MOVING BEYOND AWARENESS:
NI UNA MÁS AND APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF FEMICIDE IN CIUDAD JUÁREZ

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Georgetown University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Master of Arts
in Communication, Culture and Technology

By

Sarah Meagan Upton, B.A.

Washington, DC
April 23, 2010

Copyright 2010 by Sarah Meagan Upton
All Rights Reserved

MOVING BEYOND AWARENESS:
NI UNA MÁS **AND APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF FEMICIDE IN CIUDAD JUÁREZ**

Sarah Meagan Upton, B.A.

Thesis Advisor: David Ribes, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Since 1993, over 800 cases of murdered women have been documented in Ciudad Juárez, located in the Mexican state of Chihuahua. In response to this *femicide*, a social movement called *Ni Una Más* (Not One More) emerged, holding the creation of awareness as both a main goal and outcome. Though a significant process for participants within social movements, *awareness* is absent as a defined concept within social movement literature. For the purposes of this thesis, *awareness* will be defined as a cognizant realization of the problem resulting in collective indignation. Part of the process of creating collective indignation among those unaffected by the murders is the involvement both activist and non-activist actors doing both visible and invisible work to bring attention to them, and hopefully elicit an emotional response. However, even if the goal of collective indignation is met, knowledge of a problem does not guarantee one's ability, or even desire, to take action. Translation work must be done to transform awareness into a form of capital that addresses the problem. In the case of the femicide in Ciudad Juárez, actors in the arts/media, academic, and political realms have used their professional positions to translate awareness into *awareness products.* These *awareness products* do not work to solve the crimes or prevent future murders. However, these products do generate further knowledge that moves towards solutions and an element of therapeutic remembrance. Still an active movement, *Ni Una Más* continues to advocate for the awareness of victims of femicide, a process aided by artistic remembrance, academic legitimization and an unprecedented international court ruling.

This thesis is dedicated to the murdered and missing women of Ciudad Juárez, and their families who continue to seek justice.

¡Ni Una Más!

There are countless individuals who helped make this thesis a possibility. I would like to thank Dr. David Ribes for agreeing to help me navigate a subject he knew little about, teaching me new ways to approach it, and offering his support and encouragement every step of the way. I also want to thank Dr. Timothy Wickham-Crowley for sharing his expertise and knowledge in the field of social movements and greatly surpassing the role of second reader.

Thanks to Dr. Kathleen Staudt, Dr. Cynthia Bejarano, and Charles Stanford, for the knowledge and assistance they gave through personal interviews, as well as all other researchers who helped pave the way for this thesis through their previous research.

I would like to thank Kent Paterson of Frontera NorteSur for his continued help with sources, as well as Maureen Burdock, Deborah Gavel, and all others who participated in, or attended, Una Oración por Juárez.

To my family and friends, thank you for caring about this topic, listening to my constant discussion of my research, and for tolerating me during the hardest points (I know it was hard), I could not have done this without you. Finally, to Taylor, thank you for being my best friend and biggest supporter.

Sarah Meagan Upton

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction ... 1
The Problem of Femicide in Ciudad Juárez ... 6
Theorizing Femicide ... 7
The Case of Border Femicide ... 9
Ni Una Más Through Multiple Lenses: Media, Arts, Academia, and Politics ... 11
Chapter 2: The Absence of Awareness ... 14
Historical Perspectives and Approaches to Social Movements ... 15
Social Movement Theories After the 1960s ... 19
Understudied Approaches to Social Movements ... 26
Awareness as an Undefined Concept in Social Movement Theory ... 29
Chapter 3: Awareness as Therapy: Remembering Victims Through the Arts and Media ... 32
Informational ... 33
Emotional ... 38
Artistic Expression ... 42
Self-Reflection ... 46
Remembrance ... 48
Conclusion ... 51
Chapter 4: Awareness as Legitimization: Academic Approaches to Femicide in Juárez ... 53
Identify (legitimate) A Problem ... 53
Towards a Theory of Femicide in Juárez ... 56
Suggestions for a Solution ... 63
Conclusion ... 65
Chapter 5: Moving Towards Justice: Awareness and the Political Response ... 67
Laying the Groundwork ... 68
Three levels of awareness ... 72
Enrollment ... 80
Presentation ... 82
Documents ... 89
Rulings ... 92
Conclusion ... 93
Conclusion: Awareness Accomplishments and Possibilities for the Future ... 95
Towards Justice ... 98
Was *Ni Una Más* a Success? ... 101
Bibliography ... 103

Chapter 1: Introduction

It was still dark when 20-year-old Claudia Ivette González left her home in the early morning hours of October 10, 2001. She was heading for work, however, when she missed her bus and arrived four minutes late, the doors of the Lear Corporation, the maquiladora where she worked, were locked and she was sent away in the dark. "A half-hour past when she usually would have returned home, her mother knew something was gravely wrong" (Blumenthal, 1). When Claudia had still not returned home on October 12, her mother reported her as missing to the authorities,[1] but was told that at least 72 hours must pass before a missing persons investigation could begin (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 15). When her family was finally able to file a report, they disclosed that two weeks earlier Claudia "had told her friend that she had been harassed by two policemen driving a *camper* (pick-up trucks used by the municipal police) outside her workplace and gave the *Subagente* [assistant detective] the license plate number" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 15). However, authorities never investigated this aspect of the case, explicitly refusing. Claudia's sister Mayela also offered clues about where she might be found, but these leads were never pursued either. Her family members were harassed and intimidated by authorities, who made value judgments on Claudia's behavior before she went missing; her mother recalls that they "were not treated gently nor courteously, nor even less with compassion and respect for our dignity" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 19).

Fifteen-year-old Esmeralda Herrera Monreal never returned home from her part-time job as a housekeeper on October 29, 2001. When her mother Irma alerted authorities, they told her that the responsibility to find Esmeralda lay with the family; they assumed she had probably just

[1] When I refer to "authorities," it is because the newspaper articles, and Inter-American Court ruling and petition do not specify which government agents, and use "authorities" whenever referring to law enforcement.

gone off with her boyfriend. When authorities did intervene, their help was limited to writing a missing person report, preparing a poster on her disappearance, and simply hearing her mother's story (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 20). Police refused to dispatch a search patrol, and the family was forced to look for Esmeralda themselves. Irma blamed herself for moving the family to a bigger city so that she could find better work (Rodriguez, 229).

Laura Berenice Ramos Monárrez, a 17-year-old high school student, disappeared on Friday, September 22, 2001. Three days later her family filed a missing persons report with the Office of the Special Prosecutor on Disappeared Persons and Homicides of Women. Authorities did not conduct a search for Laura, thus her family, along with the families of other missing persons, carried out the search. "Although there was testimony offering clues regarding how Laura Berenice Ramos could have disappeared, these [clues] were not considered" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 24). No inquiries were made at the computer science school where Laura studied, or at her workplace, and no interviews were conducted with her friends. Though her mother offered information to authorities, such as the name of an officer that Laura would occasionally date, or calls received on her daughter's cell phone, these leads were never followed. On November 7, 2001, Laura's family allowed agents to search her bedroom and they took several belongings, including business cards of the Director of Municipal Transit and the former chief of Preliminary Investigations, who was be Laura's ex-boyfriend. These people were never questioned, and there was no record of these cards in Laura's case file. From the moment they reported her missing, Laura's family members became victims of mistreatment and intimidation by authorities and state agents; receiving anonymous telephone threats which were reported by the family, but never investigated. Her sister, Claudia Ivonne Ramos, was followed by what appeared to be official government vehicles, and her mother and brother "were victims

of attempts to run them down with a vehicle" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 26). The case files of all three girls show that no attempt was made to find them alive.

On November 6-7, 2001, a mass grave was uncovered in a former cotton field. A construction worker stumbled upon the first body, and a few feet away the remains of two more women were found. The next day, police brought in bulldozer to the check the area, and five more bodies were found (Rodriguez, 177-178). Claudia Ivette González, Esmeralda Herrera Monreal, and Laura Berenice Ramos Monárrez were among the victims found there.

Irma, Esmeralda's mother, was at work at the Phillips plant (maquiladora) when her co-worker told her that the news was reporting the discovery of several bodies. She went immediately to first the state Attorney General's office and then to the morgue. When she approached one of the police officers she was told to read a newspaper if she wanted to know what was going on; ironically, another officer told her not to believe anything she read in the paper (Washington Valdez, 68). At first, authorities did not let mothers see the bodies, and before Oscar Maynez Grijalva, the state forensics chief, could get the DNA results back to positively identify the victims, state Attorney General González Rascon had read their names at a press conference (Washington Valdez, 67). When this press conference was held, families of the victims had not yet been informed, and thus most heard from the news media.

Though she had disappeared only four weeks before, Claudia's mother said "when she was handed over to me, all I received was a bag of bones" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 16). It did not seem likely to her family that her body could have decomposed so rapidly, but the prosecutor told her mother that "this was possible, since the body could have been damaged by animals, rain, or earth" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 16). Once the remains assigned to her as her "daughter's" body had been handed over, the case was

considered closed. Esmeralda’s mother had a similar experience, explaining that only eight days after her daughter’s disappearance her body had no face or hair. She was also told that animals, wind and earth had destroyed the body. The rest of her body, however, was naked but remained intact, and had been found face down. Laura’s mother, Benita Monárrez, says she was never shown the actual body “because they told me I wouldn’t be able to handle it” (Washington Valdez, 69). Instead she was forced to identify her daughter through a brassier she recognized as hers and a fracture in her right arm.

When police reopened the cotton field to the public, volunteers conducted their own investigations. The search yielded many items that, under other circumstances, would likely be gathered as police evidence: torn panties, a dress, several pairs of women’s shoes, strands of human hair, and a pair of tan-colored overalls stained with grass and dirt. Claudia’s mother joined a group of volunteers searching for evidence in the field where her daughter’s body had been found. She began to weep after being shown the tan overalls that were found that day, which had belonged to her daughter (Rodriguez, 175, 207, and 223). Claudia’s electoral and work identification cards were also found, in addition to some *Vales Despensa* (store vouchers) from the maquiladora where she worked, and an ATM receipt from Banco Bital (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 16).

The failures of the law enforcement system extended past the initial discovery, particularly during the identification process. A DNA test released by the federal Attorney General’s Office showed that only the genetic material from the family of missing person Verónica Martínez Hernández matched any of the cotton field bodies (“DNA Results”, 1). After the identifications had already taken place, authorities asked the families of Claudia and Esmeralda for more “data” to conduct further forensic studies. Claudia’s sister, Mayela

González, remained firm on the belief that the body they had been presented was her sister's. The dental work, hair color, ponytail holders, and a curve in the bone of the one the fingers, all matched her physical characteristics (Rodriguez, 229). Other families, however, were not so sure. The first expert[2] report on Esmeralda's remains was issued on November 21, 2001, finding that the skull and teeth of the body matched photographs of her. The following October, a "forensic genetics report"[3] stated that there was a "possible" link between the body and Esmeralda's family (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 22). Not shown to her mother, only Esmeralda's father and brother were allowed to view her body, though they were unable to identify her due to its deterioration; "they could only recognize the clothing presented to them as found on said body" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 22). Esmeralda's mother testified that once they placed her in the coffin it was sealed, they were not allowed[4] to open it again before burying her. According to her, "this generated very serious doubts regarding the true identity of the remains" (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 22).Benita, Laura's mother, also questioned whether the body she signed for was her daughter.

A month after the bodies of Claudia, Esmeralda, and Laura were found, Juarense radio host Samira Izaguirre used her show Calibre 800 to help organize a candlelight vigil in the cotton field. An on-air request by Samira yielded 27,000 candles, which "illuminated the otherwise sterile field like a warm carpet of lights" (Rodriguez, 223). That night, mothers erected eight tall pink crosses, each with the name of one of the girls in black script; three of the crosses bear the

---

[2] The "expert" is not specified. The Application filed with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights listed the supporting evidence under "Report of forensic facial approximation for identification of body 188/01 (Esmeralda Herrera) November 21, 2001".

[3] The Application filed with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights listed the supporting evidence under "Addition to the report on genetic comparison tests , *inter alia*, to establish blood relationships, regarding bodies 188/01, 189/01 and 190/01, dated October 8, 2002".

[4] Who prohibited them from seeing the body is not specified. The Application filed with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights listed the supporting evidence under "Authorization to release the body of Esmeralda Herrera Monreal, dated November 16, 2001".

names Claudia Ivette, Esmeralda, and Laura. Mothers placed flowers at the foot of these tributes to their daughters, as onlookers stood in silence. Samira explained that taking part in this memorial showed the mothers that the community shares their loss; “it was a way of telling them ‘we are with you’ ” (Rodriguez, 223).

The Problem of Femicide in Ciudad Juárez

Since 1993, the mass murder of women has greatly impacted the city of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico, which lies across the international border from El Paso, Texas. Eerily resembling each other, the victims were all young, pretty and petite, with dark hair and full lips. Their bodies all showed signs of rape, mutilation, and torture. Additionally, they followed the same socioeconomic trends, most were poor and lived in shanty towns on the outskirts of the city. They were not women who had high status in the city, and their families lacked the resources to investigate their disappearances and murders, and to demand justice. Because of this they became easy targets. “It was apparent that the crimes involved a selection process and highly organized abductions. Young women were disappearing in the city’s downtown without anyone seeing or hearing anything” (Washington Valdez, 2). In response to the lack of progress surrounding the investigation, the relatives of the girls and members of the community began a grassroots activism movement called *Ni Una Más* (Not One More). There are many theories as to who is behind the murders. A triangle was carved into the back of many of the victims, leading some to believe there was a connection with “ultra right-wing politics” (Washington Valdez, 2), while other’s believe it is the work of satanic cults. Drug dealers, gang members, elite members

of society and even police officers run the gamut as potential perpetrators of these crimes (Washington Valdez, 2).

The estimates on the exact number of women killed vary significantly; early reports from 2002 and 2003 range from 268 (by the Chihuahua State General's office) to 370 (by Amnesty International) (Washington Valdez, 65-66). Later estimates from 2007 and 2008, before the city's current drug war made Juárez the murder capital of the world, put the number between 400 and 508. However, if the last few years are taken into account, reports from 2009 and 2010 place the number between 750 and 800 (Valdez, 1) (Paterson). When journalist Teresa Rodriguez wrote her investigational account *The Daughters of Juárez* in 2007, the most recent reports, including one from Amnesty International, claimed "more than 430 women" had been killed (Amnesty International), but Rodriguez noted that the toll continued to climb. Esther Chávez Cano, an activist in Ciudad Juárez who first called attention to the murders, kept her own count, which reached 508 in 2008. In December 2009, journalists Diana Washington Valdez, and Aileen B. Flores from *The El Paso Times*, El Paso's major publication, reported that "nearly 750 girls and women have been murdered in Juárez since 1993"; Reporter Kent Paterson from *Frontera NorteSur*, a New Mexico State University publication which provides on-line news coverage of the US-Mexico border, puts the number closer to 800 (Personal Communication). Though the numbers oscillate, a consensus exists that authority's under-report the numbers of murdered women in their official count.

Theorizing Femicide

This serial sexual murder of women carries the term "femicide", a concept coined in 1976 by sociologist and feminist writer Diana E. H. Russell, who offered a definition as "the misogynist killing of women by men" (Monárrez Fragoso, 153). Julia Monárrez Fragoso, a sociologist in Juárez's Colegio de la Frontera Norte, takes this definition a step further, arguing that femicide "compromises a progression of violent acts that range from emotional, psychological, and verbal abuse through battery, torture, rape, prostitution, sexual assault, child abuse, female infanticide, genital mutilation, and domestic violence- as well as all policies that lead to the deaths of women, tolerated by the state" (157). Although motivations and situations differ greatly, the common thread stringing together acts of femicide is that women are killed simply because they are women. Russell, writing with Jill Radford, a professor of criminology and women's studies at the University of Teesside, UK who has been worked on issues of sexual and domestic violence for 30 years, delineates the variations of this particular violence, categorizing acts as racist femicide, homophobic femicide (lesbicide), marital femicide, stranger femicide, serial femicide and mass femicide (7). Many contributors to the growing body of literature cite patriarchy as a major overarching problem in society, and cause of femicide, showing that the cultural differences in patriarchy give rise to different types of femicide discussed further in detail below.

In their edited volume *Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing*, Radford and Russell compile over thirty short essays on femicide, producing a text which articulates the psychological, sociological and historical motivations and ramifications of femicide, paying close attention to the different characteristics and practices of patriarchy that inform these acts. From a the recent history of the murders of fourteen Canadian engineering students to a historical investigation of English witch crazes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the

authors draw similar conclusions that discuss male impotence, male dominance and the invasion of females into traditionally male-gendered realms. Other contributors discuss the intersections of gender and sexuality, specifically the social consequences of lesbianism throughout history. Finally, several chapters attempt to understand femicide through legal culture, investigating the push for female death penalties in Britain and lynchings in the United States. Though crucial to the conversations about the causes and articulations of femicide, this list of practices is no way an exhaustive description of femicide's variations. Vast gaps exist in the research of femicide, with more research to be done on an issue generally presumed to be absent from modern society.

The Case of Border Femicide

Femicide in Juárez is a unique case, due its location on the Mexico-U.S. border. Borders represent in-between spaces where a line is drawn to separate two lands geographically. Often, this creates legal, social, and economic tensions, which are exacerbated when the border in question lies between two countries. Gloria Anzaldúa, a prolific Mexican-American writer, describes the border as a space where "two or more cultures edge each other," and form in consequence a common consciousness, or "*mestiza*," (mixed) emerges (Volk, 55). These border towns often differ greatly from their respective countries, and between them exists a delicate balance between unity and division. Volk and Marian Schlotterbeck argue that many scholars have attempted to deemphasize the physicality of the border, exploring it instead as a "non-specific site" in which to study interactions between ethnicities, races, and genders (56). Both disagree with this notion, asserting that the over-militarization of the zone reinforces the separation of the two cities. El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua face each other on

opposite sides of the Mexico-U.S. border. While many cultural characteristics are shared, government regulations on both sides maintain a strict line of division between the two. This can be seen easily in the Homeland Security measures taken in the U.S. to reinforce the border. The U.S. approach to Mexico stresses walls, fences and defense; it emphasizes the physical divisions that create distinct geopolitical and geosocial entities. However, there exist some U.S. policies which tie the two countries, and thus cities, together and promote fluidity of the border, specifically concerning goods and services. The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is one such example, which set the stage for the maquiladora border phenomenon.

Maquiladoras are foreign-owned export-processing factories where unskilled workers receive between four and eight U.S. dollars a day to work on the assembly lines (Staudt, 45). Because of the geographic location between two countries, the border constitutes an ideal setting for U.S. companies to install maquiladora-type factories. In these highly exploitative environments, administrative and skilled labor positions are filled by U.S. citizens, while the low wage occupations are predominately carried out by Mexican citizens. The creation of these factories in Ciudad Juárez has produced a range of consequences, causing the population of the city to triple (Volk, 59) and complicating the gendered division of labor. The maquiladora industry recruits women to fill the low wage positions, which has promoted the greater entrance of women into the general Juárez workforce. However, this trend challenges the established role of the male breadwinner, disrupting gendered social and labor values that permeate Juárez society. These disruptions are frequently targeted as a root cause of the femicide. Though it would be imprudent to blame the industry and not the perpetrators, the existence of these factories may have aided the creation of an environment with certain social triggers that have prompted violence. Volk elaborates on the industrialization of the border, asserting that the

process has “ultimately created a gendered and racialized political economy and shaped the city’s geography in ways that facilitated, absorbed, and, perhaps, promoted femicide” (Volk, 60). Thus, maquiladoras not only exemplify the border as a unique space to be studied from various angles, but they are linked to the phenomenon of femicide itself.

Ni Una Más Through Multiple Lenses: Media, Arts, Academia, and Politics

For the earliest murders, Mexico’s fourteen-year statute of limitations has run out. Even for later crimes, hopes of bringing the killers to justice are dwindling due to the newest crisis in Juárez. Eighty one women were killed there in 2008, however during the same period Mexican President Felipe Calderon began a “war on drugs” which has claimed nearly 5000 lives in Juárez since 2008 (Serrano, 1). This current crisis has overshadowed the femicide, which is now fading into the past.

This thesis is a reflection on *Ni Una Más*, the social movement to gain justice for the women of Juárez. Because the current drug war overshadows the femicide I am examining the history of *Ni Una Más* and its achievements. The desire the create awareness has been cited as an activity of participants within *Ni Una Más*, and awareness itself has been pointed to as a main achievement of the movement. However, what is awareness? The Merriam-Webster Dictionary offers the definition as “having or showing realization, perception, or knowledge”. This is not however, what movement participants are after; they do not want people to simply *know* that these atrocities have taken place. For the purposes of this thesis, *awareness* will be defined as a cognizant realization of the problem resulting in collective indignation. Part of the process of creating collective indignation among people who are unaffected by the murders involves actors,

both activists and non-activists, doing work, both visible and invisible, to bring attention to them, and hopefully elicit an emotional response. However, even if the goal of collective indignation framed as awareness is met, being knowledgeable about a problem does not guaranty one's ability, or even desire, to do something about it; awareness does not mean action.

Translation work must be done to transform awareness into a form of capital that addresses the problem of femicide. For example, in her study of human rights approaches to violence against women, anthropologist Sally Engle Merry asserts that a process of translation must occur so that transnational ideas can become meaningful in local settings. "Intermediaries such as community leaders, nongovernmental organization participants, and social movement activists play a critical role in translating ideas from the global arena down and from local arenas up" (Merry, 39). I am arguing here that a process of translating ideas into capital must also occur. Though usually discussed in monetary terms, the Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines capital as "a stock of accumulated goods especially at a specified time and in contrast to income received during a specified period". Within a social movement, capital is a resource for doing something: a tool. It can be money, for example funding for AIDS research, political influence, the support of abortion rights, or anything else that assists movement participants in accomplishing their goals. In the case of femicide in Ciudad Juárez, actors in the arts/media, academic, and political realms have used their professional positions to translate awareness into what I am calling, *awareness products.*

In the following chapters I will show that these *awareness products* do not work to solve the crimes, or prevent future murders, and thus simple awareness is not enough to solve the problem. However, these products do generate further knowledge that moves towards solutions, and an element of therapeutic remembrance. In chapter two, I offer a brief overview of the

history of social movements, and examination of the false assumption that awareness implies different levels of "moral standards" or "emotional responses" which can be problematic. Chapter three examines the arts/media realm of awareness creation, where information about the murders first appeared, and where victims are now remembered. Chapter four examines the academic realm of awareness creation, the space where the problem became legitimated and studied, and where tentative solutions were offered. In chapter five, the contributions made in the political realm of awareness are discussed through a description of the detailed process involved in passing legislation and gaining court rulings related to the femicide in Ciudad Juárez.

Each analytical chapter comes from a slightly different voice, and I felt this was necessary to adequately discuss the material in each. For example, products in the arts/media chapter deal more with emotion, and thus require greater interpretation to draw theoretical conclusions, so in this chapter, and no other, auto ethnography was used as a method. In the chapter on academic contributions, existing literature on the femicide in Juárez becomes a primary source, rather than a literature review; I am examining academic publications as movement contributions. In the chapter on awareness products produced by political actors I am tracing a highly structured, work-intensive, and most importantly documented, process, and so this chapter is the most technical and is deeply grounded in the data. This is fitting, as the political contributions were the most important in terms of achieving justice for the victims and their families. I seek not to criticize the important contributions of actors in the Ni Una Más movement, but rather to understand where simple awareness creation was insufficient and examine awareness products which were translated into the capital necessary to address the problem.

Chapter 2: The Absence of Awareness

A phenomenon characteristic of the 18th and 20th centuries, collective movements have offered marginalized individuals with the common goal of combating social problems a space to come together. The participants of these movements have sought diverse changes such as women's right to vote, civil rights for African Americans, and marriage rights for same sex couples. However, some movements exist on a smaller scale and seek to change highly specific problems. Roberta Garner, a sociologist, understands social movements as fundamentally "the basic definition of a social movement is a group of people who are engaged in an ideologically coherent and non-institutionalized way of changing the present state and trajectory of their society" (Garner, 43). According to this definition, *Ni Una Más*, the collective effort to end femicide in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, would easily carry the designation of a social movement. In order to understand *Ni Una Más* as a social movement, I offer a brief history of social movement theories until present, then examine current approaches focusing on those most pertinent to *Ni Una Más*. Finally, I will examine awareness as an undefined concept in social movement theory pointing to examples of where it can be found.

Crucial catalysts of political conflict and change, social movements have challenged traditional understandings of political systems organized around elite actors and elite preferences. Jeff Goodwin, a revolutionary movement theorist, underscores these phenomena as necessary threats to the status quo: "It is typically movements outside the political system that force insiders to recognize new fears and desires" (4). Rather than political elites, social movements typically rely on a base composed by "ordinary individuals," who have typically been excluded or limited by the political system against which they have organized – or have been organized – to seek change (Goodwin and Jasper, 4). The changes sought run the gamut

from quests to gain or maintain "intangible" rights, while others responded more directly to threats against the physical well-being of the person. Some movements employ formal organizations, others benefit from the creation of informal networks, and in some extreme cases, some have been accompanied by spontaneous action such as riots. Movement participants make conscious decisions such as the choice to respond violently or pacifically, and do this in a legal or illegal manner. The seeming difficultly to predict paths of social movements led Goodwin to compare their existence to forms of art; he maintained that like art, "they are efforts to express sensibilities that have not yet been well articulated, that journalists haven't yet written about, that lawmakers have not yet addressed" (5).

Historical Perspectives and Approaches to Social Movements

Initially, scholars did not regard social movements as a legitimate field of study. In *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts,* a seminal work published in 2003, Goodwin and James Jasper, a major contributor to literature about specific movements and theories of social movements in general, explain that until the 1960s, social movements were seen as a form of irrational group behavior. Academics assumed crowds acted on emotions, inspiring a mob mentality that pushed individuals to actions deemed inappropriate outside of the group setting. Elites, including scholars, had little sympathy for protestors, many of whom simply asked *en masse* for social improvements, including better working conditions or the right to vote. Most scholars saw political action that was not institutionalized as something to be feared (Goodwin, 5). In the 1950s, scholars began to utilize the theoretical approaches developed to explain crowd behavior, analyzing more contemporaneous and larger scale movements including the National

Socialist German Workers' Party, better known as the German Nazi party, which contributed further to the negative attitudes about movements.

As a discipline, the study of social movements originally grew out of the field of collective behavior studies, which homed in on the unique characteristics of fads, crowds, audiences, riots, and panics, "the full range of sudden, spontaneous, short-lived and often irrational behavior of groups…" (Garner, 54). In turn, theorists using this approach attempt to understand how spontaneous incidents merge to form a movement or movement organization. Thus, collective behavior theory does not view crowd behavior as strategically planned, but rather as an early warning sign that in which social stress factors push individuals into collective action in which they "create an awareness of a common grievances" (Garner, 55).

In an attempt to define the field, Louis E. Genevie, the editor of a prominent 1970s collection of readings by social-movement scholars, suggests that society must maintain common definitions and shared imagery in order to function, however, these definitions are always under transformation and collective behavior is a mediating force in social change (xv). Analyses of this behavior necessitate further investigations of the emergence and acceptance of social norms and, once these norms become inadequate, how individuals interact and challenge them. Genevie points out that while all collective behavior lacks guidelines for conduct, some interactions are highly structured, like those between individuals occupying organizational roles, and some are far less formal, like behavior in small groups. When traditional norms that govern patterns of interactions no longer suit a specific interest group, the construction (or reconstruction) of social reality begins. He consequently delineates the space where social issues are discussed and opinions converge or diverge as "public", a realm where "action" can be observed. Social movements emerge to change attitudes or behaviors in society which are undesirable.

Collectives are the groups that participate in collective behavior. They do not follow defined norms, and there is no procedure for recruiting members. Nevertheless, collectives usually form around a particular social issue, but lack a clear path in mind to reach the stated goal. Though the nature of interaction is not defined, some interaction is necessary before a collectivity can exist (Genevie, xviii). Genevie asserts that collective behavior is present in all social interaction, but changes in social definitions also require on or more elements of instability: crisis, conflict, novelty, or choice. The nature of collective behavior is influenced by two additional characteristics: the importance of the social norm in question to the individual's survival, and the immediacy needed to avoid harm. Behavior in collectives differs from behavior in formal social groups.

Genevie describes collective behavior in terms of *the public, the crowd,* and *social movements*. He defines a public as "a group of individuals who are divided on some issue or set of issues and because of their mutual interests are engaged in some form of communication" (xviiii). Publics exist because humans have a need to discuss problems and alternatives. There can be "issue specific publics" such as the scientific community, however all members of society make up the "general public." This "general public" is the place where preliminary social change can be presented and discussed, thereby forming and changing opinions, attitudes and values which can lead to future changes in behavior patterns. Communication within a public need not be direct; many individuals within a public never meet face to face. There is no size limit in a public; it depends on the means available for members to communicate. With the exception of professional and scientific publics, most are not formally organized; organization is indirect. The press has a particularly powerful leadership role as it controls the network of public communication (Genevie, xix).

According to Genevie, the crowd takes the public to the next level. It too is a group of people with the need or desire for change; however they have gathered within close proximity and can interact face to face. Again, in the past, crowd behavior was defined as irrational and dangerous, however in recent years crowd behavior has been looked at as a routine form of social behavior where individuals interact to understand each others thoughts and opinions and develop the best course of action to reach desired goals. Loose organization also emerges, with people emerging as leaders and others participating as followers. Although long term social change is usually not a direct result of crowd activity, it can have an impact on forms and rates of social change (Genevie, xx).

Genevie notes that social movements "develop out of a desire on the part of a relatively large number of individuals to change or resist change in some aspect of the environment" and these individuals work to "achieve goals defined as obtainable through continuity in planning, organization, leadership and group action" (Genevie, xx). Organizational characteristics vary among movements, some are minimally structured, and others can develop into formal organizations. These movements also vary in terms of size, and duration, and these factors are influenced by society's ability to suppress the movement. Finally some movements affect an entire society, such as the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1960's, while others have little or no direct effect, like the millenarian religious movements of the 1970s. Though individual behavior within publics, crowds and movements varies greatly, all collective behavior shares "the search for shared definition, for a common imagery and understanding that is consistent with the needs and desires of individuals in society" (xxi).

Social Movement Theories After the 1960s

In the 1960s, attitudes towards social movements changed, as, for the first time, college-educated individuals demonstrated sympathy for the demands for freedom and improvements of those at the "bottom of society." Goodwin and Jasper cite the civil rights movement as the main reason for this change. Americans living outside of the southern U.S. states learned of the conditions that southern African Americans faced, finding it was hard to dismiss their claims and demands as misguided or irrational, as previous social movements had been viewed. Scholars began to see new aspects of social movements that had been overlooked when protestors were viewed simply as angry mobs. At this time, social movement analysts drew on two theoretical traditions; collective behavior as uninstitutionalized action driven by mass psychology, and natural-history conceptions of social movements (Goodwin, 5). However, neither proved adequate, especially because many specialists come to the subject as sympathizers, advocates, or direct participants (Tilly, 454).

After this point, scholars began to examine movements in new ways, including applying economic, political, and cultural perspectives. Economists looked at movements through a cost/benefits lens, questioning why rational people choose to participate in them. They also found that social movement organizations act like firms, creating an industry which accumulates resources and "sells" their point of view to contributors, much like the creation of awareness products in the *Ni Una Más* movement. This enterprising characteristic came to be known as a "resource mobilization theory." Scholars also found that most of the demands made by social movements were political in nature, such as the right to vote. The state was not only the target of protest, but the "adjudicator of grievances." This view, "political process theory," explained that social movements emerge from political opportunities. Finally, the cultural side of movements

was examined. This approach examines the creation of symbols, the ways in which people become convinced that they have grievances, and subsequently the formation of alliances. This process involves the "framing" of issues, and the creation of a "collective identity" to arouse interest and obtain loyalty. Emotions are also form a large component of social movements as anger and outrage are often aroused by organizers to make people protest.

In her introduction to social movement theories, Garner introduces various theories that social scientists use to explain social movements, yet points out that there is a great deal of disagreement within the field. Theories try to answer the question, why, and possible why's that arise from the definition of social movements are, why are people dissatisfied with the current state of society, why do they engage in social movements rather than deal with problems on an individual basis, and why are some movements successful in accomplishing their goals, while others are not? (43). She suggests that changes in social movement theories have three main types of causes, internal to the field of social movement research, external responses to changes in society, and responses to changes in the cultural and intellectual climate. Garner organizes theories creating four subcategories: macrohistorical and sociohistorial theories, midrange theories, collective behavior theories of movements, and finally movements, discourses, and cultures. Macrohistorical and sociohistorial theories can cover a time span of centuries and can look at issues globally. These theories are able to look at the types of social movements certain types of societies produce, and they generally fall into two categories: Marxist theories, and modern or mass and postmodern society. Midrange theories are useful for theorists who prefer to examine a specific society during a short time frame. They can use their work to understand why movements emerge when they do. Three types of midrange theories are: structural strain, resource mobilization, and political opportunity structure (Garner, 47-48).

The re-examination of social movements since the 1960's has allowed for numerous new explanations for movements and approaches to studying them. Currently, there exists a division between scholars in the field of social movements. Some favor a structural approach, while others advocate a cultural or constructionist tradition. The structural side examines economic resources, political structures, formal organizations, and social networks. The cultural side draws from symbolic interactionism, with a focus on frames, meanings and emotions.

Structural Approaches to Social Movement Theory. Many prominent theorists in the field of social movements favor a structural approach. For example, Marxist theories of social movements focus on the types of movements that are brought on by the effects of capitalism. These theories do not point to economic motivation, but rather looks as stresses caused by capitalist modes of production, and responses that arise from these. The political and ideological relationships associated with capitalism are also forces that shape movements. Mass/modern society theories have the same scope as Marxist theories, and can cover the same lengths of time. Rather than study one causal factor as Marxism does, these theories look at clusters of causal elements. Modernization processes produce anomie, or "a sense of normative breakdown" which represents "both a source of stress and of opportunity" (Garner, 46). When there a breakdown occurs in traditional communities and their structure, individuals become more open to change and in turn, open to joining social movements.

Theorists also look at the creation of new social groups or "imagined communities" based on concepts such as race, nation, gender and class. Postmodern theories examine societal characteristics that occurred after the Second World War. Factors include economic change, new

technologies, globalization, and growth of service and information. Because changes being examined by postmodern theory are still ongoing, there is great debate about nature, magnitude, and possible outcomes (Garner, 47). Changes that occur under postmodernism are likely to amplify, rather than end the anomie associated with modern society.

Structural strain theories argue that once a strain is present and recognized as a changeable condition, individuals will come together and create this change. Strains can be conceptualized as societal disequilibrium, class tensions, or historical processes such as slavery. In order for movements to form, participants must recognize their condition of strain. Relative depravation theory suggests that people recognize their position of strain when they are able to compare themselves to a "reference group" who seems better off (48). For example, as African Americans traveled to the north or served in World War II, they were able to observe conditions there, and conclude that conditions in the south were unacceptable; thus, the civil rights movement took shape. In this case one can see that awareness led to action; after gaining awareness of their condition, they were able to take action to improve it. However, as I will explain in my analysis of *Ni Una Más*, awareness is not always enough to achieve a movement's goals, especially if awareness itself is the main goal of the movement.

Resource mobilization theories focus on how people create opportunities to change their condition. These theories are concerned with movement organizations as institutional actors. These organizations work to gain new members, turn elites into sympathizers, and form partnerships with other institutional actors. By recruiting elites, they are attempting to translate awareness into (social) capital. Movement professionals play an important role, turning " a movement from a current of opinion or belief into an organization that can be an effective institutional actor in the political system, competing and cooperating with other organizations

like parties and pressure groups" (50). This serves as an example of a performance of the act of translation.

Political opportunity structure theories emphasize the role political institutions play in allowing structural problems to be successfully challenged. When political institutions are unyielding, people must find other institutionalized channels to air their grievances, or must resort to coping on an individual basis. Sometimes the political system opens up, intentionally or not, and opportunities for movements arise. When elites support movements, they can create an intentional opening for change. When states weaken or collapse, an unintentional opening in the political system occurs. These theories attempt to explain why movements are able to succeed at crucial points in time. When participation within the political system is open, some movements form political parties to run for office, and others operate as pressure groups. However, repressive political systems can create an environment where movements must form guerilla armies, terrorist networks, or seek outside support to survive. Movement participants must also take into account centralization and determine whether movements must exist in various states (like in the U.S.) or can be focused on national government (like France). Finally, the power that judicial, legislative, and executive branches of government hold must be determined. In the U.S., movements have gained ground by winning court cases, as the judicial system is very powerful (Garner, 52).

Charles Tilly asserts that combined research conducted by social movement analysts has concluded that movements depend on four factors: social networks in which participants are embedded, employed identities, frames set by shared understandings, and political opportunity structures (455). Summarizing social movement theory, Tilly presents the following defined concepts.

- Actor-any set of living bodies (including a single individual) to which human observers attribute coherent consciousness and intention.
- Category-a set of actors distinguished by a single criterion, simple or complex.
- Transaction-a bounded communication between one actor and another.
- Tie-a continuing series of transactions to which participants attach shared understandings, memories, forecasts, rights, and obligations.
- Role-a bundle of ties attached to a single actor.
- Network-a more or less homogenous set of ties among three or more actors.
- Group-coincidence of a category and a network.
- Organization-group in which at least one actor has the right to speak authoritatively for the whole.
- Identity-an actor's experience of a category, tie, role, network, group, or organization, coupled with a public representation of that experience; the public representation of that experience often takes the form of a shared story, a narrative (456).

In Tilly's understanding, a social movement is a campaign, parallel in many ways to an electoral campaign; however, it demands the righting of a wrong, usually suffered by a well-specified population (Tilly, 467). Within an electoral campaign, success can be measured in the votes that result; that is the payoff. Tilly argues that within a social movement, the payoff is the effective transmission of the message that its program's supporters are WUNC: 1) worthy, 2) unified, 3) numerous, and 4) committed. "A visibly low value on any of them (a public demonstration of unworthiness, division, small numbers, or defection) discredits the whole movement" (Tilly, 467). The actions in a social movement campaign remain symbolic, cumulative, and indirect. There is almost no hope that a single event can meet the objective of ending an injustice, or persuading authorities to enact a needed law. Due to the dangerous nature of the problems surrounding Ni Una Más, many of the actions were symbolic to ensure that participants were not putting themselves in immediate danger. For example, pink crosses erected in the city, or painted on telephone poles, silently but powerfully showed solidarity with the movement, and increased visibility.

Cultural Approaches to Social Movement Theory. Though sensitive to the variables examined by structuralists, many movement theorists study social movements in terms of discourses and culture. These theorists try to understand how people dealing with structural strains see and define them, and how problems must be framed within a discourse. Though movements may frame certain events as strain, they face opposition when those in authority frame those same events as normal, routine occurrences. Theorists can look at the concept of culture within social movements through cultural continuities, hegemony, media framing, and discourse and power.

Cultural approaches to social movements point to continuities between movement ideologies and existing cultures. Many researchers call the process of assigning movement meanings to match meanings that people already have frame alignment (Garner, 57). Other people attempt to understand movements through the concept of mentalities, the ongoing and slowly changing ways of thinking and feeling. These three approaches point out that a transnational movement must develop frames that are tied to the national culture. Combining cultural and Marxist theories, the concept of hegemony examines the role subordinates play in their own subordination by allowing the ruling class to rule. Intellectuals both sustain and challenge hegemony. It is also useful to examine these concepts by exploring the role of the media. The media is a powerful tool and often represents the means by which supporters learn about a movement. Media frames then become an important component because each movement hopes to influence the way it is presented in the media. Theories emerging from the ideas in feminism and the writings of French philosopher, sociologist and historian Michel Foucault look at how control in society is maintained in relationships and discourses. Feminist theorists

examine the constant presence of a gender hierarchy is language and relationships, and suggests that structural strains are embedded in this discourse and in relationships. Foucault examines the "exercise of power through discourse" and maintains that "where there is power, there will be resistance" (Garner, 60). This "organized" resistance in the twentieth century has been conceptualized as impetuses for social movements.

Understudied Approaches to Social Movements

Emotions and Social Movements. In order to bridge the split between these two approaches to social movements, sociologist Deborah B. Gould suggests the study of emotions within movements. For example, studying the experience of emotions within protests requires that issues of power, resistance, agency, subjectivity, structural reproduction and transformation and historical change are all addressed. "Political process theory has narrowed the research agenda to questions of movement emergence, decline and outcomes, and has pointed us toward investigations of the external environment to see how shifting political opportunities effect movement trajectories" (Gould, 157). The focus on movement emergence and decline dominates most discussion, encouraging a tendency to ignore social theories.

While emotions were long left out of the discussion, regarded as irrational, they are now being explored as an important driving force within movements. The study of emotions looks at factors included in political opportunity theories, but also those that have a tendency to be left out of the discussion. A focus on emotions allows for a look at understudied movement processes, and allows for new perspectives on what exactly motivates movement participation.

Gould advocates that the analysis of the role of emotions should be brought into the discussion, however cautions against retuning back to the crowd/mass behavior model which looks at emotions as irrational drivers of protest.

Gould's most convincing example lays in her analysis of the funeral of AIDS activist Mark Fisher. In a statement entitled "Bury Me Furiously," Fisher requested that other AIDS activists hold a political funeral for him, carrying his body through the streets in an open casket. He said, "I want to show the reality of my death, to display my body in public; I want the public to bear witness" (159). He wanted to use his death as a statement to make more people aware of the situation. This, along with other forms of symbolic protest in the social movement for AIDS victims, calls on the use emotions such as sadness and anger. Gould proposes "emotional resonance" to explain the use of emotion in movements. She argues that to look at emotions only as strategic devices within movements takes something away from them; they are so much more complex than that: "The assumption of rationality produces a flat, thin caricature of protestors, providing no insight into why such dispassionate people would ever be motivated to disrupt their daily routines and engage in collective action" (161). The use of emotion in social movements is a powerful, yet understudied phenomenon, and emotion can serve as a tool for individuals who lack other resources.

Weapons of the Weak. In Weapons of the Weak, political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott describes the forms of resistance used by peasants in a Malaysian village he studied. He argues that when we look at only formal, organized movements aimed at the state, we miss the struggles of the most oppressed: "What is missing from this perspective, I believe, is the simple fact that most subordinate classes

throughout most of history have rarely been afforded the luxury of open, organized political activity. Or, better stated, such activity was dangerous, if not suicidal" (xv). He suggests that these "weapons of the weak" can include foot-dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, and sabotage, among other things. He feels that these "Brechtian" types of resistance are probably the most effective over longer periods of time.

This study of peasants is a study of class resistance, and as such is tied to early Marxist views of social movements. However, Scott also includes cultural and ideological aspects of resistance, and focuses on everyday forms of routine resistance which are generally left out of the discussion. He argues that:

> Class resistance includes *any* act(s) by member(s) of a subordinate class that is or are *intended* either to mitigate or deny claims (for example, rents, taxes, prestige) made on that class by superordinate classes (for example, landlords, large farmers, the state) or to advance its own claims (for example, work, land, charity, respect) vis-à-vis those superoridinate classes (290).

However, he still takes into account cultural factors such as language, folksongs, legends, and religion. He also examined the role peasants play in their own subordination. In describing the forms of peasant resistance, he points out that "they are, however, forms of resistance that reflect the conditions and constraints under which they are generated" (242).

Obstacles to open protest that peasants faced were the fact that they were being removed from the farming process all together, the alliances that cut across class structures, a flight response to oppression, repression, and the underlying need to provide for their families (246). When combine harvesting replaced workers with machines, the villagers caused physical damage

through arson and sabotage, along with boycotts. Groups acted anonymously and no action was taken against them (248). The villagers also participated in "routine resistance" by organizing in ways similar to trade unions, and by agreeing to solidarity and not undercutting each other. On an individual basis, peasants committed thefts and killed livestock. In the village he studied, resistance did not follow normal patterns of rural conflict, as there were no acts of open violence (273). No riots, no demonstrations, no arson, no organized social banditry. Gossip, character assassination, nicknames, and rumors are all seen as forms of symbolic resistance.

Awareness as an Undefined Concept in Social Movement Theory

Though held as an important goal and outcome of the *Ni Una Más* movement, awareness is absent as a defined concept within the social movement literature. Literature on the Juárez femicide specifically points to the importance of awareness for actors involved. Participants in the *Ni Una Más* movement have repeatedly cited awareness as a goal of activism, and as an accomplishment representing movement success. Academic and movement participant Kathleen Staudt asserts that "by late 2002, border activists had made femicide widely visible, laying the groundwork for other national and international movements to join and augment efforts" (90). This visibility led to increased cognizant understanding of the problem. In 2004, the movement reached a peak, partly due to the efforts of activist and playwright Eve Ensler, who "committed efforts to raise awareness about the femicide in Juárez" (Staudt, 91). The march that Ensler helped to organize generated immense media attention, making Juárez a "spectacle of femicide at the border" (Staudt, 91). The main goal of the efforts discussed above was to make femicide visible, thus increasing awareness.

For many involved, the success of these awareness-increasing efforts was highly significant. Cynthia Bejarano, also an academic and movement participant, argues that increased awareness gave the movement momentum. She also stresses that the fact that mothers from a small community in Juárez were able to use grassroots activism to reach international awareness was a "David and Goliath" example of beating the odds (Bejarano, 1). After her investigation of the mass murder in Ciudad Juárez, journalist Teresa Rodriguez also concluded that the concept of awareness was highly significant in her observation of activist efforts. "Their efforts have served to raise international awareness of the ongoing crisis. Even as these brave women risk their lives to publicize these great atrocities, impunity and corruption continue to thwart their efforts" (Rodriguez, 292).

When awareness is addressed elsewhere, it is usually in terms of self, or situational, awareness. In their study of stigmatizing AIDS attitudes among Barbados community leaders, Rutledge and Abell, professors of social work, offer an awareness/action/acceptance model which follows the Buddhist principles of mindfulness, to address and respond to HIV/AIDS-related stigma. Within this model, they do not offer a definition for the concept of awareness, but rather argue that in cultivating awareness there are two related steps, looking deeply and listening well. This concept, however, is self awareness, which more akin to what Staudt addresses while examining women on the Mexico-U.S. border and their "awareness" of domestic violence, explaining that women were surprisingly self-aware in the results of her survey.

Consciousness-raising is a concept often (problematically) interchanged with awareness-raising. Peter L. Berger, in his theoretical assault on the idea of higher/lower and false consciousness, argues that "consciousness raising, as currently used, implies some highly questionable assumptions" (113). This to be a project of the higher classes directed at the lower

classes, which are thought to be in need of enlightening. Berger suggests the error lies within a hierarchical view of consciousness. Every human being lives in a world, and they are conscious of reality in terms of cognizant structures that give meaning to their experiences. "People know different things, and one body of knowledge may be more useful in a given situation than another" (Berger, 116). However he asserts that humans are equal in their access to reality: "Put simply, no one is 'more conscious' than anyone else; different individuals are conscious of different things" (Berger, 118). According to Berger, therefore, no one is in a position to "raise" the consciousness of someone else.

Though *Ni Una Más* movement participants, and those who study them, focus on the concept of awareness creation, this concept remains absent from social movement literature, which focus on the behavior and actions of the already aware movement member. However elements discussed in the literature still point to the concepts that mirror awareness, even if this terminology is not used. As previously mentioned, the U.S. civil rights movement's originates from non-southern African Americans, or 'becoming aware of', the unacceptable conditions faced by southern African Americans, which prompted many to take action. *Ni Una Más* can offer us the data to do a better analysis and take into account these non-studied or "understudied" concepts.

Chapter 3: Awareness as Therapy: Remembering Victims Through the Arts and Media

I hope this book inspires its readers to join the friends and families of the dead and the disappeared women of Juárez. Only in solidarity can we help bring an end to this pandemic of femicides on the border. !Ni Una Más!

–Alicia Gaspar de Alba

Awareness, a still undefined concept in social movement literature, remains a goal and outcome of the *Ni Una Más* movement. As previously mentioned, the term itself implies a cognizant response; people will *know* that the mass murders of women have happened. However, cognizance is not what movements ultimately desire, as they want to gain sympathizers who will *care*; they want a moral and emotional response leading to action.

There has been an overwhelming response to the femicide in Juárez within the arts and media. Related events have been covered not only by border news sources, in Juárez and El Paso, but by media outlets such as newspapers, magazines, and television specials all over the world. A number of artists have produced films, paintings, songs, novels, and have dedicated gallery exhibitions to the representation of the murdered women in Juárez. These art and media artifacts are representative of what I am calling *awareness products*. *Awareness products* can help to create cognizance about the issue, or are created as result of such cognizance. Though awareness alone is not enough to solve the problem of femicide, *awareness products* created in the arts/media realm have varying levels of emotional content which contribute by helping to obtain the desired emotional response, and can ultimately lead to a remembrance of the victims, which is still in some ways significant. I have analyzed news coverage from Juárez, El Paso, and major world newspapers, songs from popular artists in the U.S. and Mexico, novels set on the

border, an illustrated "paper documentary", and various gallery exhibitions from around the world, which are representative of the types of producible *awareness products.* From this analysis, I have drawn categories for these products in terms of how they relate to the goal of collective indignation framed as awareness. I found that they do work which offers information, presenting facts of the case; stirs emotion, augmenting the facts with emotional narratives; serve as an outlet for the producer's own emotions, telling the story of their reaction to the femicide; and remembers victims, bringing movement participants together to assure victims are not forgotten, and also to offer support for one another.

Informational

"Serial killer haunts northern Mexican border town."

Deutsche Presse-Argentur

When the femicide in Ciudad Juárez began to receive media attention, awareness products were produced in the form of news articles I will call *informational*; they presented the basic information to readers, usually in very short blurbs with little emotional language. One reader of these *informational* articles was Esther Chávez Cano. Chávez pioneered an informal and formal campaign to bring attention to the murders of women in Juárez using the media as a starting point for action through her collection of articles, and her own participation. She documented the femicide from both within and outside, working as a journalist to report associated stories while also participating as an activist by participating in interviews with various international news sources. Chávez gained influence in Juárez when she moved there in 1982 after working as an executive in several Mexican and international businesses. She began writing for *El Diario de Juárez* in 1988, and eventually gained a position on the executive board.

Beginning in August of 1993, Esther noticed an increase in stories, usually tucked away in low-profile sections of the newspaper, about murdered women and she started collecting the clippings. The clippings she collected span the years 1993 to 2006, and are categorized by *aparecidas muertas* (victims found dead), *organizaciones no-gubermentales* (non-governmental organizations), *declaraciones gubermentales* (government statements), and *detenidos* (arrests). Housed in her records which are now archived at New Mexico State University, in Las Cruces, New Mexico, these extensive documents fill thirteen of the twenty one boxes that make up the collection. The clippings come from newspapers in Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, primarily *El Diario de Juárez* and *The El Paso Times* (Esther Chávez Cano Collection). Interested reporters at *El Mexicano*, a daily newspaper based in Juárez, also played a role in alerting the public to efforts to stop the murders of women in Juárez. When a police hotline to receive tips about the murders was created in El Paso, the newspaper published the toll-free number almost daily (Washington Valdez, 21).

Chávez also documented media coverage from the other parts of the United States and other countries in the form of magazine covers and clippings. Her earliest documented international magazine article is from 1997, when an article appeared in the French version of *Marie Claire*. In October/November of 2003, the murders appeared on the cover of *Amnistia Internacional*, the Spanish-language publication of Amnesty International, and in March/April of 2004 they appeared on the cover of *Amnesty Magazine*. An insert in *Amnistia Internacional* in October/November 2004 entitled *Activismo en Latinoamerica* (Activism in Latin America), mentions the murders as well. In late 2003 and early 2004, articles appeared in mainstream women's magazines in the United States including *Cosmo Girl*, *Glamour*, *Jane*, *Marie Claire*, and *Ms. Magazine.*

A Lexis Nexus search of “Juárez Murders” in “Major World Publications” pulled 994 articles, with the first pertaining to the femicide appearing in *The Washington Post* in April of 1996. Most of the beginning coverage, and reports of new developments in the case, were informational; they offered details that allowed for the international audience to become cognizantly aware of the situation. Below I will summarize a few examples of such articles.

On April 25, 1996, *The Washington Post* ran an article by John Ward Anderson entitled, “The Case of the Mexican Strangler; Police Say Serial Killer Was Really a Gang of Nightclub Workers”. Appearing on page A22 (deep within the section), it focused on 17 of the femicide victims, explaining that the girls had been mutilated, and their bodies found, in almost exactly the same way. Ward also mentions the arrest of Egyptian chemist Abdel Latif Sharif (who many later believed was innocent) and the gang “The Rebels” (Los Rebeldes), which was made up of his supposed accomplices.

April 29, 1997, almost a year later, *The Guardian*, one of London, England’s largest circulating dailies, ran the story “Killings Haunt Life On The Border: Phil Gunson in Mexico City reports on deadly pitfalls for those seeking a way out of poverty” on their foreign page. Gunson mentions that since 1993, at least 85 women and girls have been killed in a series of “sex murders”. He interviewed activists who blamed government impotence, claiming the murders were only a small portion of the mostly unreported sex crimes that take place in Juárez. The article mentions that many of the victims were poor maquiladora workers who moved to Juárez from other parts of Mexico for jobs in assembly plants.

On October 23, 1997, Deutsche Presse-Agentur ran the story, “Serial killer haunts northern Mexican border town”. It focused on a police search for a suspect who has murdered and raped at least three women in the two weeks prior to the article’s publication, then places it

in the larger context of femicide explaining that at least 80 women have been killed since 1993. The article ends with the mentioning of Esther Chávez's demand that a special prosecutor be brought in to investigate. The following February, the paper ran a story of the same name, stating that the serial killer remained at large, as authorities[5] discovered five more bodies were discovered. The article mentions that a similar wave of killings is occurring in El Paso, "with more than 100 women killed in recent years." On March 6, 1998, Deutsche Presse-Agentur featured the longer, more-detailed story, "Serial killer leaves trail of blood in Mexican border town". The article explains that human rights organizers have counted 117 women killed since 1993, and that Abdul Latif Sharif, and Egyptian engineer living in Juárez, was arrested in 1995, but cleared when the killings continued. The paper points to measures taken by the government:

> Meanwhile, the Chihuahua state government, which has jurisdiction over Ciudad Juárez, has launched a controversial advertising campaign. On billboards around the town an archangel tells women to avoid dark streets, not to talk to strangers and not to dress provocatively." If you are sexually attacked pretend to vomit, that will probably be repulsive to the attacker and he will flee," the archangel suggests.

On April 18, 1998, the headline "Mexico Desert Killings Show Plight of Women" appeared on the front page of *The New York Times*, accompanied with a photograph and the caption, "Dozens of murders in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, have dramatized the victimization of women working there and galvanized a women's movement. Police officers checked a victim's remains found in the desert." The story "Rape and Murder Stalk Women in Northern Mexico", by Sam Dillon, appeared on page three. Dillon describes Juárez as a city of factories, citing that more than 70 women, many of them workers in these factories, have been killed since 1993. He

[5] As discussed in the introduction, "authorities" is used in place of the appropriate law enforcement entity.

explains that suspects have been charged on two separate occasions, but the murders continued, and male backlash is what many women's groups believe is behind the murders. Officials from the state government argue that the cases have been well-handled, but congresswomen of a fact-finding mission disagreed. The article includes an interview with one of the mothers about the lack of government response, and one with the attorney hired by Sharif. They mention the protests staged by Chávez, and quote her on the tendency of the government to blame victims. Two days later, the *Miami Herald* published a one sentence summary of the story by the same author.

Published online by *Time*, the authorless article "The Women of Ciudad Juárez" reached the website's list of *Top 10 Unsolved Crimes.* It explains that hundreds of women have been killed in Ciudad Juárez over the past decade, and though Amnesty International has pressed the Mexican Government for action, nothing has been done ("Top 10", 10).

Another common practice to disseminate information about the murders was to feature small one to two sentence summaries in the foreign news section. On April 26, 1996, both *The Miami Herald* and *The Toronto Sun* ran the Associated Press blurb "Eight alleged gang members arrested for investigation in the suspected serial killings of 17 young women have been charged with murder and conspiracy in seven of the slayings" in the foreign news sections of their papers. A year later, a small two-sentence story entitled "85 Women Killed in Sex Murders" appeared in the "World News" section of *The Irish Times*, coming from "The Guardian Service." The *Miami Herald* ran another short story on November 24, 1998, called "Deaths in Tough Border Town Stir Suspicions of Serial Killer". In one sentence they explain that police in Juárez believe a serial killer has been at work since 1993 (which authorities denied repeatedly in other stories), and that 120 women between 10 and 22 with similar physical characteristics have been killed.

On March 24, 1999, *The Daily Telegraph* from Sydney, Australia reported "Murder Toll May Be 100". They said police were investigating to determine whether the death of a young woman was tied to at least 100 other sex killings in Ciudad Juárez, but pointed out that women's groups put the number at 190.

Both the articles and short summaries described above tell the story to a larger audience, thus producing cognizant awareness. However, when emotional language, or narratives describing the victims, is introduced, they produce the possibility for collective indignation.

Emotional

"I got an e-mail from Juárez…Maria had been found…raped, stabbed and strangled."

Russell Miller, journalist

The next level of awareness products built upon the informational media coverage, adding narratives about specific victims and their families, and introducing the possibility for a more *emotional* response. The news articles described below offer the same informational details as the first set, however with the insertion of narratives, they add emotion to the story. In June 1997, the *Christian Science Monitor* featured a story by Howard LaFranchi on the murders, "Girls Who Find New Roles in Mexico Also Face Danger", that highlighted the disappearance of Silvia Elena, a 17-year-old girl who never returned home from her job at a shoe store in July 2005. That September, they found her body in the desert with signs of strangulation and sexual assault. When interviewed, her mother explained that the police paid the family no attention. The article mentions that members of the community believe social change in the roles of women is to blame. Esther Chávez provided an interview, asserting that the new freedom some of the girls find when they move to Juárez makes them easy prey. LaFranchi points out the contributions

made by Esther Chávez and other prominent women who have joined the cause: “The mothers say they would still be ignored by authorities if a few middle- and upper-middle-class women hadn't made the murders a cause.” The tendency for blame to be placed on the victims by authorities is also noted. He ends by pointing out the search for solutions, including marches and prevention programs.

On May 17, 1998, the *Mail on Sunday*, the Sunday edition of the *Daily Mail* in the UK, ran “In Juárez, Women Just Vanish. Five Have Gone Missing This Year - Over 100 In the Past Five Years; And They Usually Turn Up in the Desert. Dead,” a six-page article by Russell Miller, who traveled to Juárez to report on the femicide. The story also ran in *The Daily Telegraph*, a newspaper in Sydney, Australia, on August 29, 1998 under the title “Shadow of Death”. It opened with a long, detailed narrative describing the situation of Paula and Jesús, parents of 17-year-old Maria, who went missing a month before the article was written. Maria never came home from working the early shift, leaving the house alone at 4 a.m. When notified authorities placed the blame on Maria for her own disappearance, Paula and Jesús took matters into their own hands; saving what little money they could, they printed missing flyers and posting them in local shops, on buses, lampposts and walls throughout downtown. The article then explained the current situation in Juárez, emphasizing its proximity to the United States, and explaining the maquiladora culture. Miller quoted Esther Chávez as saying “If you want to rape and kill a woman, there is no better place to do it than here in Juárez”. He described the contributions of feminist organizations, and placed them in contrast to the “flourishing drug trade” in the city; explaining that most women who are in prison are there because of drugs. He also accompanied 70 volunteers, some of them with missing family members, in a search for bodies in the desert; explaining that as the search was conducted, at the same time ex-governor

Governor George Bush attended a gala concert to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the founding of El Paso. Miller criticized the *El Paso Times* for covering the gala and failing to cover in depth the Juárez killings.

He mentioned Oscar Maynez Grijalva, a professor of criminology at the Chihuahua State Police Academy, who first noticed the similarities of the appearances of the victims and resigned in protest when state officials refused to investigate. He told the story of Sharif, Los Rebeldes, and El Diablo, who were charged with some of the murders, and included excerpts from his interview with Sharif, where he insisted that he was innocent. An interview with Jorge López Molinar, the Deputy Attorney General of the state of Chihuahua, was also conducted, and he offered his explanation of why the murders are happening. "One thing we are certain of, and that is that in a very high percentage of cases we have been able to solve, we found the young women involved placed themselves in a high-risk situation, either consciously or unconsciously". While Miller was conducting his interview with Molinar, the Independent Human Rights Committee, composed of volunteers who organize searches for missing persons, joined by Paula and Jesús, was staging a vigil in the lobby of Molinar's office building. They argued that if someone from "a family of influence" had been murdered, the state would have taken more action. Miller concluded the article with a grim follow up on Maria. "A week after I left Mexico, I got an e-mail from Juárez. Maria had been found some 30 miles from the city on an isolated road near the Rio Grande. She had been raped, stabbed and strangled."

On October 19, 1998, *Newsweek* ran an article titled "A Message in Murder", by Martha Brant. As other articles approaching the murders do, it provides an overview of the murders. Brant then offers the narrative of Maria Sagrario González, a 17-year-old girl who never made it home from work after being taken off her father's shift and forced to travel home alone. Brant

says that because so many murders take place, Juárez headlines simply read “ANOTHER ONE”. She quotes Esther Chávez Cano as saying that the femicide is a societal backlash against women’s new roles and new found freedom, also pointing out that the activist group, Voices Without Echo (Voces Sin Eco), gathers every Monday at the police station in protest. Brant describes measures taken by the maquiladora where Sagrario worked, which gave a safety talk to workers, basically just telling them not to wear miniskirts or go out alone.

On February 28, 1999, Sam Dillon of *The New York Times*, reported again on the murders, but this time focused on Esther Chávez Cano. He explains that when the body of 13-year-old Irma Angélica Rosales was found, Esther immediately began to spread the news, making phone calls to members of her organization and sending emails to congresswomen and journalists. Chávez accused politicians of using the murders to win votes, forgetting about the promises they had made soon after. She also believed that her detailed list of dead women that have been found is much longer than records kept by local authorities. The article offers the basic details about the case, and a narrative of Irma Angelica Rosales, the 13-year-old victim, who was raped and killed on her way home from work. The article discusses police indifference, and the hope for the FBI investigation, and concludes by examining the support Esther gives to Irma’s family, holding their hands “in angry meetings with bureaucrats…” *The New York Times* also ran a small two-sentence summary in their international news section that day, focusing on the challenge these murders pose to newly elected Governor Patricio Martinez Garcia. On March 1, 1999, *The Gazette*, in Montreal, Quebec, Canada printed Sam Dillon’s story as well.

Artistic Expression

Awareness on an emotional level is also created through artistic expressions. Below I will discuss two songs and two novels from popular artists in the United States, Mexico, and Chile. Though different from a news media format, each produces and disseminates cognizant knowledge which is mixed with emotion. Los Tigres del Norte is a popular California-based *norteño* band with origins in Sinaloa, Mexico (Volk, 75). They perform *corridos*, a popular form of music in Mexican culture, especially among those in the border region, which uses songs to tell stories about love. *Corridos* have evolved in the last century, even tackling topics like immigration, drug trafficking and the maquiladora industry. *Corridos* have been important for people living in border regions, and gives insight to border culture. In 2004, *Los Tigres del Norte* released a song called *Las Mujeres de Juárez* (The Women of Juárez) on their album *Pacto de sangre*. Although the words are still set to an upbeat polka tempo, the band stresses that because the subject is serious, and thus, they take care sing it that way (Volk, 76).

The femicide in Juárez has caught the attention of artists in the United States as well. Tori Amos is a singer-songwriter from the Baltimore/D.C. area. Trained in classical piano, she creates deeply personal music that explores issues facing women. *The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia of Rock and Roll* cites her longevity and success, characterizing her 2007 *America Doll Posse* album as an experiment with "a variety of alter egos, creating elaborate celebrations of the female persona and dissecting the rigidity of what she considers the modern dichotomy of woman as a either 'mother or whore' " (Simon & Schuster, 1). On her 1999 album *To Venus and Back*, she released the song *Juárez*, which was inspired by an article she read about the killings.

Jean-François Lyotard, a French philosopher and literary theorist, asserts that we locate ourselves at certain cultural reference points to receive information (15). Tori Amos and Los

Tigres del Norte locate themselves culturally by using reference points their audiences can relate to. This system is also supplied with what Lyotard calls “costumes” and “increased performativity.” The performance artist is just that, one who specializes in the art of delivering a performance. Both Los Tigres del Norte and Tori Amos offer highly stylized, rehearsed, and costumed representations of this tragedy. The messages transmitted through language come in all different forms, such as denotatives, prescriptives, and performatives. A denotative utterance places the sender in the position of a ‘knower” (Lyotard, 9). These songs place the artists in the position of the “knower,” sending messages out and therefore are denotative utterances.

Lyotard argues that contemporary institutions of knowledge are not only about what you know, but how you know what you know. How do we know about the murdered women in Juárez? How has this knowledge been circulated? He suggests that narrative knowledge allows for the examination of characteristics which form scientific knowledge in contemporary society. Knowledge is not only a set of denotative statements, it is also about knowing how (18). This narrative form lends itself to language games. Lyotard points out that when narratives are being transmitted, they obey rules that define the pragmatics of their transmission. Both Los Tigres del Norte and Tori Amos have highly specific formulas of transmission. Los Tigres follow the *corrido* style of music composition and performance with a polka beat and long narrative lyrics. Tori Amos plays the piano and tells the story through abstract lyrics. Both artists give their respective fans what they want and have come to expect from their musical performances.

In the novel *Desert Blood: The Juárez Murders*, Alicia Gaspar de Alba does the same cultural work to transmit her knowledge of the murders to a larger, English-speaking audience:

> “It is not my intention to sensationalize the crimes or capitalize on the losses of so many families, but to expose the horrors of this deadly crime wave as broadly as

> possible to the English-speaking public, and to offer some conjuncture, based on research, based on what I know about that place on the map, some plausible explanation for the silence that has surrounded the murders" (Gaspar de Alba, vi).

The book tells the story of her autobiographical character, Ivon Villa, a gay college professor from L.A. who makes a trip to her hometown of El Paso to adopt the baby of a maquiladora worker in Juárez. On her way there, she reads an article in *Ms. Magazine* describing the mass murder of women in Ciudad Juárez, and is embarrassed by her ignorance on the subject.

The femicide affects her in a way she never expected when the mother of the baby she plans to adopt becomes a victim. Her sister then disappears after going to a fair and house party in Juárez, and after dealing with Border Patrol and other authorities who hinder rather than help the situation, Ivon begins her own investigation, though she find her sister, she is harmed in the process, and finds that many of the officials who stood as obstacles were themselves involved in the killings. After the Border Patrol arrests Ivon, they take her to the Asarco plant in El Paso, where she learns that some of the killings are filmed for a pornography website in the United States. She leads a trustworthy police officer from El Paso to the plant, saving her sister from the group of perpetrators, which consists of people from Juárez and El Paso, ranging from businessmen to Border Patrol agents. However, when she files her report in El Paso, the police do not believe her story. Upon reading the story *The El Paso Times* wrote about the incident, Ivon becomes infuriated that police officers and Border Patrol agents are said to have been killed "in the line of duty" and would receive the twenty-one-gun-salute, even though they themselves were behind the murders. This confirms her fears that despite the evidence her eye-witness account can bring, the crimes will continue unpunished.

By writing her book in this style, Gaspar de Alba shifts the focus from solving the crimes to understanding the problem of why murders of women can occur with no consequence. “This wasn’t a case of “whodunit,” but rather of who was allowing these crimes to happen? Whose interests were being served? Who was covering it up? Who was profiting from the deaths of all these women?” (Gaspar de Alba, 333). Gaspar de Alba fills her pages with detailed descriptions of the borderland, describing landmarks of El Paso and Juárez and making the story real for a person familiar with the area. It also serves as a fictional account of what many believe to be the truth, and puts the blame on the United States and Mexico by locating femicide as a problem of the *border* not just *Mexico*.

Chilean author Roberto Bolaño’s novel *2666*, like Gaspar de Alba’s work, is a fictional representation of the murders. Unlike Gaspar de Alba, however, Bolaño includes factual evidence. Originally written in Spanish in 2004, Bolaño’s novel, recipient of many international awards, was republished in English in 2008. His reputation as an accomplished author, and the availability of the novel in Mexico-U.S. border languages, facilitated the dissemination of the work to a larger audience. Bolaño divided the novel into five parts, with the murders in Juárez (fictionalized as the town of Santa Teresa in the novel) running throughout as a main theme. 2666’s introductory chapter “The Part About the Critics” describes four academics and their search for the German author Benno von Archimboldi, which takes them to Santa Teresa. The next section, “The Part About Amalfitano”, describes Oscar Amalfitano, a philosophy professor at the University of Santa Teresa, who lives in constant fear that his daughter will become one of the murdered women. “The Part About Fate”, the third chapter, describes U.S. American journalist Oscar Fate, who is sent to Santa Teresa to cover a boxing match for a magazine, but becomes interested in the murders instead. In his penultimate chapter, “The Part About the

Crimes”, Bolaño describes in grim detail the murders of women in Juárez from 1993 to 1997. Though this is a fictional account, it mirrors closely the reality of Juárez described in the newspapers. The novel ends with “The Part About Archimboldi,” where Bolaño reveals that Benno von Archimboldi is actually Hans Reiter, born in 1920 in Prussia.

The news stories, songs, and novels mentioned above are some, certainly not all, of the awareness products created in the arts/media realm. They combine fact, fiction, and emotion, and then disseminate the final product to a larger audience. However, some of the actors involved also include an awareness of their own personal reactions to femicide in Ciudad Juárez.

Self-Reflection

It starts at the airport and goes on for weeks. That middle-of-the-night sobbing that stops suddenly and you fall asleep only to be overwhelmed again in some random place like a pet store.

Mia Kirshner, Canadian actor and author

On another level, some actors in the realm of arts and media create products that generate both *informational* and *emotional* awareness of the issue, while simultaneously reflecting their reaction to their own awareness. Diana Washington Valdez is an investigative reporter for The El Paso Times (the local newspaper mentioned above) demonstrates this synthesis. In her book *The Killing Fields: Harvest of Women*, she combines a presentation of the most well-known facts about the cases with theories she has developed based on her own investigations, interweaving her personal reactions to this experience. In addition to offering details about the cases on *informational* and *emotional* levels, Washington Valdez offers a *self-reflection* of her own personal reaction to the murders. Upon receiving the news that Berenice Delgado Rodriguez, a five-year-old girl who was abducted, raped, and stabbed to death, Washington Valdez describes

"hitting bottom emotionally;" she remembers sitting in a daze at her desk in the newsroom and asking to be removed from the assignment. In another emotionally trying episode, she describes the search for twenty-year-old Claudia Ivette Gonzales; whose overalls were found in the cotton field, then given to her mother who embraced them. Washington Valdez recalls driving over the bridge from Juárez to El Paso with a collarbone fragment inside a bag labeled "evidence" in her glove compartment, fearful she would be questioned or the evidence would be seized. The fragment was later sent to a forensic lab in California, which determined it had belonged to 17-year-old Laura Berenice Ramos Monarrez.

Published in 2008 by Canadian actress Mia Kirshner *I live here* is a collection of illustrated narratives describing war in Chechnya, ethnic cleansing in Burma, AIDS in Malawi, and globalization in Mexico. Through her travel journals, Kirshner describes her trip to Juárez to learn about the femicide. Though she provides details about the cases, she mostly offers emotional narratives of the victims, their families, and her own journey. The "paper documentary" contains illustrations that represent the emotions she describes, photographs of the victims, drawings, even quinceañera[6] favors. She mentions that she has three manila folders filled with research on the murders, but still no answers. When attending a conference where she heard the victim's mothers tell their stories, she wonders how many times they have repeated these details to strangers. She was particularly moved by the victim's mother's stories told at a conference she attended; imagining the act of repeating these details "was an act that felt like suffocation." In her section, "Twenty Poems About Claudia," she describes receiving a box from Juárez that is filled with notes from family and friends, photographs, and missing persons posters. While going through these items, and writing Claudia's story, Kirshner felt she was

[6] The quinceañera is a Latin American coming-of-age ceremony for fifteen-year-old girls, marking their transition from childhood to womanhood.

trying to explain things she had no way of knowing, thinking of herself and wanting the fragments of the story to make sense logically. She relented however, that this story is not logical, and will never be finished. She reflects on sharing the same birth year with Claudia, imagining how different their lives must have been. When Kirshner comes home from Juárez with photographs, dirt from the cotton field, letters and statements from the families, and autopsy reports, she describes how her anxiety prevented her from touching any of it. In her concluding reflection, she describes the deaths as savage and her frustration with the stalled justice: "Juárez, you won. I've choked."

Remembrance

In this way, our generation and future generations will not forget or ignore the loss of life in Ciudad Juárez.

The National Museum of Mexican Art

Building upon informational and emotional responses, the highest level of *awareness products* in the arts/media realm honors the victims through *remembrance*. Gallery exhibits dedicated to *Ni Una Más*, a recent phenomenon dating to October 2009, have helped create awareness through the act of remembering. Instead of a call for action, the *awareness products* created were re-imagined by artists to ensure the victims will not be forgotten. The National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago, Illinois, housed an exhibition from October 16, 2009 to February 14, 2010, called *Rastros y Crónicas (Traces and Chronicles): Women of Juárez* that featured the work of 26 artists. On the website dedicated to the exhibit, the curators explain that by housing this exhibit, they are contributing to the movement. "By generating awareness, the artwork supports the cause of the victims' families who search for justice and truth" ("Rastros y Crónicas", 1).

In May 2010, the Leonard Pearlstein Gallery at Drexel University, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, will open the art exhibition, *Ni Una Más: The Juárez Murders.* ARTMARCH for Juárez, a demonstration/performance art piece involving hundreds of students and community members, is scheduled to open the event that afternoon, drawing attention to the femicide by "focusing on the tragic rape and murder of young women and girls… [to] draw attention to the chaos and violence along the Mexican border, and engender political discussion on how to take immediate and concrete action to protect these women" ("Ni Una Más", 1). The exhibit will feature art from nearly 20 international artists, including Yoko Ono, Kiki Smith, Nancy Spero, Miguel Calderon, Tim Rollins & KOS, and Irish activist painter, Brian Maguire.

In March 2010 several galleries within and beyond the United States came together to house art exhibits dedicated to the women of Juárez as part of *Contra la Violencia, el Arte: Una Oracion por Juárez* (Instead of Violence, Art: A Prayer for Juárez). In Mexico City, Yautepec and Oaxtepec, Mexico, Boyle Heights, California, Montreal Canada, Barcelona, Spain, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Sydney, Australia, and New York, New York, galleries put out calls for artists to submit work that would call attention to the murders, and used gallery space to perform a "ritual of mourning." In Tlaxcala, Mexico, Fort Worth, Texas, Los Angeles, California, and Taos, New Mexico, events such as lectures, film screenings, panel discussions, and poetry readings were held as part of *Una Oración por Juárez* ("Una Oración", 1). I did not understand the full impact remembrance or even the artistic realm of awareness until I had the privilege of visiting a gallery with an exhibit dedicated to the women. I attended the opening of Albuquerque Gallery 1022's installation of *Una Oración por Juárez*. Below is an auto-ethnographic narrative of my experience.

Because I was the first to arrive, I was able to view the pieces by myself and talk to one of the curators in charge who told me that the idea for the exhibit

came from an event on Facebook, inviting artists around the world to participate. As people began to arrive, I sat back and observed. They were taking in the pieces, and talking about the women, some familiar with the situation and some not, and I realized that the exhibit served its purpose of remembrance; at least by opening a dialogue. I also saw that artistic spaces such as this can serve as meeting places for those invested in the movement.

When Maureen Burdock arrived, Deborah Gavel, the curator I had been in contact with before my visit, took me to her and introduced us. Maureen turned out to be the author of a graphic novel about the femicide, a project I had heard of before, and had never been able to find. While we talked she explained to me that her project began by accident. She went to a book fair on border issues in Las Cruces, New Mexico, and when she was bored she began drawing on the sidewalk with chalk. There she met artists from Juárez who invited her to show her work at their gallery. Being a self-proclaimed "feminist artist," when she went to Juárez and heard about the mass murder of women there, she decided that she should dedicate work to the cause. Maureen said that she created pieces that could be displayed in a gallery setting, and then bound into a book that would "reach a larger audience." She explained to me that through word of mouth, her book has been discovered by many women's studies professors and used as a tool in their courses, and that she is very pleased by this.

A few weeks before, Maureen had drawn portraits of some of the victims on the sidewalk outside of the gallery in chalk. As she touched up her pieces and lit candles around them, Kent Paterson, a journalist who has done a lot of investigative reporting on the murders, told her that he would let the mothers know about her portraits because they would be happy. The three of us talked about the his work with Frontera NorteSur, a magazine from New Mexico State University, and about a colleague doing similar work who had to walk away for fear of his life after being offered $100, 000 dollars to stop his investigations. Kent explained that at times he and other reporters were close to naming names and closing in on those involved, but once a piece was published, tracks would be covered. Before we went inside, Maureen looked at the chalk pieces she had

drawn of victims on the sidewalk, and the candles lit around them, and remarked how happy she was that they looked so peaceful, and how the vibrant chalk colors reminded her of Mexican folk art.

A flyer handed out inside explained that this exhibit was about prayer, not anger. "A Prayer for Juárez (and West Mesa) is an event dedicated to uplift and raise awareness about violence against humanity around the world, beginning in Juárez. The main approach is to no longer come from a place of anger, hate or protest, but from a place of love and prayer towards this city and its people." The gallery invited anyone who wished to come pray for, and "cast a light on", Juárez, and suggested that the problems faced there are a "spiritual battle" and that the only thing we can do is tackle this "war" with the "power of love and prayer".

When the reception was ending, I noticed that another flyer was placed at the entrance way of the gallery, translated from its original Spanish version. It read "we, the women of Centro Santa Catalina, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, MEXICO, are compelled to express our struggle in a city infected by drug wars, violence, murders, extortion, carjacking, robberies of innocent people, unemployment, insecurity, the beating of innocent people, impotency, extreme poverty, and corruption. We are tired that the future of our children is being destroyed."

Conclusion

The arts and media have created *awareness products,* which are informational, emotional, self-reflections, and remembrances. Though this thesis argues that simple awareness is insufficient and that it must be translated into some other form of capital, there is undoubtedly some importance in the act of remembering and honoring victims. Because this movement has been overshadowed by the current problems the city faces, perhaps now the importance of contributions by art and media lies in the ability to reflect and remember.

I was initially skeptical of the importance of opening gallery exhibits with art pieces dedicated to the victims, unconvinced that the work could solve crimes or end femicide. However, my experience at the gallery demonstrated that although femicide in Juárez now tends to be linked to, or overshadowed by, the current drug war in the city, activists efforts have now shifted to insuring that victims are not forgotten, rather than solving the crimes themselves.

I have also been hesitant to use auto-ethnography as a method in the past, but it demonstrates how I cannot exclude myself from the creation of *awareness products*. The opening reception of a gallery was soothing; it was like finding a support group, being a person who has been invested in the search for justice about these murders for a long time. I discussed my research and interest in the issue with many people, trying to gauge what they knew about Juárez. Some people came already invested; others came to see artwork by their friends, and learned about the violence women face there. I met artists and journalists invested in the issue, and we shared our work with one another. When we all stood outside together and lit candles around the chalk portraits of some of the victims that Maureen had drawn on the sidewalk, she mentioned that the candles reminded her of the ones you would find in a Catholic church. The last line of the flyer read "please pray for the good people of Ciudad Juárez and communicate our struggle to others that want to be in solidarity with us."

Chapter 4: Awareness as Legitimization: Academic Approaches to Femicide in Juárez

Awareness is also a goal and achievement for participants in the academic realm of the *Ni Una Más* movement. Within academia, actors create these products; including but not limited to articles, books, and conferences. In my analysis of such products, I found that in the case of femicide in Ciudad Juárez, these *awareness products* work to academically identify, and therefore legitimate, a problem, build theories for why the problem exists, and offer solutions.

Identify (legitimate) A Problem

When beginning a research project, academics typically begin by identifying a problem they wish to study. By going through the steps to identify a problem and a research gap in which to explore it, they are in a sense presenting an argument for why their problem matters and should be studied. When academics began to direct their attention to the femicide in Juárez, the first contribution to awareness they made was to *identify* femicide as a problem, and by doing so they were able to *legitimate* it through academic (which could be viewed as expert) attention. Femicide became something that could/should be studied, and therefore mattered.

In her archive, Esther Chávez Cano saved correspondence from Dr. Julia Monárrez Fragoso, a sociologist in Juárez's Colegio de la Frontera Norte, including a preliminary report from 1999 on the femicides. In this report, Monárrez counts 145 victims, classifying the types of crimes committed against them. She also charts the districts in the city where bodies are found and offers percentages. Her preliminary conclusion is that the situation of women on the border is complex, due to their life conditions, socioeconomic and political participation, and that the victims were more vulnerable because of their situations of gender and class. Through her

compilation of not only a tally of the victims, but numeric data of the conditions of their deaths, she makes the femicide concrete and study-able, making it legitimate.

In 2002, Monárrez published "Feminicidio sexual serial en Ciudad Juárez: 1993-2001" (Serial Sexual Femicide in Ciudad Juárez, 1993-2001) in *Debate Feminista*, and in 2003, which was translated into English and published in *Aztlán*, a journal of Chicano Studies published by the University of California in Los Angeles. Monárrez mentions that she would not have taken an interest in femicide if it had not occurred in her own community, and that her search for literature on femicide in Mexico led to the realization that few Latin American feminist theorists have addressed the issue. She cites five reasons why the authorities' handling of the cases have been a failure: (1) access to case files has been denied, (2) foreign and national criminologists do not agree on a profile of the killer(s), (3) personnel in the special prosecutors office continues to change, (4) the moral character of the victims has been questioned, (5) the guilt of the men detained for these crimes are questionable. She then provides an extensive literature review of feminists theorists who have addressed femicide and offers her own theoretical construction: "Femicide compromises a progression of violence acts that range from emotional, psychological, and verbal abuse through battery, torture, rape, prostitution, sexual assault, child abuse, female infanticide, genital mutilation, and domestic violence—as well as all policies that lead to the deaths of women, tolerated by the state" (157). She also argues, however, that a discussion of class must be included, especially due the complex border setting of Ciudad Juárez, and includes arguments that societies under stress are more prone to violence against women.

In her methods section, she discusses the limitations of her evidence, which she drew primarily from secondary sources, such as news reports. However, "these secondary sources cease to be secondary and become primary when they deal with the experiences of women who

are concerned about the Massacre of other women" (165). She compiled her list of women from one provided by Esther Chávez Cano, along with two published reports from the assistant prosecutors office and the Chihuahua state attorney general's office. Monárrez offers tables complied based on information from the Femicide 1993-2001 database run by El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, featuring the numbers of women killed during a given year, and noting how many have been reported as "solved" by Mexican authorities. From her analysis, she concludes that the accumulation of unsolved crimes has become a power within itself; it sends the message that these types of crimes will be tolerated, and that the victims, poor women and girls, are not the priority of Mexican law enforcement.

In addition to articles by individual academic legitimizing the study of the femicide, some universities dedicated whole conferences to this effort. In 2003, during the Mexican holiday, Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead), the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) hosted the "Maquiladora Murders" conference. A conference website created the summer before the conference worked to "provide information on the conference and a chronology of actions being taken around the world to end the crimes, as well as an updated comprehensive bibliography of related online and print documents" ("THE MAQUILADORA MURDERS", 1). Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona, organized the conference "Gender, Justice and the Border" in 2003 and 2004 (Staudt, 93). These events offered a forum for the problem of femicide in Ciudad Juárez to be discussed by academics in various fields, which worked to legitimate it, and inform the larger academic community.

The *Esther Chávez Cano Collection* in the special archives of New Mexico State University also serves as a tool to create awareness and legitimacy. Composed of twenty one boxes, divided into five series: Juárez murders and other crimes, Media coverage, Activism,

Photographs, and Compact discs, the collection shows "the efforts of international organizations to rally support and raise awareness of the murders, of academics to increase understanding of the sociological factors caused by Juárez's unpleasant economic and social realities, and of journalists to bring the story to the attention of more people" (Esther Chávez Cano Collection) Chávez's decision to donate her archive to NMSU is in large part because she faced hostility in Juárez; Charles Stanford, the collection's head archivist, doubts these documents would have been preserved in the same way there.

Stanford describes his interest in "documenting activism," a concept important because these records serve as a type of barometer, gauging the success or failure of activism, and demonstrate the great difficulty Chávez faced as an activist. These tools, he asserts, could be helpful for future activists and scholars. Finally, he points out that archives are about interestingly, his own involvement, and auspices of the university that lends authority to the collection, legitimizing the archive with an institutional stamp of approval.

Towards a Theory of Femicide in Juárez

In addition to *identifying* problems and giving them *legitimacy*, academic *awareness products* also work to *theorize* reasons for why these problems occur. The articles discussed below are texts that function as movement products and tools, which further work to establish femicide as a legitimate problem, adding arguments about the social structures that act to keep this problem in place.

Movement participants such as Esther Chávez Cano believe that the murders of women in Juárez occur and continue unpunished because women, especially those from lower socio-economic classes, are not valued. Melissa Wright, a professor at Penn State University who

combines feminist theory with geography in her studies of the Mexico-U.S. border, academically "proves" this claim by using various theories, supplementing the argument by exploring reasons why women are not valued, such as their disposability in maquiladoras. She also addresses societal problems that hinder movement success, such as the danger of being viewed as a "public" woman, or "whore". M. Christina Morales and Cynthia Bejarano do work to show that women are also becoming conquests resulting from globalization, doing further work to academically prove the maquiladora industry is contributing to the problem.

Wright begins by explores women's new roles within the border space, specifically within the maquiladora. In 1998, her article "Maquiladora Mestizas and a Feminist Border Politics: Revisiting Anzaldúa" was published in *Hypatia*, a journal of feminist philosophy, she argues that a new *mestiza* is emerging in the U.S./Mexico borderlands, who speak Spanish, English and Spanglish and work in the maquiladoras. *Mestiza* is borrowed from Gloria Anzaldúa, who conceptualizes this *mestiza* woman as "a cultural subject who forges political unity by dissolving the international divide from both the social imagination and political practice" (115). She calls these women maquiladora *mestizas*, as their cultural identity is informed by their navigation of the maquiladora workplace. In her year-long ethnographic study of maquiladoras, Wright found a "metaphor of the Mexico-U.S. border operates as a cultural, ethnic, classed, raced, and sexed divide that materializes through the production of space and subjects representative of border residents" (117). She describes the differences between the lives of her subjects, comparing Rosalia, the Mexican personnel director for Mexican employees, and Cynthia, a Mexican-American quality engineer based in the U.S. She says that both women bring the image of *Mexicanas* front and center to positions of power in the maquiladora, and by doing so have become new, or maquiladora, mestizas.

In a 1999 article “The Dialectics of Still Life: Murder, Women, and Maquiladoras” published in the journal *Public Culture*, Wright transitions from the maquiladoras to address the murders. Using Walter Benjamin’s notion of the dialectical image, she examines the narratives of murdered women appearing in the media; the stillness of this image obscures the tensions that hold it in place. In the murder narratives, she sees that life is becomes stilled because value is pitted against waste. “Managerial discourses of noninvolvement in the serial murders of young female employees are indeed linked to the materialization of turnover as a culturally driven and waste-ridden phenomenon attached to Mexican femininity” (456). This wasting, in “literal and corporate deaths” makes her a victim of culture who intervention cannot save. She presents narratives as the murder stories, and turnover and corporate death, which inevitably lead to death by culture.

The murder stories fall into categories such as “double life,” the constant questioning of whether or not these were “good girls,” the “foreign serial killer,” a reflection of U.S. contamination of Mexico’s cultural values, and “climate of violence,” that which suggests women were victims of culture. She links this “victim of culture” narrative to the narrative of turnover in maquiladoras; turnover produces a female Mexican subject which is constantly decreasing in value. Female employees are marked as untrainable under the belief that the dexterity, attention to detail, and patience with tedious work that is attributed to women workers will fade over time. They are prone to disability, stress, or their bodies further deteriorate due to reproduction. To prevent this, their menstrual cycles are monitored with pregnancy tests during work applications, followed up by embarrassing monthly demonstrations of their menstruation to company doctors or nurses. Wright describes female workers as a valued commodity, however, part of their value rests in the fact that it quickly depreciates and she moves on producing high

rates of turnover. Wright also argues that the discarding of female factory workers mirrors the discarding of murder victims once the murderer has been satisfied. Women in Juárez become fetishized as waste, and so they experience death, literal and corporate, by culture.

In 2001, Wright's essay, "A Manifesto Against Femicide", published in *Antipode*, a radical journal of Geography, introduced the female subject in Juárez as traditionally being a prostitute, and now a maquila worker, an occupation inevitably translated into "whore". Wright introduces the work of Esther Chávez Cano, who also believes these murders continue because women are not being valued: "when we say women are worthless, this is feminicidio" (551). Wright also describes Casa Amiga: Centro de Crisis, the only rape crisis and sexual assault center in Ciudad Juárez, founded by Chávez. Her purpose is strategic; "this essay is a thought piece for linking the efforts of behind Casa Amiga with organizing initiatives for workers in the maquilas" (553). She argues that because organizing has not traditionally been popular among maquila workers, perhaps current efforts from the United States should be directed at projects such as Casa Amiga, where there are similar efforts to fight the cheapening of women. Although unionization has not been popular in the maquiladora industry, protests with Chávez as a dominant force began in the Juárez, following the notices of murder in local papers. Though the maquiladora industry denied connections to the murders, Wright builds on her previous work connecting the de-valuing of women inside of maquiladoras to their deaths outside of them. She argues that the idea that women are not worth anything must be challenged, and that international labor organizers should see how Casa Amiga challenges this discourse and work together for cross border activism.

In "From Protests to Politics: Sex Work, Women's Worth, and Ciudad Juárez Modernity", a 2004 article from *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Wright

suggests that Juárez has historically been known as a city of women who make up two significant parts of the economy; prostitution and maquiladora workers. However, value is now generated not from their work, but from their absence in a "broader political strategy that, in short, seeks to generate value out of female disappearance across the city" (370). Upon beginning a research project on sex workers in Juárez, she noticed the recurring theme of women's worth with this and her previous work on maquiladoras and activism around the murders of women in Juárez. She argues that the prostitutes in Ciudad Juárez and the activists who hope to make murdered women visible are both operating in discourse of the dialectical condition of value.

In "Paradoxes, Protests and the Mujeres de Negro of Northern Mexico", a 2005 article from *Gender, Place & Culture*, Wright discusses the *Ni Una Más* social justice campaign for the murdered women of Juárez. She says that the various organizations that constitute this movement have different areas of expertise and tensions often arise due to their views on controversial issues such as religion, feminism and abortion, and because of this no umbrella organization is able to form. She contrasts this with the Mujeres de Negro, located primarily in Chihuahua City, which has succeeded in joining the efforts of many diverse groups despite their political differences. Her research consisted of an ethnography of the movement, in which she participated in during the year she lived in Juárez. She found that though Mujeres de Negro were able to bring together diverse groups of participants, their challenge lies in the fact that by taking their protests to the public sphere, they become vulnerable to attacks as "public women," a label which dismisses and devalues them for "prostituting" themselves by leaving their domestic sphere. They must constantly negotiate the boundary between the public and private spheres. She asserts that the fact that the murders have gained international attention in the arts and media is

due to the female activists who brave the harassment as they "take to the streets": "While they are asserting their rights as citizens and their concerns as people who care about family, politics, community, and their country, their location on the street threatens the very basis upon which they can make such claims, since public women represent, according to the familiar refrain of the story of the contaminated whore, threats to all of the above" (290).

In spring 2006, a field note by Wright dated February 14, 2004 was published in *Women's Studies Quarterly*. She describes the V-Day March, during which Sally Field, Jane Fonda, and Eve Ensler, among others, spoke, explaining that the rally would have been bigger if there had not been a "split;" an alternative march for those who did not want to "sell out" to "American feminists." She notes that the local activists fall into camps, "Juárez versus Chihuahua. Mothers versus non-mothers. Feminists versus non-feminists. Class race insiders versus outsiders" (95). Theoretically significant, she also explores the reoccurring theme of *lucrar* (to profit financially), of which many groups have been accused, intrigued by the connection is between profit and activism.

She then writes from her house in Juárez two days later, saying that many local activists are angry about the divisions, media coverage, and lack of government response. She wonders what would count as success in the movement. She offers personal accounts of her interactions with neighbors who do not think about the murders much, saying that "there's a lot going on in this city, not just the murders" (96). In the end she wonders how to tell this story.

In her 2006 article, "Public Women, Profit, and Femicide in Northern Mexico," published in *South Atlantic Quarterly,* she again focuses on the Ni Una Más movement, taking the idea of "public women" one step further. She says that movement participants make two simple demands; the state takes measures to prevent further deaths and they conduct competent

investigations into the murders that have already occurred. She mentions that authorities have declared the both the victims and the activists as illegitimate because they are "public women." This discursive strategy by the political elite maintains that the victims have no right to justice because it was their own immoral actions that led to their deaths. After the Ni Una Más movement was successfully exposed this tactic, elites applied the discourse of "whore" to movement activists, claiming that as "public women" they were "selling family pain" to an international audience, always looking for ways to sell their media products. She explaining that this functions as what Foucault calls a "techne," a tactic for using common beliefs as a strategy for governing via the exclusion of certain groups: "The techne behind the public women discourse is to dismiss Ni Una Más as an illegitimate movement via the discursive production of its participants as illegitimate women-citizens who contaminate community and county by profiting from the prostitution of family pain on the international market" (685). They also make the claim that activists are hindering the city's ability to compete in a capitalist economy by painting a tarnished image. She also suggests that collaborations with other feminist efforts, such as Eve Ensler and the V-Day social movement, have been problematic because many Juárez activists feel that "American activists" change the nature of the struggle by tying the murders to domestic violence and other feminist issues, thus taking attention away from the crimes and impunity.

Also focusing on the problems of globalization and maquiladoras in respect to femicide, M. Christina Morales and Cynthia Bejarano theorize that part of the problem lies in a "border sexual conquest" resulting from "corporate colonization". They argue that the political and economic shifts caused by the opening of maquiladoras reconfigure gender and are based on racialized structures. They explain that while many studies have focused on globalization in the

context of women's participation in domestic and public labor, they believe that their location within the margins of a region, a conquered region at that, plays a role as well. They point out Mexico's history as a conquering nation, highlighting the role of la Malinche, Cortes's indigenous mistress who aided him in the conquest of her own people. She is often referred to as La Chingada, or "the fucked one," and is a symbol of how sexual violence is used to control inhabitants of the "brown" world, especially women. They point out that female activists have been called Malinches because by speaking out against the murders they "betray the city's newfound image as a haven for tourism and modernity" (191). They also refer to the common description of the border as a morally bankrupt playground for U.S. Americans. They explain that while the male death rate is sixteen times higher than the female rate, the violence associated with female death is sexualized because of the high instances of rape and dismemberment. The various theories presented through academic awareness products do work for the movement, they present the problem to a larger audience, and they also offer ideas for understanding the environment which allows these crimes to flourish. Some academics supplement their theories by offering suggestions they believe can play a role in ending the problem.

Suggestions for a Solution

Academia offers a space for not only for the *identification*, *legitimation*, and *theorization*, of femicide in Juárez, but also for the suggestion of possible *solutions*. One such space the fostering of solutions is academic conferences, where groups of scholars can come together for the collaborative sharing of ideas. The conferences at UCLA and ASU discussed above were two such spaces. UCLA's Maquiladora Murders Conference cited as its mantra the goal of bringing together scholars, journalists, artists, activists, writers, and policy specialists from the United

States, Mexico, and Europe, as well as families of the victims in a series of roundtable discussions and presentations (website). Dr. Kathleen Staudt, a professor at the University of Texas at El Paso who has conducted extensive research on the femicide in Ciudad Juárez, describes her strategic reasoning for presenting at these conferences. She discusses that U.S. Americans "fear terrorism," while residents of Juárez live the "terror of everyday life." She uses panels and conferences to create awareness and spread ideas, citing her goal as persuading people to understand how the global meets the local. Her work helps to make the case for border theory and concepts, which she argues can be applied in places away from the border as well.

In her 2006 book *Violence and Activism at the Border: Gender, Fear, and Everyday Life in Ciudad Juárez*, Staudt approaches the femicide from multiple angles. Working within the border community, she is ultimately able to present a comprehensive plan for change. Her academic work is a collaborative effort; during the course of her research she worked with community organizations on both sides of the border. She describes her research as moving back and forth from participant observation and activism, to scientific research (8). Her collaboration included community activism with the Coalition Against Violence, an effort that required a careful reading of the Article 33 of the Mexican Constitution, which prohibits foreign involvement in politics. She was also involved with the Center for Border Health Research, and was provided research support in the form of workshops and surveys, plus pre and post tests for 615 women ages 15 to 39 in Juárez. Additionally, she also met with journalists and filmmakers from around the world, with whom she was able to share and trade stories, insights and contacts and sources (xii). Currently, Staudt heads the University of Texas at El Paso Center for Civic Engagement, which allows students, faculty and community members to work together for social change through service learning, and proved to be an important element in her collaboration. As

is the case with most collaborative research, this book is not the final product or the entire point of the project, but rather represents the larger on-going efforts by Dr. Staudt "hope[s] this book will deepen insights, commitments, and strategies for knowledge and action here at the border, in the United States and Mexico, and around the world." (xvi).

Staudt also offers suggestions for moving towards solutions that will end violence against women, first pointing out that the problem has binational beginnings, thus, there exists a need for cooperation between the United States and Mexico. She also stresses the need to improve the "rule of law" at the border. She also mentions that the current maquiladora model of economic development benefits employers, but low wages create an environment of despair and violence, so there must be reform in this area as well. Staudt asserts that in order for social movements and associated organizations to achieve success, they must form transnational and international efforts. She closes with a reminder that it is up to everyone reading to make a difference; "we are all implicated in this recipe for disaster" (158).

Conclusion

In the realm of academic awareness creation, actors have built upon media coverage of the Mass murder of women in Ciudad Juárez to identify femicide as worthy of academic study, and therefore legitimated problem, creating theories to understand the causes of this disturbing trend, and finally offering tentative solutions. These products do not translate into the capital needed to solve the problem; they do not end femicide, solve crimes that have taken place, or prevent future ones. They do, however, generate knowledge, and expertise, about an issue, and so these products become tools for those who do have tools to solve the problem; actors in the political realm.

Chapter 5: Moving Towards Justice: Awareness and the Political Response

Actors in the political realm of the movement created awareness through a process of invisible work that produced what I call awareness "products". Adopting the movement's goal of creating awareness, framed as collective indignation, political actors mobilized to address the problem of femicide; various nongovernment organizations conducted investigations and produced reports, the United States Congress passed two resolutions, and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights issued a ruling. The reports are products that feed the resolutions and the court ruling; though they are informational, they have no legal weight. The products range from informational, reports with suggestions to improve the situation, to symbolic, resolutions that rhetorically condemn the government of Mexico, to enforceable, a court ruling that requires action by the State. These work intensive "products," though significant achievements, were merely symbolic, and therefore did not translate into physical, concrete steps towards solving the problem. However the court ruling has translated awareness into something enforceable, thus moving in the direction of justice.

This chapter introduces the concept of "invisible work" as a framework for the kind of activities in which the actors engaged in order to produce different awareness products. I then trace the process of "invisible work" done by government and non-profit actors, concluding with a brief description of the documents themselves, looking at differences in the framing of the issue.

Often, the work done by policy makers and activists in order for a resolution to be introduced in the United States Congress, or a ruling in the Inter-American Court, is never seen by the general public or even some of the representatives who vote on the issues and judges who make rulings. The work that goes into creating these awareness products is also an example of

what Star and Strauss (1999) call "articulation" work, or "work that gets things back 'on track' in the face of the unexpected, and modifies action to accommodate unanticipated contingencies"; however, it often remains unseen (Starr and Strauss, 9).

Based on categories drawn from a number of documents such as congressional records, United Nations, Amnesty International, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights reports and congressional delegation findings, in the case of combating human rights violations, a four-part process of invisible work performed by both government and non-profit actors takes place before a resolution addressing the issue can be passed, or a ruling can be made. The process includes (1) laying the groundwork, (2) generating awareness on three different levels, (3) obtaining enrollment and finally, (4) public presentation of the findings.

Laying the Groundwork

The first step in the process of creating products of political awareness pertaining to human rights is to lay the groundwork. In the case of Mexico, the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS) helped lay the groundwork. On October 15, 1999, the fifty-fourth session of the UN General Assembly adopted an Optional Protocol[7] to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Article 8 of the Optional Protocol States:

1. If the Committee receives reliable information indicating grave or systematic violations by a State Party of rights set forth in the Convention, the Committee shall invite that State Party to cooperate in the examination of the information and to this end to submit observations with regard to the information concerned.

[7] "Optional Protocols to human rights treaties are treaties in their own right, and are open to signature, accession or ratification by countries who are party to the main treaty" (Optional Protocol, 1999).

2. Taking into account any observations that may have been submitted by the State Party concerned as well as any other reliable information available to it, the Committee may designate one or more of its members to conduct an inquiry and to report urgently to the Committee. Where warranted and with the consent of the State Party, the inquiry may include a visit to its territory.
3. After examining the findings of such an inquiry, the Committee shall transmit these findings to the State Party concerned together with any comments and recommendations.
4. The State Party concerned shall, within six months of receiving the findings, comments and recommendations transmitted by the Committee, submit its observations to the Committee.
5. Such an inquiry shall be conducted confidentially and the cooperation of the State Party shall be sought at all stages of the proceedings.

The importance of this article is twofold. First, it serves as a tool for the investigation process. Each of the organizations that conducted investigations into these femicides followed the first four steps, although with varying degrees of adherence. Second, this article of the Optional Protocol performs the same role as a warrant in an investigation, giving the legal right to conduct the investigation. On March 15, 2002, Mexico ratified the Optional Protocol, making the country accountable to uphold Article 8 (UN Report on Mexico 2005). Because of Mexico's failure to uphold the rights set forth in the convention, the UN was justified in conducting an investigation into the murders of women in Ciudad Juárez.

The OAS has two bodies to ensure that human rights are protected, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, located in Washington, D.C. and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, located in San José, Costa Rica. In 1948, the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man was adopted in Bogotá, Colombia, becoming the first general international human rights instrument. On-site visits began in 1961, where the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights visited a country to observe the general status of human rights or to investigate specific situations, and in 1965 it became authorized to examine complaints and petitions pertaining to specific human rights violations. The American Convention on Human Rights was

adopted in 1969, and ratified by Mexico on March 2, 1981. Mexico recognized the jurisdiction of the court on December 16, 1998 ("What is the IACHR", 1).

Nongovernmental organizations, or even groups of people, may present a petition, in any of the four official languages of the OAS to the Commission, alleging that human rights protected in the American Convention have been violated by a member state. The Commission then studies the petitions alleging that State Agents committed human rights violations, or where the State failed to prevent or properly investigate a violation, or properly compensate the victim. Petitions must be able to show that victims have exhausted the domestic means of remedying the situation, and must be submitted within six months after this has been proven in domestic proceedings ("What is the IACHR", 1).

Once the case has been opened and assigned a case number, the government in question is sent pertinent parts of the petition and relevant information is requested. The Commission may also conduct investigations, and on-site visits, and a hearing may be held during the processing of the case. After sufficient information has been obtained, the processing of the case is completed and the Commission prepares a report with conclusions and recommendations for the State. A period of time is given to resolve the situation and comply with recommendations, and once it expires the Commission may prepare a second report which will be published, or may decide to take the case to the Inter-American Court within three months of giving the initial report to the state ("What is the IACHR", 1).

In 1998, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights published the *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Mexico*. After an invitation from President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce De Léon, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights conducted an on-site visit to Mexico from July 15-24, 1196. The goal of the report was simply to evaluate the human rights

situation in Mexico. The first version of the report was sent to the State of Mexico on March 4, 1998, and on May 11, 1998, the Mexican government replied with "Comments and Observations on the IACHR Report on the Status of Human Rights in Mexico."

In the report's chapter on the human rights of women, they note that although the economic situation of women has improved, it has led to discriminatory practices of relegating women to work only in the home, or denying them promotion opportunities at work. In addressing the "hemisphere-wide problem of widespread acts of violence against women" they mention the adoption of the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, which went into effect on March 5, 1995 and at the time of the report, had been signed but not ratified by Mexico. When mentioning Juárez in the report, they discuss the maquiladora industry and argue that although it presents women with greater economic opportunity than what they would find in other parts of the country, it also subjects them to discrimination such as mandatory pregnancy tests (and risk of termination for becoming pregnant), unhygienic working conditions, and sexual harassment from male co-workers, supervisors, and foreign managers.

The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights recommended that the State ensure compliance with national and international norms to prevent discrimination of women in the workplace, ratify the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, investigate and punish State officials who use their positions to sexually abuse detained women, take juridical, educational and cultural measures to end domestic violence, "combat impunity" in the investigation of violent crimes against women, and assign greater resources to develop women in public and private institutions (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights).

The establishment of a Commission on Human Rights and extensive procedures for combating violations is part of laying the groundwork. It creates a documented process for movement actors to follow in their quest for justice. Reports on the status of human rights in Mexico allow the Commission to observe and document problematic trends, which lays the groundwork for future investigations. After the groundwork is laid, government and non-profit actors work to generate awareness of the issue on three levels; grassroots, international, and internal.

Three levels of awareness

Grassroots. I have identified the first level of awareness, or collective indignation, as grassroots, because it is concerned with the politics of a community and thus occurs at the lowest level of political involvement. Grassroots awareness begins with people who are directly impacted by a local event. Because the victims of femicide cannot seek justice for themselves, the responsibility falls upon their families. In Ciudad Juárez, the victims' families are often poor and lack access to even simple resources such as telephones and transportation. For this reason, women's groups, and actors like Esther Chávez Cano have stepped in, acting on their behalf to disseminate their stories and seek justice.

Women's groups begin their interaction with families by offering their support and acknowledging the painful circumstances of their situation. They are available to provide counseling services, and by telling the stories of the victims and actively seeking justice for these crimes, they show families that their tragedy has been acknowledged. Though it may seem insignificant, it is highly valued and appreciated. A report published by the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) mentions that when the victims' families are provided outlets for

their stories, “the importance of these opportunities cannot be underestimated” (Beltran and Freeman, 2007). A clear example of the invisible work, services such as counseling often go unnoticed in the context of larger political issues.

In the case of Ciudad Juárez, women’s groups in both the United States and Mexico worked together to form international networks, thus strengthening their impact on the cause. On March 6, 2002, family members of the victims along with Red Ciudadana de No Violencia y por la Dignidad Humana (the Civic Network for Non-Violence and Human Dignity) filed a three separate complaints with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights alleging that the State of Mexico was responsible for irregularities in the investigation of the cases of Claudia Ivette González (Petition 281/02), Esmeralda Herrera Monreal (Petition 282/02), and Laura Berenice Ramos Monárrez (Petition 283/02). Each petition provided a summary of the specific violations by the State of Mexico, and on February 24, 2005 all three petitions were found admissible “in relation to alleged violations of the rights protected by Articles 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 19, and 25 of the American Convention, in relation to Article 1(1) of said instrument; and to Articles 7, 8, and 9, of the Convention of Belém do Pará,” and at the headquarters of the Inter-American Commission on Human rights in Washington, D.C.

On October 2, 2002, two non-profit organizations, Equality Now, based in New York City, and Casa Amiga, based in Ciudad Juárez, wrote a letter to the United Nations requesting that the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women conduct an inquiry into Mexico under Article 8 of the Optional Protocol. By writing this letter, these organizations, worked across international borders to bring the issue of femicide to the world stage.

International. Once grassroots activism drew international attention to the issue of femicide in Juárez and made an international audience cognizant, actors from two major international nongovernment organizations stepped in to investigate. By doing so, they generated international awareness, or collective indignation. In July 2003, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which "watches over the progress for women made in those countries that are the States parties to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women," reviewed information submitted by the Mexican Government and Casa Amiga, Equality Now, and the Mexican Committee for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights (which fulfilled step one of Article 8), and decided to conduct a confidential inquiry under Article 8 (UN Report on Mexico 2005).The following October, Ayse Feride Acar, Chairperson of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, spoke to the Third Committee of the 59th session of the UN General Assembly. In her speech, Feride Acar mentioned that the committee had carried out its first inquiry under Article 8 of the Optional Protocol stating that the "inquiry was carried out in Mexico on the matter of the killings and disappearances of women in Ciudad Juárez" (Acar, 4). At the time of her remarks, the report had not been released, so these remarks gave an international voice to the femicide in Juárez, presenting the issue to the entire UN General Assembly before it reached publication.

The same measures were taken by the UN to address the problem of femicide in Guatemala. In February 2004, Yakin Erturk, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, made an official visit to Guatemala to address the "multilayered nature of discrimination against women in the country which differentially exposes women to violence" (Feb 2005 UN Report). Invited by the Guatemalan government in response to her request made

after hearing about the emerging pattern of murders of women, she met with government officials, members of human rights organizations, academics, survivors of violence, families of victims and UN staff. She mentioned that although Guatemala has assumed a range of obligations for the protection of women's rights derived from international instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against women and its Optional Protocol, the absence of justice, impunity for criminal acts and socio-economic disparities (class, gender and ethnic inequalities) continue to undermine the legal framework.

In February of 2005, Erturk visited Mexico, meeting with representatives of federal, state and municipal authorities, non-governmental organizations, and victims and their family members. She identified problems similar to those faced by women in Guatemala, a key comparison which linked the Guatemalan femicides that occurred to those that occurred in Ciudad Juárez. In both cases, awareness had to be generated on an international level and the work this required, especially on the part of individual actors, is never explicitly recognized in the final product of the resolution or court ruling.[8]

During her October 26, 2005 statement to the 60th Session of the General assembly, Erturk described her 2004 visit to Guatemala, asserting that impunity must be ended. As a prominent member of the UN, her statement helped to increase international awareness about both femicides, and in doing so linked them together.

On February 20, 2006 Amnesty International (AI) issued a public statement on the Federal Special Prosecutor's Office's response to the organization's report "Mexico: Killings and abductions of women in Ciudad Juárez and the City of Chihuahua." Though welcoming the

---

[8] Amnesty International performed similar invisible investigation work to produce an awareness product. Irene Khan, the Secretary General of Amnesty International, also made a visit to Ciudad Juárez. She traveled to meet with families and women's/human's rights organizations, and showed her sympathy for women killed in a cotton field in Ciudad Juárez by laying flowers at the site where their bodies were found.

report, AI raised concerns about the methodology and conclusions reached by the Federal Special Prosecutor's Office. The public statement reminded readers that the situation remained serious, with at least 28 murders of women reported in the previous year, and maintained that this pattern of violence against women is of a complex nature. Again, this press release drew international attention, and publicly held Mexico accountable for its lack of action.

During its thirty-fifth session, The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women delivered concluding comments on the State Party's sixth periodic report on Guatemala. The committee expressed appreciation to the State party for its report, but notes that it has failed to comply with the guidelines for the preparation of reports and did not mention recommendations given by the committee. After noting a short list of the positive aspects, the report covers the areas of concern and delivers further recommendations. Among these raised is the concern that the proper definition of discrimination contained in Decree 57-2002 is incorrect. The committee also noted that while the involvement of women's organizations is desired, leading to an imbalance. The Committee also encouraged the State to take all "measures necessary to put an end to the murders and disappearances of women and the impunity of perpetrators" suggesting that they take into account recommendations made to under the Article 8 inquiry of Ciudad Juárez. This report serves as a link between Ciudad Juárez and Guatemala, and points to the Article 8 inquiry into the Juárez femicide as groundwork for an investigation into Guatemala.

In the summer of 2006, Amnesty International released a "Stop Violence Against Women Campaign Action Kit" for the femicides in Mexico and Guatemala. The kit featured a list of informational resources, speakers and six levels of actions. Level one suggested completing an online action or sending a condolence card, while level two included the creation of stickers,

posters and t-shirts. Level three proposed writing a “letter-to-the-editor,” and level four, a petition. Level five includes hosting a party, planning a community event, and educating the community. Finally, level six consists of lobbying a member of congress or visiting an embassy. The kit includes detailed directions for each step, important contacts, sample letters and talking points.

The international awareness discussed in this section shows how an issue becomes translated from the local (grassroots) level of awareness to the international level. Once this is the case, a country with great political and economic influence, like the United States, will have a more difficult time ignoring the situation. These reports provide the background, and even some of the vocabulary needed for members of Congress to adopt the issue into the U.S. political arena. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights performed similar processes, using its own actors, which will be discussed below, as it was a means of creating *internal* awareness.

Internal: U.S. Congress. As international awareness brought femicide onto the world stage, the United States Congress and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights began a process of creating internal awareness within their respective bodies. The members of Congress invested in the issue of Juárez femicide were able to take the progress that had already been made and use it to generate internal awareness within Congress, which in turn leads to the creation of resolutions. This is typically comprised of formal actions taken by members of congress, such as a U.S. investigation to gather information. In October 2003, a delegation comprised of four members of congress, Rep. Hilda Solis (D-CA), Rep. Ciro Rodriguez (D-TX), Rep. Silvestre Reyes (D-TX), and Rep. Luis Gutierrez traveled to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. The delegation was accompanied by staff from their

offices, Eric Olsen of Amnesty International USA, Dolores Huerta of the United Farm workers, Daniel Solis from the Chicago City Council, Cynthia Bejarano of Amigos de Mujeres de Juárez, Lourdes Portillo and Emiko Omori (makers of the film Senorita Extraviada), Joy Olson and Laurie Freeman of WOLA, Sean Garcia and Eleanor Starmer of LAWG, and Macrina Cardenas of MSN.

On October 11, 2003, delegates met with family members of the victims and the accused who were working together because they saw "themselves all as victims of the government's unwillingness and inability to put a stop to the Juárez murders" (Washington Office on Latin America, 1). After meeting with the families, the delegation met representatives of women's organizations who spoke of "harassment, delays, denial of access to basic case information, and the government's unwillingness to take their claims and demands seriously" (Washington Office on Latin America, 1).

On Sunday, October 12, 2003, the delegation toured Anapra, one of the poorest neighborhoods in Juárez. They were shown the lack of streetlights, the absence of police and "the lack of rule of law in the neighborhood" (Washington Office on Latin America, 1). It gave the delegation a sense of the areas where many of the missing/murdered women lived. They then visited the cotton field where eight bodies were found in November 2001. The tour guides explained the failure of investigators to handle the site and evidence properly, and many members of the delegation paid respect to the victims there.

On Monday, October 13, 2003, the delegates met with local, state, and federal government officials responsible for the investigation and prevention of crimes against women, and these officials presented their respective plans of action. At the end of their visit, Rep. Hilda Solis and Rep. Silvestre Reyes held a press conference to announce the delegation's conclusions

and accomplishments, announcing that victims' families continue to be harassed, ignored, and often deceived by authorities, resulting in a lack of faith that effective or serious investigations are conducted. The delegation found that authorities often blame victims for their own murders, commit human rights violations by coercing confessions, and refuse to perform DNA tests to identify bodies of the victims. After the visit, the delegation committed itself and the Women's and Hispanic Caucuses to deepening their involvement in the issue and began discussing ideas for concrete ways to follow up. Likewise, the NGOs who sponsored the delegation deepened their commitment to pressing for resolution in the identification of bodies, resolution of crimes, and prevention of violence against women. Additionally, there was considerable press coverage of the delegation by US and Mexican radio, TV, magazines, and newspapers.

Internal: Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The process of obtaining a ruling in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights began with the same process of creating *internal* awareness. On February 11-13, 2002, the Special Rapporteur conducted an on-site visit to Ciudad Juárez. She met with federal officials from the Committee on Equity and Gender, the Committee on Human Rights, the Commission for Follow-Up on the investigations of the Women's Murders in Ciudad Juárez, National Women's Institute, Inmujeres, and the Office of Prosecutor General of the Republic. She also met with officials from the State of Chihuahua and the Municipality of Ciudad Juárez, including the State Prosecutors Office, the Special Prosecutor for the Investigation of the Women's Murders, the Office of the Governor of the State of Chihuahua, and the State Commission on Human Rights. Finally, she met with victims' relatives, who gave testimonies and information, representatives of nongovernmental human rights organizations, including Casa Amiga Centro de Crisis, Red de No Violencia y Dignidad

Humana, Campana “Alto a la Impunidad: Ni Una Muerte Más”, Groupo Feminista Ocho de Marzo de Chihuahua, and FEMAP, among several others.

The work done by this congressional delegation and Special Rapporteur’s on-site visit mirrored both grassroots and international awareness efforts. Just as women’s groups were advocates for victims’ families, providing them with support and acknowledgement, these members of Congress and the Special Rapporteur expressed their sympathy and allowed the families to have their voices heard, which, as we will see later, provided the representatives and Rapporteur the necessary tools for enrolling their colleagues. The delegations and on-site visits allowed for the gathering of information and its dissemination to the public, which created internal awareness within the United States Congress and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and provided the social movement a basis for obtaining enrollment.

Enrollment

Enrollment is a process of visible work, which is only possible because of the invisible work already performed by members of the delegation, along with international and grassroots actors. The presentations, letters and application show actual work that actors have performed, however they fail to show the invisible work, such as the Congressional delegation and on-site visit, which made these communication events possible. Grassroots, international, and internal activism are the steps, or pieces of invisible work, that lead up to presentation of final awareness products.

After these three levels of awareness have been created, members of Congress and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights sought to gain support from their colleagues and high ranking government officials. On March 9, 2004, the Congressional Women’s Caucus held

a briefing entitled "Forum on International Women's Rights and Security: Iraq, Afghanistan and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico" to address threats and challenges to women's rights and security in different parts of the world. This was the first step in using the internal awareness they had created to obtain invested enrollment from their colleagues. On May 11, 2004, the caucus wrote a "Dear Colleague" letter, urging members to co-sponsor House Resolution 466 that conveyed the sympathy of the House of Representatives to the families of the young women murdered in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua, Mexico, and encouraged increased U.S. involvement. On November 7, 2003, the Congressional Women's Caucus wrote a letter to Secretary of State Colin Powell expressing concern over the string of violent murders of young women that had taken place over the last ten years in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Obtaining enrollment from high ranking government officials is an important step in the process of making international human rights violations an issue for the United States Congress because those officials are in a position to help gain greater enrollment and also have authority that colleagues may not.

The same process, in a highly different context, must occur for a human rights violation to be heard in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. On November 4, 2007, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights filed an application with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, combining the cases of Claudia Ivette González, Esmeralda Herrera Monreal and Laura Berenice Ramos Monárrez and designating Commissioner Florentin Melendez and Executive Secretary Santiago A. Canton as delegates responsible for the trial. The application also served to assemble a team of legal counselors consisting of Assistant Executive Secretary Elizabeth Abi-Mershed, and attorneys Marisol Blanchard, Rosa Celorio, Juan Pablo Alban and Fiorella Melzi (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, 1). The process of submitting an

application served to obtain enrollment from the applicants colleagues in the Inter-American Court.

Presentation

Once the groundwork has been laid, awareness has been generated on three levels, and enrollment has been obtained, final awareness products can be presented in the form of reports, resolutions, and rulings.

Reports. The UN, AI and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights completed a process of invisible work to produce awareness products in the form of reports. On January 27, 2005 the *Report on Mexico* produced by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women under article 8 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention was released, along with the reply from the Government of Mexico. Presented in two parts, the committee's findings and recommendations, and the observations of the Mexican Government in response, he report raised the issue of gender-based discrimination and violence in Ciudad Juárez. Principal problems in the murders and disappearances are examined by profiling the disappeared, looking at the legal process involved, describing hostility towards family members and their subsequent lack of confidence in the justice system, and addressing the issue of impunity, which occurs when the perpetrators of this violence are not held accountable for their actions (Amnesty International, 2003). The report also discusses the response by the Mexican Government, and examines the contributions of civil society organizations. Obtaining a response from Mexico is significant because in it they deny the occurrence of impunity, one of the principal problems cited in the report.

The committee reached the conclusion that the murders of women in Juárez "constitute grave and systematic violations of the provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, as well as recommendation No. 19 of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women." This translated it from being an issue within the Ciudad Juárez community, to one of international importance. Because Mexico made a commitment to ratify the Optional Protocol, the committee recommended that Mexico comply with all obligations assumed within it. It also recommended that the country strengthen the coordination and participation at all levels of government, and incorporate a gendered perspective into all investigations. The committee also welcomes civil society organizations concerned with this issue to work on the follow up of the 40-point action plan proposed by the Federal Government of Mexico. Finally, the report makes recommendations concerning the investigation of the crimes and the punishment of the perpetrators, and the prevention of violence and protection of the human rights of women. The report is significant because it holds Mexico accountable on an international level, pointing out that ratification of the Optional Protocol makes compliance mandatory.

The second part of the report details the response of the Mexican Government to the committee's findings. The Government mentions the role (which will be explained in detail later) of the maquiladoras (U.S. owned factories in Ciudad Juárez) in creating an environment where women become victimized. It also describes the economic, political, social, gender and crime context in Ciudad Juárez. It shows the actions that government has taken in order to eliminate discrimination against women in Mexico, detailing progress, obstacles and challenges facing the government in respect of this issue. Because this inquiry into Mexico was the first conducted

under Article 8 of the Optional Protocol, it worked to further standardize the process of how future investigations into similar issues would be conducted.

Yakin Erturk's similar report on femicide in Guatemala mentions impunity and failure to investigate cases and prosecute and punish perpetrators. She also points to the peace accord that brought a 36-year armed conflict to an end, and shows how intersecting systems of oppression create an environment where violence against women can occur. She then highlights the achievements and challenges of the Guatemalan Government, and concludes that gender politics have played a key role in the allowance of violence against women; noting that the positive element in Guatemala is that violence against women is at least acknowledged. She suggests that the government end impunity, provide protection to women facing actual or risk of violence, create gender sensitive knowledge base, strengthen infrastructure and promote training and awareness.

In September 2003, AI released the report "Intolerable Killings: 10 years of abductions and murder of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua". Presented by Irene Khan, the Secretary General of Amnesty International, during her visit to Ciudad Juárez, the report addressed issues such as the pain of the families, and gender based discrimination. It also showed the scale of the problem, with a chronology of ten years of abductions and murders, and laid the ground for identifying common patterns in victims; documenting that they tended to be female, teenagers, and poor. The crimes were linked by the types of violence inflicted and points to the invisibility of the women who go missing. The conduct of authorities is called into question because of things such as leads ignored and delays in the investigation, incompetence in protecting evidence and the bodies found in the cotton field, as well as signs of sexual assault ignored and falsified evidence. It makes note of the fact that investigations at a standstill, and that victims' families

and human rights defenders are often harassed. Khan calls this the protection of women from violence the international responsibility of the state: “Violence against women violates a whole range of fundamental human rights, civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural.” She recommends that Mexico “publicly acknowledge and condemn the abductions and murders of women” and that they strengthen investigations by providing forensic services, training judges, performing statistical summaries and creating a complete list of missing women.

Likewise, on June 8, 2005, AI produced the report “Guatemala: No protection, no justice: Killings of Women in Guatemala.” The report begins with the story of Maria Isabel, a 15 year old girl who was kidnapped and murdered in December 2001. It is told from the point of view of her mother, who also describes the poor treatment she received from authorities. The report asserts that the events surrounding Maria Isabel’s death are common to “many hundreds of killings of women and girls that have been reported in Guatemala in recent years” and suggests that the prevalence of violence against women has its root in the 36-year armed conflict where women were raped as a part of counter-insurgency strategy. It notes that the State has failed to bring the perpetrators to justice, and that the lack of documentation has made it difficult for Amnesty International to conduct research on the issue. In the first chapter the murders are placed in context, and in the second the State’s obligations and responsibilities are reviewed. Chapter three of the report mentions international standards on due diligence. Amnesty International concludes that the Guatemalan Government must urgently address a number of shortcomings and failings. They recommend that the government publicly condemn the abductions and murders of women and girls, and that they immediately carry out coordinated investigations. They also suggest compiling a comprehensive list of women reported as missing, and incorporate a gendered perspective into the analysis and treatment of violence against

women. This shows that organizations also play a role in raising international awareness of the issue.

On July 17, 2006, AI released a follow-up report, stating that although measures have been taken by Guatemala to address the recommendations made, they have not done so in a manner sufficient to address the scale and severity of the problem. It says that despite visits made by the UN and the Inter-American Commission, “women and girls continue to be murdered with impunity in Guatemala.” They cite impunity, flawed investigations, state negligence, invisibility of gender related violence and treatment of the families of the victims as ongoing problems. They recommend a zero tolerance policy, better investigation coordination, gender perspective and the collection of data as ways of improving the situation.

During the process of seeking a court ruling on femicide in Ciudad Juárez, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights also performed a process of invisible work mentioned above to produce an awareness product in the form of a report. On March 7, 2003, the Commission released the report “The Situation of the Rights of Women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico: The Right to Be Free From Violence and Discrimination.” The report “addresses the right of women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico to be free from violence and discrimination.” The report, and on-site visit conducted as part of it, was initiated by various communications directed at the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; sent in late 2001 and signed by hundreds of individuals and several organizations. When the Special Rapporteur expressed concerns, President Vicente Fox invited the Commission to conduct an on-site visit in February of 2002.

The report provides an overview of the problem, outlining the context of violence against women in Juárez, threats against those who seek justice, and the response of the Mexican State.

It then presents international and national laws which are applicable to the problem, and describes the role of national entities. It reviews the right of women to be free from violence, and points out the obligation of the Mexican government to protect that right and to ensure that when such violence occurs there will be investigation, prosecution and punishment of those responsible. Finally, it provides conclusions and recommendations to create an environment in Ciudad Juárez where women are free from violence, to improve investigation, prosecution, and punishment of violence against women, and to prevent violence against women while improving security (Organization of American States).

The reports mentioned above are the products of extensive work, by several actors, and they provide data which is significant and meaningful. They meet the goal of awareness creation by presenting the problem of femicide in written form, producing a record of the event and reaching a larger audience, assuming the report is read. However, these reports are merely informational; the words they contain do not have physical power to address the problem at hand. Nevertheless, the information produced by the reports played a crucial role in the passing of legislation in the United State Congress.

Resolutions. A resolution is another type of awareness product produced by the Ni Una Más movement. Above I traced various steps in the process of passing in the United States Congress, and the next step is its presentation. On November 21, 2003, as public bills and resolutions were presented, Rep. Hilda Solis presented House Resolution 466, to the 108th Congress. The resolution "convey[ed] the sympathy of the House of Representatives to the families of the young women murdered in the State of Chihuahua, Mexico, and encourage[ed] increased United States involvement in bringing an end to these crimes" (Bill

tracking report 2004). The resolution was referred to the House Committee on International Relations, but failed to pass in the 108th Congress. This demonstrates that when resolutions are referred to a subcommittee, they can easily become buried under the vast amounts of paperwork and fail to pass.

It seems that issues such as human rights violations need an advocate who will work to assure that resolutions make it to the stage where they are considered and agreed to in the House and Senate. On March 9, 2005, Rep. Solis extended her remarks to the 109th Congress in order to introduce a bipartisan resolution on the murders of women in Ciudad Juárez. This resolution was worded almost exactly the same as the failed resolution presented in the previous congress, however, the information was updated to reflect the increased number of murders and the extension of the crimes to the city of Chihuahua.

Over a year later, on May 2, 2006, House Concurrent Resolution 90 was considered and agreed to in the House. The U.S. Senate website explains that concurrent resolutions are "generally employed to address the sentiments of both chambers, to deal with issues or matters affecting both houses" and "are not submitted to the President and thus do not have the force of law" (Senate Website). Because House Concurrent Resolution 90 was a concurrent resolution, the Senate did not have to draft and consider its own resolution; on May 3, 2006, one day after it was passed in the house, the resolution was considered and agreed to in the Senate. Exemplifying her determination to address this issue, on May 14, 2007, Solis addressed her colleagues in Congress to mention again that House Concurrent Resolution 90 was passed, repeating her request for a binational solution. She mentioned that DNA testing was not as successful as she would have hoped, and she would like to remind Congress that there is still work to be done to address this issue.

This shows that even after a resolution has been agreed to, members of congress must continue internal activism, enrollment, and presentation to ensure that goals set within the resolution are met. House Concurrent Resolution 90 served to lay the groundwork for House Resolution 100 in the 110th Congress, “expressing the sympathy of the House of Representatives to the Families of women and girls murdered in Guatemala and encouraging the Government of Guatemala to bring an end to these crimes” (Congressional Record May 1, 2007).

Members in Congress did not perform all the same invisible work pertaining to Guatemala that they did for Ciudad Juárez. However, because the resolution on Juárez had already been presented and accepted, the groundwork had already been laid for the Guatemalan resolution. On January 24, 2007, during the presentation of public bills and resolutions, Representative Solis presented House Resolution 100, which was considered and agreed upon on May 14, 2007.Because this was not a concurrent resolution, the Senate had to draft its own version, and on March 10, 2008, Senate Resolution 178 was considered and agreed to, following the same language as the house resolution. In comparison, the U.S. House was unable able to pass a resolution as easily, a problem possibly attributable to the groundwork that laid by the Juárez resolution.

Documents

Now that I have shown the process taken for these resolutions to reach the United States Congress, I think it is useful to briefly discuss the documents themselves, as they are the finished product and representations of the “invisible work” that occurred.

House Concurrent Resolution 90. House Concurrent Resolution 90 uses words such as "condemnation," "condolences," "respect," "closure," "threat to the rule of law," and "impunity," to address the situation in Mexico. This vocabulary represents the major themes of the resolution and many of them are drawn from the initial reports circulated among all the different actors involved in the sections discussed above. The resolution condemns the abductions and murders, the use of torture as a means to investigate and senseless acts of violence. It expresses the Congress' sincerest condolences and solidarity of the people of the US with the people of Mexico. It urges the President and the Secretary of State to work with Mexico to investigate and prevent the murders, and to express support for the victims and families. It offers respect and acknowledgement, which is what the parents of the victims asked for when Rep. Solis met with them, and what she hopes for from the resolution. The hope is that the passing of this resolution will help to bring closure to the families of the victims. It mentions that continuing impunity for these crimes is a threat to the rule of law. In addressing femicide, the same sentiments were expressed in the resolution for Guatemala.

House Resolution 100. House Resolution 100, which addresses the murders of women in Guatemala, follows H. Con. Res. 90 almost word for word. Though these resolutions use almost the exact same wording, it is important to note that the differences in the framing of the issue.

One example of this is the theme of *impunity* from the reports of the investigations conducted by various international actors. In the Amnesty AI report "Intolerable Killings: 10

years of abductions and murder of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua," *impunity* is discussed as a lack of accountability for crimes committed: "When the perpetrators are not held to account, as has generally been the case in Ciudad Juárez, the impunity confirms that such violence and discrimination is acceptable, thereby fueling its perpetuation" (29). Though the frame of impunity is offered in international reports written about both Juárez and Guatemala, the reasons given for impunity differ. For example, Ciudad Juárez has been greatly affected by NAFTA. The agreement has caused "a large number of young women to come to Ciudad Juárez from rural areas and small towns throughout Mexico (Amnesty Ten years). Numerous reports contribute the dangerous atmosphere for poor women in Ciudad Juárez to the maquiladora industry, which creates an environment where poverty thrives and where women who work in these factories become invisible. Thus, impunity is linked to a socioeconomic situation.

In her report on her findings as a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, Erturk addressed what she believes to be the causes and consequences of violence against women in Guatemala. She cites the 36-year armed conflict in Guatemala as a main cause of the creation of an environment when the murders of women can occur. During this conflict, women were raped and massacred, a history of violence that has created an environment for present-day violence to continue with impunity.

The text of the resolutions on the other hand, framed the issue of impunity differently than the international reports, yet offered the same details about each set of femicides. They tell the stories of girls who have been killed, and the lack of adequate government response. They also cite the resolution on Ciudad Juárez in the resolution on Guatemala, linking them and giving the impression that the situations are the same in both countries. Both resolutions mention impunity and the threat to the rule of law, linking the two concepts together. However, the

Ciudad Juárez resolution ties these concepts to the border location of the city, drawing attention to what they call "Mexico's nearly lawless northern border." Continually situating the femicide on the U.S./Mexico border helps to frame it as a national security risk for the United States. The Guatemalan resolution lacks this element of locality; therefore, greater emphasis is placed on the more global human rights aspect of the murders. Though the above sections of this paper have shown that more or less the same levels of awareness were completed in similar ways for the creation of both resolutions, the actual text of the resolutions differs. It is interesting to note that although a larger amount of "invisible work" was performed by Congress on the Juárez resolution, which then laid the groundwork for the Guatemalan resolution, they were the only actors who framed the issue differently.

Rulings

The final, and perhaps most effective awareness product that was produced by the *Ni Una Más* movement was a ruling from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights holding Mexico accountable for the murders of three of the femicide victims from the cotton field case of 2001. On April 28-29, 2009, a public hearing was held in an extraordinary session of the court in Santiago, Chile. Mothers of the three victims testified, as did members of the Mexican government such as Chihuahua State Attorney General Patricia González (WOLA).

On November 16, 2009, the court issued 167-page sentence with actions that the Mexican government must take to assure justice for the victim's families and curb future acts of violence against women. Because Mexico is an adherent to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, it is obligated to comply with the ruling and cannot file an appeal. The ruled that the State of Mexico must conduct a serious investigation into the three murders, and investigate the law

enforcement officials responsible for obstructing the cotton field case. Within one year, the government of Mexico must also hold a public ceremony in Juárez to apologize for the crimes, build a monument to honor the murdered women, publish the sentence in the official government record and newspapers, expand police training to include gender sensitivity and human rights, continue and improve efforts to find missing women, and publicize the cases of missing women on the internet. They must also pay reparations to the families of the victims. This marks the first case in which the court has ruled against Mexico on a human rights violation, and the first that recognizes femicide (Valdez, 1).

Conclusion

Actors within the *Ni Una Más* movement to gain justice for the femicide in Ciudad Juárez held the creation of awareness as a main goal, and they were successful in achieving this. Femicide in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, and Guatemala gained enough visibility to become issues for the United States Congress. Three prominent murder cases from the femicide were pursued so persistently that a court ruling was handed down finally holding the government of Mexico accountable. In order to produce these two types of highly significant awareness products, it took government and non-profit actors to lay the groundwork, generate awareness on several different levels, obtain enrollment from members of Congress and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and present their findings to colleagues.

The complicated process involved in creating reports on the problem of femicide, passing a house resolution, and winning a court ruling, obviates the "invisible work" that went into passing House Resolutions and gaining this ruling.

During investigations by international parties, and in the language of the resolutions themselves, the femicides in Mexico and Guatemala have been linked together to form one large issue of Latin American femicide. However, are these agencies correct in making them into the same issue when they occur in two separate environments where different factors allow them to continue? This is a question that merits further research.

The issue of proximity may also play a crucial role. These two resolutions appear to be framed differently according to their proximity to the United States. It is possible that the Juárez resolution had to be framed as an issue of United States National Security in order to gain support, and perhaps the femicide in Guatemala could not be addressed unless it was "piggy-backed" on the resolution pertaining to Juárez. Proximity also appears to have an impact on the rate of processing, as the resolution concerning the femicides in Juárez, which borders the United States, was agreed to before the Guatemalan resolution was even presented. Demonstrating the causality of international legislation, the resolutions were propelled by the labor-intensive process of creating three types of awareness products. Additionally, they demonstrate that though the reports and resolutions are merely informational and symbolic, the ruling against Mexico by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights may take the movement towards achieving justice for victims and their families. Furthermore, the task of preventing future occurrences of femicide has been outlined in specific tasks to be completed by Mexico, and has been presented with a strict time frame with a promise for follow-up. The implications of this will be further discussed in the conclusion of this thesis.

Conclusion: Awareness Accomplishments and Possibilities for the Future

These daughters of Juárez never had the opportunity to speak out. Their cries were brutally silenced. Now these voices ring out from these pages. Perhaps this time someone will listen.

-Teresa Rodriguez

Awareness creation has been a central goal and outcome of the *Ni Una Más* movement to gain justice for the women of Ciudad Juárez. Cynthia Bejerano, an academic and movement participant, describes this as a David and Goliath example, because grassroots activism by mothers in a small community was able to achieve such a high level of international awareness. Though a significant achievement, simple awareness is not enough. Awareness, or cognizant knowledge of the events marked by collective indignation, must be translated into a form of capital that adequately addresses the problem at hand; the mass murder of hundreds of women. In this thesis, I have explored three realms in which awareness was created (arts/media, academia, and politics), finding that each has created products of awareness. Though these products do not ultimately create solutions for the Juárez femicide, do work to end the murders of women in Juárez, each realm offers something useful to the movement.

Social movements are composed of ordinary individuals coming together to collectively work towards changing a problem in their society. Initially studied using collective behavior theory, social movements were seen by academics as unnecessary disruptions until the civil rights movement, which garnered new interest in the struggles of those at the "bottom of society." Consequently, social movements, beginning in the 1960s, were studied from new economic, cultural, and political perspectives. They have been examined structurally and culturally, and elements such as emotions and weapons of the weak are being taken into account

by some theorists. Awareness and consciousness-raising are ever-present terms in the popular discussion of social movements; these concepts are often (problematically) linked to higher levels of moral and emotional response. The discussion of awareness as a defined social movement component and process, however, remains an existing gap in social movement literature. For the purposes of this thesis, awareness will defined as collective indignation, a response that is not only cognizant, but moral and emotional as well.

In the realm of arts and media, actors have translated awareness into products such as news pieces, music, novels, and exhibitions in galleries. Through my analysis of such products, I categorize them as distributing information, eliciting emotion, reflecting the actors own emotional response to the murders, and serving as a tool of remembrance of the victims. Because movement participants hope to increase knowledge about the events, but also achieve an emotional response, awareness products that merely distribute information are not enough; products with emotion eliciting elements, or those that help actors deal with their own emotions, more closely approach this goal. However, none of these is enough to solve crimes from the past, or prevent future ones. What the arts and media are able to offer, however, is a remembrance of the victims, which helps their families understand that they are supported. In my experience, this act of remembrance is in some ways therapeutic.

With a strong emphasis on research, academics typically follow the process of conducting research, then publishing or presenting findings to a larger academic audience, collectively generating further knowledge. Through their work, actors in the academic realm have contributed awareness products which first identified femicide, therefore giving it legitimacy, then built theories for understanding the current atmosphere in Ciudad Juárez, which allow such crimes to flourish, and finally offered solutions. Just like those in the arts and media,

these awareness products do not directly address the problem of the mass murder of women, nor do they prevent future murders. They do, however, make the problem a “real” one, and offer data and statistics which can be used in the realm that has the greatest possibility for offering concrete solutions; politics.

With regard to femicide in Ciudad Juárez, the political realm of awareness creation was able to come closest to a solution. Actors within this realm produced awareness products in the form of informational reports, symbolic resolutions, and an enforceable court ruling. Just as some of the initial news articles in the media, the reports were informational, however they also had small elements of emotion, and the information they contained was used to pass resolutions and issue court rulings. The resolutions were largely symbolic, rhetorically condemning Mexico. Tough this sends a strong message, it does little to prevent or deter the femicide. The closest the *Ni Una Más* movement has come to achieving awareness into the capital needed to address the problem of femicide is the Inter-American Court ruling issued in December of 2009. Though the movement created collective indignation framed as awareness, as this ruling from an international court of law not only brought international attention to the cases, it was also the first by that court that recognizes murders as gendered Unlike any other awareness product produced by the movement, Inter-American Court ruling is enforceable, and with the proper supervision of its stipulations, it may finally move in the direction of delivering justice.

These three realms of awareness did not operate separately, but have been analyzed this way to examine the realm-specific awareness products that were produced. Several actors worked across two, sometimes even three, of these realms simultaneously. One such actor was Esther Chávez Cano, who not only began the movement through arts/media participation, but collaborated with academics such as Julia Monarrez, Kathleen Staudt, and Cynthia Bejarano.

She also became heavily involved in politics through letter writing, and meeting organizing, was cited in several of the reports in the political realm, and took part in the congressional delegation. Ester Chávez Cano's New Mexico State University-housed archive currently serves as an important research source.

Though this project allowed me to answer some of the questions I had about the role of awareness in social movements, it has replaced them with several new ones. For example, how has awareness been semiotically constructed as a social concept with a meaning that is agreed upon by many, but that may differ from its original signification? It would be useful to explore this in future research as awareness is a popular concept which remains undefined in the literature. There appears to have been a re-emergence of artistic endeavors dedicated to the Juárez femicide, specifically numerous gallery exhibitions that opened around the world in late 2009 and early 2010. What is the significance of this? Why now? Finally, follow up research will need to be conducted on the outcomes of the Inter-American Court ruling. What will be the significance if it is properly enforced? What movement goals will this achieve?

Towards Justice

On Tuesday, April 28, 2009, after an incredibly long journey, Irma Monreal, Josefina Gonzalez, and Benita Monarrez testified in Santiago, Chile, at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, against the state of Mexico for the murders of their daughters, Esmeralda, Claudia Ivette and Laura. During the two-day hearing of *Gonzalez and others: Campo Algondero vs. Mexico*, the mothers spent several hours retelling their stories of how their daughters vanished, were found murdered in a cotton field, and were largely ignored by Mexican law

enforcement. Though the mothers feared retaliation for their declarations, they again asserted their belief that the culprit was either someone with power in the city, or the authorities themselves.

Despite the eight difficult years it took to get there, the mothers remained hopeful. Benita said, “I have faith and trust in the judges of this court, I have faith that we will find justice” (Stepanov, 1). They felt that this trial also helped justify their claims against the State of Mexico. Josefina explained that the trial finally proved that they were right; that the state never helped them, and instead acted with hypocrisy, and that nothing has changed. She said, “I don’t believe anything is going to change if the court doesn’t help us in the name of all the women of Mexico” ("Historic Femicide Trial”, 1). On April 29, 2009, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights ruled against the State of Mexico, declaring it responsible for the hundreds of murders of women and girls that have taken place in Ciudad Juárez since 1993. Almost seven months later, on November 16, 2009, the court issued their 167-page sentence detailing the actions that the Mexican government must take to grant justice to the victims’ families and curb future acts of violence against women. According to Maureen Meyer, a program associate for the Washington Office on Latin America, this case “could set a precedent for other femicide cases, including sex-related homicide cases from 1993 or 1994 that are now falling into legal oblivion because of Mexican statutes of limitation” (Stepanov, 1).

Rather than condemning the Mexican government and suggesting actions that could fix the problem, the Inter-American Court ruling lays out remedies that *must* be followed by Mexico and the decision cannot be appealed, per Mexico’s official recognition of the jurisdiction of the court. The Mexican government must conduct serious murder investigations in addition to investigating law enforcement authorities responsible for obstructing the cotton field case. They

must also hold a public ceremony in Ciudad Juárez apologizing for the crimes, build a monument to Claudia Ivette, Esmeralda and Laura, publish the sentence in the official government record and newspapers, expand gender sensitivity and human rights training for police officers, increase efforts to find missing women and publicize their cases on the internet, and finally investigate the death threats and harassment against the victims' families.

The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the government of Mexico, non-profit organizations, and members of the community have shown their commitment to enforce the ruling. Within the ruling itself, the Inter-American Commission expressed their plans to implement enforcement and assist the government of Mexico:

> The Special Rapporteurship and the Commission will continue to closely monitor the situation in Ciudad Juárez, with special attention to the steps taken to implement the recommendations set forth in this report. Both the Special Rapporteur and the Commission wish to underline their willingness to assist the Mexican State in the process of remedying the serious problems identified so that the right of women and girls to be free from violence is fully realized.

Mexico's federal Interior Ministry announced that there will be a sub-commission to supervise compliance with the sentence, and lawyers for the mothers, along with members of non-governmental organizations, announced that they would create their own commission, with international participation, to further ensure that the sentence is carried out correctly.

At this point, Juárez Mayor Jose Reyes Ferriz, has taken initial steps to implement the ruling. Under Reyes, Juárez is participating in the Alba Alert system, similar to the AMBER Alert, to publicize high-risk disappearances (Washington Valdez, 1). The AMBER Alert is a U.S. Department of Justice program which brings together law-enforcement agencies, news

broadcasters, transportation agencies, and the wireless industry, “to activate an urgent bulletin in the most serious child-abduction cases” (U.S. Department of Justice). AMBER Alerts are meant to mobilize entire communities to assist in the search for, and safe recovery, of the child.

In January of 2010, Reyes called on artists from across the country to submit proposals for a monument that would honor victims, a stipulation of the court ruling. According to Reyes, land for the monument will be donated by the city and the victims’ families will be asked to review and approve the final plans. He said that the monument “must be something that represents what we feel about the deaths and that acknowledges our past errors, which were real and caused us pain. It must also demonstrate our commitment to never let this happen again in Juárez," (Washington Valdez Blog).

Was *Ni Una Más* a Success?

The *Ni Una Más* movement to gain justice for the murdered women of Juárez remains present despite the fact that almost two decades have passed since it began, and there is now overshadowing by the city’s current drug war. If movement success is defined simply by the eradication of a problem, then *Ni Una Más* has failed. However, movement participants and the families of the victims do not appear to believe this is the case. Many argue that movement success lies in the international *awareness* created about femicide in Juárez. The *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* is a movement which gained success in a similar way. In response to the disappearances of 8,960 (documented) persons during the Dirty War in Argentina during the 1960s and 1970s, the mothers of the *desparecidos* (disappeared) marched in protest around the Plaza de Mayo directly in front of the Argentine presidential palace in the heart of downtown

Buenos Aires. It was motherhood that gave them an advantage, it gave them protection, freedom and power that would not have been available if they were male, and so mothers marched in protest for several years, assuring that not only they, but their cause, remained visible (Navarro, 258). This has been regarded by many as a successful social movement.

The mothers of Ciudad Juárez continue their quest for justice to this day, and awareness of the murders of their daughters has been achieved through artistic remembrance, academic legitimization, and an unprecedented court ruling that may set the stage for future femicide cases. Many actors from around the world are working in solidarity with these mothers to ensure that the memory of their murdered daughters does not fade. Perhaps in the absence of eradicating femicide in Ciudad Juárez, this serves as a victory. Though it has slowed, Ni Una Más is certainly not extinct. With the Inter-American Court ruling there is a possibility for changes now, and in the future, but enforcement is key. Despite the awareness raised, the femicide continues. Nevertheless, there remains hope among the very diverse involved actors that this will not be a failed movement.

Bibliography

Acar, Feride. "Statement to the Third Committee of the 59th Session of the General Assembly." United Nations. 12 OCT 2004. Performance.

Amnesty International USA SVAW Campaign Action Kit: Femicides in Juárez/Chihuahua, Mexico and Guatemala. STOP Violence Against Women. Amnesty International, 2006. Print.

Application Filed with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the Case of Campo Algodonero: Claudia Ivette González, Esmerelda Herrera Monreal and Laura Berenice Ramos Monárrez (Cases 12.496, 12.497 and 12.498) against the United Mexican States." Inter-American Comission on Human Rights Washington, DC: Organization of American States, 2007. Print.

Bejarano, Cynthia. Personal INTERVIEW. 15 February 2010.

Beltran, Adriana, and Laurie Freeman. *Hidden in Plain Sight: Violence Against Women in Mexico and Guatemala*. STOP Violence Against Women. Washington D.C.: Washington Office on Latin America, 2007. Print.

Berger, Peter L.,. *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change*. New York: Basic Books, 1975. Print.

Blume, Klaus. "Serial Killer Leaves Trail of Blood in Mexican Border Town." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* March 6 1998. Web.

Blumenthal, Max. "Day of the Dead." *Salon.com* December 4 2002. Web.

Bolaño, Roberto, and Natasha Wimmer. *2666*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008. Print.

Brant, Martha. "A Message in Murder." *Newsweek* October 19 1998: 49. Web.

Concluding comments of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against

Women: Guatemala. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. United Nations, 2006. Print.

Dillon, Sam. "Feminist Propels Outcry at Brutal Mexico Killings." *The New York Times* February 28 1999. Web.

---. "Feminist Stokes Outcry at Brutal String of Killings." *The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)* March 01 1999. Web.

---. "Rape and Murder Stalk Women in Northern Mexico." *The New York Times* April 18 1998. Web.

---. "Someone Stalking, Killing the Women of Juárez." *Miami Herald* April 20 1998: 6. Web.

"DNA Results Raise Questions About Identities of Eight Juárez Bodies, Another Body Found." Frontera NortreSur (October 30, 2002). 20 February 2010 <http://www.nmsu.edu/~frontera/oct02/today.html>.

Eckstein, Susan, and Manuel A. Garretón Merino. *Power and Popular Protest : Latin American Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. Print.

Erturk, Yakin. *Integration of the Human Rights of Women and the Gender Perspective: Violence Against Women: Mission to Guatemala*. Economic and Social Council. United Nations, 2005. Print.

Erturk, Yakin. "Statement by Ms. Yakin Erturk, Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences." 60th Session of the General Assembly Third Committee. New York. 26 OCT 2005. Performance.

Fragoso, Julia Monarrez. "Serial Sexual Femicide in Ciudad Juárez, 1993-2001." *Aztlan* 28.2 (2003): 153-78. Web.

Garner, Roberta. *Contemporary Movements and Ideologies*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996. Print.

Gaspar de Alba, Alicia. Desert Blood: The Juárez Murders. Houston, Tex: Arte Publico Press, 2005.

Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. "Awareness Contexts and Social Interaction." *American Sociological Review* 29.5 (1964): 669-79. Web.

Genevie, Louis E. Collective Behavior and Social Movements. Itasca, Ill: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1978.

Goodwin, Jeff, and James M. Jasper . *The Social Movements Reader : Cases and Concepts*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003. Print.

Gould, Deborah B. "Why David Sometimes Wins : Strategic Capacity in Social Movements." *Rethinking Social Movements : Structure, Meaning, and Emotion.* Ed. Goodwin, Jeff and James Jasper. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004. Print.

Guatemala: No protection, no justice: Killings of women in Guatemala. Amnesty International. 2005. Print.

Guatemala: No protection, no justice: Killings of women in Guatemala (an update). Amnesty International. 2006. Print.

Gunson, Phil. "KILLINGS HAUNT LIFE ON THE BORDER; Phil Gunson in Mexico City Reports on Deadly Pitfalls for those Seeking a Way Out of Poverty." *The Guardian (London)* April 29 1997: 10. Web.

"Historic Femicide Trial Gets Underway." *New America Media*. New America Media, 05 May 2009. Web. 30 Apr 2010.
<http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=8bd0fc52bbabae4da

b1d9f2d63e9605>.

Kirshner, Mia,. *I Live here*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2008. Print.

LaFranchi, Howard, and Monitor,Staff writer of The Christian Science. "Girls Who Find New Roles in Mexico also Face Danger." *Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)* June 4 1997: 1. Web.

Lyotard, Jean-François,. *The Postmodern Condition : A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984. Print.

"Mexico." *Miami Herald* April 26 1996: 19. Web.

"Mexico Desert Killings show Plight of Women." *The New York Times* April 18 1998Web.

Mexico Intolerable Killings: 10 years of abductions and murders of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua. Amnesty International. 2003. Print.

Mexico: Killings and abductions of women in Ciudad Juárez and the City of Chihuahua The struggle for justice goes on. Amnesty International, 2006. Print.

Miller, Russell. "In Juárez , Women just Vanish. Five have Gone Missing this Year - Over 100 in the Past Five Years.; and they Usually Turn Up in the Desert. Dead." *Mail on Sunday* May 17 1998: 10;11;12;16. Web.

---. "Shadow of Death." *The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)* August 29 1998: 30. Web.

Morales, M. Christina, and Cynthia Bejarano. "Border Sexual Conquest: A Framework for Gendered and Racial Sexual Violence." *Globalization and America: Race, Human Rights, and Inequality.* Ed. Hattery, Angela, David G. Embrick, and Earl Smith.Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. Print.

"Murder Toll may be 100." *The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)* March 24 1999: 42. Web.

"News Summary." *The New York Times* February 28 1999: 2. Web.

"Ni Una Más." *Antoinette Westphal College of Media Arts & Design*. Drexel University, n.d. Web. 28 Apr 2010. <http://www.drexel.edu/Juárez/>.

Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women. General Assembly. United Nations, 1999. Print.

Organization of American States. "The Situation of the Rights of Women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico: The Right to Be Free Violence and Discrimination ". Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Washington, D.C., (2003) April 20, 2010. Online <http://www.cidh.oas.org/annualrep/2002eng/chap.vi.juarez.htm>.

Paterson, Kent. Personal COMMUNICATION. 20 April 2010.

"Petition 281/02 Admissibility Claudia Ivette González Mexico." Ed. Rights, Inter-American Commission on Human. Washington, D.C.: Organization of American States 2005. Print.

"Petition 282/02 Admissibility Esmeralda Herrera Monreal Mexico." Ed. Rights, Inter American Commission on Human. Washington, D.C.: Organization of American States 2005. Print.

"Petition 283/02 Admissibility Laura Berenice Ramos Monárrez Mexico." Ed. Rights, Inter American Commission on Human. Washington, D.C.: Organization of American States 2005. Print.

Radford, Jill, and Diana E. H. Russell. *Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing*. New York; Toronto; New York: Twayne; Maxwell Macmillan Canada; Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992. Print.

"Rastros y Crónicas: Women of Juárez." *The National Museum of Mexican Art*. The National Museum of Mexican Art, n.d. Web. 28 Apr 2010. <http://www.nationalmuseumofmexicanart.org/mdj09.html>.

Report on Mexico produced by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women under article 8 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention, and reply from the Government of Mexico. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. United Nations, 2005.

Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Mexico. Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Organization of American States, 1998.

Rodríguez, Teresa, Diana Montané, and Lisa Beth Pulitzer. *The Daughters of Juárez : A True Story of Serial Murder South of the Border*. New York: Atria Books, 2007. Print.

Sandoval, Ricardo. "Deaths in Tough Border Town Stir Suspicions of Serial Killer." *Miami Herald* November 24 1998: 18. Web.

Slaughter, Louise M., Shelley Moore Capito. United States. House of Representatives. *Report on the Accomplishments of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues in the 108th Congress*. 2005. Web.

Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. Print.

"Serial Killer Haunts Northern Mexican Border City." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* February 19 1998. Web.

"Serial Killer Haunts Northern Mexican Border Town." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* October 23 1997. Web.

Serrano, Richard A. "MEXICO UNDER SIEGE ; an Elusive Prey with El Paso Ties; the FBI is Keen to Find Eduardo Ravelo, but Ciudad Juárez is Full of His Protectors." *Los Angeles Times* April 5 2010, sec. MAIN NEWS; National Desk; Part A: 1. Web.

Service), (Guardian. "85 Women Killed in Sex Murders." *The Irish Times* April 29 1997: 12. Web.

Service, John Ward Anderson, Washington Post Foreign. "The Case of the Mexican Strangler ; Police Say Serial Killer was really a Gang of Nightclub Workers." *The Washington Post* April 25 1996: A22. Web.

Simon, and Schuster. "Tori Amos: Biography." *Rolling Stone*. 2001. The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia of Rock & Roll, Web. 23 Dec 2009. <http://www.rollingstone.com/artists/toriamos/biography>.

Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women Ends Visit to Mexico. United Nations, 2005. Print.

Stanford, Charles. Personal INTERVIEW. 15 February 2010.

Star, Susan Leigh, and Anselm Strauss. "Layers of Silence, Arenas of Voice: The Ecology of." *Kluwer Academic Publishers* (1999): 9-30. Print.

Staudt, Kathleen. Personal INTERVIEW. 16 February 2010.

---. *Violence and Activism at the Border : Gender, Fear, and Everyday Life in Ciudad Juárez.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. Print.

Stepanov, Renata. "JUÁREZ, MEXICO FEMICIDES TRIAL IN CHILE." *The Santiago Times*. The Santiago Times, 03 May 2009. Web. 30 Apr 2010. <http://www.santiagotimes.cl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16174:UDATE:-JU%C3%81REZ,-MEXICO-FEMICIDES-TRIAL-IN-CHILE&catid=43:human rights&Itemid=39>.

""THE MAQUILADORA MURDERS, OR, WHO IS KILLING THE WOMEN OF JUÁREZ?"." *UCLA César E. Chávez Department of Chicana/o Studies*. University of

California, Los Angeles, n.d. Web. 29 Apr 2010.
<http://www.chavez.ucla.edu/maqui_murders/more.htm>.

Tilly, Charles. "Social Movements and (all Sorts of) Other Political Interactions--Local, National and International--Including Identities." *Theory & Society* 27.4 (1998): 453. Web.

"Top 10 Unsolved Crimes." *Time*. CNN, 18 Dec 2008. Web. 28 Apr 2010.
<http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1867198_1867170_1867310,0.html>.

Una Oración por Juárez. . Blogspot, Web. 28 Apr 2010.
<http://unaoracionporjuarez.blogspot.com/>.

United States. House of Representatives. *Congressional Record*. Washington D.C.: GPO, 2003. Web.

United States. House of Representatives. *Congressional Record*. Washington D.C.: 2006. Web.

United States. House of Representatives. *Congressional Record*. Washington D.C.: 2007. Web.

United States. Senate. *Congressional Record*. Washington D.C.: 2008. Web.

U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. "Amber Alert, America's Missing: Broadcast Emergency Response". 2010. April 20 2010. <www.amberalert.gov>.

Valdez, Diana W., and Times,Aileen B.Flores / El Paso. "Court Blasts Mexico for Juárez Women's Murders." *El Paso Times (Texas)* December 12 2009Web.

Vila, Pablo,. *Ethnography at the Border*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. Print.

Volk, Steven S., and Marian E. Schlotterbeck. "Gender, Order, and Femicide." *Aztlan* 32.1 (2007): 53-86. Web.

Washington Office on Latin America. "Trip Report: October 2003 Congressional Delegation to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico." (2003). April 20, 2010 <http://www.wola.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=viewp&id=125&Itemid=2>.

Washington Valdez, Diana. "Juárez mayor plans monument to women slain in border city." *Diana Washington Valdez Blog*. Blogspot, 30 Jan 2010. Web. 30 Apr 2010. <http://dianawashingtonvaldez.blogspot.com/2010/01/juarez-mayor-plans-monument-to women.html>.

Washington Valdez, Diana. *The Killing Fields: Harvest of Women*. 1st ed. Burbank, California: Peace at the Border, 2006. Print.

"WHAT IS THE IACHR?." *Inter-American Commission on Human Rights*. Organization of American States, n.d. Web. 30 Apr 2010. <http://www.cidh.oas.org/what.htm>.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P.,. *Exploring Revolution: Essays on Latin American Insurgency and Revolutionary Theory*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1991. Print.

"World Briefs Column." *The Toronto Sun* April 26 1996Web.

Wright, Melissa W. "The Dialectics of Still Life: Murder, Women, and Malquiladoras." *Public Culture* 11.3 (1999): 453-73. Web.

---. "Field Note: Ciudad Juárez, Mexico." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 34.1/2, The Global & the Intimate (2006): 94-7. Web.

---. "From Protests to Politics: Sex Work, Women's Worth, and Ciudad Juárez Modernity." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94.2 (2004): 369-86. Web.

---. "A Manifesto Against Femicide." *Antipode* 33.3 (2001)Web.

---. "Paradoxes, Protests and the Mujeres De Negro of Northern Mexico." *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 12.3 (2005): 277-92. Web.

---. "Public Women, Profit, and Femicide in Northern Mexico." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 105.4 (2006): 681-98. Web.

Wright, Melissa. "Maquiladora Mestizas and a Feminist Border Politics: Revisiting Anzaldúa." *Hypatia* 13.3, Border Crossings: Multicultural and Postcolonial Feminist Challenges to Philosophy (Part 2) (1998): 114-31. Web.