

Scapegoats of Juárez

The misuse of justice in prosecuting women's murders in Chihuahua, Mexico

The Latin America Working Group Education Fund conducts public education to encourage U.S. policies that promote human rights, justice and peace in Latin America. The LAWGEF serves a coalition of nongovernmental, religious, humanitarian, and grassroots organizations.

The phenomenon is known as the Ciudad Juárez murders. Locally, it is called feminicide. For the past twelve years, women have disappeared from this border town across the Rio Grande River from El Paso, Texas. Often, their bodies appear on the edge of town, showing signs of extreme physical and sexual violence. Wild theories have developed to explain why the women of Juárez are victimized, adding to the mystery and outrage surrounding these cases. After twelve years, we know little more about these murders than when they began.

The Ciudad Juárez murders have come to symbolize a variety of problems related to the inability of the State of Chihuahua, where Ciudad Juárez is located, to procure justice. These crimes are centered in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City, 250 miles to the south. Amnesty International estimates that one-third of the nearly 400 victims have suffered sexual violence.¹ Many of the remaining crimes can be classified as domestic violence. However, in both instances, authorities have often failed to investigate, botched investigations, falsified evidence, intimidated victims' families, and ultimately failed to produce either answers or culprits for these crimes.

In the course of these investigations, authorities have managed to arrest suspects for only half of these murders. And in at least 30 of the 189 murders where a suspect has been detained, officials have created a second class of victim – scapegoats who are falsely imprisoned and often tortured into confessing to crimes they did not commit. The arrests of these men have caused a double harm. First, it has made the suspects new victims of this phenomenon

by robbing them of their liberty and, oftentimes, subjecting them to physical and psychological torture to extract a confession. Second, their false imprisonment robs the victims and their families of any hope of finding the real killer – the authorities consider a case resolved simply because someone is in jail for the crime, regardless of the quality of the evidence used to put them there.

This report aims to shed light on the situation of these suspects, and how they have unwillingly played a role in deepening the mystery of what is happening to the women of Juárez. The report will look at the political dynamics surrounding the arrest, torture, conviction, and in some cases release, of the most prominent men and women accused of feminicide, as well as some lesser-known cases. Detailed summaries of the events in major cases can be found throughout the report, and a comprehensive list of detainees is in the appendix. This report illustrates the misuse of the justice system in dealing with the Ciudad Juárez murders in the hope of contributing to the attempts of the new Chihuahuan administration to use justice to solve, rather than cloud, these crimes.

Investigative Responsibilities for Feminicide in Chihuahua

Murder is a state crime in Mexico, and thus the Juárez murders fall under the jurisdiction of the state of Chihuahua. To date, all detainees in these feminicides have been detained and questioned by state judicial police, and tried, convicted, and on occasion released by state courts. Investigations into crimes deemed sexual in nature have been carried out by the Joint State/Federal Prosecutor's Office for the Investigation

September 2005

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Executive Summary

Since 1993, 410 women have been murdered in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City, Mexico. The phenomenon has been referred to as the Juárez murders, or femicide. State officials responsible for investigating these crimes have convicted someone in only 28% (115) of these cases. The political will to investigate and prosecute these crimes has been largely absent from three gubernatorial administrations overseeing them. Even though rhetoric has become more friendly to family and victims' groups, which were once harassed and threatened, under the new Reyes Baeza administration, the inability to hold perpetrators accountable continues.

The Mexican judicial system provides sweeping powers to the state Attorney General, who in Chihuahua is appointed by the Governor. The Attorney General's office investigates and prosecutes suspects in a system that encourages the use of torture, delays in trials, and the use of scapegoats. Investigations into the femicides have often been prompted by public outcry over a lack of justice. In the most prominent cases, scapegoats have been used to quiet public fears. However, this has done little to stem the murders themselves.

From 1996 to 2001, state officials arrested 14 men and accused them of a conspiracy to murder women led by Abdul Latif Sharif Sharif, who has been convicted of only one murder. In large part, all the accused men have been people with few family connections in the area, people of few financial or legal resources, and members of marginalized social groups. In essence they are the perfect scapegoats. All these detainees, save Mr. Sharif, have credible allegations that they were tortured into confessing to murdering multiple women. In their cases, their confession is often all that links them to the crimes.

Apart from these likely scapegoats, documentation points to the use of scapegoats in Ciudad Juárez for individual murders going back to the late 1990s. In some of these cases, evidence of torture, planted evidence, and other official misdeeds are apparent, and have cleared the suspects of all charges. In others, detainees still sit in prison awaiting sentencing. It should be noted that there have been no accusations of torture under the new Reyes Baeza Administration.

It appears that state authorities have resorted to slipshod investigations to solve femicides rather than carrying out the necessary investigations to arrest the real culprits. Despite the lack of evidence and use of torture, current state administration officials continue to insist upon these suspects' guilt. The use of scapegoats points to a larger problem – the lack of political will or ability to properly investigate crimes against women. In order to begin an honest process of reckoning, state officials need to clear scapegoats of their charges, and begin professional investigations into those, as well as all other, femicides.

Recommendations:

- Order an immediate review of all criminal proceedings against all high-profile scapegoats, taking into account the use of torture.
- Open criminal proceedings against the torturers of all detainees.
- Conduct a review of the 89 documented cases where coercion was used to extract a confession to a woman's murder. Issue retrials in all cases where torture was used.
- Sanction state and local authorities named by Special Prosecutor Lopez Urbina as responsible for malfeasance in the handling of historical cases.

For a full list of recommendations, see pages 23 and 24.

Abdul Latif Sharif-Sharif

Mr. Sharif-Sharif was arrested on October 3, 1995. He was detained after Blanca Estela Díaz reported that he had kidnapped and raped her. Though medical exams showed no signs of rape in her case, Mr. Sharif was presented to the media by Chihuahuan authorities as the man responsible for the series of women's murders that had plagued the city since 1993. Mr. Sharif, who did not speak Spanish at the time, was not aware of the charges against him until a reporter at the press conference translated the charges for him into English.

Officially, investigations into his role in the murders focused on seven murders that took place in August and September, 1995, but he was originally detained only for the rape of Ms. Díaz. A judge initially acquitted Mr. Sharif in October 1996 of raping Ms. Díaz. Twenty minutes after being released from jail, he was again detained and charged with the 1995 murder of Elizabeth Castro García. He was convicted of that murder in March, 1999, and was given a 30-year sentence. The sentence was revoked on review in April 2000, citing a lack of evidence, specifically regarding the identity of Ms. Castro García's body. Despite the review, Mr. Sharif remained in prison while the sentence was appealed by the Public Prosecutor. He was again convicted of the murder in February 2003, with a reduced sentence of 20 years. Both the Public Prosecutor and Mr. Sharif's lawyers have appealed that decision. Mr. Sharif remains detained in Chihuahua state prison to this date.

Though Mr. Sharif has only been tried for the one murder of Ms. Castro, he is formally named as the intellectual author of the murders committed by *Los Rebeldes* and *Los Choferes*. Though there is no such formal charge in the case of the 2001 cotton field murders, he is implicated indirectly through allegations that he had paid Victor García Uribe for crimes against women in 1999. Mr. García Uribe was never charged with any crime in 1999. However, allegations of this connection to Mr. Sharif abound in his case file for the 2001 murders. No charges have been brought against him in those murders. Mr. Sharif has never claimed that he was tortured in the course of his investigations.

Source: "Sharif. El Chivo Expiatorio Ideal." *Aserto, La Revista de Chihuahua*. April 2005.

of Women's Murders since its founding in 1998. It is housed under the state Attorney General's office. In the past eight years, it has had nine directors. All suspects have been prosecuted by the Public Prosecutor's office, which is part of the state Attorney General's office.

There have been three state administrations that have appointed officials to deal with the Juárez murders. These crimes against women began under the administration of Francisco Barrio Terrazas, a member of the National Action Party (PAN), who was in office from 1992-1998. From 1998-2004, Patricio Martínez of the Institutional Revolutionary

Party (PRI) oversaw the Chihuahua governorship. In 2004, José Reyes Baeza, also of the PRI, assumed the governorship. Throughout the past 12 years, each new administration has sought to blame the prior for not doing enough in crimes against women, and has sought to create the image that they are cleaning up after a previously ineffective administration. But the murders, and impunity for them, have continued at a steady pace through all three administrations.

Though the Mexican federal government, generally speaking, has no legal role in investigating and prosecuting the Juárez murders, federal authorities have taken an

Los Rebeldes

In April 1996, ten people were detained for women's murders related to the recurring discovery of bodies in the Lomas de Poleo section of Ciudad Juárez. The group was named Los Rebeldes, and members were accused of murdering women on behalf of Abdul Latif Sharif-Sharif. The individuals accused were Sergio Armedáriz Díaz, Juan Contreras Jurado, Carlos Hernández Molina, José Luis González Juárez Rosales, Erika Fierro, Héctor Olivares Olivares, Fernando Gremes Aguirre, Luis Andrade, Carlos Barrientos Vidales, Romel Omar Cenicerros García.¹

Five of the members – Mr. Hernández Molina, Mr. Olivares Olivares, Mr. Cenicerros García, Ms. Fierro, and Mr. Gremes Aguirre - were released for lack of evidence, or for being minors.² Mr. Juárez Rosales was released for lack of evidence in 1997, but detained again in 2001, and again charged with participating in the *Rebeldes* murders.³

The remaining five *Rebeldes* were held for the murders of thirteen women, though they were charged only with the murders of five – Rosario García Leal, Guadalupe Verónica Castro Pando, Olga Alicia Carrillo Pérez, a woman identified only as “Lucy,” and two unidentified women.⁴ Several members of the group allege they were tortured into confessing to their crimes, although no medical examinations were carried out to document torture. They have since retracted their confessions.⁵

In the charges against them, the *Rebeldes* were accused of receiving a total of US \$2,000 from Mr. Sharif for each murder they committed. The main piece of evidence used to charge the men was a bite mark found on Ms. Castro Pando's breast, said to match Mr. Armendáriz Díaz's dental records.⁶

The five suspects were sentenced on January 6, 2005 for all five murders, and received sentences ranging from 24 to 40 years in prison. Their sentence was handed down within one hour of the sentence for *Los Choferes*, though different judges presided over the two cases.⁷

Los Chóferes

Jesus Manuel Guardado was arrested on March 29, 1999 in Durango, Mexico. He was accused of raping and attempting to murder Nancy Villalba in Ciudad Juárez, who survived the attack and identified Mr. Guardado as her attacker. Mr. Guardado fled to Durango, where he was detained by police. During a nineteen-day period, at the end of which he was presented to a judge in Chihuahua, Mr. Guardado alleges he was tortured repeatedly by police in both Durango and Chihuahua.⁸ The confession he issued implicated other bus drivers that he knew from work.

Five men were detained as a result of Mr. Guardado's confession – Agustín Toribio Castillo, José Gaspar Ceballos Chávez, Bernardo Hernández Fernández, Víctor Moreno Rivera, and Victor García Uribe. Only Mr. García Uribe was released (to be detained later in 2001 for a series of 8 separate murders). The group was held for the murders of twelve women found again in the Lomas de Poleo neighborhood, though they were only charged in six of those cases.⁹ All men retracted their confessions to these crimes, and have claimed they were tortured into confessing.¹⁰

Los Chóferes, as they were known for all being bus drivers by profession, or *Los Toltecas*, as they were also referred to for being followers of *El Tolteca*, Mr. Guardado's nickname, were implicated as working for Mr. Sharif. Charges against them state that they received payments of US \$1,500 to murder women and take their underwear to Mr. Sharif in prison.¹¹

Los Chóferes were sentenced within one hour of *Los Rebeldes* in January 2005, by a separate judge. Mr. Guardado received 113 years in prison, while the other *Chóferes* received 40 years each. Mr. Hernández Fernández was acquitted of all crimes.¹

¹ "Formalmente presos, tres implicados en asesinatos de mujeres en Ciudad Juárez." *La Jornada*. Villalpando, Ruben. December 6, 2002.

² "Formalmente presos, tres implicados en asesinatos de mujeres en Ciudad Juárez." *La Jornada*. Villalpando, Ruben. December 6, 2002.

³ "Llega a Chihuahua el multihomicida." *Reforma*. Ortega, Marisela. Feb. 25, 2001.

⁴ "Homicidios de Mujeres: Auditoría Periódica." Instituto Chihuahuense de la Mujer. 2003.

⁵ *Mexico – Intolerable Killings. 10 years of abductions and murders of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua.* Amnesty International. November 2003. AI Index: AMR 41/026/2003

⁶ "Formalmente presos, tres implicados en asesinatos de mujeres en Ciudad Juárez." *La Jornada*. Villalpando, Ruben. December 6, 2002.

⁷ "Sentencian a diez por doce feminicidios." *El Diario de Juárez*. Cruz, César. Jan. 7, 2005.

⁸ "Me torturaron, insiste El Tolteca." *Norte de Ciudad Juárez*. Calahorra, Edgar Prado. Dec. 6, 2004.

⁹ "Homicidios de Mujeres: Auditoría Periódica." Instituto Chihuahuense de la Mujer. 2003.

"Historia de los Homicidios de Mujeres en Juárez." Pérez-Espino, José. www.pesquisasenlinea.org/art1.ssp?id=68.

¹⁰ *Mexico – Intolerable Killings. 10 years of abductions and murders of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua.* Amnesty International. November 2003. AI Index: AMR 41/026/2003

¹¹ "Historia de los Homicidios de Mujeres en Juárez." Pérez-Espino, José. www.pesquisasenlinea.org/art1.ssp?id=68.

increasingly high-profile role in addressing these crimes, in large part thanks to international pressure. In November 2003, President Fox established the Commission to Prevent and Eradicate Violence, naming Guadalupe Morfín as its commissioner. Though the Commission has no responsibility for investigation, Commissioner Morfín has taken a leading political role in calling for the review of torture claims by detainees in the feminicides. Shortly after the creation of the Commission, President Fox created the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez, under the jurisdiction of the Federal Attorney General's Office, and named María López Urbina as its chief prosecutor.

The Special Prosecutor's office is responsible for reviewing all case files related to 323 cases of femicide – representing 349 victims – in Ciudad Juárez.² Its role does not include review of cases from Chihuahua City. In the review completed to date, the Special

Prosecutor has identified a total of 131 state and local officials who may be guilty of crimes or mismanagement ranging from abuse of authority to negligence. It is important to mention that these may include falsification or manipulation of evidence, and other crimes related to the handling of detainees. However, the list of officials and their possible crimes is not public information. This list has been handed over to state government officials for investigation and prosecution. As of the end of April 2005, only 16 of these officials had received administrative sanctions (ranging from a small fine to suspension), and 5 were being prosecuted on criminal charges.³ Judges have dismissed charges against two of these five officials due to the expiration of the statute of limitations. Arrest warrants have only been issued against two officials, and in one case, the arrest has been suspended on procedural grounds.

The Reyes Baeza Administration has been able to bolster public opinion of its

handling of these crimes by receiving the recommendations of the Special Prosecutor. However, this review appears to be a form of assigning blame to officials of previous governments, without actually punishing them for their crimes.

Ms. López Urbina, 205 cases, representing 233 murders, were reviewed.⁵ At the time of writing, Ms. Rocatti Velázquez indicated that she would conduct her own review of all 323 cases, but it is not clear what the aim of that review will be. Mario Alvarez Ledesma, the

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The Special Prosecutor's office also has the authority to claim jurisdiction in the investigation of crimes where federal law has been broken. To date, it has only taken possession of 24 cases, and has no suspects in detention for those crimes.⁴

deputy federal attorney general for human rights, indicated that the review of all cases will be completed in December 2005.⁶

On May 30, 2005, Ms. López Urbina was replaced by Mireille Rocatti Velázquez as the Special Prosecutor in Ciudad Juárez. Under

Judicial Process in Mexico and Chihuahua

The Mexican justice system is an inquisitorial system. It is important to understand the broad powers that the system grants the

The Cotton Field, Gustavo González Meza and Victor García Uribe

On November 6, 2001, eight women's bodies were found in a cotton field in downtown Ciudad Juárez within 24 hours of each other, first in a group of three, and the next morning in a group of five. The bodies were carefully laid out, and presented the largest evidence to date of serial murder.

On November 9, 2001, hooded police detained Victor García Uribe outside his home and took him to a private home. He alleges he was tortured there until he confessed to the eight murders, and he named Gustavo González Meza as his accomplice. Mr. González Meza was detained the following day, and similarly tortured. The two men were presented to the media as the responsible parties for the eight murders on November 11.¹

Mr. García Uribe had been detained in 1999 with members of *Los Choferes*, but was released without charges – no evidence linked him to the murders for which they were accused. Yet this prior arrest was used against him as probable cause for his responsibility of the subsequent “cotton field” murders more than two years later.

Mr. García Uribe hired his lawyer from the 1999 detention, Sergio Dante Almaraz, to handle his case in the cotton field murders. Mr. Almaraz, along with Mr. García's

wife, Miriam García, began to publicly denounce his illegal detention. Ms. García has been a vocal critic of her husband's detention and torture, and has publicly called for his release. She reports being threatened, harassed, and physically assaulted by state officials as a result of her work on her husband's behalf.

Signs of irregularities appeared immediately. Most notably, Oscar Maynez, chief forensics expert for the state, resigned in protest in January 2002, after refusing to fabricate evidence to implicate Mr. García Uribe and Mr. González Meza. He was quoted as saying, "It is an absurdly structured case with no physical evidence whatsoever."²

After both men were presented to the media, Mr. Almaraz and Mr. González Meza's lawyer, Mario Escobedo Jr., were able to get copies of medical records documenting the torture of their clients.³ This is the first time that detainees were able to obtain evidence of their torture. (Mr. García Uribe was tested for torture by Mexican federal officials under the Istanbul Protocol in 2005. The results of those tests have yet to be completed. Though Mr. García Uribe has brought charges against his alleged torturers, none of the officials named in his suit have been detained.⁴)

On February 5, 2002, Mario Escobedo Jr. was shot dead in the streets of Juárez in broad daylight by state judicial police. The police claim he was misidentified as a fleeing felon. The police involved in his death were the same agents responsible for the detention of Mr. García Uribe on November 9, 2001.⁵ Evidence of a shootout between Mr. Escobedo and police was fabricated in the case, with photos of the crime scene first showing a clean police car as well as the same car riddled with bullets.⁶ The agents responsible for Mr. Escobedo's death were cleared of all wrongdoing.

On February 8, 2003 Gustavo González Meza was found dead in his jail cell. He had been taken to a prison medical facility the day before for an operation on a hernia, supposedly caused by his torture in 2001. Human rights activists call the circumstances of his death highly suspicious, and have asked for an investigation. Prison officials maintain that the death was surgery-related.⁷

Victor García Uribe was sentenced to 50 years in prison for the cotton field murders on October 13, 2004. His sentence was appealed, and he was freed for lack of evidence on July 15, 2005. The Public Prosecutor's office has not decided whether or not to appeal his release at the time of writing. However, statements from Governor Reyes Baeza indicate that Mr. García Uribe is still considered to be the prime suspect in these murders.

¹ "Tortura, método inculpatório." *Norte de Ciudad Juárez*. Arroyo Ortega, Javier. Oct. 11, 2004.

² "Deadly frontier." *The Guardian*. Tuckman, Jo. Mar. 25, 2002.

³ Author's interview with Mr. García Uribe's lawyer, Sergio Dante Almaraz. April 18, 2005.

⁴ Author's interview with Mr. García Uribe's lawyer, Sergio Dante Almaraz. April 18, 2005.

⁵ "Tortura, método inculpatório." *Norte de Ciudad Juárez*. Arroyo Ortega, Javier. Oct. 11, 2004.

⁶ Author's interview with Mr. García Uribe's lawyer, Sergio Dante Almaraz. April 18, 2005.

⁷ "Muere Gustavo González Meza en un contexto de hostigamiento tanto a él como a sus familiares." *Comisión Mexicana para la Defensa y Promoción de Derechos Humanos*. Press Release. February 10, 2003. <http://www.cmdpdh.org/comunicados03.02.01/2bolfoca.html>



Commemoration of the Juarez victims in front of the governor's office, Chihuahua City

Chihuahua State Attorney General's office and its dependencies in order to better appreciate their role in building cases against and prosecuting suspects in the Juárez murders.

Though the detention of a suspect normally requires a judicial warrant and the timely presentation of the witness before a judge to issue testimony, the Mexican constitution allows for the detention and interrogation of a suspect without such judicial guarantees

time the crime was committed.⁷ It should be noted that many Juárez suspects have been detained under these terms, and also helps to explain the urgency with which suspects are usually identified shortly after the discovery of a woman's murder. These detentions are carried out by the State Judicial Police, a dependency of the State Attorney General's office. The police are required to turn the suspect over to the Public Prosecutor's office, which can hold the suspect for a period of 48

A confession that is extracted through coercion still carries more weight than the revocation of that testimony before a judge.

in "urgent cases," which are broadly defined and usually include murder. Mexican law provides for the same exception for suspects detained *en flagrante*, which can be defined as the existence of "indications leading to a reasonable presumption that the suspect participated in the crime," and which can extend for a period of up to 72 hours from the

to 96 hours before presenting the suspect to a judge.⁸

Testimony and confessions may be given by a suspect to the Public Prosecutor. Confessions given to a prosecutor generally carry more weight than a confession presented afterwards to a judge under the principle of

Cynthia Kiecker and Ulises Perzábal

Viviana Rayas disappeared in Chihuahua City on March 16, 2003. Young and pretty, she fit the description of so many of the young women who had disappeared in Ciudad Juárez, and since 2001, in Chihuahua City as well. The daughter of a prominent labor leader, her father threatened to put his workers on strike state-wide unless the authorities found his daughter. On May 28, 2003, Ms. Rayas' body was found on the outskirts of the city. On May 30, 2003, Cynthia Kiecker, a U.S. citizen, and her Mexican husband, Ulises Perzábal, were taken from their home in Chihuahua City by masked agents to Chihuahua's State Police Academy.¹ They were detained there and allegedly tortured for two days into confessing to Ms. Rayas' murder. Mr. Perzábal was detained and beaten four times in relation to her disappearance.²

In their confessions, Ms. Kiecker and Mr. Perzábal supposedly were holding a satanic party, and Ms. Rayas was present. Ms. Kiecker was allegedly jealous of Ms. Rayas and killed her with a blow to the head with a blunt instrument. Forensic evidence shows that Ms. Rayas was most likely strangled, and that there was no trauma to her head. Ms. Kiecker indicated that initially, she and her husband were presented with confessions tying them to murders in Juárez and Chihuahua City. However, those were later withdrawn in favor of a confession to only Ms. Rayas' murder.

In that confession, the suspects named three friends as co-conspirators – Erika Perez, Manuel Lopez Dominguez, and Melito Sibaja Jarquín. These individuals were detained, allegedly tortured, and released after signing declarations naming Ms. Kiecker and Mr. Perzábal as the responsible parties.³ Ms. Perez and Mr. Lopez Dominguez recanted at a public press conference, citing torture, on June 30, 2003.

The U.S. Consulate in Ciudad Juárez became involved in Ms. Kiecker's case shortly after her arrest, and members of the U.S. Congress, most notably Senator Norman Coleman of Minnesota (Ms. Kiecker's home state), pressured the Mexican government for her release. In a notable gaffe, President Fox of Mexico visited Minnesota on a business trip on June 19, 2004. During the visit, he promised Senator Coleman that Ms. Kiecker would be released. Less than one week later, Mexican officials admitted the President made an error. He misunderstood a report by Chihuahuan authorities that the agents responsible for Ms. Kiecker's torture, rather than Ms. Kiecker herself, would not be prosecuted.⁴

Ms. Kiecker and Mr. Perzábal were found innocent on December 17, 2004. They quickly moved to the United States, where they remain today.

The Chihuahua Public Prosecutor's office has appealed the court's decision only in Mr. Perzábal's case, and still considers him to be responsible for Ms. Rayas' murder,⁵ despite confessions that claim Ms. Kiecker was directly responsible for the murder.

Ms. Kiecker and Mr. Perzábal were slated to undergo medical testing by Mexican federal authorities under the Istanbul Protocol. However, they returned to the U.S. before testing could be carried out.⁶

¹ "A Hundred Women." *New Yorker*. Guillermprieto, Alma. Sep. 29, 2003.

² "A Hundred Women." *New Yorker*. Guillermprieto, Alma. Sep. 29, 2003.

³ "American woman, husband arrested in murder in northern Mexico." Associated Press. Stevenson, Mark. Aug. 23, 2003.

⁴ "Mexico won't drop murder charge" *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. Tevlin, Jon. Jun. 25, 2004.

⁵ Interview with Chihuahua Attorney General Patricia González. April 21, 2005. Chihuahua City, Chihuahua.

⁶ Interview with Chihuahua Attorney General Patricia González. April 21, 2005. Chihuahua City, Chihuahua.

procedural immediacy, interpreted by Mexican courts to mean that the confession given closest to the time of the crime holds the most weight. As a result, a confession that is extracted through coercion still carries more weight than the revocation of that testimony before a judge at a later date. Chihuahuan law provides for a defense attorney to be present during this period of investigation and interrogation, known as *averiguación previa*. However, this is not generally respected in practice – the suspect often meets his or her defense attorney for the first time at his or her first appearance before a judge,⁹ known as the *declaración preparatoria*. This gives the Public Prosecutor's office broad authority to build a case against a suspect, including confessions, before a defense attorney truly has access to their client, and makes it

At trial, the Public Ministry [Prosecutor] generally presents only evidence that it has obtained through its own investigation and does not request that the judge hear any witnesses or take any new evidence. In essence, the Public Ministry's posture is that the judge should simply ratify its work by issuing a conviction. For this reason, experts on the judiciary estimate that approximately 95 percent of cases that reach a judge result in convictions.¹⁰

In theory, trials should be carried out within one year from the *auto formal de prisión*.¹¹ However, in the case of many of the Juárez suspects, trials have dragged on for years. In the most extreme case, a group of six men

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difficult for a judge to hear contradictory evidence during this first appearance. If a judge believes that there is credible evidence to take the suspect to trial based on this first hearing, he or she will issue an *auto formal de prisión*, establishing that the case is ready to go to trial.

Once an *auto formal de prisión* is issued, a case moves to trial via written proceedings. All evidence and testimony are presented in written form to a judge, who alone will determine whether or not the suspect is innocent or guilty. The Public Prosecutor's office, which was responsible for the *averiguación previa*, is also responsible for presenting the case against the suspect. According to a study by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and the Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center, this places an inordinate amount of power in the hands of the Public Prosecutor's office. (For a detailed description of the Mexican judicial system, see their report, *Legalized Injustice*.) According to the report,

known as “*los Rebeldes*” were detained in 1996 for the murders of ten women. A guilty verdict was not reached in their case until 2005. Such arbitrary delays have allowed officials to claim that the cases have been resolved because suspects are in detention, but leave the suspects in a state of limbo regarding their innocence or guilt.

Once a judge issues a conviction, the suspect has the right to appeal. An appellate court will review the original case, and may confirm the sentence, dismiss the case, or call for a new trial based on procedural problems in the original case. The appeal process is important for many cases in this report, as it has recently provided for the release of Victor Javier García, and has played a role in the ongoing changes in the case against Abdul Latif Sharif-Sharif.

The Use of Torture in Extracting Confessions

The Mexican constitution prohibits the use of torture in investigations. However, a

David Meza

Neyra Azucena Cervantes went missing in Chihuahua City on May 13, 2003. Her family placed calls to relatives around Mexico, asking for help to find her. Within weeks, her cousin David Meza flew from his hometown in Chiapas, Mexico to join in the search. He took a prominent role in the search, often denouncing police officials for their lack of investigations. Two days before her body was discovered, Mr. Meza, along with Ms. Cervantes' mother, was told by the State Attorney General that if they wanted a culprit in the crime, they would have one soon enough.¹

Ms. Cervantes' body was found on July 14, 2003 in a field near the state judicial police. The same day, Mr. Meza and Ms. Cervantes' stepfather, Jesus Argueta Vargas, were taken into custody by state judicial police. On July 16, Mr. Argueta Vargas was released and Mr. Meza was accused of killing his cousin. Both allege being tortured, and Mr. Meza alleges signing his confession to Ms. Cervantes' murder to end the torture. On July 18, 2003, Mr. Meza recanted his confession. Despite this, a judge issued an *auto formal de prisión* on July 23.

Mr. Meza confessed to hiring two men to kidnap his cousin Neyra in Chihuahua City. Once she had been kidnapped, Mr. Meza allegedly flew to Chihuahua City. When she refused his advances, he allegedly raped and shot her, then returned home to Chiapas. Police cannot locate the two kidnap suspects, nor can they produce evidence of Mr. Meza's travel between Chiapas and Chihuahua, or the murder weapon.² Ms. Cervantes' identity is also under question – her family has refused to accept the body as their daughter. In forensic testing carried out in 2003 in California at the family's request, a finger bone was identified as belonging to Ms. Cervantes. However, forensic experts also suspected that photos of the remains pointed to a male skull, leading to doubts about the identity of the body.³

In July 2005, the Chihuahuan authorities acknowledged that they hid the discovery of a second woman's body at the same time and place where Ms. Cervantes' remains were found. The revelation further cast doubts on the validity of the evidence against Mr. Meza.

Mr. Meza underwent medical testing by Mexican federal authorities to certify torture in his case. Federal results are pending at this time. However, the Chihuahua State Human Rights Commission conducted tests of their own, certifying torture in his case. Those results were submitted as evidence in his murder trial.⁴

Mr. Meza is currently awaiting the outcome of his trial. His family, and that of his cousin, Ms. Cervantes, continue to be active internationally, calling for his release.

¹ Author's interview with Neyra Azucena Cervantes' mother Patricia Cervantes. April 21, 1995.

² "Asesinos ¿Seriales? En Chihuahua." *Aserto*. Aug. 1, 2003.

³ Author's interview with Neyra Azucena Cervantes' mother Patricia Cervantes. April 21, 1995.

⁴ "Mexican Victim's Family Defends Innocence." *Associated Press*. Rodriguez, Olga. Apr. 29, 2005.

confession is considered valid, regardless of whether torture was used in producing that confession, in part due to the principle of procedural immediacy.¹² As has most often happened in the Juárez murders, a judge will dismiss claims of torture, arguing that torture is a different issue from the validity of the confession.

Torture has been used in many of the most prominent scapegoat cases in the Juárez murders. Victor García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza, held for the murders of eight women in 2001, produced medical certificates confirming their torture. Cynthia Kiecker and Ulises Perzábal, held for the murder of a prominent politician's daughter

Rights Commission studied the case files related to the Juárez murders and found that:

[I]n at least 89 cases that were submitted to judicial oversight, it was noted that the suspects confessed to their crimes to officials from the Public Prosecutor's office in a 'spontaneous' manner, and after the fact they declared to judicial officials that they had been tortured, mistreated, or threatened into signing statements that they did not agree with. These statements had been extracted with violence.¹⁴

Torture may have been used to extract false confessions in almost half of the Juárez crimes in which arrests have been made.

in 2003, underwent medical tests that confirmed their torture during pretrial detention. David Meza, held for the 2003 murder of his cousin, also produced a variety of medical documentation confirming the use of torture. In cases prior to these, there have been allegations of torture, though medical documentation was not produced as evidence.

In the prominent cases where there is a public record, as well as in earlier cases where torture was alleged, the resultant confession was often the only piece of evidence tying the suspect to the murder or murders of which they are accused. When Victor García Uribe was convicted of murder in 2005, the judge discounted the use of torture, arguing that it was not admissible to the case against him for murder, nor did it invalidate the validity of the confession.¹³ Though this trend is apparent in many of the most prominent trials of Juárez murder suspects, there is strong evidence that torture may have been used to extract false confessions in almost half of the Juárez crimes in which arrests have been made. A 2003 study by the Mexican National Human

The Commission to Prevent and Eradicate Violence established by President Fox has been active in promoting the use of the Istanbul Protocol in documenting torture against detainees in the Juárez murders. The Istanbul Protocol is an international mechanism to certify and document the use of torture. To date, the protocol has been initiated in the cases of Victor García Uribe, Cynthia Kiecker and Ulises Perzábal, and David Meza.¹⁵ Results are still pending in Mr. García Uribe's case. The responsibility to carry out the necessary medical tests falls to the federal Attorney General's office. Requests for the compliance with the protocol must go from the state Attorney General's office to the federal Attorney General, who then submits the results to state authorities. There have been inordinate delays in carrying out the protocol, ranging from delayed state requests for the protocol's implementation to multi-month delays in obtaining the results.

Where the protocol has produced results, it has confirmed the use of torture, though the use of this information in judicial proceedings

has been limited. Furthermore, the protocol has only been applied in the most well publicized cases of scapegoating, with no attempts made to review the status of all detainees in the Juárez murders.

Defining a Solved Crime

For statistical purposes, authorities in Chihuahua consider a femicide resolved when they have a suspect in custody. Once an *auto formal de prisión* is issued, statistically that case is resolved. This definition of a resolved case has placed many detainees in legal limbo. Given the problems with delays in trials, many suspects see their cases languish in the court system without resolution.

The Use of Scapegoats in the Juárez Murders

The first likely scapegoat in the Juárez murders was produced in 1995, almost three years after the string of murders gained public attention. The suspect, Abdul Latif Sharif-Sharif, was a perfect scapegoat. He was an Egyptian citizen who spoke almost no Spanish, and had just recently moved to Ciudad Juárez to work in a US-owned maquiladora factory. He had no family or other ties to the city or to Mexico. Formally, he was only charged with the murder of one woman, but in public statements, he was accused of serial murder, and blamed for the feminicides of the past three years.

The Chóferes fit the mold of scapegoats to date – poor men with few resources to fight the accusations against them.

Mexico has a policy of pretrial detention, which provides for the incarceration of a suspect when he or she is awaiting trial and throughout the course of judicial proceedings. Nationwide, almost half of all suspects are jailed while awaiting their trials.¹⁶ As in the case of “los Rebeldes” mentioned earlier, the six suspects spent nine years in pretrial detention before being sentenced.

Pretrial detention allows authorities to claim that the dangerous member of society has been put away, alleviating public fears. Because Mexican judicial proceedings are done in writing, rather than as oral trials, and are almost never public record, it is difficult to ascertain the status of a detainee. And after spending a number of years in prison, it becomes easier to assume that the suspect was convicted of the crime because he or she is still in jail. As a result, it is politically expedient for authorities who want to calm public fears over feminicides to encourage the use of scapegoats and to let the system of pretrial detention and trial delays substitute for serious investigations.

Mr. Sharif was jailed during a long pretrial detention, during which time women continued to be murdered. As public pressure again began to mount in response to multiple bodies being found in the Lomas de Poleo neighborhood, the police again targeted a group of perfect scapegoats – a street gang called “los Rebeldes.” Six members of the gang were detained in 1996 – almost nine months after Mr. Sharif was arrested, and charged with the murders of thirteen women. (See the box on page 4.) They are the first detainees to allege torture was used to extract confessions in their case.

Though Mr. Sharif and the Rebeldes were all in jail by 1996, the murders continued. Not until 1999 did the authorities, now under the administration of Patricio Martínez, decide to continue using Mr. Sharif to explain the murders. At this time, again in response to murders in the Lomas de Poleo area, a new group of men was detained, known as “los Chóferes” because they were all public bus drivers in Ciudad Juárez. *(It should be noted that one of the men detained but released at this time in the investigations was Victor*

García Uribe, who would be arrested and charged with the murder of eight women in 2001.) (See the boxes on pages 4-5.) They also allege torture in their cases.

Despite the detention of 12 suspects by 1999, women continued to be murdered in Ciudad Juárez. Public outrage came to a head in 2001 when eight women's bodies were found over the course of 24 hours in a cotton field in downtown Juárez. Within 48 hours, police had detained Víctor García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza, charging them with the cotton field murders. Though there was never a direct connection between these two suspects and Mr. Sharif-Sharif, a review of the Public Prosecutor's case against Mr. García Uribe shows a wealth of testimonies and documents linking him to the murders committed by the "Chóferes."¹⁷ In these documents, José Gaspar Ceballos Chávez,

García Uribe's lawyer received repeated death threats, as did his wife, Miriam García.¹⁸

Including Mr. Sharif-Sharif, fourteen people have been detained in connection to the theory that he was paying individuals to murder women on his behalf. In total, they have been officially held charged with 21 murders. They have been accused and detained, however, for the murders of over 40 women.

A Change in Policy

After the cotton field murders of 2001, international attention began to focus on Ciudad Juárez and the murders of women taking place there. Officials fell under increasing pressure to find a solution to these crimes. One of the overriding difficulties was the continued perception that authorities were not able to catch the person or group

Since 2003, there has been a very effective campaign waged by both state and federal officials to dispel the theory of "serial murder."

one of the detained *Chóferes*, testifies that Mr. García Uribe was responsible for paying José Manuel Guardado, another *Chofer* in detention, who then paid everyone else for their role in the murders. Public statements made by Chihuahua state officials at this time continued to insinuate a connection between Mr. García Uribe and past crimes.

While Mr. García Uribe and Mr. González Meza both fit the same pattern as previous detainees in that they were men of few financial resources, authorities began to encounter push back in their case. Both men acquired private legal counsel, were subjected to medical examinations, and in the case of Mr. García Uribe, had a family that was willing to publicly protest his detention and expose the problems in his case. Their push-back was received with hostile rebukes. Mr. González Meza's lawyer was shot in the street by state judicial police less than four months after his client was arrested, and Mr.

of persons repeatedly committing the same serial crime. Since 2003, there has been a very effective campaign waged by both state and federal officials to dispel the theory of "serial murder" and replace it with a series of unrelated murders that have, admittedly, not been investigated. As a result, it has become more difficult to implicate scapegoats for responsibility over multiple murders.

The change in tactic has once again allowed authorities to claim that the main fault has been a previous administration's inability to investigate individual crimes, and to ignore their current responsibility. Rather, they are free to focus on highlighting individual arrests when they occur as evidence that they are making progress. However, when asked about the guilt or innocence of men in detention for serial crimes of the past, such as the cotton field murders or the Lomas de Poleo murders, they continue to insist on the guilt of the detainees, and continue

Mario Chavarría Barraza and Marcos Chico Chávez

On August 5, 2000, Elodia Payán Núñez was murdered. Reports as to the circumstances of her death are contradictory. She was found naked, with her hands and feet bound, in a pharmacy on her property. Authorities first tried to claim the murder was a robbery, but when news got out that she was found nude and bound, public outcry rose against authorities to find the responsible party. Authorities arrested Mario Chavarría Barraza and Marcos Chico Chávez on August 12, 2000. They were detained for two days, and allegedly tortured into confessing to Ms. Payán Núñez's murder. On August 14, Mr. Chavarría Barraza told a judge that he had been tortured into issuing his confession, and that he was in prison on the day of Ms. Payán Núñez's murder. The judge verified his claim and released both suspects on August 15, 2000. No other suspects have been detained in this case to date.

Source: Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa. www.mujeresdeJuárez.org/testimoniales.htm and hociconericas.tripod.com.mx/casoJuárez/id7.html.

to support the serial crime theory that implicates Mr. Sharif. The inconsistencies that allow officials to deny the existence of a serial pattern of crime, but then continue to prosecute detainees accused of a serial plot to murder women underscores the political handling of these cases for public image purposes, and a continued unwillingness to carry out serious investigations into current or past crimes.

spreading south to the capital city of Chihuahua. By 2003, public pressure was mounting there to resolve these crimes, just as had happened in Juárez. The government has consistently been unwilling to acknowledge any link between the murders in Chihuahua City, despite troubling information that many of the victims disappeared from the same computer school, that their bodies have been found in similar

Chihuahuan authorities underestimated the scapegoats that they had chosen.

Federal officials with the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez echo this new perception. In their second report on the review of case files, they stated that "the majority of the homicides of women we studied are not the result of action by serial killers or the product of organized crime."¹⁹ This sentiment has also been echoed by state officials and other federal officials involved in investigating the Juárez murders.

Just as officials were beginning to discount evidence of serial crimes – 2001 – the crimes affecting Ciudad Juárez were

locations, sometimes in pairs, and that the pattern of sexual violence committed bears eerie resemblance to the Juárez crimes of the 1990s. Though the government was unwilling to recognize any serial patterns in the Chihuahua murders, authorities did continue to resort to the use of scapegoats in order to calm public fears.

In May 2003, the daughter of a prominent labor union leader in Chihuahua City went missing. As his calls for officials to find his daughter increased, he threatened to put all communication and transportation workers on strike. Two days later, his daughter Viviana's

Vicente Cárdenas Anchondo

Paloma Angélica Escobar Ledesma was found murdered on March 29, 2002 outside Ciudad Juárez. The following day, police arrested Vicente Cárdenas Anchondo, Ms. Escobar Ledesma's boyfriend. Mr. Cárdenas Anchondo was released from detention the following day, citing torture during his interrogation. Mr. Cárdenas was detained based on a photograph of him found near Ms. Escobar Ledesma's body. On March 31, one of Mr. Cárdenas Anchondo's ex-girlfriends came forward to testify that police had approached her on March 29 asking for a photo of him. The photo she gave to police was the same one found at the scene of the crime – it allegedly was doctored up with creases and dirt to make it look older. The officials responsible for falsifying evidence were suspended, though no charges have been brought against them at this time.

Source: *Mexico—Intolerable Killings. 10 years of abductions and murders of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua.* Amnesty International. November 2003. AI Index: AMR 41/026/2003.

"Negligencia oficial, constante en 10 años de feminicidios en Juárez." *La Jornada*. Villamil, Jenaro. Nov. 29, 2003.

body was found. As in Juárez, within 48 hours the police had detained two suspects, Cynthia Kiecker and Ulises Perzábal, and accused them of Viviana Rayas' murder. The married couple were part of a "hippie culture" in Chihuahua, were presumed to have few financial resources and family outside of the city. Though authorities originally presented them with a confession that included the murders of multiple women in both

as the killer in what was called a crime of passion.

In both cases, Chihuahuan authorities underestimated the scapegoats that they had chosen. Almost immediately, the families of the victims and the families of the detained came together to denounce the arrests. Furthermore, Cynthia Kiecker was an American citizen, and her family was able to hire an independent

The new administration could have reviewed the evidence in these cases and dismissed them.

Chihuahua and Juárez, that document was pulled in favor of a confession only for Ms. Rayas' murder.²⁰ In it, they alleged to have killed Ms. Rayas while performing a satanic ritual.

Shortly after Ms. Rayas disappeared, another young woman, Neyra Azucena Cervantes, went missing. Her family actively began a search for her, and enlisted family from around the country to solve her murder. Pressure to resolve her case also grew. Her body was found in July 2003, and the same day her father and cousin were detained. Her cousin, David Meza, was later produced

defense lawyer and involve the US Embassy and Congress in calls for her and her husband's release. In Mr. Meza's case, the family that had created public pressure to find Ms. Cervantes turned their attention to the detainee, and increased their calls for his liberation and a true investigation into her murder.

By 2004, international pressure was solidifying behind the cases of Mr. García Uribe, Mr. Perzábal and Ms. Kiecker, and Mr. Meza. The Chihuahuan government was under increased calls to accept evidence of torture in all their cases, and to carry out serious investigations into their murders.

Lesser Known Cases of Scapegoating

In addition to the cases above, there have been other instances of scapegoating in individual cases where public pressure has mounted to find the killer. In many of these cases, the detainee was released because the evidence in the case was clearly falsified, and left officials with little evidence to justify a continued detention. These detentions follow the pattern in the Chihuahua City murders of Ms. Rayas and Ms. Cervantes, but sometimes precede them, indicating that the same model

of torture to produce confessions, and raise serious concerns about how the authorities have acted in other individual cases where suspects were quickly found and imprisoned for feminicides.

New Administration, Same Policies

In October 2004, the Reyes Baeza Administration had taken office and was pledging to clean up the investigations of the Juárez murders. The signs it has sent since

All positive developments have been at the hands of individual judges, and not administration officials.

of finding scapegoats for high-profile crimes was first used in Ciudad Juárez and later repeated in Chihuahua City.

It is important to note that these other cases of scapegoating have occurred in murders that were more difficult to tie to serial crime, or in cases after 2001, when the government began to discount theories of serial murder. These cases all have allegations of the use

then have been disappointing, however. The Public Prosecutor's office has the legal ability to withdraw charges at any time during a trial until the prosecution and defense rest their cases and pass the case to a judge. In cases with presumed scapegoats, where evidence is weak at best and contradictory at worst, the new administration could have reviewed the evidence in these cases and dismissed them. However, it has continued to prosecute

Jesús Hernández Vázquez

Brenda Bernice Delgado Rodríguez, a five-year-old girl, disappeared on February 11, 2003 when she went across the street from her house to buy a soda. Her body was found eight days later in a field in downtown Juárez, raped and stabbed to death. When she went missing, her mother and stepfather, Jesús Hernández Vázquez were both at home. When Mr. Hernández Vázquez and his wife went to identify the body on February 19, he was detained for 24 hours as a suspect in the child's murder. Mr. Hernández Vázquez was repeatedly beaten over a 24-hour period by state judicial police, during which time prosecutors from the Joint Prosecutor's Office for the Investigation of Crimes Committed Against Women pressured him to sign a confession to his stepdaughter's murder. During the detention, police allegedly claimed they had detained his wife and would beat her as well if he did not confess to the murder. Mr. Hernández Vázquez did not sign any paperwork, and was released the following day. Officials threatened to detain and beat him again if he contacted any non-governmental organizations related to femicide in Juárez. To date, police have no suspects in custody in the rape and murder of Brenda Bernice Delgado Rodríguez.

Source: Public prosecutor's case file in author's possession

all cases from previous administrations with vigor.

Within days of the new administration, Mr. García Uribe was convicted of the cotton field murders. Mr. González Meza's trial was never completed, as he had died earlier in the year under mysterious circumstances while still in jail. Mr. García Uribe received a 50-year sentence for those crimes.

Shortly thereafter, in December 2004, Cynthia Kiecker and Ulises Perzábal were found innocent for lack of evidence, and the couple quickly returned to the United States.

The Public Prosecutor appealed the case only against Mr. Perzábal, and still considers him as the perpetrator of Ms. Rayas' murder. It has been inferred that their release was a response to political pressure from the United States, and the decision to pursue charges only against Mr. Perzábal, who is a Mexican citizen, seem to confirm that suspicion.

While the release of Ms. Kiecker and Mr. Perzábal was heralded as a positive step forward in the handling of scapegoat cases, January 2005 presented a serious setback. Within one hour of each other, both the *Rebeldes* and the *Choferes* were found guilty

Breakdown of Crimes, Arrests, and Convictions in the Juárez Murders

	Sexual	Non-Sexual	Total
Total Crimes	152 (100%)	262 (100%)	410 (100%)
Arrests	46 (30%)	125 (48%)	171 (42%)
Convictions	29 (19%)	86 (33%)	115 (28%)
Non-Scapegoat Convictions*	16 (11%)	86 (33%)	102 (25%)

*Cases that have not been identified by human rights organizations as scapegoats to date

Juan Carlos Valdenegro González, Victor Larrea Hernández, and Carlos Arturo Ruiz Hernández

Fourteen-year-old Luisa Rocío Chávez Chávez went missing on May 27, 2004. Her body was discovered two days later on the outskirts of Chihuahua City, showing signs of rape. The same evening that her body was found, police arrested Juan Carlos Valdenegro González for her murder. Within one day, Mr. Valdenegro González had confessed to the crime, and named to accomplices. Within 48 hours, Victor Larrea Hernández and Carlos Arturo Ruiz Hernández had been detained as well.

Mr. Valdenegro González and Mr. Larrea Hernández retracted their confessions in front of a judge on June 2, 2004, alleging that they were tortured into confessing. Mr. Valdenegro González stated that he was tortured into naming two accomplices that the police had already identified for him.

A revision of the case file against the defendants indicates that the only evidence tying them to the crime is each individual's confession.

All three men are currently in prison awaiting sentencing. They have approached the lawyer that represented Cynthia Kiecker, Ulises Perzábal, and David Meza to represent them.

Source: Public prosecutor's case file in author's possession



Women Murdered During the Reyes Baeza Administration*

Victim	Date of Murder	Circumstances	Suspect
Dalia Noemí Díaz Moctezuma	26-Jul-05	Shot while walking down the street with her husband, who is injured.	Arrest two suspects the next day
Olga Brisia Acosta Díaz	26-Jul-05	Shot in the street during an argument.	Arrest two minors the next day
Verónica Berenice Gómez Amesquita	24-May-05	Strangled and beaten to death in home.	Arrest boyfriend 10 days later
Martha Alicia Meraz	24-May-05	Shot in the street by stray bullets.	No suspect
Estela Bernice Gomez	23-May-05	Murdered in her home	Arrest husband after receiving anonymous phone call
Anay Orozco Lerma	17-May-05	10-year-old found raped, suffocated, and burned in her home.	Arrest father
Airis Estrella Enríquez	16-May-05	7-year-old body found in drum filled with cement. Outrage in Juárez.	Arrest child molester, confesses
María Estrella Cuevas Cuevas	5-May-05	Body found dumped in the street. Signs of rape. No witnesses.	No suspect
Tomasa Echeverría	4-May-05	Beaten to death.	No suspect
Lesdy Ramos Cruz	25-Mar-05	Six-year old beaten to death.	Arrest stepmother
Rocío Paola Marín Ávila	26-Mar-05	Body found in a canal.	Suspect arrested
Unidentified	22-Mar-05	Skeleton found in Loma Blanca, where other bodies have been found.	No suspect
Sonia Jacqueline Díaz Romero	15-Mar-05		Suspect fled to El Paso
Corral Arrieta Medina	12-Mar-05	Found raped and strangled.	No suspect
Patricia Montelongo de la O	12-Mar-05	Found in a sheet in a home.	deported from El Paso, arrested
Reyna Pérez Castillo	Feb - 05	Found in a plastic bag on a street corner.	No suspect
Manuela Cano Luna	9-Feb-05	Shot at work in front of clients.	No suspect
Alejandra Medrano Chavarria	25-Jan-05	Body found dumped in the street. No witnesses.	Two suspects arrested
Unidentified	21-Jan-05	Woman's skull found in industrial drum.	No suspect
María Liliana Acosta	15-Jan-05	Shot in home by boyfriend.	Boyfriend arrested
Claudia Guillén Hinojosa	11-Jan-05	Killed in home in front of two children by her boyfriend.	Suspect committed suicide
Josefina Contreras Solís	3-Jan-05	Found alive in a container. Signs of rape. Died in hospital the next day.	Suspect arrested
Flor Fabiola Ferrer Rivera	9-Dec-04	Body found raped, strangled, and dumped in the street.	Suspect identified
Cynthia Irasema Ramos	3-Dec-04		Suspect identified
Martha Cecilia Vargas Jiménez	24-Nov-04	Skeleton found near where last body was found.	No suspect
Barbara Leyva	14-Nov-04	3-year-old is shot.	No suspect
Unidentified	14-Nov-04	Nude body of 4-year-old found beaten, floating in a canal.	No suspect
Martha Lizbeth Hernández Moreno	2-Nov-04	Found raped and strangled in her home. Police arrive 20 minutes later.	Arrested when police arrive
Unidentified	23-Oct-04		Suspect arrested
Unidentified	7-Oct-04	Body found, raped and strangled, by a canal.	No suspect

*All information taken from chart in appendix.

of the murders of which they were accused. Sentences for the 11 men ranged from 24 years to 113 years. These cases have not been appealed.

Victor García Uribe's conviction was overturned on appeal, and he was released from prison on July 15. At the time of publication, it is unknown whether the Public Prosecutor's office plans to appeal that decision. However, recent statements by Governor Reyes Baeza indicate that the state government continues to see Mr. García Uribe as the responsible party.

arrests of credible suspects. No charges have been brought against officials implicated in the use of torture.

Review of Judicial Actions

Access to justice for both the families of victims and the detainees has been scarce in the Juárez murders. Chihuahuan and Mexican federal authorities have all released reports citing progress in investigations and judicial proceedings against suspects in these crimes. However, it is clear that less than half of the

Of the 410 crimes we catalogued, only 171 of those cases had led to an arrest or prosecution.

In a recent statement, the governor noted, "the judge did not absolve him of the crime. He only released him for lack of evidence." He continued, "torture can not be put forward as a determining factor in freeing him [García Uribe], the judge will make that decision based on other factors that are principally procedural.²¹"

David Meza's case is expected to be decided in the upcoming months.

Within the first year of the administration, it is expected that all well-known cases of scapegoats will be resolved. It is important to note that all positive developments have been at the hands of individual judges, and not administration officials. The appearance of resolution has aimed to lessen international pressure, despite the fact that investigations have yet to produce any new suspects in crimes that occurred before October 2004, including the cotton field murders and Ms. Rayas' murder.

There have been no attempts to acknowledge torture claims, or claims of scapegoating in cases beyond those that have received international attention. In cases where scapegoats have been released, no new investigations into those cases have resulted in

crimes on record have a suspect detained or convicted of a murder. Furthermore, these cases include numerous cases of scapegoating, and are rife with allegations of torture.

There is little difference in how much progress has been made under the three administrations that have presided over the Juárez murders. All have seen roughly the same number of arrests in these crimes, despite rhetoric claiming that each administration has done more than the last to resolve these crimes. Evidence of torture and scapegoating are strongest in the administrations of Governors Terrazas and Martínez, but the Reyes Baeza Administration has been willing to pursue convictions in the cases where torture has been used under its predecessors.

Analysis of the cases on file indicate that all three administrations have been capable of arresting, trying, and convicting suspects who were easy to identify or who were caught at the scene of the crime. However, the ability or willingness to pursue serious investigations into more difficult cases has remained very low throughout all three administrations. In all, this review makes it clear that justice has had very little to do with the Juárez murders.

María Inés Sagrario González and Jose Luis Hernández Flores

María Inés Sagrario González disappeared on April 16, 1998 on her way home from work. She was reported missing on April 17, found dead on April 29, 1998 in the Loma Blanca neighborhood just east of Ciudad Juárez. The cause of death was strangulation, though she had been physically and sexually assaulted as well.

At the time, state investigators did little to investigate Ms. González's murder, and her family began to investigate the crime themselves. On numerous occasions, Ms. González's mother, Paula Flores, approached police with leads, but they were never pursued. News reports mention that officials indicated they were investigating Jesus Manuel Guardado, one of the Choferes arrested in 1999, as a possible culprit, but charges were never filed against him for Ms. González's murder.¹ The case was officially kept open for seven years. In Special Prosecutor Lopez Urbina's third report, she indicated that 2 officials involved in this investigation could be guilty of abuse of authority, and 12 additional officials involved could be guilty of negligence and other administrative omissions.

In December 2004, the new state administration decided to revisit Ms. González's case under local and international pressure. Once again, Paula Flores reported the results of her investigation, and handed investigators information on possible suspects. During her family's testimony in front of state authorities, a state lawyer supposedly accused Ms. Flores' son of murdering her sister, and threatened to arrest him for the crime. The family filed a formal complaint with the State Human Rights Commission regarding this matter on February 23, 2005.²

On February 18, 2005, state agents arrested Jose Luis Hernández Flores, who Ms. Flores had indicated as a possible suspect. Mr. Hernández Flores has put forth three versions of the murder of Ms. González. At his first testimony on February 19, in front of the Joint Prosecutor's Office for the Investigation of Women's Murders, Mr. Hernández Flores indicated that he had been paid US \$500 by two men to help in the kidnapping and murder of Ms. González. He named Efraín Balleza González and a second suspect only by the name of Gabriel.³ At a later testimony on February 21 at the in front of a judge for the Public Prosecutor's office, Mr. Hernández Flores testified that he acted alone in Ms. González's murder.⁴ The following day, in an interview with *El Diario*, Mr. Hernández Flores said that he had received death threats from Mr. Balleza González, and said he acted alone under that pressure. One of his testimonies states that he invented Mr. Balleza and "Gabriel." In this third story, he indicated that Mr. Balleza González, a drug smuggler in the area, was accompanied by three men when they asked for his help in kidnapping Sagrario. He indicated that he would be willing to identify these men in exchange for protective services.⁵

In a meeting with the Chihuahua State Attorney General on March 28, 2005, Ms. Flores asked that investigators follow the leads provided by Mr. Hernández Flores, and investigate the accomplices he named. To date, no such actions have been taken.

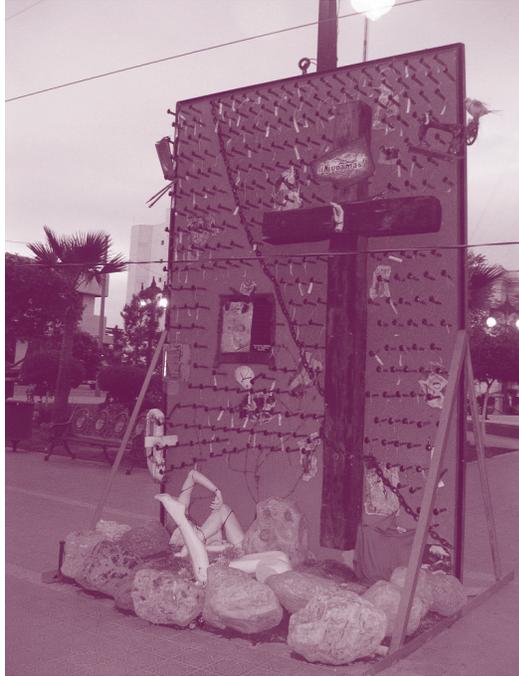
¹ "Resuelve familia feminicidio." *Norte de Juárez*. Castro, Salvador. Feb. 19, 2005.

² "Hermano de Sagrario debería estar en la cárcel, dice." *El Mexicano*. Chaparro, Ana. Feb. 23, 2005.

³ "Jamás te perdonaremos, gritan a homicida." *Norte de Ciudad Juárez*. Castro, Salvador. Feb. 22, 2005

⁴ "Jamás te perdonaremos, gritan a homicida." *Norte de Ciudad Juárez*. Castro, Salvador. Feb. 22, 2005

⁵ "Caso Sagrario: Entrevista, me amenazaron." *El Diario*. Segura, Jacinto. Feb. 23, 2005.



Commemoration of the Juarez victims in front of the governor's office, Chihuahua City

As of the end of July 2005, LAWGEF documented 410 cases of women's murders in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City.²² We have separated out crimes of a sexual nature from other crimes. We have identified 152 sexual crimes to date.²³

We have separated out sexual crimes because they most often represent a different crime

“crimes of passion” cases where the victim has been raped, which in part accounts for a higher success rate in the arrest and prosecution of suspects when discussing sexual crimes.

When discussing resolved crimes, it is also important to distinguish what is meant by that term. The reports released by the Special Prosecutor break down crimes between ones in investigation, and those that have gone to trial in front of a court of law. However, within the latter category, cases where the defendant has gone free, for a variety of reasons, are included. Despite the fact that these cases have gone to trial, authorities do not have a suspect accused of the crime in custody, yet the Special Prosecutor does not consider these crimes to still be under investigation. In our opinion this presents a serious flaw in the analysis conducted by the Special Prosecutor. For the purposes of our report, we have not included cases that have gone to trial but have resulted in an acquittal in our tallying of resolved crimes.

Of the 410 crimes we catalogued, only 171 of those cases had led to an arrest or prosecution – 42 percent. When sexual crimes are looked at in the same light, 46 out of 152 have seen arrest or conviction, or 30 percent. However, when the cases of

There have been no arrests in cases that require deeper investigation.

pattern from domestic violence, intimate partner violence, robbery, and other crimes that can be found in the 410 murders. Most often, suspects have been apprehended in non-sexual crimes from their homes or the scene of the crime, or from eyewitness identification. In the majority of sexual crimes, the victims' bodies have been found dumped with no immediate, direct leads to suspects. And it is in these more difficult cases where the judicial process has been most lacking. It is important to mention that our list of sexual crimes includes domestic violence and

well-known scapegoats are removed from this list, the number of suspects drops to 29 – half of the total number of detained men, or 19%. Of the remaining 30, only 16 have been sentenced, or 11 percent. Based on the information available from Chihuahuan and federal documents, 20 men are still awaiting sentencing for sexual crimes dating back to 1997. Of the pending 20 pending arrests, 6 have been made in the past year.

In non-sexual crimes, which total 262, there have been arrests or convictions in 125 cases,

or 48 percent. 86 of those cases have resulted in sentencing, or 69% of all arrests and 33% of all non-sexual crimes.

This analysis is in stark contrast to the reports put out by the Special Prosecutor's office, which claims reports that 63% of cases have been moved to criminal proceedings as the only criteria for success. When acquitted suspects are removed, our data show only a 44% rate at taking a case to trial. Of those, only 30% have resulted in convictions. And of those, only in 24% do we have some degree of confidence that the actual culprit has been sentenced.

The National Commission on Human Rights alleges torture or coerced confessions in at least 89 of the cases they reviewed in the Juárez murders, further casting doubt on the veracity of almost half of all the arrests made to date in the Juárez murders. Such allegations make it difficult to discern where justice has actually been served in any of these cases.

The Reyes Baeza Administration

In the ten months of the new administration, there have been clear signs that Chihuahuan authorities are focusing political capital into these crimes. While the number of murders increased since Mr. Reyes Baeza has taken office, there has been, in general, a quicker response to these crimes. But with 30 women's murders to date in his administration, there have been arrests in only 16 of those cases, or 53%, a rate that is not much higher than those of his predecessors. Five of those arrests have been in sexually related crimes. It is important to note that there have been no claims of torture that have been made public in these arrests.

An analysis of the crimes committed since Governor Reyes Baeza took office shows that the police have been quick to arrest suspects in crimes where the suspect was easily identified. However, with the exception of the murder of Airis Estrella Enriquez, where there was enormous public outcry, there have been no arrests in cases that require deeper

investigation. While this shows a willingness to deal with crimes as they are committed, compared to previous administrations where leads were often ignored, it underlines an inability to conduct effective murder investigations in the Juárez murders.

In dealing with historical cases, gains under the Reyes Baeza Administration have also been limited. There was a positive sign in the arrest of four men tied to prior crimes in March 2005.²⁴ However, these arrests were based on arrest warrants that had never been served, found in a review of old case files – it signaled no new investigative work.

There has also been a disappointing result in the administration's response to new information in the case of Maria Inés Sagrario González. (See the box on page 21.) In the handling of this case, the administration has once again taken simple steps that allow it to claim success without pursuing serious investigations.

The Reyes Baeza administration has been able to close relatively simple cases, as illustrated by the murders committed in the past ten months. It has also been willing to execute arrest warrants for past murders where no new investigations are required. However, there is still a serious lack of investigative capacity at the state level to handle current and past cases that involve in-depth investigative work.

Until the new administration matches its rhetoric with serious investigations that produce credible results, it will likely fall short of the public calls for an end to a twelve-year tragedy.

Recommendations

- The state of Chihuahua should order an immediate review of all criminal proceedings against all members of *Los Rebeldes* and *Los Choferes*, Abdul Latif Sharif-Sharif, David Meza, and Cynthia Kiecker and Ulises Perzábal, taking into account the use of torture.

- Criminal proceedings should be opened against the torturers of all detainees who have medically documented evidence of torture committed by state officials.
- A review should be conducted, in coordination with the National Commission of Human Rights, of the 89 cases it documented where coercion was used to extract a confession to a woman's murder. Retrials should be issued in all cases where torture was found to be used as a means to providing evidence for the trial.
- Credible investigations should be opened into all murders where a suspect has been released or acquitted.
- State and local authorities that have been named by Special Prosecutor Lopez Urbina as responsible for malfeasance in the handling of historical cases should be sanctioned to the full extent of the law.
- All historical cases should be reviewed, and cases that have sufficient evidence available to continue investigations should be separated into a new category. The victim's family should be contacted in those cases and asked for cooperation in providing any information they have regarding their case.
- Historical crimes that should be closed due to lack of evidence should be identified and separated into a new category. Victims' families should be given the opportunity to review those cases and provide any new information that they have that could result in the re-opening of their case.
- These new classifications of open and closed cases should be made public so that the new administration can be measured by its success in solving open cases.
- The state of Chihuahua should implement the recommendations of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, issued in January 1998, with special note of the validity of confessions not issued directly to a judge.
- The state of Chihuahua should implement the recommendations of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers, issued in January 2002, with special note of recommendations on the role of the Public Prosecutor's office and addressing issues of historical impunity.

Thanks

The author would like to thank the following people for their help in producing this publication: Kate Lynch and Aranzazu de la O for their invaluable research assistance; Laurie Freeman and Lisa Haugaard for their editing skills; the families and activists of Juarez, who were willing to share their stories with me.

This report has been made possible by the generous support of the General Service Foundation and the Open Society Institute Development Foundation.

Chart of Detainees in Women's Murders in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City, Mexico

This chart was compiled from reports issued by Casa Amiga Domestic Violence and Rape Crisis Center, the Chihuahuan Women's Institute, and the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez. It cross-references data from all three reports, and is the basis for the analyses carried out in this report. LAWGEF acknowledges that there may be more current information on these cases. However, without public access to such information, we have had to rely on published reports as the source of our information.

The chart lists only cases where a suspect has been identified, and provides information on that detainee's status. The chart also identifies, in the last three columns, any crimes that have been classified as sexual in nature, in order to discern official response to those crimes versus non-sexual crimes.

Victim	Date of Murder	Location	Suspect	Status	Casa Amiga*	ICHIMU**	Fiscalia***
Olga Brisia Acosta Díaz	26-Jul-05	Juárez	Liliana and Alejandro Rodríguez Avila	arrested- both minors			
Dalia Noemí Díaz Moctezuma	26-Jul-05	Juárez	Manuel Alejandor, Edgar Martínez Lozano, Alan Martínez Lozano	arrested			
Verónica Berenice Gómez Amesquita	24-May-05	Juárez	Roberto Orquiz Reyes "el duck"	arrested			
Martha Alicia Meraz	24-May-05	Juárez	gang members	unknown			
Anay Orozco Lerma	17-May-05	Juárez	Antonio Ibanez Duran	arrested	sexual		
Airis Estrella Enríquez	16-May-05	Juárez	Luis García Villalazo w/ help from Miguel o Eustacio Alemán Zendejas, Juan Manuel Alvarado Jayola	arrested, pending	sexual		
Rocío Paola Marín Ávila	26-Mar-05	Juárez	Guadalupe Reyes Gándara Chávez	arrested			
Lesdy Ramos Cruz	25-Mar-05	Juárez	Mariana Ramírez Cruz	arrested			
Sonia Jacqueline Díaz Romero	15-Mar-05	Chihuahua	yes	fled to El Paso			
Patricia Montelongo de la O	12-Mar-05	Juárez	yes	deported from El Paso, arrested			
María Liliana Acosta	15-Jan-05	Juárez	Carlos Herrera Bustos	arrested			
Claudia Guillén Hinojosa	11-Jan-05	Juárez	Jesús Rentería Vargas	committed suicide			
Josefina Contreras Solís	3-Jan-05	Juárez	yes	arrested	sexual		
Flor Fabiola Ferrer Rivera	9-Dec-04	Juárez	yes	unknown	sexual		
Cynthia Irasema Ramos	3-Dec-04	Juárez	yes	unknown			
Martha Lizbeth Hernández Moreno	2-Nov-04	Juárez	José Luis Montes	arrested	sexual		
unidentified	23-Oct-04	Chihuahua	Ramón Martínez Morales	arrested			
Ana María Reyes Valverde	16-Sep-04	Juárez		committed suicide			
Alma Brisa Molina	26-Jul-04	Juárez	Jorge Ramos	arrested	sexual		
Lorena Clara Mavie Torres	7-Jul-04	Juárez	Reymundo Díaz Escárcega + 1 other	sentenced - 17 years			
Luisa Rocía Chávez Chávez	28-May-04	Chihuahua	Juan Carlos Valdenegro González, Víctor Larrea Hernández, Carlos Arturo Ruiz Hernández	arrested			
Lorena Verónica Calderón	2-Apr-04	Juárez	Martín Lascano	arrested			
Cristina Escobar González	13-Mar-04	Juárez	Francisco Javier Martínez Lira	arrested	sexual		

* Casa Amiga is a domestic violence and rape crisis center in Ciudad Juárez that has maintained a comprehensive list of women's murders in Chihuahua State Based on press reports. LAWGEF identified sexual crimes from this list based on evidence of rape or attempted rape from the press reports. This list begins in 1993 and is current through July 2005.

** ICHIMU is the Chihuahuan Women's Institute. In July 2003, they released a review of media reports on women's murders in Ciudad Juárez. They explicitly identified crimes which they consider to be sexual in nature.

*** The Fiscalía is the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez. They have released 3 reports to date reviewing 205 official case files in women's murders in Ciudad Juárez. Though they do not specifically identify sexual crimes, LAWGEF has again used any information provided in those reports that shows signs of rape or attempted rape to identify sexual crimes.

Victim	Date of Murder	Location	Suspect	Status	Casa Amiga*	ICHIMU**	Fiscalia***
Angelina Alejandra Ortiz	13-Nov-03	Juárez	Porfirio Santiago González	Arrested			
Claudia Pérez Serratos	23-Aug-03	Juárez	Rito Romero Perez	arrested			
Mayra Gema Alamillo González	23-Jul-03	Juárez	Felipe de Jesús Machado Reyes, José Carlos Valdez García, Oscar Alejandro Hernández Prieto, Jan Carlos Valdez García, Favio Valente Espinoza Vega	arrested	sexual	domestic	
Karina Candelaria Ramos González	23-Jul-03	Juárez	Felipe de Jesús Machado Reyes, José Carlos Valdez García, Oscar Alejandro Hernández Prieto, Jan Carlos Valdez García, Favio Valente Espinoza Vega	arrested	sexual	domestic	
Miriam García Solorio	23-Jul-03	Juárez	Felipe de Jesús Machado Reyes, José Carlos Valdez García, Oscar Alejandro Hernández Prieto, Jan Carlos Valdez García, Favio Valente Espinoza Vega	arrested	sexual	domestic	
Emy Yamilet Gaytan Núñez	20-Jul-03	Juárez	José Francisco Ramírez Jiménez	arrested			
Neyra Azucena Cervantes	15-Jul-03	Chihuahua	Miguel David Meza Argueta	arrested	sexual		
Maribel Villa Santana	13-Jul-03	Juárez	José Luis Polanco Moya	committed suicide			
Abigail González Benítez	6-Jul-03		José Chapol Ceba	arrested			
Aída Alejandra Ávila Hernández	3-Jul-03	Juárez	Abel Josué Zamarrón Ochoa	arrested			
María Inés Estrada Mendoza	23-Jun-03		Raull Alonso	arrested			
Marcela Viviana Rayas	28-May-03	Chihuahua	Cynthia Kiecker and Ulises Perzabal	aquitted	sexual		
Antonia Ceniceros Corral	6-Apr-03	Juárez	José Vicente Martínez Martínez	arrested	sexual	sexual	
Brenda Lizeth Santos Gonzáles	21-Mar-03		César Omar García Carillo	sentenced- 2 years, 7 months			
María Dolores Quiñonez Corral	21-Mar-03		Álvaro Flores Herrera	arrested			
Claudia Ivette Tavares Rivera	2-Jan-03		Arturo Rubio Robles	arrested			
Deysi Salcido Rueda	21-Nov-02	Juárez	Martín O. Guerrero Noriega	arrested			
Patricia Ortiz Hermosillo	8-Jun-02	Juárez	Anacleto Ortíz Espinoza	sentenced- 25 years			
Manuela Hermosillo Quezada	8-Jun-02	Juárez	Anacleto Ortíz Espinoza	sentenced - 25 years			
Lucila Silva Salinas	2-Jun-02	Chihuahua	Juan A. Ramírez Rodríguez	sentenced - 12 years - in appeals	sexual	robbery	
Rosa Inela de la Cruz Madrigal	13-Apr-02		José Temix Sosa	arrested			
Miriam Soledad Sáenz Rivera	26-Mar-02	Juárez	José Abraham Ortíz Martínez	arrested			
Claudia Guadalupe Martínez Hernández	22-Feb-02	Juárez	Luis Alberto Ruiz Ortega	arrested			
Clara Hernández Salas	22-Feb-02	Juárez	Luis Alberto Ruiz Ortega	arrested			
Roberta Georgina Coronel Molina	21-Jan-02		Eduviges Quinones aka Jose Lara	unknown			
Lourdes Ivette Lucero Campos	10-Jan-02	Juárez	Daniel Magallanes	sentenced - 11 years			
María López Torres	1-Jan-02		Sergio Hernández Ordonez	arrested			
María Luisa Carsoli Berumen	21-Dec-01		Ricardo Medina Acosta	at large			
Rosa Martha Palacios Briones	8-Dec-01		Juventino Avilez García	unknown			
Natividad Monclavo Moreno	5-Dec-01		Julián Márquez Rico	arrested			

Victim	Date of Murder	Location	Suspect	Status	Casa Amiga*	ICHIMU**	Fiscalia***
Francisca Torres Casillas	4-Dec-01		Eduardo Villegas Rodríguez aka "el dionton"	sentenced - 10 years psychiatric hospital			
Martha Claudia Pizarro Velázquez	13-Nov-01	Juárez	José Javier Cantu Gómez	sentenced- 23 years	sexual	passion	
Esmeralda Herrera Monreal	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
Claudia Ivette González	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
Laura Berenice Monarrez	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	6-Nov-01	Juárez	Víctor Javier García Uribe and Gustavo González Meza	acquitted; died in prison	sexual	sexual	
Victoria Arellano Zubiata	5-Oct-01		José Adalberto Corona Arellano	sentenced - 31 years 3 months			
Consuelo Ortiz Contreras	22-Sep-01	Juárez	Luis Carlos Fernández Fuentes	sentenced - 3 years	sexual	domestic	sexual
Leticia Vargas Flores	19-Jul-01		Angel Eduardo Rocha Domínguez	sentenced - 11 years			
Rosa María González	16-Jul-01	Juárez	Juan Francisco Hernández Rodríguez	arrested			
Gema Nevárez	21-Jun-01	Juárez	Adolfo Rojas and Ramona Nevárez	sentenced - 39 and 30 years			sexual
Antonia Valles Fuentes	19-Jun-01		Enrique de la Paz González	sentenced- 5 years in juvenile jail			
Laura A. Márquez Valenzuela	30-Apr-01		José Manuel Mendoza Sánchez	arrested			
María Julia Luna Vera	9-Apr-01		Esteban Alejandro Díaz Ramírez and Jaime Jones Arellano	warrant pending for Jones Arellano			
Leticia Quintero Moreno	4-Apr-01	Juárez	José Agustín Becerra	sentenced - 3 years			
María S. de León Calamaco	26-Feb-01		Antonio Rivas Saucedo	sentenced - 12 years			
Reyna Sarahi Lara Luciano	21-Feb-01	Juárez	José Arturo Cabral Guerra	sentenced - 13 years			
Sandra Corina Gutiérrez Estrada	9-Feb-01	Juárez	Alejandro Israel del Toro Medina and José Luis Martínez Debora	sentenced - 4 months			
Elvira Carrillo de la Torre	19-Jan-01	Juárez	Francisco Hernández Cedillo	sentenced - 8 years			
Laura Georgina Vargas	1-Jan-01	Juárez	Efren García	unknown			
María Isabel Martínez González	7-Nov-00	Juárez	Manuel Francisco González Domínguez	sentenced - 14 years			
Fátima Vanesa Flores Díaz	5-Nov-00	Juárez	Noe Florez López and Rosa Jesica Díaz Sedeno	arrested			
María Verónica Santillanes Nájera	4-Nov-00	Juárez	Arturo Méndez Mendoza	sentenced - 21 years			
Domitila Trujillo Posada	4-Oct-00	Juárez	Jorge Alejandro Arredondo Rivas	sentenced - 9 1/2 years			
Elba Hernández Martínez	18-Sep-00	Juárez	Omar Oswaldo Ramírez Alarcón, Israel Ramírez Alarcón, Julio César Ríos Márquez	sentenced - 11 years for Ríos Márquez, and 9 years each for the Ramírez Alarcóns			

Victim	Date of Murder	Location	Suspect	Status	Casa Amiga*	ICHIMU**	Fiscalia***
María Elena Acosta Armendáriz	7-Sep-00	Juárez	Juan Manuel Castillo Villalobos	unknown			
Leticia Armendáriz Chavira	7-Aug-00	Juárez	Carlos Artalejo	sentenced - 30 years	sexual	revenge	
Elodia Payán Núñez	4-Aug-00	Juárez	Mario Chavaría Barraza and others	arrested			
Irma Márquez	26-Jul-00	Juárez	José Antonio Sarmiento Ruvalcaba	sentenced - 24 years			
Emilia Monreal Meléndez	3-Jul-00	Juárez	Valentín Cárdenas	unknown			
Maritsa Toribio Flores	24-Apr-00	Juárez	Felipe de Jesús Toribio Rivera	sentenced - 7 months			
María de los A. Alvarado Soto	7-Apr-00	Juárez	Joel López García	sentenced - 7 years			
Laura Rocío Lara Amaro	7-Mar-00	Juárez	Francisco Aguirre Rodríguez	unknown			
multiple unidentified women	2-Mar-00	Juárez	Antonio Cordova Rodríguez and Manuel Rojas Castro	arrested	sexual	sexual	
María Elena Salcedo Meraz	26-Jan-00	Juárez	Jorge Lozoya Vega	sentenced - 2 months			
Juana González Piñón	5-Jan-00	Juárez	Arturo Tovar Rocha	sentenced - 8 years, 3 months			
María Santos Rangel Flores	4-Jan-00	Juárez	Ema Dora Narváez López	arrested			
María de Lourdes Galván Juárez	25-Nov-99	Juárez	Alejandro Alvarado Valenzuela	committed suicide			
Nely America Gómez Holguín	24-Oct-99	Juárez	Juan Miguel Cazarez	sentenced - 9 years, 4 months			sexual
Blanca Estela Vázquez Valenzuela	19-Oct-99	Juárez	Víctor Vicente López Zavala aka "el Chapo"	sentenced - 30 years			
María Santos Ramírez Vega	7-Aug-99	Juárez	José Luis Madrigal	sentenced - 25 years	sexual	passion	sexual
Irma Arellano Castillo	5-Jun-99	Juárez	José Alejandro Hernández Serrano	sentenced 18 years			
unidentified	21-Mar-99	Juárez	Jesús Manuel Guardad aka "El Tolteca" and other	arrested	sexual	sexual	
Gladys Lizeth Ramos	12-Mar-99	Juárez	Dagoberto Ramírez	sentenced - 4 years			
Elena García Alvarado	3-Mar-99	Juárez	Jesús Manuel Guardado and others	arrested	sexual	sexual	
Irma Angélica Rosales Lozano	16-Feb-99	Juárez	Bernardo Hernández Fernández aka "El Samber"	arrested	sexual	sexual	
Raquel Lechuga Macías	15-Feb-99	Juárez	Gerardo Moreno Ruiz, Carlos Barrientos Vidales and Romel Omar Cenicerros García	arrested	sexual	sexual	
Elsa América Arrequin Mendoza	14-Feb-99	Juárez	Hector Javier Minjarez González and Juan Francisco Dorado Rojas	sentenced - 10 years for Minjarez González. Dorado Rojas is acquitted.			
Paulina León	9-Feb-99	Juárez	José Luis Duran Estrada	committed suicide			
Rosalbi López Espinoza	31-Jan-99	Juárez	Víctor Moreno Rivera aka "El Narco"	arrested	sexual	sexual	
María Estela Martínez	10-Jan-99	Juárez	Juan Víctor Hinojoza Reyes	sentenced - 22 years			
Elba Rezendiz Rodríguez	25-Dec-98	Juárez	Saul Martínez Martínez and José Luis Martínez Martínez	arrested			
Celia Guadalupe Gómez de la Cruz	9-Dec-98	Juárez	José Gaspar Ceballos Chávez aka "El Gaspy"	arrested	sexual	sexual	
Zenayda Bermúdez Campa	18-Nov-98	Juárez	Israel López Ramos	sentenced - 11 years 7 months			
Elizabeth Soto Florez	26-Oct-98	Juárez	Isaías Gómez Ortíz	sentenced- 36 years 5 months			
María Eugenia Mendoza Arias	4-Oct-98	Juárez	Agustín Toribio Castillo aka "El Kiany"	arrested	sexual	sexual	

Victim	Date of Murder	Location	Suspect	Status	Casa Amiga*	ICHIMU**	Fiscalia***
María del Refugio Núñez López	0-Oct-98	Juárez	Gabriel Avendaño González	sentenced- 5 years, 4 months			
Rocío Barraza Gallegos	19-Sep-98	Juárez	Pedro Alejandro Valles Chairez	arrested			
Olga González López	23-Aug-98	Juárez	Hector Rodríguez Carrillo	arrested			
Aída Aracely Lozano Bolaños	4-Aug-98	Juárez	José Luis Ávila Ochoa, Sergio Albo Bonilla and Manuel Delgado	sentences pending	sexual	sexual	
Paula Zepeda Soto	8-Jul-98	Juárez	Gerardo Soto Zepeda	sentenced - 20 years psychiatric hosp.			
Brenda Patricia Méndez Vázquez	26-Jun-98	Juárez	Jesús Manuel Guardado Márquez aka "El Tolteca"	arrested	sexual	sexual	
María Rosa León Ramos	17-May-98	Juárez	Miguel Angel Cabrera Ávila	arrested			
Gabriela Edith Martínez Calvillo	11-May-98	Juárez	Víctor Gabriel Martínez and Lorenzo Hiram López aka "El Cuate"	sentenced - 23 years for López. Martínez is acquitted.			
María Inés Sagrario González	29-Apr-98	Juárez	José Luis Hernández Flores	arrested	sexual	sexual	
Clara Zapata Álvarez	15-Feb-98	Juárez	José Ortíz and Luis Galindo	one received 30 years, the other 6 months in juvenile court			
unidentified	15-Feb-98	Juárez	Gerardo Moreno Ruiz, Carlos Barrientos Vidales and Romel Omar Cenicerros García	arrested	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	15-Feb-98	Juárez	Gerardo Moreno Ruiz, Carlos Barrientos Vidales and Romel Omar Cenicerros García	arrested	sexual	sexual	
María Maura Carmona Zamora	11-Feb-98	Juárez	Sergio Hernández Pereda	sentenced - 8 1/2 years			
Ana Hipólita Campos	2-Feb-98	Juárez	José Gutiérrez Rojas	sentenced - 22 1/2 years			
Karina Ávila Ochoa	7-Dec-97	Juárez	Oscar Olague Barraza	sentenced - 15 years			
Rosa Margarita Arellanes García	7-Dec-97	Juárez	Víctor Lazcano aka "El Cubano"	sentenced - 1 year			
María Teresa Rentería Salazar	29-Nov-97	Juárez	Sergio Arturo Moreno Pérez	arrested		sexual	
Eréndira Buendía Muñoz	16-Nov-97	Juárez	Bernardo Muñoz Veliz	arrested	sexual	domestic	
Norma Julisa Ramos Muñoz	7-Nov-97	Juárez	Felix Silva Araujo	arrested			
Virginia Rodríguez Beltrán	12-Oct-97	Juárez	Rafael Baltierra Ortega	sentenced - 9 years			
María Irma Blancarte Lugo	27-Sep-97	Juárez	Pedro Alberto Muñoz Fernández	arrested			
María Eugenia Martínez Hoo	7-Aug-97	Juárez	Jesus Braulio Guardado García, Carmelo Mejia Omelas, and Jorge Pérez García	sentenced - 33years for Pérez García. Guardado García and Mejia Omelas were acquitted			
Teresa Helida Herrera Rey	7-Aug-97	Juárez	Jesus Braulio Guardado García, Carmelo Mejia Omelas, and Jorge Pérez García	sentenced - 30 years for Pérez García. Guardado García is acquitted. No information on Mejia Omelas			
Elisa Rivera Rodríguez	20-Jul-97	Juárez	Martín Alberto Favila González	arrested			
Marcela Macías Hernández	19-Jun-97	Juárez	Román Ochoa Pantoja	sentenced - 12 1/2 years			
Apolonia Fierro Poblano	12-Jun-97	Juárez	Edmundo Porras Fierro	sentenced - 10 years			
Verónica Beltrán Manjarrez	31-May-97	Juárez	Gonzalo Mata Hernández	sentenced - 9 years			

Victim	Date of Murder	Location	Suspect	Status	Casa Amiga*	ICHIMU**	Fiscalia***
Amelia Lucio Borja	27-May-97	Juárez	Raul Saldana Delgado	sentenced - 23 years			
Karina Soto Díaz	13-Apr-97	Juárez	Oswaldo Alvarado Ruiz and Ricardo Hernández	sentenced - 14 years each			
María Isabel Haro Prado	15-Mar-97	Juárez	Virginia Huereca Carrasco	sentenced - 11 years reduced from 22			
Ana María Gardea Villalobos	13-Mar-97	Juárez	Francisco Avila Domínguez, Daniel Rodríguez Armendáriz, Marcos Alvarado Ortiz, Miguel Rodríguez Armendáriz and Alberto Rodríguez Reyes	sentenced - Avila Domínguez, and the Rodríguez Armendárizes for 14 years reduced. The other is in juvenile court, still in process	sexual	sexual	sexual
Cynthia Rocía Acosta Alvarado	11-Mar-97	Juárez	Francisco Guerra Robles	sentenced - 30 years	sexual	sexual	sexual
Brenda Lizeth Nájera Flores	5-Dec-96	Juárez	Edgar Omar Sánchez Moreno	sentenced- 5 years in juvenile court	sexual	revenge	
Susana Flores Flores	5-Dec-96	Juárez	Edgar Omar Sánchez Moreno	sentenced- 5 years in juvenile court			
Rosario Fátima Martínez Ángel	5-Dec-96	Juárez	Jaime Gilberto Martínez Acosta	sentenced - 21 years			
Leticia García Leal	13-Nov-96	Juárez	Juan Salazar García	sentenced - 10 years	sexual	argument	
Claudia Ramos López	13-Oct-96	Juárez	Gustavo Villegas Vallecillo	sentenced - 9 years			
Luz Adriana Martínez Reyes	31-Aug-96	Juárez	Jesús Martínez Sánchez	sanctioned by juvenile court			
Leticia Palafox Zamora	15-Aug-96	Juárez	Ernesto Gómez Cordero	sentenced- 10 years			
María Cecilia Navarrete Reyes	2-Jul-96	Juárez	Guillermo López Rentería and Juan Leanos Macías, aka "El Pollo"	sentenced - 22 years each			sexual
Silvia Rivera Salas	20-Jun-96	Juárez	José Antonio Serna Cruz and José Cruz Gómez	sentenced - 10 years for Cruz Gómez			
Aracely Gallardo Rodríguez	9-Jun-96	Juárez	Tomás Sandoval Rodríguez	sentenced - 8 years			
Rocío García Leal	7-Apr-96	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	sentenced -24 to 40 years	sexual	sexual	
Guadalupe Verónica Castro Prado	18-Mar-96	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	sentenced -24 to 40 years	sexual	sexual	
unidentified - "Tanya"	18-Mar-96	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	sentenced -24 to 40 years	sexual	sexual	
unidentified - "Lucy"	18-Mar-96	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	sentenced - 24 to 40 years	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	18-Mar-96	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	sentenced - 24 to 40 years	sexual	sexual	
Silvia Ocón López	14-Mar-96	Juárez	Israel Aguilera Lazos and Jesús Rodolfo Apodaca	sanctioned by juvenile court			
unidentified	13-Mar-96	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	no charges	sexual	sexual	
Estefanía Corral González	3-Mar-96	Juárez	José Corral Verduzco	sentenced- 17 years			
Martha Arguijo Castañeda	13-Feb-96	Juárez	Felipe Alberto Casas Rivera	arrest warrant issued			
Norma Mayela Palacios López	9-Feb-96	Juárez	Adrián Sustaita Esquivel	sentenced - 10 years			
Elizabeth Robles Gómez	26-Dec-95	Juárez	Eduardo Valle Vega	sentenced - 14 years	sexual	drug	
Francisca Lucero Gallardo	8-Nov-95	Juárez	Jesús Gallardo Veloz	sentenced - 3 years			
Adriana Martínez Martínez	15-Oct-95	Juárez	Oscar Meléndez	sanctioned by juvenile court			

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unidentified	5-Sep-95	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	no charges	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	22-Aug-95	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	no charges	sexual	sexual	
unidentified	22-Aug-95	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	no charges	sexual	sexual	
Gloria Elena Escobedo Piña	20-Aug-95	Juárez	Miguel de Jesús Montelongo León	sentenced - 29 years	sexual	sexual	sexual
Elizabeth Castro García	19-Aug-95	Juárez	Abdel Latif Sharif Sharif	sentenced - 20 years	sexual	sexual	
Aracely Manríquez Gómez	18-Aug-95	Juárez	Miguel Angel Rivera López	sentenced - 22 years			
Olga Alicia Carrillo Pérez	11-Aug-95	Juárez	"Los Rebeldes"	sentenced - 24 to 40 years	sexual	sexual	
Teodora de la Rosa Martínez	4-Aug-95	Juárez	Agustín Muñiz Garibaldi	sentenced - 8 1/2 years			
Aracely Esmeralda Martínez	3-Jul-95	Juárez	Juan Manuel Cruz	arrest warrant issued		sexual	
Elizabeth Martínez Rodríguez	6-May-95	Juárez	Luis Enrique Rodríguez	sentenced - 2 years			
Yolanda Álvarez Esquihua	3-May-95	Juárez	Ramón Alire Hurtado and Arturo García	arrested			
Rosa Virginia Hernández Cano	28-Mar-95	Juárez	Eleazar Jiménez Miranda	arrested			
María Ines Ozuna Aguirre	21-Mar-95	Juárez	Abraham Ríos and Sergio Ramírez	one received 3 years, no info regarding 2nd			
Alejandra Viescas Castro	21-Mar-95	Juárez	Abraham Ríos and Sergio Ramírez	one received 3 years, no info regarding 2nd			
Carla Magdalena Contreras López	17-Feb-95	Juárez	Miguel González López	sanctioned by juvenile court			
Leticia Reyes Benítez	5-Feb-95	Juárez	Alejandro Aguilera Díaz aka "El Pollo"	sentenced - 31 years			
Graciela García Primero	25-Jan-95	Juárez	René Valles Vargas	sentenced - 6 years, 3 months			
Esmeralda Urías Sáenz	20-Nov-94	Juárez	Vicente Reyes Apodaca	sentenced - 20 years			
Gabriela Bueno de Hernández	24-Oct-94	Juárez	Julio Hernández F.	sentenced - 12 years			
Viridiana Torres Moreno	22-Oct-94	Juárez	Mario Núñez Álvarez	sentenced - 7 years			
Antonia Ramírez Calderón	24-Aug-94	Juárez	Domingo Mendoza Hinojos	unknown			
Hilda Fierro Elías	15-Aug-94	Juárez	Jesús Armando Zavala Cordova	sanctioned by juvenile court			
Patricia aka "La Burra"	8-Aug-94	Juárez	Mario Gallegos, aka "El Mariachi" and Raúl, aka "El Chilango"	arrested			
Rosa María Lerma Hernández	3-Aug-94	Juárez	Juan José Moreno Delgado and Jose Francisco Chávez	sentenced - 17 years for Moreno Delgado and 17 years for Chávez			sexual
María Agustina Hernández	24-Jun-94	Juárez	Alfredo Coronado Originales	sentenced - 12 years			
Lorenza Isela González Alamillo	25-Apr-94	Juárez	Adrián Mireles and Jorge Arturo Muñoz Chávez	sentenced - 11 and 10 years reduced from 22			sexual
Patricia Alba Ríos	24-Mar-94	Juárez	Rodolfo Medina Méndez	arrest warrant issued			
Yolanda Tapia Vega	16-Dec-93	Juárez	Jesús Gil Tapia	sentenced to mental ward- 30 years			
Rebeca Elizabeth Escobedo	21-Nov-93	Juárez	Antonio Benavidez Esparza	sentenced - 32 years			
Esmeralda Leyva Rodríguez	9-Oct-93	Juárez	Hipólito Ramírez Trujillo	sentenced- 34 years for both	sexual	unknown	sexual

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Marcela Santos Vargas	16-Sep-93	Juárez	Everardo Cruz Aguilar	sanctioned by juvenile court			
Gabriela Domínguez Aguilar	1-Sep-93	Juárez	María Guadalupe Aguilar Gallardo	sentenced - 18 years			
Verónica Huitron Quezada	5-Jun-93	Juárez	María Consuelo Walker Rodríguez and Gabriel García Ramírez	sentenced - 11 years for Walker Rodríguez and 17 years for García Ramírez			
unidentified	17-Feb-93	Juárez	José L. Perea G. and Filiberto Heredia Pelón	sentenced - 22 years for Perea and 18 years for Heredia Pelón			
Angelica Luna Villalobos	25-Jan-93	Juárez	Pedro Fernández	sentenced - 26 years			
Alma Mireya Chavarría Favila	21-Jan-93	Juárez	María S. Moreno C.	sanctioned by juvenile court	sexual	argument	
Guadalupe Juárez Rodríguez	2003		S-23	sentenced- 13 years			
Cynthia Judith Armendáriz Moreno	2002		S-20	sentenced- 1 year			
unidentified	1999	Juárez	David Osuna Soto	arrested	sexual		sexual
María de Jesus Lechuga Meza	1998	Juárez	S-9	sentenced- 10 years			
Emilia Elvira Ulloa Macías	1996	Juárez	INFR-2	sentenced- 5 years juvenile court			
unidentified woman	1993	Juárez	S-2 and S-2-1	sentenced- 18 and 20 years respectively			sexual

Endnotes

- ¹ Mexico – Intolerable Killings. 10 years of abductions and murders of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua. Amnesty International. November 2003. AI Index: AMR 41/026/2003
- ² *Third Report of the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez*. January 2005.
- ³ Interview with Chihuahua Attorney General Patricia González. April 21, 2005. Chihuahua City, Chihuahua.
- ⁴ *Third Report of the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez*. January 2005.
- ⁵ *Third Report of the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez*. January 2005.
- ⁶ "La PGR concluirá en diciembre el análisis de 363 feminicidios." *La Jornada*. Gustavo Castillo García. June 2, 2005.
- ⁷ *Legalized Injustice. Mexican Criminal Procedure and Human Rights*. Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center. May 2001.
- ⁸ *Legalized Injustice. Mexican Criminal Procedure and Human Rights*. Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center. May 2001.
- ⁹ *Legalized Injustice. Mexican Criminal Procedure and Human Rights*. Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center. May 2001.
- ¹⁰ *Legalized Injustice. Mexican Criminal Procedure and Human Rights*. Lawyers Committee for

- Human Rights and Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Human Rights Center. May 2001.
- ¹¹ Código De Procedimientos Penales Del Estado De Chihuahua - Publicación inicial: 04/03/1987 Vigente al 28/may/2005. Título Quinto Instrucción. Capítulo I Reglas Generales De La Instrucción. Artículo 191.
- ¹² *Systemic Injustice. Torture, "Disappearance," and Extrajudicial Execution in Mexico*. Human Rights Watch. January 1999.
- ¹³ "Dan 50 Años de Carcel a 'El Cerillo' El Juez tercero de lo penal, Gustavo Mendoza Gamboa." *Frontenet*. October 10, 2004. <http://www.frontenet.com/frontenet.htm>
- ¹⁴ Informe Especial De La Comisión Nacional De Los Derechos Humanos Sobre Los Casos De Homicidios Y Desapariciones De Mujeres En El Municipio De Juárez, Chihuahua. 1998. <http://www.cndh.org.mx/principal/document/informe2003/index.htm>
- ¹⁵ Interview with Chihuahua Attorney General Patricia González. April 21, 2005. Chihuahua City, Chihuahua.
- ¹⁶ *Myths of Pretrial Detention in Mexico*. Open Society Justice Initiative. Zepeda Lecuona, Guillermo. November 2004.
- ¹⁷ Case file in possession of the author.
- ¹⁸ Interview with Sergio Dante Almaraz. April 18, 2005.
- ¹⁹ *Second Report of the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez*. October 2004.
- ²⁰ Interview with Cynthia Kiecker. August 22, 2004.

- ²¹ 'Mi compromiso es con familias de víctimas' *El Norte de Juárez*. Ángel Zubía García. July 30, 2005.
- ²² Many international reports have been issued to date on the Juárez murders, each with different statistics regarding how many and what type of murders have taken place. We do not aim to add to that statistical confusion, but rather have compiled a list of murders that aggregates the victims listed in the Chihuahuan Women's Institute's 2003 journalistic compilation of cases and adds on the cases compiled by Casa Amiga Women's Center and the Special Prosecutor's Office for Attention to Crimes Related to the Murders of Women in Ciudad Juárez three reports on the crimes they have reviewed.
- ²³ In defining these crimes, we began with the 89 crimes listed by the Chihuahuan Women's Institute, which is current through July 2003. We then added crimes from Casa Amiga²⁴ (a women's domestic violence center that has been at the forefront of documenting femicide) and the Special Prosecutor's reports for the same time period where there was evidence of rape. Casa Amiga's list added 43 sexual crimes to the first list, and the Special Prosecutor's reports identified an additional 13 sexual crimes. We further identified 11 sexual crimes from August 2003-July 2005 from newspaper reports and Casa Amiga.
- ²⁵ *Juárez murder warrants unearthed. Review of 50 cases reveals find*. *El Paso Times*. Louie Gilot. March 27, 2005.