Violence against Women and Economic Globalization: Case Study of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico

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Abstract
This thesis will look at the international political economy of violence against women. The drastic increase of the case women murder (femicide) in Mexico since 1993 has attracted worldwide attention. It will focus on the influence of international economic institutions (e.g. IMF, World Bank, TNCs) toward the increasing cases of violence against women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. This thesis will use case-study research strategy. Ciudad Juarez will be chosen as the case study because it is one of the largest border city in the Mexico and it can represent border cities in Mexico. The analysis will rely on the Galtung’s definition of violence against women and gender perspective of economic globalization. Violence against women will be consisted of wage exploitation, sexual harassment, pregnancy testing, poor safety standard, and domestic violence. The method for answering the research question is text analysis using secondary data sources. This thesis concludes that international economic institutions have significant roles in the gender-based violence in Ciudad Juárez.

Acknowledgement
I am very grateful to have an opportunity to write my master thesis. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Linköping University who facilitate me through many campus facilities (e.g. libraries, internet, classrooms, printers). All staff of Political Science Department, specifically International and European Relation Master Programme have dedicated tremendous amount time and energy to create a satisfactory intellectual environment. I would like to express my gratitude to Per Jansson who has given full attention for the progress of the master students and ensure the success of students’ project.

This master thesis would not be possible without sincere help and care from Edme Domínguez. She has given total support and knowledge in order to assure the implementation of this master thesis. I am very happy to join interesting and fruitful discussion with Setareh Shebazian and Anna Johannsson.

For my colleagues and fellows in Linköping University, you all are the best. I wished we can meet again in one day in the future. I would like to thank you for warm relationships with my Indonesia families in Sweden (PPI Swedia). Last but not the least, my family. It is an amazing blessing to have support and love from my family. My bapak, mama, Rikordias and Theresia, you are awesome!
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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Violence against women (VAW) has been considered as an international grave human rights violation. Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and UN Declaration on the Elimination of VAW in 1993 are internationally-recognized preference for the elimination of VAW. There is less attention of the roots of VAW and there are growing evidences that VAW continues in developing countries.

It is a new notion that economic globalization is considered as a factor to male-to-female violence. Amnesty International has questioned the implementation of trade and investment policies which has contributed to increasing economic inequality and vulnerability of women to violence (Amnesty International, 2006).

Ciudad Juárez, an international economic and trading hub in northern part of Mexico, will serve as the case study for this research. Since late 1980s, Mexico has implemented a lot of economic reforms to integrate into global economy. Mexico has signed more than twenty free trade agreements (FTAs) – including 1995's agreement with European Union - and in effect, many multi-national companies moved their assembly line to export-processing zones (Maquiladoras) to get cheaper production cost.

Amnesty International (2003) reported that during 1993-2002, there were 370 women who died as victims of serial murders in Ciudad Juárez. The report also complained about the negligence of government in preventing and stopping the continuous murders. There are serious lacks of political willingness of political leaders, police and judicial bodies to punish the perpetrators.

It is also reported that many assembly plants in Ciudad Juárez and many export-processing zones (maquiladora) in Mexico have poor safety and environmental standards that contributed to injury of women workers. After NAFTA, a research shows that the domestic violence against women rapidly increasing in Ciudad Juárez (Carmona, Aguirre, and Burciaga, 2005 in Staudt, 2008)

By taking gender-based violence cases in Ciudad Juárez, this thesis eager to look at whether international political economy may help to explain male-to-female violence apparently linked to economic globalization.

1.1 Thesis Aim and Research Questions

The research on the relationship of international political economy and violence against women is rare and the testing of the argument on the linkage between the violence against women and international political economy represents the motivation for this thesis. The departure of this thesis is the feminist discourses on the discrimination between women and men within the current neo-liberal economy. Feminist researchers have convincingly proved that economic globalization is not gender-neutral. The question of violence within feminist economic political discourse is important because it is difficult to find feminist literatures that links between the gender-based discrimination in the context of economic globalization with the violence women suffered. Therefore, this thesis tries to find the direct and indirect link between the globalized economies with gender-based violence in the case study of Ciudad Juárez. Therefore, it will be translated to the following questions:

- How do international financial institutions (e.g. IMF, World Bank) have weakened the state capability to protect women from violence?
- How do transnational corporations neglect safety and environmental standards which have entrapped women workers into violent environment?
- How do economic globalization become gender-based exploitation in which reflected on the
increasing evidences of sexual harassment in multinational factories?

1.2 State of Art

Cynthia Enloe (1989) emphasizes the importance of asking the question of “women” in international relation. She highlighted some areas (i.e. tourism, military, diplomacy, finance) where women have been deeply affected men's international relation but there has been rare discussion of that within academia, policy makers, and media. She presumed that the gender inequality has been considered as “natural” condition and thus not worthy of investigation. She urges international relation scholars to challenge “comfortable” assumptions within the field and taking women perspective more seriously.

One of the examples is on how Paterson (1999) argues that opening the distinction between public-private dichotomies will create a more gender-aware of international relation. For example, she urges for opening the definition of security to be broadened by including women's perspective. Assaults of women by their husbands or male partners, the world's most common form of violence, should be considered as security issue as the nuclear proliferation and terrorism.

This master thesis has two main inter-related subjects, namely international political economy (IPE) and violence against women (VAW). The link between IPE and VAW has been discussed by some scholars. In his World Bank report, Ayres (1998) presumed development is benevolent and neglects the ways in which it can also lend to certain forms of violence by, for example, exacerbating structural inequalities. Ayres' analysis fails to address how certain types of violence, such as structural violence may actually lend to some measurements of development, such as economic growth. Callagher’s analysis (2011), on the other hand, presumes development is imperialist, and thus, a form of violence, ignoring the wide array of development practices and outcomes. The relationship between development and violence in Juárez is complicated since violence against women takes many forms and may actually bound up with certain forms of 'development' such as those strategies of trade liberalisation and industrialisation pursued in Ciudad Juárez.

For the theoretical framework bridging economy and violence, Moser (2001) has developed a framework that draws upon both developmental and feminist theories of violence. Like Ayres, her framework stresses the impact of violence to human, social, and natural capital. Unlike Ayres, however, her framework is explicitly gendered and does not take for granted that development is necessarily benevolent. She expressed four parts to an operational framework of gendered violence: (1) a gendered continuum of conflict and violence, categorising gendered violence in terms of a threefold continuum of political, economic, and social violence; (2) gendered causal factors – the causes and motivations – for committing violence; (3) gendered costs and consequences of conflict and violence; and, (4) an integral policy approach. Part one of Moser’s framework represents the interrelatedness of social, economic, and political violence. Moser uses the term ‘continuum’ to signify a nonlinear, non-hierarchical set of relationships where reinforcing linkages between different types of violence are ‘complex, context-specific, and interrelated’. Despite the multidimensionality that the model intends to convey, the term continuum implies gradations of violence along a horizontal spectrum. The term network provides a clearer image of the complex, multi-dimensional linkages in which the Juárez cases are embedded (Garwood, 2002).

Similar to Moser, True (2010) has found causal relationship between women's poor access to productive resources and their likelihood of experiencing gender-based violence and abuse. She argues that feminist perspective does not typically extend its analysis of how women's social and economic subordination, not merely men's aggression in private sphere, makes them vulnerable to violence at home, at work, or elsewhere. She developed a method that can be used to highlight political-economy
structures that underpin gender inequality and women's vulnerability to violence. The method consisted of three elements: gender division of labor, capitalist competition for cheap cost and state impunity on violence against women. This method can be applied to the private home/family, the public/civil society sphere, or the war/conflict or post-conflict zone.

Weissman (2005) has provided convincing explanation on the link between economic Globalization and femicide in Ciudad Juárez by providing collection of data from internet, books, journals and reports. They reported the violation of human rights conducted by transnational companies toward the community and the employee by neglecting environmental and safety standard. It also mentioned the role of international economic organizations (World Bank and International Monetary Fund) mainly through structural adjustment programs that has weakened the role of state to develop the social and physical infrastructure of Juárez society. However, it has lack of the theoretical explanation to the link between the worsening condition of social fabric of Ciudad Juárez with the increasing cases of gender-based violence. It also lack of analysis of gender construction that fuel the denigration of women's rights in multi-national companies.

Garwood (2002) and Wright (2004) have provided important background and historiography of industrialization of Ciudad Juárez. They have elaborated on how the gender construction of women workers and society perception toward women workers. They concluded that violence against women has gendered continuum analysis of political, social and economic aspects. However they missed the international economic regimes which have also contributed to the weakening of the state ability to protect women.

There are some reports for supporting data on human rights violation from many human rights international organizations (Amnesty International, Oxfam International), international governmental bodies (UN CEDAW Committee, UN Economic and Social Council) and regional human rights body (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights) as well as Inter-American Court on Human Rights.

1.3 Methodology

This is single case study research. I select Ciudad Juárez as case study because it can represent maquiladoras in the border areas between the U.S and Mexico. Ciudad Juárez also gained international attention when many international human rights NGOs (e.g. Amnesty International, Washington Office on Latin America, Oxfam International) produced reports on the ongoing women discrimination. I choose case study strategy because it can unlock the complexity around the women murder in Ciudad Juárez. Della Porta (2008) stated some reasons on how single case study research can be considered as an effective method for understanding or interpreting specific cases due to their intrinsic value. A valuable feature of the case-oriented approach is the development of an extensive dialogue between the researcher’s ideas and the data in an examination of each case as a complex set of relationships, which allows causal complexity to be addressed. Case-based logic tends to explore diversity (and deviant cases) by thick description of one or a small number of cases, often contrasted on several dimensions. This means that a few cases are analyzed based on a large number of characteristics. Explanations are narrative accounts with limited interest in generalization. The method is not very sensitive to the frequency distribution, and a single case can cast doubt on a cause–effect relationship established on the basis of many observations (Ragin, 1987)

I will use and mix some mid-range theories about oppression toward women in the relation to global economy which will be tested in the case of Ciudad Juárez. To support this aim, I will use neo-positivist ontology and epistemology. According to neo-positivist ontology and epistemology, reality is still considered to be objective (external to human minds), but it is only imperfectly knowable (Della
Porta and Keating, 2008). The positivist trust in causal knowledge is modified by the admission that some phenomena are not governed by causal laws but, at best, by probabilistic ones. This does not represent a sharp break with the natural sciences but follows modern scientific developments. If positivism closely resembles the traditional scientific method (or Newtonian physics) in its search for regularities, post-positivism is closer to modern scientific approaches, which accept a degree of uncertainty. Neo-positivist approaches have relaxed the assumption that knowledge is context-free and that the same relationships among variables will hold everywhere and at all times. Instead, there is more emphasis on the particular and the local, and on the way in which factors may combine in different circumstances. To capture this contextual effect, researchers have increasingly resorted to the idea of institutions as bearers of distinct patterns of incentives and sanctions, and on the way that decisions taken at one time constrain what can be done later. These institutional factors may be expressed in the form of variables, but an important role is played by comparative study of a small number of cases, where the variation is the institutional structure and its historical evolution. Neo-positivists seek to express the effect of context in the form of institutional structures and try to avoid the concept of culture as impossible to operationalize and inimical to general theorizing.

True's and Currie's theoretical framework will be the basis of this thesis. As mentioned in the state of the art, True (2010) has developed feminist political economy method with the connection to the gender-based violence. True emphasized the violent environment women faced in the daily live as the result of patriarchalism in the global political economy and this will serves as important analytical discussion during the thesis. Meanwhile, Currie has worked to link between “market society” and the likelihood of violent society. Currie (1997) used the term “market society” to depict some characteristic of neo-liberal state, such as the elimination of basic safety nets for the worst victim of economic insecurity and minimal public provision of social services. In the chapter three, I will elaborate on how economic Globalization has strong similarity with the characteristic of market society. Furthermore, I will also put gender perspective into Currie's gender-neutral approaches.

For research data, secondary sources will do as the main data source. Field observation and direct interview to Mexico are not available method due to financial and time constraint. However, there are some reliable sources of workshop and survey which are very relevant to the research question. For example, Staudt (2008) has conducted interview regarding violence against women to Juárez women in relation to job and economic situation with collaboration with international NGOs FEMAP. Meanwhile, Arriola (2007) interview some employees in some cities outside Ciudad Juárez regarding the poor environmental and safety standards of some factories. Despite the interview is held outside Ciudad Juárez, it still gain relevancy and similarity to Ciudad Juárez.

To use effectively all the secondary data, the method of text analysis will be used in this thesis. Content analysis or textual analysis is ‘a set of procedures to make inferences from text’ (Weber 1990: 19). Berg (2001) further explained that text is used as means to uncover the telos (content). He said that this orientation allows researchers to treat social action and human activity as text. In other words, human action can be seen as a collection of symbols expressing layers of meaning. Interviews and observational data, then, can be transcribed into written text for analysis. How one interprets such a text depends in part on the theoretical orientation taken by the researcher. Thus, a researcher with a phenomenological bent will resist condensing data or framing data by various sorting or coding operations. This approach provides a means for discovering the practical understanding of meanings and actions.

1.4 Limitation

There are so many reasons that fuel femicide in Ciudad Juárez. Many researchers and policy analysts
contend that almost all violence in Mexico stems from the drug trade and ongoing battles between drug cartels (Carpenter, 2009; Kellner & Pipitone, 2010). The drug trade has resulted in high rates of violence directed at the Mexican population and indirectly spilling over into the United States. There are also some theories that linked the murders to deviancy for profit; that is, the murder of women to obtain their organ to sell on the black market to wealthy individuals (Amnesty International, 2003). Other theories suggested that women have been murdered in the production of snuff films (Ibid). Suspicions exist that satanic cults have been murdering women as part of their rituals (Ibid). This thesis will focus to the economic globalization as a factor of femicide, which will be defined further in the chapter 3. The thesis will study on the interaction between economic globalization and other possible cause of femicide. This thesis will not suggest any proposal to solve problem. Instead it will focus on analyzing the general issues and causes of femicides.

1.5 Outline
The following chapter will elaborate the phenomenon of femicide in global, regional and local context. Chapter three will provided the definition of violence against women and feminist perspective of international political economy in relation to violence against women. Chapter four will be the main part of this study which will elaborate the role of trans-national corporations that have undermined the increasing agency of women in labor market and threatening workers' safety and community through neglecting women workers's factory safety and environmental standard. Chapter five will deal on the the way on how the privatization of public services, as suggested by the World Bank and International Financial Institutions, impacted on the increasing cases of violence against women in Ciudad Juárez.
CHAPTER 2 BACKGROUND

This chapter focuses on the femicide cases in global, regional and Juárez context. As defined by Carron, Thomson, and Macdonald (2007), femicide (women murder) is the extreme form of the gender-based violence. The purpose of elaborating the cases of femicide around the globe is to show the urgency for taking seriously the analysis of the factors of the femicide and violence against women in a broad sense.

2.1 Global considerations

Much of the scholarly literature and human rights advocacy has been focused on Mexico and Central America, but it is clear that the phenomenon could also be seen in a more global context. The International Women's Day in March 2011 demonstrated that there are many forms of femicide around the world (ICRC, 2011). Thus it is possible and probably useful to compare the femicide in Latin America for example to honor killings in the Middle East, impunity regarding murders of women in Africa or dowry killings in South Asia. It has also been argued that femicide played a role in the unfolding of the crimes committed in the 1990s in the wars of former Yugoslavia and during the Rwandan genocide.

2.2 Central America

Alongside Mexico, Guatemala has the highest number of femicides in Central America, but during the past decade there have been alarming reports of increases in the number of women being killed in Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica (Oxfam, 2007). Reports indicate that victims come from a range of social and economic backgrounds, which vary from country to country, as do the circumstances in which they are killed. In Costa Rica, it seems that migrant women are especially targeted, while in Nicaragua the killings tend to be more predominantly linked to domestic violence. Among the women murdered in Honduras many of the victims of femicide have lived in densely populated areas often suffering from poverty. Overall, the tendency across the region is that many of the murdered women are from the most marginalised sectors of society (Central American Human Rights Council Ombudsman, 2006). Young, poor women tend to be in the most vulnerable situation.

Despite years of debate, campaigning and a number of legislative initiatives in the countries of the region, Amnesty International's Annual report for 2011 remains critical of the Latin American states' efforts to combat violence against women -- and femicide in particular. Violence against women and girls, including sexual violence, remained widespread and most survivors were denied access to justice and redress. Although several states in the region have in recent years planned or introduced legislation to combat gender-based violence and femicide (e.g. Mexico, Guatemala, Chile), in practice laws were seldom thoroughly applied and investigations and prosecutions were rare. Moreover, Amnesty International (2011) lists Bolivia, Guatemala, Haiti and Nicaragua as countries where failing justice systems have helped perpetuate impunity for gender-based violence and so contributed to a climate where such violence has proliferated.

In Guatemala, 695 women were killed in 2010 according to police records quoted by the Guatemalan Human Rights Ombudsman’s Office (Central American Human Rights Council Ombudsman, 2006). UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee, 2009) noted in its 2009 Concluding Observations on Guatemala, that the climate of impunity for femicides and violence against women has not been eradicated, and much more needs to be done. Amnesty International's annual report 2011 points out that few if any of the perpetrators are
brought to justice. In a report published in 2008, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights was concerned over pervasive discriminatory practices in the Guatemalan justice and law enforcement systems, resulting in a failure to investigate killings of women and a tendency to blame the victim. In April 2008, the Guatemalan Congress passed a new Law Against femicide, but its implementation has so far received a mixed response from civil society organizations. Nevertheless, in September 2010, special courts created by the law began to operate in Guatemala City.

Oxfam (Guardian, 2011) published a report sounded alarm about the developments in Honduras. According to the report, the number of women being murdered in Honduras has risen dramatically in recent years, while the authorities' has so far fallen short of effective action. Gender-based violence is now the second highest cause of death for women of reproductive age in the country. Altogether, the report states that 351 women died violently in Honduras in 2010, making it the third most violent country in Central America with regard to women's deaths after Guatemala and El Salvador. Convictions for these crimes are rare – between 2008 and 2010, there were 1,110 reported cases of femicide, yet only 211 made it to court. In less than 5 percent of these cases the process led to a conviction (*Ibid*).

### 2.3 Ciudad Juárez, Mexico

Ciudad Juárez is located in the northern part of Chihuahua State in Mexico, bordering the United States, and has a population of 1,392,208 inhabitants. It is an industrial, border city featuring an export processing industry (maquiladoras) and the transit of migrants, both Mexican and foreign. It forms an urban area together with El Paso, Texas. It contains nearly 40 per cent of the total population of the State of Chihuahua while 60 per cent of its population comes from other entities of the Mexican Republic. According to the Municipal Research and Planning Institute (CEDAW, 2005), 50 per cent of the streets in Ciudad Juárez are not paved, there is an 80 per cent deficit of green spaces and 200,000 families live in neighborhoods considered to be high-risk areas. Ciudad Juárez is a relatively new city when compared with the country’s other cities, and has in fact developed as a transit center between Mexico and El Paso, Texas.

From the 1960s onwards, the national and international export processing plants (maquiladoras) settled in Ciudad Juárez because of its favorable geographic location. Thus 70 per cent of all the maquiladoras in the country are located in Chihuahua. This accelerated a process of urbanization in the area, which principally attracted young female job-seekers who were poorly educated and had little employment prospects.

Employment grew rapidly in Ciudad Juárez, from 10,000 jobs in 1969 to 215,000 in 2003. In other words, jobs were created at a rate of 2150 per cent over 34 years, or 700 per cent per decade (CEDAW, 2005). During this time work opportunities for women increased considerably, to the point that 55 per cent of all people working in this sector today are women. During the 1990s this figure was 60 per cent.

Ciudad Juárez became a city of ongoing migratory activity, with approximately 300 people arriving daily, and it has a mobile population of 250,000. Furthermore, approximately one sixth of the population of the State of Chihuahua, i.e. 431,850 people, was not born in Chihuahua, and the majority of this population lives in Ciudad Juárez.

Public services in marginal and other areas of Ciudad Juárez did not keep pace with industrial and demographic growth, but emerged gradually and in an unplanned way. Lack of resources prevented the installation of water, electricity and drainage facilities and paved roads, in particular. The state government was caught short, overwhelmed by this growth.
While the situation of women in Ciudad Juárez shares many aspects common to other cities in the United Mexican States and the region generally, it is different in certain important respects. First, the homicide rate for women experienced an unusually sharp rise in Ciudad Juárez in 1993, and the rate has remained elevated since that time. Second, the extremely brutal circumstances of many of the killings have served to focus attention on the situation in Ciudad Juárez. The rate of homicides for women compared to that for men in Ciudad Juárez is significantly higher than for similarly situated cities or the national average. A significant number of the victims were young, between 15 and 25, and many were beaten and/or subjected to sexual violence before being strangled or stabbed to death. A number of the killings that fit this pattern have been characterized as multiple or “serial” killings. Third, the response of the authorities to these crimes has been markedly deficient. There are two aspects of this response that are especially relevant. On the one hand, the vast majority of the killings remain in impunity; approximately 20% have been the subject of prosecution and conviction (IACHR, 2003). On the other hand, almost as soon as the rate of killings began to rise, some of the officials responsible for investigation and prosecution began employing a discourse that in effect blamed the victim for the crime. According to public statements of certain highly placed officials, the victims wore short skirts, went out dancing, were “easy” or were prostitutes (Ibid). Reports document that the response of the relevant officials to the victims’ family members ranged from indifference to hostility.

According to newspaper survey conducted by UN CEDAW Committee (CEDAW, 2005), a total of 321 women were murdered between January 1993 and July 2003 in Ciudad Juárez. The Chihuahua Women's Institute raised the figure to 326 during the experts' visit, while the Chihuahua Interior Department, the Special Prosecutor and the representative of the Public Prosecutor's Department/Office of the Attorney-General of the Republic all raised it to 328 during the same period (Ibid.). Other official sources, particularly the Public Prosecutor's Department, had referred to 258 cases for the same geographical area up to the end of February 2003, while Amnesty International, in its August 2003 report, gives the figure of 370 murdered women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua City.

The most notorious case unfolded in November 2001, when the bodies of eight women and girls, who had clearly been tortured, were discovered in an old cotton field in the city (Campo Algodonero). The Mexican government's initial response was rapid, but the case faltered for various reasons. Only four days after the shocking discovery of the bodies, two men were charged for the homicide and rape of the eight women. However, in February 2002, one of the defendants died in prison. The other man was sentenced to 50 years in prison in 2004, but in July 2005 the court of appeals acquitted him for lack of evidence (Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2011). As a result, in 2006, the investigation to find the murderers of the eight women found in the cotton field was reopened, with no further progress.

In March 2002, the mothers of three of the women, with the help of individuals and organizations that belonged to the Red Ciudadana de No Violencia y por la Dignidad Humana, filed a petition with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) requesting an investigation of the crimes. In February 2005, IACHR declared the petitions admissible and in 2007 consolidated the three cases into one, identified as the Campo Algodonero/Cotton Field case. In July 2007, the Mexican government requested a hearing for a friendly settlement, but the mothers of the victims asked that the case be transferred to the Inter-American Court, stating that they sought justice, not monetary compensation.

The Inter-American Court on Human Rights (2009) accepted the case in December 2007 and in November 2009, the Court ruled (in a judgment totalling over 150 pages) that Mexico was guilty of discrimination and of failing to protect the women murdered in 2001 in Ciudad Juárez or to ensure an effective investigation into their abduction and murder. Mexico was also found responsible for failure to comply with its obligations to legislate and act with due diligence to prevent, investigate and sanction violence against women. The Court ordered a new investigation and listed 15 remedies that the State must implement for the Court to close the case (Ibid). These remedies include measures for
reparation and in remembrance of the victims, measures for reparation for the violations of the rights of their families, and measures to prevent discrimination and measures to prevent and investigate cases of abduction and murder of women and girls.

The Court's judgment is potentially of major importance. When the Assembly of American States approved the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women in 1994, it made the region the first continent with a binding normative instrument on violence based on gender discrimination against women. However, legal interpretation had been lacking. As a result, the judgment establishes the first basis for interpreting the right of women to live free from violence and the responsibilities of States to guarantee this right. It is also important because the cases are about a specific type of violence against women, documented using the concept of femicide. At the same time, it has been noted that the follow-up to the Court's judgment is now of utmost importance, because the implementation process will also be first of its kind and is therefore likely to establish a precedent.
CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Feminist critics have illuminated how public-private gender divisions of labour and unequal power relations in marriage and the family affect women's autonomy and ability to claim human rights (True, 2010). They have shown how women's subordination in the family/private sphere shapes labour markets in ways that disadvantage and discriminate against women in education and employment, and reinforce their subordination in the public, political sphere.

But feminist political and legal theory does not typically extend to an analysis of how women's economic and social subordination, and not merely men's aggression in the private sphere, makes them especially vulnerable to violence at home, at work or elsewhere. For instance, in Kenya where women own less than one per cent of the land while performing 70 per cent of the agricultural labour, the denial of equal property rights has the effect of putting them at greater risk of poverty, disease, violence, and homelessness (Susan, 2008 in True, 2010). Studies in Kerala and West Bengal India reveal that women with property are two times less likely to be beaten or abused. Women's ownership of land serves as a deterrent against domestic violence (Bina and Pradeep, 2007).

Feminist political and legal theory provided the gender perspective for the women's human rights movement and for making visible violence against women in the private sphere. But while this had led to some impressive successes for the women's movement, it had also tended to detach violence against women from the broader struggle for social and economic equality within the social and human rights movements. Therefore, this chapter will look on the connection of feminist theory of international political economy with violence against women.

3.1 Definition of violence against women and economic globalization

3.1.1 Violence Against Women

Violence is mostly defined as “sudden act that result in injury” (Gallagher, 2006, p. 3). This definition hinted a narrow definition of violence: somatic incapacitation, deprivation of health or killing, at the hands of an actor who intends this to be consequence (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). This definition will be a problem if we refer to some following cases (Callagher, 2010):

- It is violent to cut someone's hand with a machete. But isn't it violent to produce goods with unguarded machines that amputate as surely as brutally as machetes?
- Isn't it violent if an entire farm worker community suffers central nervous system disorders, brain damage, birth defects, nightmares, or death from exposure to highly toxic pesticide banned in developed countries but marketed by transnational corporations throughout the poor nations?
- Isn't it violent when people sick and die from drinking water polluted by a multinational corporation that invested in country precisely because of a lack of environmental and worker rights laws?
- It is violent to snuff out the life of a child. But isn't it violent when the International Monetary Fund requires the Ministry of Health in a poor country to cut funding so that government hospitals have no antibiotics or other drugs to prevent the death of children?

Therefore, to adapt a broader definition of violence, I will use Galtung's definition of violence and further to integrate it with gender perspectives. Violence is defined as present when “human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential
realizations.” (Galtung, 1969, p.168). There are three implications implicit in this definition. Firstly, violence is here defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual. If a person died from tuberculosis in the eighteenth century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable, but if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, then violence is present according to our definition. By adopting Galtung's definition, we can assume that not only direct violence (e.g. war, killing, hurting) can put his/her actual somatic realization below his/her potential somatic realization but also indirect violence insofar as insight and resources are channeled away from constructive efforts to bring the actual closer to the potential.

Secondly, Galtung's definition includes negative and positive approach to influence. Thus, a person can be influenced not only by punishing him when he does what the influencer considers wrong, but also by rewarding him when he does what the influencer considers right. Instead of increasing the control on his movements the restriction may be decreased instead of increased, and somatic capabilities extended instead of reduced. This may be readily agreed to, but does it have anything to do with violence? Yes, because the net result may still be that human beings are effectively prevented from realizing their potentialities. Opening free trade zones with loosened labor regulation and safety standards will invites a lot of international investor with financial advantages to the states but it can be considered as violence since the net result is the exploitation of the labor.

Last distinction to be made and the most important one in the Galtung's definition is on the subject side: whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts. Again it may be asked: can we discuss about violence when nobody is committing direct violence, is acting? This would also be a case of what is referred as truncated violence. We shall refer to the type of violence as structural violence, where there is an actor that commits the violence as personal or direct, and to violence where there is no such actor as structural or indirect. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. Personal violence is easily captured and expressed verbally since it has the same structure as elementary sentences in (at least Indo-European) languages: subject-verb-object, with both subject and object being persons. Violence without this relation is structural, built into structure.

Thus, when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence. Correspondingly, in a society where life expectancy is twice as high in the upper as in the lower classes, violence is exercised even if there are no concrete actors one can point to directly attacking others, as when one person kills another.

Now to connect the Galtung's definition of violence with gender perspective, I will use UN General Assembly's definition (UNGA, 1993, with emphasis), as follows:

"violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

(a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;

(b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;
(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.

This definition will allow us to open a broader definition of violence because it explicitly mentioned “exploitation to women” and “likely to result in”. It means that we can discuss on what kind of exploitation that can be defined as violence and how some indirect violence can be categorized as direct violence.

3.1.2 Economic Globalization

Meanwhile, economic globalization means the increasing economic interdependence of national economies across the world through a rapid increase in cross-border movement of goods, service, technology and capital (Joshi, 2009). It mostly is propelled by foreign direct investment, free trade arrangement, cross-border immigration. International financial institutions, such as World Bank, World Trade Organizations and International Monetary Fund, play key roles in guiding and supervising the implementation of the global economy system.

3.2 Economic Globalization and Violence against Women

I will argue that economic globalization has direct and indirect relationship with violence against women. Firstly, I will argue that economic globalization is a gender-biased discrimination in terms of wage. Further, I will argue that economic globalization entrapped women into violent environment. Lastly, global economic forces have weakened state capacity to protect women from violence.

3.2.1 Economic Globalization and the Exploitation of Women

The phenomenon of economic globalization has become opportunities for global corporations to seek cheap sources of labor. In order to avoid high cost in the developed countries, many factories moved to countries where there are loosened government control in labor, environment and capital. The abundant of global capital met positive responses from developing countries who implemented export-led growth as the national development strategy. Consequently more and more free trade agreements are signed and there are drastic increases of multinational assembly plants in developing countries.

Export-led industrialization has mobilized large numbers of women into industry. Women constitute more than 60 percent of the assembly-processing labor force in export zones throughout the world (ILO, 1998). In 1997, assembly plants employed 400,000 northern Mexican women (Ibid). Transnational corporations (TNCs) explain their preferences for female labor in terms of qualities that women are assumed to acquire through gender-role socialization; a tolerance for tedious work, a manual dexterity that suits them for minute tasks, and a docile nature that enables them to withstand the pressure of rapidly paced, closely supervised production (Barrientos, 2007, p.723; Elias, 2007, p.53; Dominguez, et.al, 2010, 187-8).

Export-processing industrialization may seem to depart from the pattern of women's marginalization from modern manufacturing (Tiano, 1994). Women's large-scale absorption into the manufacturing labor force contrasts with the typical trend under import-substitution industrialization, which replaces women with machines and skilled male labor. As long as TNCs continue to relocate their labor-intensive operations to the Third World, women may continue to constitute the bulk of their work force. In their classic 1980s study of female labour in export-processing zones in the Third World, Elson and Pearson observe that managers liked to recruit young rural women for assembly line work (Elson and
Two decades later, managers in export-oriented industry in China, whether Chinese or foreign, come out with the same stereotypes and clichés to explain the same preferences. The new international division of labor may ultimately restructure the gender division of labor on a global scale.

Women's participation in export industries parallels their industrial roles in earlier epochs, particularly in the emerging textile industries in nineteenth-century Europe and the United States. Like their contemporary Third World counterparts, these early industrial workers were primarily young, single women who were absorbed into labor-intensive manufacturing, often at below-subsistence wages (Nash, 1983, p.7), and tended to drop out of the labor force after a few years to raise children (Kessler-Harris, 1976, p.334). Their industrial participation was too limited to pose a structural alternative to their domestic roles as wives and mothers. Scholars studying the new international division of labor have come to similar conclusions about women in Third World export zones (Prietto-Carron, 2006, p.86; Pearson, 2007, p. 739). Some of the structural factors that have historically kept women peripheral to the industrial mainstream may be replicated in the Third World.

For example, in the context of rapid industrialization in East Asia countries, Cynthia Enloe (1989) shows on how women workers, the backbone of cheap labor force, is treated as pin money seeker. She is not considered as the real worker because she is presumed to stop working when she marries a men. She will rely her financial needs from her husbands. Moreover, there is a perception among community members that women hold respectful position in a society if her main duties is housewives. This creates problems because women got less money from similarly situated workers and less career prospects.

A 1981 report to the U.N. Committee on the Status of Women avers that while women represent half the global population and one-third of all working hours, they receive only one-tenth of world income and own less than 1 percent of world poverty. An International Labor Office study of manufacturing industries in twenty countries, conducted in the mid-1980s, showed that women's wages were less than men's in each case. In all societies, jobs that are predominantly occupied by women are considered less prestigious and therefore less well paid than those occupied by men. Women frequently experience harassment and intimidation in the workplace, and taking time off to bear and raise children may threaten job security and impede opportunities for promotion.

Most of the literature describing the nature and consequences of women's participation in assembly-processing industries is consistent with assumptions of the exploitation thesis. It is mentioned that the main reason that TNCs invest in the Third World is the possibility of exploiting inexpensive female labor, thereby taking advantage of and reinforcing women's vulnerability in the labor market and the household (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983b, p.219). Feminist academics are critical of working conditions in assembly-processing factories. In their view, assembly workers perform tedious, monotonous tasks for minimal wage; they have little job security or advancement opportunity (Enloe, 1983, p.415; Fernandez-Kelly, 1983b, p.220). TNC managers encourage high turnover to avoid the costs of seniority-related wage hikes (Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1981, p.57). Although the work often exposes them to dangerous chemicals and other hazards that impair their eyesight and cause other ailments (Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1981, p.55; Mitter, 1986, p.50), workers are frequently denied insurance and disability benefits (Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1983, p.22; Abraham-Van Der Mark, 1983, p.381). Many companies, often with the aid of the host government, either tacitly or explicitly prohibit employees from organizing or joining unions through which they may press for better working conditions (Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1981, p.58; Enloe, 1983, p.420; Abraham-Van Der Mark, 1983, p.381; Mitter, 1986, p.55).

According to this view, women participate in export-processing firms not as independent individuals but as members of patriarchal families whose survival often depends on the women's wages (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983, p.217). Elder daughters may be forced to quit school and take jobs to support
their parents or to subsidize the educational expenses of their brothers (Salaff, 1981b, p.54). They often have little control over their wages, handing them over to parents who determine their disposition (Salaff, 1981a, p.79); Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1983, p.15). Parents may discourage young women from marrying, living on their own, or quitting their jobs to further their studies because they can't afford to live without their daughters' income (Mitter, 1986, p.48). Thus a women's employment stems not from her own volition but from the necessity to comply with family demands. These dynamics, which reflect the patriarchal relations deeply embedded in the family, presumably explain why women enter and remain in assembly firms despite alienating working conditions (Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1983, p. 15; Mitter, 1986, p.62).

Patriarchal relations also structure relations of production on the factory floor. TNCs reinforce them to ensure women's conformity to company rules and standards. Beauty pageants, makeup demonstration, and cooking classes reinforce traditional notion of feminity (Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1981, p.57; Mitter, 1986, p.61). Supervisors act as parent surrogates for their “girls”, closely monitoring not only workers’ output but also their personal lives. Loyalty to the company is expected and strengthened through gifts, favors, and other forms of patronage (Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1981). Rather than encouraging autonomy and self-reliance, work in assembly plants is assumed to deepen obeisance to patriarchal authority and acquiescence to traditional female gender roles (Mitter, 1986, p. 62)

3.2.2 Economic Globalization and Sexual Harassment

In relation to patriarchal relation in the work environment, sexual harassment deserved to get a lot of attention. In the European Union and many parts of the world, it is classified as crime. According to British Sexual Discrimination Act (1975), a person subjects a woman to harassment if:

- On the ground of her sex, he engages in unwanted conduct that has the purpose of effect of (i) violating her dignity or (ii) of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating, or offensive environment for her,
- He engages in any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal, or physical conduct of a sexual nature that has the purpose or effect of (i) violating her dignity or (ii) creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating, or offensive environment for her,
- Or on the ground of her rejection of or submission to unwanted conduct of a kind mentioned in paragraphs (a) or (b), he treats her less favorably than he would treat her had she not rejected, or submitted to, the conduct.

For Gutek (1985) and Thomas and Kitzinger (1997), sexual harassment is a logical consequence of the gender inequality and sexism that already exists in society. Sexual harassment, regardless of its form, is linked to the sexist male ideology of male dominance and male superiority (Matchen and DeSouza, 2000; Stockdale, 1993). Sexual harassment exists because of the views of women as the inferior sex, but also sexual harassment serves to maintain the already existing gender stratification by emphasizing sex role expectations (Gutek, 1985; Malovich and Stake, 1990; Pryor, 1987; Schacht and Atchison, 1993; Tangri and Hayes, 1997). MacKinnon (1979) maintained that women's inferior position in the workplace and society in general, is not only a consequence, but also a cause of sexual harassment. Tangri, Burt, and Johnson (1982) posit that sexual harassment serves to manage the male–female interactions according to accepted sex status norms, and therefore, serves to maintain male dominance occupationally, by intimidating, and discouraging women from work.
Extension of male dominance in society includes multi-national corporations, where the phenomenon is thriving (Farley, 1978; MacKinnon, 1979; Mustafa, 2010). Members/Workers of these corporations would therefore carry over their already existing gender roles, beliefs, and stereotypes into the workplace. Men and women are therefore socialized in such a manner that stereotyped interactions occur and are expected to occur; men are expected to be aggressive and dominant, and females are expected to be passive and accepting (Gruber & Bjorn, 1986). Therefore, men believe that their behaviors are justified whereas women blame themselves for being victimized (Vaux, 1993). Sexual harassment, hence, is viewed as an inevitable consequence of cultural experiences (Whaley & Tucker, 1998), therefore, it would apply to many different settings including the workplace (Barak, Pitterman, & Yitzhaki., 1995).

Some studies show that harassment is more predominant in male-dominated work forces and nontraditional work for women, such as taxi driver, a police officer or even high-ranking CEO (Brown, 1998; European Commission, 1998; Gruber, 1992; LaFontaine and Tredeau, 1986; Tangri et al., 1982; Niebuhr and Boyles, 1991). A case study of Padang province in Papua New Guinea (PNG) has linked the development of canneries by multinational firms and the import of foreign male workers to an increase in the sex-trade, child prostitution and HIV/AIDS (True, 2010). Many women working in fisheries processing plants in PNG and Fiji are unmarried and face problems of security and harassment, especially when they either live at cannery hostels or travel to and from their shifts in darkness. In another example of an extractive, multinational industry, in the Solomon Islands local government officials have accused foreign logging companies of exploiting not only their natural forestry resources but their teenage girls as well. Loggers from Asian countries working for multinational companies are said to employ these girls to work as domestic servants, subjecting them to sexual abuse and leaving them pregnant when they return home.

3.2.2 Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and Gender-Based Violence

Aside from the expansion of export-processing zones, economic globalization is also identified as the expansion of neo-liberal economy system. Stein (1999, p.1-2) mentioned three disturbing trends under globalization: (1) the growing volatility of currency flows, with consequent devaluations in currencies of the most adversely affected countries, as was evident in the East Asian and Mexican crisis; (2) the unevenness, reversal and even apparent marginalization of some regions and sections of populations; (3) the growing hegemony of neo-classical economics as the only frame of references for policies of stabilization, transformation and economic development.

One of the way to spread the neo-liberal economic agenda is loan conditionalities imposed by International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Many developing countries, mostly in Asia and Latin America, have experienced financial and economic crisis in 1980s and 1990s and implemented structural adjustment programs advised by IMF and World Bank.

The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) are created with the goal of reducing the borrowing country’s fiscal imbalances. The SAPs are supposed to allow the economies of the developing countries to become more market oriented. This then forces them to concentrate more on trade and production so it can boost their economy.

Introduction of SAPs was born out of a neo-liberal response to a crisis: minimizing state intervention. Market, individual choice sovereignty and a delegitimization of the state as an agent of development form for the neo-liberal core of these sets of policies. As shown in the Brady Plan in 1989, IMF and World Bank advised developing countries to: (1) a drastic lowering of trade barrier; (2) reduction in subsidies and prices controls; (3) a restructuring of financial systems by withdrawing
controls on capital movements; (4) the privatization of state-owned enterprises; (5) attracting foreign investments and reducing capital flight by removing state controls; (6) minimizing state intervention in the management of the economy and the provision of social services.

As mentioned by Galtung (1989), the implementation of SAPs can be considered as a structural violence if it leads to massive deterioration of society physical and psychological ability. To elaborate on this argument, I will use Currie's market society theory asserting that the minimization of state intervention in social services can lead to violent environment. He argues that some inherent characteristics of market society, among others, low pay jobs, material deprivation, extreme inequality and the withdrawal of social services are breeding the violent environment. More importantly, he argues that the interconnection of market society with traditional patriarchal norms creates a strong tendency for women to become defined as trophies, pleasure objects or commodities and, accordingly, as “fair game” for abuse and exploitation (Currie, 1997, p. 166).

3.2.2.1 Low-Pay Jobs

As elaborated in the previous section, most of the export zone in developing countries have manufacturing industries which rely on unskilled labor and low-paid jobs. Currie (2005) argues that how individuals, families and communities fare in the labor market affects the potential for criminal violence in multiple and profound ways. On the level of individual aspirations and motivation, for example, the long-term absence of opportunities for stable and rewarding work especially for men undercuts the sense of having a 'stake' in legitimate society, and exerts powerful pressures toward participation in illicit enterprises (Sullivan, 1985). Illegal business and drugs trade have implication both to the crime against state and routine violence, such as violence toward the partners and children in the house.

Steady work provides one of the most important bonds that enable individuals to desist from early criminal careers (Sampson and Laub, 1993). Moreover, the absence of strong work opportunities undermines the effectiveness of programs to reintegrate offenders into the community, thus ensuring high rates of recidivism (Currie, 1985). Long-term exclusion from stable work disrupts families and inhibits family formation in the first place (Wilson, 1987) and diminishes the capacity of adults to perform credibly as role models and agents of socialization and the transmission of values to the young (Fagan et.al., 1993). Less often discussed, but not less important, is the effect of overwork in poorly-paid jobs on the capacity of parents to provide a nurturing and competent environment for childrearing and on the capacity of communities for self-regulation and the maintenance of networks of mutual support and care. At the community level, the lack of opportunities for rewarding work breeds illicit enterprise, especially drug sales, which once established both increase the level of routine violence and weaken the community's capacity for supervision and support (Wilson, 1995). And mass exclusion from steady, well-paying work interacts with traditional gender norms to produce a broad stratum of men for whom violent means of asserting 'manhood' flourish in the absence of conventional ones. In Kuwait, men reacted against economic restructuring by acting out violently against women. These men draw on traditional patriarchal discourses and objectify women as symbols of liberalization. Ann (2003, p. 234) argued that 'women are implicated … not only because they are themselves objects of value and symbols of communal identity, but also because their emancipation introduces a new class of competitors for political and economic positions'.

A South African study of fifteen men and their female partners, recruited via two agencies that provide programs for victims and perpetrators of intimate violence, connected men's economic disempowerment to domestic violence against women. The study found that men react to the greater economic opportunities for women and rising male unemployment by attempting to maintain their hold
on dominant forms of masculinity through the perpetration of violence (Floretta, 2005). Interviews with men revealed that their ideas of 'successful masculinity' were linked to their ability to become or remain economic providers for the family. Men facing chronic unemployment described feeling powerless and employ this feeling as a justification for violence against women. Tickner (1992) found that violence against women increases during hard economic times; when states prioritize military spending or find themselves in debt, shrinking resources are often accompanied by violence against women.

3.2.2.2 Poverty

Similar to low-pay jobs, poverty and income inequality is increasingly implicated in neo-liberal economic order. Government need to cut their taxes and give many incentives in order to attract multinational companies. The tax and the social regulation are the main source for protecting and helping the poor. Global economic crisis forced states to cut many social benefits to the poor and the jobless. As with employment, the relationship between poverty and crime are complex and some are indirect. Yet the evidence points strongly to a profound role for both absolute and relative deprivation. How much poverty, and how wide a spread of inequality, a society tolerates matter in terms of violence, and this for several related reasons. There is direct correlation between the structural changes that take place in society and a direct proportion to the level of tolerance manifested by the collective to it and its level of violence (Vachss, 1994,p. 227)

The evidence for a strong link between income inequality and homicide is particular is longstanding, and it comes from a variety of different kinds of research carried out across a variety of different settings (cs. Blau and Blau, 1982; Messner, 1985; Gartner, 1990). Notably, one recent study finds a strong and specific association between the growth of wage inequality in the United States since the 1970s and levels of homicide and aggravated assault (Fowles and Merva, 1996).

There is also growing evidence that poverty itself – or more precisely a syndrome of multiple deprivation (what Land et al. Have usefully called 'resource deprivation') – is implicated in homicide generally (Land et al., 1990; Smith and Brewer, 1992) and in family homicides in particular (Goetting, 1995).

In a study of Eurobarometer, unemployment and poverty are perceived as the second cause of violence against women (EU Barometer, 2010). In a comprehensive study of U.S. Census and from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), Ashcroft, Hart, and Daniels (2004) found that intimate violence is more prevalent and more severe in disadvantaged neighborhoods. It occurs more in households facing economic distress. When the economically distressed household is located in a disadvantaged neighborhood, the prevalence of intimate violence jumps dramatically: women living in these circumstances are most at risk. It concludes four points:

- Income levels. Women living in households with high incomes experienced less violence at the hands of their intimate partners than did women whose households were less financially secure. The results showed a very consistent pattern: As the ratio of household income to needs goes up, the likelihood of violence goes down.
- Financial strain. Couples who reported extensive financial strain had a rate of violence more than three times that of couples with low levels of financial strain.
- Severity of violence. Women in disadvantaged neighborhoods were more likely to be victimized repeatedly or to be injured by their domestic partners than were women who lived in more advantaged neighborhoods. For instance, about 2 percent of women in advantaged
neighborhoods experienced severe violence, while 6 percent of women in disadvantaged neighborhoods were the victims of severe violence.

- The withdrawal of public provision as suggested by IMF and World Bank has devastating consequences when it is combined with the broad structural shifts in the labor market as happened in Juárez. The strains between family and work offer a key example. The adoption of low-wage, high-turnover labor market strategy that is an essential feature of maquiladora tends to undercut parents’ ability to nurture and supervise their children, leading, in turn, to the kinds of problems of violence. As wage levels fall and steady full-time work is replaced by the packaging of several part time and/or temporary jobs, parents in Juárez increasingly need to work excessively long hours to make ends meet – which means that their children are likely to be deprived of attention and support. The lack of reliable and affordable child-care facilities and after-school programs are worsening the risk of children of abuse and neglect. It increases the risk of domestic violence, as the paucity of outside supports for child care combine with weak job opportunities to trap women in abusive relationships.

The withdrawal of public supports is also compounded by the simultaneous tendency to erode informal social supports and networks of care. This is especially a consequence of the absence of strong ties of capital to any geographic community. It indicates the rootlessness for individuals and families and atomization for communities. The result is to deplete the sources of informal support that might otherwise buffer the consequences of mass joblessness, poverty and retreat of public services.

If, for example, a family stressed by long working hours and unable to procure decent child care for children; if they could look to uncles, cousins, and friends to help keep an eye on their teenagers when long working hours mean they can’t do it themselves; then the criminological consequences of overemployment and poverty could arguably be mitigated. But economic globalization has systematically splits extended families and creates communities characterized by rapid geographical mobility and the consequent ‘thinning’ of networks of close friendship and mutual care.

The overall result is a deepening, self-fueling cycle of social impoverishment. The resulting depletion of stable adult supervision and support means that youth gangs or drug dealers may become ‘the dominant informal control and socialization force’ (Fagan et al., 1993, p.4). It explains why there is serious cases of severe child abuse and neglect in Juárez.

3.3 Operationalization of Theory

The issue of women murder in Ciudad Juárez is a complex issue. The role of state and local government are important in this case because there are strong allegation of impunity toward the perpetrators of violence against women. Slow-response by government to process the disappearance has created anger among the family. International narco-traffic, corruption and other international crime also plays important role in making women as victims of the crime. As suggested in the limitation part, I will not survey all factors of women murder in Juárez. Because of the purpose of the thesis, instead I will focus on the global economic actors (IMF, World Bank, TNCs) in fueling the violence against women in Ciudad Juárez.
CHAPTER 4 ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN CIUDAD JUÁREZ, MEXICO

Until the mid-1990s, Ciudad Juárez was considered a reasonably safe place; it is now known as a social disaster and one of the most distressed urban areas in the Western Hemisphere. Economic globalization has played a major part in shaping social, economic, and political structures along the US-Mexico border, and in Ciudad Juárez. This chapter will elaborate the detail of the link between economic globalization and violence against women through four parts: firstly, it will give historiography of the development of Ciudad Juárez; secondly, the exploitation of women worker; thirdly, the practice of sexual harassment and pregnancy testing within the assembly plants and lastly, the flexibility of labor laws as the incentives for attracting foreign investment.

4.1 Ciudad Juárez

As elaborated in the chapter two on the drastic increase of foreign investment in Mexico, the maquiladora industry may be the late twentieth century’s hallmark of an exploitive transnational capitalist system of production, trade economics, and employment whose success depends on the use and abuse of a highly feminized workforce which, in contrast to the sophisticated business elite that invests in maquiladoras, is poor, young, and uneducated. In other words, it is a system that thrives on gender-based oppression (Arriola, 2000). A typical maquiladora’s population of workers is unlikely to benefit in any long-lasting way from the experience of working for one of the thousands of bi-national or multinational factories currently supported under NAFTA and prior trade agreements between the United States and European Union.

It is difficult to isolate the direct effects of North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA) on low-wages since it simply extended many of the earlier provisions under the Border Industrialisation Program to the rest of Mexico and intensified a process of trade liberalisation begun thirty years earlier. In 1964, the Bracero Program, which allowed Mexican agricultural workers to work legally in the U.S. on a seasonal basis, came to an end. Less than a year after the end of the Bracero Program, the Mexican Government launched the Border Industrialization Program (BIP) to solve the problem of rising unemployment along the border. According to Sklair (1989, p.156), the advantages of the maquiladora industry to both the Mexican government and US corporations can be summed up as "jobs, skills, and dollars". Under the scheme, Mexico permitted the duty-free importation of machinery, equipment, and raw materials on the condition that everything produced was exported. Permit application and fees also for imports underwent major simplification. Restriction on foreign firms owning land has been relaxed and plants operating under BIP have been granted 100 percent foreign control over investment so long as their total production is exported. Mexico attracted firms to investment opportunities in its country because of lower wages and the proximity to the United States. For the U.S multi-national companies, moving their assembly plant to Ciudad Juárez is economically profitable strategy since they don't need to pay the "costs and burdens" of U.S. Mandated government programs, including Worker's Compensation, and assurances of "free from personal contingent liability related to safety and security matters." (Weissman, 2005, p.23) According to Perez quoted in Nathan (1999), 80 per cent of maquiladora in Juárez are U.S.-owned.

These programs spurred the growth of the maquiladoras, especially – at least initially – in the electronics and apparel manufacturing industries that consist almost entirely of assembly procedures. The implementation of NAFTA in 1994 has enhanced the situation. For example, Audio-Mex, a subsidiary of a large U.S. Company that manufactures a range of electronics products, was one of the first of these maquilas to move into the industrial parks near border. A typical electronics company
operating in the border town of Mexicali, Audio-Mex assembled eight-track magnetic tapes and cassettes with parts manufactured outside of Mexico and brought to the plant for assembly.

Ciudad Juárez, according to Siklair contains the dilemma of the maquila industry as a whole. The dilemma, he says, is that foreign investment often does bring economic growth in the sense of increased economic activity, and foreign trade is said to increase, irrespective of the balance between exports and imports, as long as its volume increases. Siklair (1994, p. 18) claims that “what export-processing zones have failed to do, with few exceptions, is to transform this economic growth into development”. Despite the presence of maquila jobs in Juárez, 40 percent of the population live in poverty, of which 100,000 do not have access to basic water and sewage services or to any kind of infrastructure urban facilities (Fernandez, 2000; Dominguez, et.al, 2010)

4.2. License for Gender-Based Exploitation

As in other export-processing zones, employers in Ciudad Juárez recruit women to work in the maquiladoras using a narrow concept of women and women workers based on caricatures of the “ideal worker” embodying “nimble fingers”, the ability to perform repetitive tasks, and infinite job flexibility. These characteristics assigned to women workers are often justified using biological, cultural, and racial classifications ignoring the vast diversity among women. Between the late 1960s and the early 1980s, maquila managers recruited young women for their ideal labor force in the belief that these women worked hard and produced at low cost. It was assumed that not only would women with little or no experience in the wage labor force make minimum demands, but also that they would lack the skills necessary to organize and present grievances. The recruitment effort was specific and direct: management documents and advertising campaigns described in precise terms the gender characteristics of the workers they intended to hire.

One Mexican primer for firms locating in the maquiladoras claimed that, “from their earliest conditioning women show respect and obedience to authority, especially men. The women follow orders willingly, accept change and adjustments easily and are considerably less demanding” (Elson, 1996). As a result, the initial composition of the maquila workforce was composed of approximately 80% women, most of whom were young, single, and childless (Weissman, 2005).

Elena, a maquiladora worker stated (Prieto, 1997 quoted in Arriola, 2000, p. 761):

One day I just couldn’t go on, and I told the supervisors that I wasn’t going to work anymore, that my hands just couldn’t take it. “No,” he said, “wait until quitting time. Don’t you see that the dolls are going to stack up on your co-workers?” … I tried to continue working, but I went very slowly, because my hands hurt so much.

Some argue that the advantages to workers are minimal and that maquiladoras are centers of exploitation, where workers earn abominably low wages, and are subjected to severe health and safety risks. Fussell (2000,p.76) suggests that, “In the drive to compete with other regions specializing in export-oriented manufacturing, the state, the labor unions, and the maquiladora owner’s associations have collaborated to maintain low wages in the maquiladoras”. On average, workers in maquiladoras receive an hourly wage less than those who work in service or commerce and less than those who are self-employed. Maquila wages are often insufficient to meet the needs of housing, food, and utilities. The high cost of living in Ciudad Juárez and the inability of workers to subsist on maquila wages refute the explanation that low wages are adequate to meet local standards of living. Wages in maquiladoras rose by 50 per cent from 1995-97, but inflation increased over 100 per cent during the same period (Bowden, 1998). A typical maquiladora worker will work grueling double shifts of 15 hours a day, earn
a daily salary of $7.43, or 92 cents an hour (Adler, 2000). Maquila workers earn less than service workers and workers in the domestic manufacturing economy; in some instances, maquila workers earn less than self-employed workers on the periphery of the labor market (Kopinak, 1995; Dominguez, et.al, 2010).

Maria, a maquiladora worker: “Our wages buy about 20% of what they could then. We never could afford much meat, and now we have a hard time affording vegetables and milk, too. We eat a lot more soup made from pasta with a little bit of onion, tomato, and seasoning salt. I can only give the children a little milk at night, because at 48 pesos ($6.40) for a can of powdered milk, we just can’t afford any more. (Blood Sweat and Shears, 1999 in Arriola, 2000, p.769)

Throughout Mexico the wage differential on the basis of gender always benefit men, with certain job categories showing an overall wage as high as 20 per cent, 33 per cent, and even 48 per cent higher than women’s wage (La Botz, 1999). In the automobile assembly industry in Hermosillo, the wage difference can reach more than 50 per cent.

Sociocultural factors in relation to traditional gender roles have also contributed to the construction of women as low-wage worker. According to Pantaleo (2010), under the view of patriarchy, two expressions are commonly used in Mexico to show the difference in status of males and females; these expressions are machismo and marianismo. Machismo is characterized by male power and aggression; while marianismo is characterized by subordination and domestic gender roles. As part of the marianismo ideology, women are expected to fulfill domestic roles as wives and mothers and to not take part in paid labor outside of the home. Women who leave their homes to seek employment in the maquiladora directly challenge the marianismo ideal of womanhood. However, motherhood is being reformulated to include economic support of children as responsibility. While women are not choosing between the identities of mother and worker but combining them, many still hold motherhood (without waged work) as the ideal. Thus, they feel ambivalent about their roles as wageworkers, which help to support the gender division of labor.

However, the factories do not want women workers to be mothers because they do not want to pay maternity benefits and because having a child implies a lowering of productivity. By refusing to hire pregnant women and often harassing women who become pregnant to quit, they are discouraging women from performing their traditional roles as mothers. Yet, at the same time, the factories do not want their female employees to assume an identity as permanent workers. Central to this construction of a female workforce is the notion that these laborers are temporary, which justifies their low wages. Factories justify not training female employees for skilled tasks because they are imagined to be short-term workers who will eventually quit to have a family. In a maquiladora in Juárez, Melissa W. Wright (1999) observes that “in order to preserve the representation of Mexican women as the cheap opposition who outlined the limits of masculine value, [the managers] did not train their new female employees sufficiently for their jobs.” Thus, factories use the potential role of motherhood to devalue women’s worth as workers while maximizing productivity. However, if motherhood is not used to distinguish female from male workers, women might begin to expect opportunities for training and advancement equal to men. Thus, the factories must differentiate the women in some way. By encouraging female employees to dress fashionably, to participate in beauty contests, and to go dancing in the clubs, managers are able to feminize, sexualize, and trivialize them as workers. Not only do these sexualized practices distinguish female from male workers, but they also encourage women to become consumers and purchase clothing, cosmetics, jewelry, and entertainment. Consumerism is presented as an appropriately feminine role as opposed to production.
4.3 Sexual Harassment and Pregnancy Testing

Salzinger (2000, p.68) suggests that maquila workers are “the apparent embodiments of availability – cheap labor, willing flirtation [with managers] – these young women have become the paradigmatic workers for a transnational political economy in which a highly sexualised form of feminity has become a standard ‘factor of production’”. The creation of 'sexual subjects' in the maquiladoras, Salzinger argues, is not distracting from production (as sexual harassment is often assumed to do), but is rather an integral part of the production process (Ibid.).

Salzinger articulates the ways in which women actively participate in the sexualisation, evident in her use of the term sexual subjects instead of sexual objects. For instance, the Electroworld beauty contest provides a setting in which “to claim one's own desirability becomes an act of courage, independence, loyalty, and solidarity all at one” (Ibid., p.). The maquiladoras also encourage workers to participate in annual industry-wide “Señorita Maquiladora” beauty contests. Dance clubs host “Most Daring Bra” and “Wet String Bikini” contests with cash prizes that are more than an entire week’s wages. Maquila women's dress and appearance are crucial to their work where 'most maquila girls wear miniskirts, heels, and gobs of lipstick and eye shadow. In some maquiladoras a woman’s appearance receives more attention than her work skills. Supervisors often hire based on a potential employee’s attractiveness, and they say, “Girls, utilize your sexuality.” (Arriola, 2000) Often employees wear miniskirts, high heels, and makeup to work, especially on Fridays when the company buses drop off many of the workers after their shifts at the dance clubs. Supervisors often stalk the assembly lines, playing favorites and asking for dates. Their flashiness is hardly incidental to their jobs. Instead, it is a fundamental feature of those maquilas that make a priority of hiring females; the reinforcement and updating of a rigid version of “womanhood”. This particular performance of “womanhood” is what gets them hired, but it is also what is used to justify relegating them to low-level positions.


The whole thing about the pageants that troubles me the most is that the men, who usually do the judging, do think of us as bodies, sex objects. And the audience is awful, jeering and cheering like crazy. Even worse than all this is that the plant managers think they own the workers, our beauty is theirs for claiming. They take credit and then expect you to be the ideal, pretty worker. But beauty is not much help back inside the factory, unless you are willing to accept the sexual advances to protect your own job security.

Carmona, Aguirre, and Burciaga (2005) has surveyed a large maquiladora in Juárez with 1,472 women workers – most of them in their twenties with secondary education – cites alarmingly high rates of physical violence; 52 per cent of women workers had experienced it, 9.4 per cent frequently or constantly. De Avendano (2003) has conducted survey with maquila workers and found that 70% of women workers had experience sexual harassment and 78 per cent of the aggressors are male supervisors or co-worker in high position. Chela Delgado, former group chief at an electronics assembly plant stated (Pena, 1997, p.120 in Arriola, 2000, p. 783):

"I told him that I already had a friend and that I wasn't interested in a relationship with him … He kept insisting and he became much more aggressive about it … He started fondling me, at first making it look like it was an accident, you know, brushing his hand across my breasts. Then he started grabbing me from behind … one time I almost cut my fingers on the belt, he startled me so. Finally, one night as I was leaving the plant … he grabbed me in the parking lot and kissed me. He said something like, “If you don't give it to me I'll make sure you never work in Juárez again.”
In addition to paying the female workers cheaply for long hours, Nathan (1999) reports that before hiring new female employees, managers require medical exams and often inquire about their employees' sexual activities. Pregnancy tests are routinely administered. She also reported that many woman who is pregnant is dismissed or harassed until she quits. Birth control pills are plentiful at the factories while other health services are scarce. In addition to requiring pregnancy tests, some supervisors even inspect employees’ sanitary napkins to ensure that they are not pregnant.

Female sexuality is repressed by maquiladora owners. Because maintaining production levels is a key feature of the industry, the pregnant worker is seen as a threat to the business (Arriola, 2000). Thus pregnancy-based sex discrimination throughout the industry is a virtual norm. being able to keep one's job while pregnant is wholly dependent on being seen as a “good worker” (Ibid., p.784). A former line supervisor for a maquiladora in Tijuana explained the process (HRW Study, 1998, p.11):

Pregnancy tests were given to all women workers. There was an infirmary which gave the pregnancy tests. [the company] always gave pregnancy tests because they wanted to make sure workers would work for at least a year … Workers who became pregnant would have probationary contracts “cut” after the first one or two months. The company would use the pretext that the workers were “bad elements,” or say they had bad work records. The truth is that companies discriminate against pregnant workers because of the potential or expected loss of production, not because the costs of maternity leave, as some companies argue.

These explicit policies are ironic given the prominent role women have played as the industry's ideal worker because of stereotyped attitudes about their natural ability for monotonous, delicate and reliable work. But as workers who are also typically young and barely starting out in life, one would expect them to reach stages where they are thinking of serious relationship, marriage and motherhood. Thus, singling out women for the very aspect of their identity that makes them women, such as the ability to become pregnant, is an obvious form of sexual violence in the industry. It is also a blatant exploitation of the youthful female body for its sheer utility in the non-pregnant state. Neither the companies nor the Mexican government has adequately addressed the pervasiveness of pregnancy screening that appears to be motivated by the desire to prevent the disruption of production schedules and/or to avoid paying for mandatory maternity leave costs (HRW, 1998). The reluctance has generated the claim that the practice constitutes a blatant form of human rights abuse.

In 1996, Human Rights Watch documented rampant use of pregnancy testing by maquiladoras in five Mexican border cities (HRW, 1996). A follow-up study the next year showed that pregnancy testing was still rampant in three of the cities and that companies in Ciudad Juárez, not covered in the first report, also routinely tested its workers for signs of pre-employment pregnancy. When interviewed corporate representatives acknowledged and defended the use of pregnancy screening as a legitimate employment practice to protect their financial interests. From a policy perspective it is amazing that American employers, once they don the identity of the "transnational corporate producer," can so easily and brazenly practice what in this country is prohibited by the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 (Pregnancy Discrimination Act, 1978). But transnational corporate investors justify the various methods used to screen for pre-employment pregnancy by stating that to end it would mean “exposing itself to substantial financial liabilities in the social security system for maternity benefits”. (HRW Study, 1998, p. 15) Another typical corporate response to the charge against pregnancy screening is that it is a way of ensuring that women will be able to meet the high-pressure production goals. This goal has been absolutely confirmed by the women workers themselves (HRW Study, 1998, p. 52):
Pregnant women are not contracted because they will ask for time off from work, either for visits to the doctor [for prenatal care] or for maternity leave. It is all about meeting production. In this factory, they calculate how many workers and how many hours it will take to complete a certain job. Each line worker has a certain amount that she must produce. Pregnant women cannot work when the quota is too high. There is no room for people to miss work, or not work to their fullest capacity.

Some maquiladoras now argue that they are just trying to comply with Mexican law mandating special protections for pregnant workers and their fetuses. But the reports of former supervisors who supposedly enforced health standards contradict this justification, stating that enforcement of health and safety is completely arbitrary and that employers only "want to appear to be complying with the law .... The company made no special provisions for pregnant women" (Ibid., p.52).

Literally dozens of women interviewed by Human Rights Watch, doing work such as assembling televisions, computers, batteries, car seats, cellular phones, picture frames, clothing, thermostats, air conditioners, or decorative shopping and gift bags for American companies with familiar names like General Electric, Zenith, Honeywell, Hallmark Cards, Panasonic, Mattel, Hyundai, Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors reported that pregnancy testing is standard in pre-employment screening (Ibid., p.52). The routine nature of pregnancy screening throughout employment has an impact at the point of hire and during a worker’s employment (Preview of NAFTA, 2000). The test are performed at many companies by on-site doctors and nurses who administer legal pre-employment medical exams or by personnel officers who asks questions: (1) “are you pregnant?” (2) “are you sexually active?”; or (3) “When was your last period?” (Arriola, 2000, p.786)

For example, Rafaela Rojas Cruz, age twenty-three, was approached during her three-month probationary contract by her supervisor and asked if she was pregnant because she appeared to become nauseous everyday. When the pregnancy was confirmed she was told her contract would not be renewed. She was approached the unions for help in getting another job and was told that their policy was not to send out applicants who are pregnant. (HRW Study, 1998, p. 16-7) Although Marcela Gallego informed personnel officers that she was sterilized, she was still given a urine test and then deceptively informed that because female employees would be working with electricity they had to be pregnant-free. (Ibid., p.17) Manuela Barca Zapata was given a pregnancy test that was administered in the humiliating manner of a nurse keeping the door open and standing by watching her urinate into a cup so as to keep her from cheating. She was also asked when she had her last period and her use of birth control. (Ibid., p.18-9)

Post-employment pregnancy testing is also systematic throughout the industry. Some of the methods are humiliating and disrespectful of an employee's right to privacy. At one company, female employee were not only asked to take urine samples but even had to show used sanitary napkins to company medical personnel to prove that they were still menstruating. (Ibid., p. 11) Women from other companies who reported the practice of mandatory menstruation checks said it was demeaning and embarrassing but they did not feel they could say no to the request. Even the worker who is able to stay and who may become pregnant is not free from the discrimination. Xochitl Alanis, twenty-nine, who assembled car parts in Reynosa, reported that she became pregnant after working several years for the General Motors factory. When she became pregnant, the supervisor regularly complained about her leaving her work station and about missing too much work for seeking prenatal care. She was also frequently chastised for taking too long, during her lawfully mandated breaks, to pump milk from her lactating breasts for nursing purposes. (Arriola, 2000, p. 787)
4.4 Health and Safety Risk as Term of Employment

Factory workers are poorly protected from exposure to toxic chemicals, smoke, dust, and fumes. Inadequate ventilation has been associated with a host of health problems, including impaired vision, breathing difficulties, and kidney disease. The rate of miscarriages among female maquila workers is high, and the number of children born with birth defects is rising. Children have been born with facial deformities and mental impairments, and residents of all ages suffer high rates of cancer, lupus, hepatitis, diarrheal diseases, and gastroenteritis.

To say more about this issue, Arriola (2007) has conducted field observation to Piedras Negras, Coahuila, and met members of the Comite Fronterizo de Obreras and their coordinator Julia Quiñonezz Gonzales, a former maquiladora worker turned activist. Arriola is an academic activist who focused on workers' legal rights under NAFTA. Despite she visited Coahuila, many studies show border maquiladoras have a lot of similarities (Arriola, 2000). She interviewed some workers and I took some important testimonials, as follows:

Amparo was thirty-eight years old and raising two teenage boys. She was desperately trying to keep the older boy in school so that he might avoid the destiny of the working poor-beginning work in the factories at age fifteen and working ten-hour days, on average, for little pay. Amparo had been fired for being outspoken about the poor treatment of workers at Dimmit Industries, which is now defunct. Amparo was hired at Dimmit to sew waistbands onto a minimum of twelve hundred pairs of expensive dress slacks per day in order to receive the base weekly wage of three hundred pesos and two hundred pesos in bonus (about thirty-five dollars per week). To earn a salary on which she could live, she pushed herself to produce 150 percent of the expected quota, or about eighteen hundred slacks per day, for approximately six years.

Amparo told that every day she walked out with a blackened face full of lint and dust left in the factory air due to the poor ventilation system in the plant. A common complaint of the workers was the lack of adequate ventilation in the cheaply built, windowless warehouses that were set up for factory operations. She remembered the terrible coughs she endured almost all of the time as a result of the fibers, distinctly visible in the surrounding air, settling on her skin and in her lungs. She also had to endure the exhaustion of the typical ten- to twelve-hour shift with only a half-hour break for lunch and a ten-minute break in the morning. "I first thought, that's just the way working conditions are here. In time I began to see the injustices here." Another woman worker in the city of Reynosa, Tamaulipas, Maria Elena Garcia also told that she can never wear open shoes and in hot weather she must have on cotton socks to prevent the humidity from encouraging the fungus to reappear." She also showed dark scar tissue mostly on the top of her feet--old scratch marks and evidence of once-ruptured skin that she referred to as the symptoms of an unexplainable fungus. It was an infection that had broken and rotted the skin so badly that her own brothers and sisters would tell her to stay away from them because of the awful smell. The doctors concluded that the condition, which lasted for a year, was so bad that if she did not find a remedy and did not stop working in the environment that had obviously contributed to the infection, she would lose her feet to gangrene.

Her mother told her, "Although I appreciate the help from your working, I don't want you to lose your feet." Maria Elena quit the job she had held for over two years-assembling one section of seatbelt all day long-during which time she was exposed to fine chemical dust particles in the strap fabric. Those particles caused her serious foot condition, a condition for which there is no permanent cure.
Maria Elena's condition is only too common among workers. A variety of illnesses and conditions, including back problems, carpal tunnel syndrome, asthma, and disabling allergic reactions, typically accompany the privilege of working in a maquiladora.

Juanita Torres also told how it was standard for employers to deny work-related injuries. It costs employers to have them qualify for government disability programs, so they encourage workers to use company doctors whose tendency is to minimize any harm because of the potential liability employers face for occupational hazards under the federal labor law. On one occasion, an in-house medic denied that it was the chemicals in a particular pant fabric that had caused Juanita an upper body rash.

On another occasion, she cut her finger on a machine, a frequent problem for workers because it was on "speed up"-a setting used by managers to increase a machine's output to pressure workers to maintain a specific, hurried pace. That time it was a medic at the government clinic for workers, Seguro Social, who botched the treatment and suggested the easy remedy of amputating her finger when she complained that the wound was not healing properly. Juanita said that she ran out crying, quit her job, and eventually healed her finger with home herbal remedies. Some workers suffer injuries or spontaneous abortions in the workplace because occupational hazards, such as exposure to toxic chemicals or fumes, are given such low priority.

In October 2006, Ariola met workers in a maquiladora in Reynosa, Tamaulipas (which borders McAllen, Texas). Workers from the Emerson factory, which manufactures Maytag Co. washer and dryer motors and employs about 11,000 workers, complained about the total lack of safety precautions in the factory. Cuts and injuries on the job are frequent. A worker at this meeting, who was on crutches, explained that a safety latch on the assembly line loosened one of the motors and it came crushing down on his leg. He did not receive proper medical care because the company diverted him to their doctor. The group described how another worker lost part of his finger because a safety latch broke and came down on his hand- the mechanic on duty was out and it was over an hour before his hand was dislodged. Doctors were unable to save part of the finger due to the delay in removing his hand from underneath the heavy machine.

### 4.5 Flexibility of Labor System

Violence against women in Juárez have been largely attributed to the shortcomings of the legal system in Mexico. Mexican courts have been described as weak, and corruption and malfeasance have plagued judicial processes (Periera and Davis, 2000). As a result of the pressures of local and international human rights groups, in January 2004, a federally appointed Special Prosecutor was assigned to examine the legal system’s handling of the criminal cases and federal police were authorized to share responsibility for security in Ciudad Juárez (Bourdreaux, 2003, p.A3). Within six months, the Special Prosecutor issued a report with findings of at least eighty-one instances of official misconduct within the justice system. Judicial processes have been professionalized and victims’ families are less reluctant to work with the federal prosecutors in the role of coadyuvantes or joint assistants. There have also been improvements in the state penal code to address crimes against women.

Although activists have had some success in applying a human rights framework focusing on civil

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1 In July 2003, President Vicente Fox announced a plan to enhance law enforcement efforts in Ciudad Juárez that included the appointment of a special prosecutor and special commissioner, both of whom have released reports after initial investigations (Weissman, 2005, p.853)
and political rights as a way to reform the legal system, these measures alone have not reduced the occurrence of violence, and the murders have continued. Thus, new rounds of recommendations have followed calling for increased authority of the Special Prosecutor, the incorporation of gender perspectives into policing and judicial practices, and judicial review of those cases that have already been prosecuted.

Criticism continues to be leveled at the legal system for the failure to treat the murders as a pattern of violence against women, rather than as individual criminal acts. The legal system’s failure to provide redress has been described along gender fault lines with little reference to the relation between the rule of law and economic globalization. While these proposals advance important and necessary themes in ending violence against women, they do not address the relationship of the legal system and social costs of economic inequality associated with the conditions that give rise to the murders.

Mexico’s legal system has undergone significant transformation since the 1980s. During the mid-1990s, legal reforms were implemented pursuant to World Bank directives for the purpose of assuring the responsiveness of Mexico’s judicial system to economic liberalization strategies (Dakolis, 1996; Gilman, 2003; Slover, 1999; J. Vargas, 2004; Zamora, 1995). The reforms urged a strengthened constitutional court system, more independent judges, the efficient administration of justice, and improved access to the justice system. Implementation of legal reform, however, has been driven by market needs primarily concerned with defining and enforcing private rights, investment and expropriation disputes, and creating legal mechanisms to facilitate market reforms. In this regard, law-making and legal reform has been undertaken as a crucial project to accomplish the tasks of economic globalization.

In order to attract foreign investors, Mexico has had to alter its national legal processes and commit to binding privatized investor-state arbitration. New laws were passed that opened Mexico’s natural resources and banking system to foreign investment and control. Similarly, Mexico’s strong consumer protection laws have been weakened. Labor laws with the greatest potential to provide safeguards for maquila workers have been undermined. Labor laws in Mexico are of historic significance and are acknowledged to provide some of the broadest and most progressive protections for workers. Federal labor laws derive from Mexico’s constitution which provide comprehensive protection for workers and a focus on class interests instead of individual rights, and worker protection over management.

These law regulate wage and hour, working conditions, job security, medical and other benefits, including housing. Laws facilitate union organization, collective bargaining, and the right to strike. Labor laws also target women for specific protection and provide benefits throughout pregnancy, during the breast-feeding period, and the right to day care. Dispute resolution mechanisms are available at the workplace, as well as labor tribunals and the courts. Mexico has also ratified several international treaties protecting workers’ rights. There is little question but that these formal rights have not been enforced in Mexico. Since economic liberalization, new arguments have been made for reforming labor law in terms that suggest that strong labor protections undermine the ability of transnational firms to lower costs and compete effectively. Proponents of economic liberalization and institutions financing such projects have pushed for the reform of labor laws and the reduction of worker benefits to conform to new employment strategies of the export zone. Mexican labor law specialists have reported that U.S. labor practices which serve to discourage union organizing drives have been adopted with increasing frequency.

Such reform has not been easy to accomplish given the constitutional nature of labor law protections. But changes are encroaching on workers’ rights. As advocated by the World Bank, pension
systems have been fully privatized. Monitoring of occupational health standards have moved to voluntary compliance mechanisms and while domestic industries have attempted to cooperate with such programs, maquilas, on the other hand, have responded poorly, if at all. Laws governing workers’ housing has also been diluted. Mexican President Vicente Fox in 2006 proposed a labor reform package that would curtail workers’ right to strike, to bargain collectively, and to call a vote to gain representational rights or supplant a pre-existing union. The proposal has been described as “a major assault on the basic rights of Mexican workers” and which “would deal a serious blow to workers’ human rights” (Human Rights Watch, 2004)

Even without formal legal changes, the practice of disregarding existing laws has been invigorated with new strategies formulated by transnational corporate management. Rights to maternity leave and child care have been undermined by corporate policies that seek to reduce labor costs. Mostly U.S. maquilas have defended their discriminatory hiring practices against pregnant women job applicants by claiming that Mexican laws only applied to current employees, a distinction disavowed by Mexican labor lawyers and an analysis that is at odds with U.S. employment labor laws. Other protections, such as overtime and the legal work week, no longer apply as workers who must work excess hours to cobble together sufficient wages to survive have no incentive to seek redress.

In addition to domestic labor reforms, supranational legal developments have altered legal rights for Mexican workers. Although NAFTA does not incorporate new substantive labor law standards, the labor side accord, the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), does address such issues. NAALC, which is said to encourage parties to enforce its own domestic labor laws, has been criticized as an administrative labyrinth that fails to bind private employers and provides workers with no tangible solutions for labor law violations.

NAALC’s jurisdiction covers eleven enumerated areas of labor law. However, it is nearly impossible to ascend NAALC’s administrative levels where enforcement powers may materialize. At the higher levels of the dispute mechanism, worker protections narrow and certain categories of protection are eliminated from review. Moreover, the progressive nature of Mexican labor laws which are not recognized in the United States lose their utility as only “mutually-recognized labor laws” may be reviewed. There is no jurisdiction to adjudicate violations related to the right to a union, to strike, unlawful termination, or employment discrimination.

Of the two dozen cases that have been submitted alleging serious violations, from a denial of the right to unionize, to wage claims, hazardous working conditions, and discrimination against pregnant women, none have made their way through the enforcement levels of the NAALC process (Holt and Waller, 2004). Women workers have not been benefitted by NAALC which limits claims regarding employment discrimination and equal pay to the second tier of labor rights, and therefore rendered ineligible for the imposition of sanctions. Labor issues affecting women, such as family leave, child care, nondiscriminatory treatment by unions, and sexual harassment, are excluded from the agreement altogether. They have often been required to settle claims for amounts less than they are entitled to because of their dire economic circumstances. NAALC disappointing results have been attributed to the reluctance of the United States to pressure the Mexican government because of concerns that labor protections interfere with economic liberalization strategies and the needs of transnational corporations (Weissman, 2005).

Law reform has been accomplished not only by the refashioning of state courts and processes which have constitutionalized market driven ideologies but also by the relocation of adjudication processes to sites outside of the nation-states into realms controlled by private transnational institutions and actors.
“organized around one great lex mercatoria.” (Sassen, 2000, p.38) That these reforms that have taken precedence during the emergence of the export zone and have contributed to the conditions in which the murders of women occur indicate the need for context and specificity in making demands for improvements to the law.

An average starting wage is thirty-five dollars a week. Maquiladoras discourage union organizing with dismissals and threats of blacklisting or moving the factory. Often workers’ only recourse is to quit and look for a new job, but employees are easily replaced, and new jobs are usually not much better. Because factories consider women to be short-term employees, there is no investment in a stable workforce.
CHAPTER 5 ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION, DESTRUCTION OF LIVELIHOOD AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In response to the increasing violence against women in Juárez, many international human rights group demanded for state accountability for intervention for the benefit of the polity. This account overlooks the ways in which conditions imposed by international financial institutions weakened the state's ability to discharge such function (Sassen, 2000). The absence of the state is also deteriorating community's physical and physiological conditions. This chapter will elaborate on the reality of interaction with SAPs, market society and gender-based violence. Staudt's survey and workshop which capture women's perceptions will answer whether neo-liberal based policies have impacted their life.

5.1 Privatization of Public Services

The stranglehold of economic liberalization policies and conditions attached to the use of IMF and World Bank funds, as well as agreements with the United States, the European Union, and many multinational corporations required cuts in public spending and the privatization of public functions, raise questions related to the capacity of government to carry out its responsibilities. The willingness of Mexico’s administration to implement structural adjustment programs that began almost two decades ago has weakened the power of government to protect its citizens.

The loss of resources to support public functions, including policing, has an evident role in the inability of the state to respond to the increasing levels of violence. Rising crime has in part been attributed to the inability of the attorney general to handle a sufficient number of criminal cases (Davis 2004; Lopez-Montiel, 2000). In some Mexican cities, the salaries of the police are among the lowest; officers often must use their pay to purchase their own uniforms while guns and police equipment are lacking (Lopez-Montiel, 2000, p.86). State tax policies which could mitigate the problems of police and judicial corruption associated with poor pay and lack of investigative resources are manipulated by international financial institutions and transnational corporations. Economic globalization that transfers profit on exports out of Mexico has made it all but impossible to acquire and redirect wealth to state institutions upon which victims rely for effective law enforcement. Gustavo Elizondo, the mayor of Ciudad Juárez from 1998-2001, described the paradox of export zone: “Every year we get poorer and poorer, even though we create more and more wealth” (quoted in Thompson, 2001, p.A1).

These conditions have produced a mass exodus of law enforcement from city and state police agencies because of crisis conditions and are expected to worsen (Corchado and Sandoval, 2004b). As the crime rate increase, the criminal justice system remains incapable of providing protection to residents. Resources with which to train staff in the use of forensic laboratory equipment and to pay for the technology of crime prevention are insufficient. Crime investigators have been laid off and the police academy for training new recruits for Ciudad Juárez has been closed since 2001 (Corchado and Sandoval, 2004b, Nathan 2004). The low pay for law enforcement officials creates ideal conditions for widespread corruption among police officers.

Moreover, police privatization schemes are proliferating throughout Mexico (Santillan, 2002, p.23-25). This has led to gaps in policing authority as well as violence and corruption in the absence of public accountability. Police security among the maquila-owned factories on the other hand, is state of the art: the areas are fenced off and guarded around the clock by police and private security guards. Certainly, difficulties with police practices are not new. There is a history in Mexico of police complicity with criminals in a range of illegal activities. Current economic policies that reduce public funds for training and police salaries and that have replaced corporatist policies with authoritarianism
have contributed to the present crisis of corruption in law enforcement agencies as well as increased militarization of society. As the authority of the state has weakened, corruption has increased and organized crime has developed into an “alternate state.” (Periera and Davis, 2000, p.3,6) Militarization, repressive police tactics, and state impunity in response to the increased violence can be seen not only as a consequence of the growing insecurity occasioned by current economic policies, but paradoxically as a result of the reduction in the police force as well.

Tens of thousands of Mexican workers migrate annually to Ciudad Juárez only to arrive to find a city lacking the capacity to provide adequate housing. Migrants from the south, unfamiliar with the north, and without the resources of kinship networks, live in squalor, often on the streets and at the margins of society, where they are vulnerable to crime and drugs. Ciudad Juárez is now described as a visual nightmare of "exploding squatter settlements" and "urban dilapidation." (Wright, 2001, p.96). Shanty-town industrialization has produced a bleak, urban landscape, with sprawling colonias forming out of one room hovels, constructed from packing materials, cardboard, pallets, and other highly flammable debris recovered from factory. These make-shift houses are constructed on refuse bins abandoned land set against the backdrop of neatly groomed industrial parks and lack any semblance of minimum conditions of habitability. During the winter months, in the elevated parts of the city that experience cold, desert weather, families attempt to stay warm and illuminate their homes by wood fires, candles, make-shift heaters, or improvised connections to nearby electrical systems used by the maquilas. Deaths in the colonias from fires, electrocutions, and carbon monoxide poisoning are common. Land available for shanty-town development grown scarce, forcing some families to live in the city's dump. Rising rates of violence have accompanied the environmental degradation and sprawling squatter settlements inhabited by a rapidly increasing migrant population.

Housing squalor has been accompanied by pervasive environmental degradation described by the American Medical Association (Moody, 1995, p.109) as a "virtual cesspool." Many neighborhoods lack water, sewage, and sanitation systems. The contamination of air and water has been attributed to the failure of the maquilas to dispose of toxic materials properly. Environmental controls are known to be lax, a condition that serves to encourage maquila growth. Worse yet, manufacturers routinely ignore existing environmental regulations. Maquila factories have dumped toxic materials used in production directly into the municipal water system. Indeed, the concentration of toxic pollutants in the water system has rendered available treatment processes useless.

Until the 1970s, economic policies emphasized infrastructure development and public programs that benefited many Mexicans. These policies included rural communications, public housing, and universal public services such as education, health, utilities, and transportation. The structural adjustment policies imposed during the 1980s required privatization of state sector systems, including transportation, health care, pensions, and much of the education system; the elimination of government subsidies; and the reduction of government spending on those social programs that remained. As a result, there are few schools to which workers can afford to send their children. Available schools are typically makeshift structures, or even old school buses, with few resources. The cost of food and medicine has increased; trade good items in the Mexican diet have quadrupled in price. Adequate health care systems are lacking and the transportation system is over-burdened and inadequate. NAFTA tax exemptions on most imports used in the manufacturing process and on products sent back to the United States for sale and distribution have diminished local resources.

During the 1990s, tax collections as a percentage of gross national product declined. The low or no-tax incentives used to attract foreign capital do not provide adequate financing to support an infrastructure in a city that has experienced rapid population growth resulting from the success of such inducements (Nadal, 2003). If taxes are collected, however, it is not certain that funds will be invested in public works or in assets to benefit foreign investors. In 2000, Ciudad Juárez's budget was only
slightly more than that allocated to El Paso's police department, although its population is twice as large as El Paso's. Municipalities such as Ciudad Juárez are said to have “mortgaged their slim revenue base for years to come in order to attract the factories.' (Moody, 1995, p.110).

Ciudad Juárez does not control its wealth. Industrial parks with modern buildings, clean exteriors, landscaped views, water towers, outdoor electrical lights, highways, and private airports coexist with communities of corrugated tin hovels, dirt paths, and raw sewage." The mayor of Ciudad Juárez described the paradox of the export zone: "[e]very year we get poorer and poorer, even though we create more and more wealth." (Thompson, 2001, p. A1)

Residents of Ciudad Juárez experience the effects of privatization daily in realms of hopelessness. The closing of schools and the lack of health care serve to deny the possibility of a better future for children. Ciudad Juárez residents experience daily varying degrees of chaos, and the reversal of economic trends only contributes to the fear and despair arising from a deepening formlessness that unravels the social fabric.

5.2 Survey Result of Women's Disappointment on the Destruction of Livelihood

Economic globalization have insinuated themselves into the realm of the private spaces of household and affected the social order of communities as factors contributing to violence against women. Staudt has done research by surveying women living in Juárez. She argued that women live with some fear in their neighborhoods and in their homes, where one in four women reported experiencing partner physical violence. She conducted a survey with collaboration with FEMAP (Federacion Mexicana de Asociaciones Privadas), a non-profit organization that aims to address economic needs and public health concerns between El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. FEMAP has more than thousands promotoras, volunteers who work at the grassroots level in neighborhoods across the Municipality of Juárez. The collaborative project was labor-intensive, recruiting total samples 616 women: 404 women of sample representative of Juárez community and 211 women as additional group. As detailed in table 1, the subject participant ranged from middle-class educated women to females students from preparatorias (college-prep schools) to get fair sampling of middle and upper-income families in the Juárez community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Primaria (≤ 6 grades)</th>
<th>62%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secundaria (≥ 7 grades)</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>Born in Juárez</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born elsewhere</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>&lt; 1,000 pesos weekly</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,000+ pesos weekly</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free Union</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Formal, paid</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Households (unpaid) and/or informal</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Respondents were asked whether there was security in their colonias, and 51 percent responded affirmatively. When asked the follow-up question about the kind of security in place, most women said police patrols. Such patrols are a mixed blessing, given the mistrust of police and perceptions of their impunity. Team asked women about their fearfulness in neighborhood and streets. FEMAP also asked about the sadness using certain criteria of phsycolology and time period. Less than a quarter responded that they were never sad. A follow-up question asked whether sadness affected their daily activities. Surprisingly, almost six out of ten answered affirmatively: 48 percent said yes, and 9 percent added to their “yes” that they preferred not to think about it. The team also asked a question about whether women thought about taking their lives in the previous twelve months. Approximately one in ten answered affirmatively. These figures suggest that the combination of economic scarcity and fear may generate debilitating sadness or perhaps borderline depression.

Turning momentarily to the women’s words on workshop posters, women gave deeper meaning to these figures. On two posters, analyzed below, women wrote, No debemos ser mamás tristes (We shouldn’t be sad moms) and Encontrar el sentido a la vida (We must seek the meaning of life). Another workshop poster displayed Los Caminos (Pathways) to change that included liberty, dignity, dialogue, and la negacion con el llorar y el silencio (the refusal to cry and be silent).

The poster sessions provided rich dialogue and insights for the condition of women that contributed to violence. Staudt analzed forty workshop posters for the substantive themes that women articulated in the workshop. A total of seventy-eight themes emerged. She grouped themes together and categorized them to display key issues (figure 1) some of which overlap.

In the most common theme, found in one-fifth of the posters, participants vocalized the devaluation of women. Worship posters identified these typical comments: men's disrespect for women, women disrespecting themselves, women as sex objects, and men's insults. In one subgroup, women pasted a MUSIVI (Centro de Prevencion y Atencion a Mujeres y Familias en Situaciones de Violencia) sign on their poster with the query: ¿Te insultan, te agreden, te celan o te dicen que no sirves para nada? (Do they insult you, hurt you, act jealously, or tell you that you are good for nothing?). The women then answered on their poster: No debo dejarme llevar por lo que me dicen; no debo haver caso, si no que debo de aceptarme (I should not go by what they tell me; I should not take them seriously but rather accept myself).
The second most common poster theme identified gaps in government services, inefficiencies, impunity, and corruption. Not only were women afraid of lawlessness, robbery and violence, but they also feared the police: 80 per cent said they would not report crimes such as physical assault. Yet in a number of posters, women promoted a strategy to denounce violence and crime, including assault, to the authorities and to abusers.

Another common theme was the prevalence of drugs, drinking, alcoholism, and drunkenness. Under these conditions, women said, men abuse women without a sense of responsibility. Still another important theme involved communication gaps between men and women and between parents and children. Here too, women called for clear denunciation against violence.

The theme of economic poverty emerged in posters. Women cited unemployment, hunger, and inadequate households funds for schools expenses, shoes and the like. Economic issues merged with communication problems on some posters, for partners' arguments often began over economic issues.
The lack of solidarity among neighbors was a recurring theme. Women said neighbors should work together and cooperate more. Women also discussed child-rearing and child abuse as problems needing attention for a more promising future. Two subgroups used elements from posters condemning child abuse that were developed in a MUSIVI campaign and distributed in the city.

Finally, insecurity was identified explicitly as a catch-all category that overlapped with other themes the women named. Insecurity covers sentiments about lawlessness and police inefficiency and/or corruption. The theme reflects social breakdowns connected to drug, thefts, drinking, poverty, and organized crime.

The following list presents a cross-section of selective quotations from the posters. With their own voices, women illustrate the above themes:

- *Que muchas veces no somos escuchadas ni valoradas como mujer, esposa y madre, muchas veces somos para la pareja como un objeto sexual* (Many times we are neither listened to nor valued as a woman, wife, and mother; many times we are a sexual object to our partner)
- *Uno de los problemas de la familia es que hay veces en que no hay trabajo y no tienen para atender los gastos de la casa y no tener para comer ni para darle estudio a los niños.* (One of the problems of the family is that sometimes there are no jobs and they [the parents] do not have enough money to pay for the household expenses, food, or the children's school)
- *Tener mejor cuerpo policiaco para tener mas seguridad al salir a la calle y haya menos abusos* (To have a better police department so that there is more security on the streets and so that there is less abuse)
- *Hay mucha falta de solidaridad. Respetar a los vecinos; solidarizarnos siempre* (There is a huge lack of solidarity. Respect our neighbors; act in solidarity with them)
- *Las estadísticas sobre consumo de drogas entre jóvenes y adultos se disparan.* (The statistic on drug consumption among youth and adults are rising)
- *La falta de recursos económicos afecta en que uno no tiene para las necesidades del hijo, y recurre a la violencia, que afecta en los sentimientos de los hijos que dejan el estudio.* (The lack of economic resources affects us in that we do not have enough money to fulfill the child's necessities, and then we resort to violence, which affects our children's feelings and then they drop out of school).
- *Por lo regular, los funcionarios públicos usan su poder para robar, burlarse, estafar y hasta golpear a la comunidad. Y aunque se oiga feo, hasta violan y matan.* (Public officials usually use their power to rob, trick, ridicule, and even beat the community. And although it sounds bad, they even rape and kill).
- *Que los emigrantes no deben ser maltratados porque tienen derechos a defenderse y a ser escuchados* (Those who emigrate should not be mistreated because they have the right to defend themselves and to be listened to).

### 5.3 Survey Result on the Violence Against Women

Staudt asked two questions to tap women's experiences with partner physical violence: "Have you ever been hit by a partner?" and "Have you ever been hit by a partner during a discussion?" a total of 139 in the entire sample of 615 answered affirmatively – a large, critical mass of women who have been exposed to physical violence.

Domestic violence happens with domestic partners as well so Staudt included women with partners
as well. In the representative sample of 404 women, 341 (84 percent) had partner and 124 (27 per cent) responded affirmatively to question about whether they had ever experienced physical violence. We asked questions about smaller time units and found that 12 per cent had experienced physical violence within the previous year.

Staudt analyses that to the extent that these data represent women ages fifteen through thirty-nine in Ciudad Juárez and assuming a partnered rate of 84 per cent, physically abused women in the city would total approximately 73,000 based on the 2000 INEGI census figures. These results are huge and serious, not at all trivial. If it takes numbers to dramatize a problem, these figures surely confirm that violence against women is serious. And recall that of the 370 women murdered in Ciudad Juárez from 1993 to 2003, a minority of them fell victim to the serial-killer crime profile, while the majority did not. Domestic violence, combined with weapons, alcohol and other drugs, and/or non-responsive police, is potentially lethal and has claimed hundreds of lives in Juárez. According to the state Chihuahua, 66 per cent of murders were the result of ordinary crimes involving the family and domestic violence.

With regard to economic activity or profession outside the home at the time of their deaths, information was available for 187 cases. Fifty-seven (11.50%) of the women killed were employed (it is specified that four were secretaries, ten worked and studied, and ten were domestic servants). Another 47 (9.50%) worked in free trade zones (maquilas). Other professions accounted for 8.30% of the women: 14 were dancers; four were barroom waitresses; and six worked taverns, but the capacities in which they worked were not specified. Another 17 were described as sex workers. Eleven were merchants, and 9 owned their own small businesses, the latter of the two categories (20 cases) accounting for 4%. Professionals included four teachers, a model, a journalist, a nutritionist, two doctors, a lawyer, and a public accountant (2.20% altogether). The variety of occupations showed that most of those killed were employees, workers at free trade zones, sex workers, and dancers. Thus, it can be said that violence against women is also related to their condition of poverty, which tends to make them even more vulnerable.

Many of those who have been killed disappeared while on their way to or from their jobs in the maquiladoras in earlier pre-dawn hours or late at night. ‘Many of the women employed in the maquiladoras live up to two hours from their jobs, and have to walk on dark streets in early morning hours en route to and from work.’ Some suggest that simply by offering safe public transportation and police patrols of areas where women have regularly been abducted may help prevent future tragedies. According to Ignacio Alvarado Álvarez, 90% of the women murdered lived in poor areas lacking police services, and none of the victims owned their own vehicle. One woman who arrived at her factory job three minutes late was turned away; her body was found some time later.

Staudt also emphasized the survey answered that few survivors acted affirmatively to denounce violence, whether telling acquaintances or authorities; half to two-thirds suffered in silence. Only one-fifth of victims brought abuse to the attention of authorities or sought counselling and other help at shelters. Survivors controlled little in their lives. They are stuck in abusive relationships. The trust to police to respond to cases and demands relating to rape and violence is also extremely low. Mistrust of police cut across educational and income levels; 74 per cent of the representative sample and 70 per cent of the total sample said that they did not trust the police.

Juárez is a city of migrants where the majority live in poverty, comparable to the percentage of abused women in the representative sample. Migrants to Juárez are less likely to have support from family or friends to make transitions. People live in precarious economic circumstances and lack assets
to exit relationships, to become self-sustaining economically, and to care for their children for their own. Very little public investment has been made in battered women's shelters, despite the great need.
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

I have shown you some kind of violence Juarez women have to face in their daily life. Firstly, unreasonable cheap labor deprived them for a good and healthy living. Women workers have to face sexual harassment, humiliating practice of pregnancy testing and high level health and safety risks in the assembly plants. Looking at those testimonials and evidences, I argue that these practices can be considered as violence. After working so hard, women are supposed to earn salary for paying their daily needs but they need to find other way to add more income for fulfilling their need. Sexual harassment and poor protection from danger put the physical and mental situation in risk. Violence, according to Galtung, is present when the actual is below their potential. It is clear here the difference between the potential and the actual.

Structural Adjustment Programs have destroyed the livelihood of Juarez society. During economic crisis in the mid-1980s, IMF and World Bank have advised Mexico to cut provision for social services which contributed to the creation of violent environment in Mexico. Ciudad Juárez is one of the Mexican cities that lack of fund for social and physical infrastructure development due to budget cut, as recommended by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The destruction of livelihood, withdrawal of public services and poverty have contributed to the increasing cases of violence against women. Staudt's survey and workshop reinforces what Currie says about the risk of market society. Women in Staudt's workshop have expressed their voices about the depression and stress facing the deteriorating family and social lives.

Gender-based violence is born out of gender-based discrimination in the international political economy. The thirsty of global capital for cheap labor interacted with states and gender ideologies that constructed women as low-wage workers. Galtung’s structural violence gains validity because the structure has harmed directly and indirectly physical, mental and psychological of women. Gender-based wage discrimination can be considered as violence because it takes a lot of resources and endanger the worker due to overloaded work. Structural adjustment programs can also be considered as violence because it harm and destroy the livelihood of community which lead to violent environment.

This thesis asks further whether there is an alternative for neo-liberal economic Globalization. Currie mentioned that government's active participation can be a solution for healing the pain of subaltern women workers. Sweden and Japan have been very bold in intervening the economic impacts of joblessness and providing public training. Labor standard is also a big issue among negotiating parties in International Labor Organization. The insistence of developing countries to use cheap labor for the competitive advantage has hindered for a universal labor standard.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


