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Abstract

Since 1993, the border city of *Ciudad Juárez* became sadly known as the place, where feminized bodies were explicitly targeted by violence. The murder of women due to their gender is considered systemic sexual feminicide. The impacts of this phenomenon are under scrutiny in this paper. Although overall violence at Ciudad Juárez ranks high in international comparison, feminicides follow a specific pattern which precedes e.g. the violence connected to the war against drug trafficking. Feminicidal violence encompasses the structural preconditions of the killing, the direct violence of kidnapping and murdering as well as the impunity of these criminal acts. Until today, the majority of feminicides have never been clarified. This prevailing impunity practically prohibits the investigation of the perpetrators' perspectives, who remain unidentified, as well as of the victims, who cannot talk anymore. It considerably limits the availability of primary data and increases the confusion around the phenomenon. To overcome this confusion and to add complexity to the understanding of the structural violence, the testimonials of family members are analyzed. Family members share similar experiences and are regarded as the immediate receivers of the impacts of feminicides. A qualitative content analysis of their testimonials is conducted. As the investigation of actors is limited, the relation between geography and violence is explored as an innovative approach. It reveals that the impacts are not accumulating in geographic hotspots but that rather extensive parts of the city are involved in the aftermath of feminicides. The results are visualized by using critical cartography.

Zusammenfassung

Seit 1993 wurde die Grenzstadt Ciudad Juárez als trauriger Ort bekannt, an dem feminisierte Körper explizit von Gewalt betroffen sind. Der Mord an Frauen auf Grund ihres sozialen Geschlechts (gender) gilt als systemisch sexueller Feminizid. Die gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen dieses Phänomens stehen im Zentrum dieser Forschungsarbeit. Obwohl Ciudad Juárez im internationalen Vergleich von Gewalttaten generell hoch abschneidet, folgen Feminizide einem spezifischen Muster, das z.B. der Gewalt, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Krieg gegen den Drogenhandel steht, vorausgeht. Feminizidale Gewalt umfasst die strukturellen Voraussetzungen, die direkte Gewalt von Entführung und Mord, sowie die Straflosigkeit dieser Gewalttaten. Bis heute ist die Mehrheit der Feminizide nicht aufgeklärt. Diese vorherrschende Straflosigkeit erschwert die wissenschaftliche Aufarbeitung, da die Perspektiven der Täter nicht identifiziert werden können, und die Opfer nicht mehr sprechen können. Es schränkt die vorhandenen Primärdaten erheblich ein und generiert allgemeine Verwirrung um das Phänomen. Um diese Verwirrung zu überwinden und stattdessen die Komplexität dieser strukturellen Gewalt aufzuzeigen, werden die Erfahrungsberichte von Familienmitgliedern analysiert. Familienmitglieder der Opfer teilen ähnliche Erfahrungen und sind die unmittelbaren Empfänger der Auswirkungen von Feminiziden. Eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse ihrer Erfahrungsberichte wird durchgeführt. Da die Untersuchung der Akteursperspektiven begrenzt ist, wird stattdessen der Zusammenhang zwischen Geographie und Gewalt als innovativer Ansatz untersucht. Dieser zeigt auf, dass sich die gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen von Feminiziden nicht in geografischen Hotspots sammeln, sondern dass weite Teile der Stadt von den Auswirkungen der Feminiziden betroffen sind. Die Ergebnisse werden anhand einer kritischen Kartographie visualisiert.

Resumen

Desde 1993, la ciudad fronteriza de Ciudad Juárez se convirtió en el lugar tristemente conocido como el lugar donde los cuerpos afeminados fueron explícitamente atacados violentamente. El asesinato de mujeres por su género se considera como feminicidio sexual sistémico. Los impactos de este fenómeno se analizan en esta tesis. Aunque la violencia general en Ciudad Juárez ocupa un lugar destacado en la comparación internacional, los feminicidios siguen un patrón específico que precede, por ejemplo, a la violencia relacionada a la guerra contra el narcotráfico. La violencia feminicida abarca las condiciones estructurales previas al asesinato, la violencia directa del secuestro y el asesinato, así como la impunidad de estos actos criminales, mismos que, en su mayoría, no han sido aclarados hasta el día de hoy. Esta impunidad prevaleciente prácticamente prohíbe la investigación de las perspectivas de los perpetradores, que siguen sin ser identificados, así como de las víctimas, que ya no pueden hablar. Además, limita considerablemente la disponibilidad de datos primarios y aumenta la confusión en torno al fenómeno. Para superar esta confusión y añadir complejidad a la comprensión de la violencia estructural, se realiza un análisis cualitativo. Los testimonios de los miembros familiares, mismos que comparten experiencias similares y son considerados como los receptores inmediatos de los impactos de los feminicidios, están bajo escrutinio. Como la investigación de los actores es limitada, la relación entre geografía y violencia se explora como un enfoque innovador para abordar los impactos del fenómeno. Este enfoque espacial revela que los impactos no se están acumulando en puntos geográficos, sino que, partes bastante extensas de la ciudad, están involucradas en los impactos de los feminicidios. Los resultados se visualizan utilizando cartografía crítica.

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List of Abbreviations

CIESAS	Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social
CONACYT	Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología
doc	Documentary
EX	Expert
FA	Family member
INEGI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía
Mexico	United Mexican States
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NE	North-East
NW	North-West
PAN	Partido Acción Nacional
PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional
SE	South-East
SW	South West
UACAM	Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México
United States	United States of America
US-	United States of American

1. Introduction

“Ni me puedo dar el lujo de ser cobarde, ni
me puedo dar el lujo de morirme ahorita.
No, no. Para mí sería un lujo.”

Testimonial of an aunt
(doc III, 51:16-51:27).

It would be a luxury to die. These words leave you pausing and thoughtful. How deplorable must the circumstances of life be, so that a person reaches this conclusion. It is the statement of a woman whose niece experienced feminicidal violence and was discovered dead at Ciudad Juárez. Her case reveals the multidimensional challenges of affected family members by feminicidal violence. Not only was her niece murdered, her own son was arrested as a suspect, even though he was not staying in the same state on the day of the crime. Personal stories like this reveal the challenges of the mothers, sisters, fathers, aunts, brothers, and cousins who have to live with the impacts of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez. They talk about women, who disappeared right next to police stations, of investigations without results, of evidence which is lost, of women who are missing for ten years already, and of inculpable suspects in the prisons. The relatives of the victims speak about the impacts of feminicides like the conversations with the special procurator, the prevailing dissatisfaction about official investigations and their public calls for justice. Family members share similar experiences during their search for disappeared people which ultimately transformed them into a group of people who are aware of gender-based violence at Ciudad Juárez, a place where the atrocious killing of women became a sad normality since the 1990s.

The understanding of femicide roots in the concept of a woman being murdered because of her gender (Radford and Russell 1992). Since this first conceptualization of the term, various approaches have developed, which will be elaborated in detail in the theory part. Based on these insights a working definition is developed which will be used for better comprehension throughout this paper. This definition states: Femicides at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s are considered to occur because of the interrelation of economic and political violence in the framework of patriarchal power. This condition results ultimately in the death of mostly young, recently migrated and wage-earning women. Feminicidal violence encompasses the structural preconditions of the killing, the direct violence of kidnapping and murdering as well as the impunity of these criminal acts. Besides feminicides are considered to send a message of menace and domination to the population at Ciudad Juárez. Family members of the victims are the immediate receivers of this message.

This definition acknowledges the prevailing impunity and criticizes Mexico's inability or lack of political will to prevent these criminal acts. Additionally, the term is incorporating political, economic, and social structures which contribute to gender-based violence. For investigating feminicides at Ciudad Juárez, it is important to bear in mind that the phenomenon precedes the war on drug trafficking which was declared by the Mexican government in the end of 2006. This declaration resulted in increased levels of violence and homicide numbers in all over Mexico, at the northern border, and at Ciudad Juárez in particular. However, the early documentation of extreme forms of violence in the city sets it as a precedence for academic investigations. Thus, the study assumes that Ciudad Juárez functioned as a laboratory of violent structures, where mechanisms of gender-based violence and especially the targeting of female bodies emerged.

The context of this study are the borderlands between the United States of America (United States) and the United Mexican States (Mexico). Historically, the territorial dimension of the border between Mexico and the United States gained momentum after the independence of various countries in Central and South America in the beginning of the 19th century (Bernecker 2014). The border as we know it today has an extension of approximately 3000 km and came into being after the Mexican-American war of 1848, when the United States won about half of the Mexican territory which became the states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and parts of Colorado, Nevada, and Utah. Nowadays, the border is characterized by a political and economic asymmetry and a vast human mobility between the two countries. According to Lomelí, 25 million inhabitants live on both sides of the border, who resemble themselves more than the people in the rest of the two countries and therefore create an own space of cultural transgressions (Lomelí, 2012). Lomelí investigates the transnational and cultural manifests in the borderlands to gain a better understanding of the local, global, symbolic, and mythic impacts of the border on the people living there. He concludes that the border is not only a physical division, but also a place of vast border-crossing interactions.

Thus, living at the border considerably influences the social realities of the people living there. The term "Consciousness of the Borderlands" was coined by Gloria Anzaldúa in her famous book: 'Borderlands/ La Frontera, The New Mestiza' (Anzaldúa 1987). Her work centers on the contradictions and ambivalence which exist at the border and among the people living at the border. Anzaldúa refers to the borderlands on the one hand as the regions on both sides of the border. On the other hand, she extends the concept to a symbolic level. These concepts are linked to the painful experiences at the borderlands due to the clash of different believes, languages, sexualities, norms, and values, which in the end, also incorporate the possibility of

transformation. She uses the transformative power of the borderlands by mixing the Spanish and English language as well as academic and lyric writing. For her, living in the borderlands is called the *Chicana* experience and describes the inhibition of different worlds (Anzaldúa 1987). Her work became a symbol and foundation of *Chicana* research.

Since the 1960s the US – Mexican border became intensively and diversely studied. “In-between space”, “contact zone” or “no mans’ land” are examples of how scholars approached the border (Lomelí, 2012, p. 131). Further, the US-Mexico border gets investigated as a place where violence against women developed since the 1990s as a structural phenomenon (Monárrez Frago, 2018). Thereby the borderlands act as a framework of the feminicides. Whereas El Paso, the border city on the US-side of the *Rio Grande* ranges under the safest cities in the United States, Ciudad Juárez on the other side of the bridge is considered the second most violent city of Mexico in the 1990s (Moré Martínez 2015). It indicates that the clash of the economic inequality between the United States and Mexico plays a major role in the brutal murder of women in the borderlands.

The year of 2009 marks an important turning point for the investigation of feminicides. It was the year, when the Inter-American court of Justice sentenced the state of Mexico as responsible for the death of three women found dead in a cotton field at Ciudad Juarez in 2001 (Melgar 2011 87,88). The prevailing impunity, as well as shortcomings during the official investigations of the cases were condemned. This judgment does not only acknowledge the existence of feminicides at Ciudad Juarez, but also charges the state of Mexico to prevent further crimes. However, the majority of cases of feminicidal violence have never been resolved. This is the reason why the structures of violence around feminicides always involve a certain degree of confusion. It remains obscure what actually happened in the 90s to more than 300 women. Impunity practically prohibits the investigation of the perspectives of the perpetrators and of the victims. This circumstance indicates that confusion is not a side effect of feminicides but a fundamental characteristic of this violent structure. To overcome this confusion and to reach complexity, an interdisciplinary approach is needed. In particular, as 20 years have passed since the first documentation of the phenomenon, sufficient academic distance has been created that in depth analyses are possible. This is the reason why the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez during the 1990s are at the center of this research.

This study does not seek to start from a binary distinction of gender between man and woman, nor does it want to reinforce this binary distinction by emphasizing the fate of women at Ciudad Juárez. Rather, such an approach is chosen to investigate the social constructedness of the category woman and how violence is one of the dimensions which considerably shapes

gender categories at Ciudad Juárez. Thereby, the perspectives of the US-American philosopher Judith Butler are followed. She introduced the concept of gender performativity, which states that language and the linguistic nomination create realities and gender differences (Butler, 1999). According to her, ‘woman’ is a category of great heterogeneity, which does not rely on biological binaries but on time and space specific societal constructions. She goes as far as questioning the existence of the sex-categories, too (Butler, 1999). The limited scope of this paper prohibits the investigation of several gender-based violent structures, although an analysis of for example queer experiences at Ciudad Juárez would be of great interest. This paper focuses on the targeted assassination of people, who are described by their family members as women and more importantly, who are read by their perpetrators as women. Thus, a social constructivist perspective is applied during the in-depth analysis. The results reveal the impacts of feminicides on society and enrich the academic debate on the phenomenon.

Further, the theories of peace and conflict studies are used to identify the various levels of violence involved in the phenomenon. Galtung’s concept of structural violence is extended by feminist peace research. As an actor’s approach is limited by the prevalence of legal impunity, a spatial approach, particularly critical cartography, is explored as an alternative. Using the data of three openly accessible documentaries, the personal stories of relatives of the victims are extracted, analyzed, and brought to light. Three documentaries which were produced between 2001 and 2006 are under scrutiny in this paper. These documentaries entail several testimonials, which are used as exemplary cases within this paper. They are told by mothers, sisters, brothers, fathers, aunts, and cousins of the victims. Thereby the categories of family members are used according to the self-description of the actors.

Violence towards women represents a topic which unites feminist activists and scholars from the Global South and North, because it exists an agreement to fight it (Staudt 2008). At the same time there is the danger of Western scholars to reproduce racist and postcolonial structures, while conducting research about violence structures especially in the Global South (Carty and Mohanty 2018). Especially the notion of solidarity is nowadays critically assessed by scholars from the Global South. According to them, the danger within Western feminist research about violence towards women lies in the application of the concept of solidarity. It is problematic, when women of the Global South are becoming the recipients of solidarity, while Western scholars remain in the position of providing solidarity. To avoid this situation of reinforcing unequal power structures, Mohanty emphasizes the potential of the research setting as being able to create a dialogue of knowledge rather than solidarity. This includes learning and teaching at the same time (Carty and Mohanty 2018).

Incorporating these perspectives into the research design of this study has been of major concern. Therefore, various decisions were made at the beginning and during the investigation. First, I decided to avoid long-distance flights in my research design. Although it would have been possible to apply for financial support for a field study at Ciudad Juárez, I decided not to do so. For one, I did so to avoid greenhouse gas emissions, which threaten the livelihood of millions of people worldwide and especially in the Global South. Furthermore, I considered the time frame of my master thesis and concluded that my role would be limited to be an academic tourist at the border. The scope of the potential field study would be considerably restricted. Thus, rather than conducting a field study, I started online conversation with scholars, who live at the northern Mexican border and work for the *Colegio de la Frontera Norte*- a renowned research institution, whose members are experts for Mexican border-related investigations.

Second, I attempted to get in contact as closely as possible to the current scientific dialogue about feminicides by participating at the *Geografías de la violencia*- conference¹. For this occasion, numerous outstanding Latin American researchers came to Frankfurt and gave insights to their works and projects. It inspired the theory and methods part of my master thesis in the way that I took Spanish academic research as the main pillar of my master thesis. By doing so I avoided to rely on secondary interpretations of the concepts. Besides, the analysis of this master thesis is based on three online available documentaries, which include the original testimonials of family members in Spanish. It bridges potential divisions between Anglophone and Spanish research.

Finally, a map of the impacts of feminicides on family members is created at the end of the qualitative content analysis with the purpose of creating a training material. It is understood as a map in process, which implies the invitation to extend, criticize and edit it by future research projects and non-formal educational experiences. However, my own privileged position as a financially independent white person educated in Western academia does inevitably influence this research design. To take my social position as much as possible into account a summary of this paper in Spanish can be requested from me in order to facilitate its inclusion to scientific dialogues and to open it up to critiques in Spanish and English.

To answer the research question of: “How did family members experience the impacts of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez between 1993 and 1999 and how are these experiences geographically related?”, the thesis is structured as the following. In the theory part the various

¹ This conference took place at Frankfurt on the Main during 13th to 15th of June 2019. For more information see the official website: <http://geographien-der-gewalt.com/?lang=es>. The program can be retrieved in Spanish and German language (Accessed on August 6, 2019).

theoretical approaches towards feminicides are discussed. Subsequently, the phenomenon is examined with the framework of (feminist) peace and conflict studies. On basis of these insights, the relation between violence and geography is drawn. Thereby it is centered on geostatistic investigation of feminicides. The subsequent part describes the methodological choices of this study and presents transparently the conducted steps during the qualitative content analysis. The analysis of the testimonials follows. Then, the results are summarized and visualized in a thematic map. Like this, the structural violence involved in the impacts of feminicides can be identified.

Finally, the spatial approach of this paper allows for the partial dissolution of the confusion around feminicides. The testimonials of family members reveal the complexity of the far-reaching impacts of feminicides, as it was already indicated in the quote from the beginning. The aunt, who lost her niece due to feminicidal violence finds her son additionally accused for murdering her. This situation burdens her with fighting for justice on two fronts: investigating the murderers of her niece and fighting for her sons' release. Moreover, she has to survive economically and emotionally. Her struggles on different levels represent the complexity of the phenomenon and the need to investigate her perspective as one that has no simple explanation.

2. Theory part

“¿Pues entonces voy a esperar para que mi hija
aparezca muerta para que se haga algo?”
*Testimonial of a father shortly after
his daughter’s disappearance*
(doc I, 53:00-53:19)

The aim of the theory part is to work with and identify the current state of the art around feminicides at Ciudad Juárez on an academic level, which is regarded as a collective research process that is taken as the basis for this investigation and extended with the results of this paper. The contextualization of the phenomenon will constitute the first part of this theory section. The key controversies on the origins of so-called feminicides and the different fields of scholarly interest will be explored. Subsequently, the theoretical approaches of different scholars towards the concept will be identified and discussed². The second part of the theory section consists of the introduction of peace and conflict theories and an application of these theories to the phenomenon of femicide in order to identify the meta-level of the events under scrutiny. Therefore, the concept of structural violence by Johan Galtung will be introduced and elaborated. Although this concept has already been established in the 1970s it still adds value to current research. Then, his concepts will be extended by feminist perspectives of peace studies to identify the interrelations of the various levels of violence involved. Further, to conceptualize patriarchy as an inherent structural dimension. The third part develops the relationship between femicidal violence and space. A guiding framework is thus put together to inform subsequent analysis on how family members experienced the impacts of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez during the 1990s.

2.1 Framing feminicides at Ciudad Juárez

Since 1993, Ciudad Juárez became notoriously known as a place where women are regularly killed. The phenomena became known in Spanish as *feminicidios* (femicides) (Lagarde 2006). In the year of 1993, individuals as well as civil society organizations started to track the numbers of atrociously murdered women at Ciudad Juárez, thus marking the beginning of the documentation of the phenomenon (Staudt 2008). Of course, feminicides also existed in the

² During the Spanish spoken seminar ‘Fronteras nacionales: México y América Central’ at University of Vienna, I started to engage academically with the phenomenon of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez. The section about theoretical approaches towards feminicides is building upon the insights I received during the seminar I participated and the final paper I wrote in February 2019.

past but almost no records exist before 1993. The phenomenon was simply not treated as a separate and specific category of violence. However starting in 1993, the Mexican government, civil society, and national statistic institutions have produced different numbers of how many women were found tortured, mutilated, deformed, and dead in the northern borderlands of Mexico (Gaspar de Alba 2014). They range from hundreds to thousands can be partly explained by the application of various definitions of feminicides. Additionally, the actual amount of disappeared and murdered women does hardly equal the official registered cases, because not all crimes have been reported. Therefore, the total number of murdered and disappeared women since 1993 can only be estimated. The numbers provided by the Amnesty International Report of 2003 can serve as an approximate value to figure the situation:

“Over 370 women murdered (72 of them unidentified), at least 139 of them being sexually assaulted- this is the harsh reality to which, according to reports received by Amnesty International, the women and teenage girls of Chihuahua state have been subjected. In addition, about 85 young women – over 400 according to Mexican non-governmental organizations – have been reported missing” (Amnesty International 2003, 81).

In addition, Amnesty International reports that the majority of the murders and all of the officially documented disappearances - 28 in total– occurred solely at Ciudad Juárez (Amnesty International 2003, 86,87). Thus, the city of Juárez was a point of departure for feminicidal violence and can be regarded as a hotspot of violence which later spread to the state of Chihuahua and finally nationwide. Inevitably, this draws the attention of research about the beginnings of feminicides to Ciudad Juárez. The disappearance of people has a long history in Mexico³. For the research on feminicides, it is crucial to remember that the phenomenon cannot be thought separately from the disappearance of all kind of people at the border. Family members usually experience feminicides primarily as a forced disappearance of their loved ones. With it starts their nightmare and their persisting claim for justice.

Many people remain lost without a trace. This imposes highly problematic emotional and personal distress on relatives. Unlike the exact number of disappeared individuals in the borderlands, discovery of clandestine graves gained high international attention. In 2001, eight female bodies were found in a cotton field just outside the City of Juárez (Monárrez Fragoso 2018). Other symbolic sites of death are the *Valle de Juárez*, where 40 bodies were found between 1994 and 2014 - thereof ten in the *Arroyo del Navajo*, 15 in the *Sierra San Agustín* and 15 dispersed in the surroundings (Monárrez Fragoso 2018, 919). Besides, the places of *Lote*

³ For further information about the historicity of disappeared people in Mexico during the so-called dirty war and the war against drug trafficking watch the documentary: "No sucumbió la eternidad" (Eternity Never Surrendered) by Daniela Rea

Bravo, where six bodies were found in 1995 and *Lomas de Poleo* with eleven victims between 1995 and 1996 are significant places for the context of feminicides in the 1990s. In addition, victims of feminicides were found on the roadsides of highways and at the *Granjas Santa Elena* (Monárrez Fragoso 2018, 919).

The academic approaches towards the phenomenon root in the theory of ‘femicide’ that was first conceptualized by Diana Russell and Jill Radford (Radford and Russell 1992). Their understanding encompasses a broad definition with the core statement that ‘femicide’ is the murder of a woman on the sole basis of her gender (Radford and Russell 1992). In other words, the motive for murdering is ascribed to gender. Russell and Radford were not the first to apply this terminology, but the first to conceptualize it (Gaspar de Alba 2014). Later, Lagarde applied the term to the Latin American context and modified the definition by taking the events at Ciudad Juárez and especially the prevailing impunity of the crime into account (Lagarde 2006). Therefore, her definition includes the complicity of Mexico because the state itself fails to guarantee basic human rights to citizens and especially to women in the borderlands. Lagarde modified the term ‘femicide’ to feminicide (Spanish: *feminicidio*) to include these aspects (Lagarde 2006). Until today, both concepts circulate in the academic world and are individually applied to scholarly works. No agreement exists on an overarching definition. Since this research focuses on the origins of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez, the term feminicide is used in the further investigation to acknowledge the specific locality of the phenomenon.

Opposing voices do not agree on the need to conceptualize feminicide as being different from female homicide. Most of these arguments build upon quantitative analysis and statistical investigations which result in an apparent nullity of female, when compared to male homicides (Albuquerque and Vemala 2008). The main conclusion of this kind of such studies is that feminicides are a minor phenomenon compared to male homicides and can be neglected. Such focus implies that academic attention should be paid to the larger number of male homicides rates as they were more significant, whereas feminicides are regarded as statistically irrelevant (Albuquerque and Vemala 2008). Although it is crucial to remember the high numbers of overall homicides at Ciudad Juárez and to insist on conducting research on them, the conclusion of devaluating research on feminicides must be regarded a misinterpretation of statistical numbers and relations. Foremost pure statistical approaches of homicide rates are not significant because the numbers of disappeared women are not included. The statistical analysis does not reveal how women were killed and that the killing of women in Ciudad Juárez follows a specific logic which differs from not gendered types of violent crimes. The specificity of the feminicides, like the explicit targeting of the feminized body and the expressive nature of the violence requires

informed research. Therefore, this master thesis relies on qualitative research approaches rather than pure statistical data. A qualitative content analysis of primary sources will be conducted to contribute to the understanding of the complexity of the phenomenon.

Heather Robin Agnew, a political geographer who specializes on geopolitics and historical geography of the war on drugs at the US-Mexico border consents to the questioning of the very existence of feminicides. Not because of the seemingly quantitative irrelevance, but because of the diffuse academic application of the term (Agnew 2015). She analyzes academic papers, especially from Melissa Wright, and concludes that it is not the economic restructuring of the border, but the shift of drug routes in the 1990s which led to an escalation of violence and the occurrence of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez (Agnew 2015). Although Agnew has a valid point in criticizing that the concept of feminicides has been used extensively in research since 1993 and was not always appropriately applied, her conclusion to question the concept itself might be a rash reaction. If we go by Spanish written papers the concept of femicide becomes rather precise. Against this background, especially Spanish written researches will be discussed in the following subchapter.

2.2 Theoretical approaches towards femicide

Examining academic approaches towards feminicides poses the challenge of a wide selection of concepts. Different scholars focus on various key factors to explain the occurrence of feminicides in Ciudad Juárez. Some studies focus on the impacts of drug trafficking networks (Segato 2007) and others on the complicity of the Mexican state (Melgar 2011), yet others focus on the role of the economic restructuring of the borderlands (Wright 2013). The intersectional vulnerability of women (Berlanga Gayón 2014), the societal legitimization of extreme violence and the impunity of such acts of violence (Gaspar de Alba 2014; Segato 2007) are examined as crucial parameters. Nevertheless, most scholars coincide that femicide is a particular type of crime that can only be understood, when taking structural power dimensions into account (Berlanga Gayón 2014; Melgar 2011; Monárrez Fragoso 2000; Segato 2008; Wright 2010; Gaspar de Alba 2014). The question of how broad the term femicide is to be understood and applied remains a substantial controversy among scholars. In other words: should the concept refer to all female homicides? Or does the concept need to be kept narrow so that it does only apply to events with specific characteristics? The following section will help to shed light on these questions.

2.2.1 Menace of sexual terrorism

One of the first scholars to analyze the subject of femicide at Ciudad Juárez was Julia Monárrez Fragoso. Her article ‘Culture of femicides at Ciudad Juárez between 1993-1998’ aims at distinguishing four different types of femicide: sexual, sexist, drug traffic related, and drug addiction related femicide. Different forms of sexual violence, like emotional, psychological abuse, beating, insult, torture, prostitution, or infantile abuse are considered as femicidal practice when they result in the death of a woman (Monárrez Fragoso 2000). Her concept of femicide includes a close link to the cultural acceptance of violence against women in Ciudad Juárez which is reflected in the blaming of the victim instead of the murderer (Monárrez Fragoso 2000). Monárrez links that to patriarchal structures, whereas violence against women is justified by their not behaving like decent women. Thus, femicide represents the patriarchal invasion of the female body (Monárrez Fragoso 2000, 94). In summary, a femicide is defined as all lethal violence that causes the death of a girl or woman for being a woman (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010, 361).

Monárrez describes that women of all ages were victims of different categories of femicide at Ciudad Juárez (Monárrez Fragoso 2000). In total, the ages of the victims between 1993 and 2005 ranges between 10 days and 89 years with an average age of 26,1 (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010, 364). She observes that most scholars refer to the victims of femicides in general as young women, who recently migrated to Ciudad Juárez and are employed at a *maquiladora* (assembly plant), although these characteristics apply only for a the specific type of systemic sexual femicide (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010). She sees a prevailing danger in the repeating of these characteristics because it activates stereotypes that fail to represent individual identities of the victims. In her opinion, it is necessary to be precise about the categories of femicide to be able to use the power of denomination.

Monárrez distinguishes between intimate femicide (the victim had an intimate relationship with the perpetrator), infantile femicide (the victim is under six years old), family femicide (one or more members of a family are killed by a relative because of their gender), stigmatization-induced femicide (victims are chosen, because they work at a night club and/or as sex workers), and systematic sexual femicide (systematic kidnapping, rape, torture, mutilation, and murder of young age women at Ciudad Juárez) (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010). This last type of femicide is under scrutiny in this paper. The social reality of the victims of systematic sexual femicides is characterized by extreme social inequality, migration experiences, and the ongoing colonial past (Monárrez Fragoso 2018, 915).

The most common consequence of a femicide at Ciudad Juárez is the impunity (Monárrez Fragoso 2000). By omitting inquests the implicit message of sexual terrorism reaches all women at Ciudad Juárez and makes them internalize the menace (Monárrez Fragoso 2000, 91). This type of permanent threat limits the mobility and the conduct of women in order to evade femicidal violence. A tacit distinction is drawn between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ women. According to Monárrez, a woman is considered ‘bad’ when she does not comply with the moral, societal imagination of what is considered to be “normal” (Monárrez Fragoso 2000, 91). This results in an urban environment, where women are facing a dualistic narrative: on the one side, the economic restructuring of the region offers new job opportunities to women. On the other side, this results in increased levels of gender violence (Monárrez Fragoso 2000, 113–14). This paradox narrative represents unequal gender relations in the sense that single women should feel insecure and like they deserve to be killed. This feeling is induced by the power of the patriarchy. (Monárrez Fragoso 2000, 91). Eventually, femicides are assumed to happen continuously because of the societal acceptance of the phenomenon.

2.2.2 Control over the female body

Another scholar conducting research about femicides at Ciudad Juárez is the feminist anthropologist Rita Laura Segato. Segato centers on the question, whether the category of femicides should be applied to every murder of a woman, or if it should be more narrowly interpreted. According to her, femicides are hate crimes that are related to the tacit laws of patriarchy, the male control over the female body and the norm of male superiority (Segato, 2007, 37). Femicides, in general, can be considered as crimes in the realm of patriarchal power exercised with the aim to conserve and to reproduce the existing power structures (Segato 2007). Segato identifies two crucial dimensions: the focus on the perspective of the perpetrator and the affinities between the female body and territory (Segato 2007). Starting with the perspective of the perpetrators, she introduces two types of relation of the perpetrator: the horizontal relationship towards his associates and the vertical power relation towards the victim. The latter being a requirement for sustaining the horizontal relationship. This mutual dependency is maintained by: “una relación de exacción de tribute” (a relation of tribute exaction) (Segato 2007, 39). The tribute is considered as the flow of obedience on part of the victim that finally produces the category called ‘woman’. Moreover, this tribute is only involuntarily paid (Segato 2007).

The second dimension of femicide is about violent territorial contestation. According to Segato, femicidal violence at Ciudad Juárez can be defined as the visible part of a new

form of warfare (Segato 2014). This kind of war is characterized by informality, the involvement of economic structures and the complicity of para-state actors (Segato 2014, 15). Further, peace is not the goal of this kind of wars. It is rather the demonstration of sovereignty in order to control the population, which is the ultimate goal: “Por un lado, la truculencia es la única garantía del control sobre territorios y cuerpos, y de cuerpos como territorios, y por el otro, la pedagogía de la crueldad es la estrategia de reproducción del sistema” (Segato 2014, 23). Thereby, violence towards women is no longer a collateral effect, but a strategic goal of expressive character. The relation between violence and territory will be revisited in part 2.4.

Related to the locality of Ciudad Juárez, Segato highlights the superposition of what she calls the *hermandad mafiosa* (Segato 2007, 41). This mafia like brotherhood is not just composed of drug traffickers but covers a whole network of people in elite positions from the economic sector, public administration, and judiciary. This network is so powerful as it can guarantee the impunity of its members. This is also the reason why since 1993 feminicides remain unpunished. This main function of the network is framed as the *estado paralelo* (parallel state) or *segundo estado* (second state) (Segato 2007, 41). Further, the crimes at Ciudad Juárez are characterized by their expressive violence of similar patterns and bureaucratic-like procedures:

“[El] secuestro de jovencitas, de un tipo definido, trabajadores o estudiantes jóvenes, privación de libertad durante algunos días, torturas, violación ‘tumultuaria’, mutilación, estrangulamiento, muerte segura, mezcla o extravió de pistas y evidencias por parte de las fuerzas de la ley, amenazas y atentados contra abogados y periodistas, presión deliberada de las autoridades para inculpar a chivos expiatorios claramente inocentes, y la continuidad ininterrumpida de los crímenes desde 1993 hasta nuestros días” (Segato 2007, 44).

The word 'tumultuaria' catches the eye. It seems that the word rape alone was considered as insufficient to describe feminicidal violence. An adjective was needed. The quotation marks around the term indicate the authors' search for the right words, which finally could describe adequately what happens at Ciudad Juárez. Overall, it emphasizes the challenging task to depict the brutal quality of violence, which is involved in the feminicides.

Another essential line of investigation by Segato is the emergence of a specific language of violence at Ciudad Juárez (Segato 2008). The expressive dimension of the crime, like the public demonstration of the tortured body becomes a language capable of functioning effectively for those who understand it- even when they do not participate directly in the enunciate action (Segato 2007). The marks of torture left on the body symbolize an alphabet of violence which according to Segato bears the danger of becoming a lingua franca in the region (Segato 2007).

Rita Segato concludes that there are different categories of violence, and that the term feminicide does not apply to every female homicide (Segato 2007). Thus, feminicide should not be regarded a common crime but a crime of its own logic, found to be based on gender categories. Segato argues that feminicides can be seen as the murder of a person because of her societal assigned gender category (Segato 2007). On this basis, the author draws parallels between the categories of genocide and femicide. She advocates for the specification of categories with the ultimate aim of integrating the theoretical concept of feminicide to panel categories of the national and international law (Segato 2007, 37, 46). Therefore she calls the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez “femi-geno-cidio” (Segato 2014, 66).

2.2.3 Disposable Bodies

The influence of the *maquiladoras* at the northern Mexican border are another factor that explains power regarding feminicides. The term *maquiladora* stands for assembly plants owned by a US-American or another non-Mexican company which produces merchandise for export out of imported components and are preferably localized on border sites (Hoffman and Kamel 1999). Next to trade and remittances, *maquiladoras* represent the most essential aspect of economic relationships between the United States and Mexico:

“According to the 1990 Mexican census, 50 percent of the economically viable population was working at a *maquiladora*, and most of these workers were female. After the implication of NAFTA in 1994, the number of female workers in the twin-plant industry increased dramatically. In 2006, in Juárez alone, approximately 330 *maquiladoras*- more than 75 percent owned by American corporations like Nike, Acer, RCA, Delphi and General Motors- employ about 220,000 workers, of whom ‘approximately 60 percent are women’. Not all of them are sixteen, the legal working age; the only documents needed to apply for a factory job are grade school diploma and birth certificate – both of which can and are falsified by girls as young as twelve who are desperate for work.” (Gaspar de Alba 2010, 64).

In the 1960s, the introduction of the Border Industrialization Program (BIP) marked the opening of the first *maquiladoras* at the northern border of Mexico (Fernández-Kelly 2011). It indicates Mexico’s increasing participation in an industrial export-oriented international market whereas multinational companies were granted tariff provisions by the Mexican government (Hoffman and Kamel 1999). During several decades, this was the only economic model where foreign businesses operating on Mexican territory were allowed to own 100 percent of the capital (Moré Martínez 2015). Since then, the Mexican export industry boomed and expanded: “[M]aquiladoras developed slowly at first, but they became one of the mainstays of the Mexican economy and the US economy as well” (Moré Martínez 2015, 103). By 1994, a massive

maquiladora opening process started due to the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Most of these plants are part of the electronic or textile industry and represent the main employer at the northern Mexican border. Although by offering rather precarious salaries and working conditions. The seemingly infinite availability of workers and a lower minimum wage in Mexico are reasons especially for US- based companies to open assembly plants at the Mexican side of the border.

However, not all scholars agree on the explanatory power of the *maquiladora*. For example, Agnew criticizes the academic focus on the manufactories as key reasons for the phenomenon of feminicides (Agnew 2015). According to her, the economic restructuring and the *maquiladoras* existed as early as the 1960s, whereas feminicides began only in 1993. Therefore, the author introduces the shift of drug trafficking routes from the Caribbean area to the northern Mexican border as the more suitable answer to explain the increase of violence at Ciudad Juárez (Agnew 2015). Although the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez cannot be approached without the context of drug trafficking organizations and infrastructures, it is important to note that the feminicides did not start to exist in 1993, only that then the documentation of the phenomenon began. Hence, feminicides are assumed to have happened already prior to 1993 (Berlanga, 2014). Therefore, the influence of the *maquiladoras* will still be explored in the course of this paper.

Melissa Wright, associate professor for women's studies at Penn State University, is one of the best-known academic writers on feminicides. She investigates on the relationship between global capitalist structures and violence against women (Wright 2010; Wright 2013). It is not the failed responsibility of the state to protect its citizens that is elaborated by her as the main cause of femicide. Rather the economic processes at the Mexican border of the last two decades are brought into focus (Wright 2013). Wright centers on the establishment of *maquiladoras* at Ciudad Juárez and the impact on gender imaginaries (Wright 2010). Women constitute the majority of wage workers and Ciudad Juárez became a test stage for the economic and social reorganization in the 1970s due to capitalist export-oriented politics. Thousands of internal migrants arrived since those days at Ciudad Juárez. They were fleeing rural poverty, desperate to find work, willing to accept starvation wages and the majority of them were women (Wright 2010). This led to a rapid expansion of the city and resulted in permanent undersupply of the urban infrastructure of whole districts. According to the author, a quarter of the population lived without running water in the 1980s (Wright 2010, 220). These precarious labor relations for women resulted in an increased vulnerability of *maquiladora* workers to feminicidal

violence. It makes Ciudad Juárez the place where the contradictions of the global and the local clash in their most brutal ways.

2.2.4 Normalization of barbarism and intersectional vulnerability

Lucía Melgar aims at understanding the process of societal normalization and tolerance that surrounds the phenomenon of femicide (Melgar 2011). Melgar understands femicides as a set of events that are marked by extreme brutality and cruelty and remain unpunished. This is explained through the action or more likely the non-action of the state which suggests state misogyny. Therefore, the author advocates for calling femicides *crímenes de Estado* (state crimes) (Melgar 2011, 89). The definition of femicides as state crimes indicates the dysfunction of the legislative, executive, and judicial systems. The author emphasizes the difficulties for relatives to access the jurisdiction in order to seek justice for their loved ones (Melgar 2011). Mostly, substantial economic resources are required to press charges, which imposes a tremendous challenge for families. Besides, the legal groundwork is partially defected, because it still entails sexist assumptions. Although laws can be innovative and aim at tackling femicide, they are not executed to their full extent (Melgar 2011, 86). Therefore, they can be considered as partly ineffective. Furthermore, Ciudad Juárez is considered as the place where the crime of femicide became a crime without any legal consequences. Melgar elaborates on this topic as the normalization of barbarism and the process of institutionalizing impunity (Melgar 2011, 85, 91–95).

The article by Mariana Berlanga Gayón focuses on the circumstance that not all women at Ciudad Juárez are equally endangered to experience femicidal violence (Berlanga Gayón 2014). She applies an intersectional approach by investigating the characteristics of *indígenas* (indigenous women) or *mujeres de color* (women of color) and their specific vulnerability (Berlanga Gayón 2014, 40). Intersectionality is an analytical framework which acknowledges the multifaceted and intertwined processes of marginalization within societies. It takes categories amongst others like: gender, social class, sexuality, and race into account. (Lugones 2010). Berlanga understands race as a social construct and racism as the structural marginalization of people without European origins (Berlanga Gayón 2014). Berlanga emphasizes that race is not a biological difference but a concept that reflects a history of oppression and dates back to colonial times in the Americas (Berlanga Gayón 2014, 40). According to her, one of the oldest historical documented femicides marks the *conquista* itself where the European conquerors tried to control the reproduction of the colonized people by annihilating the colonized female body (Berlanga Gayón 2014, 43). In this perspective, femicide is not considered a new

phenomenon. The author rather identifies the historicity of sexism, racism, and other forms of social exclusion in Latin America as reasons for the emergence of feminicides (Berlanga Gayón, 2014). She argues that not all women are equally endangered to experience feminicidal violence at Ciudad Juárez because the socially constructed category of race intersects with other categories of difference.

In Berlanga's perspective, the public exposure of the tortured female body is an atrocious particularity (Berlanga Gayón 2014). The author portrays the example of Paula Flores, whose daughter disappeared at Ciudad Juárez in 1998 and who became one of the most active mothers to demand justice for her child (Berlanga Gayón 2014, 42). Along with Paula Flores experience, the author traces the vulnerabilities and challenges faced by *indígenas*. As such women encounter marginalization due to gender, race, social class, and migrant status which ultimately increase their vulnerability (Berlanga Gayón 2014, 45). The intersection of these categories accounts for the structural multiple oppression and the precarious living situations of *indígenas* and *mujeres de color* at Ciudad Juárez. As the societal marginalization of *indígenas* which is for example expressed in their limited access to education or health system, the *maquiladora* often represents the only working place to them. This comes into play with precarious living situations for *indígenas* in marginalized zones of Ciudad Juárez and with long-distance journeys for work every day (Berlanga Gayón 2014, 41). But their work receives only little societal acknowledgment, although they constitute the majority of the productive female labor force of the city. The author argues that precarity of life and the vulnerability of *mujeres de color* at the border translates to the invisibility of their situation and to the reduction of the value that is assigned to their racialized and feminized bodies (Berlanga Gayón, 2014, 41). In other words, *indígenas* have different experiences than non-racialized women. They experience specific social degradation and discrimination because of their gender and race.

2.2.5 Overview of the theoretical discussions

To provide an overview, the following table summarizes the previous theoretical discussions.

Author	Key positions
Monárrez 2000, 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Femicide as a socially accepted product of the mainstream patriarchal culture • sexuality as a form of power • Four different types • Societal distinction of ‘bad’ and ‘good’ women • Menace to all women. It is ‘legitimate’ to kill them, when they become ‘bad’ women • Limitation of the mobility and the conduct of women
Segato 2007, 2008, 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Femicide is not a common crime, but follows the logic of femi-genocidio • Two crucial dimensions: the perspective of the perpetrator, and the affinities between the conquest of the body and territory • Femicide as expressive violence • Establishment of a language of violence with the danger of becoming transformed into a lingua franca • Femicides are war crimes
Wright 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The killing of a woman by a person who remains unpunished • Only possible because of the neoliberal restructuring of the northern border of Mexico • Emergence of an anti-femicide coalition • Heated discourse between the anti-femicide coalition and political elites • Victim and activist blaming • Mother-activism as the only legitimate form of activism
Melgar 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Femicide as a crime of the state • Institutionalization of impunity • Conspicuity of the limits of law implementation
Berlanga 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Femicide does not affect all women equally • Femicide includes the concept of intersectionality • <i>Mujeres de color</i> are the most affected by violence • The degradation of the status of women of color
Agnew 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Femicide equals female homicide • Gender based definition is difficult • Research on femicides is misleading academic literature

Table 1 created by the author on theoretical approaches towards femicide

The discussed concepts show the diversity of scholarly approaches towards the phenomena of feminicides. However, it is not a complete list of arguments and theories scholars point out when investigating feminicides. The feminicide as penal category, the impacts of global capitalism in the borderlands, the responsibility of the state in preventing crimes, and the intersectional vulnerability of the victim were the key factors to be considered in these research projects. Although these approaches seem to be very heterogeneous, they also overlap and are coalescent.

2.3 Feminicides in the perspective of peace and conflict studies

Different theoretical approaches towards feminicide offer significant variables and explanatory scales to the phenomenon. The aim of the following part is to elevate the phenomenon to the meta-level of analysis. Thus, the already identified dimensions of the conflicts at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s, which resulted finally in the deadly condition for hundreds of women in the borderlands, will be elaborated within the framework of peace and conflict theories. This allows to structure the phenomenon according to different levels of violence. Categories for analysis can be derived and used in the actual qualitative content analysis.

2.3.1 Direct violence

According to Johan Galtung, widely regarded as the founder of the academic field of peace and conflict studies, the analysis of a conflict situation is similar to a medical and health check (Galtung 1996). While the health worker is concerned with the articulation of a diagnosis which will be used to articulate a specific prognosis and ultimately results in a therapy that is regarded best for curing a health problem, the peace researcher identifies the causes of a conflict as a first diagnosis. The context is important to understand the conditions of the conflict in order to state a prognosis. The last step of a peace researcher challenge is to suggest a way to transform the conflict, or to come up with the conclusion that no intervention is needed because the system has sufficient self-curative abilities (Galtung 1996).

In the following part, a diagnosis of the feminicides in the 1990s is attempted. It is started with the level of direct violence, which is conceptualized by Galtung as physical or verbal interpersonal violence directed to the body or the mind of a person (Galtung 1996). It is an intentional act and can be traced back to individuals and includes that there is a receiver of violence (Galtung 1975, 9). Applying the concept of direct violence to the case of the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez, the most obvious level of involved violence is probably the visible act of kidnapping, torture, and murder. The receivers of this violence are indicated during the

theory part as foremost young women who are likely to be working in one of the *maquiladoras* and to be *indígenas*. But direct violence also presumes a sender of direct violence. The sender is not as obvious as it may seem in the case of feminicides because the identity of the individual perpetrator usually remains unknown. Impunity becomes a structural fact, because the Mexican state does not prosecute suspects. It prohibits the identification of an individual person as the sender of violence. Rather a group of people can be identified that has the power to commit feminicides and which is legally untouchable. This group is described by Rita Segato as *hermandad mafiosa* at Ciudad Juárez. (Segato 2007, 41) This brotherhood is extremely powerful and is composed of various elite members: Amado Carrillo Fuentes, Rafael Muñoz Talavera, and Rafael Aguilar are identified as three influential members of the extensive network of this *segundo estado* at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s:

“By the end of the 1990s, Amado Carrillo Fuentes managed this area to earn his moniker, “Lord of the Skies”, for his deft domination of air routes, and became Mexico’s richest and most notorious drug lord. This enterprise merged into the so-called Juárez cartel, a group originally formed by local real estate mogul Rafael Muñoz Talavera with the help of federal police commander Rafael Aguilar” (Gootenberg 2012, 173).

These personal connections of members of the *segundo estado* illustrate the enmeshment of illicit economy, licit economy, and the police force. It makes it impossible to identify the beginning and the end of the influence of the drug economy or the state and prohibits to identify distinct actors. Therefore, the direct violence exercised at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s is still highly confusing, because until today it remains vague who exactly was involved in the feminicides. This can be considered the major challenge for research about feminicides because it is neither possible to investigate the perspectives of the victims because they are dead. Nor is it possible to investigate the justifications of the senders of violence on a primary source basis because they remain unknown.

However, in addition to the direct manifestations of violence, there are underlying latent, but vastly influential violence structures which precondition the feminicides. In the next section, Galtung’s concept of structural violence will be applied to feminicides. Following, the perspectives of feminist conflict scholars are identified to take patriarchal violence into account.

2.3.2 Structural violence

Galtung defines violence as any kind of condition that hinders a person to live to her current physical and mental potential (Galtung 1996). Structural violence is, in contrast to direct violence, referring to the indirect level of violence. Identified hereby are societal structures, which restrict people’s behavior and conduct. Therefore, violence is the distance between the prevailing situation of a person’s conduct and the potential, when the structure is imagined to

change. It implies the premise that the restricting dimension of the current situation can be avoided (Galtung 1975, 9).

In general, structural violence is regarded as unintentional and considered to originate from the societal system itself. It is therefore highly context related. Galtung deliberately incorporated an extended definition of violence (Galtung 1975). He rejects a narrow approach to violence that only refers to physical damage. As it would imply that peace can be understood as the opposite of direct, physical violence. For Galtung, this would label highly violent situations as peaceful because unequal power structures and distribution of resources are not taken into account (Galtung 1996). Therefore, Galtung is using social injustice as a synonym for structural violence. Thus, the concept of Galtung implies a critical perspective on political, especially capitalist systems.

His concept was criticized from various angles for being too vague. Allegedly, it would justify violence and be useless for academic research. Above all, the vast extension of the concept of violence has raised the question about what no-violence was and how a person can ever live up to her potential. Critiques targeted the decreasing precision of the definition of violence. Growing imprecision of the concept is a valid critique of Galtung's approach. However, it is precisely the integrated critique that makes the concept still relevant for the current analysis. Especially in the case of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez where the identity of the perpetrator remains unknown and whose motivation and actions can only be assumed. The concept of structural violence enables the understanding of the indirect levels of violence that are involved in the conflict.

Therefore, the typology of structural violence by Galtung is applied here in the following step. Galtung identifies unequal political and economic power structures as the underlying premises of structural violence. Whereas the political level is the source of repressive violence, exploitation is regarded the characteristic of economic violence. Starting from this perspective, questions arise of how these unequal power structures are organized, and how they are interrelated when it comes to feminicides at Ciudad Juárez.

2.3.2.1 Repressive politics

According to Galtung, a democratic system does not necessarily signify the absence of violence. Vice versa, to live under dictatorship does not signify per se that there are no aspects of peace as well (Galtung 1996, 4). Looking for repressive politics in the case of feminicides, the persisting impunity comes to mind. According to Amnesty International, there were 370

women killed during the first decade of documentation of feminicides at the state of Chihuahua. Numbers range between 85 and 400 women who were reported missing. Along with these numbers goes an astonishingly small number of detention and conviction of perpetrators:

“As of the beginning of 2003, at least 21 men were in detention accused of about 40 murders that exhibited the features of serial offences. Only one of them, Abdel Sharif, who had been arrested in 1995, had been convicted: at the beginning of 2003 he was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for the murder and rape of Elizabeth Castro García. None of the others under investigation for serial offences has been convicted” (Amnesty International 2003, 33).

According to Amnesty International, most of the perpetrators never faced court or charge. This fact indicates the normalization of the brutal murder of women and the failure of the state of law in the borderlands. This coincides with the definition of Lucía Melgar who defines feminicides as state crimes and with the focus of Segato on the power of the *segundo estado* (Melgar 2011; Segato 2007). Although the Mexican government emphasizes that civil rights of all citizens are guaranteed, research about feminicides indicates a different picture. The discussions in part 2 has shown that the state of law does not persist in all parts of Mexico. This raises the question of how the borderlands should be categorized when there is no executive power of the state.

Ultimately, this condition alters the vulnerability of women in the borderlands because the omission of state actions confirms the power of the *segundo estado*. Therefore, the omission of the Mexican state and its representatives creates a repressive condition. The dysfunction of the jurisdiction, the absence of rule of law and the enmeshment of state officials with illicit and licit economic interests create repressive political dimensions because it makes impossible that an individual lives to her full potential in the incidence of feminicides. This leads to the conclusion that these repressive factors are politically favored, or at least tolerated, because they could be avoided. Or in other words: “in Mexico’s case, the state is not clearly oriented toward the people and in some cases it is against them” (Moré Martínez 2015, 129). After having elaborated how political repression is involved in the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez, the exploitative character of the economic structures will be discussed as following.

2.3.2.2 *The*

role of the maquiladora

According to Galtung, economic structures can be considered the key dimension of structural violence because the side-effects of the economic practices are mostly neglected in economic theory (Galtung 1996). Examples for these negative side-effects or externalities are “ecological degradation” or “human degradation” due to exploitative relations (Galtung 1996, 2). Thereby exploitation is referred to as the circumstance when “one party gets much more out of the deal than the other – measured by the sum of internalities and externalities” (Galtung

1996, 6). Thus, for checking the exploitative dimensions of the *maquiladoras* at Ciudad Juárez and its relations to the feminicides, the negative consequences on female workers must to be analyzed.

The great majority of workers who are employed at the *maquiladoras* are women. They “tend to be in their mid-twenties, [are] poorly educated and [are] recent migrants to Ciudad Juárez. About one-third of [these] women head households and are the sole supports of their children” (Fernández-Kelly 2011, 225). This raises the question of how free the women are to choose work in the *maquiladora*. As *maquiladoras* are the main employers in the region and offer the possibility of earning a wage that can contribute to the economic survival of the women and their households, many see their only chance for survival in working at the *maquiladora*. In fact, the exploitative working relations in the *maquiladora* start with the precarious background of the workers. Their socio-economic background prohibits workers and especially women to freely choose to work in the *maquiladora* or not as there are no substantial alternatives. This also results in women not quitting their work, after having experienced the exploitative character of their work in the *maquiladora*, which is characterized by exhausting working hours, poor working conditions and humiliating labor control:

”Indeed, hundreds of young women arrive daily from remote areas in Mexico and Central America, unprepared for the dangers of border life or the tragic exploitation that awaits them at work: slave wages; ten- to twelve hours shifts on their feet, working conditions that include dangerous levels of noise pollution, toxic fumes, sexual harassment by management; manic production schedules and the constant threat of dismissal for not meeting quotas, for being late, for getting pregnant; demanding beauty pageants disguised as work incentives and morale booster pregnancy testing at the time of hiring; enforced birth control through pill, injection, or Norplant implants; and the strict monitoring of their reproductive cycles through monthly menstruation checks” (Gaspar de Alba 2014, 137).

These words by Alicia Gaspar de Alba, who is a known Chicana scholar, also belletristic writer, current professor at the University of California and chairs the LGBT studies program at her university, describe the social reality at the *maquiladora*. Even obligatory birth control becomes a part of labor relations. It indicates the tremendous frontier crossing of standard labor contracts and emphasizes the intervention of labor relations on the female body.

In contrast to the promise of escaping (rural) poverty by becoming a waged worker at the *maquiladora*, the research by Patricia Fernández-Kelly, scholar at Princeton University, has revealed that only a small portion of *maquiladora* workers can fulfill their dream of upward social mobility (Fernández-Kelly 2011). Yet a fraction of the workers in the *maquiladora* can indeed improve their economic and social status: “For young maquila workers who are living with parents and siblings and have few or no children of their own, wage labor offers that

cherished possibility of retaining at least part of their income for discretionary purposes” (Fernández-Kelly 2011, 236). But it is the *maquiladora* and, in the end, mostly US-based companies who get the most profit and not the workers. One indicator for the high profitability of the *maquiladoras* is the increasing expansion of the industry at Ciudad Juárez during the 1990s.

Apart from the apparent exploitative labor conditions, there is also another dimension of human degradation at *maquiladoras*. Various authors point at the labor control exercised in the factory for reproducing and using discriminating gender regimes (Fernández-Kelly 1983; Gaspar de Alba 2014; Bank Muñoz 2016). Although the majority of *maquiladora* workers are women, the managerial positions are held by men (Bank Muñoz 2016). Labor control in the *maquiladoras* implies physical monitoring like pregnancy tests and social control via obligatory beauty contests (Gaspar de Alba 2014).

Further, the sociologist Jennifer Bair focuses on how gender regimes are produced within the *maquiladoras* which ultimately contributes to the category that is called ‘women’ (Bair 2010, 220). According to her, a set of managerial practices and work organization at each factory is found responsible for what local gender perceptions look like (Bair 2010). Ultimately, these gender hierarchies are aimed at producing docile and disposable workers. Although women enter the industrial labor force and are becoming the breadwinners of households, this does not automatically involve a dissolving of degrading gender imaginaries. The gender-based hierarchies at the *maquiladora* are used to control women and their bodies. Gender identities created within the *maquiladoras* share the aim of creating diligent workers to achieve the highest possible productivity of the company, which is detrimental to women's self-determination. Overall, the work at the *maquiladora* increases the vulnerability of the women by de- and reconstructing gender identities that devalue feminized bodies and manifest the logic of the exchangeable feminized working body. This can be regarded a mechanism of human degradation and therefore, in the perspective of Galtung, as a negative externality that is usually not considered in economic theories.

In summary, repressive politics, as well as the economic exploitative relations are making it impossible that women live to their full human potential. Their current situation is affected by multiple dimensions of structural violence that are constantly reshaped and could be avoided by questioning capitalist logics and the complicity of the state. This will be considered the institutionalization of female vulnerability. Gender-based labor control regimes and the omission of investigations on behalf of the state result in the devaluation of the feminized body. This is the same logic as it is reflected in feminecidal violence. Another dimension that was not discussed so far are underlying patriarchal power structures. In the following reflection, the

perspective of direct and structural violence will be extended to the elaboration of patriarchal power structures.

2.3.3 Insights of feminist peace and conflict studies

Galtung speaks of three dimensions of violence in total: direct, structural, and cultural violence (Galtung 1996). The first two were elaborated in the previous parts. Cultural violence, according to Galtung summarizes symbolic concepts like religion, ideology, language, art, science, law, media, and education which are present in every society and which contribute to the background where violence is emanating from (Galtung 1996, 2). Cultural violence, in his perspective, is therefore considered the underlying texture of structural and direct violence, which is used to legitimate direct violence. Although the theory of social justification of violence is regarded relevant to the discussion of feminicides, the cultural concept by Galtung is found to be grounded in a static and anti-dynamic understanding of culture. Therefore, it is not further examined in this paper.

Since the 1990s, cultural theories are discussed as dynamic, fluid, and modifiable concepts, what suggests a revision of Galtung's concept of cultural violence. Therefore, more recent developments in peace and conflict studies and especially theories of feminist peace studies will be used to question Galtung's concept, but also to include more viable alternatives. The concepts of Galtung are found to be interlocking with feminist peace research perspectives. Galtung acknowledges the idea of patriarchal violence being involved in direct, structural and cultural violence:

“Patriarchy is then seen as an institutionalization of male dominance in vertical structures, with very high correlations between position and gender, legitimized by the culture (e.g., in religion and language) (...). Patriarchy, like any other deeply violent social formation (such as criminal sub-cultures and military structures), combines direct, structural and cultural violence in a vicious triangle. They reinforce each other in cycles starting from any corner. Direct violence such as rape, intimidates and represses; structural violence institutionalizes; and cultural violence internalizes that relation, especially for the victims, the women, making the structure very durable” (Galtung 1996, 40).

Although he is not taking patriarchy as a starting point for his theories, as it is done in feminist peace research, Galtung defines patriarchy as an inherent dimension of every level of violence. Together with the majority of feminist peace researchers, Galtung shares a broad understanding of violence not just being visible, physical violence but also invisible social structures that marginalize specific groups of people.

According to a collective of feminist peace researchers, who contribute complexity to the field of peace studies, the focus must turn on the perspectives of marginalized groups and

their agencies in peace and conflict processes (Wibben et al. 2019). Famous scholars of feminist peace research are amongst others: Elise Boulding, Betty Reardon, Annick Wibben, Catia Cecilia Confortini, Sanam Roohi, Sarai Aharoni, Leena Vastapuu and Tiina Vaittinen (Confortini 2017; Wibben et al. 2019). It cannot be expected that there was a single definition of feminist peace research as long as no agreed-on definition of feminism exists. Nevertheless, feminist peace researchers share some perspectives. They take an intentionally normative approach with the goal of advancing gender equality as it is acknowledged a fundamental precondition for creating a peaceful society. They focus on gender as a social construct, which incorporates violent processes of formation. Furthermore, they agree that feminist peace research is nowadays understood as an intersectional project, implying that not just the constructions of masculinity and femininity are taken into account, but also race, class, gender, and sexuality (Wibben et al. 2019, 89). Additionally, feminist peace researchers include post-conflict theories (Confortini 2017). Finally, feminist peace research is future-oriented by investigating peaceful future scenarios, although there exists no singular vision of how this future should look like (Wibben et al. 2019).

Although Galtung omits to investigate gender formation in his conception of violence, he does acknowledge the influential presence of patriarchal power. Therefore, I follow the perspective of feminist peace researchers that “apart from his [Galtung’s] ignorance of feminist understandings of gender as relations of power, Galtung’s conception of peace is similar to that of feminists” (Wibben et al. 2019, 98). Thus, peace is understood as a synonym for social justice. The state and economic structures alike contribute to overall violence (Wibben et al. 2019; Bair 2010).

The extension of Galtung’s concepts by feminist peace research perspectives offers fruitful insights into further analysis. Patriarchal power structures and socialization which manifest as integral gender-based violence are included in the analysis. In the case of feminicides, Rita Segato mentions the underlying pattern of patriarchal structures which organizes the social life and guide norms and values:

”[...] todas las agresiones de genero y los feminicidios obedecen a un orden cuyo patrón que se establece en la época temprana de la vida, en el medio familiar, y atraviesa toda la vida social al organizarla según una estructura patriarcal que ordena el campo simbólico y orienta los afectos y valores” (Segato 2014, 64).

According to her, patriarchy is about power and feminicides are one expression of patriarchal power which result in the death of women. Patriarchy follows thereby two laws of power. First the repressive control of the female body and second, masculine superiority in

society (Segato 2007, 37). A good example of this pattern are patriarchal narratives, which were expressed in the public discourse around feminicides. This coincides in time, when individuals started to document the numbers of the victims of femicide. Since then, activists started protesting against feminicidal violence, which Melissa Wright calls the “anti-femicide coalition” (Wright 2010, 220). The struggles and counter-arguments faced by social movements against feminicidal violence reflect the patriarchal narratives along feminicides. Especially the discourse of the *mujer pública* (public women) says Wright, is used as a central narrative and figure to justify violence against women. In Spanish, the term *mujer pública* implies a negative connotation related to a stereotypical image of sex workers: “[It] evokes the figure of a prostitute (puta) who stands for the contaminated woman who in turn contaminates all that she touches” (Wright 2010, 215). There is no linguistic male equivalent because the term *hombre público* (public man) evokes a rather positive image of an active social citizen.

In Ciudad Juárez, the public-women discourse not surprisingly started in 1993 when anti-femicide movements rose awareness of gender-based violence at the border. They also challenged the image of the political economy, which depicted women as disposable bodies. This led, according to Wright, to a counter-attack of the political and economic elites using the discourse of the *mujer pública* to blame the victim for her own death (Wright 2010). More precisely, elites in Ciudad Juárez applied the narrative of the ‘public woman’ to those in Ciudad Juárez who worked outside the home (Wright 2010). It is a narrative rooted in patriarchal logics, because it is ultimately aimed at the reinforcement of current power structures by blaming the victims for their own death. It implies that the concerned person could have avoided her fatal faith by acting according to the patriarchal imagery of female gender roles, e.g. not being in the public sphere.

This narrative was confronted by the anti-femicide coalition by emphasizing the individual stories of the victims. The political elites had to overthink their strategy because they were not able to depict all victims as so-called troublesome women. Instead, they started to apply the narrative of the *mujer pública* to the anti-femicide activists (Wright 2010). It resulted in the consideration of the mothers of the victims as the only legitimate activists against femicide. All other activists were blamed for manipulating the relatives of the victims to secure monetary funding or benefits. This made international fundraising of anti-femicide organizations suspicious and caused internal conflict within the movement (Wright 2010, 224). Since then, civil action against feminicides concentrates on testimonies of the victim’s mothers. They talk about their experiences and demand the return of their children and the end of impunity. Thus, the social narratives around feminicides at Ciudad Juárez suggest a distinction in accepted and unaccepted activists. The prevalent dualistic understanding of moral and immoral or good

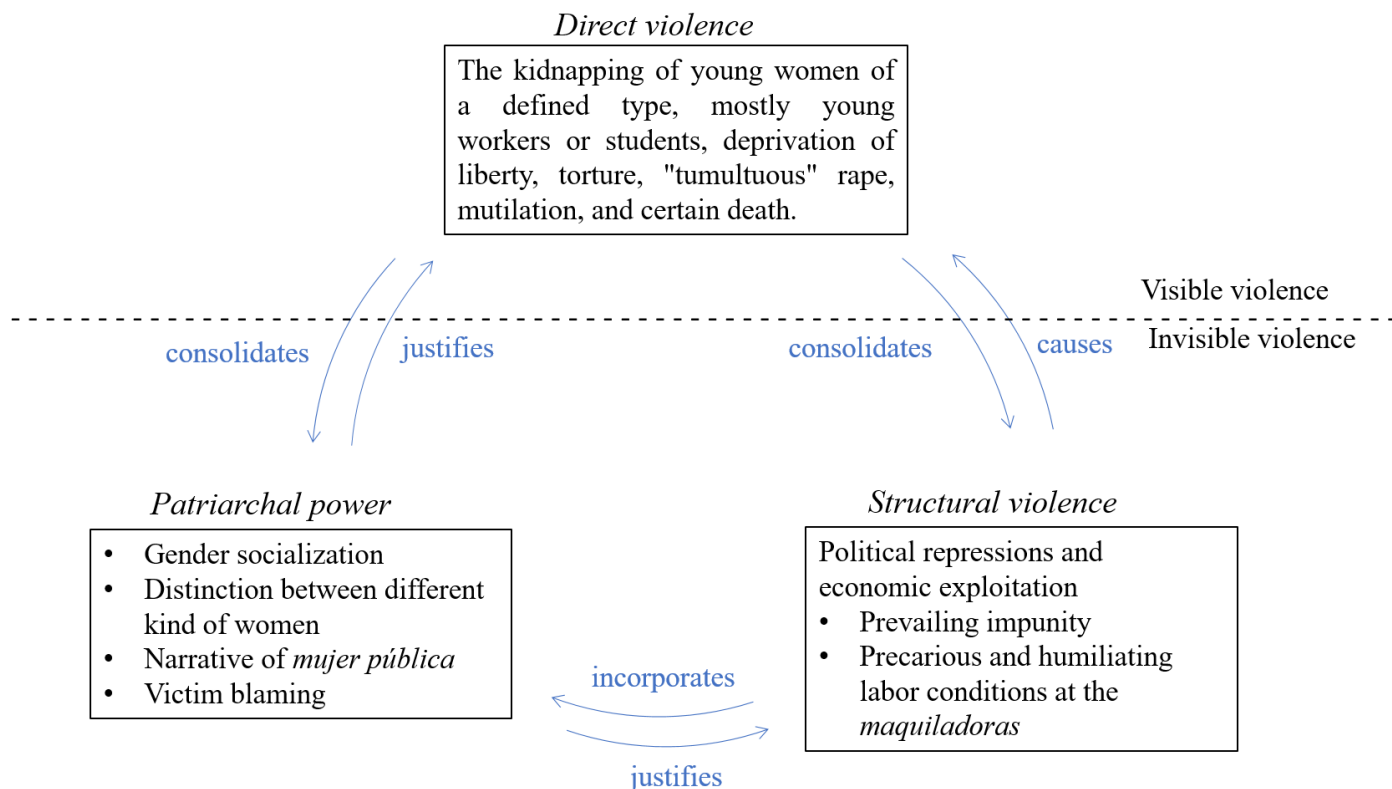
and bad women is ultimately aimed at justifying patriarchal control by blaming the victim for her own death. This clearly is an expression of patriarchal structures and socialization.

2.3.4 Summary

The previous discussions on feminicides and the involved levels of violence show the diversity of explanatory approaches towards the phenomenon of femicide. The categorization of femicide as penal categories, the economic restructuring of the borderlands, the responsibility of the state in preventing these crimes and the intersectional vulnerability of the victim were intensively discussed in the academic works. Then the application of peace and conflict theories has shown that not all levels of violence are visible at first glance. Whereas the discovery of mutilated bodies in Ciudad Juárez represent visible, direct violence, the structural preconditions are almost invisible. Dimensions like the omission of the Mexican state as well as the exploitative labor relations in the *maquiladora* contribute to the vulnerability of women to experience femicidal violence. Additionally, patriarchal discourses and socialization reinforce this violence. Hence, based on the previous two chapters, a working definition of femicide can be developed for being used in the further qualitative content analysis. This highly theoretical definition is not claiming to be universal or complete, rather it is an effort to form a basis for further analysis.

Femicides at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s are considered to occur because of the interrelation of economic and political violence, which is justified by patriarchal power and result in the death of mostly young women who are affected by multiple social marginalization. Femicidal violence encompasses the structural preconditions of the killing, the direct violence of kidnapping and murdering as well as the impunity of these criminal acts. Furthermore, femicides are considered to send a message of menace and domination by parastatal groups to all people in Ciudad Juárez. This message comprises the omission or mislaying of evidence of state representatives during investigation, threats against people who demand justice as well as the incarceration of scapegoats. Family members are the immediate receivers of the impacts of femicide.

After discussing the state of research on feminicides and having related these arguments to peace and conflict theories, a graph of the diagnosis of the conflict at Ciudad Juárez may support comprehension. The following graph is meant to illustrate the different elements that come into play at Ciudad Juárez.



Graph 1 created by the author on femineicidal violence

This graph shows the involved levels of violence derived from theory, as well as their interrelations. It does not claim to be a complete representation, but visualizes structures identified in relevant literature. This research neither claims that the establishment of *maquiladoras*, nor the repressive politics of the Mexican state in the 1990s are the sole factors of structural violence present at Ciudad Juárez and responsible for the high numbers of dead women. However, the intersections of political structures and economic exploitations are crucial for the diagnosis of femineicidal power at Ciudad Juárez.

In general, the graph is based on Galtung's triangle of violence: direct, structural and cultural while cultural violence is replaced by patriarchal power. Feminist perspectives on peace and conflict studies are included because patriarchal structures of society are considered to be integral to all these levels of violence and finally justifies femineicidal violence. Besides, the graph shows that direct and structural violence are present in the phenomenon of femineicide at Ciudad Juárez and patriarchal violence is integral to these levels. Structural violence as the repressive politics and the exploitative labor relations at the *maquiladora* institutionalize the vulnerability of women that ultimately equals a death threat for women at Ciudad Juárez. Direct violent acts of killing sends the message of intimidation to all people in the region and

consolidates, in turn, patriarchal violence as well as structural violence. Overall, the graph shows that the killing of women under such circumstances becomes normalized and justifiable.

Nevertheless, feminicidal violence is found to involve a certain level of confusion because neither single nor groups of violent actors can be identified. Their interrelations and pursued goals remain unknown. Although direct acts of violence at Ciudad Juárez show explicit and recurrent patterns, it becomes at the same time less comprehensible because no state, no organization, no company or members of these structures are held responsible. The precondition of peace and conflict studies is that violence is not arbitrary but follows a certain logic and pursues tangible goals. Thus, the confusion involved in the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez is not regarded a side effect of the violent structures but a characteristic of the same. It implies that the people who profit from this violent framework have the interest of sustaining this state of confusion. If feminicides remain confuse they cannot be tackled. Therefore, an analytical approach that goes beyond an actor's approach helps to compensate for the unknown identity of the perpetrator and the limits imposed by impunity. In continuation, the spatial dimension of violence and its suitability to go beyond the state of confusion and to reach complexity will be explored.

2.4 A spatial approach to feminicides

The spatial dimensions of feminicides are explored to bridge the confusion around the phenomenon. First, the spatial turn, a key concept of global studies is introduced. Second, violence is discussed as an instrument for the demarcation of territory and social control. It establishes the picture of feminicides being an expression of spatial conquest for social control. Third, the geo-statistical analysis of the phenomenon will be introduced.

2.4.1 The spatial turn

The spatial turn is understood as one of the key concepts of global studies. It marks the condition that on the one side, the world is becoming increasingly interconnected, for example by innovative information technology. On the other side, growing spatial disconnection has grown because certain people are socially excluded from this interconnection (Middell and Naumann 2010, 154). An example of spatial connectedness in the context of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez is the free trade agreement NAFTA which facilitates the commodity flows across the US-Mexican border. It also ensures that commodity chains are stable and are working smoothly. At the same time the restrictive US-immigration laws prohibit vast groups of people to cross the Mexican border legally. This is an example of spatial disconnection. Thus, unlike

goods, people are not allowed to cross the border. The spatial turn concept focuses on the co-occurrence of such processes. It implies the idea that there is and always has been a competition for spatial territories in history (Middell and Naumann 2010, 155). It goes as far as presuming that there never was a predominant territorial format in global history, but rather a continuing contestation of space. The conclusion from this perspective is articulated in the critique of methodological nationalism. Hence, space is regarded as a socially constructed category that has to be revisited. Conducting research only in the theoretical container of nation-states does not suffice to grasp the complexity of globalization processes:

“For the historicization of the globalized world, we need histories that describe the meshing and shifting of different spatial references, narratives in which historical agency is emphasized, and interpretations acknowledging that the changing patterns of spatialization are processes fraught with tension” (Middell and Naumann 2010, 161)

According to the authors, these histories of meshing and shifting spatial references can be investigated by new concepts of analysis like portals of globalization, regimes of territorialization and critical junctures (Middell and Naumann 2010). Territory is one way to structure space, which implies the existence of physical borders, whereas space is regarded as a more abstract concept which has no physical borders but is created by social interactions. Moreover, the spatial turn is characterized by processes of de- and re-spatialization which in the end are fought locally to create new spatial patterns (Middell and Naumann 2010, 162).

Ciudad Juárez is seen of main interest for spatial research, although it has never been a center of world trade or communication, it is a place where the local and the global are confronted. It is a model case where the national territory becomes less important on the one side, due to border-crossing drug flows and the emergence of the *segundo estado* in the region. On the other side, it is a place where national territory is of increasing importance because the national border between the United States and Mexico is the reason why *maquiladoras* are established and why Ciudad Juárez is a crucial place for drug trafficking. This favored the lack of rule of law in the city and enables impunity for extreme violent acts. Thus, the application of a spatial research design to the local arena of the border City of Juárez introduces a potential of amplifying the perspectives on feminicides.

2.4.2 Feminicides as crimes of territorial contestation

One author who introduces a spatial link between feminicides and territory is Rita Segato. She investigates the historical transformation of warfare and especially the informalization of warfare as well as the pedagogy of cruelty (Segato 2014). Segato does not only refer to the origins of the phenomenon of feminicides in the 1990s but to more than two decades of

femicidas at Ciudad Juárez, which also includes the transformation of violence due to the ‘war on drug traffic’ launched in December of 2006 by the Calderón administration (2006-2012). According to Segato, the change in warfare goes along with the change of the concept of territory. While warfare was historically linked to a territory, it is the body itself that transforms into the stage for territorial contestation in the case of femicides:

“En este nuevo ambiente, las personas son las depositarias y portadoras del territorio y la cadena de personas pertenecientes a una red es una población. En otras palabras: el grupo de personas que co-pertenece a una red particular constituye, en sí mismo, el territorio y la población de esa red. Por eso podemos decir que los cuerpos mismos son el paisaje y la referencia, como portadores de los signos que componen la heráldica que emblematiza la propia existencia de la red, de este territorio en rebaño y siempre en expansión y consolidación” (Segato 2014, 36).

Segato concludes that this changing understanding of territory results in new forms of violence because it is the body and especially the feminized body, which becomes the warlike stage. Therefore, Segato finds new concepts of territorial contestation featuring in new forms of war crimes that are linked to “cuerpos no guerreros” (non-warrior bodies) (Segato 2014, 24). So, violent actions against the most vulnerable people of the enemy become a strategic operation. Thus, a message from one antagonist actor can be sent affecting the whole collective of the opponent actor. The suffering of the most fragile in a collective demonstrates the unlimited violent capacity of the enemy (Segato 2014). This is the reason why Segato identifies femicides as strategic war crimes where the feminized body becomes the stage for a war of parastatal groups to demonstrate their disposition to execute unlimited violence. They are using deliberately violent acts to demonstrate who is holding the sovereignty in the borderlands (Segato 2014). Therefore, femicidal violence can be considered as an expression of spatial tenure.

2.4.3 Mapping femicides

Luis Cervera Gómez is a professor at the *Colégio de Chihuahua* who is using georeferenced data to approach the phenomenon of femicides. To geo-reference data signifies to draw the relation between the variables of the phenomenon under study and spatial unities (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010). Cervera’s research is based on the *base de datos femicidio* (femicide database) that was initiated by Julia Monárrez Fragoso towards the end of the 1990s. His central hypothesis states that the phenomenon of femicides has a spatial pattern defined and localized at Ciudad Juárez. The author aims first to create a relational and georeferenced database about femicides. This implies the completion and geo-codification of the existing femicide database of 1993 to 2005. His second aim is the study of the temporal and spatial dynamics of the

feminicides (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010, 396). The final goal is to contribute to a deeper understanding of feminicides by generating thematic cartographies of the phenomenon.

In the first step of the analysis, the places where bodies are found, and the homes of the victims are localized (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010). These places are then indicated on a map of Ciudad Juárez for every year between 1993 and 2005. The second step figures out the relation between the specific ways in which the victims were killed, derived from marks left on the bodies, and the place where their bodies were found. The preliminary operation results indicate that the zones of the city vary when it comes to the probability of occurrence. Four zones are distinguished: north-west (NW), north-east (NE), south-east (SE) and south-west (SW). Whereas bodies were always detected in the NW zone, there are just sporadic cases in the NE zone. The latter is the wealthy city zone, whereas the former comprises the historic center of the city, precarious residential districts with a high population density, and the important industrial parks of the city. Dead bodies were found in the SW zone between 1994 and 1999, indicating high levels of feminicides during these years. But no cases showed there between 2000 and 2005. Finally, the SE zone shows no constant pattern, but single years stand out: 1996, 1997, 1999 and 2005. This zone is marked by urbanization and development during the 1990 (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010).

These findings led the authors to investigate the relationship between socioeconomic factors and feminicides. Socio-spatial hierarchies and urban infrastructure deficits are likewise regarded as socioeconomic indicators for the spatial relations of living conditions. After conducting a geo-statistical analysis, the scholars conclude that a direct correlation can be identified between deficits in urban infrastructure (like water, electricity, and public transport) and feminicides. Thus, in districts with poor infrastructures, feminicides happen on a regular basis. Besides the authors find a negative correlation between the socio-spatial hierarchy and feminicides. This indicates that a district's lower socioeconomic status increases the probability of feminicides (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010).

Based on this research, feminicides can be regarded as a phenomenon that follows a spatial pattern, which allows to make predictions about the occurrence. Therefore, the geo-statistical analysis and the cartographic presentation of the phenomenon contribute valuable insights. It can be a method suited to partly dissolve the confusion around the occurrence. Nevertheless, there are more relevant places connected to feminicides at Ciudad Juárez. The prevailing impunity impedes for example the mapping of the domiciles of the perpetrators, the actual crime scenes, which may differ from the places where the victims were found and, the places of kidnapping that can be narrowed down to approximations but not localized exactly.

The spatial contestation at Ciudad Juárez encompasses not just the killing of young women but also the messages that are sent to the population. According to Segato, the message is of unlimited disposition to apply violence (Segato 2014).

The closest witnesses of feminicides are the family members of the dead person. That said, family members can also be regarded a group of people sharing similar experiences: the shock of the sudden disappearance of their loved ones, the misinformation or omission of state representatives, the exhausting private search for the missed person, the hardly imaginable identification of human remains, demanding publicly the return of their loved ones, and being threatened for doing so. Having in mind that this is not a complete list, their narrations can be regarded as highly valuable information about the impacts of feminicides.

2.5 Theoretical conclusions

As discussed, the body increasingly becomes a stage for spatial claims of power elites. Especially the feminized body as an intentional target of spatial contestations incorporates the relationship between geography and violence. Keeping in mind the working definition of feminicides and especially the message of menace another relation between space and violence can be established. Whereas Cervera's research supports the reconstruction of the feminicide, this paper is about the reconstruction of the impacts of feminicides. The spatial trace of the experiences of family members allows the partially understanding of the complex impacts of femincidal violence. Together with the georeferenced data of feminicides and the testimonials of family members, an analysis of how impacts are experienced spatially contributes a detailed perspective to the research around feminicides.

Thereby, places are regarded as concrete spots on a map that in itself are results of social interaction. Family members are regarded as actors who experience the processes of spatial contestation at Ciudad Juárez, whereas the found bodies are identified as the transmitter of the message of menace. Hence, the spatial relationship between the body and violence extends. It is not just the expression of direct violence like the marks left on the body, or the expressive way of displaying the body, which can be mapped. The impunity and the challenges faced by family members, who are searching for their missed daughters, mothers and sisters can be visualized. On this basis my guiding questions for analysis are:

Question 1: How is the context of feminicide characterized in the 1990s?

Question 2: Which particular places do play a role in the aftermath of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez?

Question 3: How do family members experience these places?

Question 4: How do family members geographically correlate the identified places?

These guiding questions structure the further analysis. They will be answered successively to reach beyond a state of confusion and to detect the complexity of the violent structures involved in the feminicides. How this is realized methodologically will be explained in the next chapter.

3. Methods

“[Yo] me he dado cuenta que todas las muchachitas que se han perdido son de la misma calidad de uno, pobre. ¿Cómo no se ha perdido una rica? Tampoco se lo deseo, -¿verdad? - ¿pero por qué nada más a uno de pobre?”

Testimonial of a mother
(doc II, 1:13:35- 1:14:02)

As stated in the previous parts, there are challenges and constraints for the research of femicides due to the limited availability of primary sources. One of the few available primary sources are the testimonials of family members. Within the following methods part, it will be explained how the qualitative research on basis of the family testimonials is conducted. The taken steps to gain the data and the subsequent data reduction will be explained. It will be started with describing the process of finding a suitable methodological approach and the preliminary considerations. Then, the primary sources chosen for this analysis will be presented in the data selection. Subsequently, the qualitative content analysis will be introduced as an instrument to analyze the data. It includes an analytical grid which is developed based on the guideline questions derived in the theory part. Finally, the last part elaborates on the application of critical cartography.

3.1 Methodological choice

The process of encountering a suitable methodological approach for my master thesis started with considerations which are only indirectly linked to the topic of my thesis. My first considerations in January 2019 were of technical character: do I want to include a field study at the northern Mexican border or not? The investigation of violent structures at Ciudad Juárez and my ability to speak Spanish fluently made it imaginable to apply for financial support for a research stay at the northern Mexican border. Disregarding if I would have been granted the financial support, I decided deliberately not to include a research stay in Mexico, because of the long-distance flight that would have been necessary. Thus, I decided to take the greenhouse gas emissions of my research design into account. The short temporal scope of this master thesis and the tremendous negative environmental impacts of long-distance flights made me decide that this research will be conducted without a field study on the ground. This does not mean that less valuable data is gathered. Rather I tried to search and review specific information that is available online, as well as to use online communication technologies. I am aware that my decision will not have a significant impact on overall greenhouse gas emissions, and that I still

produce emissions during my research, due to for example train travels, the constant electricity supply for my laptop and the use of online search engines for research. I nevertheless hope to contribute to a debate in academia to take carbon footprints of research designs into account and to stimulate the exploration of greenhouse gas reduced data collection and research.

This preliminary decision made me to look out for other potential sources of reliable and available data. As seen in the previous part, there exist various perspectives and even controversial statistical data about the phenomenon of feminicides. Therefore, the question of which data to include involves inevitably the question of reliability. In order to bypass this potential methodological pitfall, I decided to exclude data published by governmental or non-governmental organizations, what limited the amount of primary data considerably.

This is when I got to know about the conference with the title: *Geografías de la violencia – poder y contrapoder en América Latina* (geographies of violence- power and counter-power in Latin America). Reputable speakers of the field of feminicides were announced to participate at the conference, which took place at Frankfurt am Main between the 13th and 15th of June⁴. I decided to register for the conference to take advantage of the possibility to talk to experts about feminicides in person without having to fly to Mexico. Therefore, my first plan in terms of methodology was to conduct expert interviews. In preparation for the conference I sent out interview requests to Marcela Turati, an independent journalist specialized on violence at the US-Mexican border, Alex Wischnewski the initiator of the anti-feminicide platform in Germany *#keinemehr* (#not one more) and the two scholars: Rita Laura Segato and Emanuela Borzacchiello. In the end, I could realize one interview with Emanuela Borzacchiello during lunch break.

It was a highly interesting conversation, which was guided by the semi-open interview questions I had prepared in advance. I got enriching and valuable insights from the interviewee, but finally I did not get the information I needed in order to answer my research question. I had to realize that my questions about the impacts of feminicides and especially the time frame of the 1990s were too specific that even the perspectives and knowledge of experts could not help me along. Although this was a frustrating experience, it was not the only aspect I learned about my study during the participation in the conference.

Next to penal discussions, the program of the conference also incorporated workshops. In this way, I got to learn about the method of critical cartography as a feminist practice. It was

4 More information about the conference is available on the official website: <http://geographien-der-gewalt.com/descripcion-de-las-mesas?lang=es>. The program can be retrieved in Spanish and German language, (Accessed on August 6, 2019)

the first time I drew the connection between geography and violence. Thus, I also took inspiration from the conference, which ultimately guided the decision to follow a spatial approach towards feminicides. After having decided to accept the circumstance that my original plan of data generation (conducting qualitative expert interviews) was not suited to answer my research question, I had to search again for data that is available and reliable. This is the reason, why the process of encountering a suited methodology was not linear.

3.2 Data selection

I finally found the suited primary sources I was looking for in the testimonials of family members. As the testimonials of family members have become the main articulation of protest against unpunished feminicides, they represent a valuable source of information. It can be assumed that the activism of family members is solely aimed at the return of the missing women. Thus, the testimonials represent highly trustworthy source of information, which can be used as primary data for the analysis of the impacts of feminicides in Ciudad Juárez during the 1990s. Therefore, online published and available testimonials of family members is the data foundation of this research. The analysis of testimonials is based on the conceptual consideration that family members are not the subjects of feminicides, but the witnesses of the violent structures under study. Thereby, family members are regarded as one group of people, who share similar experiences, due to feminicidal violence that was forced upon their loved ones.

A detailed analysis of explanatory cases is possible by using investigative documentaries, which include testimonials. The format of documentaries has the advantage that only essential information is transmitted due to the prior editing. Simultaneously, it has the disadvantage of a restrictive amount of data. Finally, the facile accessibility of the documentaries was decisive. Additionally, this data selection avoided the risk of re-traumatization of concerned people during the qualitative investigations of the impacts of feminicides. Like this, three documentaries about the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s were chosen which are open access available online. The incorporation of testimonials of family members in the documentary was a criterion for selection. The titles of the documentaries are *Señorita Extrañada*-Missing young woman (2001), *Mujeres de Juárez* – Women of Juárez (2004) and *Bajo Juárez* – Under Juárez (2006). Each of the documentaries takes a specific approach towards the phenomenon.

The first documentary of 2001 was directed and produced by Lourdes Portillo in collaboration with the Center for Independent Documentary and sponsored by the Film Arts Foundation of San Francisco. Lourdes Portillo is an award-winning US-American documentary maker

and producer, who was born in Mexico and whose movies mostly are concerned with human rights issues and female histories. Her documentary *Señorita Extraviada* was awarded several prizes, like the Gran Coral – First Prize Documentary and the Memoria Documentary Award (Portillo 2001). The movie is one of the first dealing with the phenomenon of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez. A special dimension in her work is the mixture of languages: whereas the narrator in the movie performs in English, the interviews with family members and concerned people are recorded in Spanish with English subtitles. The structure of the documentary is organized around the travels of Lourdes Portillo to Ciudad Juárez and her fundamental questions of interest as to why are the deaths of so many young women being ignored? And why are the murders still happening? Within her work, she includes the cases of 19 young women who went missing or were found dead between 1990 and 2000.

The second documentary *Mujeres de Juárez* is part of the research project "social protest and collective actions around sexual violence in Ciudad Juárez", organized by Patricia Ravelo Blancas of the *Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social* CIESAS (Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology) and supported by the *Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología* CONACYT (National Council for Science and Technology). The documentary focuses on the specific experiences of family members of: Cinthya Tocío Acosta – disappeared 1997, Silvia Elena Rivera Morales – disappeared in 1995, Sagrario González Florez – disappeared 1998, Lilia Alejandra García- disappeared 2001, Laura Berenice Ramos – disappeared 2001, Silvia Arce – disappeared 1998, Brenda Esther Alfaro Luna – disappeared in 1997 and Claudia Ivette González- disappeared in 2001. The documentary is produced in Spanish. The focus during the documentary lays on the experiences of family members and their struggles during the investigations and their daily routine to live with the uncertainty of not knowing what happened to their loved ones. Next to the testimonials of family members, opinions and perspectives of experts are included, too. This incorporates the social activist Esther Chávez, the academic researcher Héctor Domínguez, as well as the journalist Diana Washington.

The third documentary *Bajo Juárez* is directed by Alejandra Sánchez and José Antonio Cordero and centers on the story of Lila Alejandra García, her disappearance and the experiences of her family members- especially of her mother and of her sister. The movie was realized in cooperation with the *Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía* (Mexican Institute of Cinematography), the *Fondo para la producción cinematográfica de calidad* (Fund for quality film production), the Pepa Films Corporation, the *Centro Universitario de Estudios*

Cinematográficos (University Center for Cinematographic Studies) and the *Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México – UACAM-* (Autonomous University of Mexico City).

Although Lilia Alejandra disappeared only in 2001, it was decided to include the testimonials of her family in this research. As it is explained by one of the experts during the documentary:

“Lilia Alejandra fue asesinada de la misma manera fue mutilada, torturada, violada como víctimas del 1995 y 1996. Y ya estamos hablando del 2001. Oscar Máñez, el jefe forense, que examinó el cuerpo, sospecha que los mismos asesinos, que mataron a ella están involucrados en los crímenes anteriores” (doc III, 21:36- 22:05).

It indicates a fundamental link between Lilia Alejandra and the feminicides which happened between 1993 and 1999. Therefore, this case will be included to the data base of this analysis. The documentary is realized in Spanish and structured into four chapters. The first part is named *La Quinceañera* (the 15-year-old) and dedicated to the life of Lila Alejandra García, who disappeared in February of 2001 and was a 17-year-old *maquiladora* worker and mother of two children. The next three chapters focus on the incarceration of scapegoats, the social activism that emerged against feminicides and the experiences of the woman whose niece was kidnapped, and whose son was accused misleadingly for murder.

Next to these three documentaries, I encountered a fourth one during my research. This documentary is called *Ecos de una frontera* (Border Echoes) and is produced by Diana Washington in 2006. Diana Washington is one of the few journalists who covered the feminicides as early as in the 1990s. Back then she was working for the El Paso Times newspaper and reported frequently about the happenings at Ciudad Juárez. This is the reason, why she is also interviewed in the last two documentaries mentioned above. I came to know about her documentary because I read her book, which is called “Harvest of Women” and was published in 2006. Unfortunately, the documentary is not available online. I could not find it at any movie portal, nor could I buy it. The official website of the movie is expired, which made it impossible for me to purchase the documentary. Additionally, I tried to contact Diana Washington personally, but she did not reply. These are the reasons, why the *Ecos de una frontera* documentary is not included in this research.

3.3 Data analysis: Qualitative Content Analysis

The documentaries create the data foundation of the analysis of this research paper. In order to be able to work with the information entailed in the movie material, an analytical framework was necessary to reduce the amount of data, and to process the relevant information for answering the research question. To do so the method of qualitative content analysis will be

applied. Usually, the method of qualitative content analysis is applied to texts or transcripts of interviews to extract information systematically. The information taken from the text is assigned to categories of the analytic framework and processed afterwards relatively independently from the text (Gläser and Laudel 2012). Nevertheless, the method is also suitable, not just for the analysis of written material, but for conversations in general. How it is conducted will be elaborated subsequently in detail.

In the first step of the qualitative content analysis, a coding system is developed to extract the relevant information. The identified guiding questions at the end of the theory part (see part 2.5) are used to create the coding system. This system is composed of different categories, which are assigned to the transcription of relevant parts of the documentaries. Additionally, the coding system is understood as open. This signifies that it was edited during the analysis of the movie material, when information was encountered, which was considered relevant but did not fit into the existing categories. The final coding system is explained in the following:

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
FA	Attorney general office	Private search	5:12-5:18	Vas a un Ministerio Público en donde por empezar, la desaparición no es un delito.

Table 2 created by the author as example of the data coding

The theoretical considerations guide the extraction of information and the organization of the relevant data, because they are the foundation of the guiding questions. The first column indicates who was speaking in the documentary. Thereby the distinction between family member (FA) and expert (EX) is drawn. The category EX summarizes opinions of journalists, activists, state officials, NGO-representatives, academic investigators and the narrators’ voice in the documentary. The second column indicates the place, which was mentioned. The third column shows the connection of these places to the experiences of family members. These experiences comprise the disappearance of a loved person, the private searches, the blaming of the victim, the discovery and identification of human remains, the experience of misleading or the omitting of official investigations, as well as the memorial. Hence, the third column is only filled, when the person who was talking was a relative of the victim. Finally, the exact time reference is recorded, and the respective part of the documentary is transcribed.

In the second step of the qualitative content analysis, the prior identified guided questions are answered. Initially it is dealt with the question of how the context of feminicides is

characterized in the 1990s. Therefore, expert opinions on Ciudad Juárez are elaborated and interpreted. Subsequently, the question of which particular places did play a role in the aftermath of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez is answered. This part is divided in the analysis of the city center, the *maquiladoras*, places of body discovery (Lote Bravo, Lomas de Poleo, desert), places of state authority (special prosecution, attorney general's office, police stations), the morgue, and places of memorial (home, cemetery, church). Finally, the question about how family members are relating these places to the impacts of feminicides is elaborated. To answer this question, only opinions of family members are analyzed and interpreted.

3.4 Critical cartography

In order to be able to answer the last guiding question of how these places relate geographically, the relation between space and violence has to be drawn methodologically. To do so the approach of critical cartography is explored in the following. Critical cartography rests upon de-constructivist and post-positivist critique that: “maps are by no means just representations of reality. Maps articulate statements that are shaped by social relations, discourses and practices, but these statements also influence them in turn. Hence, maps (and atlases) are always political” (kollektiv orangotango+ 2018, 13). It is the acknowledgement that a mere representational, objective map does not exist. Every map implies conceptual underpinnings and represents the world according to norms and values. This signifies that maps are drawn for a reason.

John Pickles is one scholar who follows up on this line of argumentation and who investigates academic mapping approaches (Pickles 2012). According to him, maps play a decisive role in how we experience and view the world. Especially the drawn lines and boundaries in maps contribute to identity construction (Pickles 2012). He argues that “maps provide the very conditions of possibility for the worlds we inhabit and the subjects we become” (Pickles 2012, 5). Thus, he considers mapping a powerful tool, which contributes to the construction of categories of identity. The different colors, demarcations and scales group people in categories like nationality, gender, social class, etc., (Pickles 2012).

His perspective of maps being as powerful as creating identity, bears the potential of transformation. It implies that maps can be used to dissolve or change categories of identity. It depends on who is drawing a map and for what purpose. Critical cartographers follow up on these thoughts. The interdisciplinary project of “This is not an Atlas” of 2018 inspires by showing how the boundaries of mapping are shifted by scholars and activists around the world (kollektiv orangotango+ 2018). Within the publication various individual and collective mapping projects are introduced. Indigenous cartography in the Amazonia, mapping colonial

heritage in Munich or resistance and solidarity mapping in the Philippines - plural approaches are displayed. Thereby the boundaries between academia, activism and art become blurred. One example of these maps is the “Information Overload, From the Map to the Ground, and Back” project which is dealing with the mapping of unauthorized settlements (kollektiv orangotango+ 2018, 286–93). The members of the project are students and researchers who work voluntarily and unpaid, but with the commitment to use maps for their own purpose. The core of the project is mapping one of the biggest unauthorized settlements in Dhakar: Karail Basti. This area is depicted for example on google maps as a green area, although it is the living space of around 100.000 people. The mapping process started with previous research on the region and the goal of filling the map with fieldwork evidence. The project was set out for ten years which raised the issue of an overload of information at some point. This led the project members to convert mapping into a tool of storytelling.

Although it is not possible for my master thesis to talk to the actors personally, their recorded testimonials will be used as the base for creating a map of their experiences of the impacts of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s. Thus, the critical cartography approach will be followed up in the subsequent analysis. On basis of the qualitative content analysis, a map of the visited and mentioned places of relatives will be drawn. Like this, the impacts of feminicides are concentrated and visualized in one map. During centuries, cartography and mapping was reserved to a small elite of mostly white and male people in power. With the instrument of mapping they could sustain and extend their claims of power on territory, natural resources and bodies (kollektiv orangotango+ 2018). Starting from a de-constructivist point of view the variety of using cartography as a methodological approach is extended.

The aim of this map is to communicate transparently the normative experiences of family members and to create visibility. The focus lays not on creating a map, which can be used to orient oneself in the streets of Ciudad Juárez. This would not contribute to answer the research question of this paper. Rather the map has the aim to serve as an educational tool for the spread of knowledge about the phenomenon and as a bridge between academic research and non-academic living realities. Thereby the boundaries of maps, graphics and educational material are blurred intentionally to make structural violence approachable. To create the map about the experiences of family members the ArcGIS program is used.

4. Testimonial Analysis

“Fueron tres violadores, pero nada más hay un código de ADN. Sí son tres: uno, dos, tres; se supone que agarran al dos. Pero el código que tu tienes es el del uno. Entonces, lo chequeas y no va a ser, aun si sea uno de los que la violó”

Testimonial of a sister
(doc III, 1:04:25- 1:04:46)

The analysis of this paper has the aim to trace the experiences of family members regarding feminicides. The analysis is structured in three parts. First, their experiences will be elaborated on the context of women getting kid-napped. Especially the opinions and perspectives of experts, who are interviewed during the documentaries are included. The second part is about the specific localities which are mentioned in relation to feminicide. The third part is about how family members experience these places. This is analyzed according to the chronological happenings after a person went missing at Ciudad Juárez. Finally, the geographic relation of the identified places is elaborated. Therefore, exclusively the testimonials of family members are taken into account.

4.1 What characterizes the context of the feminicides in the 1990s?

The City of Juárez is the spatial focus of all three documentaries. For imagining the events and the atmosphere during the 1990s, the statements of experts regarding the city are elaborated. The statements of experts vary from general remarks, to the specific mentioning of border-experiences to the transformation of the urban atmosphere due to feminicides.

Ciudad Juárez was regarded the city of the future during the 1990s (doc I, 7:00-7:12). The preparations for the free trade agreement, which came into effect on the first January of 1994, roused hopes and the promise for increased financial security at the border. At the same time, this considerable economic reorganization imposed certain challenges for the city: “As a model of globalization, Ciudad Juárez is spinning out of control” (doc I, 4:45-5:04). It paints the picture of Juárez being the place where change is happening – but not always for the benefit of the people there. This thought becomes reinforced, when it is stated that “In Juárez, nothing is constant or predictable. The town grows out of proportion. Neighborhoods appear over night with no addresses, no phones and no services” (doc I, 35:50-36:07). It indicates that migration is a shaping factor of the city in the 1990s. As it was mentioned in the documentary II, 300 migrants were estimated to reach Ciudad Juárez every day in search of work and better

opportunities of life (doc II, 31:32-32:05). This led to a chaotic and unattended growing of the city and to the establishment of new neighborhoods in shortest time. Neighborhoods which lacked the access to basic infrastructures like electricity and water supply, but also public transport.

Then, especially the first half of the 1990s are considered significant for the transformations in the city. These years describe a time frame of economic restructuring, but also a time of drug routes being redirected to the Mexican border and the replacement of mafia bosses: “En 1993 también asciende Amado Carrillo Fuentes como el capo, mayor de la plaza de Juárez es Carrillo Fuentes. (...) Y ahí empiezan también otros tipos de crímenes, relacionados al narco, que es el mismo tiempo que empezamos a ver la serie de muertes de mujeres” (doc II, 12:15-13:12). The increase of violence due to the changes in the drug trafficking economy are impacting the atmosphere and the image of Juárez. People are unsatisfied with their political representatives and it results in unexpected election results in 1992. For the first time in 70 years, the ruling party PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) lost its majority in the state of Chihuahua (doc I, 19:07-19:33). Thus, the years between 1992 and 1994 can be regarded as the peak of transformation processes in the city, accompanied by the increased levels of feminicides.

Next, the border is a local specificity, which experts ascribe importance to the overall living experience in the city: “To some north Americans it is where everything illicit is available. To Mexicans it is their home and where they work” (doc I, 4:50-5:04). It indicates that the specific life experiences differ according to the side of the border, on which you are living or allowed to live on. The border separates Ciudad Juárez from El Paso (Texas) and induces the promise for Mexicans that the life is better on the other side. At the same time it attracts people to come to live at the border: “La gran mayoría de las mujeres asesinadas venían del Sur. Habían partido hacía la frontera, a Ciudad Juárez, en busca de trabajo y un mayor nivel de vida” (doc II, 0:19-0:31) Thus, Ciudad Juárez becomes a place of passage of migrants to the United States and simultaneously, a place where migration flows are aimed at, because of the establishment of *maquiladoras*. Besides, it becomes the place where people strand, because they are hindered on their way to cross the border. It also becomes a place, where people die during their efforts to reach a higher standard of living.

Moreover, the importance of the border is dated back to the early 20th century, when the consumption of alcohol was prohibited in the United States (1920-1933). The ban in the United States and the proximity of Ciudad Juárez to Texas, resulted in the establishment of many bars and canteens at Ciudad Juárez and many women working at these places: “Esta ciudad (Juárez) era de mujeres desde la prohibición de licor. Las mujeres se veían mucho en los bares y en las

cantinas. Porque como no se vendía licor allá (Estados Unidos), ellos venían a buscar el licor que se consumía en la frontera. Como es, frontera es una vida completamente diferente” (doc II, 30:36- 31:00). This is one example of how the border establishes exceptional daily working and living routines at Ciudad Juárez that can hardly be understood by outsiders.

Then, Ciudad Juárez became the symbol for the brutal murder of women: “Según la auditoria realizada por el Instituto Chihuahuense de la Mujer, de 1993 a julio del 2003, fueron asesinadas 321 mujeres, tan solo en Ciudad Juárez” (doc II, 1:47-1:59). It aroused a public debate around the crimes and resulted partially in absurd coping strategies. As one activist reminds during the documentary, it was Francisco Barrio, the first party PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) governor of Chihuahua, who was asked about the feminicides at Ciudad Juárez. His answer was that the families are culpable, because they do not know what their daughters do during night hours and on the weekends. He accused the victims of living a double life as good daughters on one side and as prostitutes on the other side (doc I, 8:16-8:43). It represents a helpless explaining attempt of the governor to come up with someone to blame for the crime. It leaves a bitter aftertaste that the most negatively affected people of the impacts of feminicides, are additionally blamed for the criminal acts to occur. Besides, a state official advocates for the introduction of an action plan that should prevent the death of more women (doc II, 24:14-24:24). However, he does not mention any concrete detail of how this action plan should look like. This combination paints a picture of helpless authorities or authorities who chose to be helpless and an unresolved status of the problem.

There remains the question about the impacts of the increased levels of violence on society. On the one hand, the unresolved feminicides create an atmosphere of fear, which silences the majority of the society. “Están (el gobierno) violentando el derecho a la seguridad, el derecho a la justicia, el derecho a transitar libremente, el derecho a una paz de las familias a vivir tranquilamente. Aquí (Ciudad Juárez) se vive todo el tiempo con el temor que te van a atacar” (doc I, 1:09:54-1:10:14). This statement is not surprising by having in mind that Ciudad Juárez was considered the second most violent city of Mexico in the mid-1990s. This immediate risk of being attacked or threatened leads to a societal silence around the phenomenon of feminicides. As one scholar states during the documentary, this silence induces that no victim talks, that no one of the society talks out of fear and that the justice apparatus disguises evidence (doc II, 1:02:00- 1:02:28). It is the begin of a vicious cycle.

On the other hand, the unresolved murders of women resulted simultaneously in civil society action against feminicides and the emergence of several organizations towards the end of the 1990s like: *Casa Amiga* (1999) and *Voces Sin Eco* (1998) (doc I, 1:10:40- 1:10:47, doc

II, 15:55- 16:10). These organizations try to break the silence and to organize resistance of civil society. Moreover, the situation at Juárez caught the attention of the Interamerican Commission of Human Rights, the United Nations and other international and national organizations (doc II, 25:30-26:00). Thus, not all actors of society remain silent. However, one has to ask at what risk people speak up against feminicides, because as elaborated before, crime prevention at Ciudad Juárez does not work.

This leads to the conclusion that the perpetrators are still on the loose and are potential threats to the family members and other people who demand justice for the murdered women. Thus, experts paint an overall picture of Ciudad Juárez as a city of change, a vibrant city, where people are attracted to. At the same time, it is a city, which swallows some of its citizen and establishes a silence around their disappearance. It is a dangerous place to live and at the same time the home of thousands of people- it is a place of controversies.

4.2 Which particular places do play a role in the aftermath of feminicides?

4.2.1 City center

After having elaborated the general picture around Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s, it will be investigated in detail which places are essential for the family members. One of these specific places is the city center. Next to the *maquiladoras*, the shops, bars and nightclubs in the city center of Juárez, not far from the international bridge towards El Paso, were the working places of some of the women who were murdered (doc II, 40:35- 40:42). Silvia for example worked in a nightclub and it is the last place, where she was seen (doc II, 42:08-42:36). This case establishes a link between the disappearance of people and the nightclubs at Ciudad Juárez. It creates inhibition levels for women to access and enjoy the nightlife of the city on their own, as the place becomes regarded of high risk. Moreover, it implies the reduction of the female body to mere objects of desire. As one expert points out: “Los espacios de diversión, particularmente los nocturnos han sido por tradición reservados a los hombres. En estos, las mujeres son simples sujetos de deseo. Aunque hay algunas mujeres que han igual que los hombres se han apropiado a estos espacios para disfrutarlos sin importarles el peligro que representan para ellas” (doc II, 42:37-43:10).

Women disappear in the city center not only during night hours, but also in bright day light: “las mujeres desaparecen a luz de día, en muchos casos en el mero centro de Juárez, donde hay policías en cada esquina, y que nadie ve nada, y nadie escuchó nada” (doc III, 19:45- 19:58). The fact that kidnappings happen in the most crowded areas of the city without witnesses,

indicates the advanced status of the phenomenon. The explanation by Silvia's mother for the silent witnesses is that they are too afraid to report what they have seen. In the case of her daughter, the working colleagues rather wanted to testify against her daughter than reveal what really happened (doc II, 42:08- 42:36). It highlights the power of the perpetrators, which is sustained by a vicious cycle. The more violent they act, the more silent the potential witnesses become to avoid experiencing (femicidal) violence themselves. Further, the circumstance of women disappearing on their way to work or during day, contradicts the narrative of victim blaming. They do not disappear due to an assumed troublesome lifestyle during night. They disappear during their daily-routines: "Las mujeres desaparecen en el curso de sus tareas normales. Van a la escuela, van al trabajo, o vienen de la escuela, o vienen del trabajo, algo normal" (doc III, 19:19- 19:28).

Nevertheless, the narrative around the irresponsible *maquiladora* workers, who seek diversions in the night clubs at any price, persists. The stigma around them is explained by one of the experts in the documentary: they are seen as the crazy women, who work in the *maquiladora* and get even more crazy during night in the city center (doc II, 41:03-41:20). Another dimension is the recurrent stigma around the profession of sex workers. Victims are portrayed as sex workers, what apparently justifies the violence they receive. Sex workers do not have the same rights as other citizens. In other words: certain professions in Ciudad Juárez can be the reason to deny people the access to justice granted by the human rights. It paints an overall picture of the city center as a place where dimensions of femicidal violence converge. Apparently, the risk of forced disappearance is particularly high at the city center. In addition, it is a place where victim blaming is at work. Simultaneously, the city center locates various places of diversion and working places which induce many women to go there during day or at night.

4.2.2 Maquiladora

The *maquiladoras* are mentioned in all three of the documentaries as important places for the femicides. Although *maquiladoras* exist also in other border cities, Ciudad Juárez concentrates the largest number of assembly plants in Mexico (doc II, 33:43-33:50). Especially during the 1990s, the *maquiladoras* flourish and attract women from Durango, Zacatecas, southern Chihuahua, Veracruz and other states (doc II, 33:08-33:26). *Maquiladoras* represent a place of exploitative working relations, where: "los derechos laborales son prácticamente inexistentes" (doc II, 43:31-43:35). Workers only get temporal labor contracts which will be for example not extended if a worker becomes pregnant: "El primer día, pues, nos presentaron ahí, que nos van a hacer un examen. Examen de orina, examen de vista, bueno, nos entrevistaron.

Ya como a las once nos dijeron si nos quedábamos o no, porque no aceptan a embarazadas” (doc III, 13:55- 14:16).

Further, although the workers are working up to twelve hours, they are paid starvation wages (doc III, 13:18- 13:29 and 15:16- 15:24). This situation is called by one of the experts the body consumption machine: “Desde el momento, que se establecen *maquiladoras*, se establece una máquina de consumo de cuerpos. Trabajadores que vamos a desgastar, porque los podemos sustituir por otros inmediatamente. Y que además van a ser carne que va a alimentar una economía global” (doc II, 40:04-40:25). The logic of body consumption also exists in the logics of feminicides. After the body of the young women has been tortured, mutilated and killed, it can be easily replaced by another one. But finally, the exploitative working conditions at the *maquiladora* are not the direct risk for experiencing feminicidal violence. Women are not killed inside the *maquiladoras*. Indeed, there exist controversial opinions about the involvement of *maquiladoras*.

One NGO representative points out that: “Yo creo que las menos culpables pueden ser las *maquiladoras*, porque las *maquiladoras* han puesto sus condiciones, que el gobierno les ha aceptado todo, todo” (doc II, 34:36- 34:49). Thus, she blames the Mexican government and not the *maquiladoras*, because the exploitation of the 1990s is based on the politically agreed-on free trade agreements, which did not include social services like kindergartens or affordable living spaces for *maquiladora* workers. The Mexican government never persisted on those. Further she emphasizes the improvements of working conditions. A visit by international human rights organizations stopped for example the mandatory presentation of sanitary napkins (doc III, 34:36-35:15). However, young workers were found dead opposite of their work, disappeared on their way to work or during their application process at the *maquiladora* (doc II, 36:55- 37:11 and 48:01-48:12). In various occasions, the *maquiladora* is related to the last information which is known about the disappearance of women.

This is the reason why an interviewed activist insists on including the *maquiladoras* to the official investigations, what is not done so far. According to her, it is a common practice that *maquiladora* workers are photographed at their working place or when they are paid on Fridays: “Revisa las fotos que le sacaron a Sagrario (una de las víctimas) y parece una modelo. Entonces yo decía: ‘bueno hay que buscar también por este lado’. Porque, hasta donde yo tengo entendido las escogen por fotografías” (doc I, 25:09- 25:27). This adds a new perspective of the potential active participation of management members or workers in labor control positions, in the selection of victims. But there are no investigations conducted inside the *maquiladoras*. It is indicated during the documentaries that the *maquiladoras* are protected by political

authorities, because they are the largest investment of the Mexican government (doc I, 1:07:26-1:07:36).

Although there exist various perspectives on how the *maquiladora* is involved in the murder of the women at Ciudad Juárez there exists agreement that there is a connection on some level between the interviews of the three documentaries.

4.2.3 Lote Bravo, Lomas de Poleo, Desert

Places that are directly linked to the experience of femicidal violence are the places of body discovery. At Ciudad Juárez bodies were found in the city, at the semi-desert outskirts of the city as well as in the desert that surrounds the city (doc III, 8:52- 9:00). Places of particularly sad fame are Lote Bravo and Lomas de Poleo. The former was the place of the first multiple discovery of mutilated bodies in 1995: “En 1995, Lote Bravo se convirtió en unos de los cementerios clandestinos de mujeres” (doc II, 20:34- 20:40). In the following year it was Lomas de Poleo, where several bodies were found. It makes both places symbolic sites of femicide. It evolves the question of who owns these territories and why the bodies are found there. “Resulta que por coincidencia, por ejemplo, que Lote Bravo, donde se encuentran los primeros cuerpos múltiples en 1995, y Lomas de Poleo, donde se encuentra otro grupo de cuerpos en 1996, son terrenos que son disputados, también son terrenos que pertenecen a familias poderosas” (doc III, 1:10:46- 1:11:14). The fact that multiple bodies were found at places that belong to rich and famous families of the city increased the pressure on state authorities to solve the cases and to present a culprit.

Consequently, the Egyptian chemist Abdel Latif Sharif was incarcerated very fast as the alleged offender in 1995 (doc I, 16:08-16:14). It centered the public discussion on his person. “Sharif fue consignado por segunda vez en 1999 en relación a estos crímenes. Él estaba en una cárcel desde octubre 3, 1995. Al principio yo pensaba que tal vez sí. Él tenía el perfil de una persona capaz por su historia criminal en los Estado Unidos. Incluso yo veía escrito sobre esto. Con el tiempo, concluí que él no tuvo que ver con los asesinatos de las mujeres de Juárez, para nada” (doc II, 52:49- 53:20). This statement by Diana Washington about femicides in the 1990s suggests that Sharif was a scapegoat and that the perpetrators of Lote Bravo and Lomas de Poleo were not convicted in the 1990s. It makes the places a symbol for ineffective investigations of femicides on behalf of state authorities. This impression goes even as far as drawing conjectures about the complicity of state officials. As one expert is claiming: “Policías han sido usados para recoger cuerpos de las víctimas y para ir a tirarlos después” (doc III, 1:10:46-1:11:37). This perspective is supported by family members, who insist on the participation and

complicity of state authorities in the murder of women. It is the reason why family members start to organize their own search parties in the outskirts of Ciudad Juárez and the nearby desert zones, to search for human remains (doc I, 51:57- 52:02).

Overall the interviewees in the documentaries agree that the bodies were not found in arbitrary places, but that these places are selected for some reason (doc II, 21:29- 22:08, doc III, 1:10:46- 1:11:37). “Escogen los lugares, así al igual se seleccionan a las víctimas. También seleccionan los lugares a donde las van a tirar eventualmente” (doc III, 1:11:21- 1:11:37). According to one NGO representative, waste dumps were the preferred places for body disposal in the 1990s. It sent a message of worthlessness to all women in the city: “‘Éramos basura’, esto fue el mensaje que recibimos. Nos usan y nos tiran. Porque somos basura” (doc II, 10:01- 10:21). It points to the non-arbitrary underlying pattern of feminicides.

4.2.4 Attorney general’s office, special prosecutor’s office, police stations

Another category of places which are essential for the impacts of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez, are places linked to state authority. In particular, police stations, the attorney general’s office (*Procuraría General de la República*), and the office of the special prosecution office for women’s homicide (*Fiscalía mixta para la Atención de homicidios de Mujeres de Ciudad Juárez*). The latter was formed in 1996 and had the task to draw state attention towards the feminicide and to react to the public request for answers and the end of impunity (doc I, 33:12- 33:21, doc II, 14:30- 14:47). However, the special prosecutor Suly Ponce was interviewed in one of the documentaries and admits that the facilities of the special prosecution office were very limited at the beginning: “Cuando iniciamos aquí en la fiscalía no encontramos, ni siquiera teníamos el equipo suficiente, ni siquiera lo más elemental. Menos el equipo suficiente, como podría decirse bolsas de papel, guantes, cintas para acordonar. No teníamos, o no tenían la cultura de preservar el área del crimen por lo que, bueno se contaminaban demasiado esas áreas y terminábamos perdiendo evidencias sin consecuencias. Bueno. Se estropeaba la investigación y era muy difícil dar con el presunto los presuntos responsables de un homicidio” (doc I, 33:23- 34:01). It challenges the fundamental purpose of this office. Instead of contributing to the clarification of feminicides, the special prosecutor admits to lacking facilities and the destruction of evidence. It contradicts the picture of state authorities reacting to the public demand for justice. Although the special prosecution office is a first point of contact for family members when a person disappears, it is a place with insufficient equipment to investigate the cases in an adequate manner.

Next, the attorney general's office was mentioned. After mutilated bodies of women appeared in the city, the attorney general proposed a curfew for the municipality of Juárez: "Que la comunidad aplicará un toque de queda. Todos los buenos pues que estén en sus domicilios, que estén con sus familias. Y bueno los malos sean los que andan en la calle" (doc I, 9:30-9:50). Not just that the solution takes all the responsibility of the perpetrator and blames the victims, it also applies the distinction between "good" and "bad women". It implies the perspective that it is justified to kill the "bad" women and that some people have more of a right to live than others. According to the attorney general, women who stay with their families in their homes are considered the "good" women. But this might not be a reality or possibility for all people in the city. The work in the *maquiladoras* is organized in various shifts around the clock. This automatically leads to workers being present every day and night time in the streets of the city. Therefore, the suggestion of the attorney general to imply a curfew cannot be considered a serious attempt to solve the situation, but rather a defense reaction. As the attorney general office is responsible for the investigation, this suggestion takes responsibility from them and imposes it on the victims, who are blamed for their own fate. It is therefore a place, where victim blaming takes place instead of an adequate investigation of the cases. This represents repressive politics, because it is the official opinion of the general attorney's office. There seems simply to be no willingness to do something effective.

4.3 How did family members experience these places?

Apart from the above elaborated places, there are the domicile of the family, the morgue, the cemetery and the church mentioned by family members. Experts do not refer to these places. It highlights the different perspectives concerning the impacts of feminicides. This is the reason, why it will now be elaborated on how these places (including the home of the family, the morgue, the cemetery and the church) play a role in the aftermath of feminicides for family members. The focus lays on why family members mention these places in their testimonials. Further, the involvement of these places in feminicidal violence will be investigated. The experiences of family members are found to follow a chronological pattern, starting with the disappearance of a loved person, the launch of private search parties, and the eventual discovery of the body. It continues with the procedures of official investigations, the memorial of the victim and the task of demanding justice. For this part, exclusively the testimonials of family members are analyzed.

4.3.1 Disappearance

According to the aunt of Cinthya, who disappeared in 1997, the very significance of 'disappearance' is hard to understand. It is even harder to make other people understand: "Todavía tienes que explicar, o tratar de explicar que es desaparecer. Y finalmente si, nadie desaparece de la nada. Nadie y nada desaparece de la nada" (doc II, 4:49-4:59). She insists on the fact that no one disappears out of nowhere. There has to be at least one other party involved. There is someone responsible, who knows what happened. A park nearby her home is the last place, where Cynthia was seen (doc II, 2:12- 2:26). It did not happen at night, but at bright daylight in an area, where it can be assumed that the victim could orient herself. It makes the fact of disappearance hard to understand, because how is it possible that someone disappears without a trace from a place she did know profoundly?

The experience of disappearance is inevitably connected to the awareness that something is not as it should be. It is the interruption of the daily routine, because someone is not coming home after work, school or visiting the park. One mother for example states that she started to worry about her daughter, when she did not arrive at home at 5:05. Every day she arrived at home at the exact same time. Thus, her not coming home was reason enough for her mother to be deeply concerned: "Cuando ya no llegué, empecé a inquietarme, -¿verdad? -. Yo empiezo a llorar, porque ella no era acostumbrada (...) Yo sabía, ya sabía yo que algo malo le ha pasado" (doc II, 2:50-3:04). Another mother states, that she was not thinking about kidnapping at first. She thought that something had happened to her daughter Alejandra, that maybe she was involved in a car accident, but she could not think of her daughter being kidnapped (doc II, 3:14- 3:22). It was not until a neighbor told her that a young woman with the characteristics of Alejandra was found, that she realized her nightmare (doc III, 3:01-3:33). It indicates that the home of the families is where they have to realize for the first time that something bad has happened to their loved ones.

Another important place during the disappearance is the working place of the victim. According to the testimonials under study, all of the victims worked or went to school. Silvia for example worked as a retailer at one of the nightclubs at the city center at Ciudad Juárez. The day she disappeared, she went to collect money that was owed to her (doc I, 27:27- 27:45). The bar is the place where she was last seen. In four cases, the *maquiladora* is mentioned by family members as the working place of the disappeared women. One mother describes the working day of her daughter. Alejandra had shifts of twelve hours, from 7 AM to 7 PM. She earned 450 pesos for one week (doc III, 15:16- 15:24). Interestingly, the mother herself worked at the same *maquiladora*. They both took different turns to be able to care for the two small children at

home. It is common practice that the disappeared women had relatives working at the same assembly plants. This applies also to the case of Sagrario. She worked with her father in the same night shift at the very same assembly plant. Due to the fact that she was underage, her working schedule changed. As her mother recalls, they were told that underage workers are legally not allowed anymore to work during the night shifts (doc II, 37:41- 37:55). This is the reason why Sagrario had to travel alone to her working place. It reveals that legal frameworks which were written to protect underage workers, ultimately led to a more dangerous situation in the case of Sagrario. Her, traveling alone from the *maquiladora* to her home is the last known information before her disappearance.

The way to work seems to be a crucial pattern for the disappearance of women at Ciudad Juárez in the 1990s. Next to the family members of Sagrario and Alejandra, there are two more testimonials which link the disappearance of woman to the commuting distance. One young woman disappeared after she applied for work at one of these assembly plants: “El cuatro de enero salimos yo y mi hija a buscar trabajo. Ella iba ir a trabajar allí (maquiladora) donde yo estoy trabajando (...) Nosotros nos fuimos a las cinco y media de la mañana y yo me metí a hacer mi trabajo. Y ella se quedó ahí afuera, haciendo la línea para que la contrataran, y entró. Pero yo no supe a qué hora salió” (doc I, 49:44- 50:29). The last information her parents know for sure from a security camera is that she left the building and walked around the corner (doc I, 50:58- 51:09). What happened afterwards remains unknown. Another example for the risks during the way to work is the case of Claudia Ivette. She came five minutes late to work and was not allowed to enter anymore. Her family thought at first that she worked during the day and as she did not come home that she spent the night at the *maquiladora*, because sometimes she stayed to work longer (doc II, 37:23. 37:37). Then they had to realize that she disappeared.

These cases evolve the question of how workers travel to work and back? Most workers are taking buses to go to work, which are called *ruterías*. Taking the bus also involves steps like: walking to the bus stations, waiting for buses, riding in the buses, and walking to the place of destination. Thus, it can be assumed that most *maquiladoras* are located far away from the homes of the victims under study. However, it makes the *maquiladora* many times the place, where the women were last seen. It also indicates that the perpetrators are traveling along the same routes. Finally, as the aunt of Cinthya highlights, the mere disappearance is not considered a legal offense at the prosecution office during the 1990s (doc II, 5:12- 5:18). This complicates the situation of family members, because investigations cannot get started without the indication of a crime.

4.3.2 Private Search

The realization of family members that someone was made to disappear by someone else leads to the start of private search parties. These private searches are exhausting for family members. Usually they last the whole day and during night hours (doc III, 3:01-3:11). Family members do not want to interrupt their searches for anything, not even for basic needs: “Nosotros no comíamos. Duramos dos días que no nos bañamos. Entonces, era una cosa muy fea. Es que yo no quería que se hiciera noche, yo no quería que se hiciera noche, porque yo quería seguir buscando” (doc II, 29:29-29:44). It indicates the desperation of family members and the high levels of personal distress. This initial search is often linked to the distribution of flyers. The flyers carry the personal characteristics of the disappeared person and are handed over to people personally or are put at various places at the city in order to collect information about the disappearance and the whereabouts of the person: “Nosotros repartimos muchos, como alrededor de cuatro mil volantes. Entonces, lo pegamos por todas partes de Juárez” (doc II, 29:08-29:14).

During their testimonials, family members mention that their search often times started at the hospitals, clinics and police stations. At this point in time, many of the family members still hoped to find the missed women at the hospitals. When they did not find them there, they went to the police stations. The mother of Alejandra recalls that she rather preferred to think about her daughter being arrested for something than being kidnapped: “Cuando no la encontré en los hospitales, ni en las clínicas particulares, ni nada, empecé a hablar a las estaciones de policía. Porque aquí es muy común que hagan redadas y levanten a los jóvenes sin investigar nada” (doc II, 28:10-28:27). Another important lead of investigation are the places, where the disappeared women were seen for the last time. Sylvia’s mother tells that two and a half days after her daughter’s disappearance she went to the night club where she was working. She started to talk to the dancers, who work at the place, but they did not want to talk about what happened. In the end they said that they even would testify against Silvia. The only useful information Sylvia’s mother got is that the dancers at the nightclub were threatened and that someone did not want them to reveal what happened (doc I, 27:52-28:11, doc II, 42:08-43:10). Thus, family members visit various places in shortest time to speak to many people and in the end do not get the information they are looking for. It contributes to increased levels of frustration and desperation.

There is also the phenomenon of extended searches of family members. As one expert indicates: “Out of desperation, the relatives and friends organize searches in the desert for their loved ones” (doc I, 51:57-52:02). These collective search parties have the aim to find human

remains in remote areas of the city and in the desert. The uncertainty of not knowing what has happened and not knowing for sure if their loved ones are dead or not, brings family members to organize these search parties. However as one family member observes, sometimes it feels very strange, because skeletons appear in a place after four or five days that they have searched for their kinswoman (doc I, 47:40-48:09). How is this possible? If only the skeleton is found, the person has to be dead for a considerable period of time. It makes the desert and remote areas of the city places, where suspicious things are happening and where secrets are buried in the sand.

4.3.3 Victim Blaming

As already briefly mentioned, victim blaming is a permanent experience, which accompanies the private searches and the investigations of the family members. It results in victims being deprived of their status as rightful citizens. They are accused for seeking trouble and going with the perpetrator voluntarily. Finally, the society at Ciudad Juárez does not get angry with the government, who fails to guarantee basic human rights, or the perpetrator, who kills her. Instead the victim is denied the status of a victim. She gets blamed for her own death what finally re-victimizes her (doc II, 1:01:34- 1:01:48).

While talking about victim blaming, it is essential to be aware of the social construction of categories and narratives. Whereas most attempts focus on discrediting the victim by displaying her as sex worker, one mother questions the negative stigma which surrounds sex workers in general. During her testimonial, she deconstructs the negative connotation around the profession of being a sex workers as: “Prostitutas que fuera, tienen derecho a la vida y tienen derecho a decir yo no quiero nada contigo, y no me puedes obligar de tener sexo contigo” (doc II, 43:38-43:55). She defends not just her daughter and the image which is circulating about her, but also sex workers. In her perspective there is no distinction between good and bad women. All women have the right to say what they want, they have the right to decide with who they want to have sex and most important they all have the right to live, regardless any stigma.

Next, the attorney general’s office was already found to be a place where insufficient investigations take place. Besides, it is the place where family members of the victims are blamed for not knowing what their loved ones are doing at night and therefore pave the way for their assassinations. (doc I, 8:16-8:43). Further, the family members are blamed for the overall bad image which sticks to Ciudad Juárez since the 1990s. As one mother points out: “No sé porque echan la culpa a los familiares. De que en Ciudad Juárez, los familiares son los culpables

de que ya no hay turismo, de que nosotros manchamos la imagen de Ciudad Juárez” (doc III, 45:48- 46:11). It is the reason, why family members have lost their trust in officials on a local level, but also on a national level. They feel ignored by the authorities and the places, which are sought to represent them (doc III, 44:51-45:25). Not just the victim, but also the family members get blamed for the violent acts.

4.3.4 Discovery and victim identification

As the testimonials of the family members continue, the discovery of bodies and the victim identification are central experiences. It is also a point, where the experiences of family members are parting. Many victims remain missing. As one father points out, he has been looking for his daughter already for ten years (doc III, 25:39- 26:02). Thus, some family members even do not have the certainty that their loved ones are found dead. They do not share the same experiences of discovery and victim identification

When bodies or human remains are discovered, the television and radio stations play an essential role. They distribute the information and receive calls from family members, who are looking for a disappeared person. As the sister of one of the victims tells, she will never forget the words of a neighbor, who came to their house. Her sister had already been missing for several days and they were just arriving at home, when the neighbor told her mother: “No te vas a asustar, pero acaba salir en la televisión, que acaban de encontrar una muchacha con las características de Alejandra” (doc III, 3:15-3:33). So, the information that a body was found reached the family via a neighbor who happened to watch the television. Afterwards the mother called the television broadcaster and got certainty that her daughter was concerned.

The discovery of bodies is also linked to certain places as Lote Bravo or Lomas de Poleo, where multiple bodies were found (doc II, 21:01-21:08). One mother recalls that the person, who found her daughter was a herder on the search for his animals. (doc II, 21:21-21:28). Another victim was found vis-à-vis of the *maquiladora*, where she used to work. It is the only time mentioned in the testimonials that the owner of the *maquiladora* offered a reward in order to identify the perpetrator: “La encontraron a frente a su trabajo. Entonces es cuando el (empresario de Plásticos Promex) ofrece una recompensa, me recuerdo que ofreció una recompensa de 15 mil dólares. Que la recompensa al final subió a 25 mil dólares” (doc II, 39:06:39:19). Overall it highlights the circumstance that various people are involved in the discovery of a victim. More people than the actual family members know about the disappearance. As one mother indicates, she was working as a teacher when her daughter disappeared, and her

pupils knew what had happened. And not just her pupils, but it felt to her like everyone was informed due to the television and radio stations (doc III, 29:14-29:26).

After a body appeared and the family members received the information about it, there is the task of body identification. The family members, mostly the parents are asked to come to the morgue in order to identify the victim and her belongings. One morgue is known as the *anfiteatro* and the place, where the dead bodies are transported to, after their discovery: “Nos fuimos rápido al anfiteatro, que es donde llevan a los cuerpos” (doc III, 4:35- 4:39). One father recalls that he went to the *anfiteatro* to identify the belongings of a body that was found dead and burned. It was a sleeveless west that caught his attention, because his daughter liked to wear those. He went home to check his daughter’s wardrobe and could not find it there. The next day, the mother of the victim also identified her daughter’s hair tie and a small piece of her leggings, which was not burned (doc I, 1:01:08-1:01:59).

There are also restrictions faced by family members at the morgue. One mother remembers that her daughter was covered with a grey shroud and she could only see her from the nose and upwards. She wanted to touch her, especially her face, because she knew it was the body of her daughter but: “Luego, no me dejaron. Me dijeron que no podía hacer esto” (doc III, 25:14-25:20). The fact that she could not see her daughter’s whole face hints at potential injuries which were covered up with the shroud. Another woman recalls that she was called by the police and they told her: “Venga a reconocer un cuerpo, que apareció, a ver si lo reconoce. Nada más que está incompleto. Tiene que estar preparada” (doc III, 46:53-47:49). In this case the mother saw the whole body and remembers that there was nothing to recognize from her head to the knees. But she could recognize the victim on the basis of a scar on her calf. She remembered that her daughter was bit by a dog once. But this indication was insufficient evidence for identifying the victim and a DNA test had to be conducted. The test results were found negative. However, the second DNA resulted positive and the parents were allowed to receive the body of their daughter (doc II, 46:53-47:49).

The falsification of DNA tests is a striking pattern in the investigations of feminicides. Although one could think that DNA test could clarify some of the confusion around the identification of the victim, the opposite is the case. Several DNA tests are conducted on the basis of the same material and the results differ (doc I, 34:05-34:29 and doc II, 46:53-47:49). It makes the morgue to a place, where the identification of a victim faces several constraints. Although, the family members are facing tremendous personal distress by going to the *anfiteatro*, not all of them know for sure if the body, parts of the body or personal belongings they get to see are

from their loved ones. Even if they are sure about the identification, it might not be officially recognized.

4.3.5 Impunity

The DNA test hints at the involvement of official investigators after a body was found (doc I, 53:00-53:19). The results of these investigations are questioned and criticized by family members. Case reports are closed after a short amount of time and without results. As the mother of Bricia Yaneth tells, official investigations could not identify suspects for the murder of her daughter: “Cuando ella se murió se investigó un mes. El expediente de ella está cerrado como todos de las demás madres. Ella luchó tanto por defender su vida, porque ella fue asesinada en presencia de su hija. Que el gobierno vea que estamos dispuestas a luchar y que estamos en contra de él. Queremos que nos dé una respuesta sobre los casos de nuestras hijas” (doc III, 44:51-45:25). Her testimonial reflects that impunity is a main concern of family members, who have lost a loved person due to feminicidal violence. She is not only speaking for herself and the case of her daughter, but also mentions other mothers, who face the same challenges as she does. Further, her statement indicates that the outrage of family members about the prevailing impunity is a unifying experience against official investigation procedures and in the end against the federal government. Therefore, she demands a response of the government on behalf of the feminicides happening at Ciudad Juárez.

4.3.5.1 Misleading investigations

This impunity is found to be built on various shortcomings during investigations. One example is the detention of Sharif in 1995, who was presented to the public as the suspect responsible for the dead bodies found in Lote Bravo (doc I, 16:08-16:14). As already elaborated before (see part 4.1.4), one expert’s perspective hints at the fact that although Sharif has the profile of a suspect, he is not responsible for the feminicides at Lote Bravo. This coincides with the testimonials of family members. As the mother of one of the victims found at Lote Bravo states: “Pues la policía achaca al Sharif. Dicen que el Sharif (es responsable para el asesinato de su hija). Yo digo que no. Yo digo que no. Que a lo mejor hasta el hombre es inocente” (doc II, 52:31-52:50). Thus, she is not only denying that Sharif is responsible for the assassination of her daughter, she even raises the assumption that Sharif may be innocent.

Listening to a defense of a suspect out of the perspective of a relative of the murdered person, is a significant statement. Assuming that the testimonials of family members are the most trustworthy information when it comes to the investigation of feminicides, it is all the more astonishing. It emphasizes the controversial opinions of family members and of official

prosecutors about the pursued lines of investigations. Another example of misleading investigations is the detention of the so called *Rebeldes* –gang. They were locked up for the dead bodies found in Lomas de Poleo in 1996. Family members also question this investigation and their responsibility, as the brutal murders continued after their detention (doc I, 22:32- 22:37). Until 2001, victims with the same characteristics as the murdered women of 1995 and 1996 appeared at Ciudad Juárez (doc III, 21:36- 22:05).

Next, relatives report about intentional misleading investigations. The mother of Neyra shares her perspective. Her daughter was discovered after two months of missing on the 13th of July. The next day, police arrested her nephew as the suspected murder. The incomprehensible detail for the mother is that her nephew was not even in the same federal state, when her daughter was kidnapped: “Él estaba totalmente trabajando en Chiapas. Podría haber estado en Japón y para ellos estaba en este momento ahí, porque ellos son la ley y la ley es que ellos dicen. Por eso mi sobrino está ahí. Ellos saben bien, 100 % que es inocente. Ellos saben quiénes son los culpables y los tienen” (doc III, 46:27- 46:55). She did not only lose her daughter, but another relative of her was incarcerated. This contributes a new dimension of experience. The family is twofold concerned with fighting for justice. On the one side they demand the adequate investigation of the murdered women and on the other side they advocate for the release of her cousin, who was incarcerated as a scapegoat. These cases demonstrate the mistaken execution of the legal framework which ultimately results in the impunity for the actual perpetrator.

The sister of another victim tells the story about the failed exhumation of the body during investigation. Instead of her sister, another body was exhumed which was located in the grave, where her sister was supposed to be found. According to her, she asked the responsible prosecutor about how this could happen. The answer was that apparently a mistake with the numbers on the tombs occurred. It led the sister to mistrust official information in general (doc I, 34:54-35:19). The accumulation of incidents like this are evidence of misleading investigations and result in deep mistrust on behalf of relatives against the official prosecution offices. Whereas the ultimate aim of family members is to end impunity and to identify the perpetrators, the question raises what the ultimate aim of official prosecution is, when the results of their investigations are not approved by family members. Are the misleading investigations conducted on purpose? This is one of the most urgent questions for family members.

4.3.5.2 Omissions of state officials

Another behavior which is denounced by relatives is the omission of investigations on behalf of the local authorities. Family members who went to the special prosecution offices to

talk to the special prosecutor, report that they were told to wait and to be patient. The father of one of the victims recalls that he talked to the special prosecutor on the third day after his daughter's disappearance. Although he explained the situation, he remembers the special prosecutor remained unimpressed. According to him, her answer was that nothing can be done so far because only two days have passed. The special prosecutor thought that it was more likely his daughter went off with her boyfriend than that she was kidnapped. She was convinced that no investigations were needed at this point in time (doc I, 52:51-53:19). On these grounds, investigations were omitted: "No investigaron absolutamente nada" (doc I 1:02:27-1:02:31). Three weeks later a burned body was found and identified as his daughter. This experience highlights the missing prosecution until a dead body appears. It makes the special prosecution office a place, where in the perspectives of family members no help can be expected for the search of disappeared people. It is indeed a painful experience for family members because they wonder what their loved ones had to live through during their days of disappearance and before their assassination (doc I, 1:02:31- 1:02:46)

Another reason for the omission of investigations, next to the not-yet-discovery of a body, is fear. As one mother describes, she went to see the special prosecutor in order to ask about the current state of her daughter's case. She even took a notebook with all the collected information from her private search she conducted after the disappearance of her daughter. She presented the information and asked why the special prosecution is doing nothing to solve the case. In the end she asked the special prosecutor, if she is afraid to investigate the case and the answer she got was: "¿Usted no tiene miedo?" (doc I, 53:41- 55:06). It indicates another dimension of the investigations. Apparently, even the special prosecution office for women's homicides at Ciudad Juárez is not able to conduct investigations independently of threats.

For the individual case, the omission of investigations signifies various issues. As one mother points out: "No establecieron, en el predio por donde la subieron. Una. No hicieron el croquis de levantamiento del cuerpo. No mandaron analizar el bolo alimenticio. No mandaron analizar el semen, el vello público, el material orgánico que había en sus manos, el material que había en las calcetas, la mancha que había en la cobija. La autopsia dice que estaba amarrada con cintas de zapatos. (Pero) ella tenía esposas, ahí están las marcas en sus manos, que no dejan mentir. Está la fotografía, eran esposas, y tampoco lo manejan" (doc II, 1:11:36- 1:12:22). Her portrayal of incidents represents the extensive scope of omission which is caused by the local authorities. It results inevitably in losing evidence that would be needed to identify and convict perpetrators. Therefore, the omission of investigation destroys ultimately the hope of family

members that the perpetrator can be held legally responsible for assassination. This is the reason, why it is spoken of omission and not just non-action of official investigations.

In addition, one mother raises the connection between the omission of investigations and the in average low economic background of the victims (doc I, 1:13:35- 1:14:02). She struggles about the observation that only women of low economic background are experiencing feminicidal violence. Subsequently these cases remain without satisfying investigation results. She applies a social class perspective on the phenomenon of feminicides and wonders if justice and adequate investigation are only available to people with sufficient monetary resources. It brings us to the next question about the complicity of the local authorities.

4.3.5.3 Police complicity

At first, it seems suspicious to relatives that women disappear in immediate proximity to police stations (doc I, 55:09-55:15). Did they not notice at all, or did they not want to see what happen? And if so, why would they not want to see what happened. The sister of one of the victims insists that not the victims nor the families, but the official authorities and their corrupted work are to blame for the feminicides and their continuity at Ciudad Juárez: “Yo creo que, en Ciudad Juárez no manchan mal la imagen más que los funcionarios con su trabajo corrupto que hacen. Ya se han entrevistado con el Presidente de la República. No habían resultados. Entonces no podemos confiar ni siquiera en las autoridades federales. ¿Entonces en quién podemos confiar?” (doc III, 45:48- 46:11). It is one example which shows that relatives insist on the participation and the complicity of the security forces in the feminicides.

The general attorney’s office gets blamed in particular. One mother actually accuses the attorney general for being involved actively in the disappearance of her daughter and that until the day of her interview, no one has done anything to solve the case of her daughter (doc II, 55:34-55:48). She is not the only one blaming the intelligence apparatus. Another mother is desperate, because the special procurator had various lines of investigation in her daughter’s case, but they did not follow up on any of them (doc II, 56:26- 56:44). Her daughter disappeared already six years ago and although public prosecution has had sufficient time to investigate, they do not know what happened.

Besides, another mother states that she is convinced about that police officers are involved in the disposal of the bodies: “Yo creo que si hay policías involucrados (...) los utilizan para llevar y traer los cuerpos. Para llevar a las chicas y a tirarlas” (doc II, 57:50– 58:07): Her statement hints at the fact that the police officers are not the initiators of the feminicides but that they are used by someone. This raises the question of who is as powerful as being able to

order police officers to commit or to be involved in crimes? In either scenario, it does not work without the knowing and the tolerance of higher-ranking officers.

4.3.6 Memorial

Due to impunity and the prevailing disappearance of people, family members remain in a state of not knowing what happened to their loved ones and sometimes never get to know what has actually happened. They have the tremendous task to live with this state of mind. How does this affect family members and their memorial of the disappeared or dead relatives? For this stage of experience, the home of the families, the churches and the cemetery are found to be essential, although the perspectives differ widely within the group of family members. Remembering that the analysis is limited to the perspectives of family members, who actively participated in the production of the documentaries under study, it can be assumed that far more perspectives exist. The perspectives, which can be carved out in the following are based on interviews of people, who wanted to speak publicly about their experiences. There are also people who do not want or who are not able to speak publicly about their experiences and whose memorial practices differ from the ones found in the documentaries.

However, during the documentaries, there are several ways indicated of how relatives cope with the challenges. For some, memorials in a religious frame and the believe on divine justice is one strategy: “Dios es el único que nos puede hacer justicia. Porque aquí no hay justicia” (doc II, 1:17:57- 1:18:03). Further, churches are important places for memorial services. They are used to actively remember the disappeared women and their lives. They are also used to point at the grievous number of overall disappeared and murdered people at Ciudad Juárez (doc III, 56:06- 56:17). For family members these services represent one occasion, where they process and show their emotional state. When the remains of a relative were discovered, then the cemetery or the place of burial are essential for the emotional process of families and their memorial. The local cemeteries are visited in order to take care and to maintain the grave of their loved ones. Together for example they repaint the letters written on the gravestone (doc III, 1:27:51-1:29:05). But not all found victims are buried at the local cemetery. As one mother indicates: “Ella me pidió que cuando ella muriera yo la cremara y su ceniza la esparcía en el mar” (docII, 1:18:40- 1:18:47). Thus, there are different places of memorial.

Next, in various scenes the gathering and the collective action of family members is shown during the documentaries. They meet to remember their loved ones, to organize collective searches, to paint pink crosses and to install them as memorials in various places around the city. Further they found civil society organizations (doc II, 15:55- 16:10). These actions are

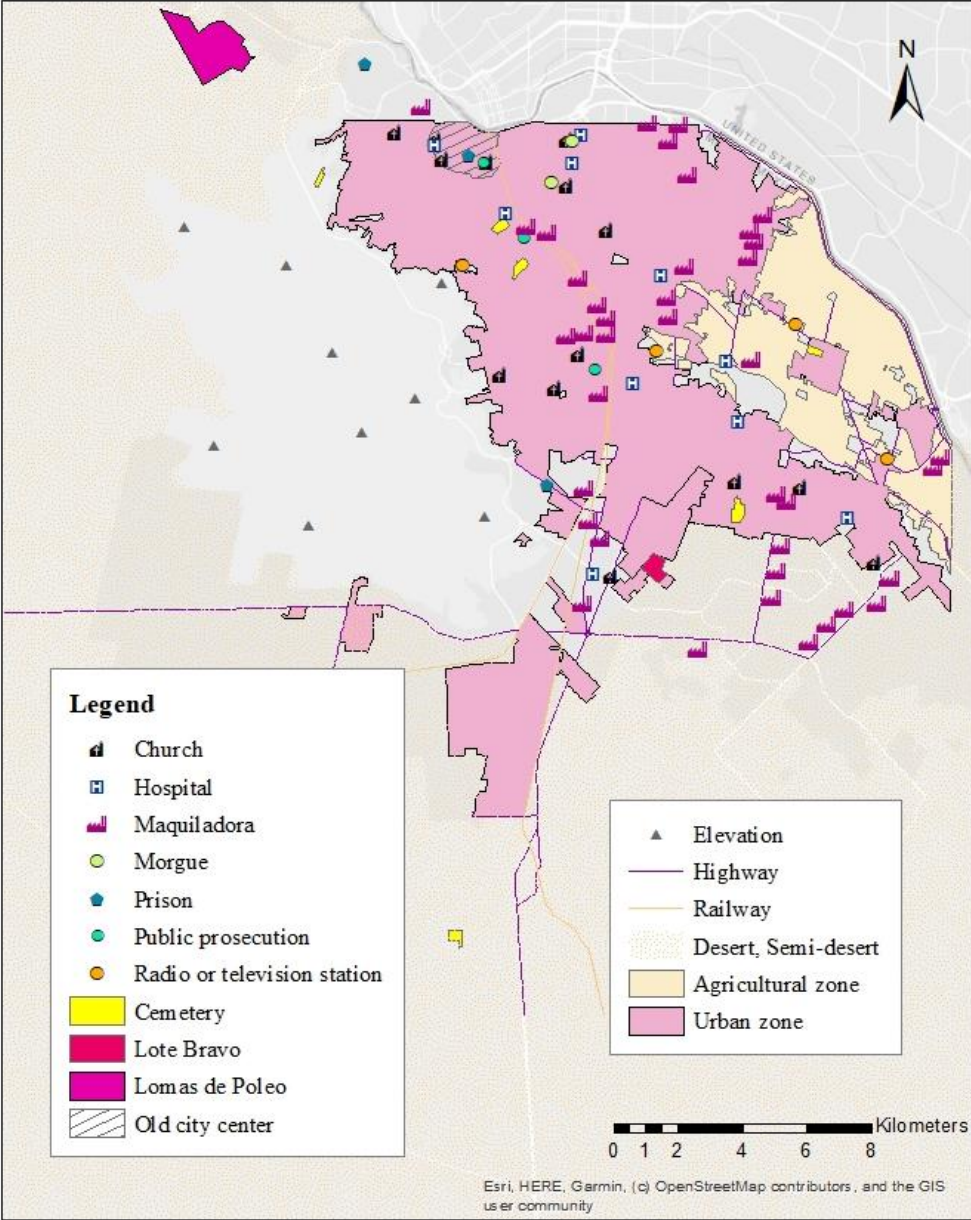
sustained by the belief that justice is possible and that future crimes can be prevented. However, not all family members are that optimistic about the future. The aunt whose young niece was killed in 1997 is convinced that nothing will change neither the deplorable living situation of the family members, nor the continuing impunity and assassination of women (doc II, 1:18:50- 1:19:10). She does not believe in the transformation of the situation. This leads to the long-term impacts that families have to live with in the aftermath.

Femicides are not temporally limited to a specific period in time. The impacts of femicides change the daily routines of family members considerably and permanently. As one mother describes her situation: “Yo era abuela y me convirtieron en mamá” (doc III, 1:01:55- 1:05:08). She experiences the impacts of femicides in a way that she is now primarily responsible of her two grandchildren. They both were under three years old when their mother was killed. It can be considered a significant change of her daily routines. However, she describes her two grandchildren as the main reason for her to live on. They do not depend on her, but she depends on them. They are the reason why she continues with her own life and her call for justice. The lasting impacts of femicides on relatives are also reflected in a statement of a father, whose daughter went missing ten years ago. It still bothers him not to know what happened to his daughter and that he is still waiting for justice to happen (doc III, 25:43- 26:02).

4.4 How do these places relate geographically?

The places that were mentioned by family members during their testimonials are: their homes, the hospitals, the city center, the police stations, the attorney general’s office, the special prosecution office, the prison, the desert, the *maquiladoras*, *Lote Bravo*, *Lomas de Poleo*, the cemetery, the morgue and the churches. The following part is an attempt to relate these places geographically and to visualize violent structures by doing so. Especially the places related to repressive politics are highlighted, as they are identified as a crucial base line throughout the testimonials of family members. The aim is to dissolve part of the confusion around the phenomenon by mapping the impacts of femicides. Therefore, geographical data of Ciudad Juárez of 1998 provided by the Mexican *Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía* (INEGI) builds the basis of the following maps (INEGI 1998). The relevant data for the impacts of femicides is limited to the online accessible data provided by the national institute. Like this only *Lomas de Poleo* and *Lote Bravo* can be depicted representatively for all places of body discoveries in the 1990s. Besides, data about the domiciles of the family members or victims is not available online, because of the sensitivity of the data. Further, precise locations of the *maquiladoras* in the 1990s is lacking in the data provided by the INEGI. To compensate this data, the

information of the Diercke Weltatlas on *maquiladoras* at Ciudad Juárez is used (Michael 2015, 268). The available information is marked in different colors subsequently. The grey base map in the background depicts the current extension of the city and is provided by the ArcGis World Geocoding Service.



Map 1 created by the author on the spatial distribution of the impacts of feminicides

Map 1 represents an approximation towards the spatial distribution of crucial places in the aftermath of feminicides. At a first glance there is no order recognizable. The places marked by various symbols and colors seem to be arbitrarily dispersed. No geographical hotspots for the impacts of feminicides can be identified. Instead extensive parts of the city are indicated as relevant in the aftermath of feminicides for the family members. It shows that the impacts of

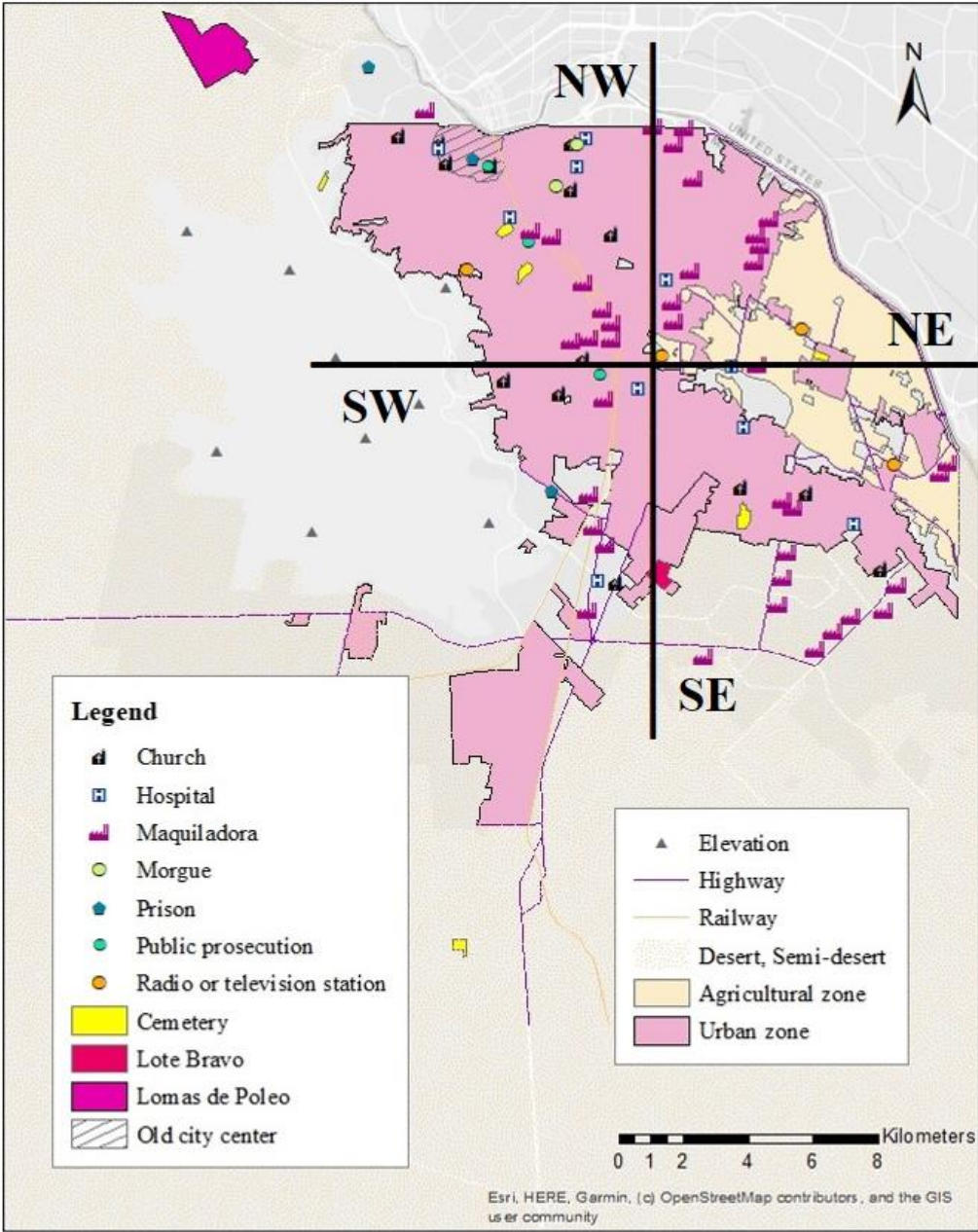
femicides are not limited to specific zones but that they are experienced in various places around the city. This can be related to the message of menace, which was introduced in the theory part. It states that not only the victims are affected by femicidal violence. Instead a message of menace is sent to the whole population.

Then the vast hostile natural surroundings of the city are remarkable. On one hand, the city is surrounded by vast desert and semi-desert zones. On the other hand, the city is bordering the mountain range *Sierra Juárez* in the west of the city. It indicates the topographic challenges for family members while searching for human remains on the outskirts of the city. While the perpetrators can operate in a vast uninhabited area, the difficult-to-reach terrain complicates the search of family members for their loved ones. The geographic dimensions point at the practical impossibility to search the whole area. It raises the question of where to start and where to end the search. It also points to the desperate situation of family members.

Moreover, the city is limited by the international border in the north. This enclosure makes the south of the city the only possible direction of expansion. The grey base map indicates that the city was growing further south during the last decades. Apart from the proximity to railways, highways, and international border crossings, it is the southern part of the city which is especially interesting for *maquiladoras*. These were mentioned various times during the testimonials to the locality where the victims were last seen. Unfortunately, it is not possible to draw the commutes of the *maquiladora* workers. As the information of the domiciles of the victims is missing, the information of the location of *maquiladoras* can only be used descriptively. Nevertheless, it indicates that the *maquiladoras* are dispersed and can be found in the city center as well as in the outskirts of the city.

Apart from the *maquiladoras*, the places of state representatives were identified by family members as crucial in the aftermath of femicides in the 1990s. This is the reason why the public prosecution offices, the morgues and the prisons are included in the map. However, the location of these places would be more significant, when the places related to the *segundo estado* would be known, too. As the places of state representation are related by family members to misleading investigations, omission and police complicity, it would be highly interesting to investigate on the geographical relation between places of state representation and places of the *segundo estado*. However, it is not possible to locate the *segundo estado* on the map, as the testimonials do not provide any data on those. References of family members towards the *segundo estado* were drawn only indirectly. Therefore, map 1 can be considered foremost as a spatial approach towards the impacts of femicides related to repressive politics.

Nevertheless, there is a geographical pattern observable, when the city is divided in four quadrants. The subsequent map shows the division of the city in for parts: NW, NE, SE and SW.



Map 2 created by the author on interpreting georeferenced impacts of feminicides

Map 2 shows that not all districts of the city are equally involved in the aftermath of feminicides. Especially the NE zone stands out because there are few georeferenced impacts of feminicides identifiable. Apart from *maquiladoras*, which are located in this quadrant, there are two radio and television stations and a hospital. There are no places of public prosecution found in this area. Further there is no prison and only one cemetery. This zone which was identified by Luis Cervera as the zone of well-maintained urban infrastructure and high socio-economic

background. He identified the NE zone as of low risk for experiencing feminicidal power in the 1990s. According to him, bodies were discovered only sporadically in this area and most of the victims did not live in this zone (Monárrez Fragoso et al. 2010). On basis of the georeferenced impacts of feminicides, this zone can be identified as of least importance in the aftermath of femicide for family members.

Although the map is not showing a complete list of the places identified by family members, the NW and SE zones are striking because the sites of multiple body discoveries are located in these zones. *Lote Bravo* and *Lomas de Poleo* are located at the outskirts of these zones. Furthermore, the highways leading to the city are also located in the south of the city, which roadsides were mentioned by Julia Monárrez as places of body discovery in the 1990s (Monárrez Fragoso 2018, 919). Although, the highways were not explicitly mentioned in the testimonials, it reinforces the conclusion that the NE zone is the least relevant zone for the family members under scrutiny.

Concerning the places related to impunity, the NW and the SW zones are relevant. The prisons are the symbolic places for investigations without results and for the incarceration of scapegoats. The public prosecution offices are considered the places, where evidence is lost, and lines of investigations are dropped. The morgues are considered places where the identification of human remains becomes equivocal. All these places are in the western parts of the city. Therefore, the conclusion can be drawn that the NW and the SW zones of Ciudad Juárez are crucial for experiencing the impacts of feminicides related to repressive politics.

5. Results

“Es cuando yo digo, hijo: ¿dónde está Dios?
(...) porque simplemente no nos aparece
cuando se va a cometer una cosa así -¿verdad?-
tan fea, como son los crímenes de mujeres”

Testimonial of a mother
(doc II, 1:16:10- 1:16:30)

In the following part, the results of the analysis are related to the discussions of the theory part. First, the analysis of the testimonials has shown that there are certain patterns of the impacts of feminicides. Family members experience the impacts as a recurring chronological pattern. It starts with the forced disappearance of a loved person and the initiation of private searches. Along these events, the victim is blamed for her own death. It continues with the discovery of human remains and the task of body identification. Subsequently, the experience of misleading or omitting investigations by state officials is made. Finally, the task of moving on and memorial awaits the family members. These almost systematic traumatic experiences are shared by the majority of family members in question. Thus, the systematic characteristics of feminicides identified during the theory part transmit to the experienced impacts of feminicides. It emphasizes that feminicidal violence is not arbitrary but follows specific patterns.

As identified in the theoretical discussions (see part 2) the state, the *maquiladoras*, and the *segundo estado* are involved in the continuity of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez. The empiric findings of this paper suggest to reconsider this picture for the impacts of feminicides. The state and state representatives are found the main culprits throughout the testimonials. State officials are directly blamed by family members for the prevailing impunity and the continuity of the feminicides. Especially the special prosecutors and the general attorney are held accountable. It coincides with the state misogyny that was emphasized by Melgar in the theory part. Family members agree to call feminicides state crimes because of their experiences of the inadequate investigation of their cases. Some of the family members even blame police officers as well as state representatives openly for being corrupt.

This leads to the next interesting finding of this analysis concerning the involvement of the *segundo estado*. Segato emphasized the intersection between drug trafficking networks and elite members from economy and local police forces, which create a powerful mafia brotherhood or *segundo estado*. This network was described by Segato to be involved in the feminicides because it has the power to guarantee impunity for its members. It suggests that the *segundo estado* plays a significant role for the impacts of feminicides, too. Nevertheless, a direct

reference towards the *segundo estado* or any drug related network could not be found throughout the analysis of the testimonials. The only direct hint about the involvement of drug trafficking networks are the *familias poderosas*, which were named in documentary one. However, their names were not stated in the interviews. Their names were only shown on various street signs or company names.

However, it would be rather oversimplified to conclude that drug trafficking networks do not play a considerable role for the impacts of feminicides at Ciudad Juárez. Rather, the indirect references to them reveal the specific nature of their involvement. One mother points for example at the corrupt work of state officials that is staining the image of the city (doc III, 45:48- 46:11). Interestingly, she does not clarify neither by whom the state officials are corrupted, nor for what reasons. This relates to the common evaluation of family members that there is no justice concerning the death of their loved ones and never will be, as evidence got destroyed during investigations (doc II, 1:11:36- 1:12:22). The broken trust of family members in official investigations suggests the indirect involvement of the *segundo estado*.

Corruption usually involves one actor who is corrupted and one actor who is corrupting. The fact that family members agree on state officials being corrupted indicates the presence of a second actor. Taking the theoretical discussions into account, this second party can only be members of the *segundo estado*, as the network is considered to hold considerable power in the city. This raises the question of why family members would omit the identification of the corrupting party. The most possible explanation for family members not accusing drug trafficking network members directly is the high risk of receiving threats for doing so. At the end of documentary two, it is mentioned that family members were threatened during their private searches (doc II, 1:14:12- 1:17:48). Furthermore, one mother mentioned that the colleagues of her daughter were threatened and would rather testify against her than telling what happened (doc II, 42:08- 42:36). Again, she did not specify who exactly was threatening the working colleagues.

This suggests that blaming members of the *segundo estado* publicly is too dangerous. Segato conceptualized the suffering of non-combatant bodies as a way for para-state groups to demonstrate their unlimited violent power and thus their sovereignty in the city. As concerned family members are the ones who are most aware about the disposition of the network to apply extreme levels of brutality, they remain vague about the corrupting actors. The mere participation of family members in the documentaries and their public testimonials can be considered outstanding. Although they know about the power of the *segundo estado*, they decided to record their testimonials and criticize impunity publicly. The fact that they are not blaming drug

trafficking networks directly can be considered a strategy to protect themselves. Although the encounters with state representatives are mentioned by family members as the main events in the aftermath of femicidal violence, the corrupting practices of the *segundo estado* are found to frame the impacts experienced by family members. The deliberate ignoring of references towards the *segundo estado* reveal the actual power of the mafia brotherhood. Their power can be seen in the fact that they are not being directly referenced in the testimonials. One must read between the lines to understand their involvement. Thus, they are limiting the conduct of family members in the aftermath of femicides and thereby avoid public accusations.

The third influential actor that was discussed in the theory part was the *maquiladora*. Particularly Melissa Wright focused on the capitalist logic of disposable bodies that thrives on the shop-floors of *maquiladoras* and coincides with the violent structures of femicides. Concerning the impacts of femicides, the *maquiladoras* were mentioned in all three of the documentaries. Mostly, they are mentioned as places related to the disappearance of people. Several women disappeared on their way to work, others after applying for a job there, again others after being late for work in the assembly plant. Furthermore, some were discovered dead opposite of their working place. It makes the surroundings of the industrial parks as a high-risk zone for femicides in the 1990s. However, the exploitative labor relations, like twelve hour shifts or the failure of youth protection acts, were only mentioned briefly during the testimonials, as a part of the daily routine of the victims. Family members did not indicate any direct involvement of them in the impacts of femicides. This is one aspect where the opinions of family members and of experts differ. While experts blame the *maquiladoras* for taking on an active part during and after the femicides, family members focus on the complicity of the state.

It is the state and state representatives who are blamed for the continuity of the femicides and the prevailing impunity by family members. Neither the *segundo estado*, nor the *maquiladoras* are mentioned directly as often as the state. Family members agree on the intentional character of misleading investigations, the destruction of evidence, the omission of action and the partial complicity of the police force. It is not surprising that the impacts of femicides are therefore connected to the places of encounters with state officials. Moreover, it was indicated that even the special prosecutor was threatened during investigations (doc I, 53:41-55:06). It raises the question if the state can guarantee the security of its officials and emphasizes once more the tremendous power held by the *segundo estado*.

Another aspect raised during the theoretical discussions is Berlanga's approach of the intersectional vulnerability of the victims. Her main argument was that *mujeres de color* and *indígenas* are at higher risk to experience femicidal violence because their socially

constructed categories of race and gender intersect. The intersectional approach is also found of relevance for the impacts of feminicides. As one mother explains only women of low socio-economic background went missing at Ciudad Juárez (doc II, 1:13:35- 1:14:02). She wonders why never a rich woman disappeared in the 1990s. It is a legitimate question and indicates that next to the social categories of gender and race, also social class intersects in the risk of experiencing feminicidal violence. Holding the categories of female gender, being a *mujer de color* and coming from a low socio-economic background makes a person the most exposed to feminicidal violence. It implies that mostly families of low socio-economic background are concerned by the impacts of feminicides in the 1990s.

Social marginalization is also a main objective for feminist peace and conflict studies. Especially the reproduction of existing, patriarchal power structures by the stigmatization and victim blaming was discussed in the theory part. As one mother states, the society of Ciudad Juárez blames rather the victim than the government for the feminicides (doc II, 1:01:34-1:01:48). Like this, the dead woman becomes a victim of societal internalized patriarchal power structures after her death. It is a power that emanates from the social system itself and results in the human degradation of the victim. The attorney general is identified by family members and experts to embody the voice of patriarchal power structures. His suggestion of a curfew to counter the cases of feminicides symbolizes the patriarchal logic of solving the situation by controlling feminized bodies rather than blaming the perpetrator.

Next to the chronological pattern of the impacts of feminicides, the geographic relation of the crucial places in the aftermath of feminicides reveals another pattern of feminicidal violence. The process of georeferencing the obtained spatial data reveals that extensive parts of Ciudad Juárez are involved in the impacts of feminicides. There are no hotspots identified. Rather the whole city is affected by the impacts of feminicides. However, the NE zone of the city is found to be of least importance for family members in the aftermath of feminicides. This coincides with the findings of Luis Cervera.

Additionally, it is observable that the chronological pattern does not show distinctively in the geographical relation of the places. Rather all sorts of places are dispersed at Ciudad Juárez (except the NE zone). Thus, places that are related to healing processes like collective memorial services of family members at churches or cemeteries are located in the same districts as the misleading investigations of state representatives. Places like *Lomas de Poleo* and *Lote Bravo* were several times mentioned by family members in relation to body discoveries. They also become places where memorial sides have been installed and visited by family members. They are simultaneous places of extreme violence and places where the individual coping

mechanisms of the affected family members come into play. Thus, they multidimensional meanings.

Overall, feminicides do not only affect the murdered women but whole families, also in a long-term perspective, and the population of Ciudad Juárez in general. The prevalence of patriarchal power structures, the unbowed power of the *segundo estado*, as well as the absence of law execution and repressive politics, depict the complexity of the phenomenon. The visualization of the latter dimension in map 1 contributes to the current research on femicide and adds complexity to the understanding of the impacts of feminicides.

6. Conclusions

“Que el gobierno vea que estamos dispuestas a luchar y que estamos en contra de él. Queremos que nos dé una respuesta sobre los casos de nuestras hijas.”

Testimonial of a mother
(doc III, 45:09 - 45:25)

A young girl blurs against a sharp background; a woman is outdoors and leans on a shovel; printed photos are attached to a white wall in the shape of a heart- these are all descriptions of photographs of the World Press Photo Exhibition 2019. At first glance, they look harmless. The second glance reveals the urgency of this project. Every picture is related to the topic of disappearance in Mexico. The small information board next to the photographs informs the visitor about the continuity of the extreme levels of violence over the years: according to official numbers, more than 250.000 people were killed in Mexico since 2006. Over 37.000 people were reported as missing. Besides, it gives information about the personal story of the photographer: “In 2013, one of the photographer’s brothers-in-law was killed and another two disappeared. This led him to begin documenting the resultant psychological and emotional fracture in his own family and in the families of other missing people, to give a personal account of the despair and sense of absence that accrues over time “⁵.

The photo project gives us information about the further course of extreme violence in Mexico since the 1990s and about the current situation. It indicates that structural violence has spread, and that the general situation has even worsened. What begun in Ciudad Juárez as gender-targeted violence has extended to all bodies and to all states of Mexico. It raises the question of why the current situation is never referred to as a civil warlike condition in the media. The answer is connected to the insight that runs as a red thread through this work: it is extremely difficult to trace structural violence and to make it understandable. As the investigation of femicidal violence has shown, the perpetrators benefit from the confusion around the phenomenon. As long as femicides remain confuse, they cannot be tackled. This poses the challenge of investigating a phenomenon that does not want to be understood.

⁵ Retrieved from the World Press Photo Exhibition official website: <https://www.worldpressphoto.org/collection/photo/2019/37699/1/Yael-MartinezYael-Martinez> (Accessed on October 18, 2019)

It makes it all the more important to keep trying to understand the phenomenon because it is inevitably the first step of imagining a positive transformation of the situation. Remembering Galtung's concept of positive peace, not just the end of direct violence is required but also the absence of structural violence. It would include adequate investigations of the cases to evoke a sense of justice for the family members. But as indicated during the testimonials, family members do not think that a positive transformation or justice is possible because evidence has been destroyed, bodies remain undiscovered and brutal violence becomes more normalized every day.

It indicates the trauma of family members. They are not only concerned because a loved person experienced feminicidal violence, they themselves become the receivers of violence. They are involuntarily pushed into the position of demanding justice publicly and to fight against impunity. Feminicidal violence forces them to invest a lot of personal time and financial resources to this cause. It even reshapes their personal identity. The private searches become parts of their personality. In a way it is another layer which is added to the experience of living at the border. Thus, the identity of a 'borderlander' becomes extended by the need of coping with the impacts of feminicides and the daily challenges to live with the possibility that another loved person disappears.

Assuming that someday the situation is going to change, and direct violence will stop or diminish at the border, the tremendous task of historical revisiting awaits as well as the task of coping with social traumatization and normalized brutality. It also would include the healing of the marks left by feminicidal violence on society and especially on the family members. Therefore, further research is urgently needed on the phenomenon. The spatial approach of this paper has proven useful to dissolve part of the confusion around the impacts of feminicides by georeferencing the experiences of family members. The most striking insights of this paper are two patterns in impacts of feminicides: first, there is a systematic, chronological procedure that family members have to endure. Second, the impacts of feminicides are not accumulating in geographic hotspots rather extensive parts of the city are involved in the aftermath of feminicides. One exception is the NE zone, which is the zone of least importance in the aftermath of feminicides.

It shows that innovative and interdisciplinary approaches are needed in order to dissolve the confusion around the phenomenon step by step. Especially feminist concepts have proven viable to enhance and rethink existing theories. This could be one way to expand theories in global studies in general. Furthermore, the conducted analysis has shown that taking the CO² omissions of the research designs into account does not necessarily mean to limit the

explanatory power of a study. Rather different results are achieved that can add to the existing state of research. Besides, the analysis highlights that it is crucial to pay attention to the things that are not stated directly, or which are omitted on purpose, like the indirect references towards the *segundo estado* throughout the testimonials. However, reading between the lines constitutes the limit of qualitative content analysis. As the method focuses on the interpretation of the articulated information, it is hardly possible to interpret the not-articulated information. Therefore, especially oral history can be an enriching approach for further research because there are still a lot of untold and missing perspectives about feminicides.

Finally, the story of the affected family members does not end here. It is only the end of the investigation of their testimonials. Although it is not possible to paint a positive picture for the future, projects like the photo story of Yael Martinez, symbolize an attempt to make the complexity of structural violence understandable. The young girl in the picture is photographed in the house of her disappeared father in the state of Guerrero. The woman with the shovel is member of a group who organizes private search parties to locate clandestine graves and human remains. The decorated photo wall belongs to a teenager and shows the missing members of her family. The photo project illustrates how difficult it is to visualize structural violence. In comparison to other World Press photos, the images do not show extreme violence. No bleeding people, no distorted faces. Instead, they show shadows, motionless faces or steady objects. Only on closer inspection the viewer becomes aware of the immense extent of the prevailing violence. This is the reason why in my eyes this photo story is rightly among the winners of the World Press Photo exhibition of 2019. The preoccupation with the topic is of vital interest, because it is the daily reality of thousands of people. The photo of the blurring girl invokes questions of: Will she have to take on the role of demanding justice? Will she be the next person to disappear? Will she have the right to live?

Primary Sources

Documentary 1 (doc I): Señorita Extraviada

Documentary 2 (doc II): Mujeres de Juárez

Documentary 3 (doc III): Bajo Juárez - La ciudad devorando a sus hijas

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Appendix

Qualitative data extraction

Documentary 1: Señorita Extraviada

Duration: 1:21 h

Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nE8xl_p-uiM (Accessed August 21, 2019)

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		4:45-5:04	Ciudad Juárez, Mexico is a city across the border from El Paso, Texas. To some north Americans it is where everything illicit is available. To Mexicans it is their home and where they work.
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		7:00-7:12	Juárez is the city of the future. As a model of globalization, Ciudad Juárez is spinning out of control.
EX Nar.	Lomas de Poleo/ Lote Bravo		8:00-8:12	El Lomas de Poleo en Lote Bravo, not far from Juárez, the desert is full of secrets. Some of them buried in the sand.
EX Act.	Ciudad Juárez (unresolved problem)		8:16-8:43	When the governor came in television the first time, he was asked about the eight first bodies that were found here in Juárez. He said the problem is that they are prostitutes. They have two lives. The one, families know and the one, they live at the weekends. And the parents don't know that. So, they are in a very high-risk group.
EX Nar.	Attorney's general office (unresolved problem)		9:30-9:50	The attorney's general office had an interesting solution: Que la comunidad aplicará un toque de queda. Todos los buenos pues que estén en sus domicilios, que estén con sus familias. Y bueno los malos sean los que andan en la calle.
EX NGO	Attorney's general office		10:46-11:16	Ni el PAN, ni el PRI han resuelto esta problemática. Creo que tanto las autoridades anteriores como las actuales han cooperado para que se incremente la violencia contra la mujer desde el momento que ellos manejaron que

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
				éramos responsables por andar de noche, por andar vestidas provocativamente.
EX Nar.	Desert		15:17-15:25	Este individuo podría ser el temido y buscado violador y asesino de las siete jovencitas cuyos cuerpos fueron encontrados en el desierto.
EX Nar.	Lote Bravo		16:08-16:14	La policía judicial del estado espera que con estas imágenes, el detenido (Sharif Sharif) sea reconocido como el posible violador de Lote Bravo.
EX Def.	Prison		19:07-19:12	Estando Sharif detenido, aparecen mujeres con estas características.
EX State Off.	Prison		20:42-21:09	Se logró la detención de ocho personas, las cuales, de manera muy contundente, se les han señalado como responsables en la comisión de los delitos de homicidio, de violación y de secuestro cometido y las personas que han sido encontradas tanto en el Lote Bravo como en Lomas de Poleo. Este trabajo de investigación se ha venido llevando a cabo desde hace tiempo. Ha sido una labor muy positiva que han desarrollado agentes de la Policía Judicial del Estado, elementos del departamento de periciales, elementos del Ministerio Público, así como personas del departamento administrativo.
EX Nar.	Prison	Misleading information	22:32-22:37	All members of the ‘Rebeldes’ gang were locked up, but the brutal murders continued.
FA	Maquiladora	Disappearance	24:23-24:34	Ella trabajaba laborando en una maquiladora como operadora de producción. Al salir de la maquiladora a las 3:45 no regresó a casa y no llegó.
EX Nar.	Maquiladora		24:36-24:48	Sagrario’s mother told me that someone at the maquiladora changed her daughters schedule and as a result, she left work that day alone-without the protection of her family.
EX Act.	Maquiladora		25:09-25:40	En la maquila es muy común que vayan y te tomen fotos de cuerpo entero. Hay fotografías los viernes cuando te pagan y a ver, modele. Revisa las fotos que le sacaron a Sagrario y parece una modelo. Entonces yo decía: “bueno hay que

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
				buscarle también por este lado”. Porque hasta donde yo tengo entendido, las escogen por fotografías.
FA	City center/ Bars	Disappearance	27:27-27:45	El día que desapareció Silvia, fue a cobrar a un bar dinero que ella le debía. Mi hija vendía cosméticos y vendía en los bares a bailarinas y a personas que trabajan atrás de los bares.
FA	City center/ Bars	Private search	27:52-28:11	Después de dos días y medio que ya desapareció, yo me fui a lugares. Yo estaba hablando con una de las bailarinas y me dijo que ellas ya no iban a hablar, que no me iban a decir nada, que iban a hablar en contra de Silvia dijo, porque a ella no les convenía decir la verdad. Porque ellas estaban amenazadas y hablaban la verdad.
EX Nar.	Special prosecution ⁶		33:12-33:21	In 1996, in response to people’s outrage, a special unit was formed to investigate the crimes against women.
EX State Off.	Special prosecution		33:23-34:01	Cuando iniciamos aquí en la fiscalía no encontramos, ni siquiera teníamos el equipo suficiente, ni siquiera lo más elemental. Menos el equipo suficiente, como podría decirse bolsas de papel, guantes, cintas para acordonar. No teníamos, o no tenían la cultura de preservar el área del crimen por lo que, bueno, se contaminaban demasiado esas áreas y terminábamos perdiendo evidencias sin consecuencias. Bueno. Se estropeaba la investigación y era muy difícil dar con el presunto, los presuntos responsables de un homicidio.
FA	Body location	Victim identification	34:05-34:29	Cuando mi hermana era localizada, este, lo que pasaba en esto, es que el cuerpo estaba en bastante descomposición. Se envasaba esto, se exigió la prueba del ADN de mis padres y del cuerpo que estaban entregando. Llegó después de mucho tiempo, el cual resulta ser negativo.
FA	Cemetery	Misleading information	34:54-35:19	Exhumaron otro cuerpo que no era el de mi hermana. Te marcaba, la tumba del cementerio

⁶ Special prosecution office for women’s homicides (Fiscalía mixta para la Atención de homicidios de Mujeres de Ciudad Juárez)

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
				marca la tumba 74. En la hoja marcaba la tumba 73. Algo que no coincidía (...) Yo le dije al ministerio público: “¿y por qué marca aquí?”. “No, fue un pequeño error, pero si son las 74”. Cosa que no fue cierta.
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		35:50-36:07	In Juárez, nothing is constant or predictable. The town grows out of proportion. Neighborhoods appear over night with no addresses, no phones and no services.
EX Def.	Maquiladora		36:20-36:32	Una muchachita que encuentran, que encuentran violada, golpeada y ella dice quién es su agresor y resultaba ser un chófer de un camión de estos urbanos que dan servicio a las maquiladoras.
FA	Attorney’s general office	Non-action of state officials	41:57-42:24	Fui y hablé con el procurador (...) dije: “¿qué pasó con este expediente?”, dijo: “no, pues, que no se puede dar seguimiento”, dijo: “porque no tenemos líneas de investigación. Las líneas de investigación se agotan”. “Si no hay líneas de investigación para seguir investigando, dije, yo se lo voy a traer”. Entonces yo anduve preguntando a las personas así que conocían a Silvia.
EX Nar.	Prison		43:41-43:52	Luego de identificar a los policías municipales que abusaron sexualmente de ella, cuando fue detenida junto con su marido en la conocida Cárcel de Piedra, la víctima habló públicamente de este ataque ante las cámaras.
EX Nar.	Desert		46:32-47:00	En 1999, el FBI informó de que más de 200 cadáveres de mexicanos y norteamericanos estaban enterrados en los ranchos de afuera de Juárez y en una misión conjunta con las autoridades del estado de Chihuahua, el FBI entró a México para investigar. Solo encontraron ocho cadáveres y el FBI se marchó.
EX Def.	Desert		47:02-47:22	Se habla de los 200 desaparecidos y las 200 fosas, pero no se habla de las mujeres para nada. Aunque están ahí, en las puertas de los ranchos

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
				fueron encontrado los cadáveres. Pero eso no se habla.
FA	Desert	Private search/ Discovery	47:40- 48:09	Aquí todo es muy raro que, de que, por ejemplo, cuando nosotros hacemos los rastreos. ¿Verdad? Se hacen los rastreos y, a los cuatro, cinco días aparecen muertas. Aunque sea el puro esqueleto. ¿Verdad? pero aparecen en ciertos lugares. Entonces digo como esto es así. Se hacen rastreos y si, hay vigilancia y todo esto. Como las van y las tiran hasta allá o las dejan hasta allá.
FA	Maquiladora	Disappearance	49:44- 50:29	El cuatro de enero salimos yo y mi hija a buscar trabajo. Ella iba a ir a trabajar allí (maquiladora) donde yo estoy trabajando (...) Nosotros nos fuimos a las cinco y media de la mañana y yo me metí a hacer mi trabajo. Y ella se quedó ahí afuera, haciendo la línea para que la contrataran, y entró. Pero yo no supe a qué hora salió.
FA	Maquiladora	Misleading information	50:30- 51:32	La señora que estuvo platicando con mi hija por largos tiempo, ahí por unas horas; cuando logramos ubicarla a ella, nos desvió la atención, desviándonos a un gran carro negro, un Grand Marquis un día (...) cuando logramos ver el vídeo nos damos cuenta que no es cierto, que no existe ningún carro (...) Es lo que yo pensaba que fuera una enganchadora de personas.
FA	Police stations	Private search	51:43- 51:55	No llegó (la hija) y pues fue cuando la empecé a buscar en las delegaciones a ver si la tenían detenida o en el hospital, en la cruz roja, un accidente.
EX	Desert		51:57- 52:02	Out of desperation, the relatives and friends organize searches in the desert for their loved ones.
FA	Special prosecution	Non-action of state officials	53:00- 53:19	Y ahí conocí a Suly Ponce, y hablé con ella del asunto. Pero dijo: “no, apenas es el martes” y luego yo: “¿pues entonces voy a esperar para que mi hija aparezca muerta para que se haga algo?”. “No” dijo: “pero vamos a esperar. Ella anda con el novio, y al rato viene”.
FA	Special prosecution	non-action of state officials	53:41- 55:06	Suly Ponce, fui y la dije: “Oye, le llevé este libro, que tengo aquí. Mire aquí hay estas personas y estas y estos” (...) Dije: “Usted puede hacer muchas cosas”. Dije: “Que no quieran es

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
				otra cosa”. Dije: “¿O tienen miedo?, ¿a quien le tienen miedo?” y dijo “¿Usted no tiene miedo?”.
FA	Police station	Police complicity	55:09-55:15	Es algo ilógico, que casi frente a una estación de policía desaparezca mi hija.
EX Nar.	Prison	Aggression of state officials	55:54-56:07	When María first explained what happened to her in jail, she was so afraid of the police that she did not reveal the whole story. With her husband’s encouragement, she finally is able to talk about the entire experience.
FA	Morgue ⁷	Victim identification	1:01:08-1:02:02	Yo fui al anfiteatro, como paso de las ocho de la noche para ver a las personas, y estaba ahí y entré a verla, y supe... me pareció sí eran de mi hija. Y al revisar las pertenencias, recordé que ella usaba un chaleco sin mangas, un tipo de blusa que siempre usaba ella. Le gustaban mucho y siempre se lo ponía. Entonces vine a la casa, no pude reconocer nada ya, y vine a la casa para buscar el chaleco y no lo encontramos. Hoy en la mañana llevé a Gloria para que la identificara. E identificó parte de la ropa, como un pedazo de malla que usaba abajo de la pantalonera. Era solamente un pedazo, porque todo era calcinado. Reconoció el chaleco, una liga que mi hija llevaba en el pelo, que no se quemó.
EX NGO	Maquiladora		1:07:26-1:07:36	En la maquila no se hacen las investigaciones, porque es la mayor, se puede decir, inversión del gobierno mexicano.
EX NGO	Ciudad Juárez		1:09:35-1:10:14	El gobierno es, por omisión, sumisión, participación; tienen toda la responsabilidad (...) Están violentando el derecho a la seguridad, el derecho a la justicia, el derecho a transitar libremente, el derecho a una paz de las familias a vivir tranquilamente. Aquí (Ciudad Juárez) se vive todo el tiempo con el temor que te van a atacar.

⁷ The morgue at Ciudad Juárez is known as ‘anfiteatro’

Documentary 2 : Mujeres de Juárez

Duration: 1:22 h

Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PgX8O_Iz9QU&t=85s (Accessed August 26, 2019)

<i>Who ?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		0:19-0:31	La gran mayoría de las mujeres asesinadas venían del Sur. Habían partido hacía la frontera, a Ciudad Juárez, en busca de trabajo y un mejor nivel de vida.
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		1:47-1:59	Según la auditoría realizada por el Instituto Chihuahuense de la Mujer, de 1993 a julio del 2003, fueron asesinadas 321 mujeres, tan solo en Ciudad Juárez.
FA	Home	Disappearance	2:12-2:26	Cinthy Rocío Acosta, ella era mi sobrina, hija de la hermana mía, tenía diez años, y pues desapareció de un parque cerca de su casa, cuando estaba jugando.
FA	Home	Disappearance	2:48-3:04	A las 5:05, cinco días llegaba aquí. Cuando ya no llegó, empecé a inquietarme, verdad, yo empiezo a llorar, empiezo a llorar porque ella no acostumbraba (...) Yo sabía, ya sabía yo que algo malo le ha pasado.
FA	Home	Disappearance	3:14-3:22	Lo que yo pensé es que la habían atropellado, que le habían hecho algo, pero no todavía, que la habían secuestrado.
FA	Maquiladora	Disappearance	4:25-4:32	No la (Claudia Ivette González) dejaron entrar. No la permitieron la entrada. Y ella ahí se estuvo, ahí afuera de la caseta con los guardias.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Disappearance	4:49-4:59	Todavía tienes que explicar, o tratar de explicar que es desaparecer. Y finalmente si, nadie desaparece de la nada. Nadie y nada desaparece de la nada.
FA	Attorney and general office	Private search	5:12-5:18	Vas a un Ministerio Público en donde por empezar, la desaparición no es un delito.

<i>Who ?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		5:56-6:03	A mediados de la década de los 90s, Ciudad Juárez era considerada la segunda ciudad más violenta del país.
EX NGO	Lote Bravo		10:01-10:21	Encuentran a una jovencita, niña violada, estrangulada, violada, acuchillada, tirada en el Lote Bravo. Siempre en un basurero. “Éramos basura” esto fue el mensaje que recibimos. Nos usan y nos tiran. Porque somos basura.
EX Nar.	Body location		10:22-10:37	Después de su desaparición, encontraron sus restos en lugares como Cerro de Bola, Lote Bravo, Lomas de Poleo, Saquete Blanco, Lomas Santa Elena, y más recientemente en la región de Cristo Negro.
EX Jour.	Ciudad Juárez, Mexico		11:57-12:14	1993 es el año que está preparando México para el Tratado del Libre Comercio, que entra en vigor en enero uno de 1994. Ocurren varios asesinatos.
EX Jour.	Ciudad Juárez		12:15-13:12	En 1993 también asciende Amado Carrillo Fuentes como el capo mayor de la Plaza de Juárez es Carrillo Fuentes. Hay este, cambios en el medio político también. Hay mucha gente que llega, una población flotante, llega aquí a trabajar en las maquiladoras. La idea de que el tratado del libre comercio va generar más trabajo y la posibilidad de facilitar cruzar la frontera del Norte. Todas estas situaciones existen (...) Y ahí empiezan también otros tipos de crímenes relacionados al narco, que es el mismo tiempo que empezamos a ver la serie de muertes de mujeres.
EX Nar.	Special prosecution		14:30-14:47	La creación de la Unidad Especializada de Delitos Sexuales en 1996, y en 1998 la fiscalía especial para la Investigación de Homicidios de Mujeres Desaparecidas y Atención a Víctimas.
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		15:55-16:10	Durante esta década surgen las organizaciones: Casa Amiga, Voces Sin Eco, Nuestras hijas de regreso a casa, Integración

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				de madres por Juárez, Justicia Para Nuestras Hijas, y otras organizaciones.
EX Invest.	Ciudad Juárez		19:07-19:33	Yo veo a Ciudad Juárez como culpando de todo al sistema priista. Y curiosamente, comienza el problema en el 93, pero la reacción del Francisco Barrio y del gobierno, del primer gobierno de alternancia, es una reacción que viene muy cargada de una gran estulticia, de una gran incapacidad para poder entender lo que está sucediendo.
EX Nar.	Lote Bravo		20:26 – 20:34	En 1995, Lote Bravo se convirtió en unos de los cementerios clandestinos de mujeres.
EX Test.	Lote Bravo		20:34-20:48	En 1995, Lote Bravo se convirtió en uno de los cementerios clandestinos de mujeres. Es una zona, este, propiedad de una familia de aquí, de la Ciudad. Pero es grandísima la extensión. Hasta allá, hasta ya no se alcanza ver. Y es donde estaba antes la carretera hacia Juárez.
FA	Lote Bravo	Discovery	21:01-21:08	A mi hija la encontraron el primero de septiembre de este mismo año. En el 95, en el Lote Bravo.
FA	Lote Bravo	Discovery	21:21-21:28	El Señor, este, andaba buscando unos animales y él halló a mi hija, allá en el monte tirada.
EX Jour.	Body location		21:29-22:08	Se puede suponer, que el hecho que tiran los cuerpos en ciertos lugares, consiste de un mensaje. Puede ser algún mensaje (...) Eran lugares, que son, consiste de terrenos, que han sido disputados por muchos años. Y son terrenos que pertenecen o pertenecieron a familias ricas, las familias poderosas de Juárez que han pues controlado la propiedad aquí.
EX State official	Ciudad Juárez		24:14-24:24	Nos parece que es fundamental que se establezca en el municipio de Juárez Chihuahua, un esquema de prevención del

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				delito, que permita evitar que haya una muerte más.
EX State official	Ciudad Juárez		25:30- 26:00	La Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos y las Naciones Unidas han estado muy interesadas y muy pendientes en el tema de homicidios de mujeres en el municipio de Juárez.
FA	Police stations	Private Search	28:10- 28:27	Cuando no la encontré en los hospitales, ni en las clínicas particulares, ni nada, empezó a hablar a las estaciones de policía. Porque aquí es muy común que hagan redadas y levanten a los jóvenes sin investigar nada.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Private Search	29:08- 29:14	Nosotros repartimos muchos, como alrededor de 4 mil volantes. Entonces, lo pegamos por todas partes de Juárez.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Private search	29:29- 29:44	Nosotros no comíamos, duramos dos días que no nos bañamos. Entonces, era una cosa muy fea. Es que yo no quería que se hiciera noche, yo no quería que se hiciera noche, porque yo quería seguir buscando.
EX NGO	Ciudad Juárez		30:36- 31:00	Esta Ciudad (Juárez) era de mujeres desde la prohibición de licor. Las mujeres se veían mucho en los bares y en las cantinas. Porque como no se vendía licor allá (Estados Unidos), ellos venían a buscar el licor que se consumía en la frontera. Como es, frontera es una vida completamente diferente.
EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		31:32- 32:05	Se calcula que 300 migrantes llegan diariamente en busca de mejores oportunidades de vida. Es la ciudad más poblada del estado de Chihuahua. Su caótico crecimiento ha propiciado que los nuevos residentes se hacen en colonias que carecen de los más elementales servicios urbanos. El transporte colectivo conocido como 'ruterías' es deficiente. No solo eso, conductores y trabajadores de las ruterías han sido involucrados en las desapariciones de mujeres.

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EX Nar.	Maquiladora		33:08- 33:26	Las maquiladoras encuentran su mejor momento en los años 90. Mujeres de Durango, Zacatecas, el Sur de Chihuahua, Veracruz y otros estados abastecen de mano de obra barata a una industria que se autodefine como de calidad impecable.
EX Nar.	Maquiladora		33:43- 33:55	Ciudad Juárez concentra el mayor número de maquiladoras en el país. Aquí se encuentran cooperativos que forman parte de las 100 más importantes exportadoras e importadoras de México.
EX Nar.	Maquiladora		34:20- 34:35	Predominan los contratos temporales, regidos por los reglamentos internos de trabajo. Muchos trabajadores ingresan a las plantas mediante agencias de colocación. Los derechos laborales son prácticamente inexistentes.
EX NGO	Maquiladora		34:36- 35:15	Yo creo que las menos culpables pueden ser las maquiladoras, porque las maquiladoras han puesto sus condiciones que el gobierno les ha aceptado todo, todo. Ya no se pide la toalla sanitaria, que eso, se logró con una visita de <i>Human Rights</i> (...) Las maquiladoras deberían haber empezado con jardín de niños, con casas cerca de las maquiladoras con todos los servicios y los fueron quitando. El gobierno fue: cede, cede, cede.
EX Nar.	Maquiladora		36:55- 37:22	A pesar de que no se cuenta con una estadística confiable, se sabe que muchas mujeres asesinadas o desaparecidas trabajaban o fueron a solicitar trabajo en una maquiladora (...) A Claudia Ivette, en la empresalia se le impidió chequear el reloj de entrada.
FA	Maquiladora	Disappearance	37:23- 37:37	Por dos minutos, porque ella entraba a las tres y media, y me imagino que había llegado como 25 a las cuatro. Pensábamos que se había quedado trabajando, porque a veces se quedaba hasta el otro día.

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FA	Maquiladora	Disappearance	37:41-37:55	Bueno, este Sagrario trabajaba junto con mi esposo en el turno de la noche. Por razones legales a ella la cambiaron al turno de la mañana. Porque dijeron que ya no les permitían tener menores de edades en el turno de noche.
EX Nar.	Maquiladora		38:22-38:32	Los familiares de las víctimas no han contado con apoyo de los empresarios para la búsqueda de sus hijas. Mucho menos con la voluntad para proteger a los huérfanos.
FA	Maquiladora	Private Search	38:42-38:49	Lo que nos apoyó fue que, permitirles a ellas que faltaran todos estos días, todos estos días mientras encontraban a ella.
FA	Maquiladora	Memorial	38:50-38:53	No pagaron el funeral. Yo no pagué de este dinero que me dieron.
FA	Maquiladora	Discovery	39:06-39:19	La encontraron a frente a su trabajo. Entonces es cuando el (empresario Juarese de plástico Promex) ofrece una recompensa, me recuerdo que ofreció una recompensa de 15 mil dólares. Que la recompensa al final subió a 25 mil dólares.
EX Invest.	Maquiladora		40:04-40:25	Desde el momento que se establecen maquiladoras, se establece una máquina de consumo de cuerpos. Trabajadores que vamos a desgastar, porque los podemos sustituir por otros inmediatamente. Y que además van a ser carne que va a alimentar una economía global.
EX Nar.	City center/ Bars		40:35-40:42	Ellas (las víctimas) también trabajaban en los bares y centros nocturnos. O simplemente acostumbraban bailar en estos sitios.
EX Invest.	City center/ Bars		41:03-41:20	Las locas que vienen a alocarse más con la vida nocturna con los antros con todo esto. Entonces, se empieza crear un estigma alrededor de las mujeres de la maquila, porque además se identifica también digamos con prostitución.

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EX Invest.	Maquiladora		41:32-41:43	Hay mujeres de los <i>table dance</i> que se van a las maquilas para conseguirse los clientes. O sea es así como un fenómeno inverso.
FA	City center/ Bars	Private Search	42:08-42:36	Silvia tenía rato que ella iba ahí a vender su mercancía. Y las bailarinas no iban a hablar de las personas que se las llevaron, porque ellas temían a que ellas les pasaría algo. Como dijo una de ellas, dijo “Cuando yo, si hablo voy a hablar en contra de Silvia, porque si yo hablo a mí me van a matar”.
EX Nar.	City center/ Bars		42:37-43:10	Los espacios de diversión, particularmente los nocturnos han sido por tradición reservados a los hombres. En estos, las mujeres son simples sujetos de deseo. Aunque hay algunas mujeres que han igual que los hombres se han apropiado a estos espacios para disfrutarlos sin importarles el peligro que representan para ellas.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Victim blaming	43:38-43:55	Prostitutas que fuera, tienen derecho a la vida y tienen derecho a decir yo no quiero nada contigo, y no me puedes obligar de tener sexo contigo.
FA	Morgue	Victim identification	46:53-47:49	Me dijeron en la policía “Venga a reconocer un cuerpo, que apareció, a ver si lo reconoce. Nada más que está incompleto. Tiene que estar preparada”. Ya no tenía carne desde su cabecita hasta sus rodillitas- ya no tenía. Y me acordé que la había mordido un perro y tenía carne en sus chamorritos todavía. Yo miré, ahí está la cicatriz. “Sí” dice “nada más que eso no es suficiente, tenemos que mandar a hacer un examen”. Luego al año volvió el resultado supuestamente, me dijeron “salió negativo Señora, no es su hija”. Mandaron a hacer el examen otra vez, como dice mi esposo, pero la mandaron hasta allá a Tamaulipas, y ya nos dijeron que era positivo y me entregaron ella, su cuerpecito.
EX Nar.	Campo algodoneero		48:01-48:12	El seis y siete de noviembre del 2001, en un antiguo campo de algodoneero, frente al AMAC, aparecieron ocho cadáveres más, en plena ciudad.

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EX Nar.	Ciudad Juárez		50:55-51:06	En 1995, el egipcio Abdel Latif Sharif fue aprehendido y acusado de hacer el asesinato en serie de las mujeres de Juárez.
FA	Police station	Misleading information	52:31-52:50	Pues la policía achaca al Sharif, dicen que el Sharif (es responsable para el asesinato de su hija). Yo digo que no. Yo digo que no. Que a lo mejor hasta el hombre es inocente.
EX Journ.	Ciudad Juárez		52:49-53:20	Sharif este fue consignado por segunda vez en 1999 en relación a estos crímenes. Él estaba en una cárcel desde octubre 3, 1995. Al principio yo pensaba que tal vez sí. Él tenía el perfil de una persona capaz por su historia criminal en los Estados Unidos. Incluso yo veía escrito sobre esto. Con el tiempo, concluí que él no tuvo que ver con los asesinatos de las mujeres de Juárez, para nada.
FA	Police Station/ Special prosecution	Non-action	55:34-55:48	Los culpables son de la PGR (Procuraría General de la República). Y al mes de haber desaparecido ella, se supo que fueron de la PGR. Y hasta ahorita, no han hecho nada.
FA	Police station/ Special prosecution	Non-action	56:26-56:44	Yo los culpo de negligencia, que ellos tienen líneas de investigación y no las siguen y no están haciendo nada. Ya para seis años, si no saben dónde está Silvia. ¿No es hora? ¿Por qué no saben dónde están ellos?
EX Nar.	Police stations		56:50-56:57	Los familiares de las víctimas, insisten en la participación y complicidad de los cuerpos de seguridad con los asesinos.
FA	Desert/ Police stations	Discovery/ Police complicity	57:50-58:07	El predio lo limpiaron al día siguiente de que la encontraron. Yo creo que sí hay policías involucrados (...) los utilizan para llevar y traer los cuerpos. Para llevar a las chicas y a tirarlas.
EX Journ.	Ciudad Juárez		59:03-59:15	Yo no empecé desde nada, ya habían llegado expertos a Juárez, por ejemplo, unos

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				perfiladores des FBI, que llegaron en 1999, por petición del presidente Ernesto Zedillo.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Victim Blaming	1:01:34-1:01:48	Primero que nada, se quitan la presión de la ciudadanía de encima. Ellas se lo buscaron. Que las traía allá. Entonces la sociedad, en lugar de enojarse con el gobierno, en lugar de ver que ella es una víctima, la vuelve a victimizar.
EX Invest.	Ciudad Juárez		1:02:00-1:02:28	El silencio es uno de los principales victimarios de esta sociedad. Es decir, el silencio provoca en premier lugar, que la víctima no habla. En segundo lugar, que la sociedad no diga nada, por miedo. En tercer lugar, que los aparatos de justicia encubran las evidencias.
EX Nar.	Cristo Negro		1:06:29-1:06:41	La aparición de tres cuerpos en la región denominada como Cristo Negro y cinco muertas más en el 2004, volvieron a cuestionarnos de manera implacable.
FA	Lomas de Poleo		1:09:03 – 1:09:19	Yo me puse a pensar, verdad, de que aquí en el Poleo no tenemos electrificación. Me puse a pensar en el riesgo que realmente corren mis otras hijas que trabajaban de noche y las demás chinitas. Y es donde me involucro.
FA	Body location	Discovery/ Non-action	1:11:36-1:12:22	No establecieron, en el predio por donde la subieron. Una. No hicieron el croquis de levantamiento del cuerpo. No mandaron analizar el bolo alimenticio. No mandaron analizar el semen, el vello público, el material orgánico que había en sus manos, el material que había en las calcetas, la mancha que había en la cobija. La autopsia dice que estaba amarrada con cintas de zapatos. Ella tenía esposas, ahí están las marcas en sus manos, que no dejan mentir. Está la fotografía, eran esposas, y tampoco lo manejan.
FA		Private Search	1:13:35-1:14:02	Se burlan del dolor de uno, pues ¿será porque es uno pobre? Que no ponen en práctica la justicia como es debido porque yo me he dado cuenta que todas las muchachitas que se han perdido son de la misma calidad de uno,

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				pobre. ¿Como no se ha perdido una rica? Tampoco se lo deseo, verdad, pero ¿por qué nada más a uno de pobre?
FA	Ciudad Juárez		1:17:57 1:18:03	Dios es el único que nos puede hacer justicia. Porque aquí no hay justicia.
FA	Sea		1:18:40 1:18:47	Ella me pidió que cuando ella muriera yo la cremara y su ceniza la esparcía en el mar.
FA	Ciudad Juárez		1:18:50 1:19:10	Una fuerza ciudadana importante que surge a partir de una gran indignación por las condiciones deplorables de vida que tenemos, no solo las mujeres, sino en general las familias en Juárez. Nada va a cambiar.

Documentary 3: Bajo Juárez - La ciudad devorando a sus hijas

Duration: 1:35 h

Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VZ-NBI3arE&t=6s> (Accessed September 2, 2019)

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FA	Ciudad Juárez/ Home	Private Search/ Discovery	3:01- 3:33	Todos los días que nosotros buscábamos a mi hermana, llegábamos a las 12 o la una de la mañana. Este día no, este día llegamos alrededor de las cuatro de la tarde. Y llegamos a casa y se acercó una vecina, que nos estaba ayudando a volantear y nos dijo, dijo a mi mamá estas palabras, a mí nunca las voy a olvidar, este dijo “No te vas a asustar, pero acaba salir en la televisión, que acaban de encontrar una muchacha con las características de Alejandra”
FA	Morgue	Victim identification	4:35- 4:39	Nos fuimos rápido al anfiteatro, que es donde llevan a los cuerpos.
EX Journ.	Body location		8:52- 9:00	Y sus cuerpos fueron arrojados en algunos lugares periféricos de Ciudad Juárez y en algunas partes también céntricas de la misma urbe fronteriza.
EX Journ.	Prison		10:34- 10:39	Aunque que hay personas en la cárcel, se trata de chivos expiatorios.
EX Test.	Maquiladora		13:18- 13:29	Toda la gente que se viene aquí, se viene por el trabajo en las fábricas. Verdad, por las fábricas. Toda la gente que se viene aquí, se viene por el trabajo en las fábrica. Lo pagan una miseria, pero están trabajando bien.
EX	Maquiladora		13:55- 14:16	El primer día, pues, nos presentaron ahí, que nos van a hacer un examen. Examen de orina, examen de vista, buen, nos entrevistaron. Ya como a las once nos dijeron si nos quedábamos o no, porque no aceptan a embarazadas.
FA	Maquiladora	Disappearance	15:16- 15:24	12 horas. Trabajaba desde la siete de la mañana hasta las siete de la tarde. Alejandra sacaba de una semana 450 y yo sacaba 500 (pesos).

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FA	Maquiladora	Disappearance	17:15-17:31	El último día de Ale con nosotros, ella se levantó a las seis de la mañana para empezarse a arreglar para ir a trabajar. Y me pidió dinero para la ruta. Agarró de mi bolsa y ella se fue a trabajar.
EX Journ.	Ciudad Juárez		19:19-19:28	Las mujeres desaparecen en el curso de sus tareas normales. Van a la escuela, van al trabajo, o vienen de la escuela, o vienen del trabajo, algo normal.
Ex Journ.	Ciudad Juárez		19:45-19:58	El hecho, que las mujeres desaparecen a luz de día, en muchos casos en el mero centro de Juárez, donde hay policías en cada esquina, y que nadie ve nada, y nadie escuchó nada.
EX Journ.	Maquiladora		20:20-20:43	Estamos hablando de todo, de una operación, sumamente sofisticada con muchos recursos, materiales humanos, que obedecen estrategias específicas. Donde van seleccionando a muchachas, las que van a la industria maquiladora, o las que venden en la calle o en la escuela. Las vigilan, y de pronto, las llevan, las secuestran, las seducen. Hay gente especializada, y las conducen ya a casas de seguridad.
EX Journ.	Ciudad Juárez		21:36-22:05	Lilia Alejandra fue asesinada de la misma manera, fue mutilada, torturada, violada como víctimas del 1995 y 1996. Y ya estamos hablando del 2001. Oscar Máñez, el jefe forense, que examinó el cuerpo, sospecha que los mismos asesinos, que mataron a ella están involucrados en los crímenes anteriores.
EX Journ.	Ciudad Juárez		22:56-23:27	Hubo testigos que vieron a una joven que se suponía que fue ella (Lilia Alejandra) cuando estuvo luchando en un carro. Estaba estacionado en la calle Rancho el Becerro (...) Al otro día es cuando se encuentra el cadáver, el cuerpo de Lilia Alejandra.
FA	Morgue	Victim identification	24:48-25:20	El día, salió a buscar trabajo, este día, que ella salió. Fue el último día que yo la vi. Me pasaron allá a identificar a Erika, y ella estaba tapada con un hule gris. Nada más me dejaron ver la nariz para arriba. Y yo quise agarrarla,

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				su cara. Luego, no me dejaron. Me dijeron que no podía hacer esto.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Disappearance	25:39-26:02	En este momento trabajaba en una zapatería que está al lado de la catedral. Me sigo haciendo la idea de cómo se pude haber perdido. Aunque ya han pasado diez años, esperamos todavía. Toda mi familia esperamos justicia.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Private Search	29:14-29:26	Cuando la Alejandra se perdió se inició mi búsqueda, yo vine y avisé a la escuela. Entonces los niños se enteraron, se difundió por todas las televisoras, por todas estaciones de radio. Entonces esto fue el objeto, el mundo se dio cuenta.
EX State Off.	Body location		33:14-33:31	Finalmente es una forma de deshacerse los cuerpos. Finalmente es impunidad total (...) porque habría de irse a entrar al desierto por deshacerse los cuerpos, y la posibilidad que te agarran, lo dejes aquí en una zona urbanizada.
FA	Home	Impunity	44:51-45:25	Yo soy la madre de Bricia Yaneth de los Bares de los Santos, ella fue asesinada dentro de su casa el 26 de enero del 2001. Hasta ahorita no es detenido ningún culpable. Cuando ella se murió se investigó un mes. El expediente de ella está cerrado como todos de las demás madres. Ella luchó tanto por defender su vida, porque ella fue asesinada en presencia de su hija. Que el gobierno vea que estamos dispuestas a luchar y que estamos en contra de él. Queremos que nos dé una respuesta sobre los casos de nuestras hijas.
FA	Ciudad Juárez	Victim blaming/ Police complicity	45:48-46:11	No sé porque echan la culpa a los familiares de que en Ciudad Juárez, los familiares son los culpables de que ya no hay turismo, de que nosotros manchamos la imagen de Ciudad Juárez. Yo creo que, en Ciudad Juárez no manchan mal la imagen más que los funcionarios con su trabajo corrupto que hacen. Ya se han entrevistado con el Presidente de la República. No había resultados. Entonces no podemos confiar ni

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				siquiera en las autoridades federales. ¿Entonces en quién podemos confiar?
FA	Prision	Impunity	46:27-46:55	El 13 de mayo ella (su hija) se perdió y el 14 de julio encontraron un cuerpo. Y este 14 de julio, ya tenían un culpable que era mi sobrino (...) Él estaba totalmente trabajando en Chiapas. Podría haber estado en Japón y para ellos estaba en este momento ahí, porque ellos son la ley y la ley es que ellos dicen. Por eso mi sobrino está ahí. Ellos saben bien, 100 % que es inocente. Ellos saben quiénes son los culpables y lo tienen.
FA	Church	Memorial	56:06-56:17	Hagamos presente la vida de Alejandra con una ceremonia religiosa en su memoria. Tengamos presente a todos los jóvenes que han sido desaparecidos y asesinados en Ciudad Juárez.
FA	Los Pinos	Impunity	1:00:18-1:00:22	Se llenaron la boca en decir que las puertas de “Los Pinos” estaban abiertas, por que no eran.
FA	Home	To live on	1:01:55-1:05:08	Yo era abuela y me convirtieron en mamá.
FA	Cristo Negro	Privat Search	1:07:07-1:08:13	Bueno, esta zona es conocida como la zona del Cristo Negro. Fue conocida a raíz de que encontraron los seis cuerpos de unas jóvenes que fueron asesinadas. Quisiera recordar que estos cuerpos fueron encontrados en el mes de febrero, pero las autoridades negaron el hallazgo de estos cuerpos (...) Este terreno es propiedad privada, de unos de los empresarios de aquí de la Ciudad. Es difícil de mencionar sus nombres, porque a nadie le gusta que se han divulgado diciendo que en su propiedad, sobre todo porque es propiedad privada, se diga que en su propiedad encontraron algunos cuerpos, porque inmediatamente se vincula si ellos tuvieron algo que ver.
EX Journ.	Lote Bravo/ Lomas de Poleo		1:10:46-1:11:37	Resulta que, por coincidencia, por ejemplo, que Lote Bravo, donde se encuentran los primeros cuerpos múltiples en 1995, y Lomas de Poleo, donde se encuentra otro grupo de

<i>Who?</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Family experience</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Citation</i>
				cuerpos en 1996, son terrenos que son disputados, también son terrenos que pertenecen a familias poderosas (...) Escogen los lugares, así al igual se seleccionan a las víctimas, también seleccionan los lugares a donde las van a tirar eventualmente.
EX Journ.	Body Location		1:16:57-1:07:06	Policías han sido usados para recoger cuerpos de las víctimas y para ir a tirarlos después.
Observation	Cemetery	Memorial/ To live on	1:27:51-1:29:05	Family members together take care of the maintenance of the grave. They repaint the letters written on the gravestone.