |
| 25 | Prostitute | Strangled | Hotel | CNDH 191 |
| 26 | Housewife | Strangled | In her automobile | CNDH 43 |
| 26 | Maquila | Stabbed in the neck | Home | CNDH 232 |
| 25–30 | | Beaten, not found for 4 days | Division del Norte | CA 9/28/97 |
| 26-30 | | Asphyxiation by strangulation | Desert | CNDH 177 |
| 26 | | Stabbed in neck, thorax and abdomen | Bank of Rio Grande | CA 4/30/94 |
| 28 | | Stabbed and beaten | Abandoned building | CA 4/8/96 |
| 28 | | Strangled | Street | CA 9/6/95 |
| 28–33 | | 2 strong blows to temple, body decomposed | El Sauz, Valle Juarez | CA 5/16/97 |
| 29 | | Stabbed | Fields behind PEMEX | CA 1995 |
| 29 | Sex worker | Strangled, 5 months pregnant | Hotel | CA 6/7/99 |
| 30 | | Asphyxiation, skeleton | | CNDH 169 |
| 30 | Bar worker | Broken cervical vertebrae | Alley in city | CNDH 204 |
| 30–35 | | Stabbed in the chest | Ditch | CNDH 50 |
| 32 | | Stabbed | House bedroom +D140 | CA 11/30/97 |
| 32 | | Crushed skull with rock and leg and shoulder driven over | Local dumpster | CA 10/4/98 |
| 32 | Housewife | Crushed skull | Dump | CNDH 155 |
| 32 | Housewife | Strangled | | CNDH 178 |
| 33 | | Strangled | | |

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of body left | Source |
|-------|------------|--|----------------------|-------------|
| 33 | | Broken cervical vertebrae | Home | CA 12/2/97 |
| 33 | | Stabbed and then body burned | Highway, brick oven | CA 3/4/99 |
| 33 | Bar worker | Strangled | Parking lot | CNDH 149 |
| 33 | Employed | Head injury | Home | CNDH 173 |
| 33 | Employed | Broken neck | Near highway | CNDH 201 |
| 34 | Sec. CasaA | Stabbed in chest | Street | CNDH 26 |
| 34 | Maquila | Strangled | Dump | CNDH 34 |
| 34 | | Stabbed in the neck | Home | CNDH 186 |
| 35 | | Strangled | Ditch on highway | CA 6/19/97 |
| 37 | | Stabbed 4 times | Home | CA 1/6/00 |
| 38 | | Strangled by electric cable, deep cuts in left arm, right leg, buttocks kicked | Palo Chino dirt road | CA 10/23/97 |
| 38 | | 40 blows and almost decapitated | Outside her home | CA 2/3/98 |
| 38 | Housewife | Head injury | | CNDH 148 |
| 38 | Maquila | Strangled | Street | CNDH 140 |
| 38-40 | | Stabbed in the chest | Home | CNDH 52 |
| 40 | Employed | Strangled | Home | CNDH 181 |
| 39 | | Violently beaten in abdominal area | Alleyway | CA 9/9/94 |
| 39 | Cleaner | Stabbed in the neck | Home | CNDH 156 |
| 40 | | Stabbed in upper and lower extremities | | CNDH 40 |
| 41 | | Stabbed and beaten, drug overdose | Home | CA 9/2/99 |
| 42 | Restaurant | Strangled | Motel | CNDH 159 |
| &44 | Housewife | Head was cut off and body burned | | CA 8/7/00 |
| 45 | Housewife | Stabbed in the neck | Home | CNDH 217 |
| 46 | Teacher | Strangled (tied intricately with an extension cord) | natural pharmacy | CNDH 175 |
| 47 | Dressmaker | Head trauma | Home | CNDH 185 |
| &48 | Housewife | Head injury | Home | CNDH 20 |
| 50 | Homeless | Stabbed 3 times with a steel weapon, body decomposed | #NAME? | CA 10/16/99 |
| 60 | Housewife | Strangled | Outside | CNDH 233 |
| 62 | Housewife | Stabbed in the kidneys | Home | CNDH 227 |

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of body left | Source |
|-------|------------|---|------------------------|-------------|
| &65 | Housewife | Head injury | Unmarked Home | CNDH 7 |
| &69 | Housewife | Stabbed in the chest and stomach | Home | CNDH 11 |
| 70 | Housewife | Strangled | Home | CNDH 182 |
| 72 | | Stabbed in the chest | Home | CNDH 45 |
| 78 | Housewife | Stabbed in the chest and head injury | Neighborhood | CNDH 215 |
| Unkn. | | Large rock that crushed her skull | Municipal dump | CA 2/16/98 |
| Unkn. | | Stabbed and burned | Garbage dump | CA 6/5/93 |
| Unkn. | | Strangled | Left in car in neighb. | CA 9/1/93 |
| Unkn. | | Left wrist tied with cable, body decomposed | Lote Bravo | CA 9/5/95 |
| Unkn. | | Stabbed in the abdomen, body decomposed | PEMEX field | CA 10/15/97 |
| Unkn. | | Body chopped into pieces | Under home patio | CA 1/5/00 |
| Unkn. | | Beaten | On streets | CA 4/21/93 |
| Unkn. | Maquila | Head injury | Home | CNDH 38 |

n= 145, 65 %

Shooting deaths including drug-trafficking related deaths

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of death |
|-----|------------|---|--------------------|
| 2 | | Shot C36 in the head | In an automobile |
| 14 | | Shot in the head | Next to the road |
| 15 | Student | Shot in the chest | Street |
| 15 | Housewife | Shot in the chest | In an automobile |
| 16 | | Shot in the chest | Park |
| 16 | Employed | Shot in the head | Street |
| 18 | | Shot | Outside red cross |
| 18 | | Shot in the neck and chest | In an automobile |
| 21 | | 7 shots (temple, cheek, knee, thigh) | |
| 22 | | Shot 3 times | Home |
| 22 | Housewife | Shot in stomach and chest, possibly pregnant | Home |
| 23 | Waitress | Shot in nape of neck by sexual crimes having affair with victim | Police parking lot |
| 23 | | Shot 7 times in dispute w neighbors | Neighborhood |
| 23 | Bar dancer | Shot in bar | |
| 24 | | Shot in chest and stomach | Dance club |
| 24 | | Shot in the head | Inside a vehicle |
| 25 | | Shot in chest and stomach | Street |

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Types of injuries and bodily mutilations | Place of death |
|-------|------------|--|--------------------|
| 25 | | Shot in the head | Canal near highway |
| 26 | | Shot | |
| 26 | Maquila | Shot in the head | Home |
| 27 | | Shot | Cemetery |
| 27 | Drag Traf. | Shot in nape of neck | |
| 30 | Drag Traf. | Shot w sister Found in house clothes | Highway |
| 30 | Prostitute | Two men pulled up in dark vehicle, shot her and drove away | Rancho Grande |
| 30 | Housewife | Shot in the abdomen | Home |
| 33 | | Shot | |
| 33 | Bar worker | Shot in the chest | Downtown street |
| 34 | Employed | Shot in the chest | Home |
| 48 | Drag Traf. | Shot, killed alongside sister | Highway |
| 50 | Housewife | Shot in the head | Home |
| 55 | | Shot in the neck | |
| Unkn. | Radio DJ | Shot | |

n = 32, 16 %

accounts were generally 2–4 single-spaced pages long and many contained detailed legal testimony on suspected and convicted perpetrators drawn from the Public Ministry (Acciones y Metodología). In addition, the CNDH conducted its own independent investigation into each case, drawing on accounts from non-governmental organizations (*Casa Amiga*, *Voces sin Echo* and *el Colegio de la Frontera Norte*). In some cases, the CNDH also obtained more detailed forensic information from the Special Prosecutor for the Investigation of Homicides against Women in Ciudad Juárez. This information could include autopsy reports, photographic series of the site where the body was found, description of the wounds, semen analysis, anti-doping exams and toxicology reports, and an analysis of the victim’s clothing with any potential traces of fibers, stains and threads which did not belong to the victim. FEM press bulletins were generally 1 single spaced page long and contained information on the place the femicide occurred, the persons involved, evidence of injury and/or rape, the nature of processing within the criminal justice system, any eyewitness or other testimony, and criminal records of the assassin (if applicable).

This chapter also relied on an extensive array of personal interviews with the families of girls, teens and women to fill in missing details. These sources include multiple reports by Torrea (2012, 2013a, b, c), Fragoso (2009a, b), Cornejo Juarez (2007), Rodríguez (2007), Alternative Report (2013), by non-profit civil support groups for the families of assassinated or disappeared

women in Ciudad Juárez (Nuestras hijas de regreso a casa, Sin Ellas No Estamos Todos) and by such Mexican newspapers as *Activa*, *el Heraldo de Chihuahua*, *OEM*, *El Universal*, *La Policiaca*, *El Mexicano*, *Norte Digital*, *La Opción*, *La Jornada* and English-speaking newspaper as *The El Paso Times* and *The Washington Post* among others.

3. *Inclusion and Exclusion*

In this chapter, several teens are discussed in the narrative because their sexual assassinations also occurred at the exact same locations as the persons in Table 2.1 but were not included in Table 2.1 because rape was not confirmed. These teens and women include: Miriam Aguilar Rodríguez, CA 4/12/97 [resisted rape], Yessica Martínez Morales [CA 3/3/98; Cornejo Juarez 2007: 119 [rape suspected], Francisca Sánchez Gutiérrez (age 51) (CA 12/4/98) [*Flourex maquila*], María Guadalupe De la Cruz Francisco [*Electrolux maquila*], Angélica Luna Villalobos [*colonia Alta Vista* in 1993] (Fernández and Rampal 2008; Fragoso et al. 2010: 94; CNDH 2003: 122-F) and María Cecilia Navarrete Reyes and Guadalupe Ivonne Estrada Salas (CNDH 2003: 45-F). Conversely, several women are not discussed in the narrative but are included in Table 2.1 because rape and their last known location was confirmed but there is no other information on their murders (CNDH-59-F near airport age 40–45 (identity unknown); Case # 96/16243 (CA 8/19/96). Table 2.1 also excludes domestic/intimate rape cases and matricides which were an additional 18 persons with confirmed rapes in the CNDH (2003) report.

4. *Overkill and Sexual Assassination*

Rape or sexual assault as well as overkill injuries are central aspects of the brutality of sexual assassinations in Ciudad Juárez. de Alba (2010: 80) writes that women in Ciudad Juárez were “brutalized, not ‘just’ murdered.” Fragoso (2002) argues that “such deaths represent the killing of a person in the context of power, sexuality, and brutality”. Ressler (1988: 59) argues that the very definition of *sexual assassination* (as opposed to civil homicide) is that men brutalize women sexually in the course of the murder.

Unfortunately, the rape or sexual assault involved has been an under-reported aspect of the Juárez feminicides. Enlasco (2006: 422) explains the under-reporting of the sexual assault aspects as a function of impunity in the Mexican criminal justice system. Table 2.1 lists only those murders where either the CNDH (2003), *Casa Amiga* or the FEM (2011–2013) listed a sexual assault as having occurred (n = 43 persons). It should be noted, however, that the author found examples of direct documented sexually-related injuries (19.2 %) and an additional overkill injuries in 65 % (145 murders) in the CNDH (2003) report (Table 2.2). These latter injuries were brutal, extensive and characteristic of sexual assassinations.

DiMaio (2000) speaks of overkill in sexual assassination in terms of sexual sadistic injuries including severe beating, slashing, stabbing, skull fractures and/or the mutilation of victim after rape (Porter and Alison 2004: 460), burning of the body and the severing of breasts. Table 2.2 reveals such gruesome

sexually-related injuries included the biting off nipples, severing the breasts of the victim and bite marks on the body (3 %); a body position at time of death indicating sexual disarray (body found naked, tied up with bra, cables, cords, pants down (8 %); facial disfigurement (0.7 %) severing the fingers, pulling down the scalp, knocking out the teeth, mutilation, bruising, dislocating the hip, multiple puncture wounds and chopping the body up into pieces (7.5 %). Such horrific sexually-related injuries were found *in addition to* such as overkill injuries as asphyxiation and strangling deaths (38 %); stabbing and slashing deaths (29 %); death by head injury (crushing the skull, trauma to brain/head; hammer blows), broken neck (6 %) and burning of the victim (2 %) (a total of 75 %). Of the 194 feminicides reviewed (CNDH 2003), only 16 % (n = 32) involved shooting without other injuries.

Such extensive overkill injuries combined with the under-reporting of the sexual assault aspects of the killing of women in Ciudad Juárez point toward the fact that many more rapes *may have been committed* but went undetected in both the *Casa Amiga* and CNDH (2003) reports. As a point of fact, rape was still fully confirmed by official forensics in 9 % of the persons discussed in the CNDH (2003) report. Within this, 3.6 % were prosecuted as multiple gang rapes alone. This 3.6 % figure is already higher than the only existing quantitative data on the incidence of multiple offender (more than 1 offender) rape–murder. Shackelford (2002: 137) found, in a large–scale US FBI criminal homicide data set spanning twenty-two years (1976–1994), a 0.06 % rate of multiple gang-rape (n = 247 of 429,729 homicides). Thus, a wider focus on overkill and sexual assassination in Juárez yields much larger numbers of sexually-related assassinations.

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Chapter 3

Disappearances as Forced Abductions in Ciudad Juárez

Abstract It is argued in this chapter that the repetition over time of disappearance “hot spots” in Ciudad Juárez reflect continued “gaps” in the rule of law that discriminate against women. Organized human traffickers and unorganized sexual assassins take advantage of the impunity afforded by neighborhoods characterized by lack of social investment in public security and equipment to utilize women as paid and unpaid sexual commodities in both the Historical Center zone and in the Poniente [West], South and Southeast. In the Historical Center and its surrounding neighborhoods, urban density, impunity, acquiescence and/or collusion by varying levels of law enforcement has facilitated the organization of human trafficking networks. These networks render the “Red Light” area, the zone from the Monumento to the Cathedral to Francisco Javier Mina Street, a lucrative zone for the sexual abduction and forced prostitution of women. This explains, in part why, since the 1990s, girls, teens and women have been repeatedly subject to forced abductions consisting of physical seizures on public streets, in public downtown markets and near major central bus transit terminals. Disappearances in several “hotspots”, often located in industrial, neighborhoods in the Poniente, South and South-East of the city reflect a more diffuse criminal strategy. In such instances, (largely) poor women are disappeared on public streets, raped, killed and often abandoned in nearby neighborhoods or picked-up and forced into localized human trafficking rings.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the socio-geographic distribution and institutional underpinnings of the disappearances of girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez. Such disappearances in Ciudad Juárez over time have been concentrated in a few specific areas in the city. As lawyer Celia Espinoza (*la Red Mesa de Mujeres*) notes: “We have a registry and documentation of feminicides for twenty years...[they] keep being the same zones of the city where the murderers leave the bodies, as it is the same zones where they disappear from...(*Norte Digital* 8/7/13)”. Recent socio-geographical studies reveal that a majority of girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez disappear primarily from the Historical Center zone and its

surrounding *colonias* with a smaller number abducted from two hotspots near the Poniente [West] and in the Southeast (Fragoso and Cervera Gómez 2013: 18, n = 180 cases, 1987–2011). Disappearances are rarely recorded in wealthier North-Eastern neighborhoods of the city (Fragoso and Cervera Gómez 2013: 17).

It is argued in this chapter that the repetition over time of disappearance “hot spots” in Juárez reflect continued “gaps” in the rule of law that discriminate against women. Organized human traffickers, “off-duty” organized and/or unorganized sexual assassins take advantage of the impunity afforded by neighborhoods characterized by lack of social investment in public security and equipment (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2011) to utilize women as paid and unpaid sexual commodities in both the Historical Center zone and in the Poniente [West], South and Southeast. In the Historical Center and its surrounding neighborhoods, urban density, impunity, acquiescence and/or collusion by varying levels of law enforcement have facilitated the organization of human trafficking networks. These networks render the “Red Light” area, the zone from the *Monumento* to the Cathedral to Francisco Javier Mina Street, a lucrative zone for the sexual abduction and forced prostitution of women.

This explains, in part why, since the 1990s, girls, teens and women have been repeatedly subject to forced abductions consisting of physical seizures on public streets, in public downtown markets and near major central bus transit terminals (Washington-Valdez 2006: 16–18; *La Policiaca* 10/8/10; *Legarde y de los Ríos* 2010: xxii; Juárez 2012). Disappearances in several “hotspots”, often located in industrial, neighborhoods in the Poniente, South and South-East of the city reflect a more diffuse criminal strategy. In such instances, (largely) poor women are disappeared on public streets, raped, killed and often abandoned in nearby neighborhoods or picked-up and forced into localized human trafficking rings. Public understanding of, and moral outrage for, such a situation of impunity which allows human trafficking networks to exist and profit from the sexual sale of women has best been expressed by mother activists of the disappeared: “Our daughters, not YOUR merchandise” (*Endless Walk* 2013).

3.2 Human Trafficking and Sexual Assassination: Forced Abductions as Commodified Acts

3.2.1 Commodification and Femicide in Ciudad Juárez

In this section, it is argued that the forced nature of abductions (originating in violence) transforms all subsequent sexual acts whether they are profit-generating [human trafficking] or not [sexual assassination]. Forced abductions are facilitated by several “gaps” in the rule of law in Ciudad Juárez; namely the exemption from law from the powerful and lack of access to the judiciary and to fair process by the underprivileged (O’Donnell 1999).

The concept of “commodification” typically refers to the social process by which something which does not have an original economic value is assigned a value within a market. It refers to a modification of social relationships which were formerly outside the commerce system into commercial relationship in everyday use (Marx Capital, Vol. 1 1884; Rushkoff 2005). Human trafficking represents a clear example of the “commodification” of sex, i.e. the transformation of sex into a paid interaction in a market. Although it often co-occurs empirically alongside legal and illegal adult prostitution (Cho et al. 2013) which also represent the commodification of sex, human trafficking is centrally defined by the use of *force* (violence) toward the victim. This occurs either in the initial abduction of the victim and/or in their subsequent use as forced sexual prostitutes (UNODC 2015). This is why human trafficking is clearly identified as an international crime and a grave violation of human rights.

Rape-murder or sexual assassination in which a woman is forcibly sexually violated and then killed does not generally involve an economic transaction. Nevertheless, as was argued in Chap. 2, rape, which involves treating the victim as less than fully human, is an impoverished form of sexuality or “alienated sexuality” (Wilson 2013). Along with prostitution and pornography which are also impoverished, alienated forms of sexuality structured primarily by the exchange of money, it has been argued that rape as a form of sex is similarly abstracted from the complexity of human social relationships. Such alienated sexuality has been linked indirectly to the process of commodification through the pornographic industry that peddles “a view of women as objects, commodities, “things” to be owned, used and consumed while also promoting the logical correlates: all women are whores and therefore fair game; sexual violence is normal and acceptable; women deserve and want to be hurt, raped or even killed (Caputi and Russell 1992: 18)”.¹

Fragoso (2006, 2010) goes further to argue that since women are also sexually assassinated in Juárez, it is the social relationships of the power structures which permit such sexual terrorism and misogyny that turn them into “sexual commodities of fetishism”. Thus, the concept of commodification has been clearly associated with the Ciudad Juárez femicides.

3.2.2 *Impunity and “Gaps” in the Rule of Law*

The commodification of sex in human trafficking is a social form that is underpinned by an inadequate public security system which allows it to exist and flourish. As Shelley (2010: 6) notes, human trafficking does not exist without the complicity

¹Caputi and Russell (1992: 19) cite one FBI study which linked heavy pornography usage (81 %) to 36 sex killers including serial sex killer Ted Bundy. Meloy (2000: 19) notes that violent pornography viewing as a teen along with witnessing rape in the family are sufficient elements for some sexual assassins who suffer from formal thought disorder to conclude that all women want forced sex; thereby further contributing to their sexual killing.

of law enforcement and the corruption of officials (also Domínguez-Ruvalcaba and Blancas 2010).

Such complicity can be situated within the larger context of the exercise of citizenship rights (political, civil, social) in a State. In highly or even relatively inegalitarian situations in which a large part of the population lives in poverty, the exercise of such rights and their effective backing by the legal state is frequently characterized by multiple “gaps” in the rule of law; that is to say, lack of effectiveness across territories and social categories (O’Donnell 1999: 311). Concretely, four such “gaps” can be outlined: exemption from law for the powerful; lack of access to the judiciary and to fair process; the uneven application of the law as it manifests in relations between the bureaucracy and ordinary citizens; and the discretionary application of law. In spite of progress made on upholding full citizenship rights for women, these continued “gaps” can be understood as “flaws” in existing laws which still discriminate against women “and are repugnant to any sense of fair process” (O’Donnell 1999: 312).

The relative weakness of the criminal justice system in Ciudad Juárez in relationship to human trafficking in the Historical Center was clearly articulated by an agent of the Chihuahua State Attorney General’s Office. According to Monterrosa (2009: 42), Aiden Rivas, the father of one human trafficking victim (Hilda Gabriela Rojas) requested that the Chihuahua State Attorney General’s Office rescue his daughter from a suspected house in the city where young girls were allegedly being held in sexual slavery, including the daughter of a member of the Juárez cartel or *La Línea* gang who had also been abducted from the Historical Center. Aiden was told by the Attorney General’s Office agent that “They couldn’t do anything against those people, that against them one can do nothing (Monterrosa 2009: 42)”. In other words, a law enforcement officer is essentially saying that human traffickers in Ciudad Juárez are more powerful than the prosecutor’s office; an admission that resulted in a severe “gap” in the application of the rule of law with an exemption from law for the powerful.

A second “gap” in the rule of law, however, also applies to the prosecution of sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez in terms of access to the judiciary and to fair process. Historically criminal procedures in Latin America “tend to disregard rights of the accused before, during and after the trial” and that frequently “the judiciary is too distant, cumbersome, expensive and slow for the underprivileged to even attempt to access it” (O’Donnell 1999: 313). The various failures of the criminal justice system to adequately prosecute offenders for femicide in Ciudad Juárez are well-known and have been critically documented to reach across multiple dimensions of the criminal investigative process (Acosta Urquidi 2005: 3; Gaspar de Alba and Gúzman 2010: 4, 10). To name a few, these include threats against families for making their own inquiries, prolonged investigations, lack of police diligence and/or inadequate work, botched investigations, corruption, delayed autopsies, not searching for genetic evidence, planting evidence to implicate others they have been building a case against, and police failure to assume preventative measures by not taking calls, or failing in unit responsibilities (Staudt 2008: 121; Rojas 2005: 202; *Legarde y De Los Ríos* 2010: xix). The academic literature on the State and

femicide in Ciudad Juárez is thus largely critical of the government, especially the criminal justice system for its inefficiencies.

A third “gap” in the rule of law refers to the uneven application of the law as it manifests in relations between the bureaucracy and ordinary citizens. When the poor in Latin America approach bureaucracies from which they must obtain work, apply for retirement benefits, go to a police station or a hospital, they often simply do not receive the same treatment as the wealthy from bureaucratic officials in the application of the law (Manzetti and Blake 1996). O’Donnell (1999: 312) highlights the lack of equal respect from administrative officials as evident in the “indifferent, if not disdainful”, way in which they are treated “and the obvious inequalities entailed when the privileged skip these hardships”. As a result, if one does not have the “‘proper’ social status or connections, to act in front of those bureaucracies as the bearer of right, not as a supplicant for a favor, is almost guaranteed to cause grievous difficulties (O’Donnell 1999: 31)”.

In the Ciudad Juárez context of the relations between bureaucracies and families of disappeared women and femicide in general, this particular “gap” in the rule of law has manifested itself in four main ways. First, multiple scholars have long addressed the “victim blaming” of disappeared women by some officials as a clear manifestation of patriarchy and state power. Fragoso (2002: 5) quotes then Chihuahua Attorney General Arturo González Rascón as he alludes to the causation of femicide as the fault of the girl, teen or women herself:

“Regretfully, there are women who because of the [circumstances of their lives], the places where they carry out their activities, are at risk; because it would be very difficult for anyone going out into the street when it is raining, well, it would be very difficult not to get wet”. Córdoba (2010: 100) quotes a former assistant attorney general in Chihuahua as stating in the mid-1990s: “All the victims were mischief makers or even prostitutes”. The mother of teen Griselda Murúa López (age 16) who disappeared outside her high-school in 2009, was told by officials at the State Attorney General’s Office that if such girls were lost it was because they were “acting like whores” (*iban de putas*) (Torrea 8/30/12).

Another more subtle illustration of this “gap” in the rule of law is evident in terms of inadequate government resources in femicide investigations in Juárez. A near constant stream of accounts by families of the disappeared relates to requests for information from them by government officials charged with the investigations of their case but who lack of adequate funding and/or the necessary resources needed to adequately investigate the cases (Córdoba 2010: 113; Arce 2010: 257; Flores 2010: 263; Staudt and Méndez 2015: 62). A variation on this theme is the “insensitive bureaucrat” who may be entitled as an expert on violence against women but who, as López (2013) argues, still demands, even in an emergency life-saving situation, the family to fill out the required questions about the life of their daughter, her job or her health, which are items that “have to do with their [administrative] agenda before responding”.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) argued in 2014 that, in general, Mexico did not count with an effective mechanism of search of disappeared persons (2014: 14). The UNHCHR (2014) did note that some measures have been undertaken, such as the establishment of a

Specialized Unit for Searching Disappeared Persons within the Office of the Attorney General of Mexico (Procuraduría General de la República—PGR). Also noted was an agreement among the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the PGR and other authorities of the region for the search and investigation of cases of enforced disappearance.

Nevertheless, the UNHCHR (2014) contended that the Specialized Unit for Searching Disappeared Persons within the PGR does not count with the necessary human and financial resources to accomplish significant results. According to the UNHCHR (2014):

in particular, it must be stressed that the mechanisms of search do not seem to address the phenomenon in a systematic manner, rather focusing on isolated cases, and they do not duly encompass the transnational dimension of enforced disappearance of migrants...Civil society organizations and associations of victims underscore with concern that the search of disappeared persons is so far not designed to find persons alive, but rather to locate mortal remains, while an effective “urgent action” would require a significant paradigm shift. Moreover, civil society organizations and associations of victims have not been duly involved, both by the PGR and the ICRC, in the design of searching strategies. This has not only fostered their feelings of exclusion and marginalization, but has resulted in undermining the lack of confidence towards authorities.

For many families of the disappeared, the exclusion of their cases from adequate investigation and the constant official requests for information can translate into the sense of indifferent if not disdainful treatment by officials. For instance, Jose Luis Castillo had been trying to find out what happened to his daughter Esmeralda Castillo, 13, who vanished on the way to school in broad daylight from the Historical Center in 2009. Castillo said he received little help from authorities. “Instead of investigating, they come and ask us what new information we have uncovered...They’re accomplices in the disappearances of girls in Juárez (WFAA 9/8/14)”. The mother of teen Claudia Soto Castro who disappeared after turning in two applications for work in the Historical Center did receive psychological counseling at the Fiscalía (*Torrea* 3/16/13). Nevertheless, she noted: “The files they have there, at least mine, only contain places where I have told them to search. Only the places I take them, that I tell them, is all that they are going to do. They did not go to other places, just those. They should search in other places, there are a lot of older, clandestine houses...one has to take them the address, house locations and everything (*Torrea* 3/16/13)”.

A final “gap” in the rule of law refers to the discretionary application of law. Often exactly “severe application of the law upon the vulnerable can be a very efficient means of oppression...This is particularly true and dangerous in encounters that unleash the violence of the state or powerful private agents...” (O’Donnell 1999: 312).²

The story of Karla Castañeda Alvarado, the mother of Cinthia Jocabeth Alvarado (age 13) who disappeared in the Historical Center when she went to buy school

²Wright (2011: 8) provides an example of a harsh, ad hoc application of the law, in this instance to sex workers in the HC in the 1990s by the police lieutenant in charge of cleaning out the downtown. He allowed them to stay but only if they kept walking all day which created physical hardships in many cases.



Photo 3.1 Activist's destroyed house (2013). Source *El Diario* 2/9/13

supplies, precisely illustrates the interaction of inadequate resources in the relationship between bureaucracies and ordinary citizens and the very harsh, discretionary application of law. Karla noted:

A single agent handles at least 14 to 16 cases of girls. One single person looking for all those girls and they just can't keep up. This is why I had to wait six months until they helped me look for my daughter. Those six months were a lot. If they had helped me when I originally went in and told them my daughter was missing, well probably I would have my daughter back and, well I wouldn't have had to go through so much (*La Opinión* 11/5/13).

Karla had to flee Ciudad Juárez to the U.S. and was granted political asylum status after her house was leveled, either by Federal Police or the State Attorney General's Office, allegedly on orders from the governor in retaliation for her political activism on behalf of disappeared girls in the city (*El Diario* 2/9/13; *Los Angeles Press* 2/15/13).³ Photo 3.1 shows Karla's home after it was leveled (*El Diario* 2/9/13).

These "gaps" in the rule of law in terms of access to the judiciary and fair process, harsh application of the law and in relations between ordinary citizens and

³Karla later became a public activist, investigating her daughter's disappearance, organizing protest marches and privately interrogating, then publically criticizing, the Chihuahua governor for the failure of the state to conduct proper investigations into these feminicides. Karla stated that the threats began after this public criticism. On 2/7/13, Karla stated that at 3 a.m., federal and ministerial police began to surround her house. She said she received a phone call at 6:30 a.m. the next morning in which somebody told her to get out because "they were coming to kidnap her" so she fled to the US and was subsequently granted political asylum (*Los Angeles Press* 2/15/13).

the bureaucracies; although recently being addressed by FEM, reflect a long history of impunity for sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez (Skrapec 2010: 249). The next sections of this chapter look at how disappearances of women in Ciudad Juárez (2000–2014) occur in specific neighborhoods in which organized human traffickers, unorganized and or possibly “off-duty” organized crime sexual assassins take advantage of the impunity there to use women as paid [human trafficking] and unpaid [sexual] commodities.

3.2.3 *The Historical Center in Context*

In the Historical Center, there is a long history of disappearances from the zone. Frago and Cervera Gómez’s (2013: 18) quantitative, spatial analysis of the density of the geography of 200 disappeared girls in Ciudad Juárez over an extended period of time (1987–2011) reveals that the vast majority disappear from the Historical Center and its surrounding *colonias* and several small “hotspots” (Poniente, South, South-East).

Unlike other cities, legal prostitution in Ciudad Juárez was not confined to specific *zones of toleration* but was allowed to flourish widely in public streets, squares and markets, including in the broader downtown area (Wright 2011: 713). Washington-Valdez (2006: 44,46), however, specifically argues that the so-called red-light district of downtown, beginning with Calle Mariscal, has a long history of geographically concentrated clubs, bars and brothels where prostitution, including the prostitution of minors, was a well-known fact among taxi drivers, the police and men seeking paid sex.

According to one narrative, feminicide in the red-light district by the mid-2000s was the product of the rise of organized crime in the 1990s. Antonio Medina, an “old-timer” and then president of a business association that represents nightclub owners in Juárez claimed to Washington-Valdez (2006: 45) that before the rise of organized crime, the Historical Center was a “safer” place for women. He noted in 2006:

Organized crime has bought many of the downtown nightclubs, and it’s to the point that we don’t know anymore who the real owners are. Prostitution used to be regulated, and it was a far different story than it is today. Before, everyone knew who the girls were and where they lived. Now, they have girls who use assumed names, and no one knows where to find their families when something happens to them. In the old days, it would not even occur to anyone to kill these women. The authorities could find out immediately who a girl was with last, and they would be all over him.

This account suggests that a rise in the lack of clarity about who the club owners were, girls using assumed names and an overall deregulation in the conditions of prostitution, including the murder of girls and women who are deemed troublesome or no longer useful are the major causes of feminicide in the red-light district in Juárez. Wright (2013: 835–837) suggests that by the late 1990s, female sex workers in the Historical Center were already being harassed by the police as part of a *panista* inspired campaign to remove prostitution from the downtown area.

Juárez's (2012) qualitative research also places blame for the majority of disappearances in Ciudad Juárez on organized crime in the Historical Center (2008–2011).⁴ For Juárez (2012: 65) what was striking is that the majority of disappearances of women after 2008 in the Historical Center just kept occurring in areas characterized by the permanent transit of people, multiple outdoor small business and the dense, presence of troops stopping and searching vehicles and patrolling downtown streets during then President Felipe Calderón's "drug war" (Staudt and Méndez 2015: 67, 75–76, *Frontera Norte Sur* 4/10/10). Many girls and women were last seen in broad daylight in very public streets in the Historical Center but then seemed to vanish without signs that might alert eyewitnesses. Juárez (2012: 65) argues that the absence of eyewitnesses to disappearances in the Historical Center makes it even more complicated to understand how a girl's route could be lost without "unusual movements, shouting, eyewitnesses or possible kidnappings". He (2012: 65) concludes that such a situation is characterized by a subtle and sophisticated *modus operandi*.

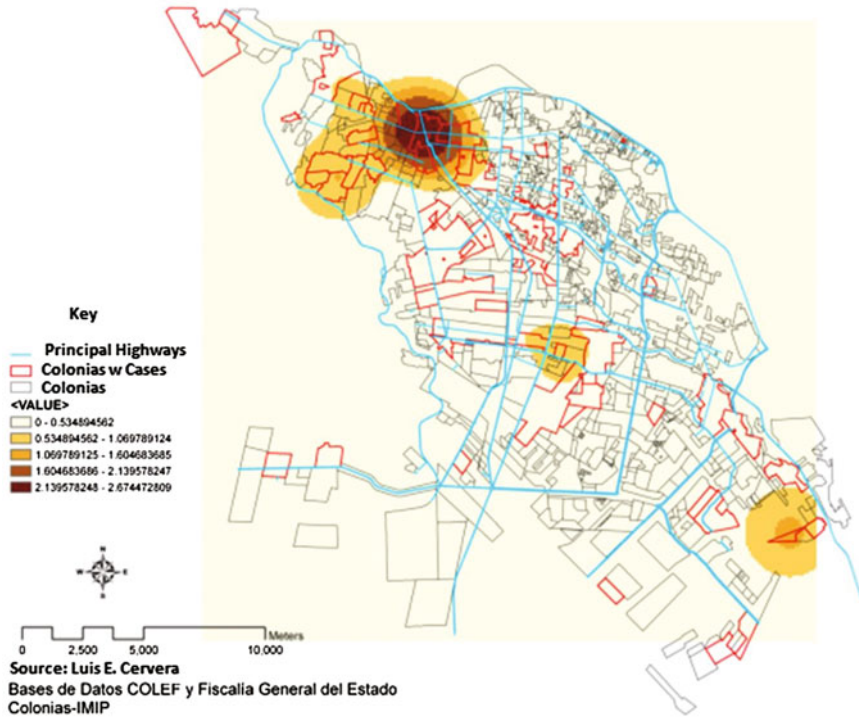
"Before I thought it was just human trafficking business. We closed around this idea because unconsciously you want to believe that they are alive, you grasp onto this. You think, 'it's true', they are suffering, being maltreated but they are still alive. And you believe in the possibility still of finding them alive. But now we are talking about something even graver: a structure that watches, that has watchmen, hawks that follow the movements of poor, vulnerable the girls in the Center, who in many cases, are going to look for work there. Others are coming out of school, returning home after work, girls between ages 14 and 16 that are captured or kidnapped by someone. We know that there is one man between ages 40 to 55 that has kidnapped these girls, offering them money, work and that they were abducted in the same zone: the Center of Juárez, near the Cathedral...They abduct them and take them away (Huffington Post 2/8/13)".

3.2.4 *The Poniente, South and South-East*

Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez (2013: 17) also note that beyond the Historical Center, several smaller "hot spots" exist for the disappearance of girls, teens and women in the City (1987–2011). These other hot spots are located in neighborhoods at the northern edge of the Airport in the South and in the South-East area known as "Riveras del Bravo" as visible in the south-east corner of Map 3.1: Density of Disappearances 1987–2011, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.

The disappearance "hotspot" north of the airport evident in the center of Map 3.1 includes parts of *colonias* Oasis, Oasis Oriente, Oasis Infonavit and Oasis

⁴Juárez (2012: 25) interviewed hundreds of relatives of disappeared girls and women and examined multiple forensic records and legal case files and the majority of them had vanished from the Historical Center of the city, particularly after 2008.



Map 3.1 Density of disappearances 1987–2011, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Map modified from: Frago and Cervera-Gómez (2013: 18)

Zaragoza II (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 163; 2011: 54). These neighborhoods surrounding the airport have a long history also as femicide hot spots. Washington-Valdez (2006: 1375) specifically noted the abandonment of Silvia a Rivera Morales (1995) and Gabriela Holguín Griselda Reyes (1998) near the Juárez international airport. Frago et al. (2010: 51, 59, 61, 140–41) report multiple cases of femicide victims who resided in neighborhoods just around the northern edge of the airport (Oasis, Infonavit Oasis). They document a total of 41 intimate and systemic sexual femicides victims who lived in the larger South-Eastern zone of Juárez. This also includes the south-eastern *colonias* of Los Alcaldes and Riveras del Bravo [east and south-east of the airport] (Frago et al. 2010: 141; Frago and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 17).

The smaller disappearance “hotspots” seen in Map 3.1 are also located near or contiguous to industrial neighborhoods in the Poniente with its history of femicides. For example, *colonia* Oasis is located next to a large, identified femicide “hotspot” and lies within the larger Poniente zone characterized by lack of social investment in public security and equipment (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2010: 54, 60, 163, 2011: 46; Hernández 2010: 140). *Colonia* Riveras de Bravo in the South-East is an example of a poor neighborhood in Juárez that is frequently cited in the media

and among citizens as both lacking in public services and also very high risk for crime in the city (Larrarte and Pérez 2014: 118–119; Bass and Pérez 2008: 10). Multiple single case narratives of (poor) women abducted, raped and sexually assassinated in feminicide hotspots in both the Poniente, South and Southeast are sadly abundant (Cornejo Juárez 2007: 63, 120, 136; Pérez-Espino 2004; CNDH 2003: 177-F; Fragoso 2009: 135; Ortiz 1999: 68–69, Benítez et al. 1999: 25, 37; *El Diario* 2/26/12; see also: Chap. 2 of this book). Nevertheless, much less has been written on the existence of localized human trafficking rings in these zones outside of the Historical Center.

3.3 Methods

Sample choices are made because they speak to key elements of an issue (Weber and Pickering 2011: 3). In this chapter, all 77 officially registered missing women, teens and girls during a 14 year period are included [2000–2014] (FEM-Informe Zona Norte 2014; Appendix) in the analysis.⁵

Weber and Pickering (2011: 3) in their study of border deaths at the global frontier, note the methodological importance of utilizing a “core sampling” method for understanding a complex analysis within a field that is very broad. According to the authors:

Dauvergne argues that, when confronted by the breadth of potentially distinct topics, the key challenge is to avoid superficiality, while still being able to speak to the broader issues. Her ‘countermeasure’ is to: adapt the ice scientists’ methodology of core sampling. To understand the layers, the scientists extract a narrow sample that contains a trace of each element under examination. This is the antidote to breadth. Core sampling...means drilling into each topic under consideration to extract a sample that in key ways, reveals something about the whole. Some sampling choices are easier than others, but they are all choices (2008: 3).

The time-period covered in this chapter (2000–2014) affords a window of opportunity to look more in-depth at the relative effectiveness of Protocol Alba (Dawn Protocol) and the Amber Alert, particularly in relationship to disappearances in the Historical Center. After pressure from the United Nations and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission to take measures to prevent feminicide, “Operation Alba [Dawn Operation]” or an “Attention, Reaction and Coordination”

⁵Estimates of the total number of disappeared teens and women in Juárez vary by source from a high of 1818 to a low of 164 high—Chihuahua Chamber of Deputies Commission on Equity and Gender (3/1/08–4/29/13) in *El Financiero* 4/29/13; low—Chihuahua Attorney General’s Office (1993–2014) in Fragoso (2014: 8) citing (*El Diario* 5/3/14). During the period of intense military activity in the city (7/10/08–7/14/11), *Casa Amiga* and non-governmental organization *Democracy Now* reported 70–74 disappearances (5/27/08–July 2011). Juárez (2012), however, states that 180 teens and women disappeared during the same period (2008–2012). The majority of those officially reported disappeared were under the age of 20.

search program between federal, state and municipal authorities was created in 2005 in cases of missing women and girls in the Municipality of Ciudad Juárez along with “Project Amber” (Alternative Report 2013: 9). The aim of these protocols is to encourage early reporting of disappearances of missing girls and women with the hope that this will reduce the chances of a subsequent femicide occurring. Once the Protocol is activated, multiple physical posters and internet posters of the missing person are publically displayed in streets and on the internet urging citizens to call the police with any information. The procedures to activate Alba Protocol and the Amber Alert are in force only for Ciudad Juárez, in the State of Chihuahua, and not across all the territory of Mexico.

By covering all of the officially registered disappearances over a 14 year period, this creates a representative *sociological* sample of those disappearances in Ciudad Juárez in which families attempt to elicit government assistance in finding their lost girls, teens and women. This set of disappearances also provides a unique window of opportunity to examine the relative efficacy of Protocol Alba/Project Amber because the mechanism cannot be activated until the disappearance is officially registered with the government (Staudt and Méndez 2015: 66). For instance, Protocol Alba was activated in 39 % of the cases of disappearances reported by the Committee of Mothers and Families of the Disappeared (1998–2012) which included a number of teens later found to have been abducted downtown in relation to the Valle de Juárez human trafficking ring (Alternative Report 2013: 19; Appendix 3). Thus, the analysis in this chapter can thereby capture the geographical specificity of officially registered missing women in Ciudad Juárez while also providing a closer examination of the relative success of Protocol Alba and the Amber Alert.

This book also uses the “rule of five” sources which provide a range of information on each of these 77 officially registered missing women, teens and girls during a 14 year period (2000–2014) (Appendix 1). This means that the author compiled a minimum of five different Spanish and/or English speaking news stories or press reports issued by non-profit civil support groups for the families of disappeared women in Ciudad Juárez (*Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa, Sin Ellas No Estamos Todos*). This “rule of five” ensures the reliability of the news and civil society accounts by documenting every disappearance from multiple sources. In some disappearances, extended press interviews exist with family members searching for their loved ones which were conducted in their homes, on protest marches and at government buildings (Torrea 2012; Fragoso 2009). Such accounts add vital contextual information to the official Protocol Alba/Amber Alert bulletin which only includes a photograph, age, height, weight, detailed facial characteristics, clothing and family member’s report of the neighborhood or street where the disappeared teen or woman was last seen.⁶

⁶The Mexican news sources include: *Azteca, El Financiero, El Diario, El Mexicano, El Universal, Excelsior, La Jornada, La Opinión, La Red Noticias, La Policiaca, Omnia, Milenio, Norte Digital, Proceso, Puente Libre, Tiempo, Radiza, Redacción, Zócalo* and the English-speaking press—*El Paso Times, Los Angeles Press*, among others.

Other information was also consulted on each individual girl, teen or woman officially registered as disappeared from Inter-American Court documents, trial documents from the Valle de Juárez Human Trafficking Prosecution (2013–2014), academic books and books written by journalists. Other sources include the CNDH, State and Federal Attorney General’s Office documents, the US Missing Children Website and (after 2012), the Special Prosecutor’s Office for the Attention of Crimes Relating to Gender (Fiscalía Especializada en Atención a Mujeres Víctimas de Delito por Razones de Género–FEM). A narrative of the disappearances in the Historical Center and South/South-East and Poniente is now presented below.

3.4 The Historical Center

In Sect. 3.4 of this chapter, a similarity of abduction tactics (solo and group auto abductions and bus abductions) occur across sexual assassinations, disappearances and human trafficking crimes against women irrespective of whether organized human traffickers, unorganized sexual assassins or even “off-duty” organized criminal elements were implicated.

3.4.1 *Unorganized Crime: Auto and Bus Abductions from the Historical Center of the City (1993–2013)*

Secondary student Gladys Janneth Fierro (age 12) was on her way home from her middle school on a Saturday (CA 5/12/94) near Monumento Benito Juárez with several other students, one of whom was the penultimate person to see Gladys alive before the school-mate boarded a bus. A few minutes later on a street near the Monumento, the last person to see Gladys alive testified that she/he witnessed the following event which further illustrates the blitz nature of forced auto abductions:

[...] it was the Saturday before Mother’s Day, about six forty-five pm, I was walking to my house...I was just a few meters away from arriving at my door and then I saw that Gladys was also walking to her house but from the opposite way as I was. At the same time, I saw a vehicle pull up from the same direction as Gladys and as she was walking to the side of the sidewalk, someone inside the vehicle opened to right-hand passenger door, and *a hand came out which grabbed the child and pulled her into the car*. At that point, the car went ahead some 15-20 meters from me, and then I saw that it did a U turn on that same street (CNDH 2003: 73–F).⁷

⁷The CNDH (CNDH 2003: 73-F) found that the State Attorney General’s Office broke the rule of law and failed to exercise due diligence in failing to follow-up on such testimony and to properly prosecute the feminicide. Gladys’ body was found in the southern zone of the city (1 km on Juárez Porvenir highway, behind the radio station) (CA 5/12/94).

In the Historical Center neighborhoods, abductions of girls and women also occurred when they were walking down streets near their homes (Brenda Berenice Delgado, age 5), in *colonia* Chaveña and near a hotel (Francisca Epigmenia Hernández, age 34) and abandoned next to the railroad land corridor by Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (Table 3.1, Chap. 2) (CNDH 2003: 231; Rodríguez 2007; CA 1996). The urban Historical Center was also a place where teens and women were abandoned, again often in empty lots. Martha Gutiérrez's (age 18) body was left after a suspected auto-abduction in an empty lot behind a bar at Ocampo and Mina streets (Cornejo Juárez 2007: 133; Fragoso 2009: 97; CA 9/9/97). A 24 year old unidentified woman was abducted and murdered in a building under construction on Avenida Vicente Guerrero between Paraguay and Bolivia Streets (CA 11/11/94). Students Brenda Najera, Susana and Ana Flores (ages 11–15) were forcibly abducted from a public street, raped and murdered on their way to school from their home on Calle Libertad (Table 3.1, Chap. 2).⁸

Multiple bus abductions, many still unprosecuted, also originated on streets in the Historical Center. Often, the teen was last seen alive by an eyewitness boarding a bus (Silvia Elena Rivera Morales, Elizabeth Castro Garcia) or was last seen alive by an eyewitness at the downtown bus terminal at Membril and Manuel Acuña streets (Brenda Patricia Meléndez Vázquez) (CA 9/2/95; CNDH 2003: 174-F; Rodríguez 2007: 18–19, 46; *El Silencio* 1999: 30, 31; CNDH 2003: 137-F).

Such was the number of girls, teens and women last seen alive precisely at the Monumento Benito Juárez that the press began to warn readers that victims were being chosen at the Monument itself (*El Universal* 11/25/04; Rodríguez 2007: 18–19).⁹ In 2008, Luz Angélica Menas Flores vanished into thin air on a public street some two blocks from the Monument at the corner of Vicente Guerrero and Emilia Calvillo (*Tiempo* 10/22/12). “The authorities have given us no information since we reported her disappearance”, her mother said six years later and urged authorities on both sides of the border to investigate a possible bi-national human trafficking network (*Televisa Juárez* 7/19/14).

In 2013, multiple bus drivers in downtown Ciudad Juárez continued to be implicated in rape and sexual assassination in the city. In September, one month after a woman shot two bus drivers to death in Ciudad Juárez, likely in revenge for sexual violence by bus drivers against women in the 1990s (*The Guardian* 9/6/13), a Juárez bus driver was subsequently arrested for threatening and raping a school girl (age 14) riding the bus to school (*El Paso Times* 10/1/13). 30 more bus drivers were linked to the criminal prosecution process for rape with some for sexual assassination (FEM 9/11/11). In one instance, a gang of four bus drivers were

⁸Edgar César Sánchez was sentenced to five years in juvenile court for rape and murder (Mariano García 2005: 30). The girls were abandoned at a relatively unpopulated farm in the South near Filipinas street in *colonia* Infonavit Technology (CA 12/7/96).

⁹One young girl who lived on the same block as the Morales family remembered seeing Silvia that Tuesday afternoon at the monument of Benito Juárez, ready to take a bus. The neighbor was walking with a friend from class when she spotted Silvia standing a few feet away from the bus stop by a tree (Rodríguez 2007: 18–19).

Table 3.1 12 forced abductions relating to Valle de Juárez Femicides

| Name of teen | # of abductors/relation to OC | | Alleged Pol. Protec Denun | | Abduction site in historical center |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|---|--|
| María Guad. Pérez Montes | 3 | Azteca/Dis/Store | Z1 | Y | Hair salon, near Mercado Reforma |
| Perla Ivonne Aguirre | 3 | Azteca/Dis/Zeta | Z1/Fed | | Mercado Cuauhtémoc, into auto |
| Lizbeth Avilés García | 2 | Dis/Zeta | Z1 | | La Pila de la Chaveña/Outside Mercado Reforma |
| Jazmín Salazar Ponce | | Store owner | Z1 | Y | Mercado Reforma, Sent to Chihuahua city |
| Idaly Juache Laguna | 1 | Distributor | Z1 | | Clothing store, Mercado Reforma |
| Beatriz A. Hernández Trejo | 1-2 | Distributor/Zeta | Z1 | | Auto (trunk), side street near Plaza Juárez |
| Jéssica Leticia Peña García | 1 | Store owner | Z1 | | Boot store, Fr. Mina St. #450, near Mer. Reforma |
| Deisy Ramírez Muñoz | 1-2 | Azteca/Azteca | Z1 | Y | Bus route 3B in front of Mercado Solidaridad |
| Andrea Guerrero Venzor | var. | Azteca | Z1 | Y | Clothing store, Mercado Reforma |
| Mónica L. Delgado Castillo | 3 | Azteca/Dis/Zeta | Z1 | | Mercado Cuauhtémoc, into auto |
| Jéssica Terrazas Ortega | | Azteca | Z1 | | Colonia Chaveña |
| *La Joven "N" | 1 | Z1 | Y-Fed | Y | House/Forced Sexual Work/Escaped |

Key Abd = Abductor; Dis = Drug distributor; Pol Protec = Alleged police protection; Var = various; Denun = Victim denounced known abductor(s) previously to municipal police; * = Survivor and one prosecution eyewitness

processed for the rape and attempted assassination of two teen girls aged 13 and 19 (*El Diario* 9/5/13).

Another example of a disappearance on a public street in the Historical Center is illustrated by Fabiola Alejandra Ibarra, age 16 who left work at a dental clinic on Calle Miguel Hidalgo in the Historical Center at around 5:10 p.m. She had called her mother earlier on her cell phone to tell she might be home slightly later than normal because of a few more late clients had come in (*Norte Digital* 6/11/11). Fabiola was seen on the street immediately after exiting the dental clinic but then vanished (*Sin Ellas* 6/11/11) in a suspected auto abduction.

Thus, there has been a repetition of auto and bus abductions from public streets in the Historical Center that has been documented by multiple sources since the mid-1990s. Significant, often severe “gaps” in the rule of law in terms of fair process, application of the law and possible exemption from the law for the powerful have been raised in the prosecutions of bus drivers and others charged with some of these disappearances in the 1990s (*El Universal* 11/25/04; Mariano García 2005: 4–6, 29; González Rodríguez 2006; Rodríguez 2007: 18–19; Fragoso 2009: 98–101; Skrapec 2010: 247). Multiple bus drivers, some incarcerated; some later acquitted only cast more serious doubt upon the government’s ability to prosecute femicide in Juárez (Mariano García 2005: 1). The negative impact of such severe gaps in the rule of law in terms of access to justice and fair process for these disappeared girls, teens and women continues to reverberate into the 21st century.¹⁰

3.4.2 *Organized Crime and Lure Abductions: The Valle de Juárez Human Trafficking Prosecution (2013–2014)*

By 2010, a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and parents of the disappeared began their own set of criminal investigations into the disappearance of multiple girls and teens in the Historical Center as official investigations continued to fail to prosper (*Proceso* 12/29/13; *La Jornada* 1/7/11; Ezeta 2011; *La Jornada* 10/5/12). By 2012, various mothers of the disappeared joined 370 FEM police and all did a sweep in a Valley east of Ciudad Juárez based on new findings by a Spanish journalist (Juárez 2012) and found the human remains of 23–25 teens and women (Navajo Arroyo, Valle de Juárez) (*La Jornada* 9/7/12). Later, on the basis of the work of NGOs, subsequent FEM sweeps, investigations, raids, operations in downtown Juárez and more than 150 field interviews and interrogations, a historical arrest warrant was issued in July 2013 against 7 subjects for the death of 11 teens who had disappeared between 2009–2011 from the Historical Center (*Redacción* 6/7/13). These disappearances occurred at a time when that zone was “crawling

¹⁰For example, the association of downtown buses with abducted women is visible in a public campaign in which the photographs of 125 disappeared were placed on the buses as an effort to help the disappeared (*Azteca* 12/10/12). It is also visible in the assassination of two bus drivers on Bus Route 10 to Anapra, allegedly in revenge for failure to adequately prosecute bus-related feminicides of the 1990s (*Guardian* 9/6/13). One woman [Erika] interviewed on bus number 10, noted: “We have seen so much in Juárez and it has been so terrible, that almost nothing about killing shocks us anymore”...When asked about the assassinated drivers, Erika noted: “Perhaps they will realize that it is not so easy to abuse women now” (*Guardian* 9/6/13). The failure of the state to credibly uphold the rule of law can lead to forms of vigilante justice which can involve citizen attacks on presumed criminals, often out of a marginalization from “their society’s economic and political life” and/or violent repression or even from unmet needs for justice (Fernandes 1991: 67). Huggins (1991: 12) argues that under such conditions, citizens sometimes turn “such aggression against one another”.

with army troops and federal police assigned to the former Calderón administration's Joint Operation Chihuahua (*Frontera Norte/Sur* 6/19/13)".

This Valle de Juárez Human Trafficking Prosecution trial was historical because it represented the first human trafficking prosecution in Ciudad Juárez (*Frontera Norte/Sur* 6/19/13). It also occurred within a social context of increased civil society and academic scrutiny and research on the Historical Center. For example, Juárez's research [2008–2011] (2012: 70) directly linked human trafficking to the presence of organized crime downtown to a structure of impunity by the official security forces at all levels. He argued this structure of impunity supports a system of the localized sexual selling of underage girls in brothels, hotels and bars along the zone encompassing the Monumento to the Cathedral to Francisco Javier Mina Street. Organized crime's extortion over Red Light district business owners allowed for the payment of a businessman's "tax quota" to narco-traffickers in cash or in girls and the latter only fueled the already existing business of human trafficking in the Historical Center (*La Red Noticias* 9/23/12).¹¹

Studies of human trafficking in the Historical Center by 2012 found upward of 97–105 minors (age 10–18) engaged in clandestine sexual exploitation; some working directly under the orders of organized crime according to the Organization for Sexual Responsibility (*Omnia* 5/8/14). Several bars located in the Historical Center including Billar Bola 8 were found to be holding women, drugged against their will, until they could be transferred to other parts of Mexico as prostitutes (*La Jornada* 1/7/11). Malú García Andrade of *Nuestra Hijas de Regreso a Casa* described shift in the pattern of disappeared teens from 1993 to 2008 as one in which they were previously "assassinated almost immediately after being exploited; their bodies presented signs of sexual violence. In the last six years (2008–2013), they are victims of con men who come with promises of work or scholarship and then exploit them for months (*Proceso* 12/29/13)". García (*Proceso* 12/29/13) attributes this shift importantly to the Army's take-over of control in city and a shift in the network of persons (especially the criminal group *Los Aztecas*) from purely drug sales to human trafficking of women.

All the teens and women found at Valle de Juárez were linked to a multi-layered human trafficking network that lured girls with job interviews including false modeling contracts and sales work or lured them by offers of free cell phones (Juárez 2012; *El Paso Times* 10/17/11). Then, the girls were immediately abducted after the interviews into a sexual slavery ring in which they had to sell their bodies and drugs at cheap hotels in downtown Ciudad Juárez (Hotel Rio de Janiero and Hotel Verde, for example) and were also driven around to private residences and forced to sell their bodies. According to Jorge González Nicolas, Ciudad Juárez District Attorney, "These men knew with perfection the family surroundings of the young women, and that's how they threatened them with possibly killing their

¹¹In fact, some businessmen reported preferring to pay organized crime's quota than paying bribes the police in exchange for control over violent clients because the police were more demanding in exacting the quota (*La Red Noticias* 9/23/12).

parents and siblings if they rejected working for them...Captives deemed unruly or no longer “useful” were murdered and disposed of in the Juárez Valley (*Frontera Norte/Sur* 6/19/13)”.

Table 3.1—Twelve Forced Abductions Relating to Valle de Juárez Femicides—examines the available information on twelve women caught up in the prosecuted human trafficking ring including, María Guadalupe Pérez Montes, Perla Ivonne Aguirre, Lizbeth Avilés García, Jazmín Salazar, Idaly Juache Laguna, Beatriz A. Hernández Trejo, Jéssica Leticia Peña García, Deisy Ramírez Muñoz, Andrea Guerrero Venzor, Mónica L. Delgado Castillo, Jéssica Terrazas Ortega and La Joven “N”. La Joven “N” survived and escaped from the human trafficking network and is one of two key protected witnesses of the prosecutor, FEM/La Fiscalía General del Estado.

Table 3.1 lists the specific abduction site in the Historical Center, when known, whether the girl, teen or woman had made a complaint to the police about the human trafficking ring (before their abduction), the estimated number of men abducting the person and their occupational and/or specific affiliation with organized crime (*Azteca, Zeta*). Finally, Table 3.1 shows evidence of alleged police protection as associated with one “Arturo Roldán de la Cruz”, alias *El Zeta Uno* [Z1] who held the position of #16 in the Barrio Azteca organized crime group. In the Valle de Juárez trial testimony, there are multiple allegations of Z1’s pay-offs to municipal police to keep this human trafficking ring afloat.

3.4.3 Confidence Assaults

Paludi and Kelly (2010: 52) classify a “lure” or “confidence or con assault” as one in which manipulation is initially applied to gain the confidence of the youth. In human trafficking, this occurs often in the first stage in the criminal chain through the *guacho* (Juárez 2012) who offers the girl false offers or promises of employment. Lanning (1994) refers to this kind of con assault as a “psychological assault” rather than a physical one. Yet, as Paludi and Kelly (2010: 52) note, a con assault is still a physical abduction when violence is subsequently applied in the course of the crime.

In the Ciudad Juárez Human Trafficking Valle de Juárez femicides trial (2014), several families who testified regarding the day of their daughter’s abduction state that their teens had either gone to work in the Historical Center or gone to look for work there. For example, the parents of Jéssica Leticia Peña García (age 15) said Jéssica had made it to the Center of the city and once there, had gone to a boot store to look for work. When Jéssica’s parents subsequently went to investigate the store:

There they were surprised to see that the locale had a security camera, something not very common in small businesses in the Center, and they requested all of the recordings done that day, May 29. They were paralyzed to see the image of Jéssica on a screen that in effect

was recorded during her job interview and they denounced the way little Jéssica was taken around the store with excuses and false promises to different parts of the store just before being abducted right as she left the boot store located on Francisco Mina St. #450, near Mercado Reforma [Table 3.1] (Juárez 2012: 123).

Concepción Ponce, the mother of Jazmín Salazar Ponce (age 17), similarly stated that her daughter “went missing while going to apply for a job she had seen advertised at a ‘very nice boot store’ (*Al Jazeera* 3/8/11)”. This boot store, *El Caporal*, was run by Víctor Chavira García (alias “*El Chino*”) who was later arrested for human trafficking. Jazmín Salazar Ponce was also abducted at *Mercado Reforma* [Table 3.1]. Boot store owner Chavira García allegedly initially forcibly abducted Jéssica Leticia Peña García at the store and then handed her over to several Barrio Azteca hit-men to work as a prostitute (*El Norte Digital* 6/18/14).

The parents of Perla Ivonne Aguirre González (age 15) noted that Perla had her first job selling hamburgers at a shop in front of the Mercado Reforma in the Historical Center for two weeks before her auto abduction outside Mercado Cuauhtémoc in 2009 [Table 3.1] (*El Herald de Chihuahua* 4/23/12). A few days before her abduction, Perla told her mother, sister and a female friend that a man, aged 55, was pressuring her to become his “girlfriend” with the argument that he had seven cell phones and would gift her one. Perla’s mother said that they understood that the man had a stall at the same market but that they never knew what he was selling (*El Herald de Chihuahua* 4/23/12). Later, in 2013, one César Félix Romero would be arrested for forcing Perla into sexual prostitution at several hotels in the Historical Center (Hotel Verde) and for ultimately ordering her abduction. A second protected witness of FEM/La Fiscalía General del Estado would also claim that Félix Romero forced Perla to sell heroine at the hamburger stand and when he became dissatisfied with her, he allegedly sold her onto high-level narcotraffickers in the capital of Chihuahua after which she was assassinated and left at Valle de Juárez (*El Diario* 7/11/13).

Idaly Juache Laguna also allegedly worked at *Mercado Reforma* in a clothing store located outside the market building [Table 3.1, age 19]. One eyewitness to her abduction stated to authorities that around 6 p.m. a large man ordered her into an SUV just outside the market. When Idaly resisted and refused to get in, several men grabbed her and forced her into the vehicle where there were also two other young men with radios (*El Diario* 7/12/12). According to her mother and indirect prosecution testimony, Idaly initially got involved with the human trafficking ring due to a lure offer of a false modeling job.

According to Norma Ortega, the head of the non-governmental organization *Asociación Justicia por Nuestras Hijas* (Justice for Our Daughters), none of the 11 teens had been previous victims of abduction, beating or kidnappings. Ortega argued that the organized crime elements in the Historical Center responsible for the human trafficking network did research on and got to know the teens before abducting them. She noted, “They are organized [crime] groups with details that even government authorities do not have...”, then stated:

Typically, the first step is to look for young, pretty, poor girls without a criminal history in the center of the city. The next step is to analyze whether or not they are members of a sect or religion that might make them more submissive, with a certain level of innocence, to make it more difficult for them to notice that they are inside a criminal situation. The third phase is to verify that they have no family relationship with anyone who could pose a threat to them if they denounce them and then they return to the City center and wait patiently, capturing them via offering them a new cell phone, a sales or modeling position. There is a range between 15 and 19 years old, one of them was 20 (in the group of 11 victims in the case) and all of them had a common denominator, according to the testimony of the arrested: They fool them and threaten to harm their children or families while they are under their coercive control. The criminals work to gain the confidence of the victims, they approach them, invite them or drive them to a place like food stand or beauty shop; places from which they never leave.

3.4.4 *Use of Physical Violence: Human Trafficking as Forced Abduction*

According to protected witness testimony utilized by FEM/La Fiscalía General del Estado, it was largely *Azteca sicarios* or hired guns working under orders from the *Zetas* who forcibly abducted girls in downtown stores. One of these hired guns (Luis Jesús Ramírez Loera [LJRL], alias “El Güero”) began working at age 11 for the *Aztecas* as a “hawk” or neighborhood watchman. His initial function in the larger criminal organization was to sell heroin in front of the Wendy’s on 16 de Septiembre street and to receive money and pass money onto higher-ups in his organization, specifically to his boss “El Pifas” who, in turn, passed the money and goods up to a man called “El Negro” (*Proceso* 12/28/13). More recently, he began to work for *La Línea* and his function was to abduct girls in the Historical Center. Gáytan notes LJRL was at high risk for assassination even while being held at the official Detention Center given the danger from organized crime (*El Diario* 7/11/13).

The use of force in the Valle de Juárez human trafficking network abductions is abundantly illustrated by *sicario* Luis Jesús Ramírez Loera [LJRL].

Everything was against their will but they hardly ever fought back. I abducted them very easily...When I was 13, they started ordering me to abduct girls in the Historical Center. This started around 2009, 2010 or 2011, and when I abducted them I almost always did it with a pistol in their back or by beating them up but first I would invite them to a soda and then I would abduct them (*Proceso* 12/28/13).

A second protected witness—La Joven “N”—was captured but managed to escape the human trafficking ring [Table 3.1]. According to the teen, on the first day of her capture, she initially refused to prostitute herself in the downtown hotels but then was immediately personally threatened at gun-point with death by Arturo Roldán de la Cruz, Z1 in the Barrio Azteca organized crime group. La Joven “N” stated in her official testimony at the trial that Roldán de la Cruz held a gun to her head inside a car downtown and stated: “Did you think I wouldn’t do anything”, and ‘Didn’t I

read the news’, “because he had the municipal police and the transit police on his payroll, and that he also put minor girls in the CE.RE.SO. [prison] to prostitute them (*Conocimiento 7/5/13*)”.

Clearly then, these crimes involved violence and thus can be classified as forced abductions irrespective of whether or not a previous lure crime was involved.

3.4.5 HT and Municipal Police Passivity, Acquiescence and Protection

Several strands of the prosecution’s testimony also implicate some elements of the municipal police in passivity, acquiescence and/or protection of the human trafficking ring. For example, JMGM was a street vendor who worked right outside the Hotel Verde selling sodas, sweets, cigarettes and condoms. He also lived in a house right behind the hotel where the teens were forced into sexual prostitution. JMGM said: “I came to often see men arriving in cars with young girls whom they would put in the hotel rooms, often under the direction of “*El Flaco*” who worked as the head janitor”. According to his official testimony, “when the police would come to the hotel, they would either come with “*El Flaco*” or they would speak to him once they arrived and then they would leave (*Conocimiento 7/5/13*)”. *El Flaco* also did not permit clients to take the girls outside the hotel with them.

Other official testimony implicates some members of the municipal police while exonerating others. La Joven “N” escaped from the house where she was forced to live while working as a forced prostitute under the surveillance of *Azteca* boss Arturo Roldán de la Cruz and Felipe, a lower-level organized crime member. The following testimony reveals indirectly a certain confidence Roldán de la Cruz (*Zeta Uno*) states in relationship to certain members of the municipal police. La Joven “N” stated:

...I want also to say that I managed to escape one time when we arrived at Alicia’s house after they had brought me and the other girl’s home from prostituting ourselves. And, upon arriving, Alicia got out of the car rapidly because she had to go to the bathroom. Then, we all went into the house. But she forgot to shut the door. Felipe had already gone. This was when I took advantage and fled. And I went running various blocks. And I found a special truck. And I asked for help from the driver of that truck. I explained to him that I had escaped because I had been trapped inside. And he dialed 060 [police emergency] on his cell. And he lent me the phone so I could tell them. Because of this, a while later, the patrol cars arrived and I explained to the police what had happened to me. I even told them that in the PM newspaper there, they had an advertisement about us. And they had brought it. And I showed them the ad. Later, I took the police to Alicia’s house. They arrested her, together with her cell phone which had rung. It was *Zeta Uno* [Roldán de la Cruz]. Karen, one of the girls, answered. And he told us that he knew we were in a bind and that we tell him the number of the patrol car. But Karen didn’t say anything to him. And one of the police hung up the phone. This is why they detained Alicia and her husband (*Conocimiento 7/5/13; Proceso 12/28/13*).

This testimony suggests then that some of the Ciudad Juárez municipal police acted in accord with the law, arresting a member of the human trafficking ring.

Similarly, the two undercover members of the Federal Investigatory Unit of the Federal Police who were assassinated at the door of the Hotel Verde during an apparent anti-narcotics raid did not appear to be engaged in protection of the human trafficking ring (*El Herald de Chihuahua* 9/30/10; *Norte Digital* 6/8/12).

On the other hand, the vignette also illustrates how Roldán de la Cruz strongly implied that by getting the number of the police patrol at the house, he could pay-off police higher-ups to halt the arrest proceedings.

Even more disturbing, however, according to protected witness and hired abductor LJRL, four of the assassinated teens in the Valle de Juárez feminicides had actually made an attempt to get their captors previously arrested by the municipal police by officially denouncing the criminal activity of multiple members of the human trafficking ring. According to the LJRL, as early as 2009, María Guadalupe Pérez Montes, age 16, worked cutting hair at a stall located just in front of *Mercado Reforma*. María came to know local *Azteca* “*El Pifas*” precisely because he was extorting local businesses to pay a “quota” or tax to organized crime in exchange for doing business there. LJRL alleges that María denounced *Azteca* extortionist *El Pifas* to the municipal police for also extorting the hair stall where she worked and gives this as the reason for her abduction (*Proceso* 12/28/13). Public stories of businessmen denouncing *Azteca* extortion at *Mercado Reforma* located near La Paz and Ignacio Mariscal streets in the Historical Center did not begin to be published in the press until 2013 (*El Mexicano* 11/3/13; *La Red Noticias* 11/3/13).

Deisy Ramírez Muñoz and Andrea Guerrero Venzor also allegedly worked at the *Mercado Reforma* at the Los Quiroz clothing stall located immediately outside the Market (Table 3.1). LJRL similarly testified that both teens were ordered abducted in 2010 because they also went to the municipal police denouncing the illegal activities (extortion, drug sales) of two of the *Azteca* hired guns *El Patachu* and *El Pigüi* associated with the human trafficking network (*Proceso* 12/28/13). LJRL also alleges that Jazmín Salazar Ponce reported three *Azteca* hit-men and extortionists (*El Koyac*, *el Pifas* and *el Pigüi*) to the Municipal Police after learning about their illicit activities at Historical Center hotels and clubs and for this reason, *el Pigüi* sent Jazmín into sexual slavery in Chihuahua city after her abduction.¹²

3.4.6 *HT and the Vanishing of Higher-Level Detainees*

Ortega (*Proceso* 12/29/13) argues that while the victim’s families say they are convinced that each of the human traffickers arrested in this historic Valle de Juárez feminicide case have something to do with the disappearance of their daughters, “There are more responsible parties to apprehend. The detained are those with the least amount of responsibility (*Proceso* 12/29/13)”. Juárez (2012: 65) argues that

¹²*El Patachu* (or Jesús Manuel Pérez Ortega, a local *Azteca* hitman) would be also charged with the feminicides of Jusalet Alejandra de la Cruz Lucio and Nancy Gómez Fariás (*Excelsior* 2/7/14).

the infrastructure of organized crime and human trafficking in the Historical Center is aided by the police and military and depends upon the complicity of authorities who know the location of places where minors are prostituted. Non-governmental organization lawyer Francisco Galván argues each kidnapping of a girl in the Historical Center is just the tip of the iceberg and what lies behind each case is tremendously complex and harsh (Juárez 2012: 66).

The historic convictions in the Valle de Juárez human trafficking feminicides can be understood as a prosecution that reached into the lower-levels of the network. Nevertheless, the prosecutions did not touch many higher-level persons and/or officials who aided, abetted and/or facilitated the crime (Article 198, Código Penal Chihuahua).

For example, 8 of 18 arrested suspects (44 %) were hit-men or transporters at the lower-levels of the organized criminal network (Barrio Azteca, the armed wing of the Juárez Cartel). These included those “hawks”, “watchers” and “hit-men” arrested for the 11 Valle de Juárez feminicides—such as *El Pifas*, *El Pigüi*, *El Patachú* and *El Kojak*—all directly implicated in the physical abductions of the teens. Several “watchers” or persons who oversaw the movements of the teens were also prosecuted (Raquel Venegas Treviño and Eduardo Sánchez Hermosillo).¹³ Two of them—Raquel Venegas Treviño and Rafael Mena—also worked as assassins and were both sentenced for the shooting of the two undercover federal agents standing outside the Hotel Verde in 2010. Jesús Hernández Martínez was also arrested and implicated in the human trafficking ring as the driver of the vehicle in which the girls were forced to travel to and from hotels and private homes and prostitute themselves (*La Jornada* 9/9/13).¹⁴

Prosecution at the higher levels of criminal organizations and/or official institutions within the criminal justice system (the municipal police) has not occurred. The only high-level organized crime boss mentioned in the case was Adrián Arturo Roldán de la Cruz [Z1] who implicated multiple suspects in the human trafficking ring after being arrested for an armed encounter with Ministerial Police. Nevertheless, Roldán de la Cruz was released and subsequently died in a fire-fight before the June 2013 human trafficking trial began. In effect, this thereby blocked any inquiry into the identity of the specific, potential municipal police officers and/or police leadership de la Cruz claims to have paid off for protection for the human trafficking network (*Conocimiento* 7/5/13; *Proceso* 12/28/13).

In terms of the protective “net” or layer of contracted services of those personnel who aided and abetted the ring, several store owners were also implicated in the

¹³Lower-level hit-men are typically kept separate from knowing names of higher-level personnel; thereby protecting the criminal organization from exposure to police (Grayson and Logan 2012: 29). So protected witness LJRL noted that he did not even know the name of *El Pifas's* boss in charge of the Historical Center ...“If you identify them by name, either they beat you or kill you (*Proceso* 12/29/13)”.

¹⁴Several *La Línea* members allegedly took information from false job applications including family member’s names and addresses (*Excelsior* 10/23/13) to later use against the teens to threaten them if they did not comply. None of these listed *La Línea* members were prosecuted.

trial for providing “fronts” or false employment promises that were aimed at luring the teens into false job interviews (Victor Chavira García, César Félix Romero Esparza, Manuel Vital Anguiano, Humberto Gerardo Páez Carreón, Camilo del Real Buendía). The stores included a modeling agency, a grocery store and a boot store. Two lawyers were alleged to have provided legal protection for Roldán de la Cruz but were not prosecuted for the crime of aiding and abetting a human trafficking network.

3.4.7 Mapping Disappearances by Streets in the Historical Center

Map 3.2 is a close street mapping of the precise last place where multiple girls and women on the officially-registered disappearance list were seen alive in the Historical Center. It reveals the extreme geographical concentration of human trafficking in the downtown area.

Map 3.2 illustrates the two distinctive geographical sites where these disappearances cluster. These include Site A and Site B. Site A falls within the area between Cathedral and Calle Mina identified as the “danger zone” for the disappearance of young women and for their sexual exploitation (Juárez 2012: 71). Site A is located on or near the street block between Calle Mina and Calle Rafael Valverde near the Econo Tienda Store. Site B refers to the single block on 16 de Septiembre between Avenida Lerdo and Francisco Villa which includes the Piñeda bread store and the Parisina perfume shop. This same area in Site B was referred to in a 2006 intelligence report as an area linked to the disappearances of young women (Washington-Valdez 2006: 17). In other words, a majority of the teens on the officially disappeared list were last seen alive in only two square block areas of



Map 3.2 Mercado Reforma (Site A), Monumento and 16th de septiembre (Site B). *Source* Map data @ 2014 Google, INEGI



Photo 3.2 Site A: *Mercado Reforma*—EconoTienda and Modatelas (Calle La Paz)

the entire Historical Center, a clear concentration of this crime even within the larger downtown district.

Site A and Site B are also places within the Historical Center that have a direct and substantiated link to one or more human trafficking networks there. Site A includes the *Econo Tienda* Store on Calle Mina (Photo 3.2). This store, according to Valle de Juárez trial protected witness LJRL, as well as nearby *Mercado Reforma* was a site where he, along with several other men, regularly conducted abductions of girls, teens and women (*Conocimiento* 7/5/13). The block of Calle Mina indicated as Site A was also home to the clothing store called “*Modatelas*” (Photo 3.2b). This clothing store was where María Guadalupe Pérez Montes and Nancy Ivette Navarro Muñoz were last seen alive before their disappearances (1/31/09; 7/13/11) (*El Diario* 7/11/12; *Torrea* 7/15/11; *Encontrar Nancy* 2011).¹⁵

More specifically, the corner of Calle Mina and Calle Rafael Velarde within Site A is directly correlated with human trafficking incidents in the Historical Center. City Bus 3B from the Poniente precisely discharged multiple young women at the intersection of Mina and Rafael Velarde; most of whom had gone to the Historical Center to look for work and then immediately disappeared. For instance, Perla Marisol Moreno, age 16, got off the 3B bus and then disappeared. She had been on her way to turn in a work application her mother had helped her fill out for a job at a photo shop at the *Mercado Reforma* (3/31/11) (*El Mexicano* 1/22/13; Appendix 1). One month later, at the same 3B bus stop at the corner of Mina and La Paz, María de la Luz Hernández Cordoba (age 18) was last seen getting off the bus but then disappeared. She was also on her way to *Mercado Reforma* to look for work, in this case at a jewelry shop (Rodríguez 2012; Appendix 1). Cínthia Jacobeth Castañeda, age 13, was last seen just after she got off Bus 3B at the corner of Mina and Rafael Velarde on her way to buy notebooks and shoes (10/24/08; Appendix 1) (Photo 3.3).

¹⁵LJRL admitted also to abducting María Guadalupe with other men nearby at the *Mercado Reforma* in the Valle de Juárez human trafficking trial (*Conocimiento* 7/5/13).

Photo 3.3 Site B: La Parisina and La Piñeda Stores (Calle 16th de Septiembre). Sources Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google



Just a few blocks up on Calle Mina, Gabriela Ibarra Espinoza was last seen outside workplace her workplace at *Vesticentro* (*Milenio* 3/8/14). Her mother said Gabriela had gone to work as usual on 3/8/11. At lunch, she was last seen leaving the clothing warehouse and then disappeared (*El Diario* 3/7/14; *El Mexicano* 3/10/14; Appendix 1). Authorities themselves classified the 1/18/08 abduction of Adriana Sarmiento, age 15, as “high risk” related to “human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation” after she disappeared at the bus stop on her way home from school at the corner of Calle Mina and Miguel Ahumada (*El Heraldo de Chihuahua* 4/13/12). Adriana was the first whose body was found at the Valle de Juárez.¹⁶

Site B (Map 3.2) refers to the single block on 16 de Septiembre between Juarez Ave and Francisco Villa and is home to the Piñeda bread store. Marilú Andrade of the non-government organization *Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa* argued that social organizations had testimonies and proof that the Piñeda bread store was, in fact, acting as a front in a human trafficking ring (*La Jornada* 1/7/11). This single bread store alone is the last place where Hilda Gabriela Rojas, Brenda Ivonne Ponce Sáenz and Jéssica Ivonne Cuéllar Padilla all went to look for work before disappearing according to eyewitnesses [2/25/08, 7/22/08, 7/8/11] (Juárez 2012; *Proceso* 12/28/13; *El Mexicano* 4/20/11; *La Jornada* 1/7/11). According to testimony of family members, Jéssica Ivonne arrived at the Piñeda store to leave an employment application and then nothing else is known of her (*El Mexicano* 7/20/11; Appendices 3.1 and 3.2). Investigations by the non-governmental organization SENET (*Sin Ella No Estamos Todos*) argue that evidence suggests Brenda Ivonne

¹⁶Juárez (2012) and Lizarraga (*Los Ángeles Press* 2011) published that Adriana’s body had been held for three years after her death at the city morgue without telling precisely how and why they had not informed the family. She was originally found in the Valle de Juárez. This finding led many families of the disappeared to demand that authorities re-open the search for young girls disappeared from the Historic Center (*Proceso* 12/29/13). Many of the young girls disappeared in the Historical Center were later found at Valle de Juárez.

Ponce Sáenz was taken to Tijuana and forced into sexual slavery there (*Sin Ella* 11/16/11; Appendices 3.1 and 3.2).

In some instances, both Site A and Site B are simultaneously implicated in the disappearance of young girls in the Historical Center. For instance, Hilda Gabriela Rojas left job applications at both the Piñeda bread store (Site B, Map 3.2) before she proceeded to visit a friend who worked at *Mercado Hidalgo* (Calle Mina, next door to the *Econo Tienda* at Site A). Upon arriving at the *Mercado Hidalgo*, Hilda is quoted as saying to her friend, “A man is waiting for me on the corner who offered me US \$80 dollars to accompany him and to give a message to his wife. He says he fought with her and wants to reconcile. I will leave you this folder with my application and be back in a moment (Monterrosa 2009: 42)”. Hilda’s body was later found in Valle de Juárez (2009).

Similarly, Claudia Soto Castro’s (age 19) mother says that her daughter put in a job application at the *Parisina* Perfume shop located directly next door to the Piñeda bread store (Site B) and at the *Modatelas* store (Calle Mina, Site A, Map 3.2) and then she disappeared and her cell phone went dead (*La Policiaca* 5/19/11; Appendices 3.1 and 3.2). In a connection with Site (B), Rosa María Apodaca Granados had actually worked at the *Parisina* Perfume shop before her daughter (Patricia Jazmín Ibarra Apodaca’s) disappearance (6/8/11). For three months prior to her disappearance in the Historical Center, men kept pressing Patricia Jazmín Ibarra Apodaca to take a job as a catwalk model, according to her mother (*TresPuntoCero* 7/17/13).

Patricia Jazmín worked at a Telcel store on Calle Oro in the larger Historical Center. On the day she disappeared, she was last seen alive at a man’s clothing store called Avelarde where she had told her boyfriend she was to meet up with the man who kept offering her the modeling job (*TresPuntoCero* 7/17/13). Jazmín’s body was also found at Valle de Juárez. Thus, Map 3.2 clearly reveals through Sites A and B, a very close association between the disappearances of girls and women in the Historical Center and the existence of at least one human trafficking network.

As Juárez (2012: 71) notes, the Cathedral to Calle area of the Ciudad Juárez Historical Center district is replete with small shops and posts and hawks who assist in process of abducting young girls. In his work as an organized-crime related “hawk”, Valle de Juárez human trafficking prosecution protected witness LJRL’s purpose was to aid in the abduction of young girls for sexual prostitution, to sell drugs and/or to watch out for potential prosecution and to alert higher-ups in the organization. LJRL also links Site A and Site B, claiming that he sold heroine at both places “daily from 6:30 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. at night, everyday of the week (*Diario* 7/11/13)”. All three of the “front” stores utilized by the Valle de Juárez human trafficking ring (boot, grocery, and modeling) were located within the Historical Center. The extreme concentration of many of these repeated disappearances for at least four years within two relatively small delimited areas combines with trial information alleging certain municipal police protection and evidence of a complex front network of repeated lure stores. This strongly points toward the weakness, if not complicity, of law enforcement and corruption of some officials in human trafficking (Shelley 2010: 6; Domínguez-Ruvalcaba and Blancas 2010).

3.5 South, South-East and Poniente as Disappearance Hot Spots

3.5.1 *Diffuse Human Trafficking in South-East, South and Poniente or Linked to Historical Center?*

In this section, it is argued that human trafficking was similarly suspected in the South and South-East, suggesting the practice is certainly not only limited to girls, teens and women in the Historical Center. Nevertheless, the practice appears more diffuse in so far as it is not so intensely concentrated in a few specific block areas. For example, in the South-East, Perla Denise Cuevas López, age 21 and her sister-in-law Ivonne Aracely, age 23, were last seen at a restaurant ten blocks from her house. Joel López, the father of Perla believed that it was a forced abduction from a public street near a restaurant. Joel said that Perla normally called him before she went out to events but the few days before her abduction, she seemed distracted “as if she were threatened” (*La Policiaca* 10/8/10; Appendix 1). He argued, “They abducted my daughter against her will, she did not disappear. They were kidnapped and the authorities are no longer looking for them (*Los Ángeles Press* 2/29/12)”. Joel went to the State Attorney General’s Office to report Perla’s disappearance, having to wait 72 h and by this time, the fiscal had classified them as officially “disappeared”. Indeed, agents told Joel his daughter had likely been “captured into sexual slavery” (*La Policiaca* 10/8/10) suggesting a human trafficking ring.

Nevertheless, the official investigation into the abduction did not prosper. For lack of official help, Joel advanced his own private investigation into Perla’s abduction. He found out that waiters at the restaurant confirmed that the girls were approached by various very well-dressed men whom they ignored and then the men left. Restaurant video cameras record the women leaving the restaurant alone and then the parking lot attendant said that when Perla and her sister-in-law looked for their car, it was missing and they then left on foot down the street (*Los Ángeles Press* 2/29/12). Six days after the abduction and three days after the official filing of the missing report, Perla’s own sister saw her in a pick-up truck with some men and at that moment, they called to municipal police to ask for help. The municipal police, however, said they could only act in “cases of emergency” and that “they couldn’t do anything” (*Los Ángeles Press* 2/29/12). Joel López then went to the Federal Attorney General’s Office where they told him they were going to look for Perla but he did not believe the answer and went with his wife to search the streets.

Similarly, several other instances of reported sightings and/or unusual telephone calls point toward possible human trafficking or at least malfeasance involving the abduction of women originating from various neighborhoods *outside* the Historical Center. Authorities again were vague but suggested to the mother of Maricela González Vargas from the South-East that her daughter had been seen alive in

Palomas, in Chihuahua and in Juárez (*Activa 1/29/15*; Appendices 1 and 2).¹⁷ A person close to disappeared woman Celina Uribe Vázquez testified that s/he received a cell phone call nine days after Celina disappeared from a girl who told him/her that Celina “was not in Atlanta but in Miami” but that she (the caller) could not state her name because it had to remain anonymous and then hung up (Appendix 1). The CNDH (2000: 39-RD) found that public servants of the Zona Norte Sub-Attorney General’s Office had violated the rule of law and access to justice in the investigation of Celina’s disappearance, in part because they failed to follow-up on tracing the call.

In the *colonia* Moradas del Porvenir in the North-East of the city,¹⁸ five people close to Rosa María Mayela Iuarte Silva rendered official testimony regarding the circumstances of her disappearance days after the event (Appendix 1). A friend of the family later complained to the CNDH (2003: 23RD-T) that a family member had not seen Rosa María for three and a half years but that they received a phone call once month. The CNDH (2003: 23RD-T) concluded that this disappearance had not been appropriately handled as a potential crime by the State Attorney General’s Office. In Los Alcaldes (SE), Rosa María Cruz Montelongo was mysteriously abducted outside her home when a suspicious vehicle pulled and took her away, according to her grief-stricken spouse (*El Mexicano 7/23/11*). Rosa María was thirty-nine and the couple had three children. In the *colonia* just east of the Airport (Héroes de la Revolución), Brenda Lizeth Castro Vera was last seen as she left for the Historical Center, apparently for a work-related interview that she saw in a nightly newspaper (*Excelsior 12/23/11*). According to Coria (*Excelsior 12/23/11*), Brenda Lizeth’s disappearance fits the precise profile of multiple teens abducted in the Valle de Juárez human-trafficking related feminicides.

The disappearance of dual U.S.-Mexican citizen Lilia Berenice Ortiz, age 22, crystallizes the intersection of impunity, geography and suspected human trafficking in Ciudad Juárez. On the one hand, Lilia was last seen (3/3/10) on a street leaving her grandmother’s house to buy a cell phone. The house on the street in the Poniente (Pedro Baranda) is located just adjacent to Parque Industrial Juárez and a primary school where numerous girls and teens disappeared from in the 1990s (see Chap. 2). Her mother Lilia, a newspaper reporter, stated in 2012 that Lilia might have disappeared in the Poniente or she might have gone on into the Historical

¹⁷Marisela González Vargas (age 26) vanished on the street in the Poniente immediately after exiting the prison gates after visiting a family member. Her mother had urged her not to go that day, fearing from the general climate in Juárez that her daughter might not return (*El Diario 8/8/13*). Nobody knows if she actually got on the Route 5 bus home or if she was simply abducted right there on Calle Barranco Azul (*La Jornada 5/27/12*); a street across from the North-Gate *maquila*.

¹⁸The NE is not an area of Ciudad Juárez often identified as a “feminicide hot spot” (Cervera-Gómez 2010), although there have been a few reported cases there (Hernández 2010: 51, 52, 54, 59, 61, 63). One such disappearance in the NE happened to Mónica Alejandra Salazar Guevara, age 32, from *Colonia Satelite*. A search was made for Mónica when a number of FEM investigators, acting on a tip claiming she was there, searched a nearby Church in vain (*El Mexicano 4/12/13*).

Center if she didn't find the cell phone she was looking for. In either case, the agents handling her case "have never called me, the explanations they give when I call them were absurd, stupid, lacking in knowledge; I have grown tired of calling them because they never do anything (*Diario* 2/26/12)". By early 2015, however, FEM (2015) claimed genetic testing revealed that Lilia Berenice's remains were found in Valle de Juárez thereby linking her disappearance to the Valle de Juárez human trafficking case (*Diario* 1/13/15). Her mother reacted with skepticism to the report that her daughter was among the Navajo Arroyo victims stating she would "seek a new DNA test in El Paso to verify the identification because of her doubts arising from the course of the official investigation (*Frontera Norte Sur* 1/25/15)".

Simultaneously FEM (2015) also identified the genetic remains of two other teens who disappeared downtown and were later found dead at Navajo Arroyo to the Valle de Juárez human trafficking case. FEM (2015) stated it identified Lidia Macha Ramos, age 17, a university student from the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juárez's Biomedical Sciences Institute who vanished in December 2008, "apparently while she was taking a bus through downtown Juárez" (Appendix 1). Also identified was Esmeralda Rincón Castillo, age 14, who disappeared in the Historical Center (5/19/09) (*Frontera Norte Sur* 1/25/15; Appendix 1). Esmeralda's parents had been actively searching for their daughter since then received a notification from Channel 2 news in Ciudad Juárez that the station had received a call from a woman who told them she had seen Esmeralda in a bar in the Historical Center but when they went there, Esmeralda was not there (*Cima Noticias* 3/5/12). Esmeralda's mother Martha, also said she received another cell phone message from her daughter in 2013 in which she asked for help because she was obliged to prostitute herself in an unknown place (*Omnia* 5/21/13). Her mother stated that in the cell message, Martha also said she had just given birth but had the baby taken away and that she was living with other disappeared teens including Nancy Ivette Navarro Muñoz who went to look for work in the Historical Center and disappeared. According to Martha, FEM authorities sent her to the Fiscalía who told her that they would add the messages to the investigation but to not "take them too much to heart because they ran the risk of being a made-up story" (*Omnia* 5/21/13).

These disappearances, most of which originated in the South, South-East and even possibly in the Poniente, are highly suggestive of possible human trafficking rings, some of which appear distinct from the Valle de Juárez ring while in other disappearances, there appears to be overlapping with the Historical Center ring.

In some instances, the Poniente and the Historical Center were both crime sites as teens who lived in the Poniente were abducted in the Historical Center after taking the bus there to look for work. For instance, Jéssica Ivonne Padilla (age 16) took bus 3B from her home in the Poniente to look for work at the Piñeda bread store (Site B, Map 3.2) in the Historical Center and was abducted there (*El Mexicano* 7/20/11; Appendix 1). Jocelyn Reyes Calderón, age 13, lived in *colonia La Aldama* (Poniente). She was on-route to the Plaza de Armas in the Historical Center to meet two boys she met on Facebook with a girlfriend but then she disappeared (*El Vigía* 1/31/13; *El Diario* 1/30/13) (Site B, Map 3.2; Appendix 1).

Such specific overlap between the Poniente and the Historical Center speaks strongly to the specific connection between certain poor neighborhoods in Ciudad Juárez and a similar type of violence against women (abductions of school girls on public streets, human trafficking-related disappearances, abductions of teens and women traveling to work or looking for work). FEM (2013) reported that this band of human traffickers which trafficked girls in the Historical Center, then when they were no longer deemed of use to them were assassinated and left at the creek “El Navajo”, near Valle de Juárez actually operated out of the SE poor *colonia Rivera del Bravo*; a neighborhood also severely lacking in public services (Larrarte and Pérez 2014: 118–119; *Omnia* 6/11/13; *Radiza* 6/11/13). This overlap between the SouthEast and the Historical Center and the existence of a human trafficking ring which is housed in one area but operates elsewhere speaks again to the importance of downtown as a lucrative market for the “commodification” of forced sexual labor.

3.5.2 *Hot Spots and School Environs*

The geography of non-human trafficking suspected disappearances of girls, teens and women outside the Historical Center also exists. It follows a pattern of proximity to femicide “hot spots” and locations in and around schools. In Ciudad Juárez, 79.3 % of certain violent crimes in the city (male homicide, robbery and assaults) were found to occur in just 157 blocks or 33 % of the entire city (Fuentes and Hernández 2013: 250). Fuentes and Hernández (2013: 250, 255) further identify five specific downtown blocks around Avenida Juárez in the historical downtown as exhibiting the highest numbers of violent crime concentration in the city.

Yet, the remaining female disappearances *outside* the Historical Center [HC] in Ciudad Juárez *not* linked to human trafficking did not occur within this violent 33 % of the city. Thus, the disappearances of girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez only potentially overlap with male homicide and violent crime¹⁹ in a few concentrated blocks in the Historical Center but not elsewhere in the city.

Two clear repetitive “hot spots” over time outside the HC are the Juárez airport and Casas Grandes highway (Washington-Valdez 2006; Frago et al. 2010; Frago 2009: 99). In 2007, Celina Cortes Flores disappeared from the Juárez airport (PGR Guanajuato 2010; Appendix 1). Claudia Gómez Antonio Nuñez vanished outside her house located at nearby kilometer 30 of Casas Grandes highway in 2007 (*Borderzine* 5/16/14) (Appendices 1 and 2).²⁰ Vanessa Ruiz

¹⁹Unfortunately, Fuentes and Hernández’s (2013) block track data is not sufficiently broken down into specific tracts to correlate these 5 blocks with Site A and Site B of the human trafficking rings mapped in this chapter.

²⁰Claudia, who suffers from schizophrenia, had been told to wait at home by her mother María Gómez who briefly took Claudia’s two children to the nearby S-Mart supermarket. When she

Nolasco was also last seen on a street just east of kilometer 30 of Casas Grandes highway in 2013 (*Puente Libre* 10/29/13) (Appendices 1 and 2). A month after her disappearance, Vianca Rocío Armendáriz Holguín (age 19), was found dead in a ditch at kilometer 32 of Casas Grandes highway in 2014 (*El Mexicano* 5/21/14).

This deadly stretch of the highway as a danger zone for women in Juárez spans at least fifteen years. As noted in Chap. 2, in 1999 at kilometer 17 of Casas Grandes Highway, Nancy Villalba was left for dead after being brutally raped by substitute bus driver Jesús Manuel Guardado Márquez (Trucios 2008: 16). In April 2014, yet another femicide occurred precisely at a dirt track next to kilometer 30 of the Casas Grandes highway when a pregnant woman, unidentified, was found dead (*Puente Libre* 4/11/14).

Disappearances also occurred in identified femicide hotspots in the South-East (*El Papolote*-Guerrina Aguirre Salazar, *Colonia Fryda Kahlo*-María Elena Vera Soza) and in the North Poniente (*Plutarco Ellias Calles*-Perla Jurado Marisol) (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 165; Hernández 2010: 46, 49, 50) (Appendices 1 and 2).

Public streets near primary and secondary schools were also again repeated sites of disappearances, especially of younger teens. For example, school aged 12 year old Yessica Herrera Castañeda was abducted in the Poniente (*colonia Hermenegildo Galeana*) a mere two blocks from her elementary school (4/2/13). Her aunt, with whom the girl was living, had sent her out to a store near her home on Tixtla street and she never returned (*La Policiaca* 4/3/12). Photo 3.4 shows Yessica's home on Tixtla street with a view toward a local corner store located near the CSC Horizontes elementary school.

The family reported Yessica's disappearance within hours and 12 FEM police immediately swept the neighborhood that same Monday. Yessica's aunt María de los Ángeles Herrera did her own sweeps and asked people in the neighborhood but "nobody said they had seen her" (*El Diario* 4/13/12). María suspected an abduction, noting: "I am afraid that they have abducted her because right now they are disappearing many girls...One of my nieces told me that they had been pursuing Yessica various time before; that when she would talk on the phone, various people would arrive in a car with polarized windows and park outside (*El Diario* 4/13/12)". Yessica's birthday would have been a few days later.

(Footnote 20 continued)

returned, Claudia had disappeared but when María asked around the neighborhood, nobody had seen who had taken her (*Borderzine* 5/16/14). María has continued to search multiple cities in Chihuahua and other states, asking at houses and bars of the whereabouts of Claudia; a search that required her to sell her house and ask the governor for financial help. In contrast to the majority of parents of disappeared girls, teens and women, María Gómez considers that the authorities are doing their job but considers that the criminals are more clever (*Borderzine* 5/16/14). State police officers have accompanied her in her search for her daughter; sometimes at risk as when she had to flee with state agents when they were threatened by armed men in Palomas, Chihuahua.



Photo 3.4 Tixtla street, Poniente, Ciudad Juárez. *Sources* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

3.6 Discussion

3.6.1 *Patriarchy and Coercion in Forced Abductions*

Abduction tactics (solo and group auto abductions and bus abductions) were similar across disappearances and human trafficking crimes against women irrespective of whether perpetrators were allegedly engaged in unorganized or organized crime and irrespective of the neighborhoods where the abduction occurred. Similarly, it is also plausible that some men in formal transnational criminal organizations or gangs, while off duty, also engaged in “cruising” and blitz attacks while partying.

The use of violence in the abductions is abundantly evident in such strategies as multiple men physically grabbing girls and/or teens off of public streets and pulling them into autos as well as abductions on public buses. This similarity in coercive tactics across time, space and perpetrators speaks to a history of impunity from prosecution for using women as paid [human trafficking] and unpaid [rape] sexual commodities. It also often reflects the unjust demands of patriarchy in which women can be blamed for triggering their own sexual assault (Tang et al. 2002: 968–69; Bamforth and Richards 2008: 311), especially poignant in the silence that many teens kept after their capture into sexual slavery.

The use of direct death threats against the girl or woman’s family members is clearly a form of threatened violence within a patriarchal context. For instance, Griselda Murúa López (age 16) disappeared at a commercial center near her secondary school (*La Sombra* 8/1/12; *El Heraldo de Chihuahua* 4/19/09). Griselda’s mother, Doña Consuelo, later, in searching for her daughter, believed she saw her at the Club Tampico in the Historical Center when a girl who looked very much similar to Griselda gave her a gesture from the bar stage, putting her finger against

her lips, so that her mother would leave the club without anybody harming her (Juárez 2012: 70). The fear of harm to her mother is clearly coercive.

Women survivors of rape or even forced engagement in sexual slavery also feared they would be blamed by their own husbands and fathers for their sexual assault. *Maquila* night-shift worker from Rancho Anapra Amelia Gómez wanted, but refused, to tell her husband about her rape by the company night-shift bus driver because she feared that instead of understanding her, he would blame her (*Christian Science Monitor* 6/6/08). Valle de Juárez human trafficking trail eyewitness and single-mother KDM felt the need to deny the sexual aspect of her assault to her father.

KDM testified that she tried to quit working at the “store” of one “Don Meny” who had employed her initially as a shopkeeper but she discovered three days into the job that the store was, in fact, a front for a human trafficking ring (*El Diario* 7/26/13). Although she did not show up for work the subsequent day, Don Meny and several of his men repeatedly called her cell phone at which time she simply told them she was going to work at a *maquila*. Meny offered to pay her more money if she returned to work for him. Ignoring the offer, her testimony about the subsequent sequence of events reveals the coercive nature of her assault and also the patriarchal social context (Carcedo 2010) within which such coercion occurs. KDM narrates:

I went to look for work again in the [Historical] Center, this time it was late at night about 8 p.m. I was walking when Gerardo (Don Meny’s employee) found me and asked me why I had not gone with “Don Meny” and he offered to leave me at my house. I kept walking, refusing to accept the ride but about a block later, he shut off my access with his truck, opened the door, pulled me in and I scratched him which is why he shoved me and hit me in the face with his fist. He abducted me, raped me and hit me again and then asked me if I didn’t understand what they did. This was on 16 of September street in front of a park... When it stopped, a few blocks away some men were waiting for him and got in the truck and saw me bleeding and bruised but did nothing. From there they took me to my house and gave me a week to recover and then told me to come back to work with “Don Meny” (*El Diario* 7/26/13).

Upon arriving at home, KDM was questioned by her father about what had just happened but she lied and said she was just assaulted but not sexually assaulted. In the face of this, a week later KDM was pick-up by Geraldo and forced into sexual slavery with many clients at hotels in the Historical Center for a year and a half (see preface, endnote viii). KDM testified to seeing multiple young girls trapped in rooms at the various hotels, beaten when they refused to work and/or crossed to Los Ángeles to work there (*El Diario* 7/26/13). KDM was not able to exit the human trafficking ring alive until she met a boyfriend outside of the control of Don Meny who was also unaware of her coerced sexual labor and who offered to marry her and immediately to take her to the US.

After a while in the US, KDM was notified by her uncle that the Chihuahua State Attorney General’s Office as well as Don Meny were looking for her. Of the

Attorney General's request, she said: "This is when I decided to return, despite my fear for my life and that of my family; I want those responsible to be punished (*El Diario* 7/26/13)".

3.6.2 Types of Official Corruption, Scale and Bribe Estimates

The relationship between corruption of state officials and human trafficking, especially when linked with organized crime is an invisible, vastly understudied area with little published research, often lacking in any detail. It is known that human trafficking as a social form is facilitated by an inadequate public security system. Yet, the phenomenon is understudied because of the unwillingness of corrupt public officials to talk about their activities, difficulties in mounting undercover police operations into human trafficking and the fear of those trafficked to speak to authorities. Also, there is the general unwillingness of law-enforcement officials and statisticians to provide hard information on corrupt behavior in their ranks, especially when it relates to organized crime and human trafficking (Holmes 2009: 83–84).

Despite these data limitations, Holmes (2009: 89–111) has been able to assemble a global compilation of evidence on the topic which points toward two main forms of involvement—"direct" and "indirect". Examples of direct or active participation of local police in human trafficking specifically related to sexual exploitation include accepting bribes to get women residence permits or ignoring prostitution [Russia], selling women to escort agencies [Poland], recruiting teenage girls from a shelter to sell to local gangs in return for free use of the girls for sexual purposes [Poland], involvement in trafficking, pimping and extortion [Lithuania, Macedonia, Albania] and politicians directly trafficking female and child prostitutes [Germany]. The corruption of state officials was also found to be indirect human trafficking. It included turning a blind eye in return for a pay-off [Cambodia, Thailand, Dominican Republic] and alerting local owners of brothels, karaoke bars and other locations to upcoming raids [New Orleans-US] (Holmes 2009: 98). Even in such indirect instances, however, Holmes (2009: 93) notes this still represents direct and conscious involvement. Indirect collusion with criminal gangs in the trafficking process as well as direct police operation of trafficking was also found. Holmes (2009: 98) concludes that although it appears that primarily law enforcement officers are more prone to become directly involved in the actual human trafficking problem, "other officers of the state contribute to trafficking by using the services of prostitutes they knew or should suspect to have been trafficked".

In the Valle de Juárez human trafficking trial, there is direct court testimony from the Valle de Juárez trial of the indirect collusion of local police by buying sexual

services. Such eyewitness testimony refers to evidence of some officers of the state contributing indirectly to trafficking by using the services of prostitutes which they should have suspected might have been trafficked. For example, prosecution eyewitness KDM testified that she that saw that many of the clients of minor girls who passed through rooms in Don Meny's house in the Historical Center were police officers (*El Diario* 7/26/13).

Similarly, in his testimony, prosecution eyewitness and Azteca "hawk" LJRL stated that trafficked girls in the Historical Center were used as forced prostitutes by Mexican soldiers. LJRL testified that:

Sometimes, [we] even knew their bank account numbers. And some of these girls were sold to narco-traffickers that do business in the US, not here in the city, to soldiers that are in Chihuahua City, or they were prostituted here in the Historical Center of Juárez or another city. This way, they were made into slaves in the sense of having to submit to the wishes of the narco-traffickers. It, well, everything was against their will and they were threatened with information about their family, with guns. In the cases of those who did not wish to submit, their houses were burned...

Malú García, director of the non-governmental organization "*Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa*" also stated that a survivor of sexual slavery placed in Puebla escaped and returned to Ciudad Juárez where she denounced three human trafficking rings run by *Los Aztecas* with whom the municipal police collaborated (*Proceso* 12/29/13). In such a situation, girls, teens and women have been subject to "triple" victimization, first by criminal organizations, second by the collusion of police with criminal gangs dedicated to human trafficking and third by the state's turning a blind eye to their own officers' corrupt involvement in trafficking (Holmes 2009: 84–85).

Such testimony strongly points again toward the nexus between human trafficking organizations, and the complicity if not corruption of state officials (Shelley 2010: 6; Domínguez-Ruvalcaba and Blancas 2010). It also suggests that the exemption from law for the powerful which represents a continued "gap" in the rule of law in Ciudad Juárez (O'Donnell 1999) that facilitates forced abductions of girls, teens and women.

For Holmes (2009: 84–85), it is important to realize that with the complicity and/or collusion of corrupt officials with criminal gangs, human trafficking could not exit on the scale that it does. As Shelley (2010: 3) in her analysis of human trafficking has noted, sexual slavery is a business who aim is to make profits. This includes profits that flow as bribes to potentially corrupt government officials.

In reference to obtaining a clearer picture of the scale of human trafficking in the Historical Center of Ciudad Juárez, although data-deficiencies do render it difficult to paint an exact estimate of the scope, the gravity of the issue makes it important to at least create an incomplete outline. Malú García, after eight years of collecting testimony with "*Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa*" argues that the human trafficking ring in the Historical Center is "enormous" (*El Universal* 1/7/11). Several bars located in the Historical Center including Bola 8 were found to be holding women, drugged against their will, until they could be transferred to other parts of Mexico as prostitutes (*La Jornada* 1/7/11). Even Don Many's "store" eventually

searched by FEM authorities revealed over 20 “employment” applications of various disappeared girls with their personal data (*Proceso* 12/29/13).

In addition, the Juárez “Organization for Responsible Sexuality” (*La Organización para Sexualidad Responsable*) detected at least 23.9 % or 105 minors (age 10–18) engaged in clandestine prostitution in the Historical Center of Ciudad Juárez in a survey by the non-governmental organization of 438 interviewed sex workers (*Omnia* 5/8/14). The organization noted that the majority of these minors while “voluntarily” showing up for work, told survey workers that they were pressured by others who had them under their control (*La Jornada* 10/5/12). Gustavo Llamas, director of the non-profit stated that the study determined that “these workers were being misled, coerced and subject to violence with the worst part of it being that they are sexually exploited in the Center of Juárez, the zone considered to be the most regulated in the city (*La Jornada* 10/5/12)”. As aforementioned, the study also revealed cases where elements of the municipal police sexually exploited women or participated as hawks in the business in addition to the presence of narco-trafficking groups that controlled prostitution in the zone.

Non-profit group “The Eliza Martínez Street Brigade for Support of Women (E. M.A.C)” classified the Mexican state as one which facilitates the “optimal” conditions for the sexual and commercial exploitation of women’s bodies (Trata 2013). The group estimates that in all of Mexico, the annual earnings generated from the commercial sexual exploitation of minors is about 0.2–2 % of the gross domestic product (ABCs Trata 2013: 53; Montejo 2013).

In Ciudad Juárez, the existence of a “Don Meny” in the Historical Center of Ciudad Juárez illustrates how small-scale entrepreneurship has come to characterize the crime, allowing more profits to flow to individual criminals. As Shelley (2010: 3) notes, for global organized crime groups in general, “humans have one added advantage over drugs: they can be sold repeatedly. In drug trafficking organizations, profits flow to the top of the organization. With the small-scale entrepreneurship that characterizes much of human trafficking, however, more profits go to individual criminals—making this more attractive for all involved”. Montejo (2013) estimates that 30 % of the Mexican adult sex workers are forced victims of human trafficking and sexual exploitation. Montejo (2013) also notes that a police operation in 2007 in the Federal District [Mexico City] (Zone Merced Mixcalco) revealed that two police delegations *alone* (Cuauhtémoc and Venustiano Carranza) had received since 1991, an average of US \$450,000 per month in police “corruption quotas” from 30 hotels, rooms, and other places where sex workers labored.

With specific reference to Ciudad Juárez, Montejo (2013) adds: “Some girls from Ciudad Juárez with whom we have worked say that they prefer the extortion of criminal groups like *La Linea* or *Los Aztecas* than the municipal police, federal police or the Army. This is because besides the fact that the payment quotas are different; the criminals also protect them, including from authorities themselves (in ABC Trata 2013)”. For his part, Hugo Almada Mireles (Mireles 2015: 94), an academic member of the group “Mesa de Seguridad y Justicia, Ciudad Juárez” claims the Juárez municipal police was “totally corrupt” (2008–2011) and that a

number directly participated as hawks for organized crime. Such actions represent yet another “gap” in the rule of law with respect to relations between ordinary citizens and the bureaucracies (O’Donnell 1999: 312).

3.7 “Push-Pull” Public Security Strategies to Combat Disappearances in Ciudad Juárez

3.7.1 High-Risk Zones and Extra Vigilance Plans

It is important to recognize the underlying profits from human trafficking when analyzing the history of public security strategies to minimize the disappearance of girls, teens and women in the city. Such profits create a type of “push-pull” effect on public security strategies to reduce disappearances in Juárez. On the “push” side of the equation, non-governmental groups, especially women’s groups, press for greater public recognition, law-enforcement attention and budgetary allocations to investigate and prosecute femicide. This effort importantly includes the installation of security cameras in femicide hot spots. Security cameras can offer direct images of violence against women either being directly committed or at least indirectly by revealing actors involved in such crimes, particularly at “hot spots”.

On the “pull” side of the equation are corrupt profits to certain state officials from organized crime-related human trafficking groups and other private individuals along with budgetary limitations. This “push-pull” effect is evident in the history of public security strategies to minimize the disappearance of girls, teens and women in the city.

On the push side, in 2005, after pressure from UN and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission to take measures to prevent femicide, the aforementioned initiatives of Protocol Alba and Project Amber were created under a policy of Attention, Reaction and Coordination (originally called “Operation Alba”). This initiative was coordinated between federal, state and municipal authorities in cases of missing women and girls in the Municipality of Ciudad Juárez (Alternative Report 2013: 9).

Officially recognizing the risk of downtown to women, the original “Operation Alba” public security plan was to install extra vigilance, or even permanent vigilance, in the Historical Center. The Historical Center of the city was one of the areas originally defined in 2004 as “high-risk” for women after a decade of feminicides in Ciudad Juárez, many of which occurred there (Respuesta del Estado 2005). The original police component of the plan was also to include surveillance and security cameras in other specified “high-risk” zones of the city for women including “public transport areas where women travel to *maquiladoras* and fields where homicide victims had been already found (Respuesta del Estado 2005)”. The 2004 plan was to install 60 security cameras in high risk zones: 12 security cameras in the

Historical Center, 14 in the Pronaf zone (a business district east of the HC), 14 in the Poniente and 20 more in the South Poniente and the wealthy “Golden Zone” of the city (*El Diario* 6/2/14).

3.7.2 *The Bureaucratic Vicissitudes of Security Cameras (2005–2009)*

Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez (2013: 20) also advocates the increased concentration of the police in critical femicide “hot spots” as a targeted public security measure aimed at mitigating the risk of violence against women given the often immediate lethality of abductions for girls and women (Hanfland et al. 1997). A summary of evidence of policing, however, does not specify if there were, in fact, any permanent vigilance or surveillance security cameras established even in the originally defined high-risk zones envisioned by Operation Alba (Respuesta del Estado 2005). 14,184 police watch hours were reported as part of the initial Operación-Protocolo Alba policing response (2003–2005) along with the police review of 8809 public transport vehicles, interviews with 5360 women, 846 motorcycle patrols, 630 helicopter patrols in the zones of highest risk (CNDH 2005; Respuesta del Estado 2005). The original Operación Alba police work came at the end of a time period in which there were only a total of nine definitive, not appealed, penal sentences for sexual assassination of women (1/21/93–8/16/05) (CNDH 2005: 39–40).

As Cervera-Gómez (2011: 49) notes, however, the only one of the 10 originally defined “hot spots” for femicide in Ciudad Juárez (1993–2010) where there was a combination of public security elements that included both security cameras and police stations was the Historical Center. And, even in the HC, the positioning of security cameras was skewed toward certain business areas. The Poniente and Southern “hot spots”, according to Cervera-Gómez (2011: 49) were excluded from these elements of public security altogether (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 15).

In part, lack of serious continuity in official funding explains the failure to establish surveillance security in both high-risk femicide zones as well as in other areas with crime risk in the city. Sosa (*El Diario* 6/2/14) explains that then Juárez municipal police chief Juan Salgado Vázquez recognized that all of the sixty security cameras installed in late 2004 had totally ceased to function by September 2005.

Nevertheless, instead of fixing the cameras, the municipal police handed their control over to the state police. This led to a new plan (2005–2007) to revive the now defunct sixty security cameras and to install ten more in zones of high-risk for homicides and the disappearances of women at an estimated cost of over 1 million US dollars.

Ten new security cameras were then installed in the “high-risk” area of the Historical Center at the intersection of 16 de Septiembre with Francisco Villa, Calle Mariscal, Vicente Guerrero and Ramón Corona, Ugarte and Mariscal, Rafeal

Velarde and Amado Nervo, among other streets (2005–2006). Eight of these security cameras were allegedly intentionally destroyed by elements of organized crime by November 2005 (estimated loss, US \$135,450). No prosecutions of anyone subsequently occurred and the security cameras were never re-installed (*El Diario* 6/2/14). Many of these identical streets and intersections, as discussed earlier in this chapter (Sites A and B), were repetitive sites of the subsequent forced abductions of many teens murdered in the Valle de Juárez human trafficking ring (2008–2010).

After 2009, the next “push” to install a total of 2000 security cameras came in the context of federal police operating under the “*Operation Conjunto*”, a security program under Calderón initiated in the period of the worst drug-war related violence seen in Ciudad Juárez. Funds were also provided by the US under Plan Mérida and the Mexican federal program “*Todos Somos Juárez*” aimed at “reducing violence and rebuilding the social fabric in the city” (Calderón 2014). This new “push” resulted in the installation of 284 new security cameras by August 2013 but only 94 were functioning well enough to send images to the CERI, 066 (the police emergency Rapid Response Center).

3.7.3 *Sweeps, not Security Cameras in the Historical Center*

Another major “push” factor or pressure occurred in 2009 when the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) recommendation was issued as the result of its decision on three feminicides (Claudia Ivette González, 17, Irma Monreal Herrera, 15, and Laura Berenice Ramos, 20) whose bodies were found in a cotton field in Ciudad Juárez on November 6, 2001. The IACHR ruled that the State of Mexico was intentionally responsible for the unsolved murders and found Mexico to be in violation of human rights laws by failing to adequately investigate and prosecute these crimes (López 2012). The Court applied the Convention of Belém do Pará (on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women) which defined human rights for the first time in relation to women’s rights (Kirkpatrick 2013). The IACHR also ordered the Mexican state to issue a variety of reparations including a specialized unit designed to implement a gendered perspectives with lines of inquiry regarding sexual assault in its criminal investigative procedures (López 2012).

In response to the IACHR Ruling, the Mexican government created the Special Prosecutor’s Office for the Attention of Crimes Relating to Gender (Fiscalía Especializada en Atención a Mujeres Víctimas de Delito por Razones de Género–FEM). The Special Prosecutor’s Office principal mission is to investigate the cases of women who were murdered because of their gender, situations that attack women’s liberty and their sexuality; as well as domestic violence, amongst other things.

The creation of FEM, which began to operate in Ciudad Juárez by February 2012, meant that the agency would take over functions of searching for missing

girls, teens and women under the Protocol Alba and AMBER alert models (both part of the original 2004 Operation Alba public security plan). Previously, from 2005–2011, the activation of Protocol Alba had been discretionary and left to the State Attorney General’s Public Ministry which resulted in a lack of rigor in its operation. For example, by late 2011, the Chihuahua Center for Women’s Human Rights (Cedehm) criticized the State Attorney General for only activating searches for missing girls and women on 31 occasions (on average 5 times a year) between 2005 and 2010. Yet, in 2010 alone, Cedehm contends there were 110 cases of disappeared women in the state (*CimaNoticias* 2011).

By mid-2011, the parents of Nancy Ivette Navarro Muñoz, age 18 (disappeared July 15, 2010) held a public demonstration outside the Ciudad Juárez office of the State Attorney General’s Office to protest the lack of official results in her investigation and to demand that any results be made public (*La Policiaca* 7/24/11). A few days later, the Juárez based Committee of Mothers of the Disappeared also held a public protest there; requesting that authorities complete their investigations and determine whether the motive for these disappearances related to human trafficking for sexual purposes. Norma Andrade, member of the non-governmental organization “*Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa*” explained that the pattern of new cases of disappearances is repetitive, as occurred with her daughter. She noted: “We find them dead, mutilated, sexually assaulted, in these cases the teens have not been found but they are not looking for them (*La Policiaca* 7/24/11)”. That evening and the next day, the first large scale federal police sweeps of bars and nightclubs began in the downtown area. 500 federal and state agents descended upon bars and nightclubs located between Juárez avenue by 16th of September, Mina, Velarde and Mariscal among others (*El Mexicano* 7/23/11). Authorities state that this sweep was activated by the Protocol Alba alert in the disappearance of Nancy Ivette Navarro Muñoz reported disappeared on July 15 (*El Diario* 7/24/11). This first large-scale police effort was also to look for evidence in the disappearances of five teens (Nancy Ivette, María de la Luz Hernández Córdova, age 18, Cínthia Jocabeth Alvarado, age 13, Bertha Alicia Vidal Varela, age 16 and Jéssica Ivonne Padilla Cuéllar, age 17) (Table 3.1, Appendices 1 and 2). None of them were found, although teen Ciara Durán Sánchez (age 15, officially reported as disappeared–5/31/11) was rescued from a downtown hotel (*El Diario* 7/24/11). By year’s end (2011), only a total of only 9 cases were activated under Protocol Alba in Ciudad Juárez (*Cima Noticias* 10/31/11).

Under the new FEM, the agency possessed, by early 2012, its own auxiliary police units to implement Protocol Alba and AMBER and to investigate and prosecute homicides for reasons of gender.²¹ With the creation of FEM, Protocol Alba began to be activated on average in 80 % of Missing Persons cases (Alternative Report 2013: 10).

²¹The FEM, since February 2012, shares access to the use of four regional coordinating units of the State Attorney General’s Office in Chihuahua, access to municipal investigative police and relevant personnel (http://fiscalia.chihuahua.gob.mx/intro/?page_id=25364#info, image 3).

Despite these gains, the definition of “high-risk” feminicides zones in Ciudad Juárez remained almost exclusively operationalized to mean the Historical Center of the city. As the head of FEM—Ernesto Jáuregui—said after a year of FEM’s operation, the agency had conducted almost 50 police operations there because: “The disappeared women of Juárez, all of them, in their great majority, take us to the center of the city, and from there is an important part of the investigations in intelligence work (*Milenio* 3/12/13)”. Yet, as this chapter shows, disappearances continue to occur in lower-income neighborhoods in the Poniente and Southern zones and remain a substantial problem in Ciudad Juárez (41 %).

Several Juárez-based mothers of the disappeared women’s groups continued to publically protest inaction by federal officials, staging several demonstrations in front of the Federal Attorney General’s Office in Mexico City, vowing to close the building down until President Nieto met with them (*Frontera Norte/Sur* 6/7/13). In July 2013, seven agreements were signed by the State and Federal State Attorney General’s Office and US authorities including aforementioned installation of security cameras in the Historical Center and in those sectors the authorities determine to be “hot spots” for violence against women in Ciudad Juárez (*Chihuahua Noticias* 7/4/13).

Yet, the official public security strategy based primarily on sweeps, not security cameras, continued to yield mixed results in 2012–2013 even after FEM began to operate. A sample of such searches reveals, on the one hand, how an August 2013 sweep by 50 FEM agents did not find any irregularities in one bar, hotel and motel search at Calles Mariscal and María Martínez in the Historical Center (*El Diario* 8/22/13). On the other hand, a mega-operation of FEM in coordination with municipal, state and federal police personnel of 27 nightclubs in the Historical Center did find a sixteen year old girl inside one nightclub in November (*Tiempo* 11/11/13). Similarly, in January 2014, another search of downtown hotels in search of girls and teens caught up in human trafficking and/or disappeared teens found two enbriated men and a woman in a room as well as some violations of the city sanitation code (*Notimex* 1/4/14; *El Diario* 1/4/14). FEM officials also swept an English-language school in the Historical Center where a 13 year old girl had been raped the previous month but found no disappeared teens (FEM 2/13/14).

Nevertheless, in *colonia* Partido Romero, just east of the Historical Center, an anonymous call to the new special domestic violence unit of the municipal police led to the break-up of a prostitution ring that coerced minors into prostitution (Juárez 9/12/14). Thus, downtown hotel sweeps have not consistently resulted in the discovery of already disappeared girls, teens and women.

Bus searches, as also a part of a FEM-directed public security strategy aimed at finding disappeared teens, have also yielded mixed results. A December 2013 search of forty long-distance buses at kilometer 20 of the Panamerican highway in the South which left from downtown Juárez but whose end terminal was out of state did not yield any anomalies or disappeared minors (*Tiempo* 12/22/13). Instead, it was at the Electrolux plant in the South where the bodies of eight women were found (*El Paso Times* 3/5/13).

While important in their own right as potential preventative measures to dissuade hotels, brothers and bars in the Historical Center from using minor girls for prostitution and bus drivers from abducting women, police sweeps are also a less costly public security alternative. For example, the cost of 5–10 police agents’ salaries in a FEM-related event such as the single night’s human trafficking related sweep on two hotels in the Historical Center which yielded only violations of the city sanitation code, was an estimated US \$126.48–\$252.96 (*Notimex* 1/4/14; *El Diario* 1/4/14). In contrast, the estimated cost of the installation of one security cameras is about US \$17,105 [2014] (*El Diario Mexicano* 6/2/14).²²

This is not to imply that sweeps in search of girls, teens and women caught in human trafficking nets in the Historical Center or in buses in and around the city are not valuable in and of themselves. Rather, it is simply to point out the potential fiscal reasons behind a strategy of sweeps for femicide prevention rather than a more vigorous use of surveillance security cameras.

3.7.4 *Not Enough Budget Allocated for Prevention (2013–2014)*

In the wake of continued feminicides in Ciudad Juárez, by 2013, mothers and family members of disappeared girls, teens and women along with multiple women’s organizations requested, and the State Attorney General and the Federal Interior Secretary agreed, to the installation of security cameras in the Historical Center and in those sectors of the city authorities determine to be “hot spots” for violence against women in Ciudad Juárez (*Chihuahua Noticias* 7/4/13). Multiple scholars have also strongly advocated that the installation of security cameras in critical, repetitive, hot spots for femicide in the city would be an important public policy to mitigate the risk of violence against women (Fragoso et al. 2010: 168; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 20).

By February 2014, yet another plan to install more (n = 115) new security cameras and to repair 35 broken ones was underway but by April only 50 % were working in Juárez due to technical problems (*Ventasdeseguridad* 4/22/14). By early 2015, more security cameras were being installed at various cross-roads in the city by a service company but were not yet linked up to the police stations (*Juárez Hoy* 1/14/15).

For Sosa (*El Diario* 6/2/14), the history (2004–2014) of attempts to install security cameras in Ciudad Juárez represents a “million peso failure” in terms of the efficacious use of public security monies in the municipality. Sergio Meza, representative of the neighborhood watch *Pacto por Juárez* stated: “at a simple view we have not had any results in 10 years” but Meza also noted that authorities should

²²The salary estimates were based on a monthly salary figure of \$758.93 for Ciudad Juárez municipal police (*El Diario* 4/16/13).

inform the public what has been going on and learn from these experiences (*El Diario* 6/2/14).

For businessman José Enríquez, director of *Fideicomiso para la Competitividad y la Seguridad Ciudadana*, a fund that gives money to civil society groups dedicated to improved citizen security, the problem of inadequate security cameras in Juárez originates in poor state budgetary planning (*Sonoron Business Sensor* 11/14/14). Enríquez argued: “It is necessary that it be explained if the new cameras that the State Attorney General’s Office installed and will put into operation next month are accompanied by any type of economic/budgetary line destined for their maintenance and repair. This had been the original problem of much of these projects; the form in which they are budgeted, the same that happens with the purchase of patrol cars and other investments where there is a failure to budget additional resources for their maintenance and these are the results (*Sonoron Business Sensor* 11/14/14)”. This analysis implies then that lack of adequate state budgetary commitment and administrative capacity to install, maintain and utilize surveillance security cameras helps to explain why this critical strategy to prevent to femicide as not been utilized in Ciudad Juárez.

Yet, a closer examination of costs also suggests that the *overall* amount of budget allocated for security cameras is highly insufficient to be useful as a strategy of femicide prevention. An estimate of placing even a minimum of ten security cameras in each of the 11 major identified femicide “hot spots” is nearly equal to the entire infrastructure and security equipment budget of the Ciudad Juárez municipality for fiscal year 2014 (*Plan Municipal de Desarrollo* 2013: 64). Furthermore, as of late 2014, additional state funds for the installation and monitoring of security cameras in Juárez was not based on targeting femicide hot spots.

Rather, the placement of new security cameras followed a state government generated security plan for the municipality which included their installation at such major highway points such as Ciudad Juárez—Chihuahua, Ciudad Juárez—Nuevo Casas Grandes and Ciudad Juárez and Valle de Juárez (*Noticias Televisa* 12/8/13; *Puente Libre* 12/8/14). The addition of these security cameras at these specific points can assist in increased policing on highways, another public security measure advocated to aid in the prevention of femicide (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 20). Nevertheless, abandoned bodies from feminicides have been documented all along various Ciudad Juárez highways at multiple points on these and other arteries. As such, the budgeting of the late 2014–2015 new highway security camera installation does not appear principally aimed at femicide or disappearance prevention.

Similarly, underfunding is evident vis-a-vis another public security measure advocated in femicide hot spots: the reduction of empty lots in critical hot spots (Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 20). Aranda (2010: 39) found that 57 % of the bodies of women in all sub-types of femicide in Juárez (1993–2009) were found in public spaces (23 % uninhabited lands, 34 % public spaces).

Multiple municipal budget lines exist in the Ciudad Juárez municipal budget [2014] which *might* be utilized to reduce empty lots in the city (rescue of public spaces, parks, electrification and street lighting in popular *colonias*) (*Plan*

Municipal de Desarrollo 2013: 87–89). A closer look at the fund designations, however, suggests the target audience for the funds are for building recreation centers for youth, maintaining already existing established parks and extending the electric grid to multiple rural communities (*Plan Municipal de Desarrollo* 2013; Armendariz 2012). While valuable social goals in their own right, such budgetary lines do not appear principally oriented toward the reduction of empty lots per se.

The increased federal police and military presence, especially concentrated in the Historical Center during Calderón’s “drug-war” period did not serve to lessen the number of estimated disappearances in the Historical Center (Juárez 2012; *Frontera Norte Sur* 4/10/10). Staudt and Méndez (2015: 45) speaks of continued police impunity and an unprecedented human right crisis during this period. Instead, as multiple scholars have noted, it is not necessarily a *lack of density* of the Mexican police that is necessarily the issue²³ but rather persistent problems of corruption, abuse and ineffectiveness among the various forces (Sabet 2010: 248–249). At the level of the legal system, such lack of adequate social investment in preventative public security, lack of functioning security equipment and inadequate policing in specific poor neighborhoods where repetitive disappearances occur in Juárez perpetuates a direct lack of access of women to the judiciary and fair process (a gap in the rule of law).

3.7.5 *Amber Alert/Protocol Alba*

Access to the judiciary and to fair process is mediated by poverty and can remain an empty formal right for the Latin America poor if the state does not generate some equalizing policies “so that peasants, workers, women and other underprivileged actors may have a real chance of exercising their rights (O’Donnell 1999: 309)”. Without such leveling efforts, the rule of law becomes “truncated” and the access of poor citizens to protections for their civil rights is very limited (O’Donnell 1999: 320).

One law-enforcement effort to bolster the rights of abducted girls, teens and women was the development of the Amber Alert, a strategy which the Mexican government extended to Ciudad Juárez in 2011, although activists had called for a bi-national quick type response to child kidnappings as early in 2005 in Ciudad Juárez (*BNO News* 7/24/11; Staudt 2008: 15).

The origin of the Amber Alert was the horrific kidnapping and murder of 9 year old Amber Hagerman in Arlington, Texas in 1996 (Griffin 2010). Amber Alerts are issued in Ciudad Juárez when a child is reported missing under circumstances

²³In fact, Zepeda Lecuona (2009: 42) pointed out that when population is taken into account, there are about 351 police for every one hundred thousand people in Mexico and 299 police for every one-hundred thousand people when the Federal District is excluded. “Both these numbers are above the United Nations average of 225 and the recommended level of 280 police per one hundred thousand people (although a few individual states fall below this mark) (Sabet 2010: 248)”.

authorities deem dangerous and then television and radio broadcasters publicize an Alert with public information to identify, and to help authorities immediately locate, the child, perpetrator or both. The Amber Alert is inspired by research showing that abducted girls and teens were more likely to be killed immediately or kept alive for less than 24 h when time of death of the abduction could be determined. Few were kept alive for 24–48 h or more (Boudreaux et al. 1999). In fact, Hanfland et al. (1997) found that 44 % of all girls and teen were dead in less than an hour, 74 % within the first 3 h, and 91 % within the first 24 h of the abduction. Thus, the Amber Alert works on the premise that a fast official response could save lives in the most dangerous abduction cases.

As in the U.S., FEM law-enforcement claimed a very high success rate for locating and returning missing girls, teens and women to their homes through the Protocol Alba/Amber Alert programs in Ciudad Juárez. For example, by 2013, the *fiscalia* claimed that Protocol Alba was now being activated on average in 80 % of Missing Persons cases (FEM 4/16/13). By the end of 2014, FEM took credit for implementing intelligence, investigation and search mechanisms which found 991 missing women with a 98 % effectiveness rate in the state of Chihuahua (*El Mexicano* 1/12/15). In Juárez alone, the Investigative Police in coordination with FEM also detailed that 71 % of 374 disappeared women it localized under Protocol Alba and Alertaambar (Jan–Nov 2014) were minors with 80 % found within 24 h, 10 % within 48 h and 5 % in less than 75 h (*Tiempo* 11/12/14).²⁴

Griffin (2010) and Griffin et al. (2007) have analyzed similar law-enforcement claims in the US vis-a-vis the “Amber Alert”. In a rare empirical study of 333 publicized cases of success stories where abducted children were returned, Griffin (2010) found that while such retrievals are very important in and of themselves, they involved relatively benign abductors and unthreatening circumstances. Over 80 % of U.S. Amber Alert successes involve abductions by a family member (most often parents) with only 13 % stranger abductions and only 6 % of the abductors involved a sex offender either with a prior record or a sexual assault committed during the abduction. In contrast, Griffin (2010: 1053) and Griffin et al. (2007) found that Amber Alert’s rarely succeeds in the retrieval of abducted children in seriously life-threatening situations (known sex offenders, offenders with history of

²⁴FEM claimed that from March 1, 2012 to March 1, 2013, there were 1114 reports of disappearances registered with 91.3 % (1054 women) located alive, 1 % located dead (12 women) and 7 % (84) still in an investigative stage (FEM 4/16/13). In one instance of the single week of November 22, 2013, FEM stated it found 20 girls, 10 of whom were living with girlfriends, boyfriends and one in a youth hostel in El Paso, Texas (FEM 4/16/13). In November 2013, 8 % (25) of the 367 reported disappearances were also classified by FEM as “not found” but it was not reported how many died after their disappearance (*La Jornada* 11/1/13). In May 2014 alone, official FEM statistics state that the agency attended to 29 reports of missing girls brought forward by Ciudad Juárez families. Of these 29 officially reported disappearances, the agency states that two girls were found dead (7 %) (*El Diario* 6/10/14). Thus, these partial estimates suggest a 1–7 % lethal rate under Protocol Alba when the persons are found.

violence/abuse, offender used lethal force/threat in abduction) within the three hour window.²⁵

A closer analysis of FEM’s Ciudad Juárez Protocol Alba/Alertaambar (2013–2014) also finds that the strategy works much better in retrieving children and teens in apparently non-lethal, non-sexual assault situations. In fact, FEM notes that a large number of the 2013 reported disappearances did not turn out to be abductions, kidnappings or involuntary exits but rather girls and teens who flee or leave home because of family problems or for other personal reasons (*Excelsior* 11/22/13). For instance, although the circumstances of why Cindy Jazmín Cruz Villa (age 28) left her home in *colonia Jardines de Satelite* without her family knowing of her whereabouts are not known, she was returned in good mental and physical health to her family under Protocol Alba nineteen days later (*El Diario* 10/4/14). In the disappearance of María Patricia Pino Calleros (age 31) who suffered from Down’s syndrome, her neighbor in *Fraccionamiento Alamedas* reported that María told her as she left her home that she was planning to live outside the city and did not heed the neighbor’s arguments that she not flee (*La Opción* 9/10/14). The Investigative Police, under Protocol Alba, were able to locate María at a park in *colonia Quintas Carolinas* five days later on the basis of facial matching. The area of Legal Medicine, Social Work and Psychology of FEM said she was found in a state of good health (*La Opción* 9/10/14). None of these neighborhoods (*colonia Jardines de Satelite*, *colonia Quintas Carolinas*, *Fraccionamiento Alamedas* [NE]) has been found as falling within a major femicide “hot spot” (Hernández 2010: 140–41; Cervera-Gómez 2011: 48; *La Jornada* 7/17/11).

3.7.6 *Crime-Control Theatre?*

Thus, it is important to note that not all missing teens and women are *necessarily* abducted by force or violence. While it is not a criticism of Protocol Alba/Amber Alert per se as a mechanism for locating missing teens, Griffin (2010: 1060) raises the worrisome question of whether a focus on the sensational “quick fix” can mislead the public into believing:

we are saving children when in fact most imperiled children will never be in circumstances that could trigger an AMBER. AMBER Alert functions less as an effective response to the highly sensational crimes which inspired it, and more as “crime control theater”, enabling

²⁵He notes: “The data do not appear to demonstrate widespread “success” in the sense AMBER Alert designers and advocates explicitly conceived it. The data for Recovery Delay are similarly revealing. The reader should recall that AMBER Alert is premised on rapid recovery, but the average Recovery Delay for all cases for which an estimate was made was over 15 h—well over the three-hour window deemed crucial in the worst child abduction scenarios (Hanfland et al. 1997)—and this includes cases where the delay between the abduction and the Alert was assumed to be zero simply because of lack of information. An accurate estimate of the average time between abduction and recovery would certainly be significantly higher were better data available”.

public safety officials to symbolically address the rare but largely intractable threat of child abduction-murder without engaging in the deeper investment of social will and resources required to prevent dangerous stranger abduction rape-murders.

Griffin and Miller (2008) and Griffin's (2010) skepticism about the efficacy of Amber Alerts in preventing dangerous stranger abduction rape-murders of children in the U.S. can be partially assessed in terms of its relative ability to prevent femicide after disappearance in Ciudad Juárez. A closer look can be revealed by following-up on the whereabouts of persons on FEM's Zona Norte's "Protocol Alba: Searches North Zone–Women, Boys and Lost Girls (2014)" (Appendix 2). According to FEM, Protocol Alba was activated 38 % of the time (35 persons of 91 listed (Appendix 2). This percentage of the activation of Protocol Alba is very similar to that found (39 %) by civil society groups in their "Alternative Report on Mexico (2013)–(Appendix 3).

A name search of these 35 persons where Protocol Alba was activated, however, shows that for the majority of teens and women (26 persons) (Appendix 2), the person is still listed as "missing" either on a Federal Attorney General Missing Person website, a State Attorney General Missing Person website, a US Missing Children Website and/or in a newspaper article sometimes years later. In only a single instance (14 year old Yamil Berenice Lyan Romero) was there clear evidence that a teen was found alive after the activation of Protocol Alba (3 %).²⁶ No data was found on six women (18 %).

This suggests that about 92 % of the time, the activation of Protocol Alba did not result in the location of the disappeared girl, teen or woman listed as being searched. As such, this renders it very difficult to determine if, in fact, Protocol Alba/Amber Alert work very effectively as a targeted public security strategies to prevent sexual assassination, rather than as an effective strategies for locating missing teens and women, as touted by FEM (FEM 4/16/13).

By 2014, there appears to be some continued improvements in the activation rate of Protocol Alba. Appendix 2 does show that all the teens and women listed as officially missing in 2014 (Appendix 1) were also cross-listed as having had Protocol Alba activated (Michel Peraza Ramos, Jaqueline Cervantes Muñoz, María de la Luz Hernández Chávez, Lizzeth Dolores Griego Pulido, Perla Rocío Ramírez Anuario, Miriam Viridiana Macías Ávalos). This is an improved contrast to previous years such as 2009, 2010 and 2011 where Protocol Alba was activated a total of six times or 16 % of the time during all these years together in officially registered disappearances.

Nevertheless, in several instances in this chapter, the activation of Protocol Alba/Amber Alert did prove too broad, too delayed and/or too ineffective to serve

²⁶Yamil had left her house on Wednesday afternoon while her mother was out on an errand, telling her brother that she would be right back after selling some tennis shoes to a friend but never returned that night (*Noticias* 2/3/15). She was found five days later in the state of Oaxaca living in the house of a 21 year old female friend but no information was given as to whether Yamil had been abducted.

as a targeted public security policy to *prevent* the femicide. For instance, teen María Guadalupe De la Cruz Francisco’s mother Yadira activated the Alba Protocol which began a nation-wide search for her daughter (*El Diario* 4/5/13). As noted in Chap. 2, María disappeared shortly after leaving the house to go charge her cell battery on February 4, 2013 but her disappearance was not fully activated until February 8, four days later (*Torrea* 3/6/13). Despite the subsequent nation-wide search, her bones were nevertheless found on February 26 in a sweep in the fields contiguous to the Electrolux plant in the South zone of Ciudad Juárez (*El Diario* 4/5/13). Similarly, 19 year old Vianca Rocío Armendáriz Holguín disappeared on the street in her bathrobe from *colonia* Los Alcades (South-East) and family members reported her disappearance that same day (March 8, 2014). An Amber Alert was issued on March 11 (*La Opción* 3/11/14; *Alertaambar* 2014). Yet, Vianca’s relatives lamented that despite their reporting of her disappearance authorities “did nothing to search for her (*El Mexicano* 5/21/14)”. FEM reported her body was found three neighborhoods away two months later (*El Mexicano* 5/21/14).

3.7.7 *New Developments (2014)*

Exemption from law for the powerful (a severe “gap” in the application of the rule of law, O’Donnell 1999: 312) is an undeniable legacy in the criminal justice system’s processing of femicides in Ciudad Juárez. In response to the IAHRIC Ruling, by 2014, some state officials were acknowledging the severe impact of a legacy of impunity or such “gaps” on relations between criminal justice bureaucracies and families of the murdered and disappeared, trying to counter-act its effects by more rigorously investigating cases. For example, FEM Special prosecutor Jauregui Venegas argued his unit was now examining cases from 1995 to the present, cracking down on deadly domestic violence and bringing cases of serial rapists, serial killers and bands of human traffickers before the courts (WFAA 9/28/14). By July 2013, FEM concluded its first round of court appearances in the Valle de Juárez human trafficking case detailed earlier in this chapter. In 2012–2013, FEM also reported having initiated 17,485 criminal investigations of women, of which only 5 % issued protection orders against the presumed guilty (n = 963) (*Milenio* 1/18/15). FEM also reported that during 2014, it processed 20 of 46 cases of assassinated women, 16 of which were clarified with 13 detainees and three arrest warrants in the remaining three cases (*Noticias Radio 860* 12/25/14).

Studies of actual *sentencing* for murder by Chihuahua courts, rather than statistics on initiations or clarifications of criminal investigations by criminal justice institutions including FEM, however, illustrate severe institutional limitations. Studies of the Chihuahua Supreme Court rulings on all intentional homicides in the

Table 3.2 Oral judicial sentences and reported crimes, Distrito Bravo (including Ciudad Juárez)

| Sentences | 2010 | 2013 | Reported crimes (INEGI) | 2010 | % Sentenced |
|--------------|------|------|-------------------------|---------|-------------|
| All homicide | 36 | 36 | Reported homicide | 2545 | 1.4 |
| | | | Femicide (est.) | 275–304 | |
| Rape | 38 | 23 | Reported rape | 629 | 6 |

Sources Sentences: Poder Judicial del Estado de Chihuahua, Distrito Juárez (2010: 82, 2013: 36). Reported Crimes: Reported Homicide (INEGI 2010, Juárez; as homicide crime registered with the Attorney general’s office (fuero común, 2010); Reported Rape (INEGI 2010, Juárez, as sexual assault crimes registered with the Attorney general’s office); Femicide 2010 estimate (Fragoso and Cervara-Gómez 2013: 10)

state (2008–09) found the courts simply could not match the epidemic increase in homicides even with the introduction of oral trials (Schatz 2012).

Table 3.2 represents a closer examination of the existing, publically available sentencing data on murder and rape from the judicial district which includes Ciudad Juárez.²⁷ The numbers similarly suggest a continuing institutional and judicial inflexible capacity to adjudicate murder and rape in the city. Table 3.2 shows oral trials sentences for all homicides in judicial Distrito Bravo in 2010 and 2013 remained stable. In 2010, the courts sentenced 1.4 % of the total estimated 2545 homicides in the city that year, a unreported portion of which include female homicides (INEGI 2010).²⁸ This remains well below Zepeda Lecuona’s (2004: 278) estimated national average prosecution rate for civil homicide in 2001 (17.2 %).

By the end of 2014, FEM (*Entre Líneas 1/11/15*) claimed it clarified the circumstances of 42 gender-based homicides in the entire state which resulted in 32 criminal sentences. However, as the total number of gender-based homicides as a portion of all homicides in Chihuahua State is not reported in the Chihuahua Supreme Court 2014 sentencing data, it is very difficult to assess the broader impact of FEM’s 2014 sentencing claim for feminicides.²⁹

²⁷The Chihuahua Supreme Court (CSC) is the agency that issues the statistics on actual homicide sentences since the year (2008) that Mexico’s Transparency and Access to Information Laws were implemented in the state. It reports annually the number of homicide sentences by sub-court districts in Chihuahua including by Distrito Bravo (Ciudad Juárez) but only for certain years (2010, 2013, 2014 but not 2011 or 2012). There are certain limitations associated with these court reports. For example, it is unfortunate that the category of “homicide”, is also not further differentiated between male homicides and feminicides. Furthermore, in some years, a distinction is reported between “manslaughter” and “intentional homicide” (2010, 2013) but not in other years (2011, 2012, 2014). Finally, the state of Chihuahua only broke down the oral trials data by crime sub-category (homicide, rape, sexual abuse, kidnapping, etc.) but not the traditional court sentences except in 2014.

²⁸Assuming that all estimated numbers of feminicides in Ciudad Juárez (275–304—Observatorio de Juárez 2010; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013: 10) were included in the INEGI (2010) sentencing estimates, this would also suggest a similarly low 1.6 % prosecution rate for feminicide in 2010.

²⁹The CSC did report the homicide sentences in 2014 of both oral trials judges in all 13 courts within the state and the 14 traditional district courts (n = 384 homicide sentences in 2014, n = 190

Table 3.2 also examines estimated prosecution rates for rape in Ciudad Juárez. By INEGI (2010) estimates, the prosecution rate for rape in Ciudad Juárez in 2010 was also low at 6 %. This is very close to Amnesty International overall estimate of 5 % of rape prosecution rates for all of Mexico (*Redacción 5/20/13*).

3.7.8 *The Credibility Gap*

Relatives of missing or murdered girls and women often remain skeptical toward the FEM after struggling for years to get help from authorities they feel have been incompetent and/or corrupt. The head of the FEM, Ernesto Refugio Jauregui Venegas acknowledged this severe lack of trust, saying: “Gaining confidence is like climbing stairs; losing it like an escalator (WFAA 9/28/14)”. For Irma Guadalupe Casas Franco, of non-governmental organization *Casa Amiga Esther Chavez Cano* and other organizations that work with victims and families of murdered and disappeared women, justice remains slow and elusive. She and other critics also question FEM’s statistics on resolved murder cases, stating, “For every ten cases we bring them, one gets resolved (WFAA 9/28/14)”.

Even so, Casas Franco acknowledged that the FEM Special Prosecutor’s Office was a “hard-fought gain”. Imelda Marrufo of the non-governmental Women’s Roundtable classified first prosecution of the Valle de Juárez human trafficking case as “a step forward” with the prosecutor’s hypothesis “on the mark, with evidence gathered and submitted by several mothers backing up the state’s case”. Marrufo added, however, “since the government of Chihuahua has been an example of bad practices, it is understandable that the community does not believe in the elements for the detentions (*Frontera NorteSur 6/17/13*)”. After meeting several hours with a group of relatives discussing their concerns and new developments, mother Perla Reyes Loya of 13 year old Jocelyn Calderón Reyes who vanished in the Historical Center in 2012 said: “They’re supporting us, and I hope that continues. We need that support to keep looking for them (WFAA 9/28/14)”. Other mothers of disappeared teens, however, such as Anita Cuéllar, the mother of Jéssica Ivonne Cuéllar, classified the “promises and ornamental nice words” of FEM head Jauregui Venegas as “not very helpful” without any accompanying concrete news or results of the whereabouts of their loved ones (*Activa 1/29/15*).

(Footnote 29 continued)

oral courts and $n = 194$ traditional courts) (Poder Judicial 2013: 21, 101). If one merely divides the total of 32 feminicides sentences out of the total of 384 homicides sentences in the state in 2014, this represents a prosecution rate of 8.3 %. While this *might* represent an improvement over a 1.6 % prosecution rate (2010), it still means that 91.7 % of reported feminicides went unprosecuted in the state. Ultimately, however, an extremely precise sentencing rate for feminicide in either Ciudad Juárez and in the state of Chihuahua requires the more accurate reporting of sub-types of the “homicide” category used in court data to specify gender-based homicides or feminicides.

3.8 Commodification and a Bi-modal Distribution of Gender-Based Disappearances in Juárez

3.8.1 *The Historical Center and the Southern Drift of Hot Spots*

Family, press and official narratives of the women on the FEM officially registered missing women, teens and girls demonstrate that 95 % were last seen alive in two main areas within the city (Appendix 1). The majority (55 %) were last seen alive in the Historical Center and 40 % spoke to or were seen by family members, friends or witnesses in several “hotspots” in the Poniente/South/South-East. These smaller hotspots have waxed and waned over time (Cervera-Gómez 2010, 2011; Fragoso and Cervera-Gómez 2013) and can be conceptualized as a second mode to the geographical dominance of the Historical Center as the main disappearance point for girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez. As such, it can be concluded that the geographical pattern of the disappearance of girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez follows a bi-modal distribution in the city.

This means that 55 % of the FEM registered disappearances are concentrated where there is a market (Historical Center) for illegal sexual services. While the clandestine nature of both prostitution and the human trafficking market worldwide makes it very difficult to ascertain whether or not the existence of a legalized sex industry fuels human trafficking or reduces demand (Cho et al. 2013), this market appeared to have intensified during the military occupation of downtown Juárez during Calderón’s “war on drugs” (2008–2012). It appears that this expansion of scale occurred when some already existing organized crime elements added both the possibility that local business could pay their “tax” quotas in women. And, it happened when they engaged in the forced abduction and sale of girls and teens as another lucrative business along with already existing drug-sales in the Historical Center (*La Jornada* 10/5/12). The forced nature of disappearances documented in this chapter strongly point to the use of violence toward the girl, teen or woman; a central defining element of human trafficking (UNODC 2015). Thus, one critical area for the disappearances—the Historical Center—relates centrally to the market for the commodified sexual slavery of minors there.

This market for human trafficking, as Holmes (2009) suggests, could not exist without implicit or explicit collusion on the part of some corruption in local law-enforcement. As Schrier (2009: 226) notes, the “Achilles heel” of the human trafficking is “advertising which always leaves a trail of evidence created in each of the processes involved in the planned exploitation of humans (advertising; renting, buying and use of premises; transportation; communications; financial transactions, and so on). As such, human traffickers often use ordinary methods of commerce to support their crimes”.

This trail was evident in Historical Center in Ciudad Juárez with certain repetitive stores serving as “employment fronts” to lure teens and women into false employment (Piñeda bread store, El Caporal boot store, Don Meny’s house), the

false advertisement of gainful employment in newspapers (modeling, sales work), and/or the repetitive use of the same “hawks” to abduct women in the same street block areas (Site A and Site B, Historical Center, Map 3.2) (*El Mexicano* 9/3/11; Juárez 2012; *El Paso Times* 10/17/11; *Diario* 7/11/13).

The non-profit Mexican woman’s group *Brigada Callejera de Apoyo a la Mujer “Elisa Martínez”* advocates limits by newspapers on the publication of offers for sexual services and bans on the use of advertisements by human traffickers as a way of reducing the problem of the sexual exploitation of women and children in the country (ABC Trata 2013: 42–43). Schreier (2009: 226) advocates intelligence-led policing (ILP)³⁰ as the optimal method for combatting human trafficking, especially where organized crime is suspected. Nevertheless, the existence of certain law-enforcement officials leaking intelligence information to human traffickers in exchange for bribes so that traffickers avoid detection or prosecution is a severe hindrance to such a strategy.

The other point of the bi-model geographical pattern (40 %) of the disappearance of girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez found in the analysis in this chapter relates to neighborhoods in the Poniente, South and South-East. These are generally poor *colonias*: (1) located near or contiguous to industrial neighborhoods such as the Poniente with a history of feminicides or hotspots (*colonia* Hermedegildo Galeana, Parque Industrial Gema-Fernández-Juárez, Eje Vial Juan Gabriel (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2010: 163, 2011: 46) and neighborhoods: (2) located near or contiguous to feminicides hotspots in the South and South-East (*colonia* Oasis, *colonia* Los Alcaldes, near the Juárez airport, *colonia* Heroes de la Revolución, Praderas del Sur) (Hernández 2010: 140–41).

The fact that 95 % of the geographically identifiable FEM registered disappearances are distributed along this geographic pattern reflects men taking advantage of the impunity caused by impoverished civil rights protections or “gaps” in the rule of law in multiple neighborhoods to abduct, rape and sexually assassinate (largely) poor women (Cornejo Juarez 2007; Borjón Nieto 2004, Pérez-Espino 2004; CNDH 2003; Ortiz 1999; Rodríguez 2007). From a 12 year old girl forcibly grabbed from daylight on a public street to a 37 year old woman abducted at her door-step by groups of men, blitz auto attacks are also used to “disappear” girls, teens and women in Ciudad Juárez as they are used to commit feminicide [Gladys Janneth Fierro—age 12, HC (CA 5/12/94); Rosa María Mayela Iuarte Silva—age 37, NE (CNDH 2003: 23RD-T)].

³⁰Schreier (2009: 226) defines intelligence-led policing (ILP) as “a business model and managerial philosophy”. He suggests that in the case of combating human trafficking, especially where organized crime is suspected, “intelligence-led policing” (ILP) is the “optimal form of preventative law-enforcement where data analysis and crime intelligence are pivotal to an objective, decision-making framework that facilitates crime and problem reduction, disruption and prevention through both strategic management and effective enforcement strategies that target prolific and serious offenders”. Criminal networks are broken up under ILP when all available information is developed and transformed into intelligence for use by all government agencies involved in countering TOC (Schreier 2009: 220).

At the same time, the bi-modal geographical distribution of disappearances also mirrors the reality and expansion of the “southern-south-eastern” drift or southward expansion seen in the femicide hot spots research (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 91–93; Bass and Pérez 2008: 10). A 2013 report further referred specifically to this “drift” in the city, with multiple neighborhoods clustered in the south of the city registering a 63 % of sexual attacks against minors and women.

In this chapter, in several disappearances where the teen was later found dead (Vianca Rocío Armendáriz Holguín, María Guadalupe De la Cruz Francisco), empty lots in the southern *colonias* (the Electrolux plant) were again the sites of the abandonment of their bodies as noted in Chap. 2 (*El Diario* 4/5/13; *El Paso Times* 3/5/13). The Southern stretch of the highway to Casas Grandes (kilometer 13–30) is where Celina Cortes Flores, Claudia Gómez Antonio Nuñez and Vanessa Ruiz Nolasco all disappeared (Appendices 1 and 2). This reflects the continuation of fifteen years of disappearances and femicides along that part of the highway (1997–2014) (PGR Guanajuato 2010; *Borderzine* 5/16/14; Washington-Valdez 2006; Fragozo et al. 2010; Fragozo 2009).

The repetition over time of disappearance “hot spots” in Juárez and their southern drift reflect continued “gaps” in the rule of law that discriminate against women. Over time, lax prosecution for crimes against women in the Historical Center zone and hotspots in the Poniente, South and Southeast have allowed sexual assassins to take advantage of the impunity afforded by neighborhoods characterized by lack of social investment in public security and equipment (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2011). Disappeared women have been utilized as paid and unpaid sexual commodities and then assassinated with impunity in these hot spots. The practice of US immigration officials of dumping registered US sex offenders in El Paso (*El Paso Times* 9/9/13) has also been linked to concentrating the risk for sexual assassination of women in Juárez (Gaspar de Alba and Gúzman 2010: 12).³¹

The repeated forcible use of women’s bodies for sexual labor (human trafficking and/or rape) represents a type of commodification in so far as women are used as abstract use-objects rather than treated as complex persons (Wilson 2013). This commodification can take a more geographically concentrated, commercial form as in the Historical District where it may overlap with other violent crimes (Fuentes and Hernández 2013: 255). Or, alternatively, suspected diffuse networks of human trafficking are evident in the forced auto abductions and then later spottings of women whose disappearances originated in “hot spots” in the Poniente, South and South-East. The families, friends and even official sources in the disappearances of Celina Uribe Vázquez, Rosa María Mayela Iuarte Silva, Esmeralda Rincón Castillo and Perla Denise Cuevas López all reported having seen the women either in the

³¹Of the 862 alien sex offenders deported by the Texas-based offices to Mexico in 2014 alone, about 27 % were convicted of sex offenses against children (Washington-Valdez 3/14/14). In 2013, all Texas offices deported 2124 sex offenders to Mexico; 508 were convicted of sex offenses against a minor. In fiscal year 2012, Texas offices deported 2007 sex offenders, and 2127 in 2011. In accordance with Department of Homeland Security privacy policies, U.S. Customs and Immigration Enforcement (ICE) cannot include the names of those deported.

back of a truck, in a sex club or a bar in Ciudad Juárez, in nearby cities and/or having heard from them or about them in suspicious phone calls or messages. Whether concentrated or diffuse, evidence of human trafficking follows a bi-modal distribution within Ciudad Juárez consisting of a major concentration in the Historical Center and a series of smaller hot spots expanding southward in the city.

3.8.2 Reducing “Gaps” in the Rule of Law?

Sexual assassination after disappearances remains a serious problem in Ciudad Juárez as both FEM and women’s non-governmental organizations sustain. Continued “gaps” in the rule of law continue to plague strategies to prevent sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez. Six of the seven legally-binding agreements that parents of the disappeared reached with Chihuahua authorities focus on improving efficiency in access to the judiciary and fair process for already committed feminicides (*Chihuahua Noticias* 7/4/13). Along with continued forensic analysis in the Cotton Field cases, the agreements all focus on efforts to promote greater coordination and collaboration across Mexican state and federal attorney general’s offices as well as with US authorities to speed up existing femicide investigations (*Chihuahua Noticias* 7/4/13). This emphasis on greater access to the judiciary and fair process for already occurred feminicides is, of course, a natural consequence of parents looking for their already disappeared daughters.

The analysis in this chapter has revealed, however, how one of the critical *preventative* agreements reached between Chihuahua authorities and parents of the disappeared—to install security cameras in femicide “hot spots”—remains significantly underfunded. Security cameras have been installed, vandalized and/or broken, fixed, re-installed, poorly maintained or not linked into police headquarters for ten years in the city (2005–2015).

Similarly efforts to reduce empty lots and to concentrate police resources in disappearance “hot spots” suffer from sustained, clear funding. This underfunding of specific public security measures precisely targeted to reduce the likelihood of femicide can also be understood as a continuing “gap” in the rule of law expressed in terms of relations between (budget-deciding) bureaucracies and ordinary citizens (O’Donnell 1999: 312–313).

The rise of FEM led to several recent efforts, by 2014, to try and reduce the social contexts in which rape and sexual assassination occur in Ciudad Juárez. One area of this work has been campaigns to denigrate rape as a socially-unacceptable activity by the parading sexual assault abusers in front of the media (Borderzine 9/21/14). Another area of FEM’s (*Zona Norte*) activities is the more active detaining of sexual assassins, rapists and men committing acts of domestic violence. In 2013, for example, FEM detained, linked to the criminal process and/or arrested 49 men for the crimes of rape, sexual assassination, domestic violence, matricide

and sexual abuse. However, only four criminal sentences were registered in 2013 for crimes against women.³²

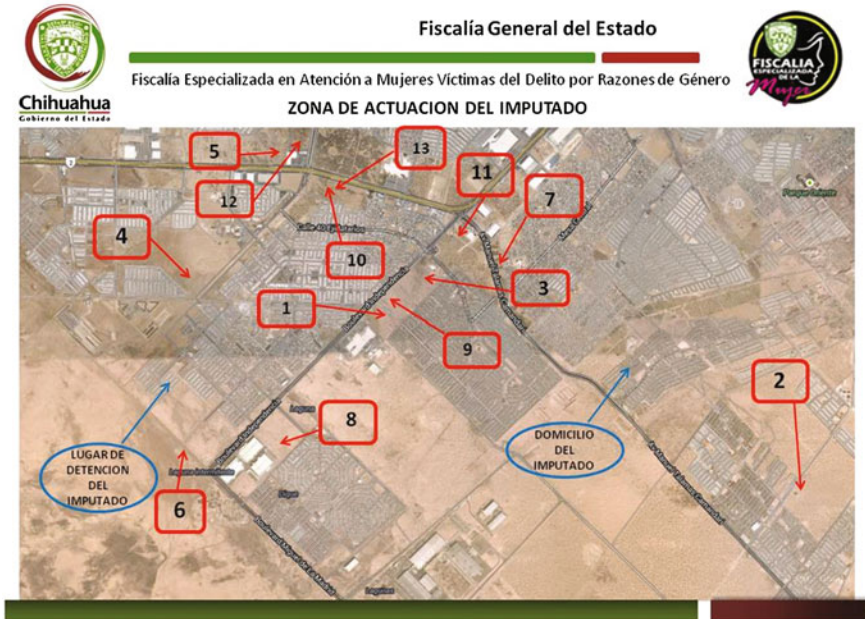
Some members of the press also say they have observed changes in crimes against women since January 2014 with the perception by some Juárez reporters that victims and their families finally stopped asking the reporters to help them resolve their cases but rather went to the FEM Special Prosecutor's Office (Borderzine 9/21/14). In one case, the parents of a girl raped by a trio of young men at her playground went to FEM police who arrested the suspects within a day. At the same time, the agency also claims to have received 1040 criminal reports that include sexual assault, murders and missing persons in seven months (January–July 2014), 60 % of which involved domestic violence (Borderzine 9/21/14). Eight criminal sentences were issued in the Zona Norte in 2014 for violent crimes against women, four more sentences than in 2013.³³

The repetition of public places in the Poniente and in the South/South-East in 2013–2014 as sites of sexual assault continues to beg the question of the need for more focused preventative public security measures in femicide and disappearance hot spots. For example, FEM found that girls, teens and women continue to be threatened with death if they don't accede to the demands of serial rapists, often in nearly the exact same places as in the 1990s. The arrest of one rapist who had committed fourteen serial rapes revealed the crimes occurred in the Poniente at Eje Vial Juan Gabriel/Parque Industrial Juárez *Maquiladoras* and in the Central Bus Station in the Historical Center (*La Voz de Cuahatemoc* 10/2/13); both repetitive sites.

Another serial rapist was arrested for thirteen rapes committed at knife point in broad daylight at empty lots in and around stores and *maquila* plants located south-east of the airport. Specifically, these violent sexual assaults all took place repeatedly in the South-East in 2013–2014 within a radius of the intersection of Avenida de Las Torres and Highway 2 (El Porvenir-Cd. Juárez) (FEM 4/3/14; FEM Map 2014). This area had already been identified as one of the 10 dense zones for feminicides in 2009 (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 165). Furthermore, a closer look at the numbers and arrows in FEM Map 2014 shows all of the rape-abductions took place in empty lots (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13) except #7. Again, this reflects a spatial

³²The four sentences for violent crimes against women in 2013 listed on the FEM (Zona Norte) 2013 website of press bulletins were: (1) a murder of a woman by gunshot by her neighbor, (2) the kidnapping of a woman by organized crime [55 years], (3) the sentencing of a husband for killing his wife [20 years] and (4) the killing of a minor girl [9 years] (FEM 11/8/13, 4/15/13, 5/3/13).

³³The eight sentences for violent crimes against women in 2014 listed on the FEM (Zona Norte) 2014 website of press bulletins were: (1) 37 years for the sexual assassination of Gabriel Janetha Ayala Paz (age 16); (2) 20 years for killing spouse Micaela Izquierdo González; (3) 9 years for shooting partner Cecilia Adriana Adriano; (4) murder of 19 year old daughter Verónica Martínez Hernández in 2002; (5) 20–33 years for the rape and sexual assault of step-daughter age 8; (6) 4 years for rape of 6 year old niece; (7) 40 years for the femicide of María Micada Ríos Saldívar (age 55) left near the Flourex plant in 7/8/96 and (8) 59 and 51 years for the rape-murder of a 15 year old teen and the rape of a 13 year old teen by two men (FEM 2/18/14, 2/28/14, 3/14/14, 6/5/14, 7/23/14, 7/24/14, 9/6/14, 10/23/14).



Map 3.3 FEM map of South-East Serial Rape Crimes, 2014. *Source* <http://fiscalia.chihuahua.gob.mx/intro/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Diapositiva22.jpg>

geography in the city which includes multiple empty lots without adequate public or private security (Map 3.3).

Nevertheless, this rapist was not detained, nor were his multiple rapes even investigated until one of the women, the twelfth and one whose seven year old daughter was held at gun point during the rape, went to FEM to report the crime (*Tiempo* 4/3/14). In other words, this single rapist was able in 2013–2014, to repeatedly sexually assault twelve teens and women in and around nearly the same public highways in a known femicide hot spot. Just as occurred in the 1990s, the women were engaged in everyday life activities at the time of their forced blitz abduction into the suspect’s auto at knife or gun point, i.e. they were walking from their nearby homes to the local S-Mart grocery store, getting off public buses and/or walking home past empty lots (FEM 4/3/14, Photos 9–12).

Fragoso (2014) notes of Juárez: “Victims of violence are many, but the perpetrators are not brought to justice. Perpetrators repeat themselves with new scenes of cruelty and pain, while governments shirk their responsibility”. At the level of the legal system, a detailed “reactive” FEM investigation (reactive to the official petition of a mother who suffered sexual assault in front of her daughter) resulted in the arrest of a repeated sexual offender. While this is a blessing, it is still very far

from a *proactive* or intelligence generated, (non-corrupt) police-led investigation which is understood also as a necessary and effective way of combatting sexual assault and human trafficking crimes (Schreier 2009: 235).

3.9 Conclusion

The “tax option” by extorting agents of several Juárez cartels (*La Línea*) and the *Zetas* for small businesses in the Historical Center to pay in women to be used as illegal sexual commodities appears to have led to an increase in the forced disappearance of women in the Historical Center during the “drug war” (2008–2012). This was illustrated by the mapping component of this chapter which found that the last place multiple teens were seen alive was spatially concentrated within a specific set of city blocks (*Mercado Reforma, Mercado Cuahémoc, Calle Mina*) occupied by such organized crime elements. Combined with new prosecutory trial evidence, the 2008 rise in the presence of organized crime-related elements in the sexual assassination of women in the Historical Center appears strongly structured by the market-driven opportunities for extortion and profits from sexual slavery coinciding with the influx of military forces.

Spatial mappings in this chapter also further reflect longer-term trends in the forced disappearance of women in Juárez. Teens were also last seen around downtown bus stops, Calle Mina, Monumento Benito Juárez, and streets located within neighborhoods surrounding the immediate market area of the Historical Center (Fragoso and Cervera Gómez 2013: 18).

Similarly forced abductions also occurred in “southern” (SW and SE) areas of the city characterized by multiple empty lots without public or private security (Cervera-Gómez 2010: 91–93; Bass and Pérez 2008: 10). In some instances in the SE, human trafficking was suspected and serial rapists repeated their crimes in areas with multiple empty lots. This (again) reflects the spatial geography of Ciudad Juárez which includes multiple empty spaces without security which are a factor in explaining forced disappearances of women in the city.

This chapter also examined recent governmental efforts to reverse judicial and police apathy toward the investigation and prosecution of sexual assassinations in the city and with respect to public security monitoring in these zones. It is found that fiscal incentives (corruption, collusion) and bureaucratic obstacles (budgetary) still perpetuate a situation lacking in proper public security equipment such as systematic surveillance cameras (Cervera-Gómez 2011: 57) and often a failure to use such security equipment correctly. Limited institutional capacity and budgetary constraints still constrain court efforts to sentence sexual assassins although more attention is being paid to addressing violent crimes against women (FEM 2013). Similarly, some institutional advances are being made to locate missing teens, to crack down on deadly domestic violence and to bring cases of serial rapists, serial killers and bands of human traffickers before the courts (WFAA 9/28/14).

The public policy implications for further improving the *prevention* of sexual assassination in Juárez are complex. Designing a refined, specifically focused, well-funded public security strategy aimed at both preventing abductions of women while also locating disappeared children, teens and women at high risk for sexual assassination is difficult. In part this is because in 2013–2014, the US Immigration Service (ICE) only compounded risks to women in the city by deporting over two thousand Mexican migrants convicted sexual offenders to Ciudad Juárez (*Zocalo* 3/14/14).³⁴ There are international examples of the relatively successful official police registry of sex offenders in small communities that include GPS monitoring systems of the already convicted offender and the Internet community public notification of the residence of a convicted sex offender within 1000 feet of a person's home (Monitoring 2012). Such registries also prohibit sexual offenders from establishing a residence, occupying residential premises or being employed within 1000 feet of any school premises, licensed daycare facility, preschool, any public park, swimming pool, library or playground (Registered Sex Offenders 2015).

Such policies, however, require great political will to address women's rights, a balanced criminal justice system and a very robust legal apparatus. Also required is a greater emphasis on the prevention of sexual assassination, a sustained and focused budgetary investment in public and private security especially in pre-existing "hot spots", a lack of corruption in law-enforcement and a well-designed anti-rape public education campaign. As has been critically argued at a theoretical level, this means a serious, sustained alteration in the social relationships of the power structures which permit sexual terrorism and misogyny to exist and to continue (Fragoso 2006, 2009). Furthermore, even to improve the currently existing 1.6 % prosecution rate for homicide and 6 % prosecution rate for rape alone in Ciudad Juárez requires a much more substantive government commitment to reducing impunity and extending access to justice for women in the city through improved greater preventative policing, court efficiency and functioning security camera, at a bare minimum.

Weissman (2010: 236) cautions that the new global economy has forced the nation-state to relinquish its function as a protector of its citizens, with everything underfunded, having been reduced to its minimum expression as a necessary condition of economic liberalization and globalization. She writes: "Demanding that the state act while ignoring challenges to economic policies masks how poverty and crime are generated (2010: 236)". In part, this is why multiple scholars have argued that the greatest potential for policy change for women lies with further actions by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Development Bank, and community-level transitional justice approaches (Simmons and Coplan 2010) which led to the 2012 creation of FEM itself. Yet, the further construction of a robust, effective, democratic rule of law will require a very

³⁴The El Paso ICE Office repatriated 426 sexual offenders to the city in 2013; 112 of whom engaged in the sexual assault of minors; 275 sexual offenders were repatriated in 2014; 73 of whom engaged in the sexual assault of minors. All of the four Texas ICE offices combined repatriated a total of 2124 sexual offenders to Ciudad Juárez in 2013 (*Zocalo* 3/14/14).

active, prolonged commitment by the State to reversing indifferent, complicit or otherwise unengaged attitudes toward acts of impunity for violence against women in the city.

Appendix 1: Officially Registered Disappearance Report, 2000–2014

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | Celina Uribe Vázquez, age 22. Disappeared 2/25/00. HT suspected (message) |
| 2 | Guadalupe Luna de la Rosa, age 20. Disappeared 9/30/00. SOUTH |
| 3 | María de Jesús Sandoval González, age 31. Disappeared 7/7/01. HC. Found Cristo Negro |
| 4 | María Isabel Mejía Sapien. age 18. Disappeared 5/10/02. HC. Found: Cristo Negro. HT suspected |
| 5 | Rosa María Mayela Iuarte Silva, age 37. Disappeared 11/21/02. NE HT suspected (message) |
| 6 | Julia Hernández Hernández, age 20. Disappeared 8/11/04 |
| 7 | María de los Ángeles Rodríguez, age 32. Disappeared 5/5/05 |
| 8 | Erika Yulice Herrera Guerrero, age 16. Disappeared 6/30/05 |
| 9 | Imelda Cornelio Gómez, age 54. Disappeared 7/15/06 |
| 10 | Maricruz Montelongo Salas, age 15. Disappeared 8/28/06. SOUTH-EAST* |
| 11 | Celina Flores Cortes, age 27. Disappeared 6/16/07. SOUTH-EAST |
| 12 | Claudia Gómez Antonio Núñez, age 32. Disappeared 8/27/07. SOUTH PONIENTE* |
| 13 | María Trinidad Cota Castor, age 18. Disappeared 7/7/08. SOUTH |
| 14 | Claudia Yareth Macías Galinado, age 16. Disappeared 7/7/08 |
| 15 | Cristal Karina Sifuentes Ortega, age 15. Disappeared 7/13/08. HC* |
| 16 | Brenda Ivonne Ponce Sáenz, age 17. Disappeared 7/22/08. HC Found. Valle de Juárez* |
| 17 | Luz Angeleica Flores Mena, age 19. Disappeared 8/4/08. HC* |
| 18 | Ofelia Dinora Castañeda Luna, age 19. Disappeared 8/28/08 |
| 19 | Cynthia Jocabeth Castañeda Alvarado, age 13. Disappeared 10/24/08. HC |
| 20 | Liliana Márquez de la Cruz, age 33. Disappeared 12/1/08 |
| 21 | Lidia Macha Ramos, age 17. Disappeared 12/2/08. HC+ |
| 22 | Brenda Lizeth Castro Vera, age 16. Disappeared 12/22/08. SOUTH-EAST. Found: Valle de Juárez |
| 23 | Brenda Araceli Ramírez Loera, age 25. Disappeared 1/2/09 |
| 24 | Olegaria Vianca Ceballos Loera, age 25. Disappeared 2/13/09. HC |
| 25 | Griselda López Murua, age 16. Disappeared 4/13/09. HC/NORTH PONIENTE* |
| 26 | Esmeralda Rincón Castillo, age 14. Disappeared 5/19/09. HC–HT suspected (message). Found: Valle de Juárez+ |
| 27 | Laura Beranza Patraca, age 20. Disappeared 6/2/09. HC |
| 28 | Bibianca Alejandra Ríos González, age 18. Disappeared 6/25/09 |
| 29 | Andriana Luz Pérez Loera, age 22. Disappeared 7/10/09 |
| 30 | Perla Denisse Cuevas López, age 21. Disappeared 7/23/09. SOUTH-EAST |

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| 31 | Viridiana Ramos Santillán, age 12. Disappeared 7/30/09 |
| 32 | Yomara Zuheit Esquivel Vázquez, age 18. Disappeared 9/19/09. SOUTH-EAST |
| 33 | María Luz Hernández Aguilar, age 16. Disappeared 10/05/09 |
| 34 | Rosa Vázquez Solís, age 15. Disappeared 11/10/09 |
| 35 | Lilía Berenice Esquinca Ortiz, age 22. Disappeared 1/9/09. PONIENTE. Found: Valle de Juárez+ |
| 36 | Jéssica Vargas, age 17. Disappeared 4/7/10. US citizen |
| 37 | Andrea Ramírez Martínez, age 19. Disappeared 4/8/10+ |
| 38 | Lizeth Arlene Cañizales Ochoa, age 26. Disappeared 11/11/10 |
| 39 | Trinidad Torres Clemente, age 23. Disappeared 10/19/10 |
| 40 | Aidee Gómez Lemus, age 37. Disappeared 12/04/10 |
| 41 | Elizabeth Thalia Dávila Navarro, age 22. Disappeared 1/8/11 |
| 42 | Gabriela Ibarra Espinoza, age 19. Disappeared 3/8/11. HC* |
| 43 | Claudia Castro Soto, age 19. Disappeared 3/16/11. HC-NORTH PONIENTE |
| 44 | Perla Marisol Jurado Moreno, age 17. Disappeared 3/28/11. HC-NORTH PONIENTE |
| 45 | Diana Rocío Hernández Ramírez, age 18. Disappeared 4/1/11. NORTH PONIENTE |
| 46 | Brenda Cristal Melero Castro, age 14. Disappeared 4/15/11 |
| 47 | María de la Luz Hernández Córdoba, age 18. Disappeared 4/25/11* |
| 48 | Jéssica Cristal Domínguez Castruita, age 16. Disappeared 4/29/11 |
| 49 | Diana Esther Álvarez Capetillo, age 19. Disappeared 5/11/11 |
| 50 | Bertha Alicia Varela Vidal, age 20. Disappeared 5/23/11. HC HT suspected* |
| 51 | Janeth Paola Soto Betancourth, age 19. Disappeared 6/13/11. HC. HT suspected |
| 52 | Marisela González Vargas, age 26. Disappeared 5/30/11. SOUTH-EAST |
| 53 | Fabiola Alejandra Ibarra Chavarria, age 16. Disappeared 6/2/11. HC* |
| 54 | Patricia Jazmín Ibarra Apodaca, age 18. Disappeared 6/7/11. HC. Found: Valle de Juárez. HT suspected |
| 55 | Brianda Cecilia Martínez Gutiérrez, age 16. Disappeared 7/15/11 |
| 56 | Grisel Paola Ventura Rosas, age 16. Disappeared 7/22/11. HC |
| 57 | Jéssica Ivonne Padilla Cuéllar, age 16. Disappeared 7/7/11. HC |
| 58 | Nancy Iveth Navarro Muñoz, age 18. Disappeared 7/13/11. HC* |
| 59 | Fabiola Guadalupe Lozano Estrada, age 21. Disappeared 7/24/11 |
| 60 | Illeana González Trujillo, age 45. Disappeared 2/25/12* |
| 61 | Yessica Herrera Castañeda, age 12. Disappeared 4/2/12. PONIENTE* |
| 62 | María Elena Sosa Vera, age 42. Disappeared 7/5/12. SOUTH-EAST |
| 63 | Denís Alejandra Gutiérrez Hernández, age 18. Disappeared 8/8/12* |
| 64 | Jocelyn Reyes Calderón, age 13. Disappeared 12/30/12. HC* |
| 65 | Mónica Alejandra Guevara Salazar, age 32. Disappeared 1/26/13. NORTH-EAST |
| 66 | Guillermina Aguirre Salazar, age 61. Disappeared 3/24/13. SOUTH-EAST* |
| 67 | Almendra Valeria Martínez Montana, age 17. Disappeared 7/24/13* |
| 68 | Vanessa Nolasco Ruiz, age 13. Disappeared 10/13/13. PONIENTE* |
| 69 | Concepción Guizar Juntos, age 61. Disappeared 10/23/13. HC* |

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| 70 | Liliana Arellano Baladran, age 25. Disappeared 12/6/13* |
| 71 | Michel Peraza Ramos, age 20. Disappeared 8/29/14* |
| 72 | Jaqueline Cervantes Muñiz, age 10. Disappeared 9/13/14* |
| 73 | María de la Luz Hernández Chávez, age 75. Disappeared 9/29/14* |
| 74 | Lizzeth Dolores Griego Pulido, age 25. Disappeared 11/14/14* |
| 75 | Perla Rocío Ramírez Anuario, age 16. Disappeared 11/15/14* |
| 76 | Miriam Viridiana Macías Ávalos, age 15. Disappeared 11/18/14* |
| 77 | Mariela Espinoza Mendoza, age 37. Disappeared 12/10/14. SOUTH-EAST |

Sources “Reporte de desaparición de mujeres, niños y niñas”, http://fiscalia.chihuahua.gob.mx/intro/?page_id=223#info. The “Zone” refers to the area the person was last seen alive. This list changes slightly as new women are reported as disappeared and, in some instances, woman who are listed on a certain date, do not appear listed a few months later. This author uses the persons listed as accessed on the following dates: 7/8/14; 10/7/14; 3/10/15. +Is used to show the four persons who were listed on days accessed in 2014 but no longer were listed on the 2015 accessed days (Lidia Macha Ramos, Esmeralda Rincón Castillo, Lilia Berenice Esquinca Ortiz, Andrea Ramírez Martínez). *Is used to indicate person also on the Protocol Alba activated search list (Appendix 2)

Appendix 2: “Protocol Alba: Searches North Zone–Women, Boys and Lost Girls (2014)”

| With protocol Alba (35 persons) | Without protocol Alba (56 persons) |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Liliana Balandran Arellano | María Luz Hernández Aguilar |
| Alejandra Laura García Arreola | Silvia Arce |
| Miriam Viridian Macías Ávalos | Diana Esther Capetillo Álvarez |
| Jocelyn Reyes Calderón | Juana Rosina Ramos Blanco |
| Yessica Herrera Castañeda | Ofelia Dinora Luna Castañeda+ |
| Cinthia Jocabeth Alvarado Castañeda+ | Cristal Brenda Melero Castro |
| Lucía Álvarez Celis | Trinidad Torres Clemente |
| Imelda Gómez Cornelio | Bebe Ibarre Cobarrubias |
| Gabriela Ibarra Espinoza | Celina Flores Cortes+ |
| Adriana Vizcaino González | María Trinidad Cota Castor+ |
| Lizzeth Dolores Pulido Griego | Jéssica Cristal Domínguez Castruita |
| Alejandra Mónica Salazar Guevara | Zuheit Yomara Vázquez Esquivel |
| Concepción Juanitos Guizar | María de los Ángeles Martínez Frank |
| María de la Luz Hernández Cardona | María Elena García Salas |
| María de la Luz Hernández Chávez | Marisela González Vargas |
| Denis Alejandra Hernández Gutiérrez | Alejandra Bibiana Ríos González |
| Fabiola Alejandra Chavarría Ibarra | Blanca Guzmán Grisel |
| Almendra Valeria Martínez Montana | Elena Simental Guadián |

(continued)

(continued)

| With protocol Alba (35 persons) | Without protocol Alba (56 persons) |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Luz Angélica Flores Mena | Yulica Erika Herrera Guerrero |
| Mariela Espinoza Mendoza | Julia Hernández Hernández |
| Maricruz Salas Montelongo | Jazmín Patricia Apodaca Ibarra |
| Jaquelina Cervantes Muñiz | María Rosa Mayela Silva Ituarte |
| Grisela Murua López | Aidee Gómez Lemus |
| Nancy Iveth Navarro Muñoz | Olegaria Vianca Ceballos Loera |
| Vanessa Ruiz Nolasco | Perla Denisse Cuevas López |
| Claudia Antonia Nuñez Gómez | Fabiola Guadalupe Estrada Lozano |
| Michel Peraza Ramos | Rosa Guadalupe de la Luna |
| Brenda Ivonne Ponce Sáenz | Claudia Yareth Galindo Macías |
| Perla Rocío Anuario Ramírez | Griselda Mata Mares+ |
| Guillermina Aguirre Salazar | Liliana de la Cruz Márquez |
| Cristal Karina Ortega Sifuentes | Cecilia Brianda Gutiérrez Martínez |
| Claudia Soto Castro | Ana Azucena Martínez Pérez |
| María Elena Soza Vera | Maria Isabel Sapien Mejía |
| Ileana González Trujillo | Perla Marisol Jurado Moreno |
| Bertha Alicia Varela Vidal | Verónica Andrade Muñoz |
| | Thalía Elizabeth Dávila Navarro |
| | Arlene Lizeth Cañizales Ochoa |
| | Martha Gabriela Olguín Reyes |
| | Jéssica Ivonne Cuéllar Padilla |
| | Laura Beranza Patraca |
| | Adriana Luz Pérez Loera |
| | Diana Rocío Hernández Ramírez+ |
| | Brenda Aracely Luna Ramírez |
| | Abigail Esmeralda Jacobo Reyes |
| | Elizabeth Pérez Rodríguez |
| | M. de los Ángeles Rodríguez Rojas |
| | María de Jesús Sandoval González |
| | Viridiana Ramos Santillán |
| | Heidi Armengol Slauget |
| | Janeth Paola Betancourth Soto |
| | Celina Vázquez Uribe |
| | Jéssica Vargas |
| | Rosa Solís Vázquez |
| | Grisel Paola Rosas Ventura |
| | Brenda Lizeth Castro Vera |

Source http://fiscalia.chihuahua.gob.mx/intro/?page_id=2231#info. 91 total persons were officially listed as being searched under the Protocol Alba searches for missing women, boys and girls at the State Attorney General's Office

Appendix 3: “Updated Information on Cases of Missing Women”

| Comité De Madres Y Familiares Con Hijas Desaparecidas | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Name of missing woman | Date of disappearance | Protocol Alba applied |
| Silvia Arce | 11 March 1998 | No |
| Adriana Sarmiento Enríquez | 18 January 2008 | Yes |
| Brenda Ivonne Ponce Sáenz | 22 July 2008 | Yes |
| Cinthia Jocabeth Castañeda Alvarado | 24 October 2008 | No |
| Brenda Berenice Castillo García | 06 January 2009 | Yes |
| María Guadalupe Pérez Montes | 31 January 2009 | Yes |
| Vianca Olegaria Loera Ceballos | 13 February 2009 | No |
| Mónica Janeth Alanis Esparza | 26 March 2009 | No |
| Griselda Murua López | 13 April 2009 | Yes |
| Esmeralda Castillo Rincón | 19 May 2009 | No |
| Bertha Alicia Vidal Varela | 19 May 2009 | No |
| Perla Ivonne Aguirre González | 21 July 2009 | Yes |
| Idaly Juache Laguna | 23 February 2010 | No |
| Jessica Leticia Peña García | 30 May 2010 | Yes |
| Fabiola Janeth Valenzuela Banda | August 2010 | Not known |
| Monica Liliana Delgado Castillo | 18 October 2010 | No |
| Gabriela Espinoza Ibarra | 08 March 2011 | Yes |
| Diana Rocío Ramírez Hernández | 04 April 2011 | No |
| Marisela González Vargas | 26 May 2011 | No |
| Patricia Jazmín Ibarra Apodaca | 08 June 2011 | No |
| Janeth Paola Soto Bentacourth | 13 June 2011 | No |
| Brianda Cecilia Martínez Gutiérrez | 15 June 2011 | No |
| Grisel Paola Ventura Rosas | 22 June 2011 | No |
| JesYesca Ivonne Padilla Cuellar | 07 July 2011 | No |
| Nancy Ivette Navarro Muñoz | 13 July 2011 | Yes |
| María de la Luz Hernández Cardona | 29 September 2000 | Yes |
| Leticia García Leal | 17 November 2011 | No |
| Brenda Alicia Agüero Rojas | 18 January 2012 | Yes |

Source Alternative Report on Mexico (2013: 19); Red Mesa de Mujeres de Ciudad Juárez, Academia Mexicana de Derechos Humanos, Cátedra UNESCO de Derechos Humanos de la UNAM and the Federación Mexicana de Universitarias, A.C

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Chapter 4

Conclusion

Femicide is a complex concept which includes multiple sub-types (Cervera Gómez and Monárrez 2013; Fregoso and Bejarano 2010: 7; Beltrán Savenije 2015). Sexual assassination, as one specific sub-type of femicide, is characterized by savage rape, brutal overkill, sexual mutilation and the public abandonment of women's bodies in positions of "sexual disarray" (Fragoso 2009: 94; Ressler 1988). As a *type* of crime in Ciudad Juárez analyzed in this book, sexual assassinations involve forced abductions, rape, high-levels of multiple gang rape and extreme sadistic injuries perpetrated on the bodies of the women killed (Fragoso 2009: 94; Ressler 1988: 55; DiMaio 2000; Porter and Alison 2004: 460). Thus, the degree of systematic overkill injuries seen in the analysis of hundreds of reports from *Casa Amiga* and the CNDH strongly suggests that many of the killings of women in Juárez are, in fact, *sexual* in nature.

As *structured violent events*, sexual assassinations are caused by multiple, inter-related factors such as industrialization without safe streets, a criminal justice system with a history of impunity that fuels *machista* rape-murder, a drug-war that increased the human trafficking of women by certain organized-crime related elements, and a spatial geography which includes multiple empty lots without adequate public or private security. Together, these factors have combined and intertwined in Juárez to repeatedly reproduce such horrific violence against women in several identifiable *maquila* zones and in the Historical Center in the city over several decades.

This book's spatial analysis and mapping of the last place multiple girls, teens and women were seen alive pinpoints the Poniente, the South/South-East and the Border as specific industrial-neighborhood zones in Juárez without safe streets. These areas did *not* coincide with highest crime blocks in the city for male homicide, robbery and assaults (Fuentes and Hernández 2013: 250). Instead, these zones are often home to *maquila* workers, their children and teenagers (Fragoso 2009) who traverse public streets to work, school, for shopping and/or for recreation.

Industrialization without safe streets further exposes girls, teens and women to forced abductions by sexual assassins (organized and unorganized) on such public thoroughfares. In multiple instances, this book documented men who engaged in “partying” and “cruising” rape-murder where impunity plays an important role in the crime¹ (Scully and Marolla 1998: 113, 121; Sanday 1990; Ehrhart and Sandler 1985). “Having fun”, “partying” and/or “cruising” also characterize the self-proclaimed motivations in both drug-related informant reports of *La Línea* members before they committed sexual assassinations and in the reports of street auto abductions by men (*Dallas Morning News* 5/2/04; Lugo 2008: 242; CNDH 2003: 82-F; CNDH 2003: 116). Such actions and modes of social organization do not look like the typical neighborhood street-based, drug related revenge or score-settling gang type murders or the acts of “jealous men” per se (NYT 6/23/12; Hughes and Short 2014). Instead, they look like the sexually violent actions of small groups of men bent on rape who understand, whether under the influence of drugs or alcohol or not, that they are likely to get away with the crime (CNDH 2003: 82-F; 116-F; 73-F).²

Sexual assassinations in Juárez frequently involved sudden “blitz” abductions in public where physical force/weapons were used to limit escape. In some cases, this involved literally grabbing girls, teens and women off the streets during daylight hours and shoving them into autos (CNDH 2003: 73-F; *De la Redacción* 7/22/12). In other instances, such as in human trafficking-related disappearances in the Historical Center, forced abductions involved previous confidence assaults before force was applied (*Proceso* 12/28/13). Death threats to self and family of the girl, teen and women were similar coercion tactics across a range of forced abductions (*Diario* 7/26/13).

The spatial analysis in this book also found that specific streets, bus stops, school playgrounds or even single-block areas were repeatedly the places where forced abductions by serial rapists and sexual assassins occurred in the city. In some cases,

¹The analysis in this book also found a striking number of partial criminal investigations in which suspected sexual assassins had a previous history of violence against women, including for rape, murder and the sexual abuse of minors that did not conclude in arrest. For example, there was a positive blood test linking a suspect to María Rocio’s sexual assassination, multiple official testimonies by relatives of María suggesting this man had a history of the sexual abuse of minors and other available biological evidence (DNA) but the suspect fled to the U.S. and the investigation was illegally suspended (CNDH 2003: 28-F). Similarly, one of the suspects in the sexual assassination of Yesica Martínez Morales had a criminal record for having raped and murdered two previous women in Juárez including in the NW neighborhood of Anapra but this investigation too was dropped even after this information was discovered, violating any semblance of due diligence according to the CNDH (2003: 134-F).

²Some aspects of their overkill or massive violence to the girl, teen or woman may be consistent with so-called “catatymic elements [rage]” often found expressed in sexual homicides (Meloy 2000: 6). In other instances, brutality is committed to the body of the woman in attempting to flee the crime scene (CNDH 2003: 134-F). In all instances, the banality of the evil of their actions as expressed in lack of remorse is striking similar across sexual assassins irrespective of their occupations (bus drivers, mechanics, organized-crime related, private security guards, company bosses, co-workers, etc.).

the public lands that abut the same railroad track (1990s) that crosses through and next to multiple *maquila* plants in the Poniente were sites of repeated sexual assassinations, thus generating some theorizing about a set of railroad killers (Ressler in Washington-Valdéz 2006: 163; Tabuenca Córdoba 2010: 111). Lethal sexual assaults upon girls, teens and women engaged in routine activities (walking to and from school and work) did also take place near the railroad tracks in other industrial zones without safe streets, including on federal lands and *maquiladora* plants located at uninhabited areas of the city in South/South-Eastern zones. Yet, such sexual assassinations have also occurred for decades on public streets, unlighted foot pathways, empty lots, school playgrounds and parks in densely urbanized industrial zones not near the railroad, as at the U.S.-Mexican border.

This suggests then that industrialization without safe streets intersects with a spatial geography in Juárez which includes multiple empty lots lacking in neighborhood public security and equipment in complex ways (Cervera-Gómez 2005, 2011). Lack of adequate vetting of public and private security personnel for sexual violence was a problem at some industrial sites. When industrial plants were located in areas also with empty lots, sexual assassination was even more facilitated. The horrible femicide of teenage *maquila* worker Irma Angélica Rosales Lozano exposes these spatial and inadequate vetting aspects, i.e. it took place near a *maquila* park in the Poniente surrounded by unregulated empty lots. The partial investigation of the crime revealed *maquila* personnel whose official testimonies remain ambiguous and confused with inexplicable gaps in the time-line pointing toward collusive involvement (CNDH 2003: 117-F). Forced abductions, also happened to non-*maquila* workers and their children and teens in and around these same industrial zones. The daylight abduction of María Rocio Cordero (age 11) on her way to school from a public street in the Poniente located just between Gema Industrial and Juarez Industrial Parks and then her abandonment in a drainage tube on an empty lot owned by a real estate company near the highway also illustrates how public and private security deficits intersect with empty lots to facilitate sexual assassination (CNDH 2003: 28-F). The availability of multiple, unregulated empty lots and spaces around the city abet femicide by making it easier for sexual assassins to hide their crimes.

Sexual assassinations in Juárez occur within a national context of impunity in the criminal justice system characterized by limited resources and/or inefficiencies, corruption or indifference, lack of court capacity and, until directed by international agencies, often lacking in concrete efforts to prevent femicide. While many of these same institutional limitations directly contribute to the broader context of insecurity in Mexico and to difficulties of the government to stem the flow of male homicide in the city (Beltrán Savenije 2015; Schatz 2012), it is the brutal sexual nature of these assassinations of women that makes them a distinctive crime.

Beyond Juárez, femicide is an *intra*-national crime with other Mexican cities subject to similar global economic forces that intersect with the spatial geography of the city (*Observatorio Ciudadano Nacional del Femicidio* 2014). The city of Tijuana, for example, also has robust *maquiladora* industries, problems of organized crime and the commercial sexual exploitation of children (*Frontera NorteSur*

2009; Azaloe 2010: 298). Similarly, empty lots in and around the city are also implicated in identifiable sexual assassinations in Tijuana—involving rape-murder and where women are found abandoned semi-clothed including cemeteries and isolated roads (*El Mexicano* 4/11/15; *Zeta Reportaje* 9/7/12). Remote mountainous areas were also sites where “lure” abductions then sexual assassinations of teens offered promised false jobs took place (REDACC 9/5/12). In addition, the issue of the safety of female *maquila* workers commuting to and from work is also paramount in the city. In fact, it was specifically raised as a needed prevention strategy at the First National Forum on Public Security in light of Tijuana’s rising female murder rate (*UniRadioInforma* 10/25/11). Nevertheless, the director of the National Institute for Women (Immujer) noted the administrative complexity and labor of this task in working with the *maquilas*³ while the mayor suggested that continued lack of federal resources for greater policing did not help him to prevent violence against women in the city (*UniRadioInforma* 10/25/11).

Femicide is also an international crime (Barberet 2014) with transnational policy implications. Yet, much greater regional cooperation is required to reduce the international dimensions of human trafficking in Juárez, especially in the context of fiscal commitments of the Mexican government to fight the “drug-war”. Similarly, Ciudad Juárez is a city with a relatively high number of repatriated, convicted sexual offenders by the US (NYT 2/26/13). El Paso is also a city where large numbers of convicted US sexual offenders have been paroled. As Gaspar de Alba (2010: 76) asks of the latter: “Why were all of these sexual predators being sent to a place that was overpopulated with poor young women coming to work for the *maquiladora* industry and who lived in the most dangerous, desolate areas closest to the border, a place that, coincidentally, had been suffering the indignities of monstrous sex crimes against poor young women and girls since 1993?” Thus, international policies too, intersect with impunity in the Juárez criminal justice system to facilitate sexual assassination in the city.

In sum, multiple, inter-related factors *combine* to explain why sexual assassination has been a repetitive crime in Ciudad Juárez. The centrality of rape, the association with unsafe streets and its specific spatial patterning are elements that intertwine to explain sexual assassination. The inter-locking nature of these dynamics suggests that one-dimensional debates over the occupational profile of victims or the comparison of all types of female murder across multiple Mexican cities lack sufficient complexity to specify preventative policy prescriptions for sub-types of femicide.

Rather, this book suggests that “place” or location matters as poverty, spatial segregation and “gaps” in the rule of law mediate the relationship between impunity and sexual assassination in specific zones of Juárez. The analysis of the roots of sexual assassination in Ciudad Juárez in multiple inter-related socio-spatial and

³She noted, “We are already working with the *maquiladora* industry, factory by factory, but every factory has a different policy and we have to comply principally with certain security requirements, to make an agenda ahead of time and it is always at the plant and during the hours they specify (*UniRadioInforma* 10/25/11)”.

institutional factors that combine further highlights the need for even greater investment in public resources for safer streets for girls, teens and women, especially in targeted areas of the city. Preventing auto abductions from public streets will require a substantially increased, proactive national policy of the investigation and aggressive prosecution of sexual offenders. This, in turn, will require further reversing fiscal incentives (corruption, collusion) and bureaucratic obstacles (budgetary, capacity) that have been at the heart of judicial and police apathy toward the investigation and prosecution of sexual assassinations in the city. Recent targeted governmental actions that include the rapid location of missing teens and the rigorous sentencing of some serial rapists, serial killers and bands of human traffickers represent welcome, albeit still limited, institutional developments. Nevertheless, the capacity of the state to dedicate sufficient resources to investigate and prosecute multiple femicides, to apply the law uniformly to perpetrators of “cruising” rape-murder and to prosecute high-level actors implicated in human trafficking crimes remains an enormous, unmet challenge.

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