

## He Femicide in Mexico: Challenges Current and Action Proposals

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### Abstract

Femicidal violence is one of the social problems that has marked the agenda public of women, of groups and of the institutions from does some decades, due to increase in femicides that has been experienced in years recent, this increase being concomitant with the quarter wave feminist. The present article HE interested by delve in the bases conceptual and analytical work on femicides in Mexico, therefore, aims to contribute to factual clarifications and debates theorists that have revolved around the definition of the feminicide, so as well as the typologies that have been established for better understanding. Furthermore, this problematic is placed in a frame historical of the society Mexican, about everything from the decade of the years ninety to the topicality, given that it allows visualize that This is a systemic gender violence problem.

**Keywords:** femicidal violence; disorganized systemic sexual; organized systemic sexual

### Introduction

Femicidal violence is one of the social problems that has marked the agenda public of women, of groups and of the institutions from does some decades, due to increase in femicides that has been experienced in years recent, this increase being concomitant with the quarter wave feminist. The present article HE interested by delve in the bases conceptual and analytical work on femicides in Mexico, therefore, aims to contribute to factual clarifications and debates theorists that have revolved around the definition of the feminicide, so as well as the typologies that have been established for better understanding. Furthermore, this problematic is placed in a frame historical of the society Mexican, about everything from the decade of the years ninety to the topicality, given that it allows visualize that This is a systemic gender violence problem. Furthermore, it is interesting to understand the practices, representations, knowledge and feelings of collectives that demand justice, generally by have victims of feminicide.

That is, ultimately the aim is to move beyond the femicides be only a statistic of an event cruel and violent, because it is essential to put them in context, recovering them as the tragedy that it means for the murdered woman, her family and her emotional networks, those of the perpetrators and for society as a whole. This is even m of demanding justice, of searching for the bodies and of making fair claims to

the authorities in the face of the continuation of the problem and, many times, their inaction, even now there are processes of revictimization for those who complain and even for the women themselves who are victims of feminicide [1]. Finally, some emblematic cases of recent femicides in our country are addressed that have promoted feminist or women's solidarity mobilizations [2], visualized gender violence and demanding from the State our right to a life free of violence, which, despite being Law, in the facts do not occur, as the feminicide figures dramatically illustrate. This article is the result of research carried out during the postdoctoral stay at the Postgraduate in Anthropology Physical of the School National of Anthropology and History between 2022 and 2023. The qualitative field work included the formation of a conversation international, the application of nine interviews with various specialists in the legal, forensic, physical anthropology, experts and psychology fields, as well as workshops with relatives of victims of feminicide in which people from groups participated; The information was transcribed to facilitate its analysis. Added to it, HE collected data specialized of books, articles, official reports and reports from two associations; Observatory of Violence Social and of Gender and Behavioral Consulting Sciences Lab, both located in Aguascalientes.

**That is, he feminicide?**

In the frame of the day International of the Women, the observatory Citizen National Femicide [3], presented statistical data on the number of women who are murdered per day in our country, at the national level, the figure was established between 10 and 11.

Although femicides are the most violent expression of sexist violence of a gender nature, they make up a very broad problem that in daily personal and collective life usually entails various types and modalities of violence that are minimized and hidden when they are naturalized, but that on many occasions escalate to culminate in femicides.

In the current context, special mention deserves the recognition that the pandemic of Covid-19 provoked an increase in the level of violence in homes, possibly because the prolonged confinement highly recommended by the authorities put domestic dynamics in crisis, deepening pre-existing problems. The increase in this violence was evident by the increase in the number of emergency calls related to gender violence against women, to the official numbers designated for this. Data that illustrates this increase, in the INMUJERES 911 call report, indicates that during 2016, 92,604 calls were received, in contrast to 260,067 in 2020 [4]. Another alarming statistical fact is that, January to March of 2022, the figure reached 74,600 calls of women [5].

According to data from the Gender Equality Observatory, Latin America and the Caribbean, in 2020 Mexico ranked second in this type of crimes in the region with 948 femicides, below Brazil (1,738) and above Argentina (251) [6]. These data together illustrate the worrying panorama that women are experiencing. in our country, together with the missing women of all ages. Considering the year 2019, to the closing of the 2021, No ha there was a decrease of the cases of victims of femicides, 2021 concluded with 977 women murdered just because of their gender.

Femicide is defined as the murder of women for the sole reason of being one, that is, they are a direct consequence of their gender, which is why they are always perpetrated. by men. By so much, the femicides either femicides are crimes of hate, understood as the murder of women out of hate, which crudely and directly expresses the sexist or sexist structures that exist in many gender relationships (Olamedi, 2017). It has become necessary to distinguish femicides from homicides perpetrated against women. The difference HE bases in what homicide is a term that refers to the death of a human being caused by another person,

there are homicides committed against men and women, the term, therefore, can be used as a synonym for murder and it is a crime. Fits remember that HE distinguishes among the homicides intentional (which are intended to be committed) and negligent (which involve incidental elements, not deliberate, that provoke the death of a person). Intentional homicides have various motivations, but those that refer to gender are not central or primary.

On the other hand, feminicides in particular are crimes that have as a component fundamental the condition of the victim's belonging to the gender female. Therefore, they are a very particular type of murder since they are committed because the men who perpetrate them claim the right or power to control women, assuming their property, which in extreme cases leads them to take their lives. , this derives from the fact that they are socially conferred and tolerated such rights, which are taken to the extreme of killing them. Therefore, it helps from a legal, but also political, point of view to view it as a public, social problem. and history subsumed in the inequalities of gender. In addition, entails aspects cultural, since through various societies and time there is a range of expressions of these inequalities, although they also allow nuclear discontent and the organization of women through common codes of languages, rituals and symbolic materials.

The femicides, as concept differentiated of the homicide, they turn out politically very important because, today, they are effectively being denounced, and are being related to latent or visible violence of another type, apparently invisible, but which has multiple specific effects. in where happen, and that many times culminate in their murder. Violence can be directed to the mind and to the emotions (psychological violence), to the body (physical and/or sexual violence), and do not occur in a single space, but cross all the spaces where women live, work, study or spread out (family, work, teaching violence), community, etc.). Therefore, gender violence is, at the same time, a private, social, public and political issue that the State must address through public policies, legislative frameworks, access and proxy of justice, warranty of No repetition, damage repair strategies and, above all, influencing motivate the change cultural. Yeah, good a lot of this has already happened, is TRUE that exist feminist positions critical of the Mexican State, considering that it does not do enough against sexist violence, the which ones femicides are his expression cruder, sometimes even perpetrated viciously. In this way, Alicia Elena Pérez

Duarte, feminist lawyer from the National Autonomous University of Mexico, comments:

Femicide is the act of killing a woman and is generally accompanied by a set of actions of extreme violence and dehumanizing content, as torture, mutilations, Burns, cruelty and sexual violence, against women and girls' victims [7].

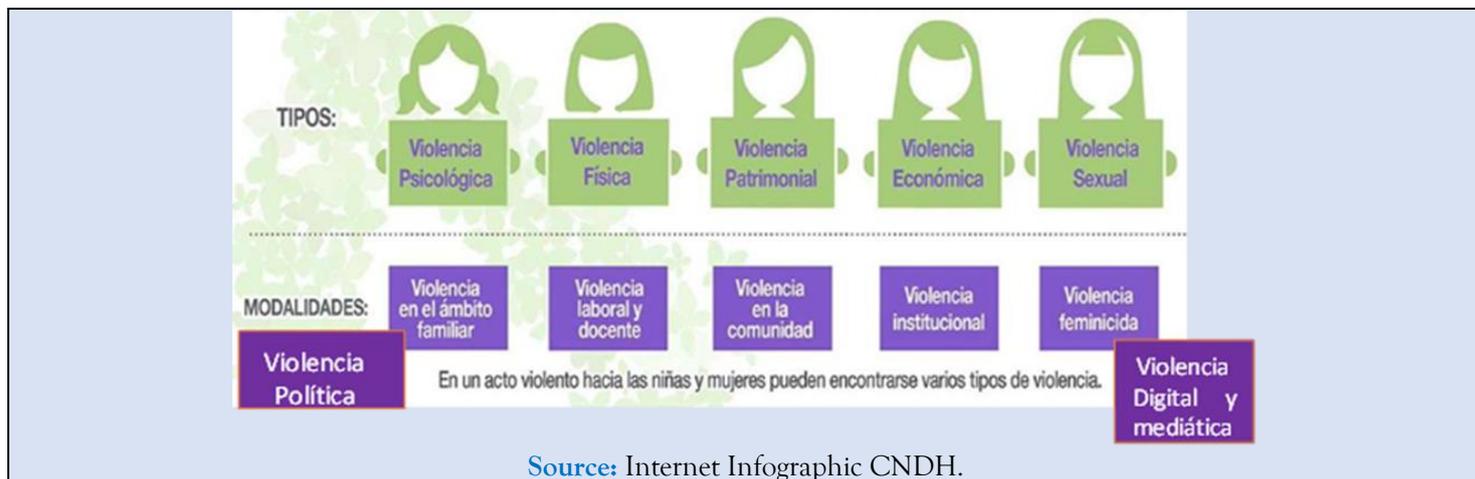
The femicides in occasions HE they have accused to murders tasks to a woman by another woman. However, this criterion is inconsistent since it makes to a side that is, precisely, the condition of inequality of the structures of can of gender between men and women, it that has made relevant the distinction of femicides from other types of murders. In this sense, Pérez Duarte emphasizes: He feminicide is he intentional murder of a women necessarily at the hands of a man. The person responsible is a man because what characterizes this murder is machismo is in patriarchy, therefore, there are relationships of power, contempt, and arrogance towards a specific woman. Can No know her, but, in the moment of the assault physical. Whatever it is, from harassment or rape, which can end in murder. So, it is a femicide. It is always that the aggressor is a man and the victim is a woman. That is what characterizes feminicide, those abusive, violent power relations.

The person who conceptualizes them as femicides and not as femicides is the Mexican anthropologist,

Marcela Lagarde [8]. The work of conceptual precision, which implied an impact political and legal, gave start in the legislature in the which she was deputy in the years 2003-2006 and that had as one of the fruits further relevant the drafting, acceptance and promulgation of the General Law of Access for Women to a Life Free of Violence [9].

The Access Law, as it is known in feminist movements, has the singularity to highlight the types and the forms of gender violence that concern to multiple axles of the life of the women, some of these topics have been noted in previous paragraphs. However, it is pertinent to specify what its fundamental points are to understand the place that femicides occupy, as legal, political and cultural facts (Lagarde and de los Ríos, 2007).

The different types of violence describe the characteristics that women suffer from; psychological, physical, patrimonial, economic violence are typified and sexual, although, since then, to his time, HE finds interconnected and feed off each other, they do not occur in isolation. By On the other hand, these typologies are also useful to signify where they occur, in what physical spaces, social and symbolic, including the family, he jobs, the school, the community, institutions, political space, digital media and, furthermore, femicides, which is illustrated in the following image:



### Guys and Modalities of Violence, Chords with the General Access Law

We consider it pertinent to locate femicidal violence in its interconnection and relationship with others to emphasize that it is not an exceptional, isolated phenomenon or dictated by momentary impulses that happens suddenly, but, on the contrary, it is usually the final expression and part of a complex and systemic range of violence that is perpetrated due to

gender (Margarita, 2014). For Alicia Elena Perez Duarte, in the Law of Access HE consolidates the concept of femicidal violence; the year after its promulgation, it is classified in the Penal Code Federal he concepts (link and Article and Fraction). He crime of feminicide is a guy penal very complicated, because there are a series of elements that define this sexist violence and not always are present, neither always define clearly it that means the

sexist violence that ends in murder, such as, for example, exposing the victim's body in public.

Women can be victims of homicide, like any man, this is due to the violence social that we live in Mexico, in that sense, anyone can be killed. But women can also be victims of femicides, even in his own home, to hands of people that they know and that they trust. This is the reason why, culturally, socially and politically, it is important to differentiate between homicide and feminicide. Without embargo, fits point that the political dimension and the legal dimension are not always harmonious with each other, therefore, although the political and social importance of specifically naming and visualizing the murders of women for gender reasons is recognized, on the other hand, there are elements of evidentiary difficulty. from the order penal. In words of Alicia Elena Pérez Duarte and Noroña: Practically, it has complicated the existence of the ministerial investigation, the prosecutor's offices and the courts, to decide. Because they don't understand that it is the murder of a woman for being a woman. So, that's what's difficult about the processes. for carry to the jail to a person. TO times, I same I have said: Do you know that? That it processes by homicide and holy remedy. By homicide, the only thing that has to be demonstrated is the cause-and-effect relationship. Whereas in the feminicide, there is that demonstrate all the contexts to bring to the conclusion, of who actually killed her be women.

In interview to Valeria Baltazar comments, with his experience in a non-profit organization, which handles cases that have been closed and with an inadequate process, which has had to appeal to the Public Ministry and carry out the investigation that No should have made this instance, is to say, he had to work again from the defense to prove gender reasons that were not considered by the official justice system. In the case of many women murdered because of their gender, their attackers They are not judged by feminicide, but homicides of women due to injuries, which is only an approximation. In Mexico, there are observatories that they have tried quantify the cases of femicides in the country, for example, Mariana Ávila, belonging to the Observatory of Social and Gender Violence, commented in an interview that are several observatories in the country that looking for systematize information on violence against them. Like the two interviewees mentioned in the previous paragraphs, Mariana assures that: Many of these cases are judged as homicide, I believe that the half of the

cases No they advance, no they arrive to be prosecuted, 40% remain as an accident or suicide.

### Guys of Violence Femicides

The femicides they have been classified of different shapes, the further known is to differentiate between individual and collective, but exist others nuances in the deaths of are women, for example: Where was carried out, in what context and who is the aggressor? To mention some questions that led an author like Julia Monárrez (2009) to rethink a classification that addresses these conditions.

TO leave of his investigation in Ciudad Juárez specifically in femicidal violence and other studies on the phenomenon of violence against women, the following modalities have been catalogued:

**Intimate:** Death of a woman committed by a man with whom the victim had or had had an intimate relationship or bond: husband, ex-husband, partner, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend or lover.

**Not Intimate:** Death of a woman committed by an unknown man with whom the victim had no relationship.

**Childish:** Is the death of a little girl minor of 14 years of age committed by a man in the context of a relationship of responsibility.

**Familiar:** Death of a woman in the context of a family relationship between the victim and the perpetrator.

**By Connection:** Death of a woman "in the line of fire" by a man in the same place where kills or attempts to kill another woman. It could be a friend, a relative of the victim, mother, daughter, either a strange that HE found in the same scenario.

**Disorganized Systemic Sexual:** The death of women is accompanied by kidnapping, torture and/or rape.

**Organized Systemic Sexual:** It is presumed that in these cases the active subjects can act as an organized network of sexual feminicides, with a conscious and planned method.

For prostitution or stigmatized occupations.

**By Treats:** Death of women produced in a situation of treats of people.

**By Traffic:** Death of women in a situation of traffic migrants. (Monárrez Frago, 2009)

**Transphobic:** Death of women transgender either transsexual.

**Lesbophobes:** Death of women lesbians in the that the perpetrator (s) they kill by his orientation sexual.

**Racist:** Murder of a woman out of hatred or rejection of her ethnic or racial origin or her phenotypic traits.

**For female genital mutilation:** It is the death of girls or women as a consequence of genital mutilation (Monárrez, et al., 2009).

### Line of the Time of 1990 to 2022

There have been many attempts by to record the femicides in our country, highlights the Map of Femicide in Mexico, by María Salguero, who carried out the task of combining the number of femicides in the country and putting together a puzzle of this crime

in a map. She is a researcher in Geophysics, this records it began in 2016 and continued until 2020, based on a reconstruction documented by the Secretariat Executive of the System National. Based on geolocation, the activist and researcher designed this instrument, so allows access to the information from the file of each case. It should be clarified that it includes trans femicides and femicides by connection.



**Fountain:** Map of Femicides in Mexico designed by María Salguero Banuelos (<http://mapafemicidios.blogspot.com/p/inicio.html>)

The femicides in our country were visible from the well-known “Muertas of Juárez”, in the early nineties, women who began to disappear and to appear their bodies in desolate places in the border Ciudad Juárez. This city now receives migrant families or single people daily, from several states. of the Mexican Republic and, even, from many countries in the center America. This current migration, for many people, represents the possibility of reaching the United States Joined, by it that the city houses the that go passing through and others who, upon finding work in the industry, decide to stay (Corrales Blanco, 2019; Julia et al., 200 CE; Segato, 2004). The women that from 1993 they have missing in Juárez, in his most they have They have been employed in various businesses or as workers in the textile industry. For 29 years, this city has been accumulating disappearances and appearances of remains and bodies of mutilated, raped and murdered women with a high degree of violence (Hernández, 2013).

Femicides were spreading in the country, these outbreaks of kidnappings have been linked to women and murders with violence, especially in the

geographical spaces where drug trafficking or organized crime groups are found. In data provided by the SESNSP (Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System), the entities where they are mostly located today are: Sinaloa, Veracruz, Oaxaca, State of Mexico, New Lion and CDMX. Other period where HE increased the murders against women was that of the so-called War Against Drug Trafficking, in the period of former president Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, 2006 to 2012, a period in which the figure can be inferred of femicides, well No HE they counted as such, is until 2015 in which the system National of Security Public began to count them of shape official, after the approval of the General Access Law. The numbers of people murdered, is say, homicides in City Juárez in the period from 2007 to 2010 had an increase from 320 to 3,622. TO From that moment on, Juárez is named internationally as one of the most dangerous cities in the world. In this same period, the number of murdered women increase of 1,183 in 2006, to 2,642 in 2012. For 2017 there were 3,324. A year of complicated It was 2019, already that in their 12 months, 1,006 victims of femicide were

registered which, compared to 2018, meant an increase of 10%, a figure even above the increase in intentional homicides, in general, which was 2.5% in the same period (INEGI, year). In 2020, the State of Mexico was the federal entity with an elderly number of femicides, despite confinement, this entity has characterized by introduce elderly number of deaths violent to women in all the country. In 2017, 463 cases were registered, only 64 were judged as femicides, which speaks of the inability to remove the body, to preserve the forensic evidence, and to the authorities' willingness to adequately judge this crime. In an interview with criminologists Valeria Baltazar and Mariana Avila, of the Observatory of Violence Social and of Gender, they commented inadequate of the expert reports that HE performs in Mexico in cases of women murdered, so femicides come to be judged as homicides and even suicides. These errors or failures in the Mexican justice system prevent us from knowing the exact number of femicides today.

It is necessary to generate awareness and training strategies so that the people who participate in the survey of the bodies, in the collection and safeguarding of evidence, directed towards forensic personnel, lawyers and lawyers and authorities in general. First of all, knowledge is required regarding femicides, well, according to the interviewees, the Dr. Alicia Elena Perez Duarte and Valeria Baltazar, the respective authorities do not have them.

As a consequence, the official data do not reflect the real figures of femicides. In an interview, Laura Corrales, a physical anthropologist dedicated to working with trafficking tattoos, commented that there is no protocol for action with perspective of gender in the ambit forensic, so not HE accounts with a methodology. Retaking these testimonials of specialists, together with the statistics, we can infer that violence against women is exacerbated, since the real numbers must far exceed the official data.

### **Collectives of Relatives of Victims of Disappearance and Femicide: The Revictimization**

In interviews with activists from a collective from Guanajuato during the year 2022, an activist from Sinaloa, another from Querétaro and another person from Aguascalientes, interviewed during the march on May 10, 2022 in CDMX, it is observed that, revictimization go on being a constant in the processes of justice of our country. In the four groups there are people belonging to the search for relatives who have disappeared, in some cases due to forced

disappearance, in others by treats, in ones more HE unknown the reason, but the and the disappeared, are from diverse age groups, from minors to older adults, of both sexes and diversity sex generic. It that unites in common to these families is he pain of be in the search of a be darling, of meet before a justice system that it does not provide security, nor does it fulfill its obligation to search for missing people; The last straw is that it does not support the groups that, due to their inefficiency, substitute their work. Families wish, first of all, to locate the person alive through the search, but, with time, the search HE divides in the person with either without life, this process of unfinished mourning, of the lack of certainty of the real condition of the loved one, is the most painful. In interviews, the activists they reflected an uncountable number of discomforts including, in occasions, they try to close their grief by personnel from the psychology area.

Which duel? Yeah, my daughter can be victim of treats sexual and continue with life... I will live the mourning by having his body buried and a place to cry for him and clean him and talk with she, so Yeah that I come with those therapies of mourning, not before. Sinaloa activist It bothers me a lot that they want to give us group convincing to accept the death of someone who it is not known if they are still alive. After so many years my girl appeared lifeless, I already know where she is and I continued in this fight for support to the people that, Unfortunately, each day there is more and they don't know what to do. But for mothers who do not know the whereabouts of their daughters or sons, the search is first to find them alive and yes, sadly, one gets used to the idea and begins to look for the body, but that is very painful, there is always hope. to find them alive. Activist from Querétaro. The groups have developed their own search processes in the absence of action by part of the State. They manifest that, in the most of the cases, exists an official revictimization of the victim himself and the family. Activist from Aguascalientes asks: "Who are you looking for? in Mexico? I mean: A who has he State desire of look for? When "You have the desire, you meet people".

Many mothers of missing daughters agree that they have received poor care in the Act ministerial, for example, not wanting open them folders of research but until happens a number of hours, arguing that, such time, HE was with the boyfriend. This is a constant, since the four activists mentioned it. Even in cases where the mother claims to have witnessed the "upset of the minor," the authorities No act of

manner immediate. Good is known, that the first hours to the disappearance are the crucial, they can do a great difference between finding or not finding a person reported missing. In Mexico, we have about past hundred thousand people not located, from 1964 to the date, these are figures officers, but are not the real, because today there is a flow of people migrants who have no place in this number, as there are no complaints. The increase in family groups; the forensic crisis that our country is going through; the third disappearance, as it is already named in the forensic field; We found that families have found a

way to make these absences and the bad actions on the part of the Mexican State visible. This year marked the XII March of National Dignity, Mothers Seeking Sons and Daughters, Truth and Justice, celebrated on May 10, Mother's Day in Mexico; "Nothing to celebrate," the mothers shout in this march. Families travel from all entities from Mexico and other Central American countries, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, among others. TO weigh of the pandemic, in 2022 HE counted again with many people on the streets of the country's capital.



Photo of the authors. March XI of the National dignity, Mothers looking for children and daughters, TRUE and justice, May 10, 2022.



The representation of sons and daughters buried in clandestine graves to the north of our country. May of 2022, CDMX.

### Effects on Family Members Who are Victims of Femicide

In Manabí, one of the 24 provinces of Ecuador, several investigations were carried out with families who had a daughter who was a victim of femicide.

One of the findings in the field was the emotional impact, not only on the sons and daughters of the victimized women. of femicide, either in the mothers or parents of she, but, in the most distant circle, brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, uncles, neighbors, that is, the impact it has effects of

fear and terror in the people who knew the person missing and, later, found dead. These emotional effects, provoke changes in the styles of life of the people involved, mobility in schedules, especially towards women in the neighborhood or neighborhood. As this is not an isolated case, fear in the community is increasing (San U. 2018).

Other sequels of losing a loved one to femicide, according to the same study, is to cause loss self-esteem, depression, anxiety, isolation, insecurity, vulnerability and even guilt. Guilt for not having avoided it, guilt for not having said something; Guilt is an emotion of self-flagellation in the face of a fact that no longer has a remedy (San U., 2018).

Activist from Querétaro: “One relives that day, over and over again, repetitively, we will always stay in the last moments in which we had contact with our daughters”.

### City Juarez, As Case Emblematic

January of 1993, in City Juarez, Chihuahua, appeared the bodies of Angelica Luna Villalobos and Alma Chavira Farel, were 16 and 13 years old, respectively, both were murdered and abandoned in properties. Soul was found the day 23 and Angelica, 48 hours after. The was of the femicides in Mexico there was begun and its first chapter was inaugurated by "the dead women of Juárez". City Juarez, is a city manufacturing industrial of Mexico located in the North of the country, in the state of Chihuahua, to shores from the river Bravo; the other side of the river, in United States territory, is the city of El Paso, Texas. Because of its population of 1 428 508 population, according to the report of Plan Strategic of Juárez 2018, is the largest city in the state of Chihuahua and the eighth largest metropolitan area in Mexico (Hernández, 2013).



**Source:** Road map of El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez. <https://www.istockphoto.com/es/foto/mapa-de-carretera-de-el-paso-texas-y-ciudad-ju%C3%A1rez-m%C3%A9xico-gm180705931-24072202>

For Amorós, he markets labor changes, the companies of the globalization look for the flexibility to disassemble and assemble your subsidiary networks, as a consequence, the hand of construction site undergoes a process of deterritorialization. Here it is where she speaks of patriarchy as a system that is not simply a hierarchical organization, but a social organization in the that certain people occupy certain positions, in this case, the men in that current hierarchy already No have the position sole providers for the family, we can see this with the many women in Juárez who are providers in their homes (Amorós, 2013).

For Rita Segato (2004), the impunity of the femicides No has to be thought as causal factor, “they will continue to kill because the crime remains unpunished. The key to his functioning this in the hypothesis, according to the which, the crimes are the sign itself, the very symbolization of impunity.” The imaginary patriarchal presents a system of practices that sustain their pacts and is summarized in the following (Amorós, 2013):

1. Is natural that HE establishes a hierarchy between men and women in the which women appear as subordinates.
2. To maintain this hierarchy, men must relate to each other in a certain way. manner in order to

that the masculinities HE constitute as a prestige system.

3. The women do they work as he object transactional the pacts that plot men in that way and that they have very different modalities.
4. The men, as it established Simone de Beauvoir in the second sex, heterodesignate to the "woman" as "the other", in clue of realism of the universals.
5. Depending on the "natural" character of the hierarchy thus established, the political power that is awarded for men, it is about consumption with patriarchal power or the power of access and control over women (Based on Carol Pateman, year). Pateman views marriage as a contract between a man and a woman.
6. The relays of the patriarchal heterodesignations. Hernández (2013:183) cites Segato when addressing the importance of the feminist approach, due to her struggle to differentiate feminicides from homicides: They were concerned with defining the key features of the murders committed against women and that they surpassed the meaning simple of "femicide" in contrast to "homicide," which is the murder of men [6]. The importance of finding the appropriate vocabulary to describe and conceptualize this phenomenon led researchers, such as anthropologist Rita Laura Segato, to discover that the sense of unity of these murders is provided by the political dimension of patriarchy. For Hernández, it is relevant to contemplate the general context of the victims, the levels of violence of gender to the that are subjected the women, in this case, in Ciudad Juárez, their relationships and their ties with close people and with the community.

## Conclusions: Challenges Current and Proposals of Actions

The interviewees, relatives of victims and specialists agree on the importance of continuing with training with a gender perspective for the people who are in charge of responding to disappearance complaints, that is, that they really prosecute the cases on time, investigate and don't just open bureaucratic files. Are the protocols, but no he they carry to cape good. Exists an uprising to body to times that no he corresponds as ought be. Exists very few information. There is still a lot of gender training needed in police forces, forensics and judges. Sinaloa activist. The collectives of relatives HE feels alone, with bit support financial and in listening, they perceive that they lack real attention and responsible and committed monitoring

of the investigation and search for their daughters. by part of the State. To the regard, for Laura corrals, the reasons why the State does not act adequately in the search: There are many forced disappearances, whether by action or omission. I would say that almost all of them omission, almost all. So, to the final he State never goes to want throw stones to himself, then he cannot accept it.

Alicia Elena Perez Duarte comment the need of that he INWOMEN really allocate your public policies and budgets to them and not to other populations: The National Institute of Women, stopped making public policy in favor of women. Yes, he is making public policies to regulate prostitution. It is making public policies of Queer theory, it is eliminating either allowing that HE delete shelters, Programs of health for the women attacked, so much physical as sexually, either be, all it that it had been won, they are letting it lose now. But, yes, we are promoting the rights of trans people, non- binary gender, fluid gender. It is not about people losing their freedom, the issue is that women are the 52 by hundreds of the population, so not is possible that a population no achieves to be the 1% this wearing the resources that needs her 52 percent, it can't be. Furthermore, it does not correspond to the National Women's Institute, but to the commission, to CONAPRED, it is a matter of discrimination. Some Women's Institutes have even allocated resources to public policies for people disabled, removing those resources at policies public policies focused on the prevention and attention of gender violence against women. The absence of actions by the State, the lack of political will, the ignorance of the personnel in charge of judging and providing attention to the search for missing persons; The lack of protocols for the detection of femicides, for the proper removal of the body and evidence from the crime scene, are some of the challenges that were stated in the investigation and that remain pending today.

It is important to make visible the problems experienced in Mexico with the forensic crisis, the state He finds exceeded by the number of disappearances and clandestine graves, the creation of forensic teams with resources and training appropriate. Is important recognition and support interdisciplinary, institutional and financial the collectives of relatives of missing and missing. Result indispensable the creation of a bank national of data genetic for analyze the hundreds of bodies and remains that HE finds in graves communal of the State, given that those graves They end up becoming

a third disappearance: they are bodies that have not found their way home and that their families surely continue in their search.

## Declarations

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The writers declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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