

Chapter 2

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

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

2.1 Introduction

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

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

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

2.2 Rape, Sexual Assassination and Impunity

2.2.1 *Rape as an End in and of Itself*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.2 *Impunity Facilitates Sexual Assassination*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.3 *Sexual Assassination not Randomly Distributed in the City*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

| Age | Occupation | Last seen alive | Place last seen alive and criminal sentence | Name | Source | Found |
|-----|------------|---|---|----------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| *14 | Student | Casa Amiga/scholars | CNDH | Brenda Patricia Meléndez Vázquez | CA 6/27/98 | Lote Bravo |
| *14 | Maquila | HC | Bus Terminal: Membril/Man. Acuña** | Miriam Artem Vázquez Mendoza | CNDH 22/2/24/95 | |
| 14 | Maquila | PON auto, Gema Industrial Park | Leaving maquila Imp. Forestal | Nancy Villalba González% | CA 3/22/99 | South-Airport |
| *15 | Maquila | SOUTH bus, Carretera a C. Grandes Valle | Confirmed, 1 penal sentence | Guillermina Hernández Chávez | CNDH 98/11/20/94 | Guad D.B. |
| 15 | Maquila | PON left home for maquila | 1 sentence suspended on appeal | Silvia Gabriela Laguna Cruz | CA 1/27/98 | |
| 15 | Student | Auto-Valle | Eje Vial Juan Gabriel/Zaragoza** | Estefanía Valenzuela González | FEM 8/2/12 | BOR-Alta Vista |
| 16 | Stud/work | HC seen boarding public bus w man | Confirmed, 4 arrested probable cause | Silvia Elena Rivera Morales | CNDH 191/9/2/95 | |
| 17 | Maquila | PON-Left home to go to downtown | 1 arrest warrant issued/not exec.** | Amparo Caixba Gúzman | CNDH 94 | PON-Cerro Bola |
| 17 | | BOR school at Alta Vista Industrial | Fiscal violates rule of law c/o CNDH | Identity unknown | CA 6/11/93 | |
| 17 | | SOUTH | School next to Alta Vista Indus. Park | Case # 96/16243 | CA 8/19/96 | PON-Gema |
| 17 | Maquila | HC-corner of Villa/Juarez | Confirmed, 20 year, 1 penal sentence** | Elizabeth Castro García | CA 8/19/95 | |
| 17 | Maquila | BOR leaving work at maquila | Seen abducted into auto by boss** | Eréndira Ivonne Ponce | CNDH 177/8/31/98 | |

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

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

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

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

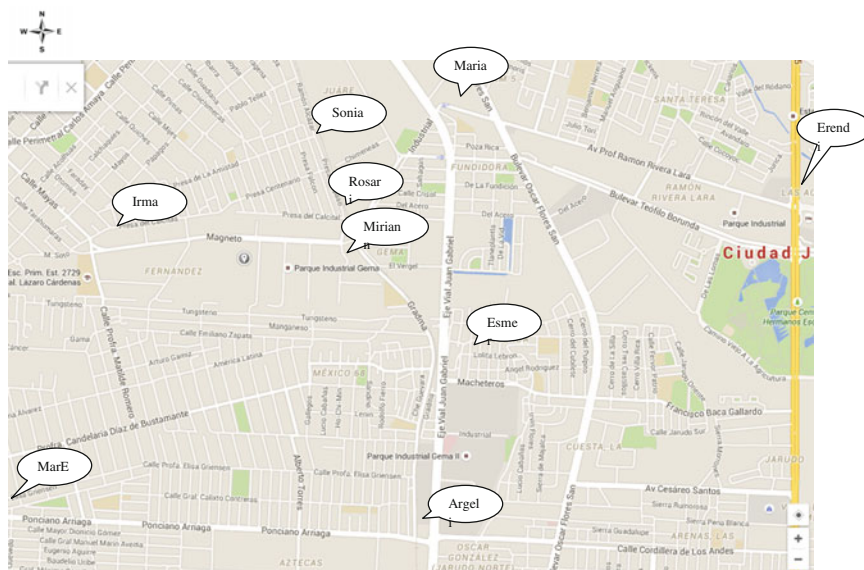
Sources *Casct Amiga*, CNDH (2003), Mariano-García (2005), Frago so et al. (2010), FEM

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

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

%indicates person(s) survived assault

Overlapping CNDH with subsequent date indicates also *Casa Amiga*



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

result of interactions between motivated offenders, available targets, and lack of vigilant guardianship to prevent crime ... often, it is this vulnerability, coupled with ease of access that is apparent to offenders and serves to elevate their interest in children as desirable prey (Boudreaux et al. 1999).⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3 City Zones and Everyday Social Activities

2.3.1 *The Spatial Analysis of Sexual Assassination*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



(b)



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.3 Further South Down the Railroad Tracks in the Poniente

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

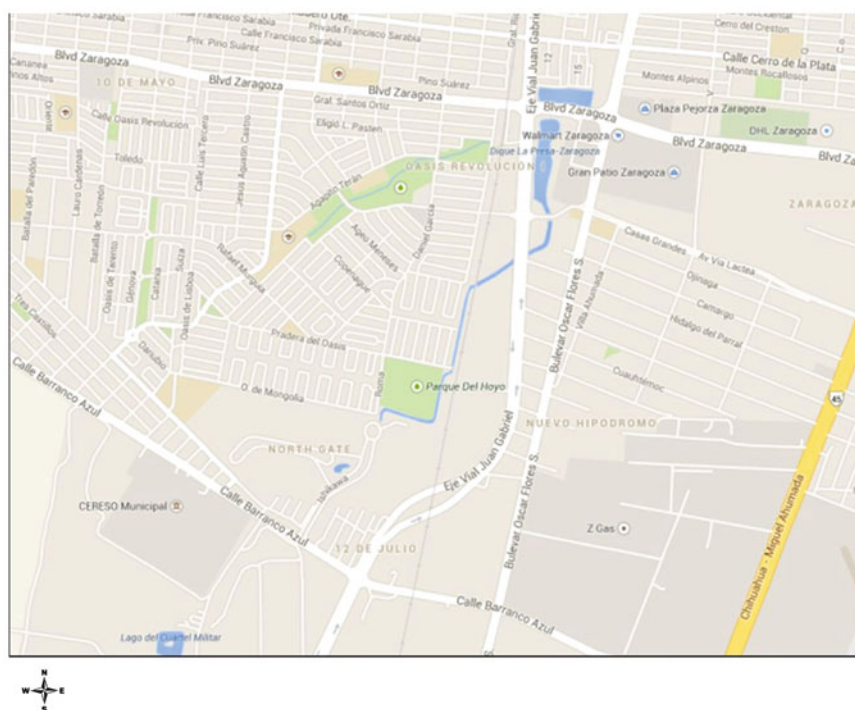
In fact, the 1999 line of inquiry *not* followed into Argelia's death was that these same suspected assassins were precisely repeat killers who resided at the nine wagon railroad cars (Photo 2.2). In 1995, the State Judicial Police had actually called for an investigation into this group of men suspected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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

2.4.7 Daylight Public Abduction Locations in the Poniente Over Time

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.5.1 Sexual Assassination Further Down the Railroad Tracks

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

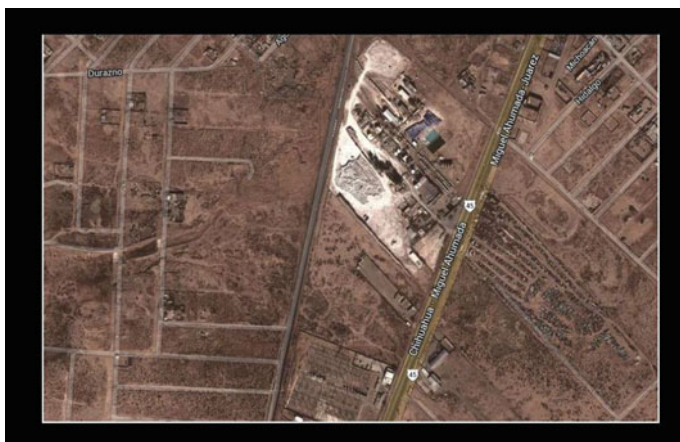


Photo 2.8 Satellite view, Flourex Plant and federal electricity commission sub-station. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

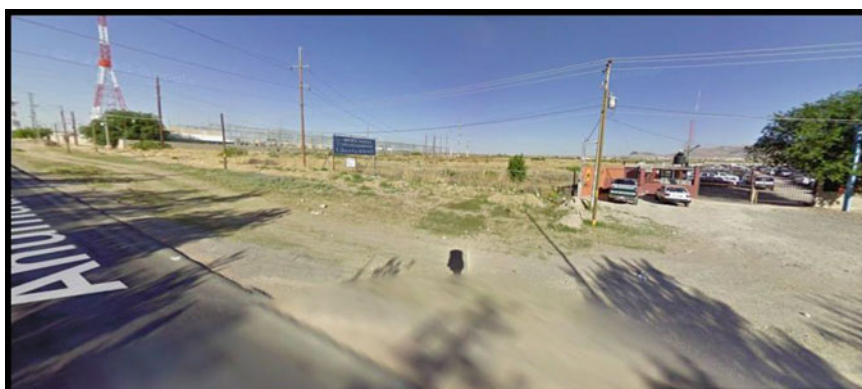


Photo 2.9 Street view, Yonkies (Junk) Yard between Flourex Plant and federal electricity commission sub-station. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

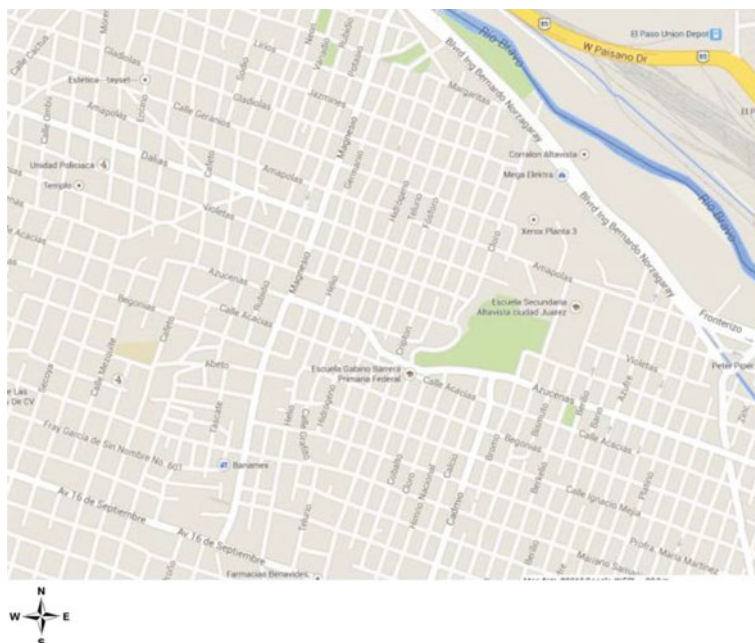
auto abduction rape with murder and attempted murder in areas known to sexual assassins as lacking both public and private security. Teens walking down public streets were caught in blitz auto abductions. Women who rejected sexual advances were also subject to auto abduction.¹⁷ The Electrolux and nearby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

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

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

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

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



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

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

2.6.1 *Deadly School Playgrounds and Repeat Offenders*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

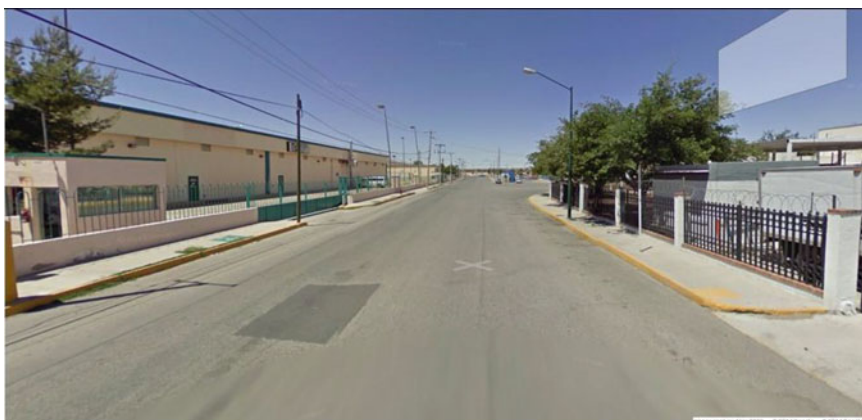


Photo 2.12 Street View: Bravo Eléctrico Sistemas, Border Area, Ciudad Juárez. *Source* Image capture: Apr 2009 @ 2014 Google

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.7 Discussion

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

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

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

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

2.7.2 *It Is also About Place*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.8 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix

1. *Historical Center and City Zones Defined*

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

2. *Rape and Sexual Assassination*

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

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

Table 2.2 Overkill and bodily mutilations

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

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

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

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

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

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

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

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

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

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

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

n= 145, 65 %

Shooting deaths including drug-trafficking related deaths

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

(continued)

Table 2.2 (continued)

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

n = 32, 16 %

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

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

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

3. *Inclusion and Exclusion*

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

4. *Overkill and Sexual Assassination*

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

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

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

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

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

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