CHAPTER 3

Ghost Dance in Ciudad Juárez at the End/Beginning of the Millennium

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The border is both an international boundary and a discursive act. It is a barrier to be negotiated, exploited, and crossed, and a symbolic act to be contested.

—VÍCTOR M. VALLE AND RODOLFO D. TORRES, LATINO METROPOLIS: GLOBALIZATION AND COMMUNITY

The dead women of Ciudad Juárez are directly related to the state of sexism and the condition of women in Mexico.

—CARLOS MONSIVÁIS, “LOS CRÍMENES CONTRA LA DEMOCRACIA”

Charting the Border Space

Since 1993, the crimes in Ciudad Juárez have made the city an obligatory news story in the world’s top newspapers. On the one hand, there are the serial murders of hundreds of young women together with a series of kidnappings, disappearances, rapes, and deaths of many more, who to date add up to more than four hundred. On the other hand, many people have been killed by organized crime’s endless vendettas; these victims’ only offense was to be at the site of this violence, such as Gerónimo’s Bar or Max Fim and King-Siu restaurants. Included within this news category are also the November 1999 reports on “narco-cemeteries,” which disclosed that more than two hundred bodies were clandestinely buried. From January 2008 to October 2009, another four thousand lives have been claimed by this continuing violence.

These events give way to numerous interpretations and points of view about how the border and its “black legend” have been constructed throughout time, via travel accounts, films, soap operas, journalism, and everyday
discourse. Regarding this matter, Valle and Torres’s epigraph could not be any more apt. Since the geopolitical demarcation between Mexico and the United States was instituted, it has been the subject of multiple interpretations with generally common concerns. Mexico’s northern border has been regarded as a site of easy cultural penetration, through language, customs, or lifestyles produced by the close contact with the United States, and its inhabitants have been labeled, among other things, as sellouts, pochos, individuals, people without roots, or people who lack national identity. When the border’s culture is imagined, it is conceived as “different from that which predominates in other regions,” or it is deemed “inexplicable.” From Mexico City’s point of view, the northern border is imagined as perhaps the most ‘unredeemable’ of all the provinces’ representations.

In the United States, this image is hardly more positive, for, since the border’s inception, the United States’ expansionism has converted Mexicans—the ancient people of the region—into “the other.” Mexican otherness has been constructed as a cultural nemesis and has come to define everything non-Anglo-Saxon. Expansionist politics have displayed a zeal for civilizing lands distant from the center, for controlling everything that signifies barbarism: “sexuality, vice, nature, and people of color.” These first impressions, along with those of Mexican intellectuals, were perpetuated in texts, discourses, and public politics that were based on notions of difference and have since become lodged within both countries’ nationalist discourses.

In this construction of “perverse cities” and Ciudad Juárez’s stigmatization as a border town, one of the most pernicious stereotypes in our particular case has been that of women—and not just Mexican border women, but also Anglo women. The cinema of the 1940s propagated a generalized image of Anglo women as “libertines” that continues to this day, as we will see later.

Before the establishment of the maquiladora industry in Ciudad Juárez, women were limited to the traditional role of mothering, and outside the home, they were employed by the service sector or were sex workers. Before the Border Industrialization Program (BIP), women’s employment possibilities were dictated by their relation to the city’s economic life. These possibilities were well accepted by the city’s residents. The city, in fact, had a clearly marked limited zone of tolerance where “decent people,” especially the city’s women, did not dare even to pass through.

Nonetheless, after 1965, with the BIP now in full effect, the city started to become populated by other subjects: women who were incorporating themselves into the city and the country’s productive life. Their arrival in masses produced a singular phenomenon in the people’s discourse: the maquiladora was now regarded as a “savior” because it took the women out of the cabaret, but at the same time, there developed a stereotype of the maquiladora worker as a woman of dubious reputation, especially in the case of so-called single mothers.

With industrialization firmly planted in the city, this new social actor began to produce “contesting projects that [had] decolonization as their object—in the public, economic, and cultural sphere, and [had] survival strategies, such as informal economies, legal and illegal activities that elude[d] governmental regulation and control.” The maquiladora worker came to transgress different spaces in the city’s (and the nation’s) uso y costumbres, defying a social construction of gender. She shifted from being the daughter or the sister to being the household provider. It was she who went out from her city searching for sustenance, since it was she who had the possibility of finding a better-paying job than that which the men in her family could obtain. In the city, she adopted new ways of life and new, diverse spaces. With a certain economic autonomy, she had the possibility, with female co-workers, to purchase a car, improve her formal education, and go out and have fun.

These women workers’ transgression of spaces and customs has been critical to the hegemonic discourse’s evasion of responsibility before the inability to solve and stop the crimes against women in Ciudad Juárez. Likewise, that same discourse has created a certain stereotype that almost all of the murdered women were very young maquiladora workers, but “in this level of generalization, the different identities of all those women who didn’t fit that description are lost. Moreover, using stereotypes makes society avoid regarding male violence against women with the seriousness and gravity that it requires.”

For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to revise those stereotypes, given the constant tension that exists between hegemonic discourse and the person who seeks to resist. It is impossible to speak of the murdered or of the vulnerable women in Ciudad Juárez and the atmosphere that surrounds them without speaking of class and gender prejudices; to be a woman (worker) in Juárez is to situate oneself in a “body and gender construction in a system of disadvantaged relations, in a city and a public space that renders women vulnerable, without growth politics and a system of power relations that confronts asymmetrical cultural forms.”

This chapter seeks to revise some of the images and discourses that have circulated about Ciudad Juárez and its women by examining how various governmental entities have responded to the crimes against women. To
carry out this task, I will analyze the 1995–1998 Juárez City Council’s and Police Department’s advertisements and their so-called prevention campaigns. I will also examine the problematic statements made by Chihuahua governors, their respective attorneys-general, deputy attorneys, a Spanish criminologist who was hired to produce profiles of the murderer or murderers, and a former district attorney who specifically worked on the crimes against women in Ciudad Juárez. By critically assessing their statements, I seek to uncover in what way previous discourses construct images of possible victims, killers, and spaces in the city where murdered women’s bodies have been found. I also seek to inquire how we should theorize about Ciudad Juárez, which has come to be known as a site of unspeakable violence.

One final aim of this chapter is to reconsider and attempt to contribute to the questions which Marc Zimmerman has raised in “Latin American Borders and Globalized Cities in the New World Disorder”: “How can we conceptualize what is happening to us on a theoretical level and on an essential level, especially in a moment in which theorizations and even words we use to theorize have a tenuous relation to any ‘reality’? . . . How have texts written about the city’s repercussions been conceptualized, beyond classics such as Freud . . . How have cities been conceptualized today and what relation does that conceptualization have with postmodernity and social movements of the future?”

Within this dialogue, I would ask how we theorize about Ciudad Juárez if, since 1993, more than four hundred women have been murdered—some of them raped and mutilated after death. How do we theorize when there are more than five hundred missing men, abducted by or for their supposed connections to drug trafficking? How do I escape from those ghosts that dance through the streets that I pass through every day? How do we believe that this is—or is not—a vast “laboratory of postmodernity”? How do I explain to others my ability to move about so calmly and fearlessly in these streets when “even the Devil is scared of living here”? How are we to mesh theory with practice in this city of the dead and the living?

Before examining these discourses, it is important to note that this chapter’s analysis takes into account the proposals set out by Norman Fairclough in Language and Power. His project, part of what he calls the “critical study of language,” allows us to observe the connections between language and the use of inequitable power relations. Fairclough’s methodology encourages us to see language’s significance in the production, maintenance, and change in power relations. One of his main concepts revolves around the idea that the use of power in our modern society is achieved through ideology and, in particular, through language’s ideological work. That is why it is imperative to study the use of language as being part of the production of our “realities.” In Ciudad Juárez, there is a sexed and sexist discourse at work that employs metaphors about women in a discreet but crucial manner; it is this prevalent discourse and its underlying work and meaning, I argue, that we must further probe and examine. I should add that my work has a gender focus because “an inventory of the murdered
women and girls in Ciudad Juárez that fails to take gender and political gender inequality into account would render what is occurring in this city unintelligible.23

The Prevention Campaigns and the Partido Acción Nacional's Administration

The crimes against women in Ciudad Juárez began to be perpetrated in 1993, during the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN—National Action Party) administration's first term in office in the State of Chihuahua. The government and the media suggested that the murderer was someone hired by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Revolutionary Institutional Party) to tarnish Gov. Francisco Barrio Terrazas' administration (1992–1998) and Mayor Ramón Galindo's administration in Juárez (1995–1999) and to regain power in the 1998 state elections. Because the culprits were nowhere to be found and there were no leads by 1995, state authorities decided to act in two ways: they hired a Spanish criminologist and a former FBI agent who had experience in profiling both criminals and possible victims; and they set forth a prevention campaign to protect all women at risk.

The prevention campaign, like the federal and state authorities' statements, propagated the same historical discourse about women; both were very concerned with what was "moral and respectable" and with what had been rearticulated as "values" in the State of Chihuahua over the last few years.24

In other words, the investigations in Ciudad Juárez were already obstructed by two types of discourse that form part of Mexico's everyday life: that of women as inferior beings or objects, and that of values, as former assistant attorney general Jorge López Molinar affirmed in an interview with the newspaper El Nacional: "All the victims were mischief makers or even prostitutes." Such views were also expounded by former governor Francisco Barrio Terrazas.

How are we to expect an objective investigation if even the upholders of justice think that "she asked for it" or that "she deserved it"?

The prevention campaigns during Ramón Galindo's administration raise precisely the same questions. All in all, there were five prevention advertisements published in the two local newspapers—El Diario and Norte—during the first two weeks of January 1995. All five displayed different pictures, and three of them published the same discourse on prevention. These three differed only in the photograph and the caption they included. In one, there was an image of a "guardian angel" in the background, and the title asserted: "He won't always be there to take care of you." In another, there appeared a photograph of a young man between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age who, despite having his eyes censored so as to render him anonymous, still resembled a soap opera hunk. The picture seemed to have been cut out of an American fashion magazine or hairstyle catalog. The main text read: "Single man looking for young woman, hard-working, who likes to go to parties on the weekend until dawn . . . INTERESTED WOMEN please approach any dark street or alley. Priority given to young women who arrive alone and make the least noise." The third ad had a picture of a body falling down a cliff or amidst clouds; it is hard to identify the background, but it is the body of a woman that is falling. The title, in capital letters, reads: "Be careful!" and the warnings were identical to the first and the second. All three ads share the same recommendations:

- Avoid dark or isolated streets
- Do not talk to strangers
- If you think someone is following you, turn around and look. If they are following you, scream, cross the street, and make your way to a police officer or a place where there are people
- Do not dress provocatively
- Carry a whistle
- When you leave home, let everyone know where you are going and when you will be returning
- Leave the lights on in your home
- Ask someone to wait for you at the bus stop or at your street corner
- Do not accept drinks from strangers
- If you are attacked, do not yell "Help." Instead, yell "Fire" so more people will pay attention to your cry
- Have the keys to your car or your home in your hand, for if you wait to look for your keys until you are at your destination, this will be a propitious time for an attack
- If someone in a car asks you a question, maintain a considerable distance so that they will not be able to pull you in
- Trust your instincts; if you believe that something is not right or you do not feel safe, leave the premises or ask for help
- Do not run the risk of becoming a statistic
- It is the Municipal Police's duty to prevent crime
- Help us by taking care of yourself

These ads convey the same image of the city that exists in movies such as Aventurera (1949) and Espaldas Mojadas (1953): a dark city whose life
transpires at night—a site prone to crime and perdition. Its “decent” women maintain themselves in private spaces. But women who dare take to public spaces, which are reserved for men, and who like to go dancing “until dawn” put themselves at risk of becoming another statistic. The ads set forth the stereotype that the victims were young maquiladora workers and that the “single man” was seeking “hard-working” young women.25

One of the problems with this sign’s representation of women is that it displays the image of the possible murderer as a privileged upper-class young man, and his victim is portrayed as a young, solitary, working-class woman who likes to go to nightclubs or bars until dawn, who is quiet, and who is willing to meet someone in a dark alley. Within this discourse there is a tension between gender and power relations. The discourse is reinforced by the virgin/whore binary, for, on the one hand, there is the young woman who is submissive and does not make noise, and on the other, there is the woman who likes to dance until way into the night, speaks to and accepts drinks from strangers, and walks alone through dark alley.

The propaganda could have been effective in regard to class, but the rest of the text is handled disappointingly. Many of the victims belong to an impoverished lower class; according to Monárez-Fragoso’s statistics from 2002, from crimes designated only as sexual, there were fifteen maquila worker victims; nineteen sex worker victims, dancers, and bar employees; and twenty-six “unknowns.”26 However, the poster makes it seem that only working women who go to dance clubs and bars until dawn are victims. By failing to include other women, especially young women from the upper and middle classes, the ad implies that they go out accompanied and do not put themselves at risk by speaking to strangers and walking through dark alley, for they, of course, travel in a vehicle. Consequently, poor/working women are portrayed as “loose.”

The underlying discourse of this text is that maquiladora workers are not as “good” or “decent” as those women from the upper and middle class, and that is why they are killed. This discourse supports statements made by former governor Barrio Terrazas and former deputy state attorney general López Molinar. Therefore, it would be useful to stop and examine the relationship between public officials’ words, their moralist attitudes, and the difference in social class that exists between them and the victims. The young women are doubly exploited: by an economic system’s “social and political relations of power”;27 and by a social discourse that clings to a generalized image of them as “girls who go downtown to sell their bodies for money or food.”28

Through the image of the guardian angel—an icon that is supposed to protect us and “never abandon us nor in the day or the night”—that particular notice utilizes the fear of God and implies that if a young woman does not strictly abide by all of the Municipal Police (Dirección General de Policía, DGP) warnings (the voice of authority), she will become a statistic. This notice, like the previous one, stems from the same presupposition: that these women climb into strangers’ cars and walk through dark places,
which can also be read as falling into temptation. This notice reinforces the
hegemonic discourse of the God of the Old Testament: a God who pun-
ishes transgressors of the law by abandoning them. Just as Eve got what she
deserved and was exiled from paradise for her disobedience, Juárez women
who fail to obey the police warnings will be condemned to be kidnapped,
raped, tortured, and murdered.

The third ad's main image and text differ from the one with the guar-
dian angel, but it employs the same discourse. The falling body of a young
woman and the text that cautions "Be Careful!" imply if one does not
follow the authorities' warnings, falling into a moral abyss, being expelled
from paradise, and rape and death are assured.

The ad's final suggestion draws attention in this way: "If you are sexually
attacked, induce vomiting. In this way, the aggressor will most likely be dis-
gusted and flee." This last piece of advice goes beyond image and metaphor.
On the one hand, it portrays a victim who, at the moment of sexual attack,
will be able to marshal her thoughts enough to defend herself by inducing
vomiting. On the other hand, it represents the aggressor as a fine and im-
peccable man who will flee on witnessing such a disgusting sight. This last
suggestion seems ludicrous; it is almost as unbelievable and irresponsible as
to dignify the victims after their death.

The three ads I have examined seem to reinforce the cultural code that
women are safer at home and that "strangers" are the only ones who can
harm us. Yet in the case of Juárez femicides, by 1999, "thirty-four of the
victims knew their murderer either because they were kin, friends, or neigh-
bors; two were murdered by clients, and the rest's relation to the perpetrator
remains unclear. In terms of those deemed serial murderers, there were two
who each killed two women whom they knew." Moreover, the portrayal of
women who pass through dark alleys gives the impression that these women
do so only for the purpose of engaging in some romantic affair or sexual
act. This portrayal fails to specify that hundreds of working women—young
and old—have to pass through dark alleys because they leave the factory
late at night or have to start work at the break of dawn and must thus walk
through the dark to get home or to reach public transportation.

In the fourth ad, a young boy states: "By this age, most boys have already
learned how to tie their shoelaces, ride a bike, and mistreat women. Don't
show examples of physical or emotional violence in your home. Don't set
a bad example... for your children will most probably imitate it. Women
have the right to say NO without any physical or emotional reprisals. If
they suffer any type of violence, they have the right to report it and to be
treated with respect and efficiency by the authorities." Everything about
this ad draws attention: the photograph portrays a fair-skinned, straight-
haired, well-nourished boy of about three or four. The ad's designer clearly
has a set of prejudices that privilege a certain type of masculine beauty and
social class. The designer seems unaware that these pictures conceive of the
assailant with a certain image in mind. There is a tension between what is
written and what is portrayed in the picture. If, on the one hand, the text
implies that working women are loose women, on the other, it implies that
handsome, well-dressed, blond or light brown-haired men are the potential
murderers. One of the other implications of this ad is that bad conduct can
be learned only in the home and that only boys who grow up in homes with
domestic violence have the potential to become criminals.

All this contradicts the previous ads' message and perpetuates dominat
n cultural codes that women are safer within the home but boys are safer in
the street, for if they stay at home they can be exposed to violence. These ads
never examine the influence of the social environment, the neighborhood,
the school, or the media.

The last two ads apparently seek to erase what was said in the previous
ones which I have analyzed, for the earlier examples portray the image of
the young working woman as a femme fatale, and these last examples give
us the benefit of the doubt. In the earlier examples, women were warned not
to dress in a provocative manner, not to walk alone through dark alleys, and
not to dance on the weekends. In these last ads, women are given social and
public permission to say no to any type of aggression, and they are granted
the right to denounce any illicit act against them and to be efficiently served
by the authorities—even if they are "loose women" or sex workers.

One has to ask, then, why the crimes against the women found in Lote
Bravo, Lomas de Polo, Campo Algodonero, Cerro del Cristo Negro, and
other places in the city have yet to be solved—some of them after more than
fifteen years. The answer must take into account the intimate ties between
gender and class constructions, the politics of identity, and the intolerable
negligence of the state.

The last ad depicts a very fit man and reads: "Very macho, very macho...
One way of demonstrating our manhood is by taking care of our women.
Let us avoid violence by taking care of our daughters, wives, and mothers."
Then the Municipal Police's suggestions and warnings specifically address
men: "Wait for your working or student women at the bus stop. They should
always inform you where they will be and what time they will return home.
Make sure you have emergency phone numbers handy. Make sure your
home is well protected (well lit and with shut windows and gates). Change
any loose or broken windows. Make sure to change locks that are in bad
condition or are of poor quality."

The cultural construct that appears in the other ads is underscored here.
A woman is subject to a man's protection and is rendered practically useless on her own. These exhortations appeal to truly “very macho” men to protect, care for, accompany, and lock women in. This notice’s discourse demonstrates that the city, within its social structure, continues to believe that “its” women must be kept in confinement, since the women who dared to go out at night to dance until dawn transgressed men’s space and therefore died or deserved to die.

As we can see, the women whom the Municipal Police propaganda is addressing are those who have transgressed men’s spaces and good social and moral values. They are working-class women who are violated both in their everyday life—facing exploitation in the factory and the home—and, symbolically, in these representations of them. Such images have been endorsed, as we have seen, by former governors, former attorneys general, and former district attorneys. José Antonio Parra Molina has reaffirmed these images in interviews in Norte: “On the border, women find themselves in a social environment where the feminine sex lives in a completely libertine state since it is but a few meters from the border with the United States, where women begin their sexual life at a much younger age, and they adopt this way of life, thus leading them to promiscuity.”30 Besides upholding the ideas set forth by the police ads, the criminologist’s conclusions are based on a stereotyped view of the border—a vision that is partially grounded in the stereotype of the licentious Anglo American woman.

The border environment that Parra Molina imagines is that which Norma Iglesias examines in an analysis of Mexican films about the border. Using “Ciudad Juárez as a point of reference,” she argues that these films depict “the border as a propitious place for organized crime and prostitution.”31 No one denies that there is prostitution and organized crime in Ciudad Juárez as well as in other border and nonborder cities, but our social reality is much more complex than Parra Molina’s explanations, especially when he asserts that “the feminine sex lives in a completely libertine state since it is but a few meters from the United States border.” His views are based on the construction of the other, and his assertions imply that all Mexican border women are “morally lost” because of U.S. women’s bad influence.

These views are especially interesting, though, because Mexicans (both male and female) view Americans as the other. Rather than exploring lines of investigation with which to trap the criminals or sketching an objective and real(istic) profile of the victims or the women at risk, Parra Molina’s narrative has only served to perpetuate centuries-old representations and images of women. Parra Molina etches the representation of possible victims, of maquiladora laborers: “I have personally witnessed what easy prey maquiladoras working women are for murderers. When they get out of work, they stand outside the factory in large groups, and when they see someone with a nice car drive by they ask him for ‘a ride.’ They leave with whoever shows up at the premises without thinking about the consequences, and they often ask men to invite them for a ‘little beer’ and ask him out to dance.”32 The criminologist’s narrative endorses the authorities’ statements and prevention campaigns. In this representation, gender and class tensions continue to increase, for the murderer drives a “nice car” and treats women to beers and clubs. However, one wonders how Parra Molina corroborates what happens once the women are in the car. The criminologist never explains this.

Given the outpouring of criticism against the police’s prevention campaigns, it seems the 1995–1998 City Council felt the need to hire an “authoritative voice” to defend them. As a result of my analysis, I believe that groups in power or groups with access to power are obviously manipulating the way in which working-class Juárez women (victims or potential victims) get represented: as fully responsible for the criminal acts unleashed on them.

The so-called prevention campaigns failed from the beginning. Rather than prevent anything, they only served to make the federal, state, and municipal authorities’ misogynist and classist ideology all the more evident. This is precisely why they were removed from newspapers, for feminist groups, nongovernmental organizations, and academics immediately protested. In their defense, the authorities argued that “they had been designed by a woman” and that they had “generated them using FBI information.” It is obvious that the woman who designed these ads was fully submerged in patriarchal ideology,33 and that the images and metaphors that the Municipal Police and the FBI used to portray the city, the potential victims, and their possible murderers shared only a “tenuous relation with any ‘reality’ whatsoever.”34

The narratives of the Municipal Police and the state attorney general have constructed an image of the victims and possible aggressors based on racial difference. Parra Molina fully employed notions of difference in regard to the murderers; knowing that this image would have a greater impact on Mexican society, the image he constructed was that of the foreigner, the “Oriental.” In 1995, an Egyptian, Abdel Latif Sharif Sharif, was captured and charged with the serial killing of at least nine young women.35 In 1996, members of Los Rebeldes, a gang,36 were arrested and confessed to at least five of the crimes. Los Rebeldes also accused Abdel Sharif of being the mastermind behind many of the murders. In 1998, Parra Molina was hired
to create profiles of the possible murderers; after simply reading Sharif’s file, he endorsed the police narrative: “I believe serial killers exist in Juárez, beginning with Abdel Latif Sharif Sharif and the Los Rebeldes gang, but another serial killer coming from the United States, possibly from Texas, could have committed these acts since he would not risk committing these murders in Texas for fear of being detained and sentenced to death.”

Through this Spanish criminologist’s discourse, it is interesting to see how identity politics are employed within the exercise of power and how vigorously they thrive in a society that does not consider itself racist. This drive to accuse the foreign other not only evidences exclusionist racial politics, but it validates the old stereotype of the border as a place where everything is permissible, as a stop on the way, or as a site of perdition. Moreover, it allows us to see that Parra Molina’s notions of difference are clearly defined in respect to Americans, who in fact define his view of others. American men are the alleged murderers and American women are a “perverting” influence on young Mexican women. His words also convey that Mexico was perceived, not only by Sharif, but by the Spanish criminologist himself, as a place where such crimes could be committed with impunity.

Ciudad Juárez, Its Murdered Women, and the Partido Revolucionario Institucional

Tensions between the center and the periphery in the State of Chihuahua have endured since the founding of Juárez and the naming of Chihuahua City as the state capital. Chihuahua City is constructed as the cradle of the old aristocracy, of ancestral families, of old money, and of good moral values. Juárez, by contrast, is the home “of all people,”38 of dirty money, of bad girls, and of criminals. The state’s identity politics have had repercussions on its public policy. During PRI governor Fernando Baeza’s administration (1988–1992), the state restricted the business hours of local restaurants, nightclubs, bars, nightspots, and entertainment establishments and also restricted the hours that alcoholic beverages could be sold in supermarkets, convenience stores, and small local stores. These measures instituted by “Ferdinand the Catholic” (as he was called) were meant to reduce crime and, at the same time, improve the city’s negative image.39

In 1998, Gov. Patricio Martínez García (1998–2004), also from the PRI, implemented the same measures, named the Zero Tolerance Program, at the outset of his term. In a statement to El Diario on November 18, 1998, he expressed the following: “I want Ciudad Juárez to go to sleep early; I want everyone to be home by 2:00 AM,” as if “the nighttime were guilty of the violence and lack of safety; consequently all that is associated with night’s negative image and its black legend is constructed as though it were natural.”40 As we can see, although political parties in Chihuahua may change, the image of the city and its women fails to alter substantially.

State and municipal government power struggles,41 as well as disagreements over the various different police departments’ roles, lead to every group blaming the other. On the one hand, Patricio Martínez’s spokesperson, Jorge Sánchez Acosta, stated that “Francisco Barrio Terrazas’s administration is responsible for the lack of investigations in the kidnapping and murder of women, and since October 4, when the new government was established in Chihuahua, there has been no more [legal] impunity.”42 Martínez’s attorney general, Arturo González Rascón, declared that, during the previous administration, 83 of the 176 cases of murdered women were not solved and that of the 16 murders of women during Martínez’s term, only 2 remained to be solved.43

On the other hand, at the Buried in the Border conference at New Mexico State University in October of 1999, Javier Benavides, the former commissioner of the Municipal Police, claimed that “NGOs were magnifying the cases of murdered women and were neglecting incidences of murdered men, whose cases were also very lamentable.”44 Both parties’ administrations have been criticized for their inefficiency and their failure to pursue investigations from a gender or class perspective. Javier Benavides diminishes the importance of the murdered women in Juárez as being simply a structural problem. As Carlos Monsiváis explains, “the great problem is that woman has always been victim . . . when one of them is kidnapped, raped, tortured, and murdered by a man, this no longer disturbs people or fills them with indignation because these aggressions have become customary.” What is most lamentable about these events, Monsiváis argues, is the contrast: “we know of no woman who has equally hunted a man, raped him, killed him, and thrown him away.”45

Reading Arturo González Rascón’s statements, we find two types of discourse. In one he uses official language, and in the other he uses everyday language. When it comes time to discuss the murder of women, he has much more often employed the latter type of discourse. In an interview with Armando Rodríguez in which he was asked about the sex crimes in Ciudad Juárez, he reconstructed the city’s black image, claiming that “it was more than a national problem—it was a cultural and situational problem.”46 González Rascón rearticulated the image of the border as the spiritual no-man’s-land that Vasconcelos branded, although the former tried to correct
himself: “What happens is that right now we are all focused on Ciudad Juárez, and if one of these types of events happens in Chihuahua City, one does not notice... or in the State of Sinaloa, where, since January, nine sixty-six homicides have occurred, and it is not noticed.” This apparent revalorization of the city is reinforced by his words, for if one does not notice this happens in other places, it is because those places do not share the city of perdición’s image. In this same interview, he returned to the discourse of power employed by Gov. Patricio Martínez: “I believe Ciudad Juárez and this border in particular have to rescue the image of security, a respectable place that all of Chihuahua’s citizens have to give their city and that we are going to transform.”

True, most scholars and researchers are still unable to understand why these serial crimes are committed only in Ciudad Juárez. In the past, we considered it a phenomenon similar to drug trafficking and auto theft: the city simply lacked the proper infrastructure—in every sense—to keep up with its dynamic growth. For this reason, it was easy to go into hiding, become anonymous, change one’s address, and even cross the border. Our main question then was: Why does this happen only in Ciudad Juárez and not in other border cities with the same dynamics, such as Tijuana? A possible answer had to do with the metropolitan zone and access to border crossing. In Tijuana, it is much slower and more complicated to walk or drive across the border. The sheer numbers of people crossing into El Paso are greater. Moreover, San Diego lies at least forty kilometers away. Ciudad Juárez and El Paso are situated in the same geographical space; they constitute a metropolitan zone of over 2.5 million people, and the longest distance between these two cities consists of the international bridges that connect them (approximately 200 meters). Either by foot or by car, crossing is much more accessible, and, it seems, there are much greater possibilities of losing oneself in anonymity once one crosses to the other side; this is especially the case since the income levels and standard of living of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez are more similar than those of San Diego and Tijuana, where $800,000 American homes contrast with poor colonias and make it virtually impossible for someone to blend in.

Moreover, there is yet another answer that might be more accurate: there is a very powerful group behind the crimes, and there exists legal impunity in the city and the state, which has allowed such crimes to happen. Even though violence against women is not exclusive to Juárez, the serial sex crimes here bring such violence to international attention because of the violence done to the victim’s bodies, the legal impunity granted the criminal(s), and the silence and negligence of the state (be it municipal, state, or federal).

But in regard to the murderers, González Rascón’s obsession with pinning them on the “other” hardly differs from Parra Molina’s. In 1999, Jesús Manuel Guajardo, “El Tolteca,” was apprehended after a rape survivor identified him as the aggressor. After his capture, the police arrested four presumed accomplices, known as “Los Choferes” or “Los Ruteros” (The Drivers, or the Route Drivers), and they were charged with the murders of twelve more women.

This case, as is the case of Sharif, is replete with cultural and political implications. Juárez society despises criminals, and even more so when they are from outside the city. Citizens of Juárez and Chihuahua City “proved” that “in Juárez we are not murderers,” which supports the city’s anti-immigrant prejudices. In El Tolteca’s and Los Choferes’ cases, the attorney general constructed a narrative similar to that used to prosecute Los Rebeldes: “After Sharif, ‘Los Rebeldes’ gang, hired by Sharif, committed many homicides. Then followed ‘The Drivers,’ led by Jesús Manuel Guajardo, aka ‘El Tolteca,’ who through Víctor Moreno, aka ‘The Narco-trafficker,’ received the payments he’d sent abroad, but the three cases were related.”

González Rascón generates his vision of the other by identifying the Egyptian Sharif as the leader of bands of rapists and murderers (Los Rebeldes, Los Choferes, and El Tolteca) and supports another anti-immigrant narrative in regard to El Tolteca, but he rejects the possibility that a Mexican national, Rafael Reséndez Ramírez, best known in the United States as “The Railroad Killer” or “The Railway Killer,” might have murdered many women in Ciudad Juárez. This is a likely possibility, given that former FBI agent Robert Resler always maintained that Reséndez Ramírez was responsible for “at least six murders in Ciudad Juárez, if not a dozen.” Afterward, Resler stated that he did not understand why Mexican authorities had denied this. González Rascón alleged that they were not going to “elaborate on something for which they had no evidence.” Rather than following up on Resler’s findings, it seems that González Rascón’s greatest concern was to clean up the image of Mexicans abroad just as he was seeking to recover the image of Juárez for Chihuahua: “Although these multiple homicides are of Mexican origin, there is no reason to make generalizations about Mexican nationals going to the United States to commit crimes, or for there to emerge a negative image of the Mexicans who live abroad.”

González Rascón’s narrative is comparable to José Parra Molina’s every time he speaks of two assassins who were foreigners: an Arab and an Ameri-
can. We can observe a clear tension in their discourses of power and identity and within their process of authorization and nonauthorization. The Mexican attorney general, who employs notions of “I and us,” and the Spanish criminologist’s use of “I and the other” deauthorize the usual hegemonic discourse: the Anglo-Saxon one, the “other,” which Resler embodies.

As a result of the NGOs’ constant pressure, the Fiscalía Especial para la Investigación de Crímenes contra Mujeres (Special Prosecutor’s Office for the Investigation of Crimes against Women) was founded in 1995 under Francisco Barrio Terrazas’ administration. Since its beginning, “with five overburdened district attorneys and a shortage of staff and technical equipment, the office has faced great disapproval from the leading protest groups.” NGOs’ protests have generally addressed the same issues: the authorities’ ineptitude; the ever-so-slow investigations; the inefficiency; and, under Suly Ponce Prieto’s administration (November 1998–August 2001), the arrogance toward and the disrespectful treatment of victims, their family members, and NGOs, reporters, criminologists, experts in victimology, scholars, and so on. Suly Ponce was in the eye of the storm and constantly engaged in a war of words with NGOs, especially with Voces sin Eco (Voices without an Echo), an organization made up of the family members of missing or murdered women.

I will examine but two events to make my case. The first example shows how Gov. Patricio Martínez and his attorney general, Arturo González Rascón, believed that the police investigations of the sex crimes in Juárez were conducted efficiently and with a focus on gender. Suly Ponce noted that more than one hundred people were under investigation for crimes against women. This approach seemed “illogical” to the Instituto Chihuahuense de Criminología (Chihuahua Institute of Criminology) and to Esther Chávez Cano, director of the Casa Amiga crisis center. Chávez Cano considered this approach to be “a demonstration of inefficiency and a mockery of the people.” This statement stemmed from the last demonstration’s events, when the people of Juárez sought to have Suly Ponce dismissed from office, but González Rascón argued that she was the best person for the job. As a result, protests led to rallies in front of the state attorney general’s offices; people carried banners and posters that read, “If Suly is the best, then we Juárez citizens are truly unfortunate.”

The second example best complements the discourses of power I have already discussed, as it is based on the district attorney’s attitude and responses at the Primera Reunión Binacional “Crímenes contra Mujeres” (First Binational Crimes against Women Conference): “The district attorney [Suly Ponce] was upset because she felt attacked and besieged after a woman and her daughter confronted her for giving them scant attention when they went to her office to report a missing minor. Before the constant questioning, Suly Ponce scolded the little girl . . . and told her she had not given her any lines of investigation to follow,” as if this was the family members’ duty. After another question, Ponce said she would gladly give up her post, because “looking around for loose girls” took too much time away from her and her family.

As we can see, this female special prosecutor’s discourse hardly differs from that of the male authorities we have discussed, thus posing a larger problem for studies of gender and language. The fact that a woman is in charge of designing a campaign directed toward women, or that a woman is in charge of a special unit for the investigation of crimes against women, is not a guarantee that she will not be immersed in patriarchal discourse and ideology. Moreover, Suly Ponce’s tirades reveal the incompatibility between her public and private spaces. For this special prosecutor, there was no site of negotiation between her “family obligations” and her obligation and commitment to the community.

Final Reflections

From 1993 to the present, we have gained some spaces from which to seek justice for all these women. Whether it is functional or dysfunctional, at least we have a Fiscalía Especial para la Investigación de Crímenes contra Mujeres, as well as an Unidad Especializada de Delitos Sexuales (Specialized Unit for Sexual and Family Offenses), and a NGO crisis center. New forms of citizenship action have emerged. Alternative voices have dared to defy power, such as Voces sin Eco, Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa (May Our Daughters Return Home), Mujeres de Negro (Women in Black), Justicia para Nuestras Hijas (Justice for Our Daughters), Madres en Busca de Justicia (Mothers in Search of Justice), Mujeres por Juárez (Women for Juárez), Fundación Sagrario, and the young woman at the binational conference who publicly called Suly Ponce a liar. There have been marches, demonstrations, vigils, and symposiums with the participation of NGOs, academic institutions, and social sectors. Many films and documentaries have been made. The tragic events have been on the front page of international newspapers, and the UN and Amnesty International have spearheaded two commissions. Endless telephone poles in the city have been painted pink and black as monuments to the victims. There are different monuments (pink crosses with the victims’ names) in the places where bod-
ies have been found. A federal special prosecutor and a special commissioner for violence against women in Juárez were appointed during Vicente Fox's administration.

Nonetheless, to this day, we do not know why such sex-related serial crimes have occurred for the most part in Ciudad Juárez or whether groups in Juárez are the only ones keeping a careful count of these kinds of hate crimes. We do not yet know whether it is because "the future arrived 30 years earlier in Ciudad Juárez," or whether, as Zimmerman explains, "the more cities become a part of global networks, the more their previous levels of organization are threatened, altered, or destroyed," or whether Juárez's citizens have not known how to completely negotiate spaces and/or identities. Or perhaps it is, because when we inscribe our geographies, we create artifacts that impose significance on the world.

Ciudad Juárez, "another site of vice and perdición," has been unable to achieve the image of "Mexico's best border town," which Pres. Adolfo López Mateos propagated during the 1960s and which subsequent governments have proclaimed, especially in the 1980s, with the maquiladora boom. It might be that, because of Ciudad Juárez's border status, what "fuels the country's collective imaginary are images marked by the absence of the law, and we then decide to put this imaginary into practice. Perhaps we have not yet developed a full conscience in regard to how we use language, as Fairclough (1990) suggests, but when we acquire that conscience, it will help us in these processes of emancipation.

At this point, I do not know. As I regret and despise the state of legal impunity in which we live, and as I recall the words of Monsiváis—"no element is so decisive in its resonance or its lack of resonance as the historical appreciation of the value of unknown women's lives"—I can only observe a ghost dance through the streets that I walk, calmly, solemnly, every day.

Notes

Author's note: The title of this chapter is borrowed from Jean Franco, "Ghost Dance in the Battlefields of the Cold War." The original version in Spanish was published as "Baile de fantasmas en Ciudad Juárez al final/principio del milenio," in Más allá de la ciudad letargada: Crónicas y espacios urbanos, ed. Boris Muñoz and Silvia Spitta (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Biblioteca de América, Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, 2003), 411–437. I have updated some data for this version.

1. Second epigraph from a talk presented at "La Reunión Binacional: Crímenes contra Mujeres," organized by El Colegio de la Frontera Norte; the NGO Coordinator, New Mexico State University; and Semillas, November 3–4, 2000 (videotape).

2. Even though the crimes began to be recorded in 1993 and protests by local women's NGOs and scholars also began in this year, it was not until 1998 that these terrible events hit the international press.


4. After investigating for more than two weeks, Mexico's Federal Office of the Attorney General and the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency reported that "only nine bodies were found." The difference in "missing" and "found" numbers made Ciudad Juárez's municipal authorities and Chihuahua's state government begin a campaign for "the dignity of Juárez and its citizens." They asked the Washington Post to issue a public apology to Juárez's citizens for its yellow press. For more information, see El Diario and El Norte (Ciudad Juárez), November 29, 1999–January 30, 2000.


9. Ibid., 30.

10. Besides Norma Klahn, Gabriel Trujillo Muñoz, Victor Zúñiga, Carlos Monivás, Jorge Bustamante, Guillermina Valdés-Villalva, José Manuel Valenzuela Arce, Claire Fox, and Tim Given, among others, have written on this subject.

11. The Maquiladora Program was first established as the capstone of the Bracero Program, which was in place from 1942 to 1964. It was believed at the beginning of the 1960s that documented workers in the United States would return to Mexico in hordes and that, above all, border cities would be established. The Border Industrialization Program (BIP) did not induce workers to leave, as the majority of them stayed in the United States as undocumented workers. Nonetheless, what the BIP did do was attract specialized workers, especially women, from places south of the Mexican border states.

12. I define the service sector as employees working as secretaries, domestics, and restaurant workers.

13. Ricardo Aguilar and María Socorro Tabuenca Córdoba, Lo que el viento a Juárez, Testimonio de una ciudad que se obstina: Col. Papeles de Familia (Torreón, Coah., Mex., and Las Cruces, N.M.: Universidad Iberoamericana—Laguna/Editorial Nimbus, 2000), 64.


15. The population in Mexican border-belt cities can buy cars for better prices in the United States and then get special (border) license plates that are legal only thirty kilometers south of the border. Before the peso’s devaluation in 1994, young working women would pool their money to buy a car so that they could go to work in the maquiladoras and then take turns driving it on the weekends.


18. Alfredo Limas, Sexualidad, género, violencia y procuración de justicia, presentation at “la Reunión Binacional: Crímenes contra Mujeres,” 3 (photocopy in author’s possession).


22. Norman Fairclough, Language and Power (London: Longman, 1990). Fairclough bases his methodology on Gramsci, Habermas, Bourdieu, Saussure, van Dijk, and Foucault, among others. In his methodology, Fairclough suggests observing sociolinguistic conventions, for they use language in its social context. In his proposal, he also includes the study of linguistics, pragmatism, cognitive psychology, conversations, and discourse.


24. With the coming of the PAN to Chihuahua in 1993, Francisco Barrio Terrazas—head of Mexico’s Comptroller’s Office during the Fox administration—began a “recovering-values” campaign. This campaign has been highly criticized by progressive academics and people from the Left for its conservatism. This type of discourse continues to be used by the party. Let us not forget the controversy that took place when former labor secretary Carlos Abascal asked the principal of his daughter’s high school to fire her literature teacher after she had recommended that the class read Carlos Fuentes’s Aura.

25. The data shows that of the 162 murdered women, only 15 were maquiladora workers. See Monaré-Fragoso, “La cultura del feminicidio,” 110.

26. “Unknown” is Monaré-Fragoso’s designation. Not all of the women disappeared or were murdered as a result of sexual motives.


32. Orquiz, 114.

33. There is a notable difference between a woman and a woman who is aware of her gender. The awareness of gender construction leads women to deconstruct patriarchal ideologies.


35. Sharif died in prison in June 2006. The authorities said he was the main suspect as the material and intellectual author of at least twelve-five crimes. However, he was charged only for one of the crimes, and that charge was based on circumstantial evidence. There were multiple inconsistencies in the investigation, which he pointed out. He always claimed he was innocent.

36. Los Rebelde were accused of committing at least seventeen crimes. In 2005, they were formally sentenced: José Luis Rosales got twenty-four years for the rape and murder of Rosario García Leal; Sergio Armendáriz, Romel Ceniceros, Carlos Barrientos, Gerardo Fernández, and Jorge Contreras received forty-five years each for the rape and murder of Verónica Castro and two women identified as Lucy and
Tanya. As in Sharif’s case, the convictions were based on circumstantial evidence. They later claimed that they had confessed because they were tortured.

38. I borrow this phrase from García Canclini, Tijuana: La casa de toda la gente.
39. Never in Juárez’s history was its image more “positive.” The maquiladora boom of the 1980s created an atmosphere of confidence. Nightclubs in the city’s downtown shared space with the middle- and working class, although there were nightclubs for each social class. The city’s former vice-and-prostitution image was displaced by an economic bonanza, especially after 1985. See César Fuentes Flores, “Industrial Maquila Growth—Development Strategy? Maquiladora Workers and Nurses: The Case of Colonia Toribio Ortega in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua” (photocopy in author’s possession).
41. Although the PRI regained the governorship, the PAN continued to hold Juárez’s city government until 2004, then the PRI again took over.
42. Alejandro Romero Ruiz, “Polítizan casos de mujeres,” El Diario (July 18, 1999).
43. Luis Rodríguez Vázquez, “Procurador de justicia: Desmienten a ONGs,” El Diario (August 10, 1999).
46. Armando Rodríguez, “Son ‘situacionales’ los crímenes, dice el procurador estatal,” El Diario (February 24, 1999).
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. I thank the anonymous reader for this lucid observation.
50. See United Nations, “Integración de los derechos humanos de la mujer y la perspectiva de género: La violencia contra la mujer,” in Informe de la Relatora Especial contra la Mujer, Sus Causas y Consecuencias, ed. Yarkin Erirü (January 13, 2006).
51. El Tolteca and Los Choferes were captured in 1999, but it was not until 2005 that they were convicted and sentenced. Jesús Manuel Guajardo received a sentence of 113 years for the murder and rape of three women; José Gaspar Chávez, Victor Moreno, and Agustín Castillo were sentenced to 40 years for the murder of four women; and Bernardo Hernández was found not guilty. During the process, El Tolteca declared to the press that he was tortured in order to make him implicate the other men as accomplices. Once again, there is no scientific proof that either El Tolteca or Los Choferes killed everyone they were accused of killing. El Tolteca did actually rape and attempt to murder the teenager who survived and accused him.
52. This was a slogan during the “Dignity for Juárez” march on December 18, 1999.
53. Rodríguez Vázquez, “Procurador de justicia.”
54. We should recall that Reséndez lived in Ciudad Juárez, and in fact he was extradited from there after convincing family members to turn him in to U.S. authorities. Reséndez was convicted and executed by lethal injection in Huntsville, Texas, on June 27, 2006. See Alejandro Telles, “También procurador desmiente a experto,” Norte (July 15, 1999).
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
60. Flores Simental, “Suly Ponce.”
61. Ibid.
64. Dennis Cosgrove and Mona Domosh, “Author and Authority: Writing the New Cultural Geography,” in Place/Culture Representation, ed. James Duncan and David Ley (New York: Routledge, 1994), 37.
65. This phrase appears in the first scene to the 1953 film Espláidas Mojadas.
67. Ibid.
68. By November 2001, the date on which I finished editing this article for its original publication in Spanish, eight more bodies had been found in an abandoned lot called Campo Algodonero. For these crimes, Victor Javier García Uribe, aka “El Cerillo,” and Gustavo González Meza, “La Foca,” were accused during Patricio Martínez’s administration. González Meza died in prison under suspicious circumstances after a hernia operation, and García Uribe was freed in 2005. In 2004, four more bodies were found on the outskirts of Juárez in a place called Cerro del Cristo Negro.