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Development at a Steep Price

Industrialization, Urbanization, and Population Growth on the Border

On Mexico's northern border are seven cities that as of 1990 boasted over 100,000 inhabitants each—Tijuana, Mexicali, Nogales, Ciudad Juárez, Nuevo Laredo, Reynosa, and Matamoros. Their combined population of 2.8 million people accounts for nearly 7% of Mexicans residing in medium-sized cities and metropolitan areas. (In this article, cities with more than 100,000 people are defined as medium-sized, while Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey, and Puebla are defined as metropolises due to the influence they exert on politics and the economy at the national level.) Although the population of northern Mexico's cities has grown substantially throughout the course of the entire century, it has increased at an even faster rate over the last decade. This incessant population growth has generated a number of serious urban problems, including a lack of drinking water, inadequate sewage services, substandard housing, insufficient garbage disposal, and air and water pollution, as well as diverse negative environmental impacts outside city boundaries. This month borderlines examines the dramatic population increase occurring along the border, the ways it impacts community health and the environment, and the development model driving much of that growth.

By Dr. Alejandro Canales

The New Face of Urbanization in Mexico

The last two decades have seen important transformations in the relationship between Mexico's rural and urban populations, with two parallel and complementary processes contributing to changes in demographic trends. On the one hand, there has been an alteration in the nature of the economic activities in medium-sized cities in Mexico; on the other hand, a shift in the dynamics of migration has occurred, redistributing the country's urban population from metropolitan centers like Mexico City's Federal District (D.F.) and its environs to medium-sized cities.

Growth and subsequent urban sprawl in Mexico's medium-sized cities have not been uniform; rather, the process has unfolded differently in different areas, reshaping regional and interurban inequalities along the way. Not all of Mexico's medium-sized cities have "gained" equally as a result of the urban transition, economic crises, and territorial restructuring that the country has recently experienced.

The burgeoning municipalities of Mexico's northern borderlands provide a clear example. The growth of these urban populations is not a new phenomenon; it dates back several decades. Throughout the 1980s, northern Mexico received a large and always-growing number of immigrants from Mexico City. Yet perhaps the most striking aspect of migration to the region was the increased numbers of people coming not only from the D.F. and north-central Mexico but from other areas of the country as well. As the border cities took in new population groups from various rural and urban centers in central and southern Mexico, their "reach" and influence elsewhere in the country grew. Family links not only transmitted money back south but also encouraged and facilitated additional northward migration.

The uninterrupted, persistent growth of the border economy and the surge in migration to the main



An overview of central Tijuana.

© Rick Gerharter/Impact Visuals, 1998

border cities underscore a development potential that outstrips that of other Mexican cities of similar size. This economic growth is based, among other factors, on the dynamics of the export-oriented maquiladora industry, which has been a key element in the consolidation of Mexico's new economic model. This fact has imprinted a peculiar feature on the region vis-à-vis many of the cities in the central or western portions of the country, where recent economic growth has in many ways been the result of the economic crises and deindustrialization that have beset the greater Mexico City area since the early 1980s.

The border's economic expansion is grounded in a highly diversified, continually growing economic base with important foreign linkages, the cornerstone of which has been the area's geographic proximity to the United States. This base has won the area a substantial degree of autonomy compared to urban areas elsewhere in the country. As the growth capacity of Mexico's border cities has multiplied, some have become new metropolitan centers—that is, centers of not insignificant economic and political influence that extends beyond the local region.

Be that as it may, an important question is whether the macroeconomic boom on the border has

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been accompanied by a similarly robust process of social development, or whether economic growth simply represents the flipside of greater inequality in income distribution. One also wonders if, over the medium-to-long term, the maquiladora industry's dynamism will transform it into something more than an outwardly oriented export enclave that does little to stimulate other sectors of the national economy. It also remains to be seen whether local and state governments on the border will eventually benefit from the growth of the borderlands economy, gleaning money and other resources in order to implement much-needed programs in public and environmental health, environment protection, waste management, education, and pollution control.

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The Macroeconomic Dynamics of Mexico's Border Cities

The population growth of Mexico's border cities is based on the macroeconomic forces that have characterized this region in recent decades. In 1990, these cities on the whole contributed 6.4% to the total share of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) generated in towns with over 100,000 inhabitants—a percentage similar to Monterrey or Puebla and higher than any other of Mexico's medium-sized cities. The per capita GDP in border cities was around 110,000 pesos in 1990, roughly the national urban average and higher than that of medium-sized cities outside of the border region. Indeed, only the metropolitan areas of Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey had higher income levels than did the border cities.

This vigorous economic (and demographic) growth has its roots in the industrialization process initiated in the mid-1960s, when export-oriented maquiladoras first set up shop in northern Mexico under the auspices of the Border Industrialization Program. From 1970 to 1990, industrial inputs to GDP in the region swelled by 360%, in contrast with the moderate growth recorded in metropolitan areas—especially Mexico City and Guadalajara—where industrial inputs to Mexico's GDP rose only 80% over the same period. Increased industrial activity in the borderlands after 1970 stands in stark contrast to the industrial crisis that has affected the rest of the country, especially the leading metropolitan areas, since then. Indeed, the value added figure contributed by border industry skyrocketed from 3.6 billion pesos in 1975 to more than 30 billion pesos in 1995, with the number of workers employed rising from 67,000 to 640,000 over the same period (pesos adjusted to account for inflation and devaluation).

Although maquiladoras are now appearing all across Mexico, the largest such plants—those that generate the most value added revenue—still tend to locate along the border. In 1995, maquiladora plants in the interior averaged 233 employees each, while those along the border averaged 354. In some areas, the average was as high as 500 (Reynosa) or even 600 (Ciudad Juárez). In terms of added value, the differences between maquiladoras on the border and those in the rest of the country were similar.

The rise of manufacturing and other industries on the border, in combination

with traditional tertiary economic sectors in the area (commerce, tourism, and cross-border services, among others), has created a highly diversified economic base and an increased capacity to absorb migrant workers and other new population groups. This contrasts sharply with medium-sized cities in other parts of the country, whose economies have traditionally been based on a single productive activity. Thanks to the diverse nature of their productive bases, the economic structures of most border cities have more in common with central Mexico's large metropolitan areas than with other similarly sized Mexican cities. As a result, some of them—Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez, for example—are better positioned to become new hubs of development and metropolitan growth than are medium-sized cities elsewhere in the country.

The Dark Side of the Border's Boom

Nevertheless, the "metropolitanization" of northern Mexico's towns and cities is defined by important limitations in terms of its ability to sustain an equitable and balanced social, economic, and urban development process. There are a number of issues that must be taken into account when seeking to assess the benefits of industrialization and urban growth in northern Mexico.

A model for economic development? Many observers have pointed out the near nonexistence of intersectoral linkages between the maquila industry (just over half of all maquiladoras are owned by foreign companies, down from past years) and domestic Mexican industry, whether at the local, regional, or national level. Simply put, maquiladoras are assembly plants devoted to international subcontracting with negligible influence on the economy of the rest of the nation. They have done very little, for instance, toward sparking any sort of retooling or revitalization of nationally owned industry. Even though some maquilas belong to cutting-edge sectors and employ extremely advanced technologies, those technologies have not been adopted by local and national industry. In most cases, at any rate, the equipment used in maquiladora plants is quite heterogeneous and highly differentiated, and modern plants that use automated systems and sophisticated "hard" technology remain the exception. The norm in

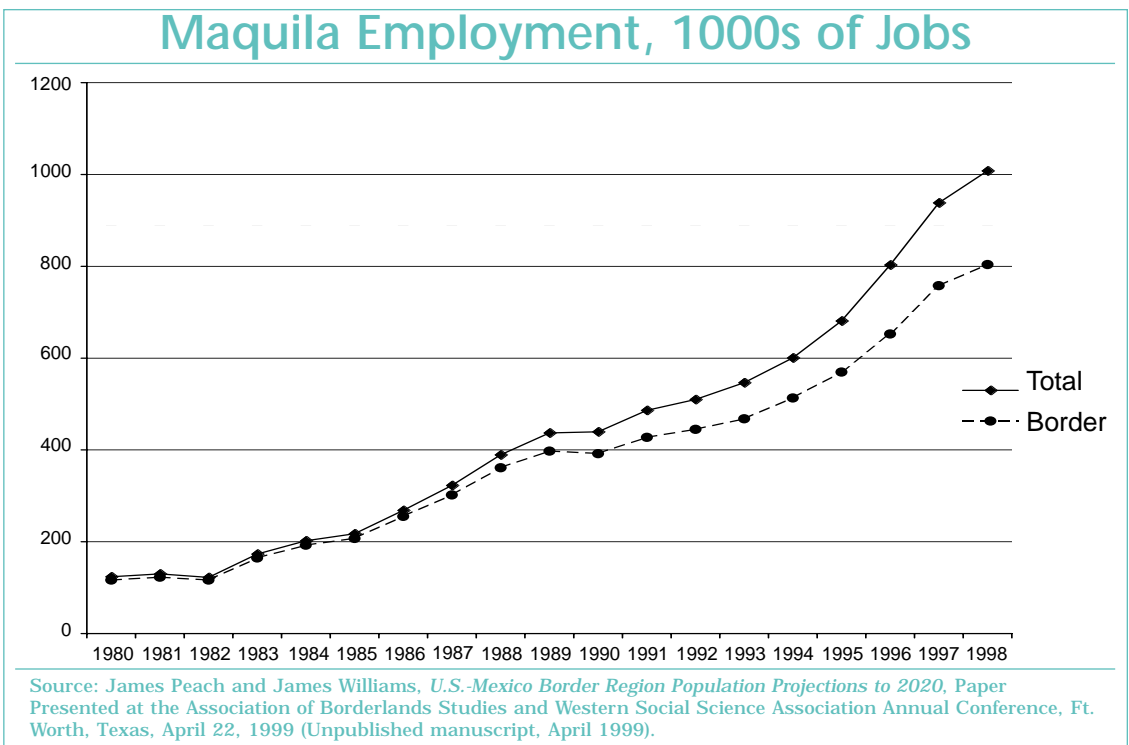


the maquilas is “soft retooling,” which principally consists of employing new methods of organizing employees and reconfiguring industrial relations and which offers little to Mexican industry, either in terms of increasing the skills and knowledge of workers or encouraging technology transfer.

Moreover, a breakdown of costs and expenditures in the maquila industry shows a highly uneven correlation between domestic and imported supplies. This highlights the lack of backward linkages that this type of plant has with Mexican suppliers of material inputs. According to data from the National Institute of Statistics, Geography, and Information (INEGI), for each peso spent by maquilas on imported inputs in 1996, less than two centavos was spent on domestically produced inputs; this figure climbs to just 6.6 centavos when miscellaneous expenses (equipment and buildings leases, electricity, shipping charges, and so forth) are taken into account and to 12 centavos when salaries and wages are factored in. The maquiladora industry’s sole impact is, clearly, the employment it generates and the indirect effects stemming from this job creation. In 1996, wages and salaries constituted 53% of the added value generated by the maquila sector. Job creation is not a bad thing, but after 30 years the maquiladora sector has little to show for itself in terms of initiating any sort of rebirth of Mexican national industry.

Macroeconomic Growth vs. Poverty.

Although the export-oriented maquiladora industry has always been highly lucrative, its profitability is predicated on low wages and geographic proximity to the U.S. market (which significantly reduces transport, communications, and startup costs). Although wages in the maquiladoras might be better than wages found elsewhere in Mexico’s economy, they do not reflect the returns being reaped by plant owners. In 1996, for instance, blue-collar wages in the maquilas were barely above the legal minimum. Specifically, average earnings were lower than 1,200 pesos per month—that is, 50 pesos (U.S. \$6.50) per day or 81 cents per hour.



Consequently, in border cities such as Tijuana one can observe relatively high poverty rates and poor living conditions disproportionate to the level of economic activity and industrial development that exists there. Indeed, according to the National Survey of Household Income and Expenditures, more than 50% of households in Tijuana operate under the poverty line, and another 40% are below what is known as the “poverty threshold,” which means that unlike those in the first category, they are able to meet their basic needs, although just barely. Only 5% of households over the poverty level are able to meet their basic necessities without difficulty.

Nearly 42% of Tijuana’s population is employed in industry, including many people who undoubtedly work in maquilas. But more than two-thirds of working-class households there do not receive social benefits, and a similar percentage are supported by low-income wage earners whose salaries are not enough to meet basic household needs. Finally, nearly 40% of these workers are not protected by a collective bargaining agreement, and 20% are self-employed, most likely in the informal sector.

Environmental Impacts. Both the federal government and local authorities have historically offered various types of subsidies in order to lure maquiladoras to locate operations in Mexico. This fact, combined with the centralization of gov-

ernment finances in Mexico and the country’s debt burden, means that resources with which to build infrastructure and manage domestic and industrial waste are scarce. In areas with rapid and dramatic population growth, such as the border, these deficiencies are all the more apparent and represent a tremendous problem. Additionally, a recurring failure to enforce environmental codes—one way in which Mexico can promote a climate favorable to foreign investment—means that the border’s economic growth has frequently involved considerable environmental damage and hazardous health conditions for area residents.

Indeed, the dark side of the maquila industry’s success in generating large numbers of new jobs can be found in the low wages, high turnover rates, pro-business labor contracts, limited possibilities for independent labor organizing, and alarming environmental health risks common to that sector. Border region working-class neighborhoods all too often face a whole series of environmental risks, such as high levels of dust in the air due to a lack of paved streets, unhealthy water and inadequate sewage disposal, stagnant (and most likely polluted) water where dangerous insects breed, and, on occasion, toxic waste dumped by unscrupulous maquiladoras.

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Other areas of concern include: increased water use by homes and industries, which is rapidly depleting supplies in the region; the impacts of industrial pollution and domestic sewage on the water that does remain; and the effects on air quality of industrial activity and the ever-increasing pool of cars being driven in the region.

Conclusions

The ongoing metropolitanization of some border cities has important structural limits in terms of bringing about social, economic, and urban development. The maquiladora industry, the backbone of the border's industrialization and urban growth, has not yet managed to form ties to domestic manufacturers, to establish linkages with Mexican suppliers, or to induce national industry to adopt more effective and lucrative ways of doing business. Instead, thirty years after the maquiladora model was first introduced, low wages are still one of the major advantages in locating along the border. This has a direct effect on the living conditions and quality of life of workers and their families, while workplace conditions continue to be precarious and turnover is high in many plants. All of these factors contribute to an extremely unstable labor market that offers few incentives to workers, whose possibilities of finding anything along the lines of an "upwardly mobile career" in the sector are extremely limited.

The urban dynamics of border cities, then, propagate a familiar and nagging development problem: conditions initially promote urban and metropolitan growth, but after a time, they become the primary barriers to truly consolidating growth potential and converting it into an authentic motor for social development. Ironically, the same factors that at first led to the economic and demographic growth of the border cities—the maquiladora industry, for example—subsequently inhibit them from achieving sustainable economic growth or improving the quality of life for their residents.

Indeed, the growth sparked by the maquiladora boom would not appear to be an appropriate strategy for facing and overcoming the problems of poverty and marginalization that have historically plagued the cities of Mexico's northern border. On the contrary, the maquiladora development model in the longer term tends to inhibit equitable and sustainable development and perpetuates the precarious conditions that beset many border households. One could even say that the maquiladora industry does not constitute a development strategy per se; it simply seeks macroeconomic growth without including issues like income distribution or poverty alleviation among its objectives.

From this perspective, the problem appears to be even more alarming than it does upon initial consideration, given that the expansion of the maquiladora industry in the border cities is often tout-

ed as a model for medium-sized cities in the interior of Mexico. Indeed, the economic opening that began in the 1980s—and that was institutionalized through NAFTA—has paved the way for economic growth in medium-sized cities across all of Mexico very similar to the growth seen in recent decades in cities along the border. ■

Dr. Canales is a researcher for El Colegio de la Frontera Norte and is presently a visiting researcher at the Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Regionales of the Universidad de Guadalajara. He has written many articles on migration and urbanization in Mexico and is currently conducting a project on international migration and globalization processes. He may be contacted at: acanales@megared.net.mx or cca00790@cucea.udg.mx.

Population Adjacent to the Border, 1980 to 1995

Area	1980 Population	1990 Population	1995 Population
Border Total	6,976,622	9,103,319	10,585,265
U.S. Subtotal	4,009,079	5,213,774	5,827,439
California	1,953,956	2,607,319	2,767,796
Arizona	728,142	914,919	1,038,156
New Mexico	117,974	159,578	188,841
Texas	1,209,079	1,531,958	1,832,646
Mexico Subtotal	2,967,543	3,889,545	4,757,826
Baja California	1,002,459	1,400,873	1,750,172
Sonora	312,079	394,712	469,804
Chihuahua	635,490	869,951	1,086,559
Coahuila	151,623	191,135	238,288
Nuevo Leon	16,475	17,312	18,276
Tamaulipas	849,417	1,015,562	1,194,727

Source: James Peach and James Williams, *U.S.-Mexico Border Region Population Projections to 2020*, Paper Presented at the Association of Borderlands Studies and Western Social Science Association Annual Conference, Ft. Worth, Texas, April 22, 1999 (Unpublished manuscript, April 1999).

INCITRA ACTION KIT

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Population Growth in the Borderlands

The following list of publications and contacts is part of INCITRA's ongoing effort to make useful information available to borderlands residents and policymakers as they strive to create a sustainable future for their communities. This directory is an organic work-in-progress, so please advise us of any necessary additions or corrections. They will be added to our database and used in future publications.

There are a variety of organizations working on the different issues involved with increased population and urbanization along the border. Government planning agencies in border cities like Brownsville/Matamoros and the two Laredos are attempting to create binational plans to address the infrastructure needs and environmental impacts of growth. In the U.S., Albuquerque-based 1000 Friends of New Mexico encourages better planning to address the influx of population into the state. Organizations like the Colonias Development Council in Las Cruces, NM, and the Border Low Income Housing Coalition in Texas are attempting to target the needs of the growing low-income and immigrant populations in the area. In Mexico, city and state branches of the government agency Desarrollo Integral de la Familia (DIF) have made strides in providing health and other services to the populations of the northern border region. But because government assistance often fails to reach the especially vulnerable migrant populations, organizations like Casa del Migrante in Tijuana and the Centro de Apoyo a Migrantes in Reynosa have sprung up to assist new migrants in their search for work and other necessities.

A number of websites provide extensive demographic information about communities on both sides of the border. The Mexican National Population Council (CONAPO) site and Columbia University's Center for International Earth Science Information Network site, "Georeferenced Population Data Sets of Mexico," include useful statistics on population and geography in the Mexican border states. The U.S. Census Bureau site contains social, demographic, and economic information on each of the U.S. border states.

For those interested in background reading on the subject, "U.S.-Mexico Border Region Population Projections to 2020" by James Peach and James Williams includes a wealth of information regarding border region population growth. For a classic and authoritative introduction to the dynamics of borderlands cities, we suggest *Where North Meets South: Cities, Space, and Politics on the U.S.-Mexico Border* by Lawrence Herzog. Finally, *The U.S.-Mexican Border Environment: A Road Map to a Sustainable 2020* by the Southwest Center for Environmental Research and Policy (SCERP) describes the environmental impacts of population growth and suggests policy directions to address these impacts.

For information regarding contacts or to acquire listed information, please contact INCITRA-USA by phone at: (505) 388-0208 or by email at: incitra@irc-online.org

Contacts

Border Low Income Housing Coalition (BLIHC)

20 Iturbide St.

Laredo, TX 78040

Contact: Rafael Torres, Convenor

Voice: (956) 726-4462

Fax: (956) 726-9014

Email: info@bordercoalition.org

Website: <http://www.bordercoalition.org>

The coalition was organized in 1994 to address the housing and economic issues of low-income people in the colonias and barrios of the Texas-Mexico border region. Through a series of meetings, coalition members developed a plan of program initiatives called the "Border Housing and Community Development Partnership Plan," available at the coalition website.

Casa Amiga

Perú Norte 878

Col. Hidalgo

Cd. Juárez, Chih.

Contact: Esther Chávez Cano

Voice/Fax: (16) 15-38-50

Casa Amiga is a rape crisis center. Staff accompany victims to the hospital, assist them in filing police reports, provide psychological services, and offer classes to children on gender issues.

INCITRA

Information for Citizen Transboundary Action on the Environment Información Ciudadana Transfronteriza

INCITRA is sponsored by the Interhemispheric Resource Center (IRC) in Silver City, NM. INCITRA aims to promote sustainable development in the borderlands by serving as a clearinghouse for information and resources. INCITRA research can provide you with the specific information you want, based on your needs, according to your requests. Call and put INCITRA to work for you.

Staff

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Dean Coil

The Interhemispheric Resource Center is a non-profit research and policy institute. Funding for INCITRA-USA is provided by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the W.K. Kellogg Foundation.

Casa del Migrante, A.C.

Calle Galileo 239
Col. Postal
Tijuana, B.C. 22350
Contact: Gilberto Martínez
Voice: (66) 82-51-80, 82-52-96
Fax: (66) 82-63-58
Email: sadelmig@telnor.net

Casa del Migrante provides meals, lodging, and medical attention to immigrants attempting to cross the border or to settle in the cities of Tijuana, Tecate, Mexicali, and Juárez. It is also a key member of the Migrant Defense Coalition, whose purpose is to establish a permanent forum on migration with the objective of developing an alternative means of assisting migrants in improving their quality of life.

Centro de Apoyo a Migrantes

Lázaro Cárdenas No. 210-17
Col. Zona Centro
Reynosa, Tamps.
Contact: Amelia Acosta Morales
Voice: (89) 22-22-71
Email: camrey@mail.giga.com

The center engages in many activities in support of the human rights of migrant workers and their families. It encourages local maquiladoras to hire migrant workers on a temporary basis in order to provide them with income. The center also helps establish contact with migrants' families in southern parts of Mexico, and it advocates for city assistance to enable migrants to return home if they so choose.

City of Brownsville Planning and Community Development Department

Box 911
Brownsville, TX 78522
Contact: Gary Ellis, Comprehensive Planning Coordinator
Voice: (956) 548-6150
Fax: (956) 548-6144
Email: quintaluz@aol.com

The department consists of four divisions: transportation planning, zoning, community development, and comprehensive planning.

City of El Paso Planning Department

2 Civic Center Plaza
El Paso, TX 79901
Contact: Rosemary Staley, Chief Urban Planner
Voice: (915) 541-4024
Fax: (915) 541-4028

The department is involved with all aspects of planning in the city of El Paso.

City of Laredo Planning Department

1110 Houston Street
Laredo, TX 78042-0579
Contact: Keith Selman, Planning Director
Voice: (956) 791-7441
Email: planning@icsi.net
Website: <http://www.cityoflaredo.com/>

The department maintains an informative website complete with urban transportation reports and descriptions of its public participation efforts. The department is currently collaborating with Nuevo Laredo on "Los Dos Laredos Environmental Management Plan," which was developed to give an overview of the environmental status of the two Laredos, to disseminate this information to the public, and to assist in the creation of effective environmental management systems and enforcement. The plan is available at the City of Laredo Planning Department and Dirección de Planeación de Desarrollo Urbano y Ecológico in Nuevo Laredo, Tamps. (Voice: [87] 12-31-16).

Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF-Nuevo Laredo)

Guanajuato 3332
Col. Jardín
Nuevo Laredo, Tamps. 88260
Contact: Dr. Eduardo Alarcón Cantú
Voice: (87) 15-12-63 or 15-82-63
Email: cfnlared@nlaredo.globalpc.net

Researchers at COLEF-Nuevo Laredo are studying the urban structure of three pairs of border cities—Nuevo Laredo/Laredo, Reynosa/McAllen, and Matamoros/Brownsville—in an attempt to discover and explain their similarities and differences.

Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF-Tijuana)

Departamento de Población
Boulevard Abelardo Rodríguez 2925
Zona del Río
Tijuana, B.C. 22320
Contact: Roberto Ham-Chande or Alejandro Canales
Voice: (66) 31-35-35 ext. 1202
Fax: (66) 31-35-57
Email: rham@colef.mx or acanales@megared.net.mx

Researchers at COLEF's population department conduct qualitative and quantitative studies of population growth, composition, and mobility in the border region as well as the socioeconomic, political, and cultural processes that shape these dynamics. Topics under study include population and development, internal and international migration, reproduction, women's employment and the family, and formal and informal labor markets.

Colonias Development Council (CDC)

1485 N. Main St. #A
Las Cruces, NM 88005
Contact: Diana Bustamante-Barrios
Voice: (505) 647-2744
Fax: (505) 647-1462

The CDC organizes community groups so that colonia residents are equipped with the tools necessary to obtain services they view as priorities.

Colonias Task Force, Diocese of Las Cruces

1280 Med Park Drive
Las Cruces, NM 88005
Contact: Antonio Lujan
Voice: (505) 523-7577
Fax: (505) 524-3874

The task force is a forum for city, county, state, and federal agencies and nongovernmental organizations to collaborate on new initiatives to improve the quality of life of colonia residents in Texas and New Mexico.

Comisión para la Regulación de la Tenencia de la Tierra (CORETT)

Río Sena No. 49, 7o. Piso
Col. Cuauhtemoc
México, D.F.
Contact: Arturo Orci Magaña, Dirección General
Voice: (5) 208-69-65, Ext. 178
Fax: (5) 207-74-43
Email: dirgral@corett.gob.mx

This commission is responsible for general urban development planning and for the resolution of land tenancy issues when settlers locate on previously ejido or communal land.

State offices:

Palacio Federal 2do. Nivel Cpo. B
Centro Cívico
Mexicali, B.C. 21000
Contact: José Jesús Romo Reinoso
Voice: (65) 58-37-34
Fax: (65) 57-25-71
Email: crtmxlbcb@email.telnor.net

Calle Gómez Farias No. 118
 Chihuahua, Chih. 31000
 Contact: Salvador Cruz Parra, Delegado
 Voice: (14) 16-35-56
 Fax: (14) 15-88-74
 Email: corett@chih1.telmex.net.mx

Comonfort No. 6, Entre Plutarco E.C. y Dr. Pesquería
 Col. Centenario, Edificio Plaza
 Hermosillo, Son. 83260
 Contact: Aldo Virgilio Fenech Larios, Delegado
 Voice: (62) 17-35-27
 Fax: (62) 17-35-26
 Email: crtson@rtn.uson.mx

Méndez No. 205
 Col. Centro
 Cd. Victoria, Tamps. 87001
 Contact: José Mercedes Beninés Rodríguez, Delegado
 Voice: (131) 220-28
 Fax: (131) 268-80-15 y 16
 Email: crttram@correo.tamnet.com.mx

Comité de Participación y Defensa Ciudadana, A.C.

Madero 111 Poniente
 Tecate, B.C. 21410
 Contact: Concepción Bizcarra de Aramburo
 Voice: (665) 416-48
 Fax: (665) 437-14

This group defends citizens whose rights have been affected by urban development policies. It also works on issues that damage or adversely affect the community's economic well-being. The committee is currently fighting to preserve green spaces and parks in the city of Tecate.

Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO)

Angel Urraza 1137
 Col. Del Valle
 México D.F. 03100
 Contact: Rodolfo Tuirán, Secretario General or Gabriela Breña Sánchez, Directora de Programas de Población
 Voice: (5) 559-63-79 or 559-52-63
 Fax: (5) 559-61-21 or 559-73-18
 Website: <http://www.conapo.gob.mx>

CONAPO is the government agency responsible for the implementation of Mexican population policy and demographic planning. State and municipal population councils formulate and execute demographic plans in conjunction with development objectives within their respective jurisdictions.

State offices:

Av. Milton Castellanos No. 1573
 Conjunto Caliss Fax
 Mexicali, B.C. 21100
 Contact: Mario Alberto Plata Castaños
 Voice: (65) 54-55-67
 Fax: (65) 54-55-69
 Email: Conepobc@Telnor.Net
 Calle Altamirano No. 2704
 Col. Altavista
 Chihuahua, Chih. 31320
 Contact: Justo Martínez Carrasco
 Fax: (14) 13-59-86
 Centro Estatal de Gobierno
 Edificio Norte, Piso 2, Ala Norte,
 Comonfort y Paseo del Canal, Villa de Seris
 Hermosillo, Son. 83260
 Contact: Patricia Araiza Noriega
 Voice: (621) 368-46
 Fax: (621) 346-13
 Email: Conepo@Rtn.Uson.Mx

14 y 15 Morelos No. 408
 Edificio Iris, Depto. 1
 Cd. Victoria, Tamps. 87000
 Contact: Yolanda Maricela Garza Wong
 Voice/Fax: (131) 292-39

Coordinadora de ONGs en Pro de la Mujer

Diego Rivera 261, Primer Retorno
 Fracc. Sicomoros
 Cd. Juárez, Chih. 32340
 Contact: Lilia Quintana
 Voice: (16) 16-21-10
 Fax: (16) 11-29-14

This organization is a coalition of 11 groups in Juárez working on various women's issues such as community-based gender education, research, and family planning. Members include Centro de Orientación para la Mujer Obrera, FEMAP, and Programa Compañeros.

County of San Diego, Planning and Land Use

5201 Ruffin Rd., Ste. B
 San Diego, CA 92123
 Voice: (619) 694-2962
 Email: svaughpl@co.san-diego.ca.us
 Website: <http://www.co.san-diego.ca.us/cnty/cntydepts/landuse/planning/>

This county agency maintains a good website with information about planning meetings in the area.

Desarrollo Integral de la Familia (DIF)

Emiliano Zapata No. 340, 1er. Piso
 Col. Santa Cruz Atoyac
 México, D.F. 03310
 Contact: Primitivo Rodríguez Ocegüera, Subdirector de Asuntos Internacionales
 Voice: (5) 629-2391, Ext. 1710
 Fax: (5) 629-2393
 Email: pro@df1.telmex.net.mx

DIF is a decentralized government agency that provides public assistance such as family planning and health services. Recently, DIF has assumed a more activist role in promoting the creation of a new system of national social assistance that would integrate the public and private sectors and that DIF would head. Each DIF office develops programs that focus on the specific needs of the region in which it is located. For example, the Piedras Negras office works with the state of Coahuila and the Center for Family Care and Unity (CAIF) on a program that provides services to migrant youth in the border region.

State offices:

DIF Estatal de Mexicali, B.C.
 Av. Obregon No. 1290 y Calle "E"
 Col. Nueva
 Mexicali, B.C.
 Contact: Leticia Aguilar Rodríguez
 Voice: (65) 54-06-25
 DIF Municipal de Cd. Juárez, Chih.
 Cd Juárez, Chih.
 Contact: Guadalupe Balderrama
 Voice: (16) 16-30-01 or 14-94-07
 DIF Municipal de Matamoros, Tamps.
 4ta. y Camilo Manzo
 Col. Jardín
 Matamoros, Tamps. 81330
 Contact: María Olimpia del Carmen López, Dirección General
 Voice: (88) 16-36-04
 Fax: (88) 12-20-62
 Email: hermilaguez@hotmail.com

DIF Municipal de Nuevo Laredo, Tamps.
Acapulco entre Héroes de Nacataz y Maclovio Herrera
Nuevo Laredo, Tamps. 88000
Contact: María del Carmen Galván de Garza, Presidenta
Voice: (87) 12-10-32
Fax: (87) 12-06-64

DIF Municipal de Piedras Negras
Centro de Atención e Integración Familiar (CAIF)
Laredo y San Felipe S/N
Col. Vista Hermosa
Piedras Negras, Coah.
Contact: Isabel Hernández Rodríguez
Voice: (878) 3-13-33
Fax: (878) 3-05-56

DIF Municipal de Reynosa, Tamps.
Mina y Zaragoza No. 1017
Col. Longoria
Reynosa, Tamps. 88660
Contact: Verónica Martínez de Higareda
Voice: (88) 23-05-08
Fax: (88) 22-88-66

DIF Municipal de Tijuana, B.C.
Vía Poniente y Blvd. Las Américas
Col. 20 de noviembre
Tijuana, B.C.
Contact: Zarema Labastida de Vega, Presidenta
Voice: (66) 81-07-90

El Diario de Juárez

Av. Paseo Triunfo de la República #3505
Cd. Juárez, Chih.
Voice: (16) 29-19-00
Fax: (16) 29-19-90
Email: djuarez@buzon.diario.com.mx
Website: <http://www.diario.com.mx/dcj>

This daily newspaper consistently reports on the brutal murders of women—a problem that has plagued Juárez for the past two years—as well as on other cases of violence in the city and region.

Dirección de Desarrollo Urbano y Obras Públicas

Morelos entre Hidalgo y Juárez
Zona Centro
Reynosa, Tamps. 88500
Contact: Arturo Villareal
Voice: (89) 22-01-38

The department is responsible for planning issues in the city of Reynosa.

Doña Ana County Community Development Department

430 S. Main
Las Cruces, NM 88001
Contact: Judith Price, Director
Voice: (505) 647-7237
Fax: (505) 647-7255
Email: judy@co.dona-ana.nm.us
Website: <http://www.co.dona-ana.nm.us/plan/welcome.html>

Based on a 1995 state law, Doña Ana officials have rewritten county subdivision regulations to reduce the frequency with which land can be subdivided and to create more stringent requirements for land improvements.

EPISO

7134 Alameda
El Paso, TX 79915
Contact: Elizabeth Valdez
Voice: (915) 778-3200
Fax: (915) 778-9730

EPISO is a leader in the Paso del Norte region in the drive for improved community housing, infrastructure, water, health, and employment.

Fundación Habitat y Vivienda/ Transborder Shelter Network

Calle Ejido No. 1864, Esq. Brasil
Col. Ex Hipódromo
Cd. Juárez, Chih. 32040
Contact: Arq. Claudia Martínez
Voice: (16) 12-47-47
Email: tsn@wnc.net
Website: <http://www.tsn.org/>

The foundation provides credit to low-income populations in Juárez to enable them to improve their housing situations. The foundation also serves as a network of information on low-income housing issues on both sides of the border.

Grupo 8 de marzo de Ciudad Juárez

Río Aguanaval No. 1256
Cd. Juárez, Chih. 32350
Contact: Esther Chávez Cano
Voice: (16) 13-71-93
Fax: (16) 13-71-93
Email: echavez@infolnk.net

Grupo 8 provides medical attention and emotional support for both rape victims and their families. It works with the Grupo 8 de marzo in Chihuahua to reform the law, which has resulted in stricter punishment of rape crimes, penalties for sexual harassment, and investigation of the murders of women in the state.

Instituto Municipal de Investigación y Planeación (IMIP)

Benjamín Franklin #4185
Circuito Pronaf
Cd. Juárez, Chih. 32310
Contact: José María Hernández
Voice: (16) 13-65-20
Fax: (16) 11-12-70
Email: imip@infolnk.net
Website: <http://www.imip.org.mx>

IMIP is a decentralized government agency that works on various aspects of urban planning in Juárez, including land use and transportation. The agency regularly collaborates with the El Paso planning department.

Instituto Municipal de Planeación de Matamoros (IMPLAN)

Calle 6ta., entre Bravo y Bustamante, No. 1515
Matamoros, Tamps. 87300
Contact: José Luis de la Garza
Voice/Fax: (88) 12-15-80
Email: implan@tamps1.telmex.net.mx

IMPLAN coordinates a variety of planning activities in the city, including environmental planning, urban development, and cultural enhancement. The institute is currently working on a binational plan with the city of Brownsville to cover land use, border crossings, and other regional issues. The results will be presented at the Texas Chapter of the American Planning Association conference on South Padre Island, TX, in October.

Instituto Nacional de Migración (INAMI-Matamoros)

Puente Internacional 3, Ignacio Zaragoza
"Los Tomates"
Matamoros, Tamps.
Contact: Abelardo Martínez Escamilla, Delegado Local
Voice/Fax: (88) 14-48-94
Email: matmigra@tamps1.telmex.net.mx

INAMI's "Programa Paisano" provides information and services to Mexican nationals traveling to the United States. This aid is directed toward legal immigrants and travelers—and not those without papers—and thus tends to benefit high-income populations.

Law Offices of Nancy L. Simmons

122 Tulane SE
Albuquerque, NM 87106
Contact: Nancy Simmons
Voice: (505) 232-2575
Fax: (505) 232-2574

Ms. Simmons represents community groups and individuals in New Mexico and El Paso concerned with rural community development issues and colonias.

Lower Rio Grande Valley Development Council

311 N. 15th
McAllen, TX 78501-4705
Contact: Kenneth N. Jones, Jr., Executive Director
Voice: (956) 682-3481
Fax: (956) 631-4670
Email: kjones@lrgvdc1.vt.com
Website: <http://www.txregionalcouncil.org/>

The Lower Rio Grande Valley Development Council is an association of local governments involved in natural resource, solid waste, drought, and transportation planning on a valley-wide level.

McAllen City Planning Department

Box 220
McAllen, TX 78505
Contact: Julie Rankin
Voice: (956) 972-7050
Fax: (956) 972-7046

The department is involved with various land use and planning issues for the city of McAllen.

1000 Friends of New Mexico

1001 Marquette NW
Albuquerque, NM 87102
Contact: Ned Farquhar, Executive Director
Voice: (505) 848-8232
Fax: (505) 242-3964
Email: amigos@1000friends-nm.org
Website: <http://www.1000friends-nm.org>

This group works on growth and development issues in north and central New Mexico, with a focus on the Rio Grande corridor. It publishes the newsletter "Growth Stories" and collaborates with other groups and individuals in the Coalition for a Livable Future, a group concerned with the effects of rapid growth.

Jim Peach, Professor

Department of Economics and International Business
Box 30001/MSC3CQ
New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, NM 88003
Voice: (505) 646-3113
Fax: (505) 646-1915

Email: jpeach@nmsu.edu
Dr. Peach researches demographic trends along the U.S.-Mexico border.

Proyecto Fe y Esperanza

South Tower Rd.
RR 2, Box 133 A
Alamo, TX 78516
Voice: (956) 702-0524
Fax: (956) 702-1853

Proyecto Fe enables local low-income (usually migrant) families to own their own land by paying off and reissuing the family's loan under a much lower interest rate and immediately providing land title to the family. In the past five years, the project has worked with about 30 families.

Rio Grande Council of Governments (RGCOC)

1100 N. Stanton, Ste. 610
El Paso, TX 79902
Contact: Justin R. Ormsby, Executive Director
Voice: (915) 533-0998
Fax: (915) 532-9385

Email: riocog@riocog.org
Website: <http://www.riocog.org>

The Rio Grande Council of Governments is a voluntary association created to provide continuity to governing and planning between state and local governments in Texas and a portion of Doña Ana County, New Mexico.

Rio Grande/Río Bravo Basin Coalition

U.S. office:
c/o Center for Environmental Resource Management
Burgess Hall, Rm. 315
University of Texas at El Paso
El Paso, TX 79968
Contact: Bess Metcalf, Executive Director
Voice: (915) 747-5720
Fax: (915) 747-5145
Email: bmetcalf@utep.edu

Mexico office:

Avenida del Charro 610 Norte, Edificio E-110
Instituto de Ingenieria y Arquitectura
Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez
Cd. Juárez, Chih.
Contact: Gabriela Vale, Coordinadora de Promoción
Voice: (16) 17-59-98
Fax: (16) 17-57-58

Email: coalition@hotmail.com

Website: <http://www.utep.edu/rioweb/>

The coalition works with communities along the river basin to protect and sustain their environments and economies. A series of upcoming issues of the coalition's publication, *La Corriente*, will be devoted to growth issues in the basin.

Texas Chapter of the American Planning Association (APA)

Box 684889
Austin, TX 78701
Contact: Dick Lillie
Voice: (512) 306-1674
Email: dlillie@flash.net
Website: <http://www.TexasAPA.org/>

The Texas APA has an international component that promotes dialogue on Texas-Mexico border issues. The chapter is holding a planning conference on South Padre Island in October.

Tiempo Visual

Calle de Pino No. 40
Pueblo de San Salvador Cuahutenco, Del. Milpa Alta
México, D.F. 12300
Contact: César Ramírez Morales
Voice: (5) 862-1191
Fax: (5) 862-1192

Through the medium of visual anthropology, César Ramírez works with the indigenous migrant population along Mexico's northern border on questions of health, housing, and human rights. He has developed an extensive photo registry of the phenomenon of indigenous migration and has produced video documentaries, including "On the Cutting Edge of Life," about the problem of AIDS among the indigenous migrant population, and "Laborers of Time," about the life of Doña Ana, an indigenous migrant from Oaxaca who travels to Baja California to work in the tomato fields in search of better living conditions.

Urban Habitat Program (UHP)

Box 29908

Presidio Station

San Francisco, CA 94129

Voice: (415) 561-3333

Fax: (415) 561-3334

Email: uhp@igc.apc.org

Website: <http://www.igc.org/uhp/>

The Urban Habitat Program is dedicated to building multicultural urban environmental leadership for socially just, ecologically sustainable communities in the San Francisco Bay Area. Recently, UHP completed marine education and multimedia ecological literacy projects in southern California. A recent issue of *Race, Poverty and the Environment*, a journal UHP produces with the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, has information about U.S.-Mexico border population and immigration issues.

Valley Interfaith

114-A N. Texas St.

Mercedes, TX 78570

Contact: Sr. Pearl Caesar

Voice: (956) 565-6316

Fax: (956) 565-2013

Valley Interfaith is a leader in conceiving, writing, and promoting the passage of legislation to fund water and sewer services for the growing number of colonias in the region.

Peter Ward, Professor

University of Texas at Austin

LBJ School of Public Affairs

Drawer Y

University Station

Austin, TX 78713-8925

Voice: (512) 475-8621

Fax: (512) 471-1835

Ward has written extensively on colonias in Texas. Earlier this year, he and DIF organized a series of three conferences on family and housing in the colonias on both sides of the border.

Western States Center

Box 40305

Portland, OR 97240

Contact: Tarso Ramos, Program Director

Voice: (503) 228-8866

Fax: (503) 228-1965

Email: weststatctr@igc.org

Website: <http://tap.epn.org/westernstates/>

The center provides critical analysis about growth in the western U.S. The Spring/Summer 1999 edition of the center's magazine includes an article titled, "Race, Class and Sprawl."

Listservs

BorderNet

To subscribe, send email to

BorderNet@listserv.texashousing.org and in the subject linetype *subscribe*.

This list is a forum for Border Low Income Housing Coalition participants and others to share ideas and information on border housing and community development issues

ProMujer-L

To subscribe, send email to naess2@aol.com. Include in your message your name, a description of your activities that relate to your interest in the list, and whether you can help translate.

This list provides articles and discussion on the multiple murders of women that have occurred in Juárez over the past year.

Websites

Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía (CELADE)<http://www.eclac.org/Celade-Esp/index.html>

CELADE provides technical assistance, training, and information regarding population issues to the countries of the region. It also conducts applied research in related subjects and works on the development of relevant computer systems and programs. The site has information on demographic estimations and projections, population and development issues, regional cooperation, and related publications and includes a bibliographic database of population information. The site also monitors the current status of preparation for the round of census reports that will be completed in the year 2000.

Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO)<http://www.conapo.gob.mx/index.htm>

The National Population Council site provides extensive information on Mexican demographics and links to other Mexican and U.S. government sites focused on population issues.

Evolución Legislativa de la Planeación del Desarrollo y la Planeación Urbana en México<http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/publica/boletin/b86/articulo/sanchez.htm>

This report by Gabriela Sánchez Luna reviews national plans for urban development authorized by the Mexican government and looks at legislative issues of urban planning.

Fundación Mexicana para la Planeación Familiar, A. C. (MEXFAM)<http://www.mexfam.org.mx>

The MEXFAM site provides thorough information about family planning, health, and sex education.

Georeferenced Population Data Sets of Mexico<http://sedac.ciesin.org/home-page/mexico.html>

The data sets accessible through this site consist of the: Population Database of Mexico; Time-Series Population Spreadsheet of Mexico; Urban Place GIS Coverage of Mexico; GIS Coverage of Mexican Localities, States, and Municipalities; and Raster Based GIS Coverage of Mexican Population. This population data was collected by Columbia University's Center for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN) and includes selected demographic and socioeconomic variables from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía, e Informática (INEGI). All of the data is available through ftp links on the site.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía, e Informática (INEGI)<http://www.inegi.gob.mx>

Provides statistical information on Mexico, including census data, municipal databases, economic figures, and industrial information.

Intentional Communities<http://www.ic.org/>

This website is dedicated to information about more sustainable alternatives to current urbanization patterns. Grouped under the term "intentional communities," the site contains descriptions and contact information for ecovillages, cohousing, residential land trusts, communes, student co-ops, and urban housing and cooperatives.

Plan Nacional de Desarrollo: Política de Población<http://www.conapo.gob.mx/politicadepob/plannacdes.htm>

This site provides a five-page description of the Mexican national plan for development. There are links to the *Ley General de Población y Reglamento* and the *Programa Nacional de Población 1995-2000*.

Population Index

<http://popindex.princeton.edu/>

The index is published quarterly by the Office of Population Research at Princeton University and is the primary reference source of the world's population literature. You can search this index free of charge through the web.

Programa Latinoamericano de Actividades en Población (PROLAP)

<http://www.unam.mx/prolap/>

The main objective of PROLAP is the creation of an institutional network of teaching and research centers whose activities make it possible to deepen our knowledge of population phenomena and to promote communication within the international academic community. The site describes the activities of the organization and includes links to PROLAP publications such as *Políticas de Población en Centroamérica, El Caribe y México*, edited by Raúl Benítez Zenteno and Eva Gisela Ramírez Rodríguez.

Programa Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano 1995-2000

<http://www.sedesol.gob.mx/desuryvi/desurb/pndurb.htm>

This report provides a brief overview of the Mexican government's national program of urban development. The complete text of the program is available through a link on this site, but the download time is nearly forty minutes.

Programa Nacional de Población 1995-2000

<http://www.conapo.gob.mx/politicadepob/prognacpob.htm>

This site provides a detailed look at population statistics and growth over time throughout Mexico. It is an excellent site for a description of population dynamics and for finding population graphs and tables.

Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (SEDESOL)

<http://www.sedesol.gob.mx/>

SEDESOL is responsible for the coordination of the social policy actions of the Mexican federal government. The department includes two undersecretaries, Regional Development and Urban Development and Housing, as well as the National Institute of Social Development.

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

<http://www.unfpa.org/>

UNFPA extends assistance to developing countries, countries with economies in transition, and other countries at their request to help them address reproductive health and population issues. The fund also raises awareness of these issues in all countries. Their site provides information on the state of world population, a list of publications, and links to world population NGOs.

United Nations Population Information Network (POPIN)

<http://www.undp.org/popin/>

The objective of the network is to identify, establish, strengthen, and coordinate population information activities at international, regional, and national levels; to facilitate and enhance the availability of population information in collaboration with UN regional commissions, UN specialized agencies, and the NGO population community; and to provide a forum for the exchange of experiences among developed and developing countries on population information issues. The site provides access to multiple world population trend documents in full text.

Urban Studies Resources

University of California, San Diego

<http://sshl.ucsd.edu/urban/>

This resource, compiled by the UCSD Social Sciences and Humanities Library, provides links to urban studies resources, including a section on the U.S.-Mexico border.

U.S. Census Bureau

<http://www.census.gov/>

The mission of the Census Bureau is to collect and provide access to timely, relevant, and quality data about the people and economy of the United States. The site offers social, demographic, geographic, and economic information for each of the U.S. states.

Publications

Guadalupe Armenta Sotomonroy, "Industrial and Population Growth: A Time Bomb," *La Corriente*, no. 9, May 1999.

Daniel D. Arreola and James R. Curtis, *The Mexican Border Cities: Landscape Anatomy and Place Personality* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993).

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Alejandro Canales, "Dinámica Macroeconómica y Urbanización en la Frontera Norte," *Carta Económica* 60, May-June 1998.

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James Peach, *Demographic and Economic Change in Mexico's Northern Frontier: Evidence from the X Censo General de Población y Vivienda* (Las Cruces, NM: Border Research Institute, New Mexico State University, no date).

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Paul Villas, *Texas-Mexico Border County Demographics and Health Statistics, 1998*, TMBHCO series report 98-99, no. 1 (Edinburg, TX: Texas-Mexico Border Health Coordination Office, 1998).

Peter M. Ward, *Colonias and Public Policy in Texas and Mexico: Urbanization by Stealth*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

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For Your Information

Border Feature: This summer, Information Services Latin America (ISLA) is featuring the U.S.-Mexico border on its website: <http://www.igc.org/isla/feature.html> Visit the site for coverage of labor struggles in Cananea and Tijuana, the border environment, and border art in articles written by David Bacon, Antonio Prieto, and the IRC's own George Kourous and Julie Schneider.

Director Sought: The University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) is accepting applications for the position of director of its Center for Environmental Resource Management (CERM). CERM provides coordination for environmentally related academic, policy, research, and service activities at UTEP. Its mission is to address the environmental problems that threaten the health, safety, well-being, and economic development of the Southwest border region of the United States and northern Mexico. For information, contact Dr. Paul C. Maxwell, University of Texas at El Paso, Administration Building Room 209, El Paso, Texas 79968-0587. Applications will be accepted until the position is filled.

Environmental Justice Conference: A "Roundtable on Environmental Justice on the U.S. Mexico Border" will be held from August 19-21, 1999, at the Radisson Hotel in National City, CA, near San Diego. The event, co-sponsored by the International Subcommittee of the National Environmental Justice Advisory Council (NEJAC) and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), will include public comment/community participation periods, speaker presentations, and panel-led discussions on environmental justice issues on the border. The International Subcommittee of NEJAC will prepare a report and a list of recommendations from the roundtable proceedings for review and consideration and will forward them to the administrator of the EPA. Stakeholders and constituent groups from all the border states are invited to participate. Scholarships are available. For more information or to apply for a scholarship, call toll-free: 1-888-335-4299.

Grants Available: The Rio Grande/Río Bravo Basin Coalition recently announced its Computer Networking Assistance Mini-Grant Program. Grants of up to \$500 will be made to help basin organizations increase their networking capacity. The deadline for applications is July 23rd. For more information, contact the coalition by phone at: (915) 747-5720 (in the U.S.) or (16) 17-59-98 (in Mexico), or by email at: bmetcalf@utep.edu (in the U.S.) or at: coalicion@hotmail.com (in Mexico).

Hazardous Waste Conference: The Binational Coalition Against Toxic and Radioactive Waste Dumps is sponsoring a conference on hazardous waste issues along the U.S.-Mexico border at the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juárez July 30-31. Any organization interested in hazardous waste issues on the border is invited to participate. For more information, contact Graciela Avila by phone at: (505) 242-4903 or by email at: gavialiva@aol.com

Labor Law Manuals Available: The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM) has produced a two-volume manual on Mexican Federal Labor Law. This Spanish manual describes worker rights and obligations and is to be used by activists and labor organizations throughout Mexico. The manual is available from CJM by calling (210) 732-8957 or by email at: cjm@igc.org

Manual Available in Spanish: The Mexico Emissions Inventory Program manual is now available in Spanish on the CICA (U.S.-Mexico Border Information Center on Air Pollution/Centro de Información sobre Contaminación de Aire Para la Frontera entre EE.UU. y México) website: <http://www.epa.gov/ttn/catc/cica/> under "Descargando productos de CICA-Enlace en español." The manual is available in English on the CICA site under "Downloading CICA Products-English." Contact CICA by at: (800) 304-1115 (from Mexico) or (919) 541-0800 (from the U.S.), or by email at: catcmail@epa.gov

Report Released: A preliminary version of the report, "Hazardous Waste Management in the United States-Mexico Border Region: More Questions than Answers" has been released and is available for review. Prepared by the Texas Center for Policy Studies, the Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (RMALC), and the Emissions Project: Virtual Space of "La Neta," the report is intended to provide information on hazardous waste legislation and its enforcement in Mexico and the United States. The report is available online in English at <http://www.texascenter.org/tcps/publicat.htm> or in Spanish at <http://www.texascenter.org/tcps/publicat.htm>. To make comments on the report, contact: Marisa Jacott at emisiones@laneta.apc.org or Alejandro Villamar at rimalc@laneta.aoc.org (Spanish speakers), or Cyrus Reed at Cyrus_Reed@mail.utexas.edu (English speakers).

Stewardship Agreement Announced: During the U.S./Mexico Binational Commission meeting in Mexico City on June 4, EPA and SEMARNAP announced an agreement among the two governments, industry leaders, and the Border Environment Cooperation Commission (BECC), to promote voluntary implementation of "Seven Principles of Environmental Stewardship" within the two countries. The principles urge the business community to go beyond environmental compliance by voluntarily intensifying pollution prevention, energy efficiency, public accountability, and investment in local sustainable development. The EPA's announcement claims one of the goals of the agreement is "to demonstrate that sustainable development, a clean environment and free trade are consistent and compatible." The U.S. and Mexican environmental agencies and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) also reached an agreement to work cooperatively in areas dealing with global climate change, including updating inventories of U.S. and Mexican greenhouse gas sources, exchanging experts, enhancing education and outreach, and making reports on accomplishments and challenges available to the binational interagency High-Level Contact Group on Climate Change. A copy of the "Seven Principles" will be available at: <http://www.epa.gov/USMEXICOBORDER> or through EPA's border offices at (915) 533-7273 and (619) 235-4765.

Tribal Meeting Announced: The next meeting of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Regional Tribal Operations Committee will be from August 31-September 1 at the Region 9 EPA offices, 75 Hawthorne Street, San Francisco, CA. Every tribe in the region, which includes the states of Arizona and California, is invited to attend. For further information, please call Teri Cawelti at (760) 873-3300 or the EPA Regional Tribal Operations Committee coordinator, Nancy Oien, at (415) 744-1486.

Upcoming Rural Coalition Assembly: The Rural Coalition will be holding its 1999 rural assembly, "Food N' Justice: Harvesting Without Borders," in Creel, Chih., from September 15-19. The assembly is intended to strengthen bonds among rural communities and to give visitors the opportunity to learn about the challenges facing indigenous groups living in the region. Registration discounts are available until August 1. For more information, contact the coalition by phone at (202) 544-9611 or by email at Ruralco@aol.com

Watershed Protection Plan Announced: On June 22, Bruce Babbitt, secretary of the U.S. Department of Interior, and Julia Carabias, director of the Mexican Secretariat of Environment, Natural Resources, and Fisheries (SEMARNAP), signed a binational plan intended to protect the San Pedro River, which flows through Sonora north into Arizona. Both governments committed to the establishment of strategies for economic and environmental sustainability in the watershed. The plan comes three weeks after the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC) released the final report of the San Pedro expert team titled "Sustaining and Enhancing Riparian Migratory Bird Habitat on the Upper San Pedro River." The expert team was convened by the CEC Secretariat and charged with conducting an independent inquiry into the operative ecological, bihydrologic, socioeconomic, and legal/institutional circumstances that characterize the availability of water flows needed to sustain the riparian area along the upper San Pedro River. On June 28, the CEC Council decided to release the final summary report on the river's bird habitat, which combines the results of the expert study with those from the initiative's public input process and with policy recommendations made by the initiative's advisory panel. For information concerning the CEC's Upper San Pedro River Initiative, visit the CEC website at: <http://www.cec.org>, or contact Richard Connor by email at rconnor@ccemtl.org or by phone at (514) 350-4300.

Website Now in Spanish: More than 44 themes, topics, and web entries maintained by the Clearing-House Mechanism created by the Convention on Biological Diversity are now available in Spanish. They can be accessed at: <http://www.biodiv.org/chm/index-s.html> or through the site's traditional URL address: <http://www.biodiv.org/chm> by clicking on the icon "ESPAÑOL." For more information, contact Marc Auer by email at marc.auer@biodiv.org or by phone at (514) 288-2220.

Borderlands Demographic Trends

by James Peach and James Williams, NMSU

The U.S.-Mexico border region is fascinating from a demographic perspective for many reasons: large numbers of people would not be there if the international boundary did not exist; demographic forces have historically been more extreme along the border than elsewhere in the U.S. and Mexico; demographic interaction between the countries is profoundly influenced by extensive cultural, political, social, and economic cross-border interdependence; finally, in a region troubled by severe resource constraints, the consequences of population growth and rising densities create environmental problems uniquely exacerbated by the international dividing line. Also notable is the fact that demographic change in the borderlands mirrors the impacts of large-scale forces such as globalization.

Data for the borderlands region reveals a remarkable transformation during the course of the 20th century, particularly on the U.S. side. In 1900, only one U.S. resident in 18 lived in a border state, but by 1995 that figure had risen to one in five. As measured by Gross State Product, a similar portion of the nation's output is produced in the four border states today. The figures are similar—though somewhat less dramatic—for Mexico, with one Mexican in ten living in a border state in 1900 and one in six by 1995.

The presence of the border has less impact on demographic trends in the U.S. than in Mexico. North of the line, much of the growth in border states in recent decades has been generally due to “sunbelt” growth, both in terms of population and employment. Additionally, a large portion of the U.S. border state population lives in cities well away from the international boundary. In Mexico, on the other hand, the border represents the main reason for growth: over the years Mexican policies have encouraged development of population and employment along the nation's northern frontier.

By 1995 the four U.S. border states (California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas) had a combined population of 56.2 million persons, nearly four times as large as the 15.2 million persons in the six Mexican border states (Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas). In terms of people living immediately on the border, in 1995 nearly 10.6 million persons lived adjacent to the U.S.-Mexico border, with about 5.8 million on the U.S. side and slightly less than 4.8 million on the Mexican side. San

Diego County dominates the population total for the U.S. side of the border with 2.6 million persons, and combined with Imperial County, California, contains almost half of the U.S. border population. Juárez, adjacent to El Paso, Texas, continues to be the largest Mexican municipio along the border, although Tijuana (with just under a million persons) was only barely smaller than Juárez (with slightly over a million persons), according to the 1995 Mexican census.

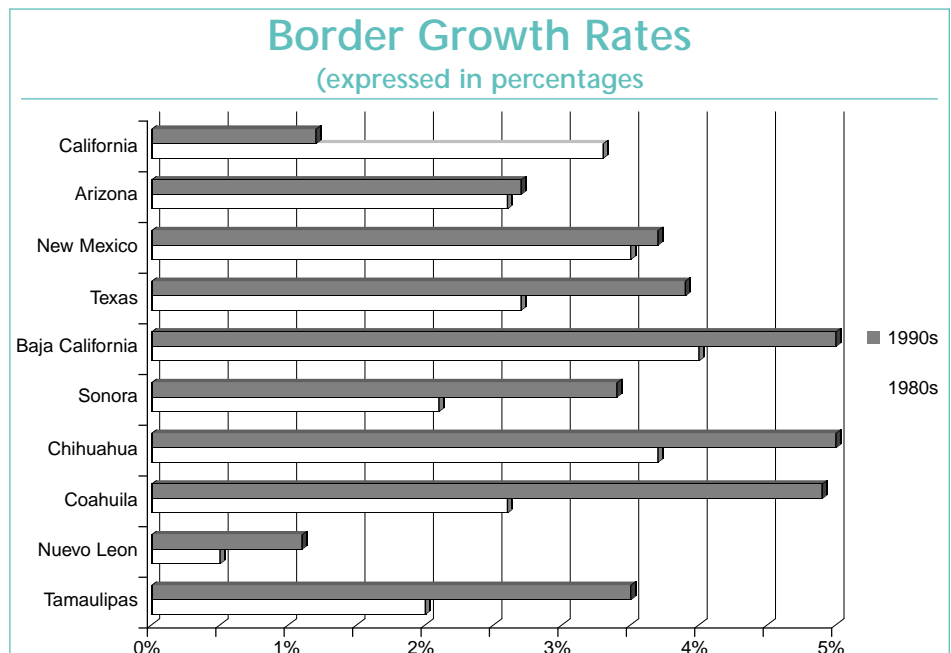
Population dynamics along the border suggest some demographically important patterns that permit forecasts regarding the future. First, Mexican municipios have shown strong natural increase—the excess of births over deaths—and levels of natural increase have traditionally been greater on the Mexican side than on the U.S. side of the border. But levels of natural increase on the U.S. side along the border, though generally lower than on the Mexican side, historically exceed the U.S. average.

To this strong natural increase is added the factor of an age distribution—especially on the Mexican side of the border—that favors future natural increase. Differences in age distribution across the border reveal that Mexican municipios have more “demographic momentum” than U.S. counties. The phrase refers to the capacity for future growth even if fertility rates and migration were at low levels. There is a younger age distribution in Mexico than in the U.S., and today's young people will be tomorrow's parents.

Put another way, the “supply of mothers” for the next few years has been born, and it is a simple matter to age them into the childbearing years. If the number of potential mothers reaching childbearing years increases, then births will increase in the future even if fertility rates remain constant. And there is the migration factor. The border municipios have attracted migrants from elsewhere in Mexico, adding to their overall growth rate.

A simple continuation of the demographic patterns of the early 1990s implies tremendous population growth over the next 25 years: the border's population could grow to more than 24 million persons by 2020. On the Mexican side of the border, the population could grow from 4.8 million to almost 13.5 million, while the U.S. side would not quite double in size—except in Texas, where significant growth is projected to more than double the state's border population. In Mexico, projections indicate that today's metropolitan centers will become very large cities, especially in Baja California, Chihuahua, and Tamaulipas. Similarly, El Paso, Juárez, and Las Cruces could well become a single population center with a population around 6 million people. ■

Professors Peach (economics/international business) and Williams (sociology) are based at New Mexico State University. Their research on border demographics has been funded by the International Business Facilitation Center and the Center for Economic Development, Research and Assistance at NMSU.



Source: James Peach and James Williams, *U.S.-Mexico Border Region Population Projections to 2020*, Paper Presented at the Association of Borderlands Studies and Western Social Science Association Annual Conference, Ft. Worth, Texas, April 22, 1999 (Unpublished manuscript, April 1999).

Recent Arrivals to Mexico's Border Towns: Struggling to Carve Out a Niche of Their Own

by Kent Paterson

Juan is a teenage maquiladora worker who left the countryside to find work in the big city. On a whim, Juan and his father accepted a ride from a friend who drove them from their small community in north-central Mexico to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico's assembly line capital. At the time, Juan was just 13 years old. After first working in a paint-and-body shop, Juan, now 14, found full-time employment in a factory that makes parts for buses.

Because living in Juárez is so expensive (many goods are actually cheaper across the river in El Paso, Texas), Juan frequently works overtime to make ends meet and to put a few extra pesos in his pocket. One recent week, Juan says, he made about \$70 for 60 hours of work—the equivalent of \$1.16 an hour.

Juan's goal is to eventually open his own paint-and-body shop. The soft-spoken young man readily takes to the lively, bustling atmosphere of Juárez, but says he doesn't like the rapes of women that have given the booming border town an international reputation. Still, now settled with his entire family in Juárez, Juan judges life as better on the border. Apparently, so do numerous others from his hometown. "Many people, practically the majority, are coming to Juárez," explains Juan. "Back home," he stresses, there is "a lot of work and low pay. Here it's less work and more pay."

Southerners Meet Northerners on the Border

In his journey, Juan followed the trail of countless others from Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Sinaloa, and Sonora—northern states that once provided the bulk of Juárez's new workers and residents. Today, however, the demographic trend is shifting. A large number of Juárez's new workers come from the south. Men and women alike, they arrive by bus, train, or auto from the economically depressed states of Veracruz, Tabasco, Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero.

A recent report issued by the Chihuahua state government characterized the border state as a net importer of migrants. Simply put, more people are moving in than moving out. In addition to Juárez, migrants are establishing themselves in Chihuahua City and Delicias. The draw is the booming maquiladora industry. Appearing first in Juárez, maquilado-

ras have since proliferated in Chihuahua City, Delicias, and other places in the state. Ford, Honeywell, and Motorola all have large complexes in the Chihuahua state capital. Nonetheless, the vast majority of maquiladoras remain in Juárez, the first choice of residence for many new migrants.

Juárez resident Higinio Barrio grew up in an indigenous Mixteco community in the Alta Mixteca section of Oaxaca state. His people herded sheep, raised chickens, and tilled the soil in their time-less quest for sustenance. Each family possessed about a hectare of land, which provided them just enough food to sur-

native language, because several variations of Mixteco exist, depending on the municipality.

One of Barrio's main goals in Juárez was to pursue an education and, with a grant from one of the local maquiladoras, he completed a program in industrial relations. The Oaxaca native concedes that he would like to go home, but predicts that economic realities will force him to stay on the border.

"You have to work, and here is where you find work," sighs Barrio. Despite Juárez's high cost of living, he says, people are at least making enough to survive on a day-to-day basis. "This is better than the

"There are towns in which there are only married women, older people, and kids. All the men have left the community, and all the young people, too."

live. For many, hunger was always a looming possibility. As a child in elementary school, Barrio recalls seeing some classmates without tortillas for lunch. All they had to eat were chiles and salt wrapped in a bag. Sparse rains and sparser work have since caused many people to migrate to Mexico City, the United States, or, in Barrio's case, Juárez.

"There are towns in which there are only married women, older people, and kids," says Barrio of his native Oaxaca. "All the men have left the community, and all the young people too." Arriving eight years ago in Juárez via Mexico City, Barrio quickly found a job assembling electrical components for General Motors. It was hard, repetitive work that caused pain in his fingers. He came on the eve of winter, and Barrio was forced to work a second job so he could purchase necessities for the long, cold months. For several months, he slept only about four hours a night. "I didn't have a bed, clothes, jackets, or blankets," reminisces Barrio. "What I had to do was work at two maquilas to buy things for the winter."

At first, the newcomer stayed in one of the Juárez boarding houses that cater to new migrants. Later, he pitched in money with three other coworkers and rented an apartment. Since then, Barrio has met others from his Oaxacan homeland. They, too, are indigenous Mixtecos, but he can't communicate with them in his

rest of the country. Here, we are assured of having money on the weekend, and we can eat," contends Barrio. "But in the South, you have no guarantee of earning money. Wages are very low here, but you can earn money. In the South, there is no work."

The Tarahumara Diaspora

Another group of new migrants that is increasingly visible on the streets of both Juárez and Chihuahua City is the indigenous Tarahumara, or Raramuri, as they call themselves. During the last 20 years, an increasing number of Raramuri have fled their rugged mountain homeland, located hundreds of miles southwest of the international dividing line in Mexico's remote Sierra Madre. Some have formed urban settlements (colonias) in border towns.

According to Mexican anthropologist Loreley Servin, about 2,500 Raramuri make up a "floating population" in Chihuahua City. She estimates that an additional 1,000 scrape by the best they can in Ciudad Juárez. Many Raramuri travel back and forth between their native Sierra and the border, earning enough money in the city in order to live in the mountains until the cash runs out. Raramuri men work in construction or other blue-collar jobs, while the women earn income as domestics or sellers of their colorful arts and crafts.

One permanent Raramuri settlement in Chihuahua City is popularly known as Sierra Azul. Situated on the edge of the state capital about 45 minutes by bus from the city center, Sierra Azul comprises some 40 families who live in houses constructed of cement blocks and plywood. Founded about seven years ago by a Jesuit priest, the colonia has since attracted Raramuris from several different mountain communities.

Fronted by a small Catholic chapel and a basketball court, Sierra Azul conveys a tidy look. Every morning, long-skirted women gather and sweep the grounds clean. For lighting and cooking, the residents have electricity and gas. Radios and televisions blare Spanish pop music and Mexican soap operas. However, there is no running water delivered to individual homes, so the women use a community tank to tap their water supply. Clothes are scrubbed on a stone washboard. Cold in the winter, the residences feature custom-cut, metal barrels for wood stoves. Since the settlement is far removed from the mountains, wood must be purchased.

Although the children are learning Spanish in the nearby school, Sierra Azul's residents attempt to preserve their own Raramuri culture by conducting the traditional holiday ceremonies and holding community races and games. Parents can be heard conversing in Raramuri with their kids.

Lupita Pérez, a Raramuri native from the small mountain community of Tegeurechi, moved to Sierra Azul four years ago. Pérez and her husband have three children. While her spouse spends his work day sweating away in a nearby mine, Pérez sits in the shade of her home and sews beautifully stitched skirts and blouses, which she sells in the city center. With luck, a large dress can fetch around

\$40 dollars. "Sometimes I sell a little, sometimes more," says Pérez.

Pérez and the other Raramuri women have a key position in the family structure, raising the children and tending the family income. But life in the city isn't easy. Childcare, for instance, is a problem. Some younger women work as housemaids, earning as little as \$15 to \$30 a week for their long days. Reportedly, a few have entered the prostitution racket.

Pérez offers the oft-heard explanation for enduring the move from the mountains to the city: basic survival. Recalling the mountains, she says, "If it rains a lot, there is a lot of food. But, here in Chihuahua City, no, you have to buy everything. My father planted all that we needed and we were never hungry. But for many years, it hasn't rained. That's why many people come here. What am I going to eat over there?"

Besides the long-running drought, other, less-publicized reasons are driving the Raramuri to the streets and colonias of Juárez and Chihuahua City. Violence, provoked by drug trafficking and illegal timber harvesting, is another powerful motive for abandoning the land. Similar to the fate of indigenous groups in Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero, refugees are a sign of the times for the Raramuri.

"There is a silent emigration going on," says María Teresa Guerrero, an organizer with the nongovernmental Human Rights Solidarity and Defense Commission (COSYDDHAC). Guerrero adds that economic and political circumstances are fast creating a "Raramuri diaspora."

Once in the city, the Raramuri have to find a place to live and a way to buy food. Those that do not reside in Sierra Azul or another colonia might end up living in abandoned buildings and begging for spare change. Preschool age children, barely able to talk, peddle gum and nuts

on the streets. Meanwhile, older brothers and sisters hang out in video game arcades, seemingly mesmerized by the flashing screens.

However, a good number of Raramuri have turned to the arts and crafts market for an income. For example, as part of the movement to save their cultural identity and preserve their political independence, Raramuri Felicitas Cardona and a group of about 50 other artists founded Grupo Siku Raramuri, a branch of a larger network composed of eight Raramuri communities that banded together for economic development purposes. With the help of a loan from a local business organization, Grupo Siku Raramuri recently opened its own storefront in Chihuahua's downtown commercial district. The idea, explains Cardona, "is to look for a better market in order to satisfy our necessities, because there is no work and a lot of need for food. The (arts and crafts) middlemen pay very little." In addition to promoting the sale of their arts and crafts in the city, members of the network are trying to get a restaurant-lodge off the ground in the mountain community of Sisoguichi.

Although new opportunities exist for Raramuri sellers in the city, Cardona laments the negative influences the city works on her people. "For example, the young people that come here—they lose their culture. They don't want to speak Raramuri now or wear their traditional dress. They are ashamed," adds Cardona. "The [young people] listen to other music and sometimes become what they call here 'cholos.' Life in the mountains is very different than life in the city." ■

Kent Paterson is a freelance journalist based in of Albuquerque, NM, and is a regular contributor to borderlines. He travels frequently throughout Mexico.

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