


Spring 2021

## Lana sube lana baja, la maquilladora lo trabaja

Davide De La Cruz  
Bard College, dd6355@bard.edu

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj\\_s2021](https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj_s2021)

 Part of the [Creative Writing Commons](#), [Latin American Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Translation Studies Commons](#)



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0 License](#).

---

### Recommended Citation

De La Cruz, Davide, "Lana sube lana baja, la maquilladora lo trabaja" (2021). *Senior Projects Spring 2021*. 233.

[https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj\\_s2021/233](https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj_s2021/233)

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Bard Undergraduate Senior Projects at Bard Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Senior Projects Spring 2021 by an authorized administrator of Bard Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@bard.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@bard.edu).

**Lana sube lana baja, la maquiladora lo trabaja**

**(A compilation of writings about the maquiladora industry in Ciudad Juárez)**

Senior Project Submitted to  
The Division of Languages and Literature of Bard College

by  
Davide De La Cruz

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

May 2021



“Shoot for the stars, aim for the moon.” -Pop Smoke

## Acknowledgements

Agradezco a mis advisors, Valeria Luiselli, y Mary Caponegro por ayudarme y guiarme con mi proyecto. Gracias a mis padres que me apoyaron en cada paso de mis estudios. A mis abuelos por tenerme en sus oraciones. A mis hermanas, Martha y Samantha que son mis angeles. A Justyn, que su apoyo fue indispensable estos cuatro años, te amo. A mi profesor Lu Kou, 谢谢. A mis compas Allegra, Sif, Talaya, Hakima, Skye, Tony, Rudi, Nicol y Keily los quiero mucho <3. And to readers like you, thank you.

## Table of Contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Introduction.....   | 1  |
| Translation 1 Canción sin Miedo.....  | 8  |
| Translation 2 Rainforest.....   | 14 |
| Translation 3 No les creeré.....  | 24 |
| Translation 4 Five Feminist Debates: Issues for a Divergent Reflection on Violence Against Women..... | 30 |
| Translation 5 El Mapa Difícil.....  | 61 |
| Bibliography.....   | 75 |



## Introduction

Growing up, I hated translating. At home when I was young I had to translate mail and talk for my parents at the store. Oftentimes, I would be the one to translate at the doctor for my grandparents. I wasn't old enough to translate certain situations, but I would often be the only person that spoke both languages. My English skills got better quickly because they had to. I never understood why my parents spoke Spanish, it was always frustrating and uncomfortable to watch them struggle behind a language barrier. I unknowingly placed the blame on them.

As I've gotten older, however, I've learned the importance of using both Spanish and English in my work to push the limits of bilingualism. My past experience has helped me understand the relationship between the two languages, and I wanted to take that experience further by translating complex essays and lyrics from Spanish into English.

The way I came to choose the borderlands was a slow process. For my Senior Project I knew I wanted to focus on the United States and Mexico. Because I'm from New Mexico, I have a personal relationship with this region. I wanted to understand more of the history in order to understand how our current world looks the way it does. I am interested in the way the border functions and what the border reveals about the relationship between Mexico and the United States.

For over the last three decades, an undetermined but unusually large number of women in Ciudad Juárez have gone missing. Sometimes, their mutilated bodies will be uncovered, revealing an ominous pattern of gender-based violence in Ciudad Juárez. The women targeted tend to be maquila (sweatshop) workers. These crimes have been going on and have been



increasing since the 80's. Even though Juárez stopped being the most dangerous city in the world, the danger hasn't stopped. Gender violence is increasing at a global scale.

Ciudad Juárez seemed to be the center of a violent and long colonial history. I used to think these crimes were simply a way of life in the region. I grew up going to Juárez to visit family during the summer months. For a very long time, Ciudad Juárez was the biggest city I had ever visited. I was always intrigued by the rusted fence that divided the Mexican tin roofed houses and the American freeway. I remember having to stop going because the violence in the city had gotten so bad, but I never understood why or what had happened. Before coming to the US, both of my parents spent time working in Ciudad Juárez. My mom worked in the maquilas, and my dad in the slaughterhouses. So from a personal standpoint I wanted to know more about why they made the decision to cross over and live in the United States. Haunted by the past, I decided to embark on a journey backwards.

In the summer of my junior year, Valeria Luiselli, my professor at the time, had asked our class if anyone was interested in working on translations of Spanish texts. I took up her offer because I knew that I needed all the experience I could get as a translator and writer. My classmate Samantha also expressed interest and so we spoke on the phone throughout quarantine. Samantha and I, both being written arts majors and Mexican, soon became great friends and good co-translators. We immediately set up a schedule, and met almost every day for at least an hour, digging away at the 80 pages of a complicated essay by the Argentinean feminist critic Rita Segato. We were set on translating Segato's "La escritura en el cuerpo de las mujeres asesinadas de Juárez," which focuses mainly on gender violence along the border, and centers Ciudad Juárez as the main setting.

When you first begin translating a text, the writer's vocabulary, tone, and voice are all unfamiliar and hard to decode. I had an understanding of the text because I had read Segato's essay multiple times, but the closeness that I would experience with this text was different from anything I'd ever felt other than with my own writing. To translate is to close-read, and the translator gets to know the writer deeply through their work. Samantha and I kept a word bank for words on a spreadsheet that Segato often used. These would be specific words that we spent time trying to properly translate the meanings of. An example of this is the word "condenados," which we translate as "convicted." The more obvious translation is "condemned," but that is not a clear enough word because the word "condemned" has a religious and moral connotation that "convicted" doesn't.

Another example of this is in the title of Segato's essay, where she uses the word "asesinadas" which means both "murdered" and "assassinated." But the difference between these two words is significant. "Assassinate" is used, in English, to describe the murder of 'important' people or people of a high social status, like the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. or John F. Kennedy. The women in Juarez who have been victims of the femicide pandemic are not political elites or people of a high status. Using "assassinate" would betray the title since it is working class, women who are taking the brunt of this issue. After a few conversations we decided to go with the word 'murdered' instead. Even though we decided on murder, the word doesn't carry the same urgency and weight as does "asesinadas."

As we continued to translate we would often go back and re-work some of our finished content because we would reach a certain chapter that made us realize that we needed to change a couple of words. Every word bears a weight that has to be considered and re-considered.

Hidden inside every piece of text that exists in this world is a lexicon that is so precise that sometimes it cannot be translated accurately into other languages. But as translators we learn how to transport the writer's ideas, sometimes even if we have to come up with an entirely different syntax to express such ideas.

Translating starts to feel less like a literary labor and more like a weaving of some kind, each word creates a connection with the others and it was our duty to safely carry over Segato's ideas into another language. There was immense pressure not to change the meaning of Segato's original and the same thing happened when I later translated the journalist Sergio González Rodríguez, author of the book *Huesos en el Desierto*.

Gender roles are always in play in a way that in the English language, they aren't. As much as there is a certain freedom in English due to the absence of gender over-determination, there is also, in Spanish, the possibility of linguistic play with gender in a way that would be impossible in English. For example, in "Canción sin miedo," Vivir Quintana uses the word "compa," which is an abbreviation of the word "compadre" (masculine word for "friend"). However, by abbreviating it and ending the word with the letter "a," the word becomes somehow feminized or at least demasculinized. Such a linguistic operation would be impossible in English.

Another instance where I really understood the commitment of translation is when, even when there are things that you as the translator may feel inclined to change, you simply cannot do so and have to respect the author's original. In González Rodríguez's pieces, he often makes references to the appearance of the female scholars he cites. For example: "...Ciudad Juarez has attracted other scholars like Ana Bergareche, a young blonde of serious and analytical temperament, a native of the Basque Country and Sociology at the London School of

Economics...” Though he is always respectful, I can’t help but think about the constant watch of the male gaze and its power, as even in a text focused on the intricacies of gender violence, these are still at play. I don't know if González Rodríguez’ does this intentionally or if it's due to his style of writing, but the writing doesn’t belong to me, so I can only make it known outside of the translation.

During this process, I often found myself at these limits, exploring the borderlands between Mexico and the US, and English and Spanish. The title of my project is “Lana sube lana baja, la maquiladora lo trabaja”. I chose this title because in Spanish it comes from a riddle, “Lana sube lana baja el viejito la trabaja.” “Lana” means “wool” but can also be used colloquially to mean “money.” I changed the “viejito” (old man) to “maquiladora” (sweat-shop) as it was more appropriate: wool/money goes up, wool/money goes down, the maquiladora works it.” In the original Spanish riddle, the answer is the phonetically “hidden” word in the sentence, “la navaja” or the knife, which emerges when you say “lana baja” out loud. I found the hidden word to also be a fitting image, since I focus on the violence of the maquila industry.

I started off with a series of questions that I wanted to focus my attention on: How do words transport ideas? How closely related is culture to language? How was Ciudad Juárez changing physically? These questions led me to think deeper about what I was translating. It wasn’t just the text that I was translating. I was understanding the many deeper layers of the contexts in which these writers were working. I understood, for example, the ways capitalism impacts the entire region and how it changed Ciudad Juárez into a human maquiladora.

Next I wanted to explore some of the social aspects of the city. What is the role of gender in Ciudad Juárez? Though Ciudad Juarez is no longer the most dangerous city in the world, and these forms of gender based violence have expanded into other parts of the world, Ciudad Juarez can still be used to reflect upon these urgent issues, because the connections that exists between the maquiladoras, working class women, men, and the state is so clear and researched.

This project is not a final piece but a wrestling match with gender, capitalism, and violence. In Ciudad Juárez, it's possible to get a clear glimpse of the ways the binary and specifically, the patriarchy are beneficial and necessary to capitalist economies and imperial states. Beneficial and necessary because our current systems don't function without the exploitation of populations. A recent example of this are the essential workers who have to keep up production, even in a year long pandemic.

Translating both Segato and González Rodríguez I became aware that translating an academic text doesn't make it more accessible in the target language. I am aware that the texts in the subjects are issues not accessible to the people the compilation is about. These require some knowledge of the politics of the area, and understanding of subjects like feminism, and Mexican history and politics. I may be translating these texts to an English speaking audience, however this text is still only accessible to those who find academic writing accessible.

This project is deeply intertwined with my aspirations to sharpen my translation abilities, the search to learn about my own history, the land I'm from, and perhaps even getting a glimpse of its future. The focus on gender, race, sexuality, and class are always written into my work, and my Senior project is no different. I am fascinated by the inner workings of cities, the way they transform and sometimes fail. I am interested in exploring the intersections between powerful,

and dangerous systems. I hope that the pages that follow shine some light on this otherwise vast and dark landscape.

Canción sin miedo

(Vivir Quintana)

### Translator's Note

I chose the song “Canción sin miedo” by Vivir Quintana because of her proximity to the subject. Vivir Quintana, in this song, is referencing the femicides in Mexico. The song is in the style of a traditional Mexican Norteño song. Quintana's voice comes in with force, unafraid and ready to make change. She, like Noname, calls out the state and its institutions for being in bed with the same institutions destroying their own citizens' bodies and lives.

There is a restless quality in Quintana's voice that yearns for the women that have been lost. The song centers women and mothers, walking in unity to bring justice for their missing or murdered daughters. The emphasis on the mothers is important because the story of a mother losing their daughter in Juárez is a very common occurrence. A good portion of the women who actively fight and organize in Juárez are mothers whose daughters went missing and her the authorities never know anything more than when the young women went missing.

The guitar plays a familiar tune, but Quintana lists the names of missing women, then her back up singers, the Palomar chorus, all call out “Justice!” Quintana makes a stand here, swearing to never forget the names, and to keep singing and asking for justice. The voices of the many women singing together give so much power to the last lines of the song “Que caiga con fuerza, el feminicida” (Let the perpetrator [of femicide] fall with force.)” Their haunting voices give the situation a quality of rawness and sincerity that it's challenging to shake off her calls to action.

Another similarity between Noname's “Rainforest” and Vivir Quintana's “Canción sin miedo” is the emphasis on love. Even though they both are focused on the terrible events, there is a palpable connection of love that each artist has to their community, and to themselves.



Translating this song was difficult because I wasn't able to keep the rhythm of the song and the lyrics, instead I focused on keeping what Quintana is saying in the song. The translation reads more like a poem than a song.

What do femicides look like in the US? How is gender violence considered? Are there laws that identify these forms of supremacy? Who is majorly affected by the American patriarchy? How is everyone affected by the American patriarchy?

## **Canción sin miedo**

Let the state, the skies, and the streets tremble

Let the judges and judiciaries shiver

Today, they steal women's peace

They planted fear in us, and we sprouted wings

Every minute of every week

They kidnap friends, they kill our sisters

They destroy their bodies, they disappear them

Don't forget their names! Please, Mr. President!

For all the compas marching on Reforma

For all the morras resisting in Sonora

For all the comandantas fighting for Chiapas

For all of the madres searching in Tijuana

We sing without fear, asking for justice

We yell for every missing woman

Let it resonate loudly: We want each other alive!

Let the perpetrator fall with force

I set fire to everything, everything I break

If one day someone knocks the light from your eyes

Nothing will silence me, I'd lose everything

If you touch one of us, we all respond

I am Claudia, I am Esther and I am Teresa

I'm Ingrid, I'm Fabiola and I'm Valeria

I am the girl you took by force

I am the mother who now cries for her dead

And I'm the one who will hold you accountable

Justice! Justice! Justice!

For all the compas marching for reform

For all the morras fighting in Sonora

For all the commandants fighting for Chiapas

For all of the madres searching in Tijuana

We sing without fear, demanding justice

We yell for every missing woman

Let it resonate loudly: We want each other alive!

Let the perpetrator fall with force

And let the Earth tremble at its core

To the sonorous roar of love  
And let the Earth tremble at its core  
To the sonorous roar of love

Rainforest  
(Noname)

### Translator's notes

I was inspired to incorporate this song because even though my project is focusing on the Mexican side of the Mexican-American border, I am interested in the ways the United States is involved in this inhumane system. It was important to me to capture what goes on behind the rusted fence.

There is a running similarity between both countries in that it seems that those that defend the law have become the enemy of the people. Noname ironically reveals that we don't actually even own a single blade of grass in this world. What does that mean for a city whose construction and maintenance is designed to generate capital?

Noname asks the listener questions that I think are powerful call to action. The catchy song is a tune we all dance to on our way to our destruction. Noname is directly questioning the reason for the suffering and the emptiness that one feels is due to the point we are in history. She is rejecting the materiality of our modern lives and seems focused on the connections to love and interpersonal moments.

Noname is both a lyrical genius with a rhyme scheme and powerful lyrics, how do you translate that? Another challenge was finding the correct vocabulary to reflect her language. The most compelling part of the song is the line where she describes, "And I just wanna dance tonight." this is something that I feel very closely as it seems that Noname can't have a good time because there's too much on her mind, the times call for our attention, even if all we wanted to do was have a good night. This project reflects that quality as it comes from a place of unrest, somehow even on the other side of the country, I'm still haunted by what goes on in my home. This song laments our fast existence, so little time on this Earth and by the time we're old enough we've

signed it all away for the basic essentials of life, this inescapable debt means we are no longer in control of our lives.

This song also forced me to deal with one of the most notorious words in the American English vocabulary, the n word. I chose to not translate the N-word for two reasons, first because there is no reclaimed word with relation to the Black diaspora in the Spanish language yet. Secondly, translation has historically been a tool of erasure. I think that changing the word to something else eliminates the power and purpose that Noname and other Black artists in America choose to use in their art. Words like these must be considered within context, and changed or left depending on the translator's intent. As Black culture, specifically African American culture, becomes more commercialized and mainstream, it's important to protect and remind people of the limits on the accessibility of certain aspects. If you are going to consume other cultures, there are rules and spaces that you cannot be a part of, while simultaneously giving room to let these social spaces exist.

This song I feel was the hardest to translate since Noname makes so many references to many other influential writers like Frantz Fanon, Dr. Seuss, Rupi Kaur, and texts like the Bible. Noname also uses African American Vernacular English so the meanings and references become lost in translation. It was important to me to struggle with the song because I wanted to challenge myself. An example of the difficulty of translating is the line, "I need niggas around me rollin' up and smokin' me up" Noname is expressing her desire for a community. The reason she is using the N-word is because she is expressing that she wants to be surrounded by black people specifically, people who look like her and share her experience. One word expresses so much meaning and it gets lost as the word doesn't exist in Spanish. Similarly, the phrases, "rollin' up"

and “smokin' me up” also don't exist in the same way that she means. This exemplifies the challenge of translating poetry, but even more so with black poetry.



## Rainforest

¿Cómo acercarse al amor?

¿Cómo hacer limonada con toda tu tristeza cuando te sinceras?

¿Cómo haces excusas por los billonarios, y tú sin dinero en la guagua?

Necesito a mis panas prendiendo y pasando

Porque, una selva tropical llora

Y todo el mundo muere un poco

Y esta noche solo quería bailar

Y esta noche solo quería bailar

El es mi bebe, mi medusa, echándose un pisto

Voy y vengo en un Uber, y viajó por dos meses

Yo soy el aleluya más vacío, abro mi pecho,

Hay un conejo dentro de mi sombrero,

Un ángel bien vestido busca bendecir las puertas de leche y miel

Gano dinero nomas por hacerlo, escribo por cien días

Saco Los condenados de la tierra y los nombre Bebé Fanon

Sé que mis hombros son alas rotas que me cargaran a casa

Le digo anda bebe,

Tu sabes que esta carne es temporal y quebradiza como un hueso

¿Por qué no vacías tu amor en mí y luego cincelas la piedra?

Estos son los diez mandamientos negros, un préstamo de propiedad

Porque incluso una brizna de hierba, en realidad no poseemos

"Yo soy el que soy", dice Sam soy yo

El universo sangra lo infinito, pero tu tienes una vida

¿Cómo acercarse al amor?

¿Cómo hacer limonada con toda tu tristeza cuando te sinceras?

¿Cómo haces excusas por los billonarios, y tú sin dinero en el camión?

Necesito a mis panas prendiendo y pasando

Por que, por eso una selva tropical llora

Y todo el mundo muere un poco

Y esta noche solo quiero bailar

Y esta noche solo quiero bailar

Si tu crees que me amas, entonces entiérrame cuando salga el sol

Tumbada con el compa, mientras él lia otro churro

Hablando con Muhammad como, "N!ggas realmente no confían en nosotros"

Muriendo en tierras robadas por un dólar como si estuviera eso bien

Digo "a la chingada con su dinero", y lo diré en cada canción

Hasta que llegue la revolución y todos los policiales salgan corriendo

Pa'l carajo con una búsqueda del destino, este es un nuevo asesinato

Es suicidio revolucionario, luego cerramos la cortina

Y tú no has visto la muerte, yo puedo escuchar la sangre en la luna

Estos n!ggas le ponen una bandera, todo lo que hacen es consumir

El único animal que arrasa todo a su paso

Convirtieron un recurso natural en un paquete de efectivo.

Hicieron el mundo anti-negra, para luego dividirlo en clases

Ahora los ricos son ricos, por tu trabajo

N!ggas de verdad son perros con grandes figuras, algunos cocainos

A la chingada con los billonarios!

¿Cómo acercarse al amor?

¿Cómo hacer limonada con toda tu tristeza cuando te sinceras?

¿Cómo haces excusas por los billonarios, y tú sin dinero en el camión?

Necesito a mis panas prendiendo y pasando

Por que, por eso una selva tropical llora

Y todo el mundo muere un poco

Y esta noche solo quiero bailar

Y esta noche solo quiero bailar

No les creeré  
(Newen Afrobeat)

### Translator's Note

I chose this song because of its curious upbeat. The song is written by Afro Newen Beat, a Chilean band in support of the Mapuche people. Segato references this group in her essay, "Five Feminist Debates: Issues for a Divergent Reflection on Violence Against Women", in the section about the patriarchy and colonialism.

What grabbed my attention was its catchy hook about not believing the political class anymore. In Juarez, there is a lot of tension between government officials and the citizens since both the American and Mexican government do very little to stop the violence. And as the years pass, it seems that the authorities might be involved in the crimes against the citizens of Juarez. The song openly rejects politicians from the right, and the left as cogs of the destructive system in place.

Like the other songs, the ladies singing demand justice, and like the other songs there seems to be no more compromise or minimal action. The song feels like a repeating internal monologue. "I won't believe them, I won't believe them," the song is a reminder of the ways politicians control the masses for their own benefit, and when the politics do not center the citizens of a place, there is no winning. This song calls out for a revolution and an upheaval of the old political system of Chile,

I chose these three songs because I felt that they went well in relation to what I was focused on, I think that they capture qualities about the sign of the times that the academic essays cannot. Though the songs all talk about the same things, the genres they are in are different and the places they focus on are also different. This is important because my intention is to connect these different writers and notice the similarities between their words. Each of the artists calls out for

justice. There is a clear mistreatment of authorities and law enforcement on the people they swore to protect and in each song we can see that the effects of this induce the deaths of a lot of innocent people.

Each song mentions revolution, this is important because there is a sense of escapism that comes with thinking about revolution. What does revolution look like in the modern era? I think that this too is a symptom of what everyone is trying to get at. The systems that we live under require an immense amount of violence, subjugation and exploitation. In Capitalism, someone has to lose so that others can gain. Revolution as a theme in these songs is important because the artists do not see a way out anymore. As things intensify, it starts to feel like the only way out is a direct call for change.

## No les creeré

The political class, I won't believe them

From center, from right or left, I will no longer believe them

Political elite, I won't believe them

Police, militia,

Police, militia

(Eh, no no no no no)

Political class, I won't believe them

From the center, from right or left, I will no longer believe them

Political elite, I won't believe them

Acting as friends of the people after the massacres

I won't believe them

The blood of the entire town runs through their hands

I won't believe them

Criminals!

I won't believe them

Concealers of obligation

I won't believe them

I won't believe them

I won't believe them

Heirs of aristocracies, I won't believe them  
It's your own property interests that you guard  
The people are sovereign and they will decide  
No justice no peace, I won't believe them  
No justice no peace, I won't believe them

I won't believe them  
I won't believe them  
I won't believe them  
I won't believe them

Popular Uprising!  
Revolution of the Chilean people  
Justice and dignity  
Revolution of the Chilean people

Popular Uprising!  
Revolution of the Chilean people  
Justice and dignity  
Revolution of the Chilean people



Popular Uprising!

(Return the land)

Revolution of the Chilean people

Justice and dignity

(Return the land)

Revolution of the Chilean people

Five Feminist Debates: Issues for a Divergent Reflection on Violence Against Women

### Translator's Note

In her first argument, Segato talks about the ways capitalism, the patriarchy and the state are deeply linked. She believes that women's bodies were one of the first colonial possessions. This has created a timeline where women are seen and work in our systems as disposable. This is exceptionally clear in cities like Juárez.

These places have no way of fixing since these types of crimes do not get understood or read as an issue of major importance. Segato talks about defining things and giving names and differences to gender based violence. Segato points out the ways very real violence isn't being recognized by our current laws and understandings of gender. It is important to point out that crime in these places is continually growing as populations grow.

This is interesting because I had trouble translating femicides and femegenocide as terms because these conceptions of gender also don't seem to align in English either. As a translator, how do you translate new terms and new vocabulary? This situation is similar to the Noname's piece where the n-word loses its power when translated. Words lose their weight and power when they are translated into other languages.

Segato also discusses the new forms of war. Segato points out that as time has gone forwards, the ways in which war is executed has changed. Segato points out how war has changed from women being "collateral" to being the center. This is important because Segato is suggesting that Ciudad Juarez might be in a war. There Segato

Segato at the end talks about how masculinity like femininity has been hijacked by colonialism. Segato notices the differences between western masculinity and other conceptions of masculinity.

This essay was important to me because I felt that the ideas Segato describes are very relevant and give insight to arising issues in our cities.

It is important to note that Juarez has been forgotten, and we have moved on to other places where these same issues take place and are changing. The issue was not solved, it is still there, but Juarez is no longer considered the most dangerous city in the world. The problem of gender based violence is polarizing, spreading, and increasing. But I chose to focus on this place because of my personal connection to it.

Segato does make a few anti-black and xenophobic statements in her essay, comparing Central America and the South American continent to the African continent. She is in disbelief that Latin America could be just as violent. To that, I ask to consider the history of both regions and their connection to their colonial powers as both continents are deeply related. The trace of violence that exists in the Latin American region comes from the same kind of colonization that has marked the African continent. It is also important to note that she wrote her piece in a different time, for a non-American audience.

Both essays think about race in terms of Latin America, where conceptions of race are different from what is understood here in the United States. Colorism is more fitting since the population is a product of intense colonization and mestizaje. Identities are less binary. I think that this is a missing lense in the compilation.

### **Five Feminist Debates: Issues for a Divergent Reflection on Violence Against Women**

In 2003, I published, “Las Estructuras elementales de la violencia,” a book in which I present gender based violence in a universalist way, or better said, I look for the longer lasting aspects in the gender structure. There, I affirm that gender has existed for as long of a time as the species; a very slow time, much steadier than that of the history of ideologies. It’s time is almost crystallized, one that resembles natural time. This is why it is so difficult to change gender oppression. I have not stopped believing in that statement, but over time I have been able to historicize gender and introduce a radical inflection to it.

The length of its time is currently contested. Despite the numerous battles, laws, public policies and institutions, the lethality of gender is increasing. This does not only imply an increase in the number of crimes, but also in the cruelty involved. Similarly, this happens in the sphere of non-lethal violence against women, where it has not been stopped. Many who oppose our struggles argue that the past cannot be compared to the present, because women today denounce and report more. In the sphere of lethal violence, when there is a body, when there is a death, one can have, with a margin of error, the certainty that these corpses do not diminish, but they are increasing in their percentage in respect to the total population. In 2012, in Brazil, a woman was murdered every two hours. This proportion, considering the volume of the Brazilian population, was already very large. The following year a woman was killed every hour and a half. Something similar in Central America in recent years.

On the other hand, in the argument towards non-lethal violence, it is possible to accept an optimistic view that there is an increase in the reported sexual assaults, and incidences of domestic

violence, since these forms of violence were understood by many and in diverse regions as part of the custom, so women did not report it. Even so we have been unable to stop it, the imaginary gender that hides behind them, as its breeding ground, is staying intact. There is no sign that these forms of non lethal violence are being deterred by law, that is, by our struggles within the scope of the state.

Gender is thus, a very hard crystal to shatter, seeming timeless. One of the difficulties as a person who's studied gender for a long time has been to place history within it. Because it is one thing to affirm that gender is not natural, but cultural and fully historic, and another thing is the task of placing history in gender. It has not been an easy task, at least not for me.

What comes next are notes of my efforts in that direction, notes that I have written up over the last decade or more, since the book's publication. And since I believe one thinks better through controversy, I present them in the form of five differences between feminists in the order that I have been finding since 2003 in the diverse audiences where I presented my ideas and forums where I participated during these years. These arguments shake and provoke thought, they make you reconsider its usefulness.

I will present these five differences in the chronology of which arose in my thinking process. Recently I've noticed that they form part of the same sphere, of the same universe of questions, and in reality, I believe that they are proudly embedded. They are part of a single and indivisible debate. I have not yet reached a final conclusion in these reflections, it is a thought I present in an inconclusive way, but I perceive that behind these differences there is a single structure that combines two great positions in a particular situation.

## Femicides and Femegenocide

The first of these differences is possibly the best known to people who read my analysis is the one where I faced Ciudad Juarez. I got there because of a call, an invitation that several organizations in the city made to me, because my analysis of the mandate of masculinity that I presented in, “*Las estructuras elementales de la violencia*, fit like a glove when understanding the crimes against women. Like I pointed out, it is a universalist book that speaks of that very long time and places modern, contemporary, and tribal societies in the timeline; considering them in a similar way. I maintain, amongst other things, that women's bodies were the first colonies.

The first colony in the history of humanity is the woman’s body. Before anything, the book speaks on masculinity, the mandate of masculinity, the fraternity, the male brotherhood understood as a pact in need of sacrificial victims. Women play a functional role here because of the position where they are placed. The conclusion is that the male pact already has in itself the structure of the mafia pact, the club, the brotherhood, the frat.

In Ciudad Juarez I encountered what in my essay, *La Escritura en el cuerpo de la mujeres asesinadas en Ciudad Juárez* (2006 and 2014) I identify an indistinción by the media, the authorities, public persecutors, the police, and forensic doctors. The discourse in which these crimes are understood and spoken about along with the found corpses have the characteristics of voluntary indistinction. News about found bodies is abound in newsletters. Deaths by jealous husbands, narco debts, mass graves characteristic of Ciudad Juarez are presented in the same manner, everything mixed. *De noche todo los gatos son pardos*. (At night, all cats are gray.)

In the same ground, where I participated in Ciudad Juárez, the group divided itself between those who speak of the victimization of women as a single phenomenon and another group, a minority, who began to speak of the need to typify, although not of the way the word “typify” is normally understood. The majority of the people understand “typifying” as placing the word “femicide” and its crimes within the context of the law and gender based violence. In this case, with the minority group, We said it is necessary to separate the forms, the motives, and the contexts that produce feminine lethality. All crimes against women are contained by the great symbolism of gender, by the great patriarchal structure, as they all have the gender scheme in their basement. But the case study makes us have to understand some murders of women in particular. Why? Because if we do not, we cannot investigate them, it is impossible.

This is what I understood and defend in various texts, for example femicide as a crime against humanity: the right to name the suffering in law and a shorter one, femicide. The idea is if we do not have specific protocols, we cannot investigate crimes that became visible in Ciudad Juárez even though they have happened here and in other localities. We cannot investigate with the same police methodology, nor can the judges judge them with the same frameworks with which they judge and apprehend, for example, a killer husband, a femicide of the domestic space or of interpersonal relationships. And this does not get across in the feminist movement. I have read various theses on femicide, they even call me to examine them, which do not capture the idea of that difference.

We lack the protocols for crimes against women in spaces of non-relation, where there is no interpersonal link of any type. The same happens when it is impossible to refer to individual



motives, for example, serial ones. The same is true for newsletters and forensic forms. We have to understand that there are women who do not die in the sphere of intimacy and that is why the entire protocol must be changed. These types of cases are closer to war crimes or “para-war”, where most of the neighborhood will influence the relationship of a woman with a determined group, geographic space, or tribe (like in Africa, the Congo). If we do not separate these types of crimes, they cannot be understood, light cannot be shed onto them, they cannot be investigated, and they cannot be prosecuted.

An example is the trial for the crimes of the Campo Algodonero in Ciudad Juárez, held in Santiago de Chile in 2009. The court, headed by Chilean judge Cecilia Medina, did not agree to consider the rape as torture. She voted in dissent and defended the position that it was about sexual torture. Why didn't the court hold the same position? Because torture is a crime of general interest and rape is a crime that is particular to women. To frame the crimes of the Cotton Field as sexual torture, would be to take them to the field of the universal. This is a great issue, a chapter that has not closed for me. What type of torture is it? I agree with the judge's vote and it is very interesting to me that she, being the president of that Court, was unable to impose the perspective that they were crimes of general interest, torture, fully public crimes.

That is the first difference. Despite that all these crimes emanate from the same gender bed, from the underground, from a structure of gender, today women are increasingly dying in a sphere of which is entirely public, that cannot be referred to interpersonal relationship, nor be personalized in motives. For a reason that still needs to be analyzed, it is immensely difficult for the feminist movement to understand this difference. But it becomes essential to understand it in practice,

because we must be able to develop specific investigation protocols and forensic protocols. Legal-police protocols must change depending on whether it is one scenario or the other.

In my vocabulary I propose to speak about femicides for all crimes against women with lethal intention and separate those that I call "*femi-genocides*", those that cannot be referred to personal motives, nor interpersonality. Many problems arise from here. The most important is linked to the political convenience of adding all gender crimes, because the numbers are very striking, and convincing from the point of view of their volume. Also, domestic crimes are evidently the majority. Another problem is that due to our mental molds we tend to privatize, domesticate and refer to the field of intimacy all things that have to do with the destiny of women. That has to do with modernity, modernity privatizes the feminine, the domestic.

Keeping in mind that according to the latest United Nations numbers, Latin America is the most violent place on Earth. Lethality from criminal violence, and not war, is even higher than in Africa. In our continent we have the most violent city in the world, San Pedro Sula, in Honduras. In this context, in Central America, crimes that are not of a domestic nature are growing at a much higher rate than that of domestic crimes. And in almost all of our southern countries, somewhat more peaceful than those of Central America, with the exception of Brazil, which has crime rates equal to or higher than those of Mexico, crimes are also emerging that we have no tools to understand, since they are privatized.

Emphasizing the need to classify this type of crime does not imply denying the value of the struggles in the state field and the introduction of legal instruments such as *feminicide* or *femicide* from international organizations.

As discourse these are very interesting, even though I don't believe they have a great performance in terms of judgements by the judges. However, they do manage to create a way to put words to people's suffering, building rhetoric. The legal discourse thus creates a speaking/dialogue/language. That is the symbolic efficacy of law, its performative efficacy. Legal instruments become more powerful when they are used, before judges, by the rest of the people.

### The Victimization of Women in/during War

The second difference, the one which I reveal to myself more and more clearly, is linked with the first and has to do with the new forms of warfare. Although it has to do with Ciudad Juarez, it expands. The core of my observations comes from Guatemala. Already in Ciudad Juarez I witnessed a warlike universe not yet determined, without the definitions that today are essential in order to talk about new forms of warfare. I'm referring to the great parastatal sphere/area that is expanding in our countries and has various forms. (Segato, 2015a). In the past, dictatorships acted with a great range of parastatality. Today mafias act in this way, the various forms in which the state constitutes itself, the various forms of control and exertion of violence in an organized way.

As part of this phenomenon of construction of the state, it shows with all its force a second arm that it always has. I am thinking about authors who have written about the state of exceptions such as Agamben and others. In Germany for example, the contemporary lawyer Gunther Jakobs now returns to jurisdictional discourse like that of Carl Schmitt and affirms that it is necessary to have special laws for Arabs. Jakobs lives in Germany today, and we believe that Europe is free from such ideas with Nazi resonances. In the world of Nazism, the common laws remained the

same, but special laws were made for Jews. “Normal” people -Germans who made business acquisitions, got married, entered into conflicts of interest, etc. - continued to have “common” legislation. And there was a special legislation for Jews. In *The Enemy in Criminal Law*, Eugenio Raúl Zaffaroni, a Jurist Argentine, makes a very good analysis and exegesis of Gunther Jakobs's thought.

The state always has to construct itself. When it's necessary, it takes out its arm and it duplicates almost day-to-day. The police act in a parastatal manner in any state, and in any country in the world, because by having the investiture of a judge, he judges on the street. In England for example, a young Brazilian man was killed and the policeman could not be blamed because on the street, he has the jurisdiction of a judge. He judges the danger and does so alone. If he judges that there is danger, he can kill and not be prosecuted. That is the permanent parastatal margin in all legitimate state violence, anywhere in the world. This sphere, that is always present in the “modern”, “civic” and “legislated” state structure, which is also always there, expanded in some forms, this sphere is becoming larger than the properly legal sphere, the one of normal order.

The dual and duplicable nature of every State is an important issue that I cannot exhaust in this text. Before this, we are moved into an intense and feverish faith in the state, we have great civic faith, that is never verified, never checked, never examined attentively. It is worth asking ourselves if this state faith which moves us , that motivates our movements and all social movements, is confirmed.

In Latin America, some authors have begun to call the diffused warlike sphere, the new forms of war, new wars, or non conventional forms of war. In the most violent countries we see the

expansion of that sphere that in some way is very generic, I have been calling the parastatal sphere. We are against an informal war that first spread in the era of authoritarian governments and then continued into the era of gangs, the *maras* of Central America. There are sectors that could be defined as armed corporations, which organize, maintain, and control flows of wealth that respond to certain owners. And this, which is related with the proposed first difference, is what leads me to believe that we need new definitions for war.

In our world there is a historical, and personal nexus between the people who acted in the armed groups during the repression of the military para-state, the state authoritarianism that we had, and the current mafias. Many of the people who previously acted in the State, as the second arm of the State, went to private security and crime; they became the armed corporations that today act criminally. This relocation of human resources is palpable in Argentina, but it is more tangible and known in El Salvador and Guatemala. The forms of war that were practiced in the eighties are the gang practices of today, they continue to be the practices of drug trafficking -one says drug trafficking but it is not only drug trafficking.

The new forms of war are characterized by the extreme victimization of women. Within feminism, two positions have emerged when considering the victimization. Elizabeth Odia, a judge from Costa Rica, the first woman in the International criminal court has a beautiful essay that is about the history of women and war. Her perspective; despite affirming that the forms of cruelty against the bodies of women in war seem to be exacerbated after Yugoslavia, is a perspective of continuity; where she already speaks of a change in degree. Other authors like Mary Kaldor or Harfried Münkler (East German who has two studies mapping these new forms

of war with a particular focus on Yugoslavia) focus on the novelty aspects of the cruelty on women. I identify a striking coincidence between what I have written thinking about America, especially Central America and Mexico, and these two European authors.

In previous wars, the damage to women was collateral to the war damage, to the war itself. It happened by spoils of war, by the annexation of the territory and the annexation of their women as territory, by insemination and capture as concubines, sex slaves, etc. These authors and myself, for Central America say that war today is waged through women. What was collateral has become central, it becomes the way to wage war. It is important to note that these authors are not feminists, even though I am, but these two authors are specialists in warfare. Mary Kaldor states that the method of contemporary warfare is the desecration -among other things, desecration of mosques. Thus can also be characterized by the destruction of the archaeological buddhas, the colossal stone sculptures in Afghanistan. Equivalently, the body of women is then desecrated. In a similar sense, Münkler says that the way to destroy without genocide is to attack community ties in women's bodies, to desecrate women. It is the very method of war. In Guatemala this can be seen clearly, because it is included in the manuals, in the instructions for war.

Here I can introduce the second difference that I want to talk about. One part of the movement –following above all Catharine MacKinnon– speaks of continuity of war crimes and peace crimes; there is no time of peace for gender, gender knows no time of peace. This group of women affirms that the practice of rape in contemporary wars, in the new forms of war, is an extension of the domestic experience, of what happens in the home. As for the case in

Guatemala, for example, according to an underground discourse, the problem of Mayan households is that men are uncivilized, they beat their women, it is an explicitly hierarchical world, they do not have civic gender patterns like we do - I wonder if we have them. When war arrived in Guatemala, what was already violent within the homes was amplified and it is the way in which women are victimized, as a continuity of what was happening in the home space.

However, the authors I have been citing, and specifically Münkler, say that even in societies where rape was not a regular practice but one that was incurred very rarely, becomes part of the war manuals, it becomes part of the training for war. In Guatemala this is very clear. We can say in Guatemalan homes there was a gender hierarchy, women and men were not worth the same: it was a hierarchy of prestige, based in the sexual division of labor, associations, ect. All that we criticized tribal societies. But, as in the Arab world, it wasn't understood as rape.

That is why splitting hairs is very important. The undifferentiation in relation to gender violence, the practice of putting everything together, sometimes leads us to go around in circles, not finding ways out of our problems. Both for the Eastern European world that these authors analyze, and in our Central, South, and American world, the war has introduced as a strategy the sexual torture of women to death. And it happens both in the wars of repression, as in the wars of the type of Ciudad Juárez, the wars of mafias in that great paramilitary, parastatal sphere. Instead of an amplification from home to war, what there is is a return of war to homes and an exacerbation of domestic violence due to the existence of that war, which affects especially certain pockets of the population. In some countries like Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, it affects the entire population. Brazil could also be included in this group, since despite the fact

that it produces a facade of peace, the numbers of victimization and homicides per hundred thousand inhabitants are very high, they are numbers of war. So in some places this is extensive and affects life, it is the reality for the entire population; in other countries it is about folds, folds, pockets where there is very high lethality. My stance is not that in these pockets the forms of war are a continuity of domestic life, but on the contrary: it is the same form of war that focuses on the destruction of women's bodies, thereby destroying community trust.

Regarding this, I modified my position. Until not long ago I spoke of the destruction of women's bodies as a way of destroying enemy values/morals. Today, after having worked in Guatemala for several months, I have changed that vision a bit. I understand that it is about the destruction of the bonds of trust in the fabric of the community. It is a way of waging war that returns and enters the domestic space. There is a replenishment of the patriarchy for the war. It's like a circle, I think there is an inversion in the sequence. War learns from patriarchal structures and applies them to dissolve community, and vacate territories without genocide. This is how it is posed in the vocabulary of the authors who think of Eastern Europe, as techniques to vacate territories and produce disintegration of a populace without genocide. The axis of gravity, the center of gravity, the navel of that social body is the body of women. In the manuals that I referred to earlier, articles can be found, guidelines where there is clearly talk of reducing the objections of soldiers in causing harm to women. A problem arises, there is a question. Why are women attacked? That had already been raised from Ciudad Juárez, but why women?

The woman is not the enemy of war, she is not the enemy soldier, she is not the armed resource of the enemy troop. Men die much more by murder, but they also kill in the same proportion,



there is proportionality between the degree of lethal violence they carry out and that they receive. Women, relative to what they kill, die far more from murder than men. So why don't the new forms of warfare simply annex women, inseminate them, as in wars that go from the earliest accounts and evidence we have from the tribal world to World War II? Until that moment there is a clear continuity, the woman is not the object of destruction. She is annexed, raped, kidnapped as a concubine, as a slave, but as a by-product of war. What happens after Yugoslavia and Rwanda, for example? What happens in that late phase of modernity and capital that women become the form of war? In Rwanda and Yugoslavia the war is paramilitarized, there is a phenomenon of paramilitarization of wars. The wars used to be between States, they were made with insignia, with uniforms, with methods to raise the morale of the troops. It was all conventional, they were school wars. Towards the second half of the 20th century, then war became paramilitarized.

War today is technical, it involves professionals, social psychologists, neuroprogrammers. Just as there is neuro-linguistic programming, there is clearly neurobelic programming. These are studies that make up almost all of engineering, a type of social engineering that seeks to identify where the center of gravity of a social fabric, of a community fabric, is, where it is destroyed in a more efficient, direct and rapid way, and without spending so much bullet. There are works that show that attacking women attacks that axis of gravity, like someone imploding a building. It is destroyed over there. Women have that role as a prop, we feminists know it, to keep the world standing, to reproduce the world.

The content of the Campaign Plan for Guatemala is one of the elements on which I support my position. The manuals say textually that soldiers who do not have victimization of women as part of their habitual behavior have to be trained to lower this limit of their action, in such a way that they can victimize them. This finds a great resemblance with what happened in Argentina after a period when prostitution was banned in the 1940s. In the 1920s and 1930s there were some French and Jewish ruffians who brought prostitution - what was called at that time "white slaves" - and set up brothels that years later were banned for some time. At the end of that period, the first brothels that opened, legally, were those that were in the vicinity of the barracks. And this by law is law; it is written in the documents of the time.

More recently, there is evidence that something similar is happening in some places. For example, Comodoro Rivadavia is a city located on the Patagonian Atlantic coast, a region of intense oil exploitation in southern Argentina. These farms and some large infrastructure works always bring with them the installation of brothels, and trafficking. Nearby, towards the mountain range, there are indigenous or mestizo peoples still very close to indigenous life, Mapuche. There are also barracks. Some researchers from that region believe that when soldiers are recruited in those towns, hired to work in the coastal barracks, where there are oil exploitations and brothels, the first thing that is done as part of their military training is to take them to the brothels. There are testimonies of these soldiers in which they relate that the reduction of women by sexual methods was not part of their experiences, that they are learned experiences. This does not mean that they did not have gender, hierarchies, forms of oppression.

It means that the forms of victimization are not the same, and they do not have the same meanings, nor are they a means to the same end.

The victimization of women, then, is part of a military training, for war. We see there the functionality of sexual victimization, of cruelty against the body of women in the field of war, a field where the pact between men has to be very narrow and where the dissolution of community patterns of existence is vital. Due to the historical and personal ties that I mentioned above, organized crime continues to use the warlike strategies of the repressive para-state, including the manuals of Guatemala. And that continues to be the drug war strategy in our countries.

A classic case in Argentina was the murder of the girl named Candela Rodríguez, which showed the actions of a para-statal corporation made up of policemen, asphalt pirates, and drug traffickers. Another case that struck me when I was in Ciudad Juárez is that of a little boy, a case much talked about some time after Candela. Both made me think that the same thing that happens with women could happen with children, since neither women nor children are soldiers, they are not the enemy of the opposing armed corporation, they are not the armed enemy. They die, they are attacked as a form of expressive violence, a theme that is very present in my book *The elemental structures of violence* and more present in the essay, “La escritura en el cuerpo de las mujeres asesinadas de Juárez.” It is a type of violence that is not used directly to defeat the enemy, but to express defeat, to symbolize the removal of the enemy as a respectable, considerable, powerful force. When it is attacked, it is killed, the bodies of those who are innocent of the war are destroyed, who are not antagonistic soldiers. In this way, the message

becomes independent, the message takes on the function of a pure message. It is not war, it is a war in the symbolic field, it specializes there.

Recapitulating, we see how in the first case most of the feminist movement thinks it is necessary to put the lethal crimes against women all together. I think that we have to learn to think about femicides that are of a particular type, that cannot be privatized on their motives, that correspond to motives that are of a non-private, not intimate type. In the second case, the divergence is that there is a group within the feminist movement that thinks that in war, especially in these informal wars, there is a continuity between the domestic, domestic violence, and military violence. I think that there is a discontinuity, that there are forms of war violence, of cruelty on the body of women, which are manual and then re-enter the field of the domestic.

### Unequal and Different

If we consider the patriarchy as the elemental cell of all expropriating violence and some kind of very long time structure that practically coincides with the time of the species, it seems an almost natural structure. That does not prevent us from thinking that it is a structure that has undergone modifications over time, that it is historical. And here I find a third divergence, the most difficult to explain, the least concrete and requires a little more care. What I am interested in highlighting is a third type of discontinuity, the discontinuity of patriarchy from the experience of conquest and colonization. I think I can prove that the patriarchal structure has a transformation there, an event that turns it into the modern patriarchy as we know it today, which for me is the most lethal patriarchy (Segato, 2015b).

My vision on this issue is fueled by ten years of collaboration with the Fundação Nacional del Índio (FUNAI), the state body that administers indigenous issues in Brazil. In 2002, two indigenous women appeared at FUNAI asking for gender policies for indigenous women, which at that time were non-existent. When Lula won the elections and assumed the presidency in January 2003, the women asked the FUNAI president to hold a large meeting and take a request to the new president who was arriving at the Planalto Palace. I was invited to give this workshop for 41 indigenous women from all regions of Brazil. That workshop then gave rise to a sequence of two series of workshops, organized somewhat differently, but continued over ten years. They were made in all regions of the country and they touched "*desaldeados*" women, already urban, as well as women who lived or still live in their villages; women who were fluent in Portuguese, who still spoke it with a heavy accent in their own languages and who did not speak it - the use of "still" is part of this evolutionary heritage from which we cannot dismantle. I accompanied this state action in the indigenous world and, somehow, I was also able to observe the advance of the front that I call the state-business-media-Christian front, always patriarchal and permanently colonial towards the interior of the country.

One of the questions I asked myself at the time was what happened to the men in the villages, in what - to use a kind of Weberian ideal type - I call the "village-world." In the regions, in the towns where community and collectivist organization still exists, with strategies to control accumulation, concentration, with technologies of sociability that are their own and with divergent historical projects of capital, what about gender? ? What happens when that well-intentioned state front, with its NGOs, its public policies, schools, health posts, actions for indigenous women, etc., enter that world? It happens that, along with all that, violence increases.

Big question mark. Why does this happen? It is a totally compelling phenomenon to think about. Why, along with the state front and its business, media and Christian alliances, is it also advancing, are the forms of aggression against indigenous women also increasing? This is observable, it is a fact of reality. There is a woman whose arm was cut off by her husband with a machete, another who was lame from being beaten, etc. These forms of domestic violence, those forms of cruelty against women, hatred towards women, were not typical of the previous community structure, they have to do with the capture of men by the colonial world.

Here I synthesize an argument that I have developed in two texts, *Gender and coloniality*, and *The role of the State and the laws in the face of the structure and transformations of gender violence*. It is a great synthesis, almost a geometry of an analysis that would have to be much longer. A key issue is the creasing. I am Argentine, for a large part of my life saying "Creole" seemed like a very beautiful thing to me. Today I believe that "Creole", "prejudice", "homophobia" and "misogyny" are synonymous. Our Creole world is a lethal world for women. And that has to do with the colonial front. I am not the only one to say something like this, French researchers for Africa have also said it. I observe it for our world. The man who wars with the colonizer kills himself, whether he is a colonizer of the overseas administration or a republican colonizer of our republics, a state agent; he is the same.

As a result of this observation, I come to the idea that they deceived us when they told us that our republics represented a great break, a great break with the world of overseas administration. That is a myth. Or not even a myth, a myth is too noble a word to use here. It was a deception that we suffered, because our republican states, our creole governments, have much more continuity with

the colonial world, with the overseas administration, than discontinuity, bankruptcy, rupture. This is seen in the way in which States approach their inner world, the inner world of our nations.

The case of Uruguay is very interesting. In Argentina and Brazil we were fascinated by the great Uruguayan citizenship. But we usually omit that it is a country that is built on top of a great mass grave. And those specters are felt, those specters are always present. You cannot completely suppress the population that has circulated through a landscape and bury it in Salsipuedes, that cannot be done.

In the advance of the state front there is a group of men, who are captured first to defend themselves against the conquest and then to negotiate peace. These men are captured, kidnapped by the white male bosses, by the styles of white sexuality. The vision, the meaning of carnal access, changes completely. And the beloved man is deeply transformed and adapted, because he has to make a choice, he has to choose between his peer, his partner, his brother, the white man or his wife, his children and his house. The appeal of white masculinity is very strong, especially because white masculinity is victorious, it is victorious. That man surrenders to the mandates of the format of sexuality, of white power, and becomes the colonizer within the home.

This is my account of the story, but within feminism we can see three positions on the subject. A first position, which in a simplifying way we could characterize as Eurocentric, says that gender is the same here, there and, if you like, worse in the "peripheral" world seen from Europe. At the other extreme, we have a group of authors, among which was an Argentine author, María Lugones, who teaches in the United States. Even in disagreement with her, her essays, her texts appeared. Taking ethnographic and historical evidence from a group of authors, she claims that

in the pre-colonial world there was nothing like gender. His great inspiration is a Nigerian author, Oieronke Oyewumi, who also teaches in the United States. Oieronke Oyewumi points out that gender in the Yoruba world is a British colonial invention, which did not exist before British colonization. This would be the set of authors at the other extreme. I find myself in the middle.

My position is that in the pre-colonial world there did exist patriarchy, gender hierarchy, greater prestige of men and masculine tasks, in addition to a certain violence, since the hierarchy must necessarily be maintained and reproduced by methods violent where it exists. But that patriarchy was or is, where it still exists, and exists in many places even in recession, a low-impact or low-intensity patriarchy. Where there is a community, women are more protected. What happens in the transition to modernity is that colonial capture of the non-white man and an abrupt fall of the domestic space in value and politicacy. We see that happen, it is almost visible in some pockets, in some spaces.

In the community world we have two spaces. On the one hand, the public space. Men's monopoly? Yes. With greater prestige? Yes. Does only man speak there in public space? Yes, in many, many tribal societies. And on the other a domestic space, with less prestige but political, endowed with politics, not intimate, not private. How is domestic space political? When the family is nuclearized, when the domestic space becomes that capsule between four walls, mom, dad and children, it is also depoliticized. This is seen in the indigenous world. Before, the community had its domestic space crossed by dozens of people looking at everyone. The notion of private life, the idea of protecting privacy, that value of the private that is fully modern, fully individualistic, did not exist, as there is among us. The intimate did not exist, what cannot be



seen, that vision of things did not exist. That collective eye is lost to the nuclear family. Modernization, individualism, the nuclearization of the family, in all this there is an abrupt fall in the value of the particular space, of the domestic space, which becomes an intimate and private space. Before it was not.

Another very important difference is that public space in the community world is not a sphere where what is stated has universal value; there is no universality, the two are two, it is a dual world. With modernity, this structural duality is transformed into binary. They are not the same thing, there are differences between dualism and binaryism. The binary structure is the structure of the One. To speak politically, to enunciate a discourse that has universal validity and that is of general interest, that is a frankly political statement, it is necessary to enunciate it in the public sphere. That sphere did not exist in the tribal world, because it was only a public space, a space of two. Here, in the world of modernity, there is a space of One, the public sphere is the only space where what is spoken has a political impact on all people. Whoever wants to speak there is going to have to adapt, learn to behave, certain forms of corporality, forms of clothing. We can think that it is a lie, because women speak there, the black, the gay, the handicapped, they all speak. But they have to make a great cross-dressing effort, a great learning effort to speak in the public sphere. Nobody speaks in an apron there, because that is the sphere that monopolizes and totalizes the political. And the rest is remainder, is remainder.

That is the structure of modernity, lethal as ever, because it transforms women's lives, nuclearizes families and transforms everything that happens to us. That is why it is also essential to talk about what happens to us in war, not because it is numerically more important, but because it

changes our thinking about what happens to women, it shows us that what happens to us can be fully public. This is key, since all the mechanisms that we see, all the official discourses on women push the destiny of women to the field of the private, the intimate, the particular. The very difference between the general and the particular, and the way we classify it in modernity, that difference is structured by binaryism.

That is another of the great divergences, another of the great debates within feminism that I consider very important to think more clearly. In a text that I have written on this subject, I say something that is “aberrant, *épater le bourgeois*”, but it is necessary to challenge the thoughtful schemes with which we go around in circles. I say the following. If the modern slogan is "different, but equal" - which in the end is a fiction, because in the binary structure that is impossible; there is no place for the other, the other is a function of the one—, in the tribal world the slogan would be “unequal, and different”, the world is plainly plural.

When we say our great slogan, so heartfelt, "different but equal", we are believing the discourse of modernity. It is an egalitarian discourse, but it is only a discourse. As feminist jurists have always well said, it is the great criticism of feminist jurists, modernity has an egalitarian discourse that masks inequality. Never in the history of mankind has concentration and inequality been greater than at present. Eighty-five people have the same wealth as half of the remaining humanity. The concentration was never greater. And that does not mean that inequality is a question of money. It's about power, those people have the power of life and death over others.

In the tribal world, men and women are two different natures. There is no postulate of a universal equivalent, of a universal human being with all the problems that can arise from there. They are

not hierarchically equal, but in that inequality the two are full in their being, in their difference, in what they are. And they have their own world. So, they are unequal, but in a plural world. Saying "unequal, but different" is a warning, a challenge. In these societies, men and women are two sets, two groups of people ontologically full, ontologically complete; One group is not the deficiency of the other, the alternate function for the One. It is not the world of the One like ours, the two have their completeness, their historical project, their pacts, their forms of politics, their alliances even within the divergence, their spaces for politics. The woman has a shield, the community protects the woman, the collective eye, because the domestic space is populated by a large number of people who pass through it.

I emphasize the difference because it is difficult for us to understand the existence of this diversity in the ways of being. Arab women have said it a lot. We also see it for America. Whoever goes to the countryside, who approaches community life, sees that women have very different behaviors from fully urban life. In Argentina I live in a very rural region in the Andes. Women are much more powerful there than in the city. It is an observable phenomenon, which is being lost as urbanization advances, the world of the masses advances and citizenship advances.

It is that in the Western world, in the European world, the difference is a problem that must be "equated" in some way, somehow it is necessary to use a universal equivalent to produce equality. And there the sacrifices are many. Today the community world is traversed by discourses of equality, by the discourse of Human Rights and the communities' own internal debate, which are producing a historic path, in Chiapas for example, using the good slogans that come from the world of the modernity. They are open worlds.

It is not a question of customs, I am not talking about culture, because culturalism is one of the variants of fundamentalism. In some tribal societies, in indigenous societies, we sometimes see forms of caciquismo that are Creole, but that are presented as their own customs, as if the gender hierarchy were prescribed by tradition. This recourse to custom is a culturalist resource, which is synonymous with fundamentalism. It happens not only in Islam, it also happens in Catholicism, in some forms of evangelical religions, and it happens in the tribal world. That is why I practically do not use the notion of culture unless it is indispensable; I'm not talking about customs, I'm talking about historical projects, of historical pluralism, of different history. In these different historical projects there was - always was - internal deliberation, there was always change. Humanity was never equal to itself anywhere. That history is ours, of the modern, white, European world, and that other peoples have customs is a binary invention, a Eurocentric invention, a Eurocentric vision of tribal peoples. But it is not true. Every town always had customs and history, both. And we, if we are a people, too.

In some instances they have pointed out that I idealize the tribal. Are we not, instead, being prejudiced against the tribal? Don't we have to examine our beliefs? Is it not a constant obligation of the person who inquires and who inquires to examine his own certainties? Can we advance in thought without doubting our certainties? Now, our certainties indicate that the tribal is underdeveloped. And what I say - that is why I understand the resistance, because they challenge the general certainty that the tribal is underdeveloped - is that the world is moving in the direction of violence, that the holocaust is modern as Hannah Arendt and Zygmunt Bauman have said; In other words, without modernity there is no genocide. I say this with absolute awareness of instilling a doubt in relation to a series of unexamined certainties with which we

think and work. I think it is necessary because we are reaching defeat, the feminist movement is defeated in its struggles to reduce violence.

This call, this alert, is usually absolutely disconcerting, because we have a civic blindness, a civic faith that prevents us from seeing the reality of the world we inhabit and the reality of our faith. The discourse of modernity is egalitarian, but legal, liberal, general equality masks a progressively unequal world. And we have bet all our chips on the state field. The social movement has entered with both feet to expand the field of the State. I simply ask, what are the results of that bet? What are the results we have had from our commitment to the equality project?

The challenge is very great. If we need to make all the distinctions I'm talking about and, at the same time, affirm that the subsoil of all violence is a common structure, the symbolic patriarchy, how do we go about this then? The solution is to think historically, it is essential not to compartmentalize our theories, our thinking, or our struggles. We are making a mistake in ghettoizing our struggles. Why can I say that it is a mistake? Because we are not getting great results. Today we are facing a world where the exercise of the pedagogy of cruelty is evident, it is enough to listen to the reggaeton, it is enough to listen to much of the music that is massively heard, to watch television, and to see the advertisements. We see all the time that we are subjected, we are trained in a pedagogy of cruelty. The television lens is a scavenger, a voyeur.

Finally, we must also ask ourselves, why do feminist women manifest this desire for historical, civilizing indistinction? I think that's a characteristic of feminist thinking today. Thus, it fosters an indistinction within the feminist movement, masks the forms of domination, the inequalities

of prestige within the movement itself. But within the movement itself, there is also a struggle - as everyone knows - for control, for influence, for prestige and even, above all, for resources. We women should be the first to recognize the plural nature of experiences and be able to think of different historical projects.

I still register a fourth feminist divergence to which I will refer only briefly, since I refer it to the literature on the debates of institutional feminism: the one that divides those sectors, today the majority, that have put all their faith and efforts in the advances within the state field for the creation of more laws, more public policies, more institutions. It also refers to feminism, which notes that the institutional strategy has given little fruit, especially with regard to lethal violence and the forms of cruelty suffered by women, and, when it has, it has primarily benefited white women, middle classes, who in this way have managed to "include themselves" and act in the public sphere. The first sector believes in the causal relationship between laws and practices, which I have criticized on various occasions.

This position is related to the debate that I examined in the third section, which contrasts European feminisms with non-white or our American feminisms, and is derived from the Eurocentric perspective, typical of a reality in which, for historical reasons, the relationship between the State and society is not the same as the State-society relationship in our continent, in spaces of colonization. In our spaces, the republican state, heir to the overseas administration, has maintained colonial exteriority in relation to the national territory and society. Women who follow this path adhere, without inspecting it, to the assumption that institutional failures are due to inadequate enforcement of the rules by state agents in charge of the public service counters.

They believe, therefore, that with adequate instruction this circumstantial defect can be resolved and, also, that the State itself can be reformed for better management performance vis-à-vis society. This belief arises, as I indicated above, from the influence of Northern feminisms on us, and their pressure to impose goals and generate policies in our environment conceived in the image and likeness of the policies that serve their geopolitical region, without sensitivity to recognize the history and constitutive architecture of the State in postcolonial contexts. This constitutive architecture, inherent to the states of the continent, is characterized by a design that, from its foundation by the Creole republican elites, guarantees its permanent appropriability and the physiologism of its appropriators. This, as I said, is a constitutive fault, since history has never proven that the appropriability of its divisions could be corrected, territorially operated by an administrative elite that reproduces itself endogamically in its spaces - elite, in the definition I adopt, is every group or network of State operators. To this is added the less and less judicializable and restrainable State-company pact, to which the discourse of Human Rights tries, without success, to put a stop to it.

Faced with this position, we are the ones who ask ourselves what the State can and cannot do for us, and we look for solutions inside and outside the state field. Those of us who are perceiving that, almost without realizing it, we have been folding ourselves to the strategies and goals of the feminisms of the North, which led us to place all the chips of the game, without exception, on the state field, without this having led us very far in the direction of our proposals and demands.

Without abandoning the struggles on the state front, as it is necessary to fight them on all fronts, it is necessary to try to advance with our goals also outside of it, along extra-state paths, through

the reconstruction of community fabrics based on community fragments. that are still recognizable and vital, what I have called “shreds of community”, never based on abstract models, since the community needs history and symbolic density; a cosmos of its own that sustains its cohesion and indicates the direction of its historical project.

This fifth divergence has already been mentioned above, when examining the difference between the dual world of collectivist societies and the binary structure that organizes modern societies, but it deserves its own specific section. In the latter, the binary design of the relationship between the public sphere, a platform that authorizes the enunciation of everything that has universal relevance and general interest, and its margins, in which the topics corresponding to the particular interest of the so-called “Minorities” determines, as I explained in my analysis of the intersection between gender and coloniality and the resulting emergence of a high intensity colonial / modern patriarchy, that everything related to gender relations and what affects the lives of women be cornered, relegated, lowered to the realm of the intimate, of the private, of the devoid of politicality. This binary structure, which traps the destiny and the “citizenship” of women in the sphere of the particular, the specific, the partial, underlies the approaches to gender that ghettoized it, that is, that define the question of gender relations. gender and the victimization of women and of all those marked by non-normative sexualities as an issue that can be examined only in the field of ties, affections and representations of men and women. That is a position that, as a theorist and activist, does not represent me.

The position thus defined as the ghettoizer of the gender question also derives from the highly consolidated approaches, categories and practices of Eurocentric feminisms, which we could



describe as “productivist” and institutional. These feminisms of "specialists" tend to isolate the issue of relations between men and women from broader and more general considerations about the context and power relations, typical of it in its historical time.

Opposing this approach is a type of feminism that first addresses the historical scene and considers the destiny of women in that historical scene as a fundamental reading domain to locate power and analyze how it is exercised. This approach understands gender as a thermometer, a field that allows reading and being read in the light of a broad context, made up of the fabric of capital, politics, and societal practices in general. The gender situation allows for the diagnosis of the historical scene, and only its analysis in the framework of that scene allows, in turn, to understand the events related to gender.

Only when the issue is considered in this way do we understand why it is so difficult to remove women from the position of increasing vulnerability in which they find themselves in the world today, despite the increase in laws and institutional measures for their protection and promotion. For the fabric that ties his subordinate position far exceeds any analysis that ghettoizes and specializes the patriarchal structure.

The Difficult Map“*Huesos en el desierto*”

(Sergio Gonzalez Rodriguez)

### Translator's Note

González Rodríguez gives a summary of the history of Juárez. We can see in his writing the transformation of a city that rose to prominence due to politics. He focuses on the layered lives of the people of Ciudad Juárez and how they came to be the way they are. His analysis of the history interestingly doesn't slip away from what Segato theorizes.

González Rodríguez will sometimes use Spanish in a tense that doesn't translate into English because the tense does not exist. Translating not only for the voice of the writer but by their form was also a challenge. González Rodríguez writes in a way that in English, some of his sentences made more sense and sound better. There is a challenge to capture what the writer is saying while simultaneously keeping the reader conscious as they are not only treading high theory, but a translation; clarity was to me the marker of whether I was translating successfully.

### “El Mapa Difícil”

Ciudad Juárez demonstrates an expansive force that folds back towards the hills under the blue sky of the desert. In spring, the tones of the territory –inserted at the intersection of the Rio Grande or Rio Bravo, are two mountain ranges and El Paso Texas– link a greyish screen, the gritty sand, the ash, the yellowish thickets. In the winter, the same colors weaken and they fuse with the spectral veil of the clouds and fog. Despite the celestial light that falls onto the desert, the border city is dulled, discolored here, there, and everywhere. Any metallic luster or saturated color breaks the monotony: the solar power and dust lay a raw patina over the avenues, the roofs, the glass of the windows, the zinc roofing, and the cars.

Like many Mexican cities, Juarez presents the appearance of an enormous backyard, one that changes the multitudes, the repose of obsolete things, the sporadic greenery, the irregular asphalt and dirt roads, with the efficacy of machines, telecommunications, modern services, the cutting edge-industry. A concrete prosthesis, high technology, trash in urban spaces, that are decorated in plastic, potholes, rust and tatters. Ciudad Juarez would also be an ideal location for electronic music “*nor-tec*” native to Tijuana, Baja California: an ensemble of digitized sounds of Norteño music groups, categorical rhythms, and traditional Sinaloan bands and other “*latine*” echos.

The trace of the city has overflowed in a conflicting sense, mottled and abrupt, while at the same time continuous. And flimsy: Unlike Mexican acropolises - Mexico City, Guadalajara or Monterrey- which includes increased urbanization regarding their suburbs, Ciudad Juárez exhibits a contrary shift: the outskirts dominate its center. Thousands and thousands of people and precarious constructions are in search of a future reinvention, inside- or beyond- daily

attractions of violence, Catholic or Protestant churches, industry, cars, nightlife, bazaars, drug abuse, crime, the very inclemency of the climate and social contrast.

Or the work: the imperative to resist at all costs. People struggle and seek to move forward. Muscle and temperament as forms of cunning are used everyday. Just like in other parts of the globe, the exploitation of bodies remains an urgent issue in the history of Ciudad Juárez. That also slips away from the rules. It is a historical trait

Named Ciudad Juárez since 1888, the ancient "*Paso del Norte*" a mission seat during the colonial era, has been territory of immigration, transit, contraband, and in many cases a place of severe violence. The informal or sub economy, and in general the way of life were shaped by its history and development. But in the last half of the XX century, Ciudad Juárez linked the multinational model of industrial production with cutting edge technology. At the same time, its territorial importance in drug trafficking was expanding.

In the years right after the Mexican Revolution 1910-1921, the urban city developed an industry of leisure and travel services whose purpose/goal was uncontrolled migration. The prohibition in the United States (1919-1933) would launch fugitives south of the border from restriction into organized crime. Additionally, the adjustments and imbalances between the central government and the states also lived in Mexico. In the 1940s Ciudad Juárez grew due to tourism, commerce and migratory flows. During the Second World War, military men of Fort Bliss, Texas, regularly traversed the city when they were off duty.

The small local industry that provided basic products like soaps, oils, and yarn entered a decline in the next decade. In the early 70's the federal powers began National Border Programs (1961)

and the Industrialization of the Border (1965), that would open way for the Maquila– factories of foreign capital where the different parts of a product are manufactured or assembled by export and by cheap labor.

Cuidad Juarez would become a major pole of human capital in the border of Mexico. In the year 2000, the census counted the figure of 1.217.818 people. Meanwhile, Tijuana, Baja California , counted 1,212,232 inhabitants. 40% of the population lived in extreme poverty, segregated from urban services, and on the social fringes. It is estimated that around 300 people arrive in Juarez, which constitutes a floating population of around 250,000. The city constructed the preferred bridge by mexican people into Texas, New Mexico, and the rest of the United States.

In the mid 90's, the New Mexico State Land Office considered it to be one of the most traversed borders in the world. In 1996, the Juarez city council offered its data: 42 million people and 17 million cars crossed annually. It was this fluidity point that became a Mexican-American issue.

Ciudad Juárez resists the economic asymmetry of the two countries: population increase, lack of infrastructure, services and housing, negligence in their natural resources, a shortage of water - 15% of total consumption is wasted. Alarming pollution, industrial or other kinds, vehicular or by local brick factories- about 300-. By 1999, it would be the fourth most contaminated city of Mexico.

The city also suffers from excess car use: about 307,000, so 80% of urban travel is carried out in a car. Meanwhile in Mexico city only 37% of inhabitants own a car. In Ciudad Juarez, that percentage reaches 70%. As a result, Car theft is abundant, as well as “*yonques*” or junk yards. It is a mobile society, which is also expressed in the vast use of cellphones. Almost half of the

population uses them, in contrast to the entire country where the coverage range is limited to just over 15%. The usage figure can be compared to some European countries.

The society of Juarez in the 90's ninety century of the twentieth century witnessed the amplitude of the production model of the maquiladora industry. In 1969, Mexico already occupied the first place among the maquiladora countries. By 1996, there were 372 companies of this type, with about 222,000 employees employed, especially in the automotive and electronic branch. A good portion of the work force came from Sinaloa, Durango, Coahila, Zacatecas Aguascalientes, a Southern Chihuahua... And, for the first time since the maquila was installed, the number of men employed surpassed those of women. Nevertheless, the protagonism of them seemed irrevocable.

The academic Alfredo Limas exposes in his essay, "*La construcción de ciudadanías*" how the Maquila industry "*maquila*" runs the entire city. It has restructured the urban landscape and created dynamics of sociocultural segregation that include all groups of inhabitants in employment. This would come from "cycles of value and capitalization of the world's trusts" at the cost of the impoverishment of the city. Therefore, reducing public space, responsibilities of capital, the managing of the development of a proper local government. All for the cost of the (bodies of the people), especially the bodies of women.

Limas Hernandez describes in the study, *Sexualidad, género, violencia, y procuración de justicia*, That it's been well over years since there are registered cases of missing girls and women, everyday the number of reported missing students gets bigger. Or who have suffered sexual crimes for the simple fact of being on the street. Adding, that in addition to distinguishing more

vulnerable population groups, there are circumstances that expose at risk. For women, this means “being alone” and traveling through dangerous areas “the city has areas of high risk, areas that have been segregated from urban development, confined to a greater degree to the Western part of the city.”

To summarize, Limas Hernandez notes that being a woman in Juarez means living “both in body and ideas of gender in a system of disadvantage, in a city and public space that damage”. A medium devoid of development politics, since it has a system of power relations that avoids facing the forms of structural asymmetry towards the interior of society. An authentic reserve and maquila of the human park that congregates there

The author Robert D. Kaplan highlights Mexicans living at the border with the United States, who barely know how to read and write, work in dangerous conditions, and Dickensian in order to produce our videos, jeans, and toasters>> earning less than 50 cents an hour, without any benefits. The journalist asks, “Is this Democracy, or oligarchy in the style of ancient Greece?”

In recent years, the maquiladora industry is characterized in Ciudad Juarez by the search for implacable quality control, plurifunctional labor, the use of robotics and automation, and this push is filtered little by little to collective understandings of economic and social , from the industrial and domestic.

In the 90's, Ciudad Juárez reached the lowest unemployment index of the entire country, while having the largest number of employees who worked in the industry, where the person becomes a cybernetic arm under control of greater verticalism in exchange for a meager pay.



But in the last 20 years, Mexico's salary has lost around 3 fourths of its value: an unsalvageable obstacle. The inequitable distribution of the wealth and the economic crisis of the country, which began in the second half of the seventies and had their culmination in 1995, reduced the access to the minimum well-being of most people. An urban country and in full abandonment of its rural profile, which concentrates its population in the cities and whose average age is 22 years at the beginning of the XXI century.

Since society has marginalized extreme poverty to about 40 million people in a territory of 97 million and a half, it expelled the young people also from its collective horizon. At the same time, it has made them believe, through the promises of the market or the ideology of the performance, which embodies "the wealth" of the country, or that they are its capital in the coming future.

Men and women as a consumer synthesize such contradictions. The hypothesis around consumption hides the certainty of a scarce future for Mexican young people between 15 and 24 years old. It is about 20.3 million Mexicans who come from households whose income in the last two decades have been almost unchanged, which have an average schooling of secondary school and an unemployment rate of 12.5% while that of the country is 5%. 5 million unemployed. And there are few sites for them. In that way, young people keep the armies of the night: delinquency and organized crime. The informal and underground economy or underemployment.

In the 90's, the consumption of drugs was generalized in Mexican cities. The Secretary of Health revealed that in the mid 200's 5% of Mexican people between the ages of 12 and 60 consumed drugs in at least one occasion. The figures were higher in two frontier cities. In Tijuana, 14% of

inhabitants said they have tried narcotics, meanwhile in Ciudad Juarez the average was 9.5%. In third and fourth place were Guadalajara and Mexico city, the largest cities in the country.

A decade ago, inhalants were the drug with most use. Now Mexican people with addictions prefer marijuana and cocaine. The pride of the neighborhood in the cities appears to insert in the avatar of the toxicomania,

The pride of the neighborhood in the cities appears to insert in the avatar of toxicant, its demands and new habits, of the exercise of explicit or covert violence. Or the distribution of collective values and the promise of fast enrichment through illicit practices. The impossibility of accessing the elite of the privileged yields millions of Mexican young people a daily survival, which tends to exclude them, over all, from the gifts of the Technological revolution. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is a minority of young people, with 25 years average, as internet users in Mexico. Less than three million, of which 76% have college degrees. By 2005, these will exceed 7 million is estimated.

But salary and work are not the only elements sub valued in Mexico. Neither the future nor the cultural expectations of young people. Under such solutions, women and the social role appear more than undervalued. Particularly in border cities.

In ciudad Juarez “women are treated as abusable beings” categorized—in the fall of 1997—Mellisa W, Wright, a gender specialist for more than thirty years, thin, incisive, that has deepened the study of the ideological representation of the “typical Mexican woman” - docile, submissive- who would work in the maquiladoras.

In the cubicle of the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez (UACJ) summoned to to talk/present/discuss about the violence at the border, Wright noted that it was possible to find opposite behaviors in the worker women at the maquilas. The circumstances would have long records of women assumed protagonists of social change. But in order to locate the significance of this attitude, the academy recommended dismantling the patterns of domination and subordination in which people operate. In Ciudad Juarez, the violence against women would appear ubiquitously: There are multiple ground causes. The homicides against women is explained in this context.

Because of its importance in the global economy, Ciudad Juarez has attracted other scholars like Ana Bergareche, a young blonde of serious and analytical temperament, a native of the Basque Country and Sociology at the London School of Economics. Agreeing to discuss her study at a cafe in the "golden zone" of the city. It is the perimeter that, more than thirty years ago, welcomed the National Border Program (ProNaF), and now is the most urban tourist, corporate, and Ciudad Juarez neighborhood services. There are restaurants, offices, bars, hotels, cosmopolitan coffee shops, and buildings of huge steel structures that remained half-built and are the emblem of an ever-inconclusive economic boom. Despite the surveillance the municipal authorities provide, "*The Zona Dorada*" has been the setting between violent struggles between drug traffickers.

For Bergareche, the violence in Juarez

For Bergareche, Juarez's violence will obey a mixture of psychological, sociological and institutional issues, and could not be reduced to a single explanation.

Preface: 'I study social issues, so I can not speak of the psychological issues, and from the social point of view, I highlight the dominant patriarchal ideology, which has transmitido through many ways, but I have seen that the Catholic religion has been fundamental.

The specialist affirms that this influence was most important, since it had permeated areas of political and social life, in the ways educational institutions or legal types can.

Bergareche, who in 1997 prepared her doctorate for the University of London on violence, work and equality in the maquiladoras de Juarez, exemplifying the patriarchal ideology. From this, it described, the woman is sinful by nature, and therefore should be punished, besides needing the protection of a man, since alone, because, alone, “what she is going to do in life? She has no power, she does not take on power”.

Explaining the serious background of such conduct, inviting abuse in the marginalization of ethnicity and class, to the cause the self-esteem of women to still descend further :they are considered part of a social class where they know, or rather assume that the lower classes will not get far in life, or people with dark skin will not have as many opportunities as white people.

Similar underlying ideas and values would collaborate to generate violence in Ciudad Juarez: Atavisms, patriarchal beliefs, abuse, female submission, and marginality.

However, Bergareche detects that a change in the transmission of values in a generational period could be expected, although in the case of men such change had brought many conflicts in the new and growing independence of women, their economic and sexual independence. There

would be a source of masculine resentment, of barbarism sometimes contained, sometimes loose in all its blind force.

The male perception that sees women as mere sexual objects, detailed the researcher, comes from the faded charisma of a pure woman, of the wife and mother. Now that the woman works and does not need male protection, she has become the antithesis of that fantasy. Being free from very young, even from puberty, woman identifies her as “dirty, sex-loving, earning money to spend it on whatever they like, like entertainment and clothing”. This is how the circle is closed and the violence is unleashed.

In Ana Bergaren's trial, the solutions would have to focus first on the level of the community and personal, rather than pretending to change the world:

–The needs are too pressing as to be expected to spend years and change political conditions.

In this contradictory dynamic, there will be something positive: The woman gives more herself more importance day after day. If there was more self-esteem in women, Bergareche concluded, they would be less vulnerable to abuse.

But winning this fort means a high-risk company.

In the mid-1990s, migrants provided labor for the maquila in Ciudad Juarez. They were, for the most part, from neighboring states and even further south, and they traveled to the northern border in search of better living conditions. Also in this industry were the sons and daughters of travelers who settled here twenty-five years ago.

In those years, the maquiladoras employing workers 14 to 35 years old, but preference was given to young people. There was a population of approximately 53,000 workers under 19, which accounted for 42% of total jobs in the maquiladora industry.

As for the genre, even before 1984 the composition of the workforce were women, but the high demand for workers had led in the decade of the nineties the influx of men increased, who constituted about 45 % of the total employment.

Also it had decreased barriers to hiring women married or single mothers. Only 29% of women working in the maquila industry at that time were single and childless, which meant that the majority of workers were married or mothers. The percentage of single mothers (unmarried, divorced or widowed) had increased, so that a third of the workers were single mothers. Independent women.

At the end of the twentieth century, violence against women constituted a distinctive feature of society juarez. On that front, the crime of sexual violence focused on women, but also affected men.

Between 1996 and 1999, 20% of the victims were male. Most of these victims of sexual crimes were under 10 years of age, and the perpetrators were the father or stepfather, in broken families, poor people without standard education.

In her study, "victims of sexual crimes" Estela Julia Monarrez Fragoso states that sexual crime "can be defined and is present in cases in which the murderer/s are motivated by sadistic sexual impulses, and the victim is converted into a sexual object". In this relationship, man represents

the “subject, real and essential”, while the woman is reduced to “the other, unreal, and not essential”. Thus appropriating the female gender, where torture and the disposal of the body are part of a scheme that turns crime into a form of eroticism.

Sexual crimes against women would be possibilities defined by culture, which transcends the fact of referring to those who commit these as sick or madmen, the investigated sentence Noting that sexual crimes are also characterized by the image of the naked body of a woman, whose corpse is thrown like garbage: “The body of the woman is adjusted and exhibited in gynecological positions, as if they were going to take a picture”.

Monarrez Fragoso emphasizes that, in these cases, women are less than a woman, less than a human, they are an object to which their subjective experience is denied. Male dominance strategy appropriates the body of women while at the same time owning the public space.

In interpreting violence against women in Ciudad Juarez, Israel Covarrubias Gonzales stressed the importance of a fact: The bodies of the victims of homicide are thrown into the public space.

In his study, "Border and Anonymity," Covarrubias González notes: “ The places where violence has been possible are located in defined areas - in special terms - towards the north (west) of the city and south (Lote Bravo). However, murders have covered other geographical areas.”

Inferring that “the North-South geography belongs to the police, the army or the drug traffickers, particularly, when we talk about vast territories. When we talk about territories of a relative extent, ownership belongs to the bands, the retail drug traffickers-called "*trafico hormiga*" -, of

weapons and cars. In the last aspect, we would have to ponder the relationship between place, belonging and generating groups of violence.”

Likewise, the researcher distinguishes the symbolic perceptions that the desert has regarding the finding of murdered women: an inhospitable space, lacking water, subject to extreme temperatures, very free and, of course, opposed to culture, civilized values and the urban identity.

The desert, Arguy Covarrubias Gonzalez, would be an appropriate space, at least for some time, by generated groups of violence. To this perspective we would have to add a determining circumstance: the public space in Ciudad Juarez has owners before temporary holders. *Lomas of Poleo*, for example, one of the sites where many bodies of murdered women have appeared, is one of the colonies that constitute the Anapra area. This area includes about 7,190,000 square meters.

The records of the municipality reveal that this territory is owned by four owners: Pedro Zaragoza Fuentes, Alfredo Urias, Oscar Cantu and the Lugo family, as revealed by the *Diario de Juarez* on May 26, 1999. The area is strategic, due to the opening of Boulevard R otterizo, a work of urbanization for the 21st century at the San Jeronimo-Santa Teresa International Cruceness, on the border of Chihuahua with New Mexico, the west of Ciudad Juarez.

This indicates that the use, management, and possession of public space in relation to the homicides of women in Ciudad Juarez is inscribed not only in the groups that exercise illegal violence, but the territorial domain strategy of this border. In other words, the origin and growth of capital, urban development, construction companies, real estate speculation and the



maquiladora industry. And the historical fortunes of a handful of families in the big business of the nightclubs, the control of the sale of beer, liquor and soft drinks, the basic infrastructure services, such as the natural gas distributors. Or forms of communication.

The ladder seems associated with the urban scheme of Los Angeles, California, which Mike Davis questions in *City of Quartz*: a kind of “Ecology of evil” by investors that clear, level and pave the area, They occupy just From water, building some valladares and connect the “product”. Such investors end up seeing the “desert just like another abstraction of two signs: money and garbage intertwined”.

In Ciudad Juarez, organized crime has come to cohabit with economic power. The benefits are mutual. One serves the other. Altering their arguments and their agreements: Electoral Politics are a war to which is sponsored by one party to another.

Pedro Zaragosa Fuentes, owner of Lomas de Poleo, was pointed out by the American press after it was “discovered that trucks from his family business had been used to smuggle cocaine to the United States”, Cosigned by Andres Oppenheimer in his book, *Ojos Vendados*. He points out journalist Mariano Herran Salvatti, in charge of the fight against drugs in Mexico between 1997 and 2000, indicated that there were nonexistent federal charges against Pedro Zaragosa, but “there was an ongoing investigation into a cousin of his, Miguel Zaragosa”.

On April 6, 2000, in "Reforma", the reporter Abel Barajas interviewed Pedro Cital, in charge of urban plans and programs in Ciudad Juarez that described how the surface of this locality grows above its population due to the invasions of new settlers and developers strategy, “to fraction and introduce services in areas away from the urbanized zone”. Although the official pointed out: in

the next fifteen years, Ciudad Juarez would grow towards the south and southeast. Right in this course is the most important perimeter regarding the finding of murdered women's bodies. Among others, it includes sites like Lot Bravo, White Zacate, and Farms Santa Elena.

City Juarez of the late twentieth century towards the twenty first has lived the dissipated impact of traditional institutions as a stigma that deepens through anonymous and gendered death in open or public spaces. The environment of rupture and dispersion has its cause, among other factors, in the secular isolation of these territories, in the distance of central Mexico, especially in the capital.

That far away land, alien from the point of view of the northerners, deserves an ironic name: it is called, "Chilangopolis". Or it admits an infamous appeal for the people: "Chilangos". A synonym of cheaters, thieves abusers.

The symbols are imposed.

The notion of the North, belonging to extreme latitude, almost forgotten by the center, and therefore strong and whole in itself, dismissive of an idea of the attached nationality hegemony to the central powers of the Federation, occupies a place basic among the inhabitants of Ciudad Juarez. And in this northern identity the evils usually come from outside. In particular, from the south. That is, below. Of the low. From the south of the state and south of the Republic in particular urban, unfair, sudden and rapid growth that has taken the town from 1970 to date, due to the migratory flow, the floating population provided by the magnet being a city that is At the same time a link: a bridge.

The bridge as a primary symbol: north passage, border with the United States. A higher point regarding the lowness of the rest of the republic. In times of the global economy, the maquila would be the second symbol of Juarez after the bridge. Migrants have settled in precarious conditions in the areas of the Sierra de Juarez, to the west of the city, from where the promise of the “other side” can be seen: the United States. The automobile would be in the urgency of displacement and longings of prosperity, the third symbol of Juarez.

Francisco Javier Llera Pacheco, an academic at the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juarez, affirms in 1997 that the most important thing was that it should be recognized that border issues were not from local processes, “but external forces” representing the result of the Failure of the National Development Strategy in Mexico. And in addition, to solve problems such as excess migrants, population concentration, lack of infrastructure, precarious murders and environmental deterioration require radical changes in Mexico regarding national and regional policies.

In short, Juarez would become a vehicular territory, intense in every way, a bridge, an enclave of the multinational economy, whose maquiladora industry imposes a paradigm that penetrates and orders the body of society -only the global recession of 2001 would seriously affect the economy of the frontier city.

The North, the land of realities and imaginary spells. Juarez, the one who wants to be the most northern of Mexican cities.

In the economic and social conditions, northern Mexico at the end of the twentieth century would have accomplished the proposed images and multiple representations of the Mexican greatest power since the so-called “Chicano culture” spread to the 60s and 70s.

Under this difficult map, that has multiplied the alternative of being in the world to the style of the narco contrabando, broken laws and nightlife -for each school, there are 5 bars in Ciudad Juarez, besides picaderos thousand “*picadores*”, points selling hard drugs to the retail. Again, history shows that in a complex landscape that emerges from the geography and culture. Just like how the local band, Los Dinamicos delNorte sing in the *corrido* “contraband in juarez”:

Beautiful beloved Juarez,  
 from here I spot you  
 It's a shame that from El paso,  
 I have certain commitments.  
 Its 11 at night,  
 I hear music from the bars,  
 From over there my dear awaits for me,  
 somewhere on a street in Juarez.  
 Blue eyed *Guerita*,  
 I can't give you my hand,  
 Because I've been prosecuted  
 by the American government.  
 How beautiful is the Rio Bravo,

No one can deny it  
But smuggling weighs heavy  
When you cross by swimming.

#### Works Cited

- “Cinco Debates Feministas. Temas Para Una Reflexión Divergente Sobre La Violencia  
Contra Las Mujeres.” *La Guerra Contra Las Mujeres*, by Rita Laura Segato,  
Prometeo Libros, 2018, pp. 167–189.
- “El Mapa Difícil.” *Huesos En El Desierto*, by Sergio González Rodríguez, Editorial  
Anagrama, 2006.

Newen Afrobeat. *Spotify*, 2020,

[open.spotify.com/track/3mDXkZA0M9fmPU74QhmbgT?si=947df84c47ef4e39](https://open.spotify.com/track/3mDXkZA0M9fmPU74QhmbgT?si=947df84c47ef4e39).

Noname. "Rainforest." *Spotify*, 2021,

[open.spotify.com/track/7thhWP37F1tHFcrnwLNaao?si=f739ff4a81ef4f1f](https://open.spotify.com/track/7thhWP37F1tHFcrnwLNaao?si=f739ff4a81ef4f1f).

Vivir Quintana, Mon Laferte. *Spotify*, 2020,

[open.spotify.com/track/5w3AsUEGoaCuBhDp14umuy?si=73a8254bd90f4b5d](https://open.spotify.com/track/5w3AsUEGoaCuBhDp14umuy?si=73a8254bd90f4b5d).