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Mexico's July 2 Elections and Governability

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Mexican Migration To the U.S. Is Regularization Possible?

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Poverty Challenges Mexican U.S. Civil Society

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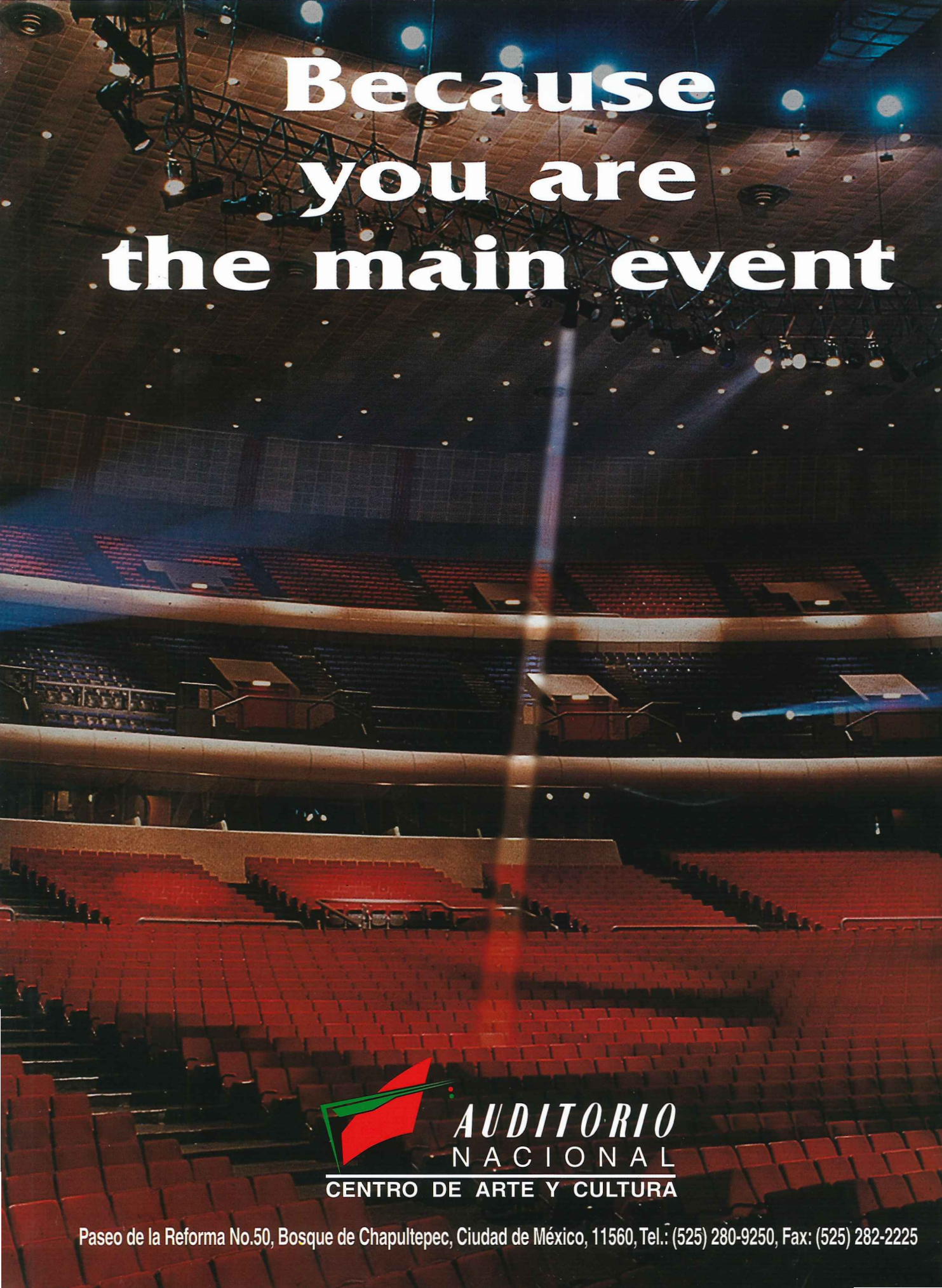

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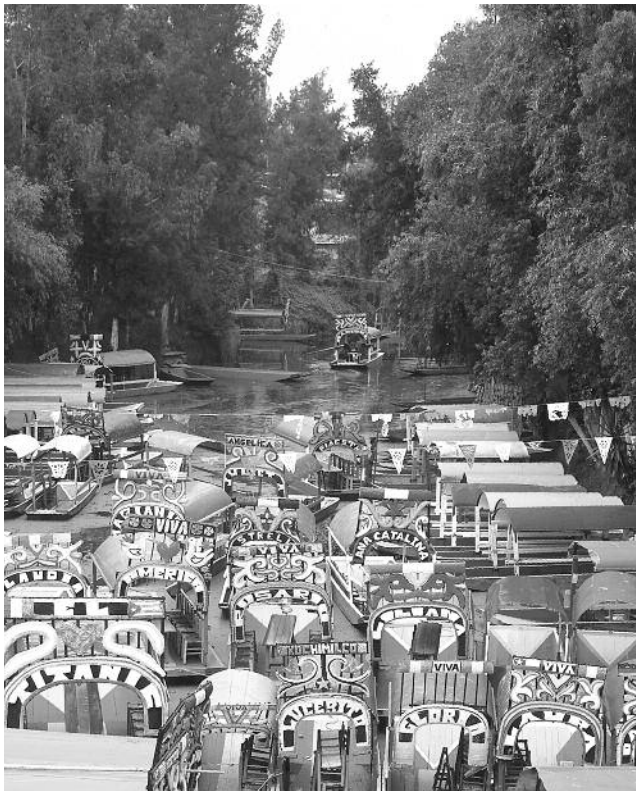
Leonora Carrington, *Monsieur*, 31 x 62 x 23 cm, 1994 (bronze).



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67 x 20 x 22 cm, 1994 (bronze).

Our Voice

Vicente Fox's July 2 victory at the polls has many implications. It leaves no room for doubt, for example, about the consolidation of Mexico's transition to democracy. Regardless of the debate about whether the transition concludes with parties alternating in office or whether other steps must still be made before the definitive arrival of democracy can be declared, what is beyond discussion is that the political actors involved in the elections —including, of course, the losers— demonstrated their solid democratic culture. The immediate recognition of the victory of one of the candidates by everyone, including President Zedillo, with no loud voices raised in protest was a major step forward. The electoral machinery operated almost perfectly, proving that the organization and endorsement of the elections by the Federal Electoral Institute —with its non-partisan citizen representatives as its only voting members— was a success. There are still some doubts, however, about whether a Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) win would have prompted different reactions.

Fox's victory can be explained in different ways. Some consider it mainly a "punishment" vote; others attribute it to Fox's charisma and excellent media strategy. Still others, of course, chalk it up to a significant reduction —and even disappearance— of most patronage-system practices, pressure on voters and other fraudulent activities that have plagued Mexico's electoral history. Most probably, it was a combination of all this, plus the steadfast opposition tradition of the National Action Party (PAN), the discourse of democracy that has permeated the last decade of Mexican politics, the exhaustion of the official party's profile, with its 71 years in office and the very harsh economic adjustment policies that it implemented in the last administration. Naturally, some highly polemical and unpopular political measures like the bank bail-out —better known as Fobaproa— also took their toll.

In any case, it is important to think about the direction that the future consolidation of democracy will take. We must advance in a reform of the state that will include the transformation of many of the country's electoral, political and social institutions. It is already clear that this question will be one of the great tasks the new president will face.

The recent elections will also have an important repercussion on the party system. Two of the three main parties —the PRI and the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)— will have to redesign their strategies, their social base and even their internal structures, programs and principles. Political analyst Alberto Begné looks into this question in his contribution to this issue of *Voices of Mexico*. Begné foresees a significant recomposition of the party system because, he says, the election results and the Fox "phenomenon" outstripped the three traditional parties, forcing them to reposition their forces to survive. On the one hand, the PRI and the PRD must recognize that if they do not act promptly to reorganize, their defeat could even herald their disappearance from the political map or at least their suffering imminent splits that would severely weaken them, which is the alternative Begné considers the most probable. The PAN, on the other hand, must recognize that Fox's victory went beyond party boundaries, making its immediate task that of reforging its relationship with the new chief executive. Otherwise, it runs the risk of "winning office and losing the game." The small parties, for their part, aspire either to maintain their strategic alliances in order to grow or to take advantage of the splits in other parties to swell their own ranks.

In the last analysis, one of the immediate challenges emerging from the July 2 election results is the need to build formal and informal institutional mechanisms to guarantee governability since no political force has a majority by itself in either of the two chambers of Congress.

Political scientist María Amparo Casar dedicates her article to this question, analyzing the new situation of a divided government that the executive will have to face. Vicente Fox is the first president of Mexico who will take office with a plurality —not a majority— of votes. For this reason, Casar says his victory cannot be read as overwhelming, but rather the mandate of the voting population in favor of limited, circumscribed power. Naturally, she says, this new political situation will transform the traditional ways of governing and legislating, opening up a space for the consolidation of alliances and new practices in the relations between the executive and legislative branches of government. More than fearing the possibility of ungovernability and the paral-

ysis of public administration, we should understand that we have been given the opportunity to institute a fully democratic political life, as long as we are aware that when democracy brings pluralism —which, according to the author, is almost always the case— no other road is possible than deliberation, negotiation and compromise. Divided governments do not necessarily equal ungovernability. Quite to the contrary: they represent the possibility that fundamental changes in policy be made only when an extraordinary amount of consensus exists.

Just as the July 2 results were being taken in by the public, a series of events related to the abortion issue, among them the attempt by legislators in the state of Guanajuato to penalize abortion even in the case of women who had been raped, brought to the fore the basic tenet of secularism as a guiding principle in Mexico's political life. Political philosopher Jesús Rodríguez looks at this question, alerting the reader to the dangers posed by the possibility of the fundamentalist and most dogmatic currents of the PAN winning the day and imposing their ideas on the party's democratic, liberal currents. Rodríguez maintains that in modern thought, secularism should not be understood as some kind of a half-way measure that somehow takes the average of different religious moral positions elevating them into a state "consensus," but rather the articulation of legal and institutional practices that will only result from an intense struggle between the defenders of tolerance and the promoters of fundamentalism.

One of the central questions the new administration will face is what policies to implement to maintain economic stability and foster sustained development and growth. In this issue's "Economy" section CISAN scholar Alejandro Mercado presents an in-depth analysis of the decoration industrial district of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá and its potential for economic development. Drawing the parallels between Italy's successful industrial districts and this region of Mexico, he shows how small artisan producers, designers and "consolidators," the link between the first two and export markets avid for both traditional Mexican craft products and new designs, make up a coherent economic whole that works. Far from falling into the trap of thinking that development can only result from economies of scale, Mercado suggests that policy-makers take note of these alternative routes open to us as a nation.

Leonora Carrington is one of Mexico's best-known living painters. Born in England in 1917, she came to Mexico in the mid-1940s, becoming an active member of the surrealist milieu. Angélica Abelleyra relates how Carrington has by no means limited herself to painting, but has also worked extensively in narrative, playwriting and costume design. Journalist Merry Mac Masters contributes an article dealing with Carrington's definitive foray into sculpture that began when she participated in the "Freedom in Bronze" project featuring sculptures by artists who did not usually work in that medium. These two articles, illustrated with photographs of Carrington's work, begin our "Science, Art and Culture" section.

The section is completed by two articles about international exhibits: the first, the Mexican pavilion at Expo Hanover and, the second, the latest exhibition at San Diego's Museum of Contemporary Art. Raúl Cid, deputy general director of Mexico City's Papalote Children's Museum, reviews for our readers the museography of Mexico's six-room, three-patio pavilion at Expo Hanover 2000, designed to present visitors with a new way of looking at Mexico.

The San Diego Museum of Contemporary Art opened its exhibition, "UltraBaroque: Aspects of Post Latin American Art," in September. A celebration of the hybrid born of the mix of European baroque —in its heyday at the time Latin America was colonized— and the baroque indigenous forms the conquistadors encountered, the exhibit flies in the face of the adjective often used to deride Latin American art, dubbing it "ultrabaroque." The exhibit, which features the work of 16 contemporary young artists, will be open until January 2001.

This issue's "Society" section presents our readers with an article on free trade and inequality in Mexico by UNAM researcher Gerardo Torres. After a brief overview of the definition of inequality and its history in Mexico, Torres concentrates on the question of whether free trade and the economic opening have increased or decreased poverty and inequality in Mexico in the last decade. With an eye toward the new century, and particularly the incoming Fox administration, Torres suggests that the increasing concentration of wealth —and therefore inequality— should be reversed by concerted policy efforts beyond simple liberalization and international market mechanisms.

To inaugurate a new section, "Mexico-U.S. Affairs," *Voices of Mexico* has asked two of CISAN's outstanding researchers, Silvia Núñez and Mónica Verea, to contribute. Núñez takes up the question of poverty and how civil society in both Mexico and the United States is responding to the problems it causes. After a brief overview of poverty levels and profiles in both countries, she highlights the efforts of a nongovernmental orga-

nization in Mexico —DECA, Equipo Pueblo— and a nationwide community organization in the United States —ACORN, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now— and their focus on different strategies to achieve people's empowerment to ultimately influence public policy making. The author considers both organizations examples of how civil society contributes to the forging of a modern democracy.

Former CISAN director Mónica Verea again brings *Voices of Mexico* readers up to date on the prickly problem of Mexico-U.S. migration, this time with extensive suggestions for policy changes in the matter. Given recent shifts toward a more open immigration policy by different sectors of U.S. political actors as well as increased bilateralism between our two countries, Verea presents a series of proposals for liberalizing U.S. immigration policy, putting Mexican immigration and emigration policies in sync and establishing joint programs to meet the common challenge together. The latter include setting up a bilateral fund and a savings fund to encourage repatriation of Mexican nationals to their places of origin.

The North American region not only has these matters in common, but another age-old problem: the relations of its indigenous peoples to the rest of the population and to government itself. In our "Canadian Issues" section, political scientist Isabel Altamirano examines the different kinds of land claims and other rights recognized by Canada's federal government. She zeroes in on the weaknesses of the First Nations' strategy caused by their division into groups recognized and those not recognized by the Constitution, and the resulting need for many of them to negotiate separate treaties. In addition, native women have insisted that values that discriminate on the basis of gender should not be upheld in the name of tradition, thus demanding that the new citizenship the indigenous communities are fighting for combine customary and universal rights to create a new, better life.

Xochimilco, known the world over for its "floating gardens" is the center of this issue's "Splendor of Mexico" section. Joaquín Praxedis Quesada, director of a local community cultural organization, has contributed an article on the more than 400 fiestas celebrated in this corner of the Valley of Mexico. His description covers everything from the yearly "Most Beautiful Flower of the Ejido" beauty contest and the trade fair observing the many uses of amaranth seed, to the myriad of saints days celebrated by every neighborhood and town in the area. Enrique Martínez, president of the same local association, takes a look at the many examples of colonial religious architecture in the Xochimilco area. And Daniel Munguía, a free-lance photographer and writer, presents our readers with a review of the special ways in which Xochimilco residents commemorate the Day of the Dead on November 1 and 2, as well as a historical review of the pre-Hispanic origins of this kind of ancestor worship.

Mexico's wealth of museums is represented in this issue with a review of the Xochimilco Archaeological Museum, written by its director, Hortensia Galindo. The approach to the building itself is typical Xochimilco: visitors can take a launch there that moors on the northern edge of its garden before they go in to view its more than 3,000 pieces.

Iván Trujillo rounds out our coverage of Xochimilco with an article for our "Ecology" section on the many species living in the area's 187 kilometers of canals. From protozoans to the *acocil*, a local variety of fresh-water shrimp, to its main predator, the axolotl, a kind of larval salamander, the different water-based species form a food chain that reflects the underwater universe of Xochimilco and its silent battle for survival. This endangered ecosystem is rounded out by thousands of plant, insect and bird species more visible to the casual observer.

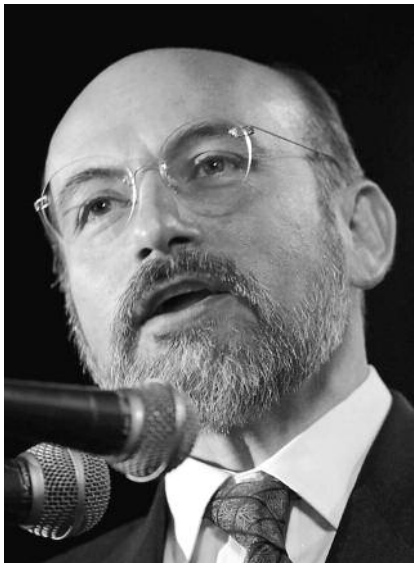
Literary critic and researcher Lauro Zavala introduces our "Literature" section with his review of Mexican mini-fiction, a genre which is now coming into its own. Tracing the publication of this kind of mini-story through anthologies, schoolbooks, research by academics and international symposia, he concludes that recent years have brought the canonization of this genre. *Voices of Mexico* is also pleased to be able to present our readers with four mini-stories by writers José de la Colina, Mónica Lavín, Felipe Garrido and Guillermo Samperio.

Our "In Memoriam" section pays homage to two figures: Carlos Castillo Peraza, former leading member of the National Action Party, the party which has for the first time won the presidency away from what was considered Mexico's "official" party, the PRI; and Gunther Gerzso, painter, sculptor and set designer, the founder of Mexico's abstractionist school.

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla
Director of CISAN

The Future of the Party System In Mexico

Alberto Begné Guerra*


Photos by Octavio Nava/AVE

The leaders of the three main political parties: Dulce María Sauri Riancho, of the PRI; Luis Felipe Bravo Mena, of the PAN; and Amalia García, of the PRD.

Today, all questions, expectations and concerns about Mexico's governability must be seen through the prism of the system of political parties. The reason is very simple: after July 2 —and it does not take great perspicacity to see it— the three main political parties will undergo profound changes that will in turn affect the system of parties forged in recent years. This will give rise to a new, different system, whose composition and functioning are still an enigma. To the extent that the parties are the keys to democratic life, their actions and interactions will be decisive for governability and, as a result, for the future of Mexican democracy.

From my point of view, the party system will inevitably change as a consequence of the July 2 election results. The new balance of forces and the new distribution of power will sooner or later be reflected in its make-up. Neither the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), nor the National Action Party (PAN), nor the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), the bases for political representation and upon which public power was formed during the last decade, will be able to continue as they did in the past, and in the process of their changes, they will unravel the knots that held together what today could be called the party system of the Mexican transition. Suffice it to look at these three parties' most obvious challenges to show that the least probable scenario is that of the system staying as it is now.

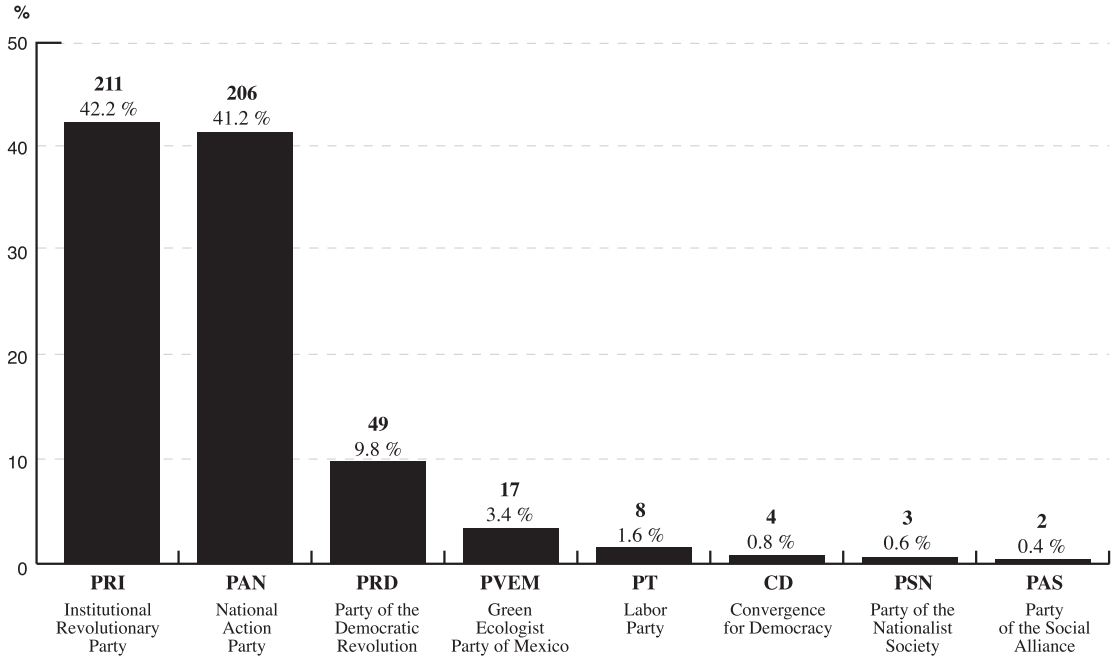
But, what factors will determine the recomposition of the party system? What direction could it take? How will that process be linked to Mexico's governability?

The System of Political Parties

Historically speaking, the competitive system of parties is new in our country.

* Lawyer, political analyst and coordinator of the Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico (ITAM) Electoral Studies Program.

DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

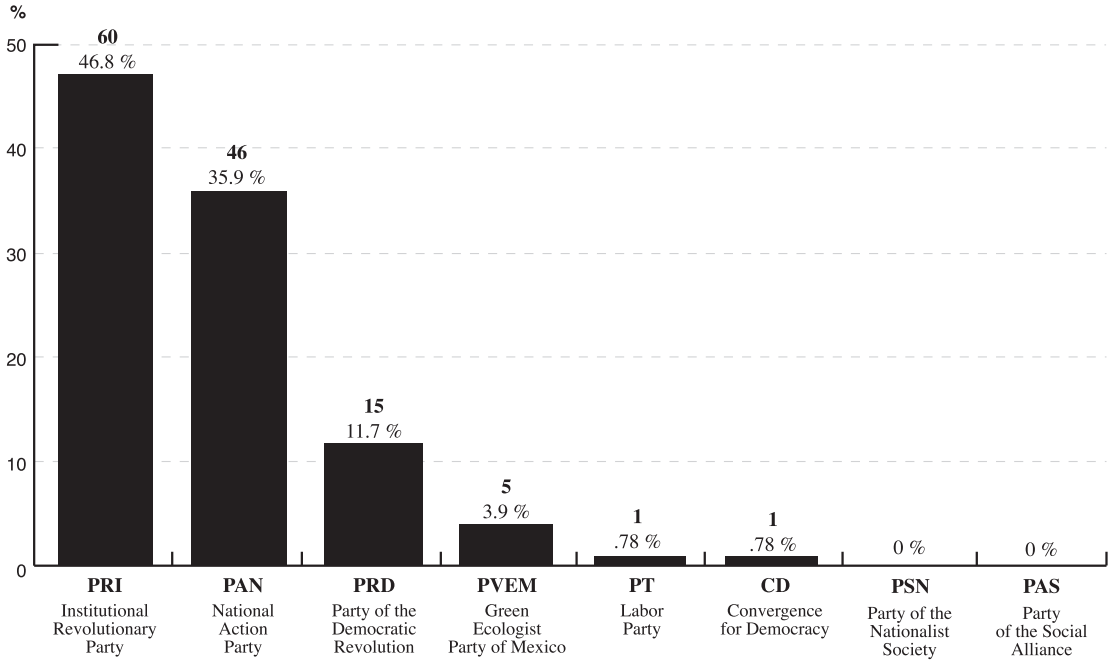


Until just a few years ago, the struggle for power and its transmission were not resolved by genuine competition among the parties. It was not until the second half of the 1980s that elections began to have real meaning and stopped being merely a democratic facade for the post-revolutionary regimen, useful only to lend legitimacy to what the president and the large interest groups inside the PRI had already decided at their desks and dining tables: the selection of occupants of practically each and every one of the country's elected posts. The figures speak for themselves: in 1982, the PRI still held 91 percent of the 3,479 elected posts that existed at the time, including the presidency, the Congress, the governors' seats, local congresses and municipal governments. By 1997, of a total of 4,157 posts, the PRI occupied only 54 percent.

Things changed. The economic crisis of the 1980s, the emergence of a more critical, demanding public, the consolidation of the PAN as a really competitive force, and, finally, the split of a democratic current from the PRI in 1987, brought the regimen up against the fact that the efficacy of its revolutionary legitimacy had simply worn out. Neither the power of the state, nor corporatist structures, nor the patronage networks upon which the PRI system had been built for six decades were sufficient any longer to contain society's and the opposition parties' demands for democracy. The 1986 elections in Chihuahua and the 1988 presidential elections put an end to the PRI's ability to stay in power through fraud without having to pay extremely high costs and putting the country's governability at risk. After that, the PRI was forced to enter into dialogue and negotiations with the opposition about the rules and conditions for contending for political power.

After the 1988 ballot, when the legitimacy of the new administration was questioned because of grave irregularities in the elections themselves, change was imperative. What is more, Carlos Salinas de Gortari's economic project to strengthen the market and open up the economy required recognition and trust from abroad, which could only be obtained by solving the problems of democracy. Simply, a modern, liberal economic face could not be presented on the old, authoritarian political body. This was the beginning of the successive electoral reforms (1989-1990, 1993, 1994 and 1996) aimed at guaranteeing transparency and impartiality in the organization of elections and equal conditions for real competition among political parties. Parallel to this process of reforms, within the new regulatory and institutional electoral framework, a new system of political parties began to take shape in which the three main protagonists, even taking into consideration their highs and lows during the 1990s, proved themselves truly representative of Mexican society.

DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE SENATE



Initially, however, the Salinas administration's electoral reforms (1989, 1990, 1993 and 1994) and the results of the 1991 and 1994 federal elections made many analysts and political actors think that Mexico's democracy would end up being a two-party system. The PRI was forced to face the challenge of electoral competition and was resolved to win popular support by offering a new proposal for government; the PAN was concerned about the 1988 Cardenist wave and was willing to negotiate to build the norms and institutions needed for its democratic struggle; and the PRD was harassed by the regimen and took a hard line on dialogue and negotiation. In contrast with the results of the National Democratic Front (FDN) in 1988, the PRD's 1991 and 1994 electoral performance was practically disastrous: it got only 8.2 percent and 17.1 percent of the vote in those two years. By contrast, the PRI did very well in those two elections: 61.5 percent in 1991 and 50.1 percent in 1994, while the PAN consolidated itself as the main opposition, with 17.7 percent and 26.7 percent, respectively. The rise of the PAN in 1994 led some to think that it had serious possibilities of winning the presidency, even though its candidate, Diego Fernández de Cevallos, never really got close to PRI candidate Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León.

Two contradictory phenomena can be seen in the 1994 election results: the Chiapas conflict and the enormous support that Carlos Salinas' project still enjoyed. On the one hand, the uprising of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) shook the conscience of Mexican society and brought it right up against the crude, painful reality of the poverty and exclusion of millions of Mexicans. It was clear that modernization did not have room for everyone and that those excluded were increasingly removed from the benefits of modernity. But, on the other hand, the fear of violence and the desire to continue looking ahead on the road to modernization produced a vote for peace and the continuity of the model. The PRD's position, openly against the Salinas project and ambiguous vis-à-vis the guerrilla movement and the armed struggle road, paid heavily at the polls. In the weeks after the August 1994 elections, it seemed clear that the PRI and the PAN were the parties that would contend for or share power in an increasingly competitive electoral arena.

This perception about the effects of the 1991 and 1994 electoral results on the party system was reinforced by another significant factor: the agreements between PRI and PAN on questions of economic policy and the signal of certainty that they sent the markets and investors, who saw that plurality of two, that incipient two-party format, as a guarantee that the big policy decisions would not be sub-

ject to changes and surprises because of election results.

Despite this perception, the PRD continued to represent broad sectors of society who opposed the economic model supported by the PRI and the PAN. It is no less true that a slip-up or failure of that model would be capitalized on by its only open opponent. And that is just what happened. The continuing conflict in Chiapas, the scandals about crimes and corruption involving the Salinas family, and, above all, the profound financial crisis in which Salinas' term ended and the Zedillo administration began changed things radically. If the Salinas years tended to show a trend toward a two-party system, during the first part of the administration of Ernesto Zedillo, that trend was erased with the imposing rise of the PRD. The climax of that rise, in 1997, established the three-party format, to the degree that the PRD not only won the first elections for mayor of Mexico City —something that had seemed a piece of cake for the PAN only a few months before— but, it even won more seats in the Chamber of Deputies than the PAN (PAN, 121; PRD, 125), where the PRI lost its absolute majority for the first time in history. There was no doubt about it: PRI, PAN and PRD would be in the same league to share and contend for power in the next presidential elections. And in those conditions, the road to 2000 began.

In retrospect, we can say that the first competitive system of parties in Mexico went through two stages between 1988 and 2000. In the first phase, under the administration of Carlos Salinas, it took on characteristics of a two-party system. This was not just because of the high percentage of political representation concentrated by the PRI and the PAN (in the 1991 and 1994 elections, the two together represented 79.2 percent and 76 percent of the vote, respectively). It was also because these two parties were the ones who designed, negotiated and carried out the major reforms from 1988 to 1994. In the second stage, particularly after the 1997 elections, things changed to a three-party system, which represented the nation and carried out the negotiations and agreements for the exercise of public power. In this last period, the PRD had not only recovered a very important space on the political scene, but also, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, given his landslide victory in Mexico City, became a very strong candidate for the 2000 presidential elections.

The Future of the Party System

The results of July 2 and the Vicente Fox phenomenon outstripped the political parties in two senses. In the first place because Fox practically appropriated the PAN candidacy without its institutional structure and its traditional leaders —the party's ideological core— being able to avoid it, despite their reservations about Foxism. The second reason is that the Fox candidacy broke down the barriers of the PRI and PRD electoral clienteles, penetrating into segments of the voters who had seemed reserved for those two parties, achieving support and votes previously alien to the PAN. With his enormous capacity for turning the presidential elections into a choice between change, represented by himself, and continuity, represented by the PRI, Fox's candidacy became to a certain extent a supra-partisan phenomenon. Nevertheless, the July 2 results maintained an essentially three-party system. For how long is another question. None of the parties that ran alone (Party of the Democratic Center [PCD], the Social Democracy Party [PDS] and the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution [PARM]) kept their legal status. And none of those that allied with the PAN (the Green Ecologist Party of Mexico [PVEM]) or with the PRD (Convergence for Democracy [CD], the Labor Party [PT], the Party of the Social Alliance [PAS] and the Party of the Nationalist Society [PSN]) will be decisive in and of itself for the approval of constitutional and legislative reforms in Congress.

The three main parties concentrate almost all the seats in the new Congress. In the Chamber of Deputies, they hold almost 94 percent (PRI, 42.2 percent; PAN, 41.2 percent; and PRD, 9.8 percent), and in the Senate, 94.4 percent (PRI, 46.8 percent; PAN, 35.9 percent; and PRD, 11.7 percent). If we consider that normal legislative procedures require a simple majority of those present in both chambers, clearly, to approve any reform or new law, the presence of two of the three main parties will be required. In addition, none of them, even allied with a small party, would be able to make up that majority without one of the other two large parties. For constitutional reforms requiring a two-thirds vote in both chambers and the majority of the 32 state legislatures, the only road is a PRI-PAN agreement. From that point of view, the federal elections maintain the PRI-PAN-PRD, three-party system, even if the PRD is smaller than the first two. However, as I said initially, the problems and challenges faced by these three

organizations will hardly be met and solved without changing the party system as a whole. Let us see.

The PRI must build a leadership to substitute for the presidential leadership it has revolved around for seven decades. It must establish legitimate, effective rules and procedures for its internal life. It must define an ideological identity and a programmatic proposal that are a coherent, attractive alternative for the voters, an alternative that must take the place of public policies designed and executed from public office. And it must do all this without breaking up. If it does not succeed, the road to fragmentation will be inevitable, and with it, the splits to call for the creation of new parties or to join other, already existing forces. The critical moment will be when President Zedillo leaves office and a new leadership will have to be formed. In the meanwhile, each local election will be a test for the PRI's ability to win the voters and maintain its internal cohesion.

The PAN, for its part, is facing a crucial challenge. It must resolve its relationship with Vicente Fox and decide whether it will be the party of the administration or not, something which does not seem to be part of the vision of the president-elect. The PAN's identity and institutional solidity will be riding on this decision and the exercise of the office of president. The danger of winning office and losing the party —as Don Luis H. Alvarez, one of its historical leaders, once put it— is at hand. In the short term, the make-up of Vicente Fox's cabinet and the terms of Fox's relations with Congress during the first session of his administration (September to December 2000) will be fundamental.

The PRD is confronted today by the challenge of going from what it is now, a conglomerate of currents and factions tied together solely by the leadership of their caudillo, to the establishment of democratic rules and procedures that give it institutional solidity. It is also facing the demand that it take a critical look at its identity and discourse in order to be able to infuse its project with content and feasible proposals in a context of growing interdependence with international markets. Like the PRI, the PRD's horizon is fraught with the risk of splits. The fragility of the agreements and equilibria among its currents and factions, as well as the opportunism that dominates the PRI-ism adopted by the PRD to win governors' seats, are serious threats to its unity.

The challenges and outcome of the internal conflicts in the PRI and the PRD will be closely linked to the needs and interests of the small parties that maintained their legal status after July 2, 2000.[1] Except for the Green Ecologist Party of Mexico, whose electoral alliance with the PAN will probably extend into Congress, the other four parties (PT, CD, PAS and PSN) do not look like they will continue in the shadow of the PRD, under whose auspices —in a tactical decision by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas the high costs and zero benefits of which have still not been accepted by anyone— they maintained their registration. The four organizations with legal status are already an enormous temptation for potential —and seemingly inevitable— splits from the PRI and the PRD.

In these conditions, where is the party system heading? That is a difficult question to answer. The factors in its recomposition are so many and varied that any prediction would be a wild guess. What is clear is that the combination of splits from the PRI and the PRD (inevitable, from my point of view) and the existence of four vacant or semi-vacant (practically representing no one or almost no one and without any quality ideological or programmatic content) but legally existing organizations (PAS, PSN, PT and CD), is a heavy brew, contaminated with the worst kind of opportunism, that will not be easy for the new government to get down, a new government that, above all needs to show signs of the change that it offered and to guarantee governability. This will necessarily depend on the Congress, where no party has the majority needed to legislate alone.

Today, with three large parties in Congress, negotiating and forging agreements seems complicated, but feasible. If in a few months the legislators regroup not in three caucuses but in eight, every agreement could become a veritable miracle. For that reason, a vital, strategic goal for the president-elect will be maintaining the internal cohesion of the two main opposition parties, unless he believes it possible and profitable to attract PRI and PRD split-offs himself in order to be able to create his own parliamentary majority.

Time will tell. VM

NOTES

[1] The parties that kept their legal registration were the PRI, the PAN, the PRD, the Green Ecologist Party of Mexico, the Labor Party, Convergence for Democracy, the Party of the Social Alliance and the Party of the Nationalist Society. The Social Democracy Party, the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution and the Party of the Democratic Center lost their legal status.

Mexico's July 2 Elections And Governability [1]

María Amparo Casar*

Octavio Nava/AVE

Constitutional amendments will require a PRI-PAN coalition to pass.

More than two months after the elections, many studies have already been done about voter behavior on both federal and state levels. This election's particularities and the public's behavior at the polls will be subject to a variety of analyses that will eventually allow us to build a profile of the Mexican voter. More than contributing to that task, I want here to share a few preliminary reflections about the issues that will in all probability determine policy and the country's governability for the next three years. These issues all come under the general heading of the relationship among the distribution of political forces, the president's power and relations between the executive and legislative branches.

The Electoral Results, The Distribution of Political Forces and the President's Power

Vicente Fox's victory last July 2 inspired the trust of Mexicans and foreigners alike. The exemplary way the elections were organized and the difference in vote counts between the two main contenders was enough to avert the feared post-electoral conflicts which until now had unavoidably accompanied the transmission of power from one party to another in Mexico.

Nevertheless, we should recognize that the immediate acceptance of the outcome by all political actors and the public at large does not validate the widely held view that Fox's mandate was resounding. I think it more accurate —and prudent— to say that the president-elect received a limited or circumscribed mandate, one that calls for moderation. While true that most voters cast their ballots for change, at the same time, most of them used the free exercise of their political rights to limit that change.

A series of aggregate figures back up the idea that we should not exaggerate the mandate at the polls. Vicente

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Fox will be the first president in Mexican history to take office with a plurality of the popular vote (43 percent) but not a majority. He beat Francisco Labastida in 21 states, but the latter took 10 and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, one. Fox's will also be the first administration without an absolute majority in Congress, an indication that voters split their ballots. While Fox received 43 percent of the vote, his Alliance for Change received only 38 percent of the ballots for Congress.[2]

Fox's will be the administration with the greatest counterweights in the history of post-Revolutionary Mexico:

1. He will be the president who has to live with the largest number of state houses run by the opposition. When he takes office December 1, the main opposition party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), after its recent defeats in Chiapas, Guanajuato and Morelos, will occupy 19 governorships. The Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) or local coalitions will occupy 5 (Zacatecas, Mexico City's Federal District, Tlaxcala, Baja California Sur and Nayarit).

2. The president's party will only have a majority in three state legislatures: Aguascalientes, Nuevo León and Guanajuato. By contrast, the PRI has a majority in 18 and the rest of the state legislatures have opposition majorities. This means that constitutional reforms will be difficult since they require the approval of 50 percent plus one of state legislatures.

3. No party will have an absolute majority in the federal Chamber of Deputies. To approve normal legislation, then, the incoming president will need the support not only of his own party, but also of legislators from one of the two main opposition forces. In addition, given the distribution of seats in the Chamber of Deputies, only a coalition of the PRI and the National Action Party (PAN) will suffice to make up the two-thirds majority needed to pass constitutional amendments.

4. One of the most salient traits of the election results is the president's party not having a majority in the Senate. This means that, in contrast with current President Ernesto Zedillo, Fox will not have the Senate as a security valve for pushing through his bills, nor will he be able to stop bills an opposition majority has passed in the Chamber of Deputies against his will. The forging of majority coalitions in the Senate is similar to that of the Chamber of Deputies. The PRI and the PAN together would be able to pass constitutional amendments; the PRD is the key to either of the two other parties passing normal legislation with a simple majority.

Fox will therefore have to negotiate in both places to get either kind of legislation passed. The key words for the next three years will be negotiation, consensus building and alliances.

Courtesy of the Senate

The president's party will not have a majority in the Senate.

Executive-Legislative Branch Relations

Clearly, then, the very map of distribution of political power in Mexico complicates relations between the executive and legislative branches of government. The same could be said of legislators' behavior. Until now, the legislators of the different parties have been highly disciplined and acted as cohesive groups in Congress. The PRI has been the most disciplined, the PRD less so. However, this cannot be taken as a given on the new playing field, which could complicate (but also sometimes unblock) legislative work.

With the new make-up of the Congress and the change in the role the PAN and the PRI will play, it is difficult to predict how legislators will behave and the kind of alliances they will make. The future of the PRI —above all the person or group that manages to bring together and lead the party— will be key variables. It is too soon to know yet how the PRI will regroup once out of

federal office. As Manuel Bartlett, one of its national leaders, said, the party no longer has an undisputed leader or natural head. It has been a party that has never had to make decisions about the central problems of party organization: the selection of its leaders, the lines of command, the degree of centralization or decentralization of its decision-making bodies and the links among the party leader, the legislative leader and the head of the administration.

In this new situation, the kind of real leadership that the heads of the PRI parliamentary caucuses will exercise —Beatriz Paredes in the Chamber of Deputies and Enrique Jackson in the Senate— remains unclear because they no longer have the resources that PRI party chiefs used to. The conditions and instruments for exercising power in that way have disappeared. Without an undisputed leader —and by that I mean a leader who decides the future of legislators' political careers— loyalties may be divided. This complicates not only the recomposition of the party but also its relationship with the executive branch.

On another plane, we should analyze what kind of behavior can probably be expected from PRI legislators. Three possibilities are the most likely: a) negotiation and making alliances with the PAN, similar to what the PAN did in the outgoing Congress; b) negotiation and making alliances with the PRD to block the presidential agenda, which would amount to a "PRD-ization" of the PRI; c) the more pragmatic road of forging changing alliances.

Taking one road or another will depend on which group manages to take the reins of the party, if any does. As an opposition party, the PRI will have to think in terms of getting back into office. But ideas about the strategy for doing that may be very different. About this topic, there is no established wisdom. Most of the literature says that, particularly before elections, parties tend to distance themselves from the party in office to two ends: to defeat it or to disassociate themselves from its defeat. In the last legislature, however, the two opposition parties took different routes: the PAN continued to be the PRI's main ally, above all on economic matters, and the PRD persisted with its confrontational stance.

The PRI will have to opt between an anti-system position or being a responsible opposition. If it is any consolation, we should remember that in most Latin American countries, opposition parties have opted for the latter.

The PRI will have to opt between an anti-system position or being a responsible opposition. If it is any consolation, we should remember that in most Latin American countries, opposition parties have opted for the latter.

How the PAN will behave in the legislature is not without its enigmas either. Fox is not only not the favorite of the opposition; he also has his detractors in the party that put him in office. Although the PAN is the president's party, we all know that Fox has never been steeped in its organization or structure. The PAN will now have to face the three things that determine the fate of parties in office: party as an organization, the party in parliament and the party as administration. As in the PRI's case, the question is whether the congressional caucus will remain cohesive and disciplined, and if it does, whether it will follow the congressional leader, the party leader or President Fox if the three leaders take different positions.

Finally, the PRD also suffered a severe defeat at the polls and very probably will have to review its leaderships, programs and conduct. Its strength lies in the possibility it would have in the event of a PRI-PAN clash of being able to tip the balance of power. It is difficult to predict who it will try to move close to. The PRD idea is that the PRI and the PAN are basically the same and that both are its historical enemies. Initial statements and speeches of some prominent PRD members indicated that the party will persist in its confrontational stance and continue to play the role of an anti-system party. Nevertheless, over the last month, a more conciliatory attitude can be perceived.

To this already complicated panorama, we should add that we still do not know if there will be split-offs from congressional caucuses that could swell the ranks of the small parties, who could benefit from those defections and eventually be able to blackmail the larger ones.[3]

The President's Formal Powers

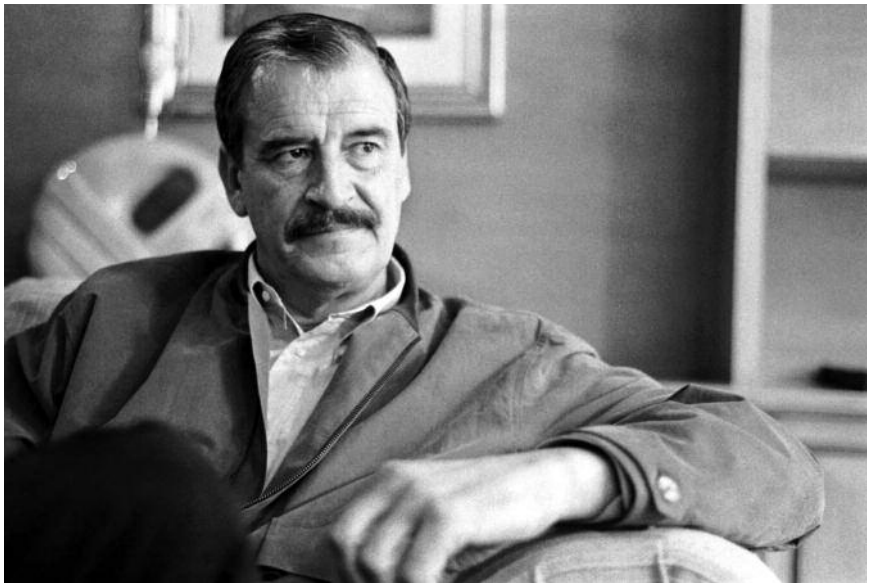
Fox will be one of the most limited presidents in the history of Mexico and the

entire region. Over the last decade, the real prerogatives, both constitutional and extra-constitutional, of the executive branch have been curtailed. First of all is the point mentioned in the last section that the president has lost the power derived from the distribution of political power in Mexico and from his party position. Fox will not enjoy these. To that, we should add the fact that the power of the presidency has been reduced by a series of reforms strengthening the legislative branch as well as the creation of state institutions as opposed to discretionary institutions for each administration. Finally, we have to include the undoubtedly complex discussion of how appropriate and sufficient the president's constitutional powers are, particularly his legislative powers.

From the start, the Fox administration will begin to reveal the problems besetting our institutional structure as a whole (the system of government, the kind of powers each branch has, electoral rules, the party system, etc.) and the need to reform it. Although this must be analyzed in more depth, we should remember that precisely because the Fox presidency will be extremely limited and because one of the focal points of politics will be the relationship between executive and legislative branches, Mexico's chief executive does not have prerogatives or instruments that will allow him to easily move his agenda forward and change the status quo. This is undoubtedly a question that will cause controversy because Mexico is just coming out of a long period of pure presidentialism. Sooner or later, however, we will have to evaluate whether Mexico's presidential arrangement —particularly the first executive's legislative powers— requires revision.

A quick review of the executive's legislative powers in other Latin American presidentialist systems shows that the presidents of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Ecuador are more powerful than Mexico's in the sense that, even with divided governments or administrations without a majority in Congress, they have more possibilities of implementing their political promises.

In fact, most of the constitutions drafted or redrafted after the mid-1980s incorporated or reincorporated the power of the president to legislate by decree in differing degrees, also giving their first executives the power for setting the legislative agenda (areas in which only the first executive can present bills and the right to have presidential bills discussed first and expedited) without violating the principle of the division of powers. In general, we could say that these kinds of powers exist when three factors coincide: an institutional arrangement that includes the division of the branches of government, a distribution of political power in which no force has a majority and an overall crisis (or the historic memory of a crisis). To give one example: when the Brazilian Constitution was drafted in 1988, everyone remembered the fact that the 1964 government had fallen because the president was hamstrung by the legislature. In other cases in Latin America, presidents begin to use emergency powers or to govern by decree in crisis situations (for example, when confronted by hyperinflation) on the basis of powers implicit in the institutions and legislation, powers which are later formalized. These powers have been used frequently and seem to provide stability to Latin American presidentialist systems. This question is a very delicate one, and if discussed, we must keep it in mind that an effective presidency cannot be sought at the expense of endangering freedom and democracy. The idea is to have a strong but limited presidency.



Antonio Nava/AVE

Fox's presidency will be the most limited in modern Mexican history.

A Final Note

We are learning to live in a democracy and we must learn that when democracy leads to pluralism, as it almost always does, the only way ahead is through deliberation, negotiation and forging agreements. For some, divided governments or administrations without a congressional majority are a matter for alarm because they lead to paralysis and the tendency to yield to the temptation of authoritarianism; because they impede coherent governmental action and are the shortcut to ungovernability; because, as political scientist James MacGregor Burns says, they take away the means leaders need to effectively lead.[4] For others —and I include myself— they are the opportunity to design better public policies, to achieve more broadly accepted policies, to limit the presidency. In brief, they present us with the opportunity to avert "government action precipitated by a majority that could violate the rights of a minority," as James P. Pfiffner[5] puts it. They open up the prospect that fundamental policy changes can only be made when there is an extraordinarily broad consensus.

Whatever happens, Mexico is now going through its second experience of an administration without a legislative majority, when the principles underlying the presidential system can finally come to the fore: the division of power and checks and balances. We should remember that there is no better limit on government officials than the ballot box and checks and balances. Both have been recently achieved. Both can be incentives for a more efficient, responsible exercise of power. VM

Notes

[1] This essay is based on a lecture given at the Institute for the Democratic Transition, July 8, 2000.

[2] The 5.5 percent difference between these two is not due exclusively to split ballots since it may include the effect of the votes cast for the five presidential candidates and for Congress. According to my calculations, 82.2 percent of the electorate voted a straight party ticket and 17.8 percent split their ballots.

[3] This was the case of the Labor Party (PT) in the Fifty-seventh Congress when it held the deciding vote on more than one fiscal bill in the last budget negotiation in November 1999.

[4] James MacGregor Burns, *The Deadlock of Democracy* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967).

[5] James P. Pfiffner, "El gobierno dividido y el problema del ejercicio del poder," *Democracia dividida. Cooperación y conflicto entre el presidente y el congreso* (Mexico City: Editorial Heliasta, 1995).

The Challenge Of Secularism in Mexico

Jesús Rodríguez Zepeda*

Antonio Nava/AVE

One of the unexpected —albeit not illogical— effects of the victory of National Action Party (PAN) candidate Vicente Fox in this year's presidential elections has been the strengthening of right-wing fundamentalism, which until recently had existed in a relatively larval state.[1] Although the PAN accommodates a broad spectrum of right-wing positions ranging from Christian fundamentalism to liberal positions, the former have been more belligerent since they saw in the elections what they deem a victory for the society they want. This new political situation brings to the fore the discussion about the nature of the secular state in Mexico.

A secular state is not the opposite of a theocracy or a fundamentalist state, but rather its modern successor. The logical opposite of the fundamentalist state is the Jacobin state, the persecutor of all religion, in itself another form of totalitarianism. That is why when defining secularism in Mexican politics, we must leave to one side the anticlerical precedents of the first decades of the twentieth century, but also the idea that it is merely the public organization of the average values of existing religions.

This definition of the state must be formulated not only in light of the exhaustion of the secular model prevalent in Mexico in recent decades, but also taking into consideration the fundamentalist outbreaks that have resulted from the PAN occupying the office of president.

These outbreaks were set off by the local Congress of the state of Guanajuato's passage in August of a new criminal code. The PAN caucus used

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its majority in the local Congress to toughen up penalties for voluntarily stopping a pregnancy, making it a crime to have an abortion even when the pregnancy is the result of a rape.

This decision —with its fundamentalist tone— was not without significant precedents. In the last five years, a long list of PAN-directed local government decisions confuse religious principles with public norms, concluding with the scandalous case of Paulina, a 13-year-old girl forced by the PAN government of Baja California to have a baby conceived when she was raped. Despite their gravity and their violation of both state law and relevant federal legislation, the PAN actions went unpunished. The qualitative change in the case of Guanajuato was that fundamentalist behavior may acquire validity through the imposition of certain religious principles through legislation.

Clearly, these fundamentalist groups would be quite weak if they did not enjoy the support of the dominant sector of Mexico's Catholic hierarchy, which achieved legal status with President Salinas' 1992 reforms. With that status, it began to play a more active role. A sociological phenomenon that has accompanied this increase in the political influence of the Catholic Church in Mexico is the gradual decrease in the intellectual and cultural level of its hierarchy, one of the most backward and ignorant in Latin America.

To the degree that the country's modernization was beginning to open up career expectations for educated, mainly middle-class, layers of society, a career in the church stopped attracting the better educated candidates and made way for those with a weaker background in education and culture. The most visible result has been that the Mexican Catholic hierarchy has begun to be homogenous in its increasingly schematic moral positions and antiliberal political stances. This trend, however, is not only local, but is part of a process of increasing conservatism in Catholicism worldwide.

> A secular state is not the opposite of a theocracy or a fundamentalist state, but rather its modern successor. The logical opposite of the fundamentalist state is the Jacobin state, the persecutor of all religion, in itself another form of totalitarianism.

Among the points pending in the reform of the Mexican state now being discussed in light of parties alternating in the presidency, secularism is central. One of the first tasks in this context is to clear up the fallacy that the PRI regimen had been an active defender of the secular state.

Although during the seven decades of PRI domination in Mexico there were different stages in the state's relation to religious creeds, the fact is that during the 1970s, the relation between the different churches and the state had been conducted in a way that attempted to hide the impossibility of applying the antiquated legislation on the matter. If the 1992 Salinas reforms had any merit in the field of state relations to religious institutions, it was in conceding legal recognition to the different churches' social and political presence, a presence that could not be covered up by a discourse of secularism that no longer corresponded to reality.

The problem of these reforms is that they did not promote an alternative model of secularism capable of ensuring that the public recognition of religious pluralism in Mexico not give rise in some places to conditions for the advance of fundamentalism. The PRI's traditional pragmatism led it to normalize the recognition of the existence of churches without promoting at the same time their counterpart, a secular state model capable of basing itself on its own values and institutions such as critical education or the defense of civil rights.

This task, unfulfilled during the PRI's hegemony, must be undertaken now, but with the risk that the country's troubling socioeconomic fragmentation may deepen because of religious clashes. In that context, it is imperative that we define the model of secularism appropriate for Mexico and its recently normalized democracy.

The discussion about secularism is not restricted to Mexico, but rather is one of the great themes of the contemporary moral and political debate. An author of the stature of John Rawls considers this theme a central problem of political justice.[2] In effect, secularism cannot be reduced to the nondenominational character of the state,

but rather must be broadened out to include political coexistence with a rigorous pluralism of groups who hold and defend different religious, moral and philosophical beliefs. In other words, secularism is at the same time both the recognition of basic civil liberties and an essential resource for democratic governability and social stability.

In the Mexican case, the reconstruction of a secular state may be attempted by different roads. One might be based on the false supposition that the values of secularism are already present in the churches' doctrine and social behavior and that it would suffice to integrate them into a political consensus for them to adjust to living together in a constitutional framework. This option was fed during the PAN's presidential campaign and is the most attractive one for its more liberal groups because it would allow them to resolve their differences with the party's fundamentalist sector without a break. We will call this option the "Rawlsian solution" for its correlation to one of the most important discourses of contemporary political philosophy. With this perspective, the principles and values of secularism appear to be the average of the values and practices of the religions themselves.

This solution necessarily means the need to distinguish between what Rawls denominates reasonable comprehensive doctrines and unreasonable comprehensive doctrines. A doctrine is comprehensive when it integrates in a more or less articulated and systematic way a series of moral, religious or philosophical values and principles. It is reasonable when it accepts that other doctrines or persons may have different conceptions without relinquishing their right to enjoy a society's principles of justice. According to Brian Barry, a person holds a reasonable doctrine when he/she considers that another person may defend a different doctrine without necessarily being wrong or a complete imbecile.[3]

In the last five years, a long list of PAN-directed local government decisions confuse religious principles with public norms, concluding with the scandalous case of Paulina, a 13-year-old girl forced by the PAN government of Baja California to have a baby conceived when she was raped.

An unreasonable doctrine holds that its moral, religious or philosophical truth is so indisputable that it merits being backed by the force of the state for its expansion or defense. All forms of religious fundamentalism come under this definition, but so do the ideologies of white supremacy, neo-Naziism, racism or discrimination against minorities.

The cultural distance between reasonable and unreasonable doctrines is marked by a principle that can be defined as a relativist component born in the Enlightenment. A comprehensive doctrine is reasonable when, despite believing firmly in the truth of its own religious, moral or philosophical principles, it accepts the legitimate existence of other doctrines that embrace different principles. That is, its reasonableness consists in maintaining the benefit of the doubt when faced with absolute truths, even when they are one's own.

According to the Rawls solution, the possibility of a plural society resides in the different reasonable comprehensive doctrines being capable of sharing a nucleus of powerful principles of political justice, such as the idea of equal citizenship, economic reciprocity or respect for the constitutional order. In this view, a secular state is effective and morally justified when its basic principles of justice reflect what existing reasonable religions already accept as norms of morality.

The Rawls solution maintains that it is founded on the historical experience of the United States, where even constitutional order is conceived as the consensual result of a plurality of doctrines with strong religious components. Despite its solid logical structure, this solution's starting point is the idea that a society's pact of moral and religious pluralism can be reached without conflict. What is more, it supposes that comprehensive doctrines play an active role in the construction of the social framework that ensures living together pluralistically. The resulting idea of secularism is the average of religious views.

This point of view is questionable even for the case of the U.S. society for which it was proposed. There is no sociological evidence that the different religious faiths accept or have ever accepted democratic principles (which

in terms of the notion of "truth" are highly relativist) out of a positive conviction and not out of necessity. In other words, what is historically verifiable is that churches maintain a modus vivendi (a kind of "non-aggression pact") with lay principles that were originally alien to them. It would be absurd to think about churches as promotors of or activists for these principles.

If the model for the reconstruction of Mexican secularism follows the Rawlsian solution, the result will only be the elimination of the values and characteristics of the secular state that historically have been built "against" religious intentions of domination.

The Rawlsian solution contradicts its own suppositions. According to Rawls, the public reason that rules in a plural society, in which moral and religious doctrines are the basis for political consensus, would be characterized by values such as free, informed, reasonable research subject to the criteria of scientific knowledge as long as they were not highly controversial.[4] Rawls' contradiction —and therefore, the inviability of his position— consists of the supposition that the religious institutions counter to which the Enlightenment's rationalist tradition was first erected have, over time, ended up taking that tradition's principles on board.

Even from the logic of the argument, the reconstruction of secularism in Mexico must start from the idea that religions would impose theocracies if they could. In other words, although fortunately large sectors of religious institutions have managed to live effectively with representative political institutions, if they were free to do so they would move toward fundamentalism.

> The PRI's traditional pragmatism led it to normalize the recognition of the existence of churches without promoting at the same time their counterpart, a secular state model capable of basing itself on its own values and institutions such as critical education or the defense of civil rights.

Therefore, secularism must be built in Mexico not as the result of a preestablished consensus that from the outset has the approval of the different religious faiths, but as the articulation of legal principles and institutional practices that can only result from a highly intense political struggle that will establish the line of separation between defenders of modern secularism and the promotors of fundamentalism. This would be, of course, a democratic and peaceful struggle like the one now being waged in the European Union against neo-Naziism or the terrorism of Spain's ETA.

The positive values of secularism, like public, critical education that closely follows advances in science, and its norms based on the freedom of conscience, are at the opposite end of the spectrum from religious pretensions of having the only truth about the meaning of life and happiness.

If the obsession for achieving a consensus with the fundamentalist forces in Mexico prevails, we can begin to forge the possibilities of building a secular state and a genuine constitutional democracy.

The recent internal clashes in the PAN itself are an example of what the most logical course may be for overcoming this conflict: the isolation of the fundamentalists by all the democratic forces with a modicum of liberal components as part of their political identity.

A functional model of secularism in Mexico, capable of offering a framework of reasonable political coexistence for our society's different religious and moral faiths, can only be established if the imaginary line dividing the democratic right and left stops being central to this debate and the symbolic line separating modern democrats from fundamentalists takes its place. VM

Notes

[1] Although it could seem exaggerated to speak of fundamentalism in Mexico, I use the term in the following sense: the decision of the governing group to impose religious principles on all of society through the use of political power.

[2] John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

[3] Brian Barry, "John Rawls and the Search for Stability," *Ethics* 105, 1995.

[4] Rawls, op. cit., p. 139.

Tlaquepaque and Tonalá
Artisans and Location In the Integration of Global Markets [1]

Alejandro Mercado Celis*

Photos by Alejandro Mercado

Tlaquepaque.

The Globalized World And Local Alternatives

Today's economic and cultural phenomena of globalization remit us to a discussion about space in human societies in the early twenty-first century. Much of the discussion is linked either directly or indirectly to problems like the relationship between the local and the global, the emergence of supra-territorial spaces —like cyberspace— or the significance of local and national governments given processes with no precise territorial reference point.

Within these processes of change, the role played by geographical space in today's economy has been reinterpreted. As we know, one of the most notable characteristics of globalization is the enormous mobility of both finance and productive capital. The globalization of productive or manufacturing capital at the command of a huge multinational corporation has become the symbol of the times.[2] Seen only in relation to these actors, globalization means space is less important for economic life; that is, different locations may be chosen for setting up a particular production process. If we take this as true, the role of national and local governments is to artificially differentiate their territories in order to attract investment. They talk of tax breaks, political stability, low wages, a good business climate, infrastructure, etc. The reader will surely remember the official discourse in Mexico that aims to encourage foreign investment as a way to insert the country in the globalized economy.

Nevertheless, globalization is much more than this simplistic idea of development. Contemporary capitalism is

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also a product of the 1980s crisis of Fordism and the emergence of flexible technologies and forms of organization. In the paradigm of flexibility, producers' geographical proximity is fundamental. In different parts of the world, what are known as "industrial districts" have been set up, industrial systems concentrated in a particular locale, made up mainly of networks of small and medium-sized companies. This way of organizing production has made for outstanding economic performance and a great capacity for participating in international markets.

Most of the best known examples of industrial districts are located in developed countries and are comprised of high-tech sectors; this is the case of Silicon Valley[3] or the Hollywood movie industry in California.[4] There are, however, dynamic industrial districts formed by traditional low-tech industries. The example of this known the world over is the third Italy.[5] While Third World countries do have systems similar to those described in specialized literature,[6] they are on the sidelines of official economic policy.

The central argument of this essay is that the local dimension has not been erased by globalization; to the contrary, it continues to be of primary importance for the economic organization and performance of flexible productive systems, and is therefore a unit of analysis and conceptualization necessary for understanding the broad processes of globalization. I will look at the specific case of the artisans' districts of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá, historically one of the country's most important concentrations of craft and decoration production. The district covers a wide area with its hub and coordinating center in the municipal seats of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá, although it also includes direct links with the city of Guadalajara, the municipality of Zapopan, and above all, with the municipality of Chapala. It is important not only because it is similar to European districts, but also because it has consistently been a source of exports, with highs and lows, for at least the last 20 years, the period for which information is available.[7]

In a globalized world the role played by geographical space in the economy has been reinterpreted.

I will try to dilucidate the characteristics of the district that might explain its export capability. This is related to more general debates about the role of geographically agglomerated industrial systems in globalization and, in particular, to the role of low-tech industries. Secondly, I will furnish elements for the debate about whether globalization brings with it a process of homogeneity in which local economic communities tend to adopt practices and technologies that make them similar to other communities around the world, or whether, to the contrary, globalization reinforces or encourages the particularities and differentiation of these communities.

The essay is divided into two sections. First, I will summarize the most important aspects of the discussion about flexibility and small companies and their ability to participate in today's economy. I will also look at the main characteristics of the industrial districts that have been examined in a great many case studies. Then, I will introduce theoretical elements that make it possible to study the sub-national region as the basic unit for economic coordination of contemporary capitalism. The second section will present the research results in the concrete case of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá.

Globalization and Space

Post-Fordism

After World War II, the most important form of organizing production which spearheaded the growth of the world economy was Fordism. Companies that

In Tlaquepaque and Tonalá most people work in family-run micro and small workshops.

followed the Fordist model were large because they incorporated a series of inter-linked activities and were able to generate large volumes of production thanks to their standardized products. Their organization was based on segmenting work and having highly specialized machines carry out simple, specific operations. Most of the workers carried out simple operations requiring little skill. This kind of functioning requires stable mass markets.[8]

This production model went into crisis in the 1970s due to a sharp increase in international competition and to the fact that previously stable markets began to fragment and became very volatile. With this, the advantages became disadvantages. The need for large investments with a long-term return, specific machinery that could be used for only a few tasks and dependence on economies of scale do not jibe well with changing, fragmented international markets. This characteristic of the products forced an important industrial restructuring with the aim of establishing organizational and technological forms that would make it possible to rapidly respond to the fragmentation and volatility of markets. In a word, the aim was to be flexible.[9]

Today, many forms of flexibility exist side by side: from large companies that combine flexible and Fordist technologies to conglomerates of small companies whose size and interaction with each other allow for both internal and external flexibility. It is this last variety that occupies us here.

The debate about the small and medium-sized company has a long history and has been the source of a great number of studies. However, it was not until the early 1980s that conceptualizations about these kinds of companies changed radically. Until then, studies that focused on the company itself had predominated, and in general its place in the economy was explained as a stage in the evolution of such companies or as production processes that had been relegated to highly specialized market niches, therefore not very likely to generate economies of a scale sufficient for growth. Lastly, it was also emphasized that small companies were satellites of large ones, once again taking over those processes that could not be incorporated into the contracting companies.[10]

Industrial Districts

The change in the analysis and conceptualization of small companies has moved toward recovering and reformulating Marshall's proposal of not seeing the small firm as isolated from the rest or only in relation to large companies. That is to say, in some places agglomerations of small companies taken as a whole represent a profound division of labor and, when they operate at the same time, function like a "large factory" but with external instead of internal relationships. In fact, the name "industrial districts," as these agglomerated systems are called, come from Marshall's 1879 *Economy of Industry*.

In summary, today, an industrial district is defined as: a) a group of small and medium-sized companies geographically agglomerated which b) have a dense network of interaction based on both market and non-market relations, through which there is an intense exchange of goods, information and people; c) these agglomerations present a common sociocultural context to which the economic actors belong, allowing them to interact in accordance with practices, customs and written and non-written rules that facilitate the coordination of the system, and d) generally, the economic actors are supported by public and private institutions.[11]

According to Camagni, these systems have the following advantages, among others: external economies of

both scale and variety are created,[12] as well as economies of proximity which significantly reduce transaction costs; and perhaps most importantly, a series of synergies are generated in the district, that is to say, innovative capabilities are increased through the flow of information among local actors, between them and institutions and the other actors who participate in the system.[13]

The last point has been best developed by Michael Storper, who asks about the meaning of sub-national regions in a globalized world. According to Storper, "the most general, and necessary, role of the region is as the locus of what economists are beginning to call 'untraded interdependencies', which take the form of conventions, informal rules, and habits that coordinate economic actors under conditions of uncertainty; these relations constitute region-specific assets in production. These assets are a central form of scarcity in contemporary capitalism, and hence a central form of geographical differentiation in what is done, how it is done, and in the resulting wealth levels and growth rates of regions."[14]

In this globalized world, some regions lead or considerably influence global processes. On the other extreme are the regions whose fate is practically determined by these processes alien to their space and community. Storper's considerations are fundamental for understanding the possibility of generating endogenous development processes based on the intangible capabilities and resources of a particular place. From this point of view, it is the non-commercial interdependencies and intangible resources that a geographically concentrated community has that ultimately can change its insertion in globalization. However, these resources are perhaps the most difficult to create in an economy and, for that very reason, the scarcest. We are not talking here about investment in physical infrastructure, or even in service provision, but rather practices, customs, forms of perceiving and interpreting, aesthetic identities and other factors. These resources are built over long periods of time and through repeated interaction. Therein lies their being confined to a specific territory.

In the next section, I will analyze the case of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá as an industrial district with similarities to cases observed in other parts of the world and which represents an alternative form of economic integration into the United States and of participating in globalization.

> Agglomerations of small companies taken as a whole represent a profound division of labor and, when they operate at the same time, function like a large factory but with external instead of internal relationships.

Tlaquepaque and Tonalá A Decoration Industrial District

In economic terms, "folk art seems like an activity of those on the margins of society, not a possible source of development, but rather the result of the lack of options in backward areas."[15] The image of Tonalá and Tlaquepaque is different because of the constant production and commercialization. The number of producers and commercial areas has increased considerably, reaching around 2,000 today.[16] Unfortunately, I cannot be more precise about the figure given the great informality in the district and the lack of data, but I must say that probably there are more. Most people work in family-run micro and small workshops; their technology goes from the use of traditional methods to basic machinery. With regard to design, the district can boast of artisans known internationally for their originality and quality, at the same time that it has imitators whose work is sometimes of low quality.

Given these characteristics, how can we explain their participation in foreign markets? One possible explanation could be the successful individual, the case of a craftsman-turned-entrepreneur, or the exceptional artisan recognized internationally. While there are cases of this kind in the district, this accounts for only a small part of exports. Not only unique, high-quality, original products are exported, but also work of different qualities and styles, even some which is not recognized as of Mexican design. I think the district and the advantages of producing there can be best understood if we look at it as a whole, a collective in which everyone plays a role, whether consciously or unconsciously. Viewed in this way, Tlaquepaque and Tonalá are an industrial system, with the complex organization that has generated quite interesting abilities and collective competitiveness. The following are some of its facets.

1. The Conformation of External Economies of Scale and Variety

Although historically the only products with identifiable roots in the area are the ceramics from Tonalá and Tlaquepaque's clay figures, today, a great variety of products and techniques can be found there, all of which have been incorporated into the original nucleus of the ceramics. They are so firmly rooted that it could be thought that they originated there. Tlaquepaque's glass expansion began only 30 years ago; a Mr. Camaraza from Spain introduced red glass. The furniture that today has achieved great renown can be traced to the store and workshop Antigua de Mexico which 28 years ago was very successful with its line of reproductions of furniture from Mexico's haciendas. In terms of techniques, just to name one, Jorge Wilmont, from Monterrey, and Ken Edwards, from the United States, introduced high-temperature fired ceramics with animal designs typical of Tonalá. More recently, new techniques and products have been incorporated, like rusted clay and wrought iron, which have rapidly achieved popularity in the district. Blown glass, red glass, wooden furniture, carved sculptures, work in stone, papier-mâché, wrought iron, wax and many other applications and materials have been added to the district's production at different times, each time generating waves of expansion.

It is also interesting how some of the producers and artisans who have introduced these products and techniques come from other states and even other countries, particularly the United States, which says something both about the capacity for assimilation and dissemination of local craftspeople and the district's attraction for artisans from elsewhere.

In this geographic concentration we find a wide variety of products and techniques, which are even greater in number if we consider that each product, style and design produces work of different quality and price. Although the producers work on a small scale and therefore do not have the capacity to produce great volumes of work, all the individuals taken together do. The great diversity in supply derived from specialization and the incorporation of new products also generates important external economies of variety not found in other regions of Mexico. When asked why they come here, foreign buyers say, "Here you've got everything."

> Conventions, informal rules and habits that coordinate economic actors under conditions of uncertainty constitute region-specific assets in production, a central form of scarcity in contemporary capitalism, and hence a central form of geographical differentiation.

The external economies of variety and scale are the heart of successful industrial districts in other parts of the world and they have snatched important markets away from large companies and even from multinational corporations, at least for certain periods. Traditional analyses do not take into account the importance of these factors external to the individual company, and therefore leave out essential factors. Equally, industrial policies that try to support small businesses almost always suffer from the same limitation; they emphasize support for internal and not external questions. Subsidies, credit supports to the producer, technological assistance or loans to modernize, etc., are all policies and instruments oriented to internal aspects of firms. There is no reason to be surprised when, despite financial support and technological modernization, small companies cannot solve chronic problems of access to foreign markets. While it is easy to criticize policies that conceive of small firms as individual entities and not components of a system, we should also point out that generating external economies of variety and scale is a complex process. It could even be said that when they do not exist at all, even in initial stages, it is impossible to achieve them.

2. Industrial Organization

As I have already said, the district has a profile of micro and small firms. However, a series of companies act as coordinators of groups of small producers. For example, according to interviews with most of the stores in Tlaquepaque that sell both wholesale and retail they contract out to producers, often with an exclusive relationship in the area. This makes it possible for a series of producers to sell through a single brand, which does the marketing, thus facilitating market recognition and product promotion. One of the extreme cases is that of Billy Moon, a Mexican-American designer and producer who lives in Ajijic and exports large

Artisans use technology ranging from traditional methods to basic machinery.

volumes through a direct link with 700 workshops. It should be clear that Moon is not an intermediary. He buys all these products and in his workshops different finishes are applied. This is how a great variety of articles are marketed under a single brand name.

It is also important to add that contracting out is not only the result of entrepreneurial strategies; one of the reasons that several companies have given up their attempts to incorporate production processes is because many artisans strongly resist waged labor, preferring to work independently. This is very important because, when there are no local traditions of resisting corporatization of small workshops, this kind of production tends to be eliminated through cycles of industrial concentration. In the Tlaquepaque-Tonalá district, the opposite occurs: small workshops continue to spring up and proliferate, many of them when workers strike out on their own or through the encouragement and support of medium-sized companies that prefer to contract out their production.

3. *How Is Export Effected?*

In addition to these companies that coordinate groups of producers, the district has another actor fundamental to understanding its export activities: the "consolidator," whose importance lies in facilitating the links between small producers and small foreign buyers. It is a transnational relationship between small economic units, a breath of fresh air in this globalized world dominated by the great multinational corporation.

This came about as an answer to a transport problem. Small foreign buyers, with their low-volume purchases, suffered considerable increases in transport costs. For that reason, the consolidator took charge of bringing together a group of small buyers by destination, whether it be different countries or cities, and consolidating full containers.

But the consolidators also fulfill other fundamental functions. In the first place, they act as a sort of "cultural translator." Just as the different languages of buyers and producers must be interpreted, so must a series of habits and local practices which are unintelligible in international markets. The consolidator "translates" these practices and acts as the intermediary to conciliate different customs. These practices are related to questions such as:

- the informality of contracts;
- forms of negotiating;
- forms and times of payment;
- the definition of quality;
- and the negotiation of the characteristics of the product to be delivered, etc.

Just a rather amusing example: local producers tend to push back the delivery date, therefore putting themselves in the wrong, while foreign buyers expect that the delivery date will be complied with. How does the consolidator deal with this? Very easily. He/she gives producer and buyer different delivery dates; this way the agreed-upon delivery date can go by and there is still breathing space to pressure the producer, who will end up making the delivery after the date he/she agreed upon, but in time for the buyer.

In addition, the consolidator also guarantees the different parties that agreed-upon schedules, quality and payment will be respected by developing his/her own portfolios of clients and producers. Without that trust and mutual knowledge of the particularities of both sides to the bargain, the relationship would very probably fail, as we have seen happen in other craft-producing regions of the country.

The consolidators are also promotors. They conduct tours for buyers, introducing them to producers and

promote the new products that from time to time appear in the district. Lastly, they also act as information filters when they communicate the particularities of small localized foreign markets. When this information is taken into account, they are facilitating the acceptance of the products in export markets.

This actor can help us a great deal to understand the deficiencies of government policies aimed at encouraging exports. Without their intermediation as negotiators, the relationship tends to fail, but state policies to promote exports ignore this point altogether. While state programs are important for promoting products abroad, the difficulties appear when the time comes for actual sale, when government support disappears. It is also interesting to note that government policies to assist small firms have tried to form organizations that in theory would perform functions similar to those of the consolidators (known in the jargon of economic planners as "integrating companies"). The idea is to create links and relations among small companies that would allow them to act together. And it is a good idea, but when these relationships do not arise in a historic process in which trust is generated, the results tend to be very limited. In the case of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá, as I have already mentioned, these actors have appeared thanks to an evolutionary process of agglomeration itself. Their prolonged existence has made it possible through repeated encounters and a continual process of trial and error to build groups that act in the economy with a certain cohesion and ability to collaborate.

One characteristic of this district is its flexibility in responding to aesthetic changes and market demands.

4. The Collective Production Of Styles and Designs

In the decoration industry, design —form and aesthetics— has the same importance as research and development in other industries. It is the essential element for competitiveness, with price coming in second place only within the margins that accept originality and quality of design and product. On volatile, fragmented international markets, keeping the same design can be dangerous. Not adapting to trends and fashions recognized by emerging markets can leave the producer out of the game. Also, those who not only follow or adopt fashions, but are also capable of creating them —that is of being the pioneers and inventors of new trends— are the ones who take the lion's share on international markets. In the decoration industry, design is key for understanding economic behavior, in terms of both success and failure. In the case of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá, some factors favor and reinforce collective processes of design. However, there are also contradictions and weaknesses in the system that have impeded the district's full development.

We should begin by pointing out that, historically, the district has displayed great pragmatism in adapting its designs and styles to changing markets. And this counters the preconceived idea that artisans do not change their forms and designs, or that they are the guardians of the most profound roots of Mexicanness. This idea leads to another: that they are not conceived of as potentially innovative, and at the same time they are rebuked for showing "external" influences in their designs and forms. All external influence is classified as destructive. On this matter, Alfonso Caso, the famous Mexican archaeologist, said, "Folk art [should] never be interfered with by providing models or improving the artist's inspiration. Any intervention, even by the most cultured and best educated persons, must, in the long run, produce

the decadence of folk art."[17] Thus, the influence of the external, be it from Mexican intellectuals, designers or foreign buyers, is considered destructive. From this point of view, globalization is expressed in these communities of artisans, creators of folk art, as the degradation of everything original and different. As we have observed in this district, however, this is not always the case.

As I mentioned before, the artisans of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá have always been subject to external influences. The origin of Mexican folk art, as we all know, is the meeting of two cultures, the indigenous and the Spanish cultures. From its very inception, it has been a mix. Without going into any depth into the long history of folk arts in this region, we should emphasize that one characteristic, at least of the Tlaquepaque and Tonalá district, has been its flexibility in responding to aesthetic changes that for one reason or another the market has demanded. Salvador Novo said that, "During the years before the World War in Europe [and the Revolution of 1910 here at home, is that not right?] it was the fashion for all houses to have, if not genuine Louis XV furniture, at least a Viennese set, and busts of Trianon, Venetian mirrors, Chinese dragons, Baccarat crystal for the table settings [?], Persian rugs and reproductions on the walls of the Gioconda and her aunt. Everything cultured to the utmost, everything most foreign, remote and overseas as possible. That is the origin of the fact that [ah, most terrible, fatal event] when Tlaquepaque's potters saw that their models were not successful and did not sell and that, by contrast, everyone wanted Moors' heads for their hallways, large, exotic china jars and languid maidens for their parlor console-tables (Dante in the desert and Mephistopheles muzzled), they proceeded to make them; and we still see them amongst the citified junk of the houses fitted out with a parakeet, a piano, a maid, debts and a son studying for the bar."[18]

What Salvador Novo reports is relevant in two ways. In the first place it reveals the pragmatic response of the Tlaquepaque craftsmen to the decorative fashions of the national market. In the second place, he says that Mexicans appreciated foreign, exotic things; at the same time, foreigners to a certain extent demanded the same, that is, the foreign and exotic. For that reason it is not strange that the district should have been exporting for a long time now. In fact, Carlos Monsiváis says that it is only with the effervescence unleashed by the revolutionary state and its nationalism that folk arts were recognized in Mexico. Until that time, only a few conservative families and foreigners had been interested in the beauty of Mexican crafts.[19]

One more anecdote. During the construction of the revolutionary state and the rise of the aesthetic recovery of what was "authentically Mexican," the muralists, particularly Dr. Atl, went to Tonalá and invited the potters to include archetypes and symbols of the indigenous peoples in their designs.

It is not my intention to say that what is produced in the Tonalá-Tlaquepaque district lacks originality or tradition. Quite to the contrary, many aesthetic forms and their techniques have remained more or less unaltered for long periods. The important thing is that the district has always been flexible about the demand of styles and designs; old forms have been preserved and new ones incorporated, in accordance with ideological zigzags and what the domestic and foreign markets demand.

Today, interesting processes of production and dissemination of styles and designs exist. On the one hand, the geographical proximity of the producers, but also the constant change of workers from one workshop to another, of the commercial areas where the pieces are shown, and the transfer of orders from one workshop to another, all make the rapid dissemination of successful products possible.

There is also feedback. In this diversity of producers, one sector is constantly contributing to the other; reinterpreting what is seen in the district is a constant source of models for everyone. However, I should add that an important number of the producers I interviewed do not design; they market their ability to imitate or make the model that is asked of them, even if it means copying their neighbor's product or reproducing an item made in India.

Although historically the only products with identifiable roots in the area are the ceramics of Tonalá and Tlaquepaque s clay figures, today, a great variety of products and techniques can be found there, all of which have been incorporated into the original nucleus of ceramics.

The producers who participate most actively in design are in different markets. Classified more or less in a reductionist way, we can clearly see four segments of producers in different kinds of markets:

1. The segment formed by groups of specialists in traditional folk art who maintain very high quality and originality, as well as those who only make unoriginal, low-cost, low-quality replicas.

2. A second group is made up of artisans and producers considered leaders in design, whose work is not necessarily a reflection of traditional styles but does have the distinctive mark of its producer.

3. A third segment consists of those whose designs and styles are more universal or not identified with local traditions.

4. The fourth is made up of those who only offer their productive capacity. I should point out that I do not intend to evaluate their work as negative or positive since the four segments together generate positive results for everyone.

Now, how are external influences and pressure expressed? The discussion about globalization and contemporary capitalism emphasizes that, on the one hand, the fragmentation of markets and growth of demand for non-standardized goods, the increase in individualized consumption, the taste for what is different, hand-made products, particularly in the markets for the decoration industry, all reflect the cultural changes that encourage the reaffirmation of difference through consumption.[20] But, at the same time there is a demand for the aesthetic of the familiar and the universal, both in small and mass markets.

In the decorations markets we can see it clearly:

- On the one hand, the demand for standardized products persists, but at the same time there is a demand for hand-made, craft products.
- Just as there are more or less stable markets, many are volatile and demand a continual change of the product, which may happen several times a year.
- As there is a demand for design, familiar or universal aesthetics, there are also those who seek ethnic products, identifiable with a particular community.

So, from the point of view of demand, we see that external markets reinforce different segments of the district, whether it be those that make traditional, hand-made products, or those that offer products that cannot be identified with a local style, those that are highly specialized, or those that only have their ability to produce to offer.

> The consolidator "translates" a series of habits and local practices which are unintelligible in international markets and acts as the intermediary to conciliate different customs. He is a sort of cultural translator who guarantees quality, schedules and payment.

Another way in which contact with external markets has an impact —particularly on products in middle-quality sectors— is through the continual absorption of elements from the outside. That is a particularity of the district. Everything is negotiable: size, form, color. Thus, there is an incorporation of what is demanded particularly abroad and, given the characteristics of the district that have already been pointed out, these elements disseminate rapidly and are finally reinterpreted locally.

Participation in international markets has also brought with it international competition. This means that some of the district's products have been copied in other countries, but products from other countries are also copied in the district. We can see ceramic pieces made in Asia that seem to be from Tonalá and objects from Tlaquepaque that are similar to work done in India. International competition has also driven prices down, bringing pressure to bear on costs, particularly in the segment of producers whose work is easily reproduced or similar to that done elsewhere. This means that those who want to buy a piece made in Tlaquepaque can find it in other places in the world, and perhaps at a lower price. This is even more serious for medium- and low-quality products and those with no special design.

Unfortunately, this downward pressure on prices is magnified internally. Just as there are forms and institutions that create conditions propitious for the reproduction and expansion of the district, we also encounter contradictions and weaknesses that, combined on occasion with external pressures, become more severe. It is important to underline that, conceptually and taking into account empirical references,

Before the Revolution, only a few conservative families and foreigners were interested in Mexican crafts.

the producers can be differentiated by their ability to produce and design. Those who excel in quality and design are well-known, their names become the product's brand name and they fare better dealing with the market pressure to decrease costs. By contrast, the remainder suffer from pressure from intermediaries and constant haggling over price. As Monsiváis says, "What is redundant [about folk art] (folk being "of the folk", the people) is or course, a condemnation: if the distinctive thing about it is its anonymous nature, the creators called artisans will be the "spokespersons" of instinct, with the inevitable unfair wages this implies and the miserly prices that, then, as now, are harmful to the process itself. 'Folk art, why did you give in to a riot of color?'"[21]

Unfair competition exists in the district because there will always be a producer who needs and is willing to sell cheaper than the rest. The vicious circle in which both Mexicans and foreigners participate and only a few of the artisans has been able to avoid, is perhaps the most immediate and most difficult problem to solve because it is magnified on the international level. On the international market, competition to reduce production costs is not among the residents of Tonalá, but among underdeveloped countries; there will always be some that need and are willing to sell more cheaply than the others.

As far as I was able to observe, locally there have been no attempts to change this circumstance that affects many but not everyone. This is due to several factors: in the first place, there are no coordinated efforts for design creation, nor a consolidated community of designers who could collectively facilitate more producers' accepting these kinds of efforts. In the second place, the situation is also a reflection of a series of failed collective ventures in which specific groups appropriated the organization for their own benefit. The district also suffers from a series of inequalities in political and economic power that facilitate and foster the exploitation of the weaker producers.

I will finish up with a question: Should one type of demand take precedence over the others, and therefore displace one or more of the segments of producers from the area? In other words, for example, will the segment that offers its production capabilities (the segment most susceptible to modernization) dominate the traditional segments and the designers?

My impression is that, until now, diversity continues to dominate, and that some external factors reinforce this tendency. However, this could change at a moment's notice given the instability of the markets and international competition. Just as a particular type of craft product may be in great demand, the following month that demand might disappear. I think that the loss of any component would be bad for the whole; an appropriate policy for the area should use this heterogeneity as its starting point and aim at realizing each segment's potential and attacking the contradictions each one generates. However, the idea in vogue is that everything has to be modern and must use cutting-edge technology to compete abroad. Sometimes these national policies can be more destructive than international markets.

Is it possible that Mexico could use this kind of industry as the basis for its development? While a country of the complexity and size of Mexico could not depend on a single kind of industry or a single region to qualitatively transform its population's living conditions, it is also true that the alternatives for growth based on foreign investment in the maquiladora-type industry are questionable. I must say in favor of the type of industrialization in Tlaquepaque and Tonalá that in Mexico there are other districts with similar profiles

based on regional traditions and histories. To mention only a few, León, Guanajuato's footwear industry, is internationally known; Puebla's decorations industry; Guadalajara's jewelry industry; Mexico City's textile district; Oaxaca's and Michoacán's craft production; and many other examples with differing degrees of development and consolidation. If we return to the questions asked, I think that the choice is not between traditional industry or ultramodern maquiladora plants, but rather, includes a third option: accepting the possibilities and limitations of both these and other forms of production.

The specific case of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá, despite being important for its exports, is far from being a totally desirable model. It presents serious limitations in terms of its economic impact —some of which have been pointed to here— particularly if we compare it to the Italian districts focused around the same type of industry that have become leaders in sectors as different as the manufacture of furniture and tools. Tlaquepaque and Tonalá are still far from dictating fashion and trends in international markets and, therefore, far from the profits this brings. However, that should be the ultimate objective of any development strategy for this region. A first step would be to support the creation of a design center to provide not only access to subsidized designs, but also to relevant, timely information about international trends, styles and markets and above all, to help consolidate the design milieu. In other words, to face the challenge of globalization, we must create and support the local capacities that allow for a differentiation in international markets. VM

Notes

[1] A previous version of this article was presented at the international seminar "The Manifestations of Globalization in North America" organized by CISAN in November 1999. A longer version will be published in the book compiled by Mónica Gambrill, *Globalización y sus manifestaciones en América del Norte*, currently at the printer's.

[2] Richard Kozul-Wright, "Transnational Corporations and the Nation State," Jonathan Michie and John Grieve Smith, eds., *Managing the Global Economy* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[3] Ann Saxenian, "Regional networks and the resurgence of Silicon Valley" (Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, Berkeley, 1988, working paper no. 508, photocopy).

[4] M. Storper, "The transition to flexible specialization in the U.S. Film Industry: External economies, the division of labor, and the crossing of industrial divides," *Cambridge Journal of Economics* (1989).

[5] A. Bagnasco, *Tre Italie* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977); G. Bacattini, "The development of light industry in Tuscany. An interpretation," *Economic notes* 7 (Monte dei paschi di Siena) (1978), pp. 107-123; and S. Brusco, "The Emilian Model: Productive Decentralization and Social Integration," *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 6 (1982), pp. 167-184.

[6] I will only mention a few articles that deal with industrial districts outside the developed world: R. Rabelotti, "Is there an 'industrial district model'? Footwear districts in Italy and Mexico compared," *World Development* vol. 23, no. 1 (1995), pp. 29-41; Allen John Scott, "Variations on the theme of agglomeration and growth. The gem and jewelry industry in Los Angeles and Bangkok," *Geoforum*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1994), pp. 249-263; L. Bazasn and H. Schmitz, *Social Capital and Export Growth. An Industrial Community in Southern Brazil,* discussion paper no. 361 (Institute of Developmental Studies, University of Sussex, 1997).

[7] My study focuses on wooden and wrought iron furniture. I interviewed 100 heads of companies and workshops. But I also include samples from other sectors, covering almost 50 percent of the commercial district. In addition, I interviewed service providers and other agents and organizations linked to this activity.

[8] Michael Piore and Charles Sable, *The Second Industrial Divide* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

[9] Ibid.

[10] Patrizio Bianchi, "Industrial Districts and industrial policy: the new European perspective," *Journal of Industry Studies* I, no. 1 (October 1993).

[11] R. Rabelotti, op. cit., pp. 29-41.

[12] R. Camagni, "Inter-firm industrial networks. The costs and benefits of cooperative behaviour," *Journal of Industry Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1 (October 1991 and 1993); A. J. Scott and M. Storper, "Regional development reconsidered," H. Ernste and V. Meier, eds., *Regional Development and Contemporary Industrial Response: Expanding Flexible Specialization* (London: Belhaven, 1991), pp. 3-24.

[13] Frank Pyke and Werner Senegenberger, *Industrial Districts and Local Economic Regeneration* (Geneva: International Institute for Labor Studies, 1992).

[14] Michael Storper, *The Regional World. Territorial Development in a Global Economy* (New York-London: The Guilford Press, 1997), pp. 4-5.

[15] Carlos Monsiváis, "Las artes populares: hacia una historia del canon," Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, ed., *Arte popular mexicano. Cinco siglos* (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso-UNAM, 1996), p. 15.

[16] I have arrived at this figure from reading the directories of the Tlaquepaque, Tonalá and Chapala Chambers of Commerce, the Jalisco Association of Furniture Makers and the House of Craftsmen of Tlaquepaque and Tonalá.

[17] Alfonso Caso, *América indígena*, quoted in Monsiváis, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

[18] Salvador Novo, "Nuestro México" (July 1932), quoted in Monsiváis, op. cit., p. 17.

[19] Monsiváis, op. cit.

[20] T. Frank and M. Weiland, eds., *Commodify Your Dissent. The Business of Culture in the New Gilded Age* (New York, London: Norton and Company, 1997).

[21] Monsiváis, op. cit., p. 20.

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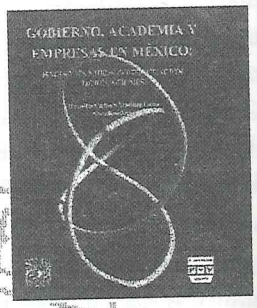
Serie Diagonal
2000 , 95 págs.

"Para la privilegiada mayoría, ser mexicano y ser guadalupano es uno y lo mismo: esencia y presencia. Somos el multitudinario devenir de una aparición. Aparición muy anterior a los signos del Tepeyac... Forma singular, que desde la perspectiva del siglo XX... abarca la pluralidad de todo lo que hemos sido, somos y seremos. La Guadalupana es el pueblo mismo [Siendo una, es en el fondo, toda guadalupe' mexicana, de ahí sus múltiples coros y alabanzas]. En *Esencia y presencia guadalupanas*, Tita Valencia recopila un aspecto indiscriminado de fervores," recomponiendo un complejo mosaico con diversos tiempos y espacios históricos que empiezan con la imagen elaborada en plumas de colibrí, balbuceo indígena de lo sagrado, cuyas voces anteceden, anuncian, profetizan y, finalmente, proclaman el milagro guadalupano.



GOBIERNO, ACADEMIA Y EMPRESAS EN MÉXICO: HACIA UNA NUEVA CONFIGURACIÓN DE RELACIONES

Casas, Rosalba y *Luna, Matilde:* Coordinación
Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales
2ª edición: 1999
348 págs.

El tema de las relaciones entre los sectores académicos, productivos y gubernamentales es, actualmente, uno de los ejes centrales de la discusión sobre las políticas de desarrollo en el contexto de la globalización, donde se considera que la educación y las capacidades científicas constituyen el principal recurso competitivo de las economías nacionales. Este libro contiene una descripción y un análisis de las formas en que han evolucionado la visión y las estrategias de vinculación de la academia, las empresas y el gobierno, así como de los mecanismos generados con el fin de promover e intensificar sus acciones de colaboración. La información se presenta en cuatro partes: . —La vinculación en el contexto internacional. —Actores centrales de la vinculación en México. —La vinculación en las instituciones de educación superior. —Experiencias de vinculación para el desarrollo tecnológico y la formación de recursos humanos.

REYES, TUMBAS Y PALACIOS. LA HISTORIA DINÁSTICA DE UAXACTUN

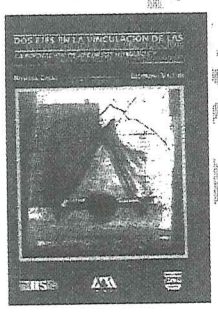
Valdés, Juan Antonio, Fashen, Federico y *Escobedo, Héctor L.*
Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas
Centro de Estudios Mayas
Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala
Colección Cuadernos 25
1999 , 123 págs.

"El trabajo interdisciplinario que se está llevando a cabo en varios sitios mayas ha permitido empezar a hablar, con más bases objetivas, acerca de la evolución social, política y religiosa de sus diversas ciudades y de las relaciones entre ellas." Los tres investigadores guatemaltecos registran información del material recuperado, y al conjuntarla con la que proporciona la nueva epigrafía, empiezan a reescribir la historia dinástica expresada en los conjuntos arquitectónicos y monumentos del sitio, *Uaxactun*, de *uaxac*, "ocho", *tun*, "piedra, año" y a los nombres de los gobernantes anexan sus hechos y descubren cuál fue el lugar de su reposo.

IDENTIDADES ÉTNICAS Y CONFLICTO AGRARIO EN EL NORTE DE CHIAPAS, 1914-1940. *CHOL OL /KAXLAN*

Alejos García, José
Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas
Centro de Estudios Mayas
1999 , 340 págs.

"Kaxlan es una palabra del idioma ch´ol que nombra al otro, al 'castellano', al forastero, a todo lo originado en Occidente. Los ch´oles llaman *Kaxlan* a una diversidad de gente asociada a ese mundo extraño y dominante, con quienes ellos han interactuado desde la primera invasión hasta el presente. *Kaxlan* es todo ser distinto al ser indígena, al *winik*, a la gente originaria del lugar. *Kaxlan* es el extranjero, el poderoso, aquel que por sus costumbres, artes y ciencias ha dominado al *winik*, al *ch´ol*. Este libro trata acerca de un momento de esa difícil relación entre ch´oles y kazlanes ocurrido en las montañas del norte de Chiapas en la primera mitad del siglo XX. Es una historia de guerra, de lucha por la tierra, de incomprensión entre el *winik* y el *kaxlan*, en el marco de la Revolución mexicana en Chiapas."



DOS EJES EN LA VINCULACIÓN DE LAS UNIVERSIDADES A LA PRODUCCIÓN. LA FORMACIÓN DE RECURSOS HUMANOS Y LAS CAPACIDADES DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Casas, Rosalba y *Valenti, Giovanna:* Coordinación
Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales
Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana
Plaza y Valdés Editores
2000 , 272 págs.

Se subraya el papel básico que realizan las "instituciones de educación superior y los centros de investigación como formadores de recursos humanos en ciencia y tecnología," creadores de conocimientos útiles para los retos que enfrentan las empresas en un contexto dinámico de competitividad. Mediante el estudio de casos se discute la contribución que al respecto puede hacer ese tipo de instituciones a los procesos de innovación en los ámbitos productivos. Se hace referencia a las características y problemas de las relaciones entre las universidades y el mundo de la producción en varios países.

CIEN MIL LLAMADAS POR EL OJO DE UNA AGUJA: UN ANÁLISIS ANTROPO-LÓGICO DE LA APERTURA DE LAS TELECOMUNICACIONES EN MÉXICO

Santos Corral, María Josefa
Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales
Colección Cuadernos de Investigación 27
2000 , 212 págs.

Desde sus inicios, los servicios y la industria de las telecomunicaciones presentan dos aspectos aparentemente contradictorios que sólo se explican en función de su naturaleza: por un lado, tienden a ser homogéneos y globales y por el otro, tienden a cambiar rápidamente. Estas dos características determinan que las telecomunicaciones se constituyan en un sector dinámico en el que se incrementan actividades de investigación y desarrollo tecnológico así como nuevas formas de organización. El propósito de este libro es analizar los cambios técnicos y los mecanismos de operación que siguieron las principales empresas de telecomunicaciones para encontrar un lugar en el escenario de la apertura de los servicios de larga distancia. Como estudio de caso se selecciona a Teléfonos de México (Telmex).

Informes: Dirección General de Publicaciones y Fomento Editorial, Av. del IMAN núm. 5, Ciudad Universitaria, C. P. 04510, México, D.F., Tel. 5622 6583, Fax 5622 6582
http://www.libros.unam.mx pfedico@servidor.unam.mx

Leonora Carrington Discovering Diverging Worlds

Angélica Abelleyra*

Photos reproduced by permission of Leonora Carrington

The Daring Young Men on the Purple Balloon, 54 x 99 cm, 1970 (oil on canvas).

I am armed with madness for a long journey.
Leonora Carrington[1]

"Irremediably mad." With that label —beyond playful or creative metaphors— Leonora Carrington spent time in a madhouse for seeing the world in an unusual way, far from simplifications, for bestowing cosmic powers on the most humdrum of objects, for trying to save the planet, or at least discover it in a different way in order to put a distinctive stamp on it.

A person who questioned rational systems, a rebellious woman and an indecipherable creator, a firm believer in the powers of the beyond, above all with faith in intelligence, Leonora has been a complete surrealist since she was born April 6, 1917 in Clayton Green, Lancashire, England.

Brought up in a strict Catholic family, from the time she was a child, she was un-ed-u-ca-ble. At least that was how teachers and governesses described her to her Irish, country-bred mother and her prosperous English industrialist father.

The thing was, Leonora was only interested in drawing and daydreaming about the stories

* Free-lance cultural journalist.

Took My Way Down, Like a Messenger, to the Deep, triptych, 181 x 120 cm, 1970 (oil on canvas).

Crookhey Hall, 31.5 x 60 cm, 1947 (oil on canvas).

her Irish nanny told her about ghosts, gnomes and fairies, the very same characters that have peopled not only her mind, but her paintings and sculptures all her life.

In 1920, her family moved to Crookhey Hall, close to Lancaster, and she and her three brothers were left in the care of a French governess, a religious tutor and the Irish nana who fed her imagination. One year later, the little girl began to invent her own stories and illustrate them with drawings. But, while her rebelliousness flowered, her parents sent her to Florence and Paris to train her in the canons of the English monarchy.

Nine months in a Florentine boarding school immersed her in Renaissance art. In 1936, she entered the London academy of purist painter Amédée Ozanfant and made her first contact with the work of Max Ernst when she saw the cover of *Two Children Threatened by a Hummingbird*. One year later, she met Ernst personally and decided to live with him; they moved to the south of France where together they designed the sets for Alfred Jarry's play *Ubu Roi* (Ubu the King).

The year 1938 was key for the young painter who seriously began her professional and public life as an artist with her participation in the exhibitions "International Exposition of Surrealism" at Paris' Fine Arts Gallery and the "Exposition of Surrealism" in Amsterdam's Robert Gallery.

From that time on, Carrington's universe has included not only painted and sculpted images, but also words, through plays, novels and short stories. *The oval lady*, her first literary work was written in 1939 and illustrated by Ernst. That same year, Ernst was imprisoned in a concentration camp, and, although Leonora managed to have him freed some months later, in the early 1940s, he was jailed again by the Nazis. When Leonora could not effect his rescue, she escaped to Spain and had a nervous breakdown and was confined to a mental hospital for six months in Santander. Following the advice of André Breton and Pierre Mabille, she wrote *Down Below*, a memoir of that experience.

Friday the 13th, 60 x 90 cm, 1965 (oil on canvas).

In 1941, her father requested her transfer to southern Africa, but she went to Lisbon and took refuge in the Mexican consulate. There, she came into contact with Mexican writer Renato Leduc, who married her in order to get the visa that would allow the two of them to go to New York. In Manhattan, she contributed to surrealist magazines and exhibitions and, in 1942, she traveled to Mexico. From then on, she would play a very active part in Mexico's intellectual life, but particularly with the surrealists who had come there as war refugees: Benjamin Péret, Remedios Varo, Kati and José Horna and the Hungarian photographer Emerico "Chiqui" Weisz, her husband from 1946 until today.

In 1946, she wrote *Penelope*, her best known play. Two years later she would have her first individual show in New York in the Pierre Matisse Gallery. Later would come shows in Paris and Mexico City, with a one-woman show in the Fine Arts Palace in 1960.

She ventured into costume design in 1961 when she did the clothing and masks for Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. Meanwhile, *Penelope* was produced in 1962, directed by Alejandro Jodorowski. Twelve months later, she painted a mural for the National Museum of Anthropology, *The Magical World of the Maya*.

In the 1960s and 1970s she had a great presence in museums and galleries in Mexico, the United States, England, Japan and Brazil. In 1971 she studied with a Tibetan lama exiled in Canada and Scotland. In the 1980s she traveled with her work to spaces in the United States and Europe. In 1976, she published *La Porte de pierre* (The Door of Stone), and yet a decade later, she published her short stories in a volume *Pigeon volé* (Pigeon on the Wing), written many years before, between 1937 and 1940.

Leonora's literary endeavors produced two volumes more, *The Seventh Horse and Other Tales* and *The House of Fear*, a selection of

Rabbit Loew's Bath, 45.5 x 68 cm, 1969 (oil on canvas).

short stories published in 1988 in New York and a year later in London. In 1991, they were translated in Spain and, in Mexico, publishers Siglo XXI Editores distributed them in 1992.

Other examples of her narrative translated to Spanish are *The oval lady* published in 1965 by Era, 26 years after it had been first written in French; and *Le Cornet acoustique* (The Hearing Trumpet) published in Paris in 1974, translated three years later for publishers Monte Avila Editores. Of the vast amount of biographic work about the artist, Juan García Ponce's work, Leonora's own piece entitled *Leonora Carrington* (1974), and Whitney Chadwick's work *Leonora Carrington. La realidad de la imaginación* (Leonora Carrington. The Reality of the Imagination),[2] published by the National Council for Culture and the Arts and Ediciones Era, are only a few examples.

According to her own calculations, Leonora estimates that she did more than 1,000 paintings, hundreds of drawings, water colors, sculptures and tapestries. One of her most recent projects is "Freedom in Bronze," a collection of sculptures by artists unaccustomed to the medium, like José Luis Cuevas, Vicente Rojo, Juan Soriano and Gunther Gerzso. The collection was exhibited along Mexico City's Reforma Avenue, but one of them —Leonora's— was stolen from its place in Chapultepec Park, and later recovered. A few months ago, in a kind of homage to her, the Mexico City government unveiled a Carringtonian piece that is half rowboat, half crocodile.

A World in Metamorphosis

Universes full of concepts more than feelings. Complex painting, ironic and indecipherable. Iconography beyond stories, niceness and the feminine. Far-off canvases, removed from traditional considerations of "what is beautiful" and "what is well done." All of this has been part of

Adelita Escapes, 75 x 60 cm, 1987 (acrylic on canvas).

Untitled (For Jahae and Jean François), 30.5 x 72.5 cm, 1952 (oil on canvas).

Carrington's creative endeavors for more than half a century, since she presented her first show in New York in 1948. But it has been in Mexico where her language jelled, marked by different themes and techniques: from Celtic myth to the Cabala, from Tibetan Buddhism to Gnosticism. A world in constant metamorphosis.

In the 1940s, her painting emphasized large women and also the recreation of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, a work which left its mark on her. Later, inspired by Bosch and a few painters from the Renaissance, she fragmented her compositions, using a classical technique, tempera over egg, which gives the canvases an intense, bright finish.

In the 1950s, the infinite sense of space of Carrington's previous canvases disappeared and she began limiting her scenes. Hybrid things took center stage, as did esoteric and mystical icons. By the 1960s, the influence of Jung and Buddhism appeared; dull tones became vivid and her murals revealed her interest in the Chiapas Indians' traditions and the myths of Popol Vuh. Finally, her very personal vision of women led her to recuperate that universe with a mix of irony and mystery, but never literally or as illustration.

Moved by Passion

Reluctant to be interviewed, Leonora Carrington becomes quite talkative when asked about women. She is interested in them all: artisans or prostitutes, anthropologists or mythical figures like Lilith. Talking about "women's culture," as she calls it, brings her to life.

"I don't like interviews. For me, the most important thing is that the work be looked at. Since I was young, I have made my own decisions about my life, particularly when I decided to become a painter. My parents had me all prepared for a comfortable existence, staying in England and having a life that would have been acceptable to society. But, if you are possessed by a passion, like I was by painting, you have to obey it....I have done a lot of work on my interior being. It has been like saying to myself, for better or for worse, I did that painting, and I would never exchange it for a Rembrandt or for someone else's, someone better than I. I would say no because I put my being into my painting. For me, the value of a work is the labor it takes to become yourself, making something honest. It's the work of a lifetime, and even if it's a disaster, I prefer it to changing my life."[3]

Jack Be Nimble, Jack Be Quick, 90 x 90 cm, 1970 (oil on canvas).

A great deal has been written about this member of the surrealist group, the group with which André Breton, Benjamin Péret and Max Ernst tried to discover the universe and give it a different image. Breton said that Leonora looked at the real world with the eyes of madness and at the madness of the world with lucidity. Octavio Paz called her "the bewitched witch, insensitive to social morality, to aesthetics and price."[4] And she herself has said she was "armed with madness for a long journey." And she has been for her 83 years, accompanied by a frenzy in the face of the world and its inhabitants, a lucid mind in the face of the injustice of men, paying equal attention to human beings, animals, rocks and the cosmos, always part of her universe crammed with mystery. VM

Notes

[1] *Catálogo Leonora Carrington. Una retrospectiva* (Monterrey, Nuevo León: Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Monterrey, 1994).

[2] Whitney Chadwick, *Leonora Carrington. La realidad de la imaginación* (Mexico City: CNCA/Era, 1994).

[3] Quotes from Leonora Carrington, unless otherwise specified, are from interviews with the author in 1993, 1994 and 1996.

[4] Octavio Paz, *Los privilegios de la vista* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987).

Leonora Carrington and Sculpture

Merry Mac Masters*

Daniel Mungula

Crocodile, 8.5 x 4.8 m, 2000 (bronze).

Leonora Carrington is not really known as a sculptress, even though when asked by researcher Salomón Grimberg about when sculpture had entered her life, she answered, "When I was very little, about a year old, and playing with mud."[1] Ah, Leonora, always so straightforward and to the point.

In 1977 and 1978, Carrington made pieces of object art for the Tane Silver Shop. One is a seated cow paired with the Tin Man from the

* Journalist. She works for Mexico City's daily *La Jornada*.

Photos courtesy of Proyecto Libertad en Bronce

Godiva in the Jungle, 93 x 23 x 87 cm, 1995 (bronze).

film *The Wizard of Oz*. In her first years in Mexico, after her arrival in 1942, Carrington had convinced the sketch artist, Spanish refugee José Horna (1909-1963), also part of the surrealist movement, to create a traveling puppet show for which they co-wrote a series of short plays. Horna began to carve large wooden puppets that initially were based on drawings by Carrington. *The Cradle* is a piece of object art done in 1945. It measures 138 x 128.4 x 66 centimeters and was carved in wood by Horna with fabric and thread, and painted by Carrington.

She did some sculpture in cement with fragments of wire. There had been, then, certain interest on her part, but formally she had not decided to work in three dimensions.

Carrington's definitive incursion into sculpture began at the insistence of Isaac Masri, who coordinated the "Freedom in Bronze," promoted by the Agua Tinta nongovernmental organization. Masri picked 13 painters, among them Leonora, for the project. For him, as a cultural promotor, it was important to invite painters and see the results. She was not easy to convince.

One day, after innumerable, unfruitful phone calls that invariably ended with her hanging up on Masri, opening her door just a crack, she finally accepted a piece of wax. A week later a model was born that would become *Monsieur* (1994), a reclining cat measuring 21 x 62 x 23 centimeters. During the next eight months, the English-born painter would produce eight sculptures.

Sphinx (1994), *Ing* (1994), *Nigrum* (1994), *Corrunus* (1995), *Godiva in the Jungle* (1995), *The Virgin of the Cave* (1995), *Lion Moon* (1995) and *Monsieur* were shown in 1995 in Mexico City's Modern Art Museum alongside a Carrington retrospective that included painting and prints. Art critic Luis Carlos Emerich wrote of these pieces once that perhaps because of their physical demands, "They tend to synthesize what has become lyrical in her painting."

Lion Moon, 62 x 63.5 x 10 cm, 1995 (bronze).

Art critic Teresa del Conde, director of the Modern Art Museum, asked Carrington how she had felt working on something she knew would be cast. The answer was, "I like changing medium. Working in three dimensions does me good. It's like a being that exists in space, the space related to its surroundings. So, that space changes because of being three-dimensional. A painting changes the space in a different way, but it always has its own space."[2]

Faithful to her Celtic roots, where flora and fauna are of great importance, *Sphinx*, like a Madonna, holds a little person in her hand. *Ing*, the largest piece, is "a mysterious personage from the other side of the ocean. Its face is tattooed with horizontal lines corkscrewing down the sides to its chin. *Corrunus* is the Celtic lord of the animals. His name means 'he who carries horns.'"[3] His own leaf-shaped horns stick out of each temple and his forehead.

Two of these sculptures, *The Virgin of the Cave* and *Nigrum*, were actually created in the 1960s, but were only recently cast. Salomón Grimberg writes that "for about 30 years, *The Virgin of the Cave* has met everyone who entered the Carrington house. The wrinkled face of the old witch is the first thing you see when you walk in the door from the street. Behind her and to one side, is *Nigrum*, with his front paws languidly stretched out like a cat in the Irish myth 'Kitty in the Corner'. With vacant gaze, *Nigrum* looks fixedly inward; the Celtic tradition believes that cats have powers of the underworld and the gift of second sight."[4]

Monsieur, sometimes called Houdini given his tendency to disappear, is one of the Siamese cats found in the artist's house. It is covered with a design in the form of a sun rising on its back.

Lion Moon mixes the luxuriant growth of a lion's mane with a round face like a full moon.

Godiva in the Jungle is a woman looking backward, mounted on a wild boar with human

Corrunus, 90 x 60 x 22 cm, 1995 (bronze).

legs. The animal's body is decorated with undulating vines, the influence of the plants found in Celtic art. Grimberg adds that Leonora Carrington's art makes up a reality of innumerable superimpositions that no single reading can interpret to the full. "It continues to be a real exponent of her ancestry as can be seen in her sculpture of today."[5]

Isaac Masri, for his part, notes that Carrington's sculptures maintain the surrealists' classic passion for masks that signify absence and death.

From September 1999 on, the eight sculptures were displayed again as part of the open-air exhibit "Freedom in Bronze 2000," mounted —as challenge to the traffic, the smog, the lack of public safety, theft and violence— in the central island along Mexico City's Reforma Avenue, between the Modern Art Museum and the National Museum of Anthropology.

On January 29, 2000, two days before the exhibit was to end, *Corrunus* was stolen. Seemingly the thieves rocked the piece until they could break its upper support. They also tried to take *Lion Moon*, but had to leave it, damaged, on the ground. After repairing its right eyebrow, the nose and the upper part of the piece, *Lion Moon* was put back on its base.

When she heard of the theft of *Corrunus*, Carrington said that the old Celtic god "is a good god. He protects the people near him, but he also punishes violence harshly."[6] To get the piece back, the Agua Tinta group offered a 50,000-peso reward and, as if by magic, *Corrunus* appeared.

On February 2, two policemen turned it over to a well-known television network, and the item was broadcast on a popular evening newscast. Their story was that they had found the mask the day before as they did their morning exercises, covered with dry grass on a curb in a more remote part of Chapultepec Forest.

Despite his divine origin, however, *Corrunus* did not escape unscathed form his odyssey. His base had been damaged; he was scratched; the finish was affected; and he had fissures.

Quickly repaired, the sculpture was put back on display nine days later.

Carrington's association with Agua Tinta did not end there. After seeing the eight pieces she did for "Freedom in Bronze," Mastri tried to convince her to do more. He had a hard time understanding that Leonora does not work on commission, that she is not interested in publicity or money and that she only produces when inspired.

"Curiously," says Masri, "after we finished "Freedom in Bronze" and the exhibition was still on, Leonora called me and invited me for a drink one Monday, just as usual. To my surprise she said to me, 'Before we have our whiskey, let's go upstairs; my stairway is very dangerous.' She took me up a metal spiral staircase to her rooftop, three stories up. There, she opened the door to a room I had never been in and I was facing the piece called *Crocodile*, done completely in paper wrapped in cloth. I became very excited because I had not expected it. The first thing that came into my mind was, 'This has to be in water.' Leonora said, 'Take it to the foundry,' which is exactly what I did and she was delighted with the result."[7]

The reason Masri thought the piece had to be set in water and not on a stand is that *Crocodile* represents an aquatic family scene: a row-boat in the form of a crocodile —who could well be the father— holds five baby crocodiles and is rowed along by an elegant mother crocodile.

The idea of placing *Crocodile* in some part of Mexico City was brought up when discussing an homage to Carrington from the city in which she had chosen to live, where her children were born and raised, and where she has produced most of her work. Although she never agreed that there be such an homage, later, at dinner with then-Mayor Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who put it to her personally, she accepted, all the while insisting that it not be big.

The next step was to find a public space for *Crocodile*. After an ardent search through every corner of the city, Masri stumbled on a

Nigrum, detail, 66 x 20 x 22 cm, 1994 (bronze).

Sphinx, 95.5 x 35.5 x 106 cm, 1994 (bronze).

fountain about 30 meters in diameter in the second section of the Chapultepec Forest. Upon examination of its "impressive rigging complete with machinery and pipes, abandoned since the 1960s,"[8] they discovered that its hydraulic works and electrical systems had never been connected. In the conditions they found it in, the place did not comply with their needs.

But, with the blessing of Mexico City's Institute of Culture, the fountain and the plaza it was in were redesigned. Since it was an area frequented by street gangs, it was lit and the graffiti erased.

On the first day of spring, *Crocodile* headed up a parade that took all five tons of its 8.5-meter length and its 4.8-meter height through the city's main streets to the heart of the capital, the Zócalo Plaza, past the National Palace.

Its installation in the fountain was even more spectacular. Out of sight of observers, half way through the inauguration, the sculpture appeared on a platform so that the crane could lift it and deposit it in the middle of the recently renovated fountain. After being secured with windlasses, thanks to the 43-meter-high crane, *Crocodile* flew over the treetops to its new home.

When it touched down on the water, four men fixed it to its base. Contrary to what some observers might have thought, however, its occupants did not get out of the boat: Mama crocodile and her five attentive babies stayed on board to enjoy the ride, just as did thousands of Mexican families.

Perhaps this hunter of the swamps is a link between Mexicans and Celts, since ancient England was considered the Egypt of the

The Virgin of the Cave, 120 x 17 x 48 cm, 1995 (bronze).

Nigrum, 67 x 20 x 22 cm, 1994 (bronze).

West. A few decades ago it was very common in Mexico City to see taxis painted with crocodile motifs, and they were nicknamed just that, "crocodiles." A prestigious jeweler also created a necklace of crocodiles in gold, emeralds, rubies and diamonds for famed Mexican actress María Félix.

For Carrington, *Crocodile* could well have turned out to be a bat, as she said that night in the midst of the homage where she was named "Woman of Distinction" by the city.

Animals dominate her sculptures. From her first visit to the zoo in her native England where she discovered animals as a child, Carrington loved them, both tame and wild, and that love has accompanied her all her life. VM

Notes

[1] Salomón Grimberg, "Leonora Carrington," *Libertad en bronce* (Mexico City: Impronta Editores, 1999), p. 50.

[2] Teresa del Conde et al., *Leonora Carrington. Una retrospectiva. Las estampas. Bronces.* (Mexico City: CNCA-INBA-MAM, 1995), p. 7.

[3] Grimberg, op. cit., p. 44.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 45.

[6] *La Jornada* (Mexico City), 2 February 2000, p. 28.

[7] Interview with the author, *La Jornada,* 16 March 2000, p. 26.

[8] Ibid.

Mexico's Pavilion At Expo Hanover 2000

Raúl Cid*

An average of 8,000 people a day visited the Mexican pavilion at Expo Hanover 2000, making it among the most visited. Its six halls and three patios were an invitation to journey through ancient and modern Mexico.

Photos by Gabriel Figueroa

Northern view of the Mexican pavilion.

The front of the pavilion.

Hall 2. The National Mosaic. Pre-Hispanic wall.

Mexico has been a great success at Expo Hanover 2000. For the first three months of the exhibition, inaugurated June 1, an average of 8,000 people visited the Mexican pavilion daily, making it one of the most visited.

This is partly due to its museography, an invitation to journey through ancient and contemporary Mexico. The pavilion's six halls and three patios offer the visitor the opportunity to actively participate in the age-old construction of the country and its projection into the future. For 40 minutes, the visitor is immersed in the essence of Mexico.

The journey through the pavilion alternates between spacious patios and the translucent cubes of its exhibition halls. The patios offer abstract representations of the country's three main ecosystems, while the halls present a diversity of messages amidst waves of music specially written for the occasion by contemporary Mexican composers.

* Deputy general director of Mexico City's Papalote Children's Museum.
Translated by Andrea Martínez.

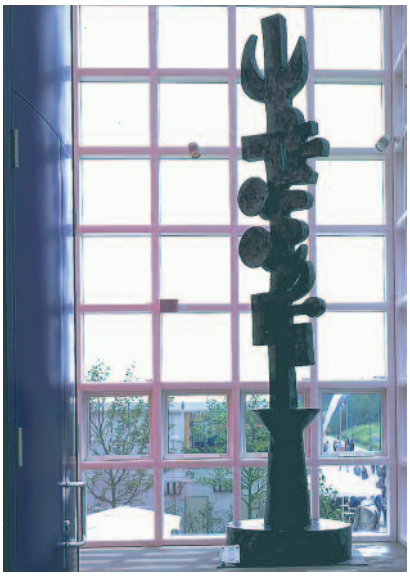
Mexico: An Age-Old Construction

The first hall is dedicated to the Zócalo, Mexico City's central square, beginning with a virtual voyage through Mexico's history, summing up the pavilion's basic themes: the historic construction of Mexico, the pride of its people and the coexistence of different cultures, ethnic groups, customs and beliefs.

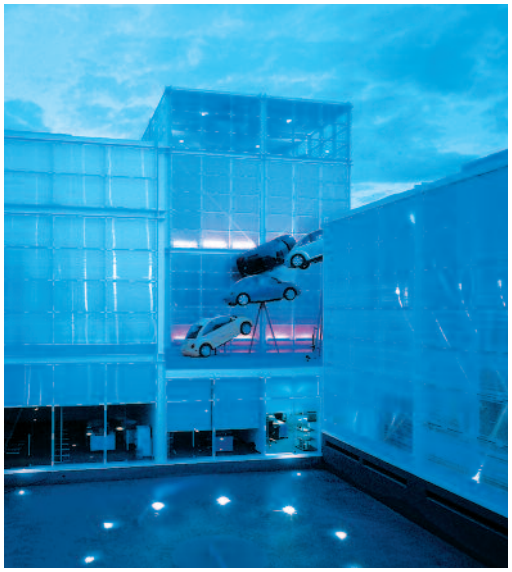
Two techniques are used in this hall: video and 3D computer modeling and rendering in real time. Present day Mexico in all its richness is portrayed on video while ancient Mexico is recreated by the computer in real time. Combining virtual and actual realities, the hall illustrates the continuity of Mexican history, despite the centuries between pre-Hispanic times and the present.

The National Mosaic

The second hall's message is that at the end of a century marked by worldwide racial, religious and economic strife, Mexico's most valuable achievement has been its diverse ethnic and cultural groups being able to live together.



Offering 1 by Juan Soriano.



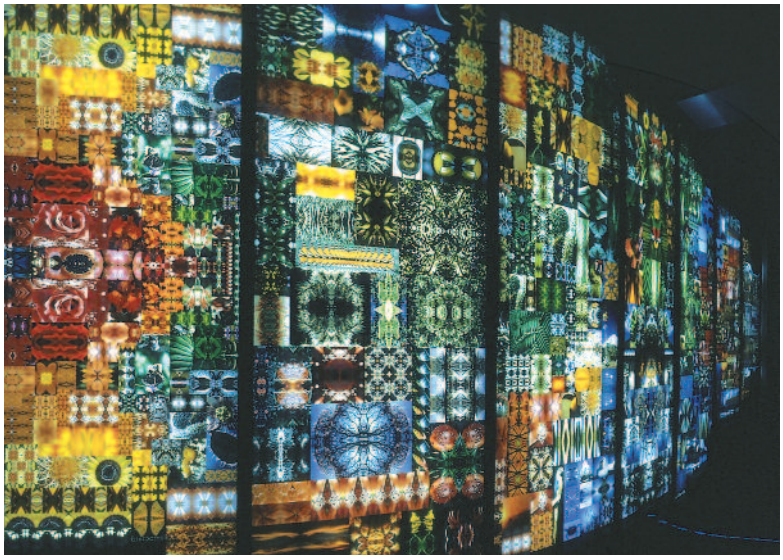
The Sea Patio.

The hall can be read on two levels. At eye level, the visitor may observe works of art representing different aspects of the national mosaic. The second level, on the upper frieze, boasts a display of photographs of different parts of the ethnic and cultural amalgam that is Mexico today.

The mosaic, a masterpiece of curatorship, is a dialogue between eras: pre-Hispanic sculptures such as *The Bat* or *The Priest of Death* share the spotlight with the more recent works of Diego Rivera, Saturnino Herrán and Rufino Tamayo.

The 16 large-scale photographs on the frieze emphasize the mix of ethnic and cultural groups expressed in our cuisine, markets, holidays and daily and family life.

Like in the rest of the pavilion, this hall offers an emotional and sensory —rather than analytical and intellectual— experience. The art, photographs and music present a synthesis of historic Mexico.



Hall 6. The Construction of Our Future.

The Mexican Spirit

The premise of the third hall is that faith, tolerance and the vocation for freedom are the elements that make up Mexican spirituality. This finds its expression in a diversity of ways, from folk culture to the fine arts, such as the poetry of Nezahualcóyotl, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Octavio Paz and the paintings of Rufino Tamayo, presented here.

The second area goes deeper into the heart of religious Mexico, into the popular tradition of the Day of the Dead. Using a life-size stereoscopic projection, the visitor is immersed in the nocturnal ritual on the Island of Janitzio in Michoacán.

Six screens lined up symmetrically along a

Mexico's pavilion, unique in its museography and design.

With All of Us, By All of Us and For All of Us, Too, installation by Yolanda Gutiérrez.

tunnel lead the visitor through preparations for the ceremony, the vigil and the setting up of the altars in this unique tradition.

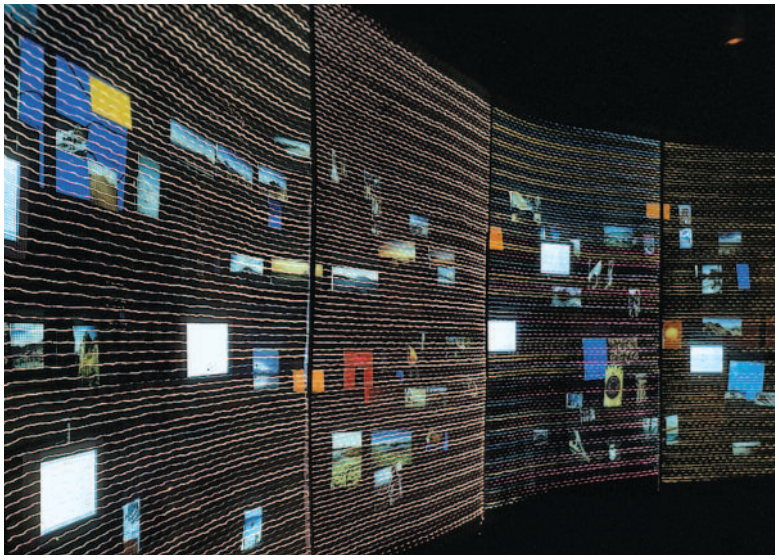
From the Pyramid to the Plaza

The fourth hall deals with Mexico's political construction. It is the testimony of a country on a quest for democracy, through institutions that capitalize on their historical experience and participate in the construction of a promising future.The hall is divided into two parallel areas. In the first, a video projection portrays the country's most relevant political moments in the twentieth century. It oscillates continuously between the past —when power frequently lay solely in the hands of a charismatic leader— and the present —characterized by the quest for democracy and more political participation by the public.

In the second area, a video projects scenes from the July 2, 2000 elections. The important turn-out at the polls, the timely public announcement of the results and the speeches by both candidates and the president acknowledging the results all illustrate how far elections have come in Mexico.

The two areas are connected at the end of the hall by an installation representing the country's political progress and its future, a result of the will and the common efforts of Mexican society. Young artist Yolanda Gutiérrez's piece consists of a large ear of corn resting on an internally lit onyx sphere.

The visitor may place a few multicolored grains of corn on the upper part of the sculpture as a metaphor for the construction of democracy in Mexico.



Hall 6. Interior wall seen from the entrance.

Hall 2. A dialogue between eras.

Hall 5. A creative People.

A Creative People

The fifth hall is dedicated to the economic construction of Mexico and illustrates the creativity, ingenuity and determination of the Mexican people in a diversity of ways. Also portrayed are, on the one hand, the tenacity in seeking out solutions to problems and, on the other hand, industrial progress resulting from the efforts spanning generations.

Like in a gallery, the hall displays 27 large-scale black-and-white photographs in glass showcases, photographs of products made by Mexicans participating in the country's economic construction in all fields: from handicrafts to complex industry.

The Construction of Our Future

The last hall is a representation of our promising future, showing the idea that Mexico is part of the globalization process and its future will be built in contact with the rest of the world. In addition, it portrays the idea that Mexico's future lies in sustainable development thanks to its human potential, rich natural resources and specific economic programs and policies.

The design combines photographs and videos seen through a woven mesh of moving fiber optic threads. The hall also contains two murals: one depicting Mexico's biodiversity and the other its children, a promising symbol of the country's strength.

The vestibule presents our tourist attractions and explanations of projects for sustainable development as well as an account of exporting strategies based on the free trade agreements with countries belonging to different economic regions of the world.

The Central Message

Through its museography, the Mexican pavilion in Expo Hanover 2000 strives to present an up-to-date image of our country, far from the stereotypes so prevalent today, offering the visitor a new way of seeing Mexico. In this context, it traces a historic road filled with struggle and sometimes explosive processes that spark changes. It also speaks to the construction of a country where ethnic and cultural blending has been unlike that anywhere else in the world. In Hanover, Mexico offers itself as a gift to the rest of the world; a country filled with historic hope, endurance and renewed perspectives. VM

Post-Latin American Art At San Diego's Museum Of Contemporary Art

Rubén Ortiz Torres, *Bart Sánchez*, 50 x 40 x 5.5 cm, 1991 (oil on particle board).

San Diego's Museum of Contemporary Art is currently presenting the exhibition "UltraBaroque: Aspects of Post-Latin American Art," exploring the influence and impact of the baroque on a broad range of contemporary artistic expressions in the Americas. The exhibition, open from September 2000 to January 7, 2001, presents a critical reevaluation of the baroque and its use as an important cultural metaphor in contemporary art.

"UltraBaroque" features sixteen of the most dynamic and innovative young artists working in the Americas today, whose work is well known in their own countries and abroad but, in some cases, not previously seen in the United States. The exhibit encompasses a tremendous diversity of endeavors including painting, sculpture, photography, video, installation and an array of

* Photos reproduced courtesy of MCA San Diego.

Franco Mondini Ruiz, *High Yellow* (detail), 243.8 x 182.9 x 274.3 cm, 1999 (colored water table).

multimedia works. The artists' wealth of ideas and attitudes is equally rich, from highly personal concerns to the exploration of the most relevant social and political topics, from powerful engagements of regional histories and memories to humorous and irreverent critiques of contemporary global culture. The exhibition's array of themes, diversity of interests and hybrid media reflect not only contemporary international artistic language but also the unique interweaving of cultures, races and voices that characterize the Americas today.

The museum's curators chose the concept of "ultrabaroque" to counter the central problems they perceived with the reception of Latin American art in the United States. They found that a common, disqualifying stereotype about Latin American art was that it was "baroque." Instead of just rejecting the clearly Eurocentric cliché behind the stereotype of twentieth-century Latin American art and culture, they mounted an exhibition that is intended as "an open proposal that examines the validity of the baroque as a means of examining our globalizing impulses, particularly in the area of visual culture." In her catalogue introduction, Elizabeth Armstrong, senior curator of the San Diego museum, writes, "The designation 'ultrabaroque' is itself a self-conscious (and intentionally playful) hybrid, which we apply to the art and spirit of this exhibition to suggest a very contemporary, postmodern, exuberant visual culture with inextricable ties to a historical period, style and narrative. It plays off the Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier's idea of a 'New World Baroque,' in which the European baroque [in its heyday at the time of the colonization of the Americas] encountered indigenous forms that were also baroque. The mingling of European and American forms produced an intensified baroque, 'a baroque to the second power'[1] —an ultrabaroque."[2]

The roster of artists in "UltraBaroque" includes Miguel Calderón (Mexico), María Fernanda Cardoso (Colombia/Australia), Rochelle Costi (Brazil), Einar and Jamex de la Torre (Mexico/United States), Arturo Duclos (Chile), José Antonio Hernández-Diez (Venezuela/Spain), Yishai Jusidman (Mexico), Iñigo Manglano-Ovalle (United States), Lia

Rochelle Costi, *Rooms,* 183 x 230 cm, 1998.

Battista Agnese, *Mappamundi,* 1544 (wash on vellum).

Menna Barreto (Brazil), Franco Mondini Ruiz (United States), Rubén Ortiz Torres (Mexico/United States), Nuno Ramos (Brazil), Valeska Soares (Brazil/United States), Meyer Vaisman (Venezuela/United States/Spain), and Adriana Varejão (Brazil). The exhibition co-curators are Elizabeth Armstrong, MCA Senior Curator, and independent curator Victor Zamudio-Taylor.

In conjunction with the exhibition, the museum has published a 212-page fully illustrated, bilingual catalogue that elaborates on the show's theme and underlying ideas and offers a history of art and culture in Latin America. The publication, available through Distributed Art Publishers (DAP), has three major components: individual entries on each of the artists in the exhibition; cross-cultural essays addressing historical precedents and contemporary issues raised by the exhibition; and a "sourcebook" of key texts that constitute "UltraBaroque's" artistic, literary and intellectual heritage.

Authors for the publication include Paulo Herkenhoff, Director of the Fourteenth São Paulo Biennial and Adjunct Curator at The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York; Serge Gruzinski, research director at the Center for Latin American Studies, the University of Paris; Victor Zamudio-Taylor, independent art scholar, critic and co-curator of the exhibition; and Elizabeth Armstrong, MCA Senior Curator and co-curator of "UltraBaroque."

José Antonio Hernández-Diez, *Indy*, 1995 (table stands).

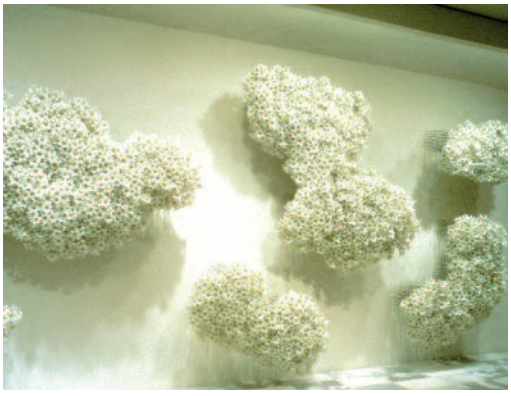
Following its debut in San Diego, "UltraBaroque" will travel to the Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth; the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto; the Miami Art Museum; and the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis. MM

Notes

[1] Lois Parkinson Zamora, "Magical Ruins/Magic Realism: Alejo Carpentier, François de Nome, and the New World Baroque," Bainard Cowan and Jefferson Humphries, eds., *Poetics of the Americas: Race, Founding, and Textuality* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1977).

[2] Elizabeth Armstrong, *UltraBaroque: Aspects of Post-Latin American Art* (San Diego, California: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2000), p. 4.

Artist Lia Menna Barreto's garden, Porto Alegre, Brazil.



María Fernanda Cardoso, *Cemetery/Vertical Garden*, dimensions variable, 1992/1999 (artificial flowers and pencil on wall).

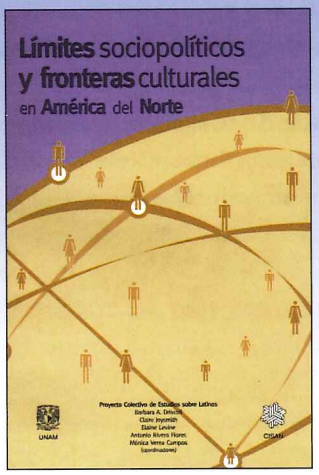
CISAN

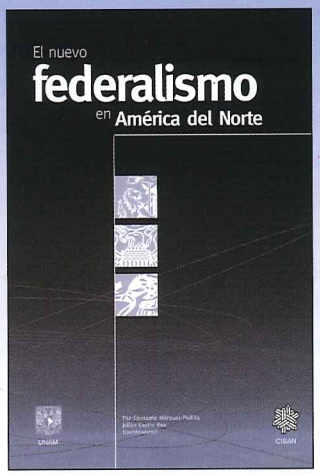
publications

Límites sociopolíticos y fronteras culturales en América del Norte

Barbara A. Driscoll, Claire Joysmith, Elaine Levine, Antonio Rivera and Mónica Verea, compilers

A multidisciplinary group of Mexican and foreign specialists study the growing presence of the Latino community in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the United States.





El Nuevo Federalismo en América del Norte

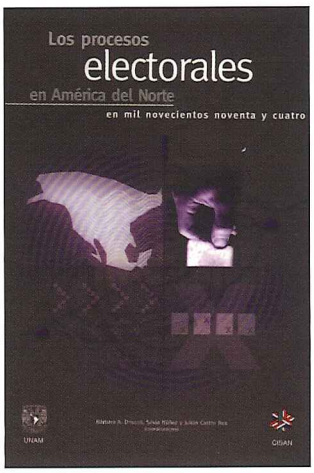
Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla and Julián Castro Rea, compilers

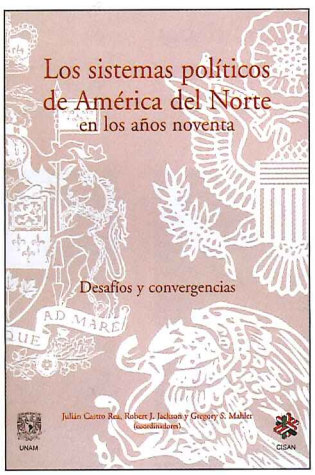
This work explores the origins, successes and contemporary dilemmas of the federal system in Mexico, Canada and the United States. In brief, the book looks at the factors that have an impact on federalism in North America today and recent trends in its transformation.

Los Procesos Electorales en América del Norte

Barbara A. Driscoll, Silvia Núñez and Julián Castro Rea, compilers

The importance of examining the elections in the U.S., Canada and Mexico in 1994 is that they were the first elections to take place under NAFTA. The convergence of political spaces implied in these elections cannot help but have an impact on all three countries.





Los sistemas políticos de América del Norte en los noventa. Desafíos y convergencias

Julián Castro Rea, Robert J. Jackson and Gregory S. Mahler, compilers

This book takes a comparative approach to the Mexican, U.S. and Canadian legal systems, constitutions, federalism, government institutions, domestic and foreign policies.

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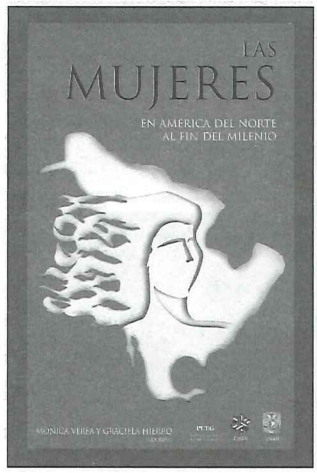
CISAN

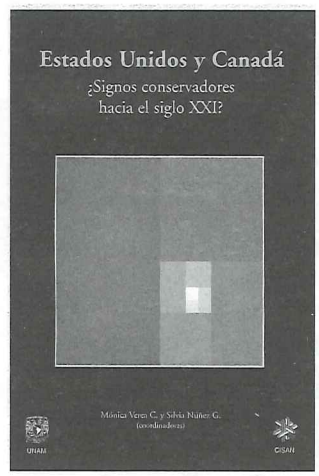
publications

Las mujeres al fin del milenio en América del Norte

Mónica Verea and Graciela Hierro, compilers

A pioneering concept, this book is a collective look by Canadian, U.S. and Mexican women academics, officials and artists at the work of today's women and the role they have played in North American societies.





Estados Unidos y Canadá ¿Signos conservadores hacia el siglo XXI?

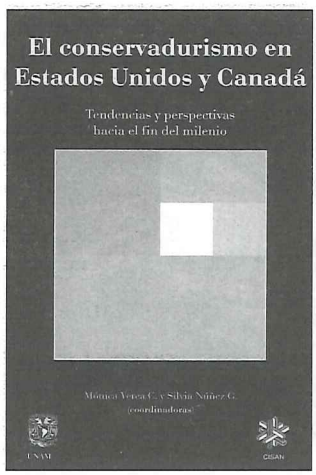
Mónica Verea C. and Silvia Núñez G., compilers

An exploration of conservatism in both countries. It points to the questions the North American societies are going to have to answer in the next century.

El conservadurismo en Estados Unidos y Canadá. Tendencias y perspectivas hacia el fin del milenio

Mónica Verea C. and Silvia Núñez G., compilers

Different analytical approaches and scholarly perspectives to characterize what is generally called "conservatism". The authors start from a recognition of multiple theoretical, conceptual frameworks in their endeavor to overcome stereotypes.



Nueva agenda bilateral en la relación México-Estados Unidos

Mónica Verea Campos, Rafael Fernández de Castro and Sidney Weintraub, compilers

A presentation from different angles of the most important items on the new bilateral agenda for the two neighboring countries.

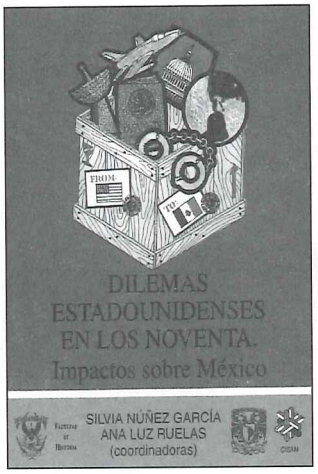
Forthcoming:

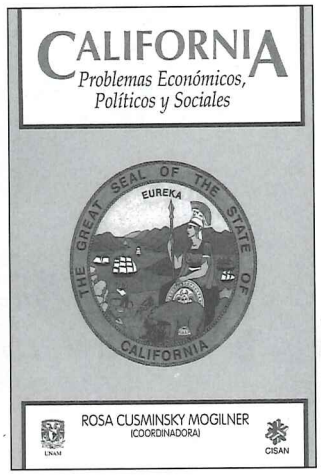
Los derechos de las minorías en Estados Unidos y México.
La globalización y sus manifestaciones en América del Norte.
El voto de los mexicanos en territorio estadunidense. Impactos nacionales y binacionales.

Dilemas estadunidenses en los noventa. Impactos sobre México

Silvia Núñez and Ana Luz Ruelas (coords.)

Reflections on the inevitable integration offers the reader a more horizontal look at ocurrent U.S. problems and their impact on Mexico: among others, the crisis of the welfare state, antiimmigrant paranoia, the changeover from a war economy to a more competitive civilian economy.





California: Problemas económicos, políticos y sociales

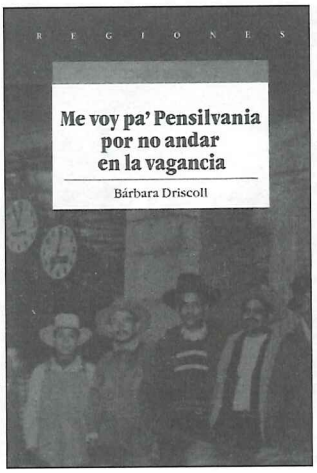
Rosa Cusminski (coord.)

Despite its recent crisis, California is still one of the strongest economies in the world. Specialists from Mexico and the United States examine different aspects of its social, legal, historical, economic and political life.

Arte chicano como cultura de protesta

Sylvia Gorodezky

An analysis of the paradoxes of Chicano art based on an overview of Chicano artists and their situation vis-à-vis Mexico and the United States. Includes color prints.



Me voy pa' Pensilvania por no andar en la vagancia. Los ferrocarrileros mexicanos en Estados Unidos durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial

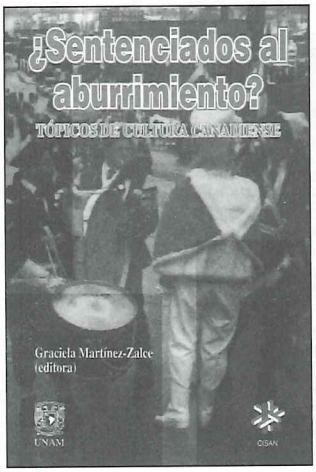
Bárbara Driscoll

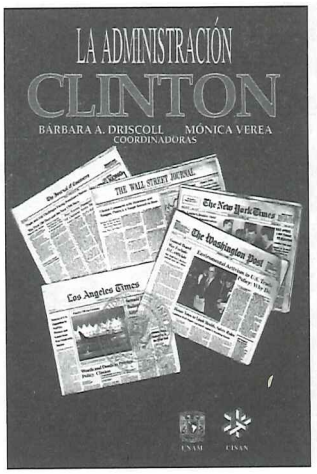
A look at the little known story of nonagricultural Mexican migrant workers in the United States under the Railroad Bracero Program instituted during the Second World War by both the Mexican and U.S. governments.

¿Sentenciados al aburrimiento? Tópicos de cultura canadiense

Graciela Martínez-Zalce (editor)

This work brings together different approaches and opinions about Canadian culture and identity. With a look at music, painting, film, literature, television, theater and history, cultural manifestations inherent in Canadian society, it questions the existence of a national identity and culture.





La administración Clinton

Bárbara Driscoll, Mónica Verea (coords.)

An analysis of the beginnings of the Clinton administration. A basic sourcebook to explain the transition to a Democratic Administration and to evaluate current political events.

Free Trade and Inequality in Mexico
State Tasks in the Early Twenty-First Century

Gerardo Torres Salcido*

Octavio Nava/AVE

One of the central questions on the Mexican agenda at the outset of the twenty-first century is whether the trade opening begun in the second half of the 1980s —the most important result of which was the North American Free Trade Agreement— has contributed or will contribute to lessening the poverty and inequality afflicting more than 50 percent of Mexico's population. This question is not easy to answer. In the first place, there is no consensus about the definition of poverty and inequality, despite the broad debate that has unfolded over recent years. In the second place, poverty and inequality in Mexico cannot be attributed only to the economic opening to the world market. Inequality in this country has historic, structural roots and efforts to overcome it have been the product of economic and political factors. Inequality has decreased in Mexico when periods of economic growth have coincided with specific policies designed to combat and curtail it in income distribution.

In this article, I propose to pinpoint the characteristics of inequality in Mexico and its evolution during the last decade, as well as the new function of policies to reduce the country's economic polarization. To deal with this important topic, we must begin by defining it.

Social inequality is the situation whereby social groups are differentiated by a disparity in their access to goods —whether public or private— generated in a particular territory. This can lead to poverty, if poverty is understood as the lack of those goods needed to sustain life at socially accepted levels.

* Researcher at the UNAM Center for Interdisciplinary Research in the Sciences and Humanities.

TABLE 1
CURRENT MONETARY HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY DECILES
(PERCENT OF PARTICIPATION)

Deciles of Households	Years		
	1992	1994	1996
I	1.04	1.01	1.23
II	2.27	2.26	2.55
III	3.35	3.26	3.55
IV	4.38	4.26	4.59
V	5.45	5.34	5.66
VI	6.76	6.67	6.98
VII	8.61	8.43	8.76
VIII	11.22	11.19	11.35
IX	16.08	16.29	16.14
X	40.84	41.24	39.12

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI), *National Survey of Household Income and Expenditures*, third quarters of 1992, 1994 and 1996.

However, inequality is rooted in specific forms of production and consumption in regional or national areas that contribute to generating economic, political and social living conditions that give identity and cohesion to social groups. For that reason, its definition cannot be limited to a disparity or deficiency originated by economic conditions.

In Mexico, social inequality has often been based on ethnic and rural origin, making it discriminatory. Individuals and collectives subjected to it have often seen their access to public goods like education, health and the exercise of political and social rights restricted. Access to education, for example, has always been linked to income, and one of the ways inequality has been imposed has been through excluding groups and individuals from enrollment. Another form of inequality is the kind that exists among different regions of the country: abundant public and private investment flows to some regions to the exclusion of others. This has caused the existence of what has been known as "the two Mexicos," that is, the North and the Center, with their higher levels of investment, education and social well-being, and the South, with its great deficiencies, particularly in rural areas, and a large indigenous population.

These forms of inequality determine the existence of an income gap as educational and sanitary deficiencies are impediments to the formation of a labor market with adequate pay. In Mexico, wage differentials among the population as a whole, and between the urban and rural population in particular, have been one of the most difficult structural problems to solve. Undoubtedly this problem has historical roots. Since colonial times, there has been a strong tendency to concentrate income. Often, poverty has been linked to rural groups, especially ethnic ones. Nevertheless, some urban groups also lack income, housing and sufficient services.

From the time the Mexican republic was born, groups of mestizos could be seen wandering the streets of the cities suffering all kinds of privation. The root of this inequality was in the heterogeneity of the Mexican economy: one part of it was geared toward satisfying demand on the international market and the other, immersed in a domestic economy based on personal or family labor relations. The heterogeneity of the population, the sectors of the economy linked to the international market and the technological backwardness of national industry all contributed decisively to the creation of a polarized society. This polarization was a fundamental concern for progressive political forces from the time of the founding of the Mexican state itself. That is why the 1917 Constitution provided for the recognition of social rights and the crea-

TABLE 2
CURRENT MONETARY HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY DECILES. URBAN AND RURAL AREAS
(PERCENT OF PARTICIPATION)

Deciles of Households	Urban Areas			Rural Areas		
	1992	1994	1996	1992	1994	1996
I	0.35	0.39	0.56	6.52	6.27	6.02
II	1.25	1.27	1.64	10.95	10.74	9.06
III	2.51	2.41	2.61	10.57	10.56	10.28
IV	3.65	3.55	3.93	10.64	10.29	9.32
V	5.01	5.00	5.03	9.18	8.26	10.11
VI	6.22	6.16	6.60	11.38	10.97	9.71
VII	8.50	8.04	8.73	9.58	11.68	8.99
VIII	11.46	11.28	11.42	9.19	10.38	10.85
IX	16.60	16.90	17.27	11.66	11.10	8.07
X	44.40	44.94	42.15	10.28	9.69	17.53

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI), *National Survey of Household Income and Expenditures,* third quarters of 1992, 1994 and 1996.

tion of institutions to diminish or temper inequality. The Mexican Revolution's promises of social justice were cast in a series of social rights that surpassed the individual rights defended by liberalism. To live up to those ideals, a series of instruments and institutions were created with the aim of guaranteeing access to education. The protection of waged laborers and land distribution were also part of the attempts to make those ideals of social justice a reality.

The decades after the armed struggle, but particularly after World War II, did witness a redistribution of income. Studies on the question indicate that inequality in the concentration of income dropped in the 1960s and 1970s.[1] Nevertheless, inequality began to rise drastically in the 1980s, affecting the living standards of most of the population and driving a series of phenomena that have affected family structure, such as violence and migration. In addition, over the last 20 years, new contingents of poor have been formed, fed by large sectors of state employees affected by that decade's adjustment policies, by industrial workers, peasants and other sectors that had traditionally benefited from the institutions and bodies created to curtail social differences.

In the early 1990s, Pedro Vuskovic wrote that Latin America was immersed in a crisis of inequality given that in addition to the structural inequality that plagued our countries, we were facing processes of polarization in which the middle classes tended to progressively join the ranks of the poor.[2] This new inequality has become permanent in the cities and countryside, showing just how far our countries are from attaining our goals of social justice.

Many have said that the situation generated over the last 20 years is due to the liberalization and fiscal adjustment policies implemented in Mexico because of the crisis of its populist state, born in the 1930s, which had neither solved the problems of inequality nor been rational in its social spending, which it used to manipulate elections and feed patronage systems. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the last 15 years a process of dismantling of institutions has made for limited protection of social rights. This has been linked to accelerated growth of international trade through which the state's role in economic processes and the reduction of inequality has changed. On the one hand, the state has gone from being a regulator of economic activity to being a "facilitator," making way for a managerial theory of the state in which its role is to assist in investment growth. In Mexico, with the prospect of the new administration of Vicente Fox, the voices saying that the state should be run like a corporation to increase efficiency are growing stronger,

TABLE 3
GINI COEFFICIENT. CURRENT NATIONAL INCOME

	1992	1994	1996
Gini Coefficient	.5086	.5137	.4889

as are those saying that abating inequality or living up to social responsibilities should not be priorities.

In a certain sense, this process of restructuring of the state has been going on in our country for many years. The signing of international free trade agreements has been a response to a vision of the state as a promotor of investments. The factors that have most influenced the goals of the free trade agreements Mexico has signed with the countries of North America, with the European Union, with South American countries like Chile, with Israel and with the countries of the so-called triangle of northern Central America (Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua) have been increased employment, a reduction of poverty and economic growth. Indisputably, the attainment of these goals has been linked to export growth, to the degree of making Mexico the world's eighth exporter, even though our exports depend increasingly on the large foreign companies. Its relative success has led some government officials to express their optimism about adopting trade agreements as mechanisms for distributing economic benefits and about the market's efficiency for solving the problem of poverty in the medium term.

However, if we look at one of the indicators of inequality, the evolution of income in the last decade, we will get an idea of the magnitude of the problem. One of the sources for current data is the National Survey of Household Income and Expenditures (ENIGH), which sheds light on Mexican families' income and spending. Although it does not tell us the income of the families that really concentrate the country's wealth, it is a valuable instrument for looking at the evolution of some indicators linked to family income. This survey has invariable shown that inequality is on the rise in Mexico.

> Poverty and inequality in Mexico cannot be attributed only to the economic opening to the world market. They have historic, structural roots.

Between 1992 and 1994, the current income of the first decile of households did not even reach 1.5 percent of the total income of the Mexican population. The highest decile, on the other hand, concentrated more than 40 percent of all income. This percentage increases if we take into account only monetary income. Households classified among the middle deciles —from the fifth to the eighth— saw their participation in national income drop, while those in the highest deciles —but particularly the tenth— saw consistent increases in their total participation. That means that under the administration of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, concentration of income took place at the expense of middle-income groups.

The 1996 ENIGH shows, to the contrary, that during that year, there was a two percentage-point drop in the participation of the highest-income group and a slight recovery by the middle-income sectors in their participation in total national income. However, one of the reasons for this was that the 1994 crisis affected all sectors of society and caused a slight drop in inequality as a result of the overall descent in income (see Table 1). This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the results of the 1998 ENIGH, which shows that the highest-income decile had recovered and now has even more than 40 percent participation in income.

The differences between urban and rural areas are even greater. Between 1992 and 1994, participation in total income of the highest decile was 42

percent in urban areas; by 1996 this dropped two percentage points in accordance with the general trend. In rural areas, apparently income distribution is not as polarized, but this is due to the conditions of generalized poverty that, according to the calculations of Boltvinik and Hernández Laos, affect more than 60 percent of all rural residents.[3] What can be observed, however, is that the decile of the highest-income households, representing only 3 percent of the homes in the countryside, tended to concentrate income even more during the 1995 crisis, almost surely because the peso devaluation favored agribusiness producing for export (see Table 2).

If we take into account the Gini coefficient, the index usually accepted for measuring inequality, Mexico is one of the countries with the greatest inequality in the world. Table 3 shows that the coefficient tended to follow the trend to concentrate income during the 1990s with a slight fall in 1996 due to the hypothesis I already mentioned.

This data sheds light on three important questions in the study of inequality in the last decade. The first is that the trade liberalization of the 1990s coincided with income concentration that seems to reverse the gains made in previous decades, and, therefore, it is not possible to establish a direct link between liberalization and greater income for the population. In the second place, inequality in urban areas is affecting a greater number of households, since greater income concentration seems to be operating most intensely there in the last decade. This suggests a displacement of poverty from rural to urban areas. In the third place, apparently, inequality tended to accentuate in rural areas in the last five years of the decade.

These trends seem to demonstrate that during processes of liberalization and state deregulation like those of recent years, in countries like ours, structural tendencies to concentrate income take the upper hand. If appropriate policies are not put in place, access to the goods which determine reversing inequality —education, health and employment— will also be restricted. Therefore, we can say that the problem of inequality cannot be resolved solely through economic growth or increased investment, given that it has profound historical roots that influence income distribution. In Mexico, the tendency to concentrate wealth, limited in the past by policies favoring more equitable distribution, has been reactivated by the new function of the state and its relations with the market. This has meant to a great extent the abandoning of effective social policies in urban areas and the implementation of compensatory policies in rural areas.

> Inequality rose drastically in the 1980s, affecting the living standards of most of the population and driving a series of phenomena that have affected family structure.

What can be done to narrow the gap between rich and poor in Mexico? This question is just as complex as the one asked at the beginning of this article, but is intimately related to it. To answer, we could observe, in the first place, that public policies for lessening inequality have centered on investment in human capital, basically health, education and nutrition in rural areas. They have actually contributed little to the formation of social capital, that is, to communities developing productive projects based on increased links of trust and mutual protection. In the 1980s an effort was made to identify groups of the poor in order to include them in social programs. This process has continued in the social policy of the Zedillo administration.

However, until now the need for jobs, for larger incomes or carrying out productive projects has not been solved. The plan of President-elect Vicente Fox (2000-2006) includes policies of this type through the creation of instruments for easy credit. However, it is not clear what the role of the state and public spending will be under the new administration given the globalization of the economy and the new tasks attributed to the state. Continuing to bet on simple liberalization and the expansion of international markets to beat back inequality is dangerous if not accompanied by public policy instruments aimed at reverting the tendency to concentrate wealth. VM

Notes

[1] Enrique Hernández Laos, *Crecimiento económico y pobreza en México* (Mexico City: CIICH-UNAM, 1992), pp. 107-111.

[2] Pedro Vuskovic Bravo, *Pobreza y desigualdad en América Latina* (Mexico City:CIICH-UNAM, 1993), pp. 22-23.

[3] Julio Boltvinik and Enrique Hernández Laos, *Pobreza y distribución del ingreso en México* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1999), pp. 187-193.

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Poverty as a Challenge For Mexican and U.S. Civil Society

Silvia Núñez García*

The year 2000 has seen the destinies of Mexico and the United States coincide as never before in recent years. Economic globalization and regional integration have set them in a pattern of asymmetrical interdependence, but have also provided a unique opportunity for mutual collaboration.

In this context, our aim is to offer an initial approach for exploring the potential capabilities of social forces that may be able to learn from each other and even work together beyond traditional borders to solve the common problems of poverty and social exclusion. Given the two nations' uneven development, clearly the profundity of these phenomena demand a still insufficiently completed in-depth analysis and a very careful comparison.

Citizens' organizations are becoming increasingly consolidated and attempting to strengthen their ability to take direct action to improve their societies. Therefore, we will focus on the convergence between DECA, Equipo Pueblo from Mexico, and ACORN, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, from the United States.[1]

> Because they link up individuals and communities to civil and economic rights, NGOs are crucial to modern democracy, whose legitimacy should be derived from a more effective distribution of social wealth.

A Snapshot of Poverty

According to the World Bank, poverty in Mexico is both a sizable and persistent problem, despite the fact that the country has the world's thirteenth largest economy, as a result of dynamic economic growth that reached 4.8 percent of the GNP in 1998.[2]

Dr. Julio Boltvinik states that with the country's total population of almost 100 million people this year, 54 million live in extreme poverty: 32 million in cities and the remaining 22 million in rural areas. Paradoxically, the official anti-poverty program, PROGRESA, states that only 15 percent of all Mexicans live in these conditions.[3]

A process of structural adjustment, embodied by privatization and deregulation, has widened the gap between rich and poor. Today the top one percent of Mexico's population concentrates 50 percent of national income.[4] Furthermore, between 1994 and 1999, the number of people with daily incomes below U.S.$3 a day increased from 32.85 percent to 36.09 percent.[5]

While malnutrition affects 40 percent to 65 percent of Mexicans, half of these people have a diet that falls below the minimum daily nutritional requirements established by the World Health Organization (2,340 calories). In contrast, 59 percent of the nation's wealth is in the hands of only 12 percent of its population.[6]

The lack of increased investment in education —this year about 3.9 percent of the national budget— aggravates the problem, as there are still 6 million illiterates and 18 million Mexicans who have not even completed elementary education.[7] In addition, there is only one doctor per 800 inhabitants.[8]

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Octavio Nava/AVE

Poverty must be recognized as a social problem inextricably linked to politics.

Now, to introduce the magnitude of poverty in the Unites States, we should address the importance of a dominant set of public values that tend to explain social inequality individualistically, as people are generally deemed responsible for their own plight.

In 1998, the Bureau of the Census reported that the poverty threshold for a family of four people in the United States was U.S.$16,660. That same year, 34.5 million Americans fell into this category.

Taking into account that the total population of the U.S. in 1998 was estimated at 271,059,000, 12.7 percent of Americans were living in poverty: at least one out of every 10 whites lives in deprivation, as do almost three out of every 10 Blacks.[9]

Of all Americans living in poverty, 45.8 percent are non-Hispanic Whites, 22.2 percent are Hispanic Whites, 26.4 percent are Black and 5.6 percent belong to other minorities.[10]

More U.S. children live in poverty than in any other developed country. They continue to represent 40 percent of the poor, and children under six are the most vulnerable.[11]

There has also been a decline in the value of real wages, particularly for unskilled and less educated workers, like those in the lowest twentieth percentile of the labor force who have experienced a 22 percent drop in real wages since the 1970s.[12]

In terms of the distribution of wealth, it is important to note that the richest 10 percent of U.S. households concentrate 85.8 percent of the growth in the stock market.[13]

Two Countries, Two Examples

DECA, Equipo Pueblo, A.C., was born in 1977 as a civic association that promotes social development from below, through alternative projects mainly at the local or regional level. Working closely with grassroots organizations and citizen coalitions, the group's main goal is to fight the negative impact of the current economic crisis on Mexico's most dispossessed population.

Its mission emphasizes not only the promotion of social justice, but the strengthening of democracy and human rights in a country where these basic claims, although included in the Constitution, are still threatened.

With an aim of playing a role in policy making, this organization pays special attention to forging citizenship as a key that can be translated into people's empowerment.

They hold that the impact of this would allow common people to participate in the design, management and monitoring of truly socially oriented public policies.

Equipo Pueblo's core challenge is to influence all levels of government, from local to national and beyond, that is to say, also foreign governments and multilateral organizations.

By having a comprehensive knowledge of the effects of globalization, as well as following up and assessing the consequences of the ongoing process of structural adjustment, they are looking for an alternative approach capable of redeeming both the national economy and the centrality of social policy.

They demand fair play between government and citizens, by virtue of the construction of a new culture deeply rooted in participation and commitment. With this in mind, ethical values would therefore pervade the public sphere.

Its basic premises are transparency and efficiency. They give a special place to developing research initiatives and publishing materials, as they understand their capacity for strengthening the organization's power and visibility.

Many international foundations, foreign governments and development

organizations from Europe, Canada and the U.S have financially supported Equipo Pueblo.

The U.S. organization, ACORN, was created in 1970. Its longevity, size and national scope make this group unique. It is absolutely committed to organizing the poor and powerless, using its experience to break new ground. It pioneered multi-racial and multi-issue organizing.

All members must play an active role in the organization, since ACORN is committed to organizational democracy and grassroots leadership. Members, not staff, speak for and lead the group. They elect leaders from within their communities to serve on the city, state and national boards that set policy for the organization.

ACORN stresses the importance of being active in mainstream politics, so they hold public campaigns to register new voters and to demand electoral campaign financing reforms. They have even created a progressive grassroots alternative to the two main parties which they call the New Party.

Among ACORN's successful activities are the establishment of local housing corporations. Also, it pressures banks to grant mortgages and home improvement loans in low-income communities. The ACORN Tenant Union organizes public housing residents nationwide on issues such as repairs and security.

This group has played a leading role in developing municipal policies requiring employers who benefit from public subsidies not only to hire community residents, but also to pay a living wage and provide opportunities for their advancement.

ACORN is committed to being self-sufficient. Members pay dues and organize fund raising events to raise 75 percent of the organization's entire budget.

Conclusion

These two groups carry out a wide range of programs that include policy analysis and advocacy, education, grassroots organizing and technical assistance, designed to support local or neighborhood groups, as well as other organizations or institutions, in their broad-based effort to empower people. They are also both a source of leadership.

The main conclusion to be reached after analyzing their common goals is that we must recognize that poverty is a social problem that does not exist apart from politics. Therefore, it is in such organized spaces that people suffering deprivation are not only able to inform themselves, but to gradually develop a rational, positive attitude toward the importance of social cohesion.

Because they link up individuals and communities to civil and economic rights, NGOs are crucial to modern democracy, whose legitimacy should be derived from a more effective distribution of social wealth. VM

Notes

[1] We consider DECA, Equipo Pueblo and ACORN NGOs because they are voluntary organizations "created to advance causes and issues of general social significance, as well as... [to serve] the nonprofit interests of specific groups." See *http://www.mihancivilsociety.org*. "The New Force. An Introductory Guide to Building Civil Society Organizations," June 2000, released by the Mihan Foundation.

[2] *http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/-mexico/jornada091999.html*. "Poverty Is on a Steady Climb in Mexico, Indicates the World Bank," September 1999, released by Global Exchange.

[3] The 54 percent figure has been calculated using the difference between total family income and the actual cost of a Standard Food Basket. Using other measurements, extreme poverty in Mexico came to 20 percent of the population under the Levy line method, and 29 percent by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) index. Source: Julio Boltvinik, "Economía moral. El error de Levy," *La Jornada* (Mexico City), 25 February 2000, p. 1.

[4] This number represents a group of 240 families. Arturo Gómez Salgado, "Se desploma el ingreso de los mexicanos: CT-UNAM," *El Financiero* (Mexico City), 2 September 1999, p. 21.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Germán Torres Rojano, "Se apodera de México la pobreza extrema," *Proyección Económica* (Mexico City), February 1999, pp. 54-55.

[7] Taken from Miguel Angel Granados Chapa, "Plaza Pública," broadcast by Radio UNAM (Mexico City), 8 June 2000.

[8] *http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2000/ene00/000111/pol3.html*. Rosa Elvira Vargas and Angeles Cruz, "Los avances de salud 'motivo de orgullo', asegura Zedillo," 11 January 2000, released by *La Jornada*.

[9] Ibid., table B-1, appendix B.

[10] Ibid., cover chart.

[11] Vincent N. Parillo et al., *Contemporary Social Problems* (Needham Heights, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon, 1999), p. 190.

[12] James Smith, as quoted in Margaret Andersen, "Restructuring for Whom?" p. 5, paper read at the Presidential Address of the 69th Annual Conference of the Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, March 5, 1999.

[13] Ibid., p. 4.

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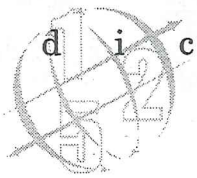

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Mexican Migration to the U.S. Is Regularization Possible?[1]

Mónica Verea Campos*

Elsa Medina

Waiting to cross "the line."

The twenty-first century is beginning very differently from the decade of the 1990s when the United States was going through a severe economic crisis and conservative anti-immigrant movements harped on the problems immigrants brought, labeling them job stealers, welfare leeches, criminals, drug traffickers and disease carriers, among other racist epithets that took the place of arguments. Their impact on public opinion and the U.S. Congress was so great that anti-immigrant bills like Proposition 187 in California passed, in turn a determining factor in the approval of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), one of the most restrictive immigration laws of the twentieth century.

Despite all this, an inescapable fact remains: the Latino population has increased steadily, particularly in the last years of the twentieth century. While this community made up 6.4 percent of the U.S. population in 1980, by the end of the 1990s it represented 11.6 percent. The main reasons given to explain this increase have been the constant demand for cheap labor in the United States and the existence of a large foreign work force seeking better job opportunities, higher wages and a better quality of life; the high birth rate among Latina women;[2] and a recent increase in the number of naturalizations, a growing trend among Latinos in general and Mexicans in particular.[3]

Certain projections indicate that the Latino community will be the largest minority in states like California and Texas by 2020 and in the entire country by mid-century. Of the 400 million U.S. inhabitants projected for the year 2050, one out of every four will be of Hispanic origin; that is, there is a trend toward the "Latino-ization" of

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the United States, a terrible piece of news for the nativists.

We are faced with an unavoidable fact: Mexico is the most important source of both legal and undocumented migration to the United States. The percentage of Mexicans in the U.S. community of foreign residents increased substantially in the last 30 years, going from 8 percent to 28 percent by the end of the 1990s. Mexican-Americans make up the largest single group in the Latino community, representing almost 60 percent of it. There is no doubt Mexicans have contributed to the economic growth of the United States in general and to the Southwest in particular. Proximity and growing interconnections between both countries' communities and labor markets in the light of important technological advances have been important incentives to emigration, but a 10-to-1 wage differential, which grows in times of economic crisis, has been the determining factor.

Proximity and growing interconnections between both countries' communities have been important incentives to emigration, but a 10-to-1 wage differential has been the determining factor.

It is a fact that U.S. employers have shown a preference for Mexican labor —available, docile, loyal and as productive or even more productive than anyone else— despite the fact that they frequently discredit it publicly decrying its lack of training and education.

Central Proposals on Immigration Policy In the United States

Today, in contrast with the recent past when anti-immigrant attitudes prevailed, some unions, officials, congresspersons and minority leaders have come out for liberalizing the border to allow foreign workers to enter. This should be taken into account: it is a historic change. Proposals to not only grant an amnesty but to increase the number of visas for temporary workers —both skilled and unskilled— have come up in the debate. This can be explained by the fact that the United States has experienced the biggest economic expansion of its history with an unemployment rate of only 4 percent, the lowest since 1969.

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Fox proposed free transit of workers across the border.

Recent statements by both Federal Reserve President Alan Greenspan and John Sweeney, the leader of the most powerful U.S. union confederation, the AFL-CIO, to the effect that regulated immigration is better than unregulated, illegal immigration are unprecedented. This stance qualified as legitimate U.S. employers' need to hire workers, even if they were foreigners.[4]

In the same vein, under the slogan "The New Economy Needs New Americans," bills have been presented to Congress seeking to increase the number of visas for temporary foreign workers. It has been proposed that the number of one-year H1-B non-immigrant visas issued to skilled workers be increased to 200,000. There have even been bills proposing eliminating the ceiling on visas, as long as the employer complies with certain prerequisites.[5]

With regard to the H2-A non-immigrant visa for seasonal agricultural workers, some businessmen have brought pressure to re-launch a guest worker program similar to the Bracero accords between Mexico and the U.S. in effect from 1942 to 1964. In July 1998, the U.S. Senate passed (68 votes to 31) the Agricultural Job Opportunity Benefits and Security Act of 1998 (or AgJOBS Program) that would create a guest worker program for agricultural workers. The House of Representatives has still not passed this bill, but among its main proposals are: a) granting undocumented workers conditional non-immigrant status if they can prove they have worked in agriculture 150 days a year. They could obtain legal residence as long as they continued to work in the agricultural sector for at least 180 days each year for five of the following seven years; b) culling every state employment service to find all citizens who seek employment and accept job offers from certain employers.

But one of the most interesting pieces of news has been the public, unprecedented union proposal that undocumented immigrants be granted amnesty and employers no longer be subject to sanctions for employing them, sanctions approved in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act but scantily applied. This proposal is a historic reversal: traditionally, this

sector had opposed legalization and supported sanctions to employers. In February 2000, the AFL-CIO issued a call to grant legal status to the almost 6 million undocumented foreigners that it estimated were residing in the United States. It should be pointed out that if all these workers' migrant status were regularized, they might swell the ranks of the unions, which have been losing membership in massive numbers in recent years.

All these proposals have become an electoral issue. Both presidential candidates, taking into consideration the growing Latino vote, have spoken to the immigration issue, specifically with regard to the amnesty and guest worker programs. In April, Democratic candidate Al Gore proposed that any unauthorized foreign resident be granted legal status if he or she could prove residence since 1986, when IRCA was approved. One month later, Republican George W. Bush said that he did not favor an amnesty, but did endorse a guest worker program.[6]

Central Proposals on Immigration Policy In Mexico

Simultaneously, former National Action Party candidate, President-elect Vicente Fox —who during his campaign said the Institutional Revolutionary Party administrations' stance on migration was solely interested in opening an escape valve and eluding their responsibility of creating jobs for the 350,000 people who seek employment on the other side of the border every year— has proposed a very ambitious long-term economic development plan that would include seeking bilateral financing for gradually opening up the border.

Fox estimates that emigration will continue as long as the wage differential remains so high.[7] He proposes a 7-percent annual growth rate, which would allow for the creation of the 1.35 million new jobs the Mexican population needs every year. This policy would put a brake on the tendency to emigrate abroad. The new element in his discourse is that, to end undocumented immigration into the United States, he proposes the border

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He also proposed including labor in NAFTA.

be opened up completely in 10 years creating a free transit zone for workers. He has even proposed the possibility of extending the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to include labor.[8] He thinks that if Europe has achieved it, we could probably do it in North America. Fox's daring statements have stirred reaction in the United States, particularly from officials and specialists. Many of them have said that our future president has great ambitions in this area, like Robert J. Samuelson, who wrote, "We should not let good will slip into sentimentality. American and Mexican interests sometimes collide —on immigration, for instance, where Fox seems to have large ambitions. Our interest lies in less immigration from Mexico, while Mexico's interest lies in more." [9]

Fox has also proposed eliminating the growing violence on the northern border because it only leads to tensing bilateral relations. This is the case of the Arizona ranchers' campaign to apprehend undocumented migrants entering the country through their land, hunting them down like animals.[10] They think that the way to solve the situation is by legally admitting more immigrants. "If we decide we need them for jobs, it should be through a legal port of entry —not across my land."[11]

President-elect Vicente Fox has proposed a very ambitious long-term economic development plan that would include seeking bilateral financing for gradually opening up the border.

Despite Fox's proposals seeming very idealistic and running the risk of raising expectations nationwide that will not necessarily come to fruition during his term, we Mexicans should take them under advisement, not only so that they be included on the bilateral agenda, but also so that the public on both sides of the border discuss them openly. It would be a good idea to know what people's positions are on this issue.

Possible Alternatives

My starting point is the premise that in the growing bilateralism generated over the last decade as a result of the greater institutionalization of Mexico-U.S. relations, it is essential to con-

Under the new AgJOBS program, undocumented workers could be granted conditional non-immigrant status if they can prove they have worked in agriculture 150 days a year.

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tinue establishing new links and mechanisms for cooperation, as well as exploring new, fresh ways to initiate negotiations about migration and take advantage of the temporary change in the tone of the U.S. debate, the recent demands by businessmen and minorities alike for the approval of an amnesty and the creation of temporary worker programs. The coming changes in the administrations of both countries could be a historic breakthrough for the ambitious proposals about migration now under consideration and achieving greater bilateral cooperation on the basis of common interests.[12]

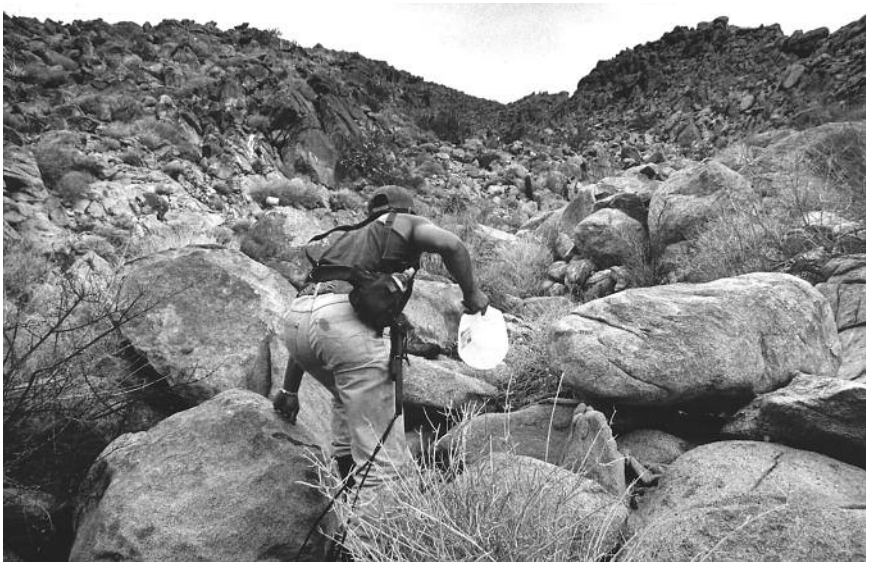
In the post-NAFTA era framework of growing regionalization and globalization, a review of the different possibilities for neighboring countries living together is urgent. To do that, we must analyze new national and regional security arrangements in order to set boundaries —in the broad sense of the term— and thus be able to both reinterpret and redefine concepts like sovereignty, nation-state, intervention, extraterritorial application of laws or norms and the possibility of the free transit of individuals.

As Mexicans, we cannot allow the border to continue as practically a war zone. We must determine the kind of border we want and then a border project should be redesigned establishing specific lines of action to systematize and administer the constant movement of human beings and achieve optimum management of the region that facilitates their crossing with dignity.

It would be important that both the United States and Mexico be aware of and recognize their geographical proximity with its *sui generis* history, sufficient in itself to justify a special relationship. If goodwill exists, I am sure that ad hoc bilateral migratory arrangements could be established without necessarily affecting other matters, much less either country's sovereignty. Also, one of the main objectives in achieving better understanding, given the migratory issue, is better articulated communications among the different participants, such as government leaders, local officials, business people, legislators, academics and members of nongovernmental organizations, among others, to establish points of view and the ways that lead to broad cooperation.

I am convinced that for optimal bilateral cooperation, the Mexican government must adopt a much more ambitious and aggressive attitude. Firstly, domestic policy on emigration must be designed to be consistent with the immigration policy we practice vis-à-vis our neighbors to the south. Once that policy is designed, we would have to lay out a joint program of migratory cooperation with the United States and Canada, as the center of a regional migratory policy. Although far from covering all the existing possibilities, the following are a series of goals and proposals for the short and medium terms that could be considered for formulating such a policy:

1. Create a permanent commission or collective working group on migration made up of people from different sectors: federal, state and local government; the legislature; the judicial branch; academia; the business community; unions; and NGOs. Using data from domestic and binational studies, these bodies could analyze and exchange



Elsa Medina

Mexico is the most important source of both legal and undocumented migration to the United States. The percentage of Mexicans in the U.S. community of foreign residents increased substantially in the last 30 years.

points of view about migration in order to generate new proposals and possible solutions that would end in the urgently needed formulation of a global policy on emigration. In developing policy recommendations, the importance that emigration has attained for our communities, the northern border and the nation as a whole would have to be taken into account.

2. Institutionalize an inter-ministerial body to administer, coordinate and implement the national policy on emigration.

3. Improve conditions for Mexicans who decide to migrate to minimize the risks they may run when crossing the U.S. border and once abroad.

4. Accept responsibility for the undocumented emigration of our nationals and set up mechanisms for acting legally, perhaps case by case, to defend their most elemental human rights.

5. Carry out an informational campaign about migrants' human and labor rights as well as about how they would benefit —in terms of greater safety and social and political participation, for example— by requesting legal residence, naturalization and dual nationality, all of which are steps Mexican emigrants do not usually take.

6. Analyze and evaluate whether we are allowing our best workers and brains to leave when our economy may well need them in the short and medium term. Here, we should take into consideration that some employers in northern Mexico are now expresing a growing demand for labor. When they cannot find workers to satisfy it, they hire workers from southern Mexico. Certain demographic factors should also be taken under advisement given that the Mexican birth rate is declining. Projections for the age group of people between 15 and 44, the most productive years, will decline almost by half by 2010. If this trend continues, not only could Mexican migration north diminish, but, to the surprise of many, the country will need foreign labor.[13]

7. Make a study of Mexico's brain drain to the United States, concretely, the case of increasing numbers of young people who decide to study in a U.S. university and after graduation receive attractive job offers, making it possible to arrange their migratory status. These young people unfortunately do not return because of the significant wage gap between our two countries.

Given the current political situation, with both countries beginning new administrations in 2001, we could study the possibility of bilaterally negotiating different proposals, some backed up by different sectors in the United States. Among those I consider the most important are:

1. Putting their migratory status in order or formulating an amnesty for the thousands who have been working for years for U.S. employers in a significant number of states.

2. Creating a program of special visas for Mexico. This could be set up with an annual entry quota for Mexicans who want to work in different sectors and regions, taking into consideration both the mistakes made in the application of the Bracero Program and the Mexico's and Canada's current Temporary Agricultural Workers Program[14] and the recently proposed AgJOBS, without being restricted to farm labor. This program could contain the following guidelines, among others:

a) Granting 150,000 special visas a year, a number which corresponds to half the annual net flow of undocumented workers into the United States.

b) Making it possible for workers hired not to be tied to any specific region, branch of the economy or specific employer. Workers would also travel free of cost to their first place of work.

c) Giving workers the rights to the social benefits corresponding to the taxes withheld from their paychecks, equal to those earned and withheld from U.S.-born workers doing the same kind of job.

d) Renewing these visas annually and granting permanent residency to temporary workers after five years if they can demonstrate having been employed three-quarters of the time they were in the United States. This could become the framework for negotiating a possible amnesty for our undocumented migrants who have worked for more than five consecutive years and who continue to make their way without legal status.

3. Setting up a repatriation program with incentives for returning to Mexico not only for temporary workers but also for legal U.S. residents who wish to come back to their communities of origin. This program would also require setting up:

a) A binational complementary resources fund and/or a U.S.-Mexico repatriation trust financed from different sources that would provide economic support such as no-interest loans to temporary or permanent legal residents who wish to return to Mexico.[15]

b) A savings fund as an incentive for temporary workers to return to their communities of origin. A previously determined percentage set by both governments withheld from workers' paychecks could be withdrawn at the end of their stay in the United States. Every dollar withheld could be matched by a dollar from the complementary resources fund mentioned above. The amount the worker withdrew, then, would be double what he/she had contributed because of the complementary nature of the program and interest earned. This would make returning very attractive. If he/she withdrew these funds, he/she would sign a document promising to return definitively to Mexico. To protect the program against fraud, if he/she became an undocumented worker, he/she would incur a heavy fine.

4. Negotiating the eventual demilitarization of the border in order to protect human dignity. Surveillance along the border has quadrupled in the last six years and the results have been dramatic. As a consequence, the business of trafficking in human beings has become even more lucrative than before. Today, the *polleros*, or traffickers, charge significant sums for getting people across the border and sometimes even getting them jobs, but they make them cross the border over rough terrain, endangering their health and causing a greater number of deaths. Violations of migrants' human rights are on the rise and, in a boomerang effect, migrants tend to stay longer than they originally intended and in other circumstances would have.

In general —and continuing in the spirit of collaboration that the NAFTA negotiations brought— it would be essential to create even more incentives for cooperation among border states, so that they can develop their own ways of managing migratory flows. It might be a good idea for neighboring states to create pilot immigrant programs for temporary jobs. These programs would be useful in designing future cooperation accords.

Finally, we should explore, discuss and evaluate the possibility of setting up a long-term project —including a specific program and overall guidelines— for integrating both our economies and societies in order to move gradually toward the creation of the North American Community. Although this may irritate some sectors of U.S. society, we should be able to openly discuss the possible creation of an area without borders like the European Union where goods, capital, services and people could flow both ways. Nevertheless, we must be conscious that when we accept the abolition of control over our northern border, as the Europeans have done, we would have to trust in the proper external supervision by the United States of the entry of persons from third countries that were not members of this future North American community, and assume the corresponding responsibility and consequences.

Meanwhile, we must try to achieve a more harmonious relationship in migratory matters, with bilateral focuses, rejecting as much as possible unilateral measures that so negatively affect our relations. Let us develop this tendency to consultation and bilateral cooperation which, I am sure, will lead us to better regional cooperation in the interest of both countries. VM

NOTES

[1] This article is a summary of another, "La migración mexicana a los EUA. Perspectivas para el siglo XXI: ¿será posible su regularización?" included in a book currently being prepared in the CISAN for publication by Rosío Vargas, Remedios Gómez y Julián Castro, comp., *Las relaciones de México con Estados Unidos y Canadá: Una mirada al nuevo milenio*.

[2] Latina women have an average of three children and non-Hispanic white women, 1.8. "United States: Oh say, can you see," *The Economist,* 11 March 2000.

[3] The jump in naturalizations has stemmed both from the Amnesty Program approved by the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act

(IRCA) and the anti-immigrant atmosphere of the 1990s. About 4 million immigrants have been naturalized since 1995, an unprecedented number. Of these, 1.9 million are Latinos. An estimated 1.33 million applicants for naturalization are now on the waiting list. Harry P. Pachon and Adrián Pantoja, "Domestic vs. Foreign Policy Concerns of Latino Leaders in the U.S." (paper read at the Twenty-second International Congress on Latin American Studies in Miami, Florida, 17 March 2000), p. 8.

[4] "Piden aumentar en Estados Unidos empleo para migrantes," *Reforma* (Mexico City), 18 February 2000, p.1.

[5] The current limit is 115,000 visas up until October 1, 2000, when it will drop to 107,500.

[6] Gene Sperling, advisor for domestic affairs to President Clinton, opportunistically proposed giving legal status to some undocumented immigrants saying that it was only fair and equitable. In May 2000, Jack Kemp and Henry Cisneros also came out for an amnesty.

[7] "Mexico President-Elect Seeks Open Border with U.S.," Reuters, 9 July 2000.

[8] "Immigrants and the Mexican Election," Msk@cis.org, CISNEWS@cis.org, 5 July 2000.

[9] Robert J. Samuelson, "The Limits of Immigration: United States Cannot Be a Sponge for Mexico's Poor, Even to Help the New President," *Newsweek*, 24 July 2000, p. 2.

[10] Undocumented migrants now cross the border through the Arizona desert through land owned by ranchers and rural residents who are incensed because they pull down their fences and let the cattle out. Proud of hunting these migrants, they allege that they have the right to defend their property. For example, Roger Barnett, from Douglas, has captured up to 170 migrants in one day and has become the hero of the country's anti-immigrant activists. In the year from October 1998 to September 1999, official figures put the death toll of undocumented migrants crossing the border at 230. Between October 1, 1999 and March 31, 2000, 114 died, a substantial increase with respect to the 49 cases registered in the same period in 1997-1998. It is feared that 2000 may be a record year. "Border Clash," *Time*, 26 June 2000, p. 20.

[11] Ibid., p. 19.

[12] For more information, see Manuel García y Griego and Mónica Verea, "Colaboración sin concordancia: La migración en la nueva agenda bilateral entre México y Estados Unidos," Mónica Verea, Rafael Fernández de Castro and Sidney Weintraub, comps., *Nueva agenda bilateral en la relación México-Estados Unidos*, Política y Derecho Collection (Mexico City: FCE/CISAN-UNAM/ITAM, 1998), pp. 107-134.

[13] "La migración y el futuro," *Informe del Estudio Binacional de Migración* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1998).

[14] A detailed analysis of both programs can be found in Mónica Verea, "La migración mexicana a los EUA. Perspectivas para el siglo XXI. ¿Será posible su regularización?" op. cit.

[15] Among the 12 steps that he proposes for a migratory policy, Douglas Massey includes the establishment of a binational agency for economic development as well as a migrant savings bank "that pays dollar depositors above-market interest rates as a means of attracting earnings back to Mexico." Douglas S. Massey, "March of Folly: U.S. Immigration Policy after NAFTA," *The American Prospect* 37 (March-April 1998) p. 33. (http://epn.org/prospect/37/37massnf.html) and Douglas S. Massey and Kristin Espinosa, "What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 102 (1997), pp. 939-999.

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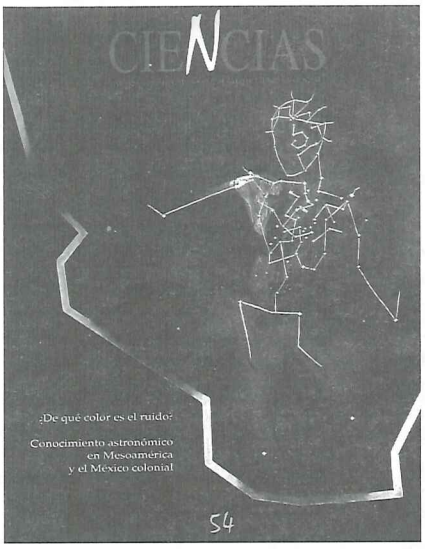

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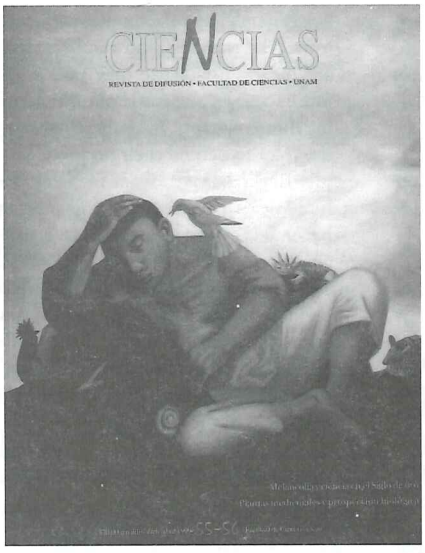

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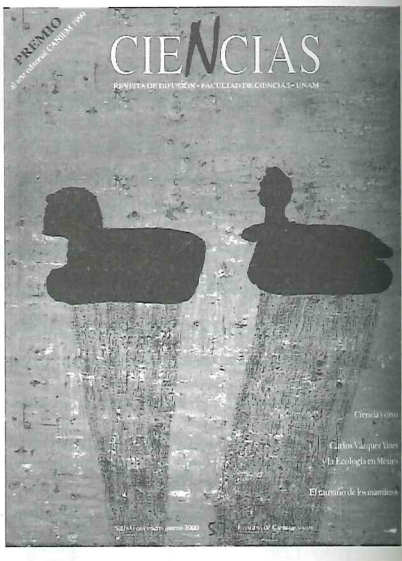

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The Scope of First Nation Self-Government in Canada

Isabel Altamirano*

Courtesy of Isabel Altamirano

Mohawk artist Ellen Gabriel and one of her works.

Throughout the hemisphere in recent decades, indigenous peoples have waged many struggles for their political and cultural demands. Canada is no exception, though the response to the demands has been quite different from that in other countries. In Canada, the rights of indigenous peoples, or first nations, have not been established through constitutional amendments, but in treaties between different groups and the federal and provincial governments.

In this article, I will discuss some implications of indigenous self-government. My starting point is that it is a fundamental right of aboriginal peoples and is recognized as such by the government, native organizations and academics in Canada. The problem does not lie in its legitimacy, but rather in how to put it into practice in a country which has legal divisions among the different indigenous groups, differences about the notion of self-government and distinct cultural traditions. These distinctions have manifested themselves in each of the first nations' seeking the recognition of their rights in a treaty —rather than in Canada's Constitution. That is, each group pursues its own community's interests, putting them before the recognition of the rights of all the indigenous groups.

In Canada, the aboriginal groups are made up of the indigenous, the Inuits and the Méti. The Méti descend

* Political sociologist.

from the marriages of different indigenous groups and the first colonizers, mainly French and Scots. They were never considered part either of the colonizers' or the indigenous communities; they are a group apart which considers itself the "New Nation." The Inuits are communities that have inhabited the frozen tundra of Canada, Greenland and Alaska; their lifestyle and culture are adapted to the polar region. The indigenous are groups of different cultural traditions who inhabit different parts of the country.

The indigenous and the Méti in turn each have categories. The indigenous are divided into those with status and those without status: the difference is that some of the former signed historic treaties;[1] they are registered under the Indian Act; and they live on reservations, while others are registered but signed no treaties in the past. Those without status have never signed agreements nor have their rights and territories been recognized.[2] Some of the Méti have signed agreements and had their territories recognized by the Alberta provincial government, while others are still pressing territorial demands.

This complex division among the different groups has given rise to a lack of coordination and alliances among them which has been taken advantage of by government representatives during negotiations. The Canadian government recognizes two basic types of claims: comprehensive and specific. Comprehensive claims are all those based on natural or inherent rights of the communities who never signed treaties but who aspire to resolving the legal ambiguities about their territorial rights.

Specific claims are more explicit and are linked to rights established in signed treaties which have not been respected (this does not include questions such as hunting and fishing rights).[3] For the groups' claims to be successful, they must gather the pertinent documents and present them to the Office of Specific Claims of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). If their evidence is accepted as valid, a negotiation process begins to determine the appropriate compensation, generally monetary.[4]

Specific claims have been criticized for being restricted and unfair, first because they take a great deal of time and, second, because many times they do not result in the restoration of the lands, but in economic compensation in exchange for the indigenous peoples' accepting restrictions of the rights originally recognized in the treaties.

Groups like the Inuit, the Méti, the Dene and the Yukon were confronted with the need to organize to demand their rights. The government's first response to the protests was to deny they had any legitimacy. However, their actions and denunciations, both domestically and internationally, forced the government to change its stance.

For the government to accept opening negotiations in the case of comprehensive claims, the groups must demonstrate, among other things, that: 1) they have inhabited the territory in question from time immemorial; 2) this territorial occupation excluded other organized societies; 3) they continue to occupy and utilize the land in accordance with their traditions; and 4) their aboriginal rights over the land and natural resources have never been abjured by treaties or other legal means.[5]

These comprehensive claims come out of the struggles in the 1970s in the Canadian North West by aboriginal peoples against the oil companies who left nothing to the communities and radically changed their way of life. Groups like the Inuit, the Méti, the Dene and the Yukon were confronted with the need to organize to demand their rights.[6]

The government's first response to the protests was to deny they had any legitimacy. However, these peoples' actions and denunciations, both domestically and internationally, forced the government to change its stance. The Supreme Court of Canada rulings on the Van der Peet cases were important precedents for establishing the aboriginal peoples' retaining their rights over lands they had inhabited and used traditionally, as well as over fishing and hunting grounds, and that these rights could only be relinquished through treaties or other laws approved by the Crown.[7]

Comprehensive rights have been very criticized by Indian and non-Indian groups alike as a mechanism whereby the Canadian government completely eliminates aboriginal rights by exchanging economic compensation for them and lessens the possibility of

signing a treaty. However, I should mention that negotiation policy has changed: since 1986 the groups may even negotiate questions related to self-government as part of their comprehensive demands.[8]

The fact that two types of claims are recognized by the Canadian government implies that certain groups have signed treaties while others never have: that is, they are historically differentiated. At the same time, since the rights recognized are different from one community to another, the groups mobilize to fight for their own particular demands, which impedes their joining forces in a single effort to fight for all the rights of all aboriginal peoples. As an example, we can look at the Charlottetown Accords.

In October 1992, in the context of the celebration of the fifth centennial of the arrival of Christopher Columbus to the Western Hemisphere, Canadians in provinces with indigenous population voted on a referendum about a package of constitutional reforms to restore the right of indigenous peoples to self-government. If it had been approved, the country would have been at a vanguard of recognizing this right. However, voter response was quite low, and in the end the referendum was defeated. What is more, 62 percent of the indigenous population rejected the amendments.[9]

After the Oka crisis in which the Mohawk demanded the recognition of their land title,[10] Canadian public opinion shifted to favor the recognition of self-government. Nevertheless, the aboriginal communities themselves rejected it. This can be explained by several elements: the foremost is the role that the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) played when it mobilized against the reform package. From NWAC's point of view, native women's rights had not been guaranteed in the negotiations process, which had been carried out fundamentally by indigenous men.[11]

NWAC considers that indigenous women face double discrimination in Canadian society: both gender and racial. For this organization, it is important to recognize aboriginal peoples' right to self-government, but at the same time, individual rights must be guaranteed, something which cannot happen if governments "simply choose to recognize the patriarchal forms which now exist in our communities."[12]

The Native Women's Association of Canada demands the recognition of aboriginal peoples' right to self-government, but also that individual rights be guaranteed, something which cannot happen if governments simply choose to recognize the patriarchal forms that now exist in these communities.

Native women seek a balance between collective and individual rights, or, stated in other terms, between tradition and modernity.[13] This was a critical factor in the process of the Charlottetown Accord since for native women it was fundamental that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms be adopted by indigenous governments to counter discrimination inside their own communities. The leaders opposed ratifying this legislation because they do not think it represents their system of values, history or traditions and it emphasizes individual rights and responsibilities.[14]

The second factor in the failure of the constitutional reforms was the lack of political representation of the different groups. The Assembly of First Nations (AFN), as a national organization, was one of the main negotiators of the content of the reform package. However, many important groups and organizations did not feel represented. The peoples who make up the AFN are those with status, that is, those registered in the Indian Act. This excludes Indians without status, the Inuit and the Méti. Thus, the different categories of aboriginals has not only created division among the groups, but also different material and political interests.

Since the Constitution does not recognize the same rights for all the peoples, the government negotiates a specific treaty with each group. The result is that the scope of each treaty depends on the political presence and negotiating capabilities of indigenous leaders. Despite these limitations, the treaties include self-government, title to land and natural resources, public policies, membership, the administration of justice and financing.

In addition to the distinct legal classification of the aboriginal groups, they also differ in matters of culture and how they perceive the notion of self-government as a central demand. Despite this, as Alan C. Cairns writes, "self-government has the potential to give

dignity to those who live it and practice it. It is a powerful symbolic indication of equality. It contributes to self-reliance by supporting the thesis that responsibility begins at home. Presumably it will erode the powerful tendency of dependent people to blame others for their misfortunes and to expect others to be their salvation."[15]

The exercise of indigenous self-government reflects the conflict between the universal and the specific, the individual and the collective. In addition, it makes it clear that constitutional recognition of inherent rights of these peoples is not enough to completely ensure new relations between them and the state. Real recognition of cultural diversity must stop conceiving of the majority of society and indigenous peoples as separate, independent identities, based on a differentiation of bad and good, based on the traditional past and the present modernity, to give rise to a notion that recognizes points of intersection between the two, establishing a civic relationship between them.

This civic relationship can be translated into what we call "differentiated citizenship"[16] based on the following premises: 1) it is not enough for the Constitution to recognize cultural diversity; this is only the first step; 2) concrete political agreements must be reached to exercise differentiated citizenship through a geographically autonomous government; and 3) since we are talking about citizenship, it includes all the indigenous groups and not only those with the greatest negotiating capabilities.

The idea here is not oppose the partial solutions embodied in each treaty since they express different geographical and cultural conditions, different forms of traditional government and distinct ethnic composition. The problem with this strategy is that it does not follow homogeneous criteria in negotiations, and therefore reproduces and deepens the already profound differences among Canada's aboriginal groups. VM

Notes

[1] Among these groups are the Chippewa, the Ojibwa, the Saulteus and the Blackfeet. Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North West Territories* (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke and Company, Publishers, 1991).

[2] Among these are the Inuit, the Méti and the Cree.

[3] The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development cannot deal fully with the demands for total respect for hunting and fishing rights, since in recent decades these questions have been taken to the Canadian Supreme Court. When the court has found in favor of the indigenous groups, it has forced the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to comply with the ruling. Roger Townshend, "Specific Claims Policy: Too Little Too Late," Diane Engelstad and Joe Bird, eds., *Nation to Nation* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1992).

[4] From 1990 to 1991 the Canadian government paid Can$15.5 million in compensations. Between 1973 and 1989, 515 claims had been presented, but only 79 approved. (DIAND, *Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Federal Policy for the Settlement of Native Claims* (Ottawa: n/p, 1993).

[5] Joseph Mensah, "Geography, Aboriginal Land Claims and Self-Government in Canada," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 12 (fall 1995), p. 265.

[6] Angus Murray, "Comprehensive Claims: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," Diane Engelstad and Joe Bird, eds., op. cit., pp. 67-68.

[7] Ken McNeil, "New Directions in Aboriginal Rights: Reassessing Aboriginal Title and Governance" (paper read at the Fifteenth Biennial Congress of the Association for Canadian Studies in Pittsburgh, Penn., November 1999).

[8] This policy is linked to the 1982 changes in Canada's Constitution which now not only recognizes the existence of the three aboriginal groups, but also ratifies and recognizes existing treaties.

[9] Radha Jhappan, "Inherency, Three Nations and Collective Rights: The Evolution of Aboriginal Constitutional Discourse from 1982 to the Charlottetown Accord," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 7-8 (spring-autumn 1993), p. 226.

[10] The Oka-Kanesatake conflict began when the city government approved a permit to expand a golf course onto land that the Mohawk considered their sacred burial grounds, that is, their land.

[11] Several women's organizations were denied government support for preparing and presenting constitutional proposals at the Charlottetown Accord discussion table.

[12] Stacey Moore, "Aboriginal Women, Self-Government, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the 1991 Canada Package on the Constitution" (paper read to the Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa, Ont., 1991), p. 5.

[13] Ibid., p. 7.

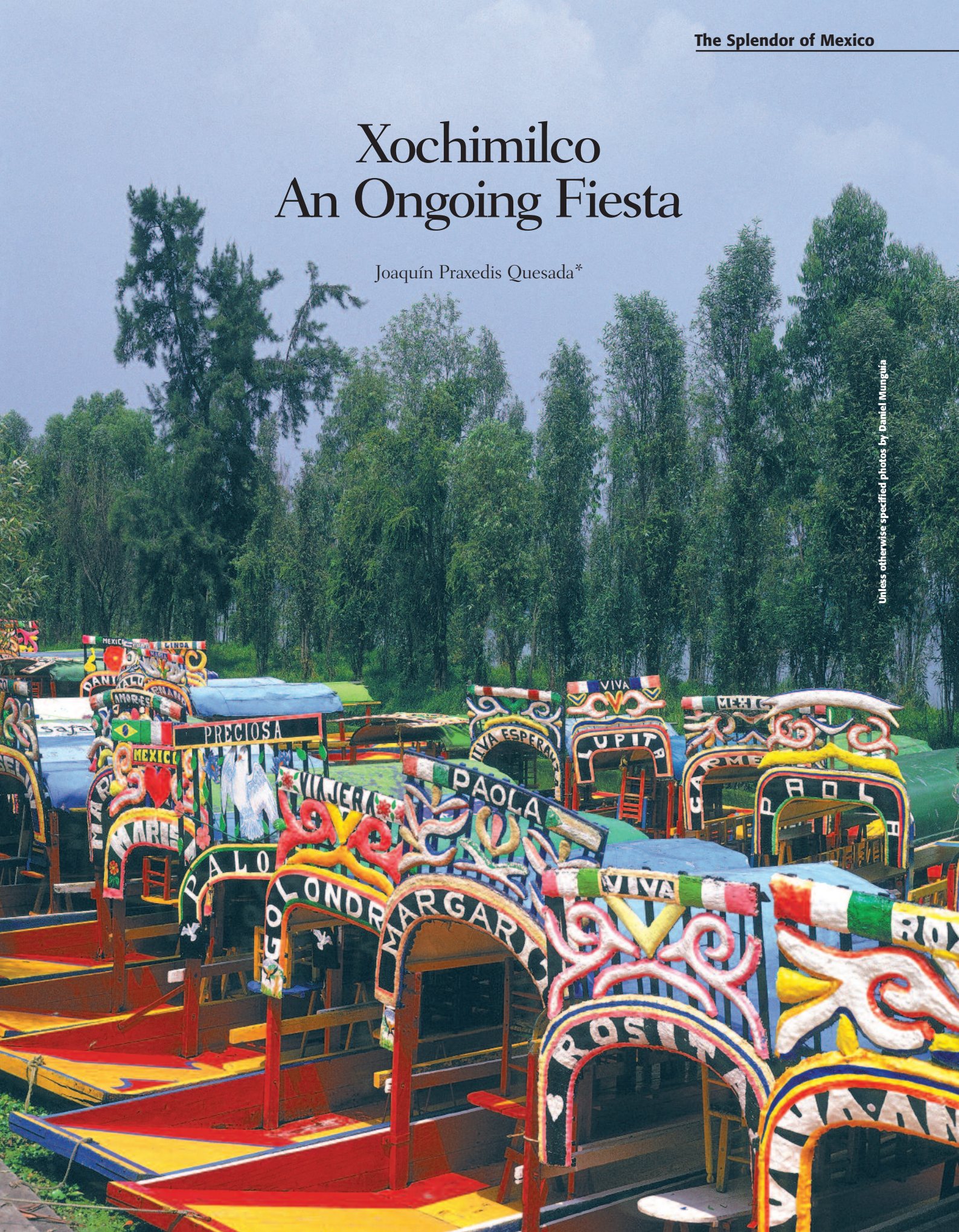
[14] Mary Ellen Turpel, "The Charlottetown Discord and Aboriginal Peoples' Struggle for Fundamental Political Change," Kenneth McRoberts and Patrick Monahan, eds., *The Charlottetown Accord, the Referendum, and the Future of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 135.

[15] Alan C. Cairns, *Citizens Plus* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2000), p. 111.

[16] This proposal is more profoundly developed in Isabel Altamirano, *Los pueblos indígenas ¿ciudadanos diferenciados? Los pueblos indígenas de México y Canadá en una perspectiva comparativa* (master's thesis, Instituto José María Luis Mora, Mexico City, 2000).

Xochimilco
An Ongoing Fiesta

Joaquín Praxedis Quesada*



Unless otherwise specified photos by Daniel Munguía

Church bells peal and fireworks fill the night skies and our ears with their blasts. Our hearts and minds are preparing to see the materialization of the beliefs of a whole people appear around the next corner, carried by the faithful.

No one in the chaotic tumult of the procession seems surprised at the outpouring of colors, sounds and flowers. All our senses are poised to participate in a demonstration of popular religiosity. We are in Xochimilco, the land of flowers.

Many see Xochimilco as an emblem of Mexican-ness, like talking about *charros*, those horsemen with wide-brimmed hats, mariachis or the Zócalo, the symbol of Mexico and everything Mexican. When we say its name, it brings to mind its typical *trajinera* barges, flowers, floating gardens, canals and Sunday family outings. But underneath all this is a community with an age-old history giving sustenance and strength to a profoundly religious people.

Xochimilco celebrates 421 fiestas every year, most of them religious. Its 126 square kilometers encompass 17 neighborhoods, 14 small towns and 30 communities, each with a Catholic patron saint.

* Director of the Xochicopalli Michihua Association.

Xochicopalli Michihua Ass.

The Niñopa.

Among the most celebrated religious images in Xochimilco is the Niñopa, an image of the Baby Jesus, that visits a different home every day.

Xochicopalli Michihua Ass.

Every year Xochimilco picks "The Most Beautiful Flower of the Ejido," an homage to mestizo beauty and its wide variety of flowers.

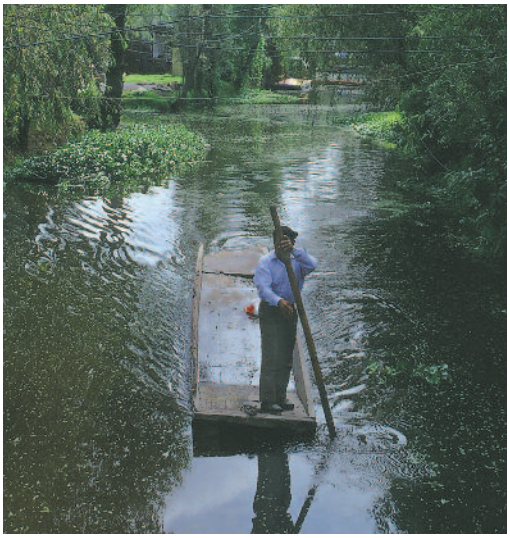
During the colonial period, the Franciscan friars were given the Xochimilco area to evangelize, and they used a wide variety of methods to convert the indigenous population. They managed it, but not without the natives introducing some of their own contributions into the new beliefs. These contributions —not always very obvious— survive in today's religious festivities so closely intertwined with the Catholic faith.

Trade fairs are also celebrated in the area, but linked to the liturgical calendar. One example is the traditional fiesta "The Most Beautiful Flower of the Ejido," celebrated every year just before Holy Week. At this fair, a young woman is picked to represent peasant women for the next year; the fiesta is set up to praise mestizo beauty with marked indigenous features. This fiesta exemplifies the transition of a religious celebration Dolores Friday (or "Painful Friday") into a secular fiesta.

Among the trade festivities are also "The *Alegría* and Olive Tree Fair" and "The Ice Cream Fair," celebrated in February and Holy Week respectively, both in the town of Santiago Tulyehualco. In the first, a great variety of dishes made with amaranth (*huatli* in Nahuatl) are exhibited. Amaranth is best known in Mexico combined with honey to make the traditional

Applications
to be *mayordomo*
or head steward for the
Niñopa have to be submitted
30 years in advance; it is
already booked from
now until 2035.

Portals like this indicate that the Niñopa lives on this street.




Xochimilco brings to mind its typical *trajinera* barges, floating gardens, canals and Sunday family outings.

The people of Xochimilco make pilgrimages carrying the images of their faith. Most of the neighborhoods participate, for example, in this pilgrimage in honor of Our Lord of Chalma.

sweet called an *alegría*, or "joy." This seed has an extremely high protein count and survived the centuries despite a campaign by the Catholic missionaries during the colonial period to eradicate it because of its association with pre-Hispanic religious rites.

But the festivities to celebrate patron saints' days are the essence of the fiesta tradition in Xochimilco. One example is the day of Saint Santiago, or Saint James, since Xochimilco boasts two towns and part of a neighborhood under the patronage of this warrior saint. So, Santiago Tulyehualco, Santiago Tepalcatlalpan and Santiago Chililico all have fiestas on July 25. August 10 is Saint Lorenzo's day, so San Lorenzo Atemoaya and the San Lorenzo Neighborhood celebrate that day. One of the most spectacular festivities, marked by a great number of dances and fireworks, is the one celebrated in San Gregorio Atlapulco on March 13.

The cross is the most important symbol of the Christian faith in Xochimilco. On May 3, the day of the Holy Cross, practically all the towns, neighborhoods and streets display crosses. The fiesta begins with the preparations themselves: the day before, the altars are cleaned, crosses repainted and flowers arranged. Everything around the cross is decorated. Everyone crosses him- or herself before the symbol that the

Xochicopalli Michihua Ass.

The Dolorosa de Xaltocan Virgin's festival in February lasts 15 days.

rest of the year is not even noticed. On the evening of May 3, tamales are distributed, prepared in advance by the *mayordomía*, or council of stewards or sponsors who organize the fiesta, and the night ends with a community dance. The towns of Santa Cruz Acalpixca and Santa Cruz Xochitepec and Santa Cruz Chavarrieta, part of the town of San Mateo Xalpa, also celebrate their patron saints' day on May 3. There is even an image of Christ on the cross known as Our Lord of the Little Cross, or Señor Santa Crucita, which has its own chapel in its own

Communal activities continue in places like this public laundry, free to anyone who does not have running water.

The agricultural tradition based on the *chinampa* is the source of an important part of the economic resources for the town's celebrations.

The celebration of patron saints' days are the essence of Xochimilco's fiestas.

neighborhood. Curiously enough, this Christ's day is celebrated in July.

Marianism is represented by the faith in Our Lady of Dolores, the Dolorosa de Xaltocan. This image unites almost all the towns and neighborhoods in the area through flowers and song, respect and fear. During her 15-day-long festival in February, each of the 17 neighborhoods and some towns, organized in innumerable *mayordomías*, daily visit the sanctuary of Xaltocan. Tradition says that the Dolorosa is a "bad" virgin who punishes anyone who does not do his/her duty with fire, but knows how to amply reward those who put their faith in her with favors.

The people of Xochimilco make pilgrimages walking behind the images of their faith. The best example is the annual seven-day pilgrimage, organized by the *mayordomías*, that several towns make to the sanctuary of the Christ of Chalma. San Gregorio Atlapulco and Santa Cruz Acalpixca both make this pilgrimage in May. Xochimilco and its neighborhoods do it in August, beginning their walk the 24th to celebrate Chalma's fiesta on the 28th, when they make all kinds of floral arrangements, portals and fireworks as offerings, beginning their return —also on foot— the next day. The *mayordomía* begins its preparations a week beforehand, concluding at the "meeting," the reception of the pilgrims who are awaited with food, music and fireworks, as well as religious services.

November 1 and 2 are also fiesta days. Preparations begin the last week of October for the reception of the departed faithful, both adults and children. Dishes of *mole* sauce, tamales and "bread of the dead," fruit and flowers are an integral part of the offerings made. The market becomes a mosaic of colors and aromas, and, in the evening of November 1, people visit the graveyards to celebrate the *alumbrada*, or illumi-

Leonel García

The vigorous indigenous character of Xochimilco is part of an age-old legacy reinterpreted by today's inhabitants.

nation, from sunset until the next morning. All through the night the graveyards are like beacons, with thousands of candles shining on the tombs of loved ones. What in the eyes of a stranger might seem macabre or sad becomes a fiesta day for Xochimilco residents; whole families gather together and spend time with people they do not see the rest of the year. That night everyone there shares blankets, food and drink.

But among all these religious images is one that attracts all the fervor and devotion of a people. His name is Niñopa. An image of the Baby Jesus, the sculpture dates from the sixteenth century and belongs literally to the people of Xochimilco. It has never been esconced inside a church or been in the charge of an ecclesiastic authority. It is worshipped through its *mayordomías*, which are transferred every February 2 in a celebration in a sixteenth-century church dedicated to the patron saint of Xochimilco, Saint Bernard of Siena, before the entire community. The *mayordomo*, or head steward, is responsible for the worship of the image, of taking care of its belongings and managing its appointments, which are always booked far in advance. He also offers the Baby a home in which it can be visited, a domestic sanctuary always open to pilgrims, visitors or anyone needing solace. Applications to be *mayordomo* must be submitted 30 years in advance; today, the list of applicants already includes every year from now until 2035.

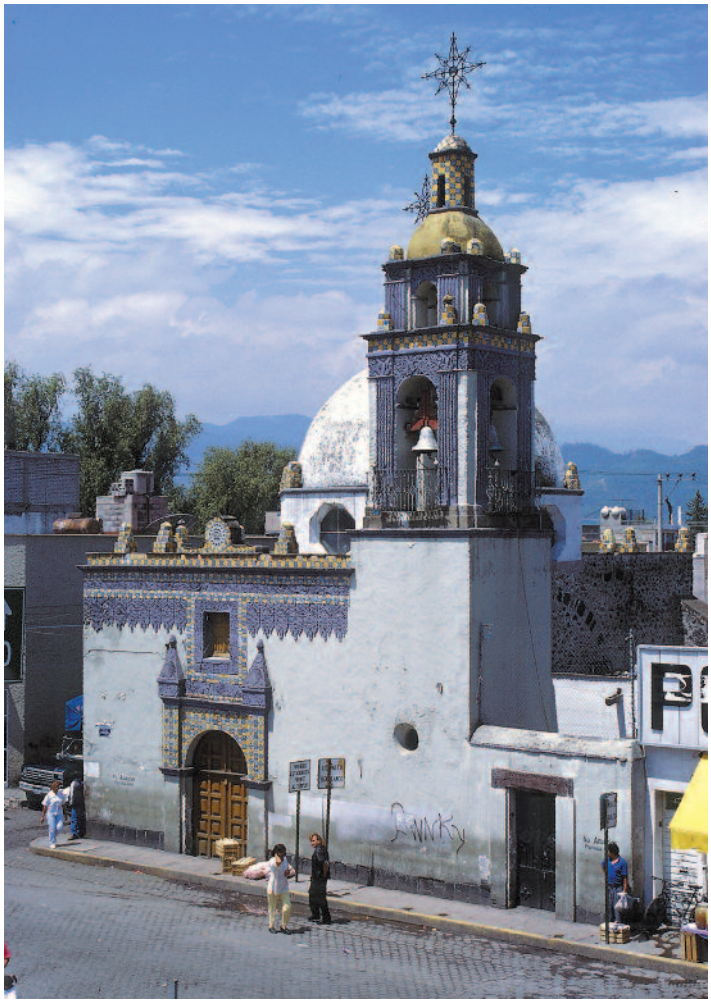
The festive cycle of the Niñopa begins on the day the *mayordomo* changes and lasts all year. Every day the Baby visits a different home where a fiesta is held, thus guaranteeing 328 parties a year, each organized by a family that has requested the privilege as thanks for some favor received, to follow family tradition or simply because they love him very much.

However, the biggest, most spectacular festivities held for this image are in December. Each of the nine *posadas*, or days preceding Christmas to commemorate Mary's and Joseph's sojourn to Bethlehem, are celebrated in a different house. Each host is designated up to seven years in advance by the *mayordomo*.

All this makes Xochimilco unique. Its vigorous indigenous character is part of an age-old legacy, joined to the Catholic religion and reinterpreted by today's inhabitants who turn the fiesta into an encounter with their own convictions, giving cohesion to the whole community. The agricultural tradition based on the *chinampa* floating gardens is the source of an important part of the economic resources needed for these constant celebrations. Thanks to that production and the town's urban layout, Xochimilco was named a World Heritage Treasure in 1987. However, the intangible wealth of its fiestas should also be mentioned as one of things that makes it a treasure. VM

Xochimilco's Colonial Religious Architecture

Enrique Martínez Troncoso*



Unless otherwise specified photos by Daniel Mungula

The El Rosario Chapel in downtown Xochimilco.

The genius of any people is manifested in a myriad of ways through its cultural heritage, which also expresses the mysterious continuity uniting everything it has produced in the past and all it will produce in the future.

Mexico's vast tangible and intangible cultural treasures can be found in its every corner. Xochimilco is an example of this wealth that on December 10, 1987, the UNESCO declared a World Heritage Treasure. This honor was bestowed in recognition of the creative spirit of its people, able to settle in an inhospitable habitat. On large islands along a lake, they built urban and rural

* President of the Xochicopalli Michihua Association. Translated by Andrea Martínez.

The Chapel of Saint John the Baptist Tlatenchi, located in one of the most beautiful squares of Xochimilco.

The dome of Saint Bernard of Siena church.

structures, many of which date back to the sixteenth century, outlining regular-shaped neighborhoods around the convent.

Most of Xochimilco's churches were built during the colonial period. Friar Agustín de Vetancurt writes in a chronicle, "15 hermitages are distributed around the city: the Ascension of Our Lady of Colhuacatcinco, Saint John the Baptist Tlatenchi, Saint Mark Tlaltepetlalpan, Saint John the Evangelist Tzomolco, Saint Anthony Molotla, Saint Peter of Tlalnahuac, the Name of Jesus of Xaltocan, La Candelaria of Xaltocan, Saint Margaret Nepantlatlaca, Belen of Acampa, Analco Sacred Cross, Saint Christopher Xallan, Saint Francis Caltonco, Saint Steven Tecpapan and Saint Diego Tlacospan."

The hermitage of Saint Peter of Tlalnahuac is presumably the oldest in the area, dating back to 1530. It was built on that spot by order of Hernán Cortés, a devout follower of this saint. In April 1521, after crossing a great ditch, it was there that Cortés first encountered the Xochimilcas. After falling from his horse, he hit his head and almost died at the hands of the brave local inhabitants, the Xochimilcas. He was saved by Cristóbal de Olea and an unknown soldier who had helped him before and would later dis-

Saint Peter of Tlalnahuac Hermitage dates back to 1530.

Mexico's cultural treasures can be found in its every corner, expressions of the mysterious continuity between the past and the present.

The cloister next to the Saint Bernard of Siena Church.

The neighborhoods were built around a chapel or central church.

Saint Peter of Tlalnahuac was built by order of Hernán Cortés.

Xochimilco's colonial churches stand out both for their architectural beauty and because they house magnificent works of religious art.

appear. Cortés believed that he had been protected and saved by Saint Peter the Apostle.

The nave of the hermitage, erected on a rectangular base, is divided into three square areas, differentiated by two main arches holding up a pair of small, semi-circular domes and a vault. The facade is made of quarried stone and red, uneven *tezontle* volcanic rock which contain some pre-Hispanic petroglyphs embedded in the walls. Simple religious rituals and the need for quick cultural assimilation were determining factors in the layout and construction techniques for building this chapel.

Xochimilco's churches stand out either for their architectural beauty or because they house magnificent works of religious art. Among them, the Saint Bernard of Siena church and ex-convent are particularly important, a true gem housing the hemisphere's most important renaissance altar piece.

Other chapels are known both for the saints they honor and their location, such as the case of La Asunción Colhuacatzingo. The original building dates back to the sixteenth century. The current one, a reconstruction of the first, was restored during the first 25 years of the eighteenth century. It has a single nave built

Elsie Montiel

Most religious buildings in Xochimilco date from the sixteenth century but were restored later.

in the form of a Latin cross and a belfry with four antique bells. Imbedded in the walls are stone designs dating from pre-Hispanic times.

The chapel of Saint John the Baptist Tlatenchi is located in one of the most beautiful small squares of Xochimilco. Watching over it is an old *ahuehuete* conifer, almost 1,000 years old. This ancient tree is a natural sanctuary for the hundreds of herons that arrive every year.

The floor plan is rectangular and the chapel has a vault, a dome supported by a circular drum and a *linternilla*. It also has a belfry, separated from the rest of the building and three slender buttresses, making this a remarkable construction. Like most of Xochimilco's chapels, its appearance today is the result of restoration efforts carried out in the eighteenth century. This Catholic chapel was built upon a pre-Hispanic circular foundation dedicated, perhaps, to Ehécatl Quetzalcóatl, god of the wind.

The El Rosario neighborhood has a small chapel of singular beauty, the only one of its kind in the region. The facade is a masterful combination of mortar and tiles, the latter also covering the tower and dome. The floor plan is rectangular and, inside, it is decorated with tiles which act as a dust guard for the neoclassic altar piece representing the Virgin of El Rosario. It has two vaults, a dome held up by an octagonal drum and a belfry. The drum and belfry are topped with eighteenth-century wrought iron crosses. The chapel was constructed at the request of a brotherhood of the Virgin of El Rosario, made up of Spaniards.

The Day of the Dead in Xochimilco

Daniel Munguía*

Today's Xochimilco residents are descendents of the Nahuatl tribe that emigrated from Chicomostoc to settle in the southern part of the Valley of Mexico next to its enormous, beautiful lake.

Xochimilco inhabitants have moved into the mainstream of modern life, but they have not abandoned one of their most deeply rooted Mexican traditions, the homage paid to their dead, their beloved ancestors. In every town and neighborhood, the Day of the Dead is celebrated with enthusiasm and respect. Offerings to the dead entail elaborate preparation. A month before the festivities of All Saints' Day, the most traditionalist families prepare to pay homage to their ancestors.

The farmers who work the floating gardens, the famous *chinampas*, save part of their earnings from the sale of their crops of flowers, vegetables, legumes and ornamental plants; people who live

* Photographer and free-lance writer.

Courtesy of the Dolores Olmedo Museum

Every year, the Dolores Olmedo Museum of Xochimilco prepares a spectacular offering with all the ingredients dictated by tradition.

in the foothills do the same with proceeds from their corn, beans, squash and chayote fields, and with the money they earn from the sale of fowl and a head of cattle or two. Or, they simply save part of their wages if they have jobs elsewhere.

From pre-Hispanic times, and all through Mexican history until today, food has played an important part in the ritual of the Day of the Dead. Foodstuffs are an obligatory part of the offerings, changing according to the differences in regional cuisine.

Courtesy of the Dolores Olmedo Museum

José Guadalupe Posada revived the figure of death when he created his famous "Catrina."

The offering is usually built on two levels: on a table decorated with the best tablecloths either made at home or by Xochimilca artisans, and on the floor. According to popular tradition, these two levels represent heaven and earth, which is why the images of the dead and the symbols of the faith are placed on the table together with the elements of water and fire, represented by liquids like *atole*, *pulque*, water and other drinks, and both tapers and votive candles that some families order ahead of time from the remaining local candle makers. The items symbolizing air and earth —incense, myrrh, other aromatic substances, seeds and fruit— are placed on the floor.

At midday on October 31, the items used to venerate dead children are placed on the table: white flowers, glasses of water, a plate of salt and candles that, when lit, represent dead children. A charcoal stove is also lit to burn copal and incense.

In the afternoon, a light meal is offered to the dead children, including sweet rolls, *atole*, hot chocolate, sweet tamales and fruit.

In the morning of November 1, the dead children are served breakfast before their souls return where they belong. And a little before midday, the tables are adorned with *cempasúchil* flowers, a species of marigold, indicating the arrival of the souls of the adults. Black candelabra with tapers are also placed on the table with bowls of water and salt. Later, the traditional sweet, leavened "bread of the dead," or *pan de muerto*, preserves and tamales are added.

At midday November 2, the faithful say goodby to the souls of dead adults with a meal that includes a wide variety of typical Mexican dishes: rice prepared in different ways, chicken or turkey in *mole* sauce, *pozole* (a soup made with pork and hominy), enchiladas, *huanzontles* (a branch-like vegetable deep-fried in an egg batter and served in a sauce), *romeros* (another branch-like vegetable served in tomato sauce with shrimp patties), tamales of all kinds, simmered spiced beans, tortillas, etc. Fruit like jicama and crab apples as well as peanuts are also

served; traditional sugar or chocolate skulls, coconut candy, candied pumpkin, stuffed limes, sweet potatoes, amaranth, *jamoncillo* (a sweet made from milk and sugar) and guava and peach preserves. Beer, *pulque*, tequila or the dead person's favorite drink are also a must, and, for those who smoked, cigarettes.

As we mentioned, some of the particular foods vary from one offering to another, but others are obligatory.

History of an Immortal Tradition

In pre-Hispanic peoples' conception of the origins of life, the gods played a determining role. In this conception of "the becoming," the most important thing was to maintain a balance and, by different means, to try to maintain the order of the universe. That is the origin of ritual. In that sense, the life-death duality was an essential concept and was understood as a constant cycle, just as can be observed in nature: the rainy season is followed by the dry season and its result, death, from which life springs anew.[1]

The cult of the dead was an essential part of celebrations throughout Mesoamerica. We will review the first celebrations of the Day of the Dead dating back to pre-Columbian Mexico, concretely to the Aztec culture, and trace their development through the colonial period until today.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Aztec (or Mexica) tradition honored the dead with complex ceremonies. The dead were either cremated or buried, but the dual concept of life-death led them to think that no living being —much less human beings— were condemned to eternal death. They thought that they existed on the nine planes found under the earth.

Each individual's final destination, as the Spanish Friar Bernardino de Sahagún noted in his writings, was determined by the way in which he/she died. When children died, they were considered jewels and for that reason they remained in the house of Tenacateculitli, fed by the *chichiacuaulico,* or nurse-tree. The *cuauhteca*, or "brothers of the eagle," went to heaven, where the sun lived, there was no night, day or time, pleasure was unlimited and flowers never wilted. This was the place for warriors killed in combat or sacrificed by the enemy. They were called "the companions of the rising sun." The *cihuateteo*, women who died in

Xochicopalli Michihua Ass.

Courtesy of the Dirección General de Atención a la Comunidad Estudiantil/UNAM

The tables are adorned with *cempasúchil* flowers, fruits and traditional sugar or chocolate skulls.

Daniel Mungula

"Our lives are the river that goes down to the sea that is death." *Jorge Manrique*

childbirth, also went to the place of the sun, since birth was considered a war in which the child was a prisoner. Women who died in childbirth were the chosen of the gods, sanctified and buried in the courtyard of the temple of Cihuapipiltin. They were called "the companions of the setting sun." It was thought that those who died in these ways were honored by the gods of water and rain and, upon being selected, enjoyed the happiness of sunny palaces.

Dignitaries were solemnly buried in underground, vaulted chambers where the fully-dressed body was seated on an *icpalli*, or small stool, surrounded by weapons and precious gems. Those of their wives and servants who freely chose to were buried with them to follow them into the next world. The souls of mortals not chosen by the gods went to the dark plane of the underworld.

The souls of those who died from drowning, struck down by lightning, from dropsy, pustules or gout, or any other illness related to water all went to Tlalocan, the mansion of the Moon, or the place of Tláloc, god of rain. It is described as a place of eternal summer and green where the god of water and his helpers, the *tlaloques*, lived.[2]

All other dead, including lepers and those who died a violent death, were buried with offerings including food, valuables, personal ornaments and weapons (indicating their social status) to undertake the long journey to the ninth plane of the region of the dead, or Mictlán, guided by a dog, a very important figure in funeral rituals.

For three or four years after the person's death, their survivors continued placing offerings on the grave because they believed that the dead took several years to make their journey and reach their final destination at the ninth level of the underworld.

Mexica poets used to say that life is only a moment, a passing dream, and death a form of awakening that opened the way to the world of the dead, where people could either remain or from which they could return to be among the living again.

The Mexica calendar had two whole months dedicated to festivities for the dead: the ninth month, or fiesta for dead children, and the tenth

Courtesy of the Dirección General de Atención a la Comunidad Estudiantil/UNAM

Death stopped being terrifying and became a friendly figure, and representations of death became icons of the Day of the Dead.

month, dedicated to adult dead. At these times of year, a great many men were sacrificed, imbuing the celebration with solemnity and importance.

In the sixteenth century, to this tradition was added the customs of the conquistadors who honored the dead in accordance with Catholic tradition that considers that the only true life begins after death. However, the European tradition also brought the terror of death and Hell, medieval holdovers, central themes of the Christianity taught by the evangelists. That was when the skulls that decorated the Tzompantli in Mexico Tenochtitlan and the altars of Tlatelolco disappeared, only to reappear later at the foot of altars and on crosses.

During the colonial period, death was represented by a skeleton posed in different ways, which always held a scythe in its right hand. In *Death's Victory*, a painting that hangs today in the Viceroyal Museum, the central figure, Death, holds a scythe in his right hand and a flickering candle in his left symbolizing the life that is about to be extinguished.

In the eighteenth century, death stopped being terrifying and became the central character in a ballet or a friendly figure. This was the time of funeral pyres (a bonfire for sacrifices), one of which has been conserved at the Toluca Folk Art Museum.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, engraver José Guadalupe Posada revived the figure of death with a humorous touch, when he created his famous "Catrina," a skeleton dressed like the wealthy women of the day under the regime of Porfirio Díaz. He also drew other representations of death, images that have become classic artistic figures and icons of Mexico's Day of the Dead, which continues to be celebrated all over the country with its wealth of regional variations. MM

Notes

[1] Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, "Los dioses de la muerte," *Dioses del México antiguo* (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso-UNAM/Ediciones del Equilibrista, 1995), pp. 148-149.

[2] Ibid, p. 149.

The Xochimilco Archaeological Museum

Hortensia Galindo Rosales*

Photos by Daniel Mungula

Stone figure of a long-time inhabitant of the canals.

Xochimilco —that legendary town with the evocative, poetic Nahuatl name meaning "where flowers are grown," for centuries an obligatory visit in the Mexico City area— still holds surprises. One is its archaeological museum, housed in a nineteenth-century building that was originally the pump station used in the Xochimilco aqueduct.

Built over the Santa Cruz Acalpixca stream in the "floating garden" (or *chinampa*) community of the same name, its architecture is in the eclectic style characteristic of the *Porfiriato*, the period named for dictator Porfirio Díaz (1880-1910): it boasts iron, steel tanks and reinforced concrete. Although planned in the European style, since the building is utilitarian, the decoration is sober; the facade of brick and stone is flanked by dentils at each corner.

The museum's story dates back to the 1970s when a group of Xochimilcans interested in the history of their town organized a temporary exhibition of archeological pieces discovered when building their homes or planting their *chinampas*. The exhibit was mounted in the parish of Santa Cruz, where it attracted local people and visitors from outside to its different venues in libraries and cultural centers. In 1973, with the support of Dolores Olmedo,[1] efforts were

* Director of the Xochimilco Archaeological Museum.

made to turn the old pump house into a museum, which was inaugurated in 1979 by then-President José López Portillo.

One special thing about the museum is that the visitor can go there via a *trajinera* (a kind of boat commonly used in Xochimilco for transportation) that moors at the pier on the northern edge of the lavish garden surrounding the building.

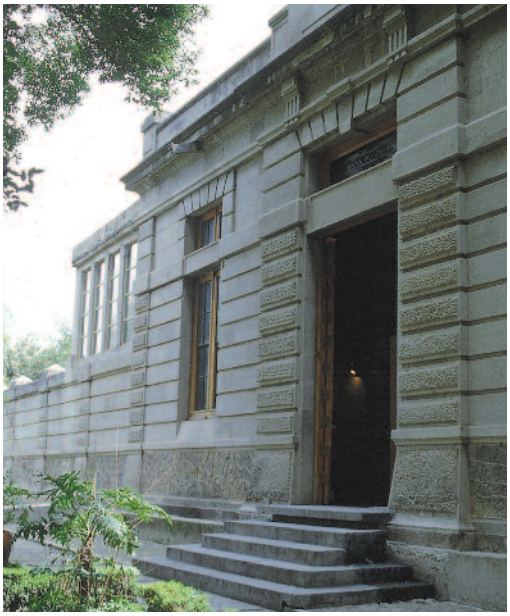
The museum has more than 3,000 pieces, among them 10,000-year-old mammoth remains exhibited in the northeast corner of the building. These fossils, so well-preserved by the soil that they needed no restoring, prove that animals lived in the area during the Pleistocene epoch.

The Mexica stone glyphs from the archeological site at Cuailama, a few kilometers away, deserve special mention. Among them are the Cocolxóchitl (or dahlia, the symbol of Xochimilco residents), the Yoloxóchitl (the magnolia, or "flower of the heart") and the Cuitlaxóchitl (or poinsettia). These figures can still be found on some civic and religious buildings.

The museum's most important pieces, however, are the Teotihuacan burial sites found in the Xochimilco area near a stone workshop and the base of a pyramid, and brought to the muse-

One special thing about the museum is that the visitor can go there via a *trajinera* that moors at the pier on the northern edge of the lavish garden surrounding the building.

The museum's most important pieces are the Teotihuacan burial sites.



Museum entrance and grounds. The nineteenth-century building was once a pump station.

The museum collection includes pieces belonging to different pre-Hispanic periods.

Among the most interesting pieces made of stone and clay are these seals (left) and the whistle in the shape of a dog (right).

um for exhibition. Some of the skulls in these burials show signs of intentional deformations reminiscent of the Maya. We should remember that the Teotihuacan culture stretched to the lake shores of the whole of the Valley of Mexico basin long before the Xochimilcas (one of the seven Nahuatl tribes) arrived. That is why it is not strange to find Teotihuacan remains in the Xochimilca region.

The museum also has a large collection of sculptures in clay, stone and other materials, a great deal of pottery for domestic and ritual use and a magnificent collection of seals.

Undoubtedly, this museum is a place to be discovered. VM

Xochimilco Archaeological Museum
Avenida Tenoxtitla (no number)
At the corner of La Planta Street
Santa Cruz Acalpixca, Xochimilco
C.P. 16500
Phone: 2157-1757
Open Tuesday to Sunday, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.
Admittance: one peso

Notes

[1] Director of the Dolores Olmedo Museum. This museum, also located in Xochimilco is worth visiting as it houses a superb collection of Diego Rivera's and Frida Kalho's paintings, as well as pre-Hispanic objects.

Xochimilco
The Struggle for Survival [1]

Iván Trujillo*

Mexico City. Streets and houses as far as the eye can see. Looking at the enormous asphalt and concrete mass, it is hard to believe that Greater Tenochtitlan was built on a lake and that the power and splendor of the Aztec empire was due in great part to its inhabitants' efficient use and management of water.

* Biologist. Director of the UNAM Film Archive.

The arrival of the Spaniards and the establishment of colonial power changed the look of the city, as did different hydraulic works down through the years. Through it all, however, the lake continued to be an important resource.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the city still had a wide network of canals through on which canoes and other vessels circulated transporting agricultural products to market. It is not surprising that these canals were one of

Photos by Daniel Mungía

Xochimilco Ecological Park.

the things that most attracted the attention of the men the Lumière brothers sent to shoot the first film ever in Mexico 100 years ago.

Today, several centuries after the conquest, it is still possible to catch a glimpse of what life was like in pre-Hispanic Mexico when you go to one of Mexico City's surviving lake regions, Xochimilco.

Considered by many a picturesque tourist attraction, Xochimilco lake offers much more than that and has resisted more or less successfully being absorbed by the metropolitan area. Certainly, Xochimilco is not what it used to be, but its 187 kilometers of canals still hold surprises for us.

An Underwater Universe

Its origins are in the water. The apparent calm on the surface of the canals and lakes contrasts sharply with the struggle for survival under the surface.

Thanks to chlorophyll, the algae and water plant cells get the energy they need from the sun to produce nutritious substances that a veritable universe of microorganisms depend on to live.

Untiringly, the ciliata absorb and expel water from which they obtain bacilli and other bacteria. The *borticella* do not move, but their crowns of cilia create whirlpools that act like tiny vacuum cleaners, pulling the food in.

Protozoans are in turn the main food of larger animals such as the nematodes, or roundworms, constantly seeking prey. But, in terms of voracity, it is the insect and crustacean larva that are the best examples of how to eliminate everything that crosses their path; the pitched battles among them for food are truly surprising.

Here in Xochimilco also lives a kind of fresh water shrimp, the *acocil*, as our ancestors called it,

Xochimilco Ecological Park.

Xochimilco, an endangered paradise, has resisted more or less successfully being absorbed by the city.

which has a voracious appetite as well. Considered a parasite that feeds on carrion, it is fussy not only about eating, but also about mating, which can take several hours. Most of its young will be food for other larvae. However, some will survive and live to reproductive age, and so begin the cycle again. But even in old age, they cannot be assured of peace, because the *acocil* is the favorite delicacy of a singular inhabitant of the waters of Xochimilco, the axolotl, a kind of larval salamander.

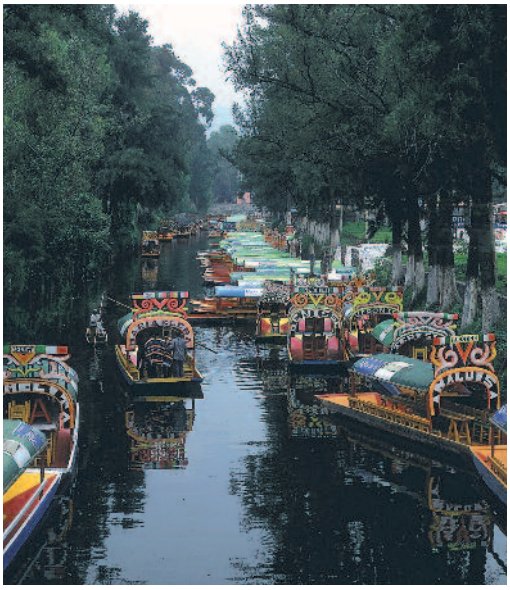
The axolotl (from the Nahuatl word for "water monster") is an amphibian of the salamander group. However, adult salamanders develop lungs, leave the water and return only to lay their eggs. The axolotl lives all its life in the water, breathing through its elegant collar of gills.

This behavior, called neoteny, caused confusion and led people to think the axolotl was not a salamander at all until in 1865 when a few held in captivity in France went through their complete metamorphosis. Later, José María Velasco continued his observations based on the work of the French, describing how during draughts, the axolotl developed lungs and behaved like genuine salamanders. He accompanied his findings with magnificent sketches.

But no one can describe the axolotl like Julio Cortázar did.

> An inexpressive face, with no feature other than the eyes, two orifices like pinheads of transparent gold, totally lifeless, but watchful, letting me penetrate it with my gaze, that seem to go beyond the golden point and lose itself in a diaphanous interior mystery.
>
> It was its calm that first fascinated me about the axolotl. I felt darkly that I shared its secret will, that I eliminated space and time with indifferent

Flower garden. Xochimilco Ecological Park.



The apparent calm on the surface of the canals and lakes contrasts with the struggle for survival underneath.

The water lily, introduced in the early twentieth century, became a blight, constantly choking up the canals.

> immobility. Later I learned to know better; the contraction of their gills, their tiny legs feeling their way along the rocks, their suddenly swimming off. All this proved to me that they were able to come out of that mineral-like lethargy in which they spend hours at a time.[2]

Axolotls' reproduction is not easy to observe. Apparently, the male deposits his sperm on the bottom and the female immerses herself in it to fertilize the eggs. Afterwards, she deposits them one by one among the vegetation. Slowly, the young develop in capsules until they emerge, looking very like the adults, to continue their growth outside.

Another peculiarity of the axolotl is its enormous powers of regeneration: it is capable of producing a new member if it loses one. But no regeneration is possible when it comes up against the water snakes so common in Xochimilco and one of whose favorite foods is axolotl.

In addition to the snakes that come to the surface, the banks of the canals boast an enormous number of insects that need the lake either for laying their eggs or for food. The most surprising thing about all this is that the banks of the canals are man-made.

Our ancestors thought up an ingenious agricultural system that provided them with a constant supply of food: the *chinampas*, artificial agricultural islands.

Origins

Using the resources they had at hand, our ancestors thought up an ingenious agricultural system that provided them with a constant supply of food: the *chinampas*.

Chinampas are artificial agricultural islands where water is literally a stone's throw away. The "fields" are fertilized with mud rich in nutrients dug up from the bottom of the lake. Today pre-Hispanic practices are still used in the care and maintenance of the *chinampa*.

Originally, a *chinampa* was begun after finding a shallow place in the lake where lots of silt and mud were deposited. A thick layer of rushes, reeds and other grasses were put there, on

The axolotl, a legendary inhabitant of the canals.

Pre-Hispanic techniques are still used in the care and maintenance of the *chinampa*.

The *ahuejote*'s deep, wide roots form a mesh that keeps the *chinampa* in place, preventing its moving or disintegrating. It also protects crops from strong winds and hail.

top of which more soil was placed. Later, rows of *ahuejote*, willow trees native to Mexico, were planted around it to fix it. The *ahuejote*'s deep, wide roots formed a mesh that kept the *chinampa* in one place, preventing its moving or disintegrating. Its vertical branches did not make much shade, but did protect crops from strong winds and hail. In addition, the wood of the *ahuejote* is resistant to humidity and therefore was used to make different tools for cultivation. The small, tender branches were used to make baskets, and its young buds had medicinal uses, given their analgesic properties similar to those of aspirin.

Thus, the lake not only guaranteed its inhabitants the security of a good crop,[3] but its native fauna was also a permanent source of animal protein. In the markets of Xochimilco you can still buy *acocil*, frogs and axolotl prepared in different ways, and they continue to be a favorite dish of many locals.

An Endangered Paradise

But problems came to this paradise, too. The city's excessive growth depleted the underground springs that fed Xochimilco. Streets and avenues made their appearance and now the tall *ahuejotes* guard sidewalks as the only testimony that in the past they had surrounded *chinampas*.

The water lily, introduced in the early twentieth century, became a blight, constantly drying up the canals. Rodents proliferated in the fields; the proof is the abundance of rattlesnakes that feed on them.

By the end of the last century, the lake was in danger of completely drying up. However, after prompting by local inhabitants, proud of their past and traditions, the UNESCO declared Xochimilco a World Heritage Treasure in 1987, and the Ecological Recovery of Xochimilco project began.

Today, the lake's water is treated and returned free of contaminants; a tireless struggle against

No other place in the world offers the variety of flowering plants that Xochimilco markets do.

the water lily is being waged; and an environmental educational center and a research center for local fauna have been built.

Some progress has been made, visible in the increase in the number of birds on the lake. More and more migratory birds land there, like the Canadian ducks that find refuge and food in its waters in their flight from cold winters. The number of bird species that are permanent residents has also increased, such as the widgeons, that find there the materials they need to make their nests. Different kinds of herons also make their home there, gracing the scenery with their form and flight.

The lake is a good provider and each species of bird manages to find its own kind of food: some go fishing, some go hunting and others start the day with cereal. Others get stuck in the mud, either without staining their feathers or impervious to the mud because their feathers are water-proof.

The Land of Flowers

No, it is not like it once was, when Xochimilco could supply the whole city with vegetables. Not any more. But they still have not taken the name from us: Xochimilco, from the Nahuatl words for flower, *xochitl*, and cultivated land, *mili*.

Although flowers are brought in from elsewhere for sale, the *chinampas* continue the tradition of producing different varieties for sale in Xochimilco's many markets. Probably no other place in the world offers the buyer the quantity and variety of flowering plants sold here.

But not only people are attracted by the flowers. They also attract other visitors, who in their search for sweetness, help in reproduction.

Perhaps the best example is the hummingbird, an efficient pollinator. Specializing in long-necked flowers, it doggedly searches for nectar, sticking its straw-like tongue out of its beak, as long as the rest of its body, to suck the nectar out of the flowers. Hummingbirds depend completely on flower nectar from which they obtain sugar and therefore the enormous energy needed to feed that tiny body with the muscle structure it takes to beat their wings 60 times a second. Their movement would have to be shown in slow motion 100 times less than normal speed to be able to distinguish their wings, which beat both back and forth, giving them the ability to stay suspended in the air or fly backward, something no other bird can do.

Hummingbirds are an example of the constant struggle for survival that all the inhabitants of Xochimilco wage when each battle could be their last.

And that's life. VM

Notes

[1] This article is based on the script of the same name, made into a video and produced by the UNAM Dirección General de Actividades Cinematográficas.

[2] Julio Cortázar, "Axólotl," in *Cuentos Completos 1* (Mexico City: Alfaguara, 1994), p. 382.

[3] "In Xochimilco, nobody dies of hunger" goes a local saying. Although few live from agriculture today, almost any kind of vegetable, countless fruits and the traditional corn can all be grown on the *chinampas*.

The Establishment of Minifiction As Literary Canon in Mexico

Lauro Zavala*

There are many definitions of minifiction. For the purposes of this article, I consider minifiction literary narrative texts, one printed page in length or less. I will point to some of the indications of the increasing interest in this genre in recent years in four different areas in which it is simultaneously canonized: publishing, literary anthologies, the formation of readers and specialized research.

Drawings by Enrique Márquez

Publishing

The first measure of whether a literary genre has become a canon is the publication of books made up partially or wholly of that genre.

In the first half of the twentieth century, very few books were published containing minifiction, and none at all completely devoted to it. Narrative was mixed with poetry and essays, oral narrative with literature and very brief texts with longer works of conventional length.

An archeological study of Mexican short stories in those first 50 years of the century yields four titles: *Ensayos y poemas* (Essays and Poems) (1917), by Julio Torri; *El plano oblicuo* (The Oblique Plane) (1920), by Alfonso Reyes; *Los hombres que sembró la lluvia* (The Men the Rain Planted) (1929), by Andrés Henestrosa; and *Varia invención* (Other Inventions) (1949) by Juan José Arreola. Some of these books are now required reading for any history of Mexican literature.

In the following decades, from 1950 to 1990, four books were published entirely dedicated to minifiction: *Bestiario* (Bestiary) (1959), by Juan José Arreola; *La oveja negra y*

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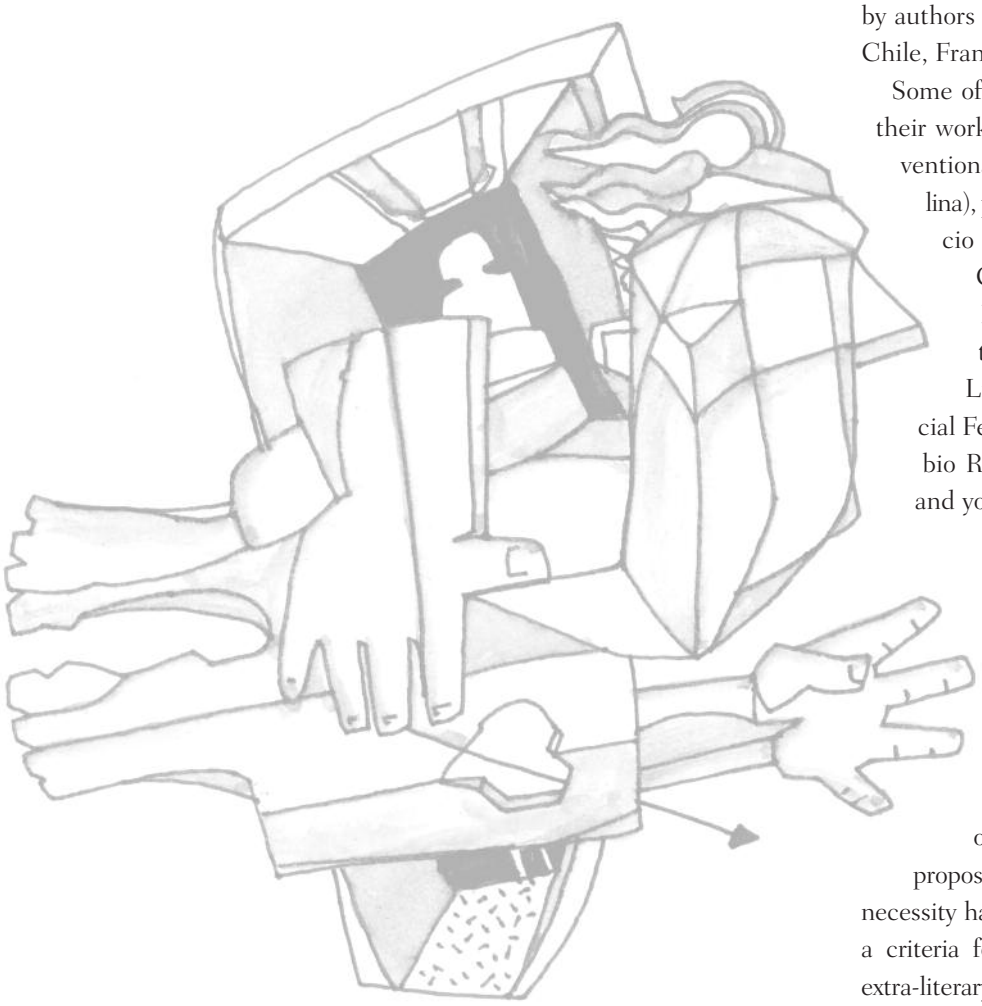


demás fábulas (The Black Sheep and Other Fables) (1969), by Augusto Monterroso; *Textos extraños* (Strange Writings) (1981), by Guillermo Samperio; and *Los oficios perdidos* (Lost Trades) (1983), by René Avilés Fabila.

In those first 90 years of the twentieth century, the literary value of other narrators' minifiction earned them a place in its history even though they mainly wrote in other genres. Among them are Inés Arredondo, Francisco Tario, Octavio Paz, Salvador Elizondo, José Agustín, Elena Poniatowska, Efrén Hernández, Sergio Golwarz, José Joaquín Blanco and José Emilio Pacheco.

However, from 1995 to 1999 alone, at least 25 books of minifiction were published in Mexico City, of which one-third were written by authors born abroad (in Spain, Guatemala, Chile, France, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina). Some of the authors are already known for their work in other genres, such as the conventional-length short story (José de la Colina), poetry (Ethel Krauze), the essay (Ignacio Trejo Fuentes), the novel (Martha Cerda), cultural journalism (Víctor Roura), literary criticism (Adolfo Castañón), art criticism (André de Luna), bullfight commentary (Marcial Fernández), literary biography (Eusebio Ruvalcaba) or narrative for children and young people (Mónica Lavín).

Anthologies

Anthologies are the medium par excellence wherein literary canons are created, both in the realm of university research and outside it. Each anthology not only proposes a strategy for reading what of necessity has been left out, but also establishes a criteria for placing aesthetic value or even extra-literary value on the authors and work included in the anthology.

The process of making the modern ministory a literary canon in Latin America began with the publication in Argentina of Jorge Luis Borges' and Adolfo Bioy Casares' anthology *Cuentos breves y extraordinarios* (Brief and Extraordinary Stories) in 1953,[1] and Edmundo Valadés' anthology *El libro de la imaginación* (The Book of the Imagination) in Mexico in 1976.[2] In both volumes, the compilers selected many fragments taken from texts that were originally longer. So, *Cuentos breves y extraordinarios* offers the reader 110 texts, the majority of which are taken from memoirs, travel chronicles, fantasy novels, philosophical essays, religious treatises, compendia of fables, poetry anthologies, historical reconstructions, financial reports...and books of short stories.

El libro de la imaginación follows a similar logic, but is three times as long, with 362 frag-

ments from the most diverse sources, many of them outside the realm of literature. These anthologies established a tradition of reading very brief fragments as autonomous literature. Actually, it is a very contemporary gesture in which reading itself establishes the text's literary value.

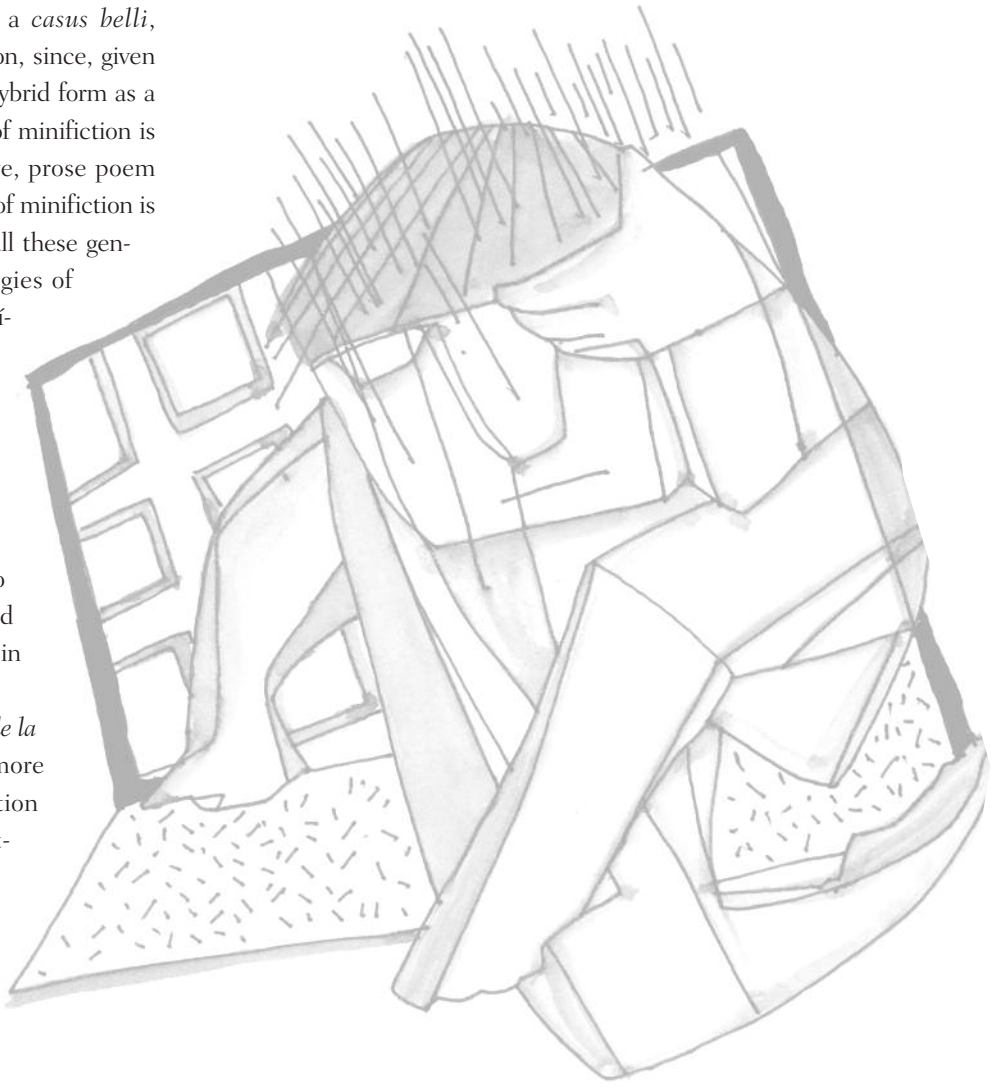
A few years after the publication of these anthologies, the first prize for minifiction was established, in 1980, by the magazine *El Cuento* (The Short Story), founded by Edmundo Valadés in June 1939 (the magazine initiated its second stage in 1984). Over the last 20 years, this quarterly has published almost 5,000 pieces of minifiction in all the different literary traditions.

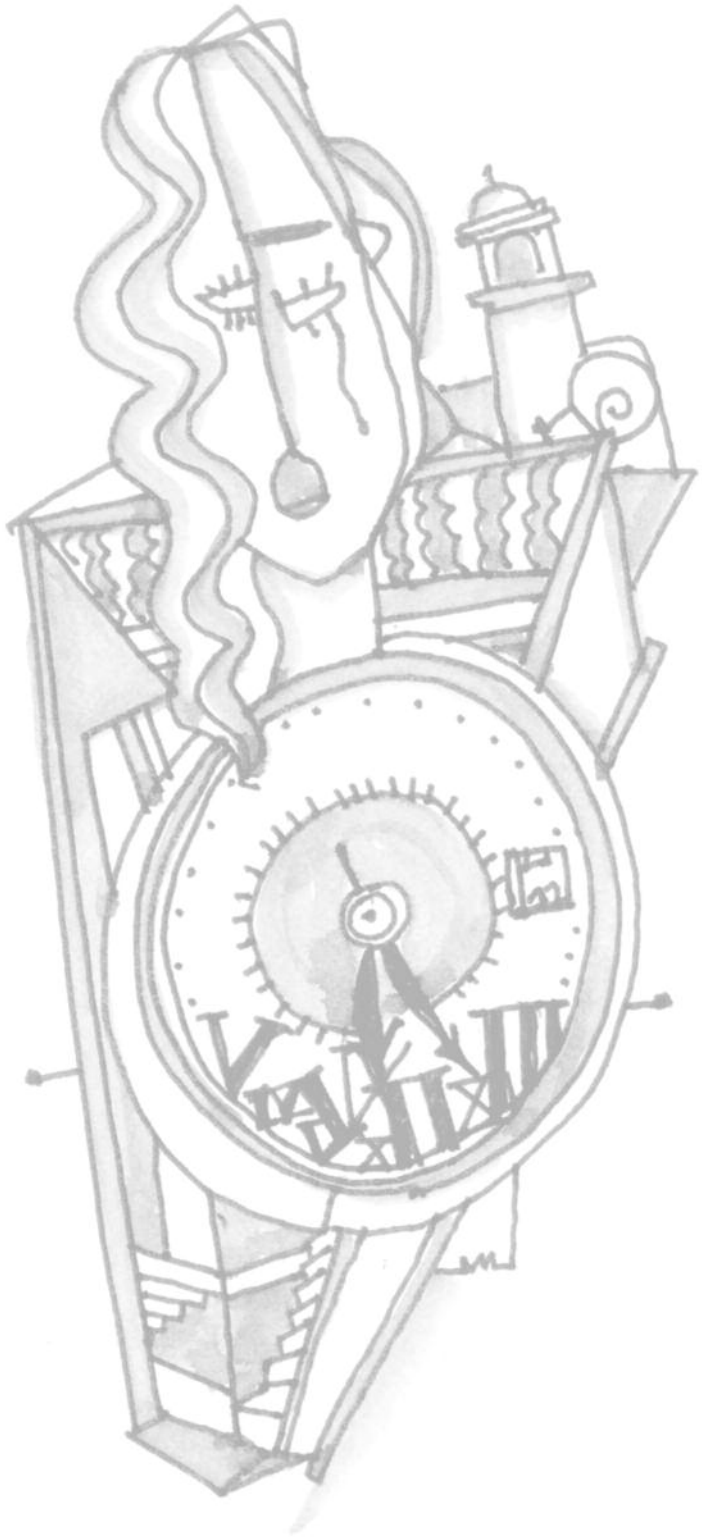
There is one very specific element of the genre that makes anthologies a *casus belli*, the object of continual contention, since, given its protean nature —that is, its hybrid form as a genre— frequently a single text of minifiction is legitimately considered narrative, prose poem or essay. That is why a great deal of minifiction is published in the anthologies of all these genres. This is the case of anthologies of essays (such as José Luis Martínez's canon-making anthology[3] or that of brief essays entitled *Desocupado lector* [Unoccupied Reader]),[4] anthologies of short stories (from those of Emmanuel Carballo[5] and Luis Leal[6] published in the 1950s to the most recent of the 1990s) and the anthologies of prose poems in Mexico.[7]

In the 25 years since *El libro de la imaginación* was published, more than 15 anthologies of minifiction have come out, each with outstanding works from Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, Colombia and Uruguay.[8] However, we still do not have one dedicated exclusively to this rich tradition in our country, except for a very brief anthology edited by René Avilés Fabila in 1970 which includes 20 stories by 8 Mexican authors.[9]

Schools

The presence and study of a genre of writing in textbooks and teachers' manuals for courses are also mechanisms for creating a literary canon. And when this happens in elementary and secondary school textbooks, the phenomenon goes far beyond the strictly literary milieu because it directly affects the education of the country's future readers. In particular, free textbooks distributed by the federal govern-





ment nationwide are printed by the million every year, making them a necessary reference point for understanding this phenomenon deserving of careful study.

In addition to ministories by authors like Julio Cortázar, Alfonso Reyes and Julio Torri, among others, in primary school textbooks, very brief fragments from conventional-length narratives by authors like Martín Luis Guzmán, Juan Rulfo and Carlos Fuentes are also included. This is all part of a tradition legitimized by literary criticism.

Academia

The most elaborate strategy for the creation of literary canons is found in specialized research, that is, the attention that a particular piece of literature is given by researchers dedicated to the study of written texts.

For minifiction, this history is still very brief: the first doctoral thesis on this topic, "El micro-relato en México: Julio Torri, Juan José Arreola y Augusto Monterroso" by Dolores M. Koch, was presented in the City University of New York in 1987. It has been an obligatory point of reference for later research, mostly still unpublished, in Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Spain and the United States, all done in the 1990s.

Outstanding among this work is Concepción del Valle Pedrosa's doctoral thesis, more than 500 pages on different literary aspects of Latin American microfiction.[10] Also worthy of mention are the theses written by Andrea Bell at Stanford University, in the United States; Laura Pollastri, at the University of Comahue, in Argentina; and Karla Seidy Rojas at the Autonomous Metropolitan University, in Mexico.[11] Two theses have also been written for bachelor's degrees in literature at the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico dealing with Julio Cortázar's "Continuidad de los parques" (The Continuity of Parks) and Oscar de la Borbolla's "El hereje rebelde" (The Rebellious Heretic).[12]

In addition, during the Tenth International Conference of Researchers on the Mexican Short Story organized by the University of Tlaxcala in Mexico, José Luis Martínez, director of the Institute of Semiolinguistic and Literary Research of the University of Veracruz, made a presentation about Augusto Monterroso's "El dinosaurio" (The Dinosaur), in which he pointed out the possibility of someone developing a critical edition of the story. This is more possible than it seems at first glance: there are already more than 35 strictly literary variations, parodies, sequels and pastiches, as well as a dozen essays, studies and analyses of this seven-word text, which has been included in at least a dozen anthologies published in Mexico, Italy, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela and Spain.[13] This prolific body of work is not without humor, given the nature of Monterroso's narrative itself; for example, Juan Villoro's article proposes what an adaptation of this text to the opera would be like.

We can also point to the publication of numerous books and monographic issues of specialized magazines dedicated to the study of minifiction since 1993 published in Argentina, Chile, the United States, France, Mexico and Venezuela by scholars like Violeta Rojo, Ángela Pérez, Nana Rodríguez, Juan Armando Epple and David Lagmanovich, among others.[14]

Given the playful, experimental nature of minifiction, some of these volumes are dedicated to the study of pedagogical strategies for using its literary wealth in teaching language and literature at the bachelor's and graduate levels.

Lastly, we should also mention the beginning of another mechanism for the canonization of the genre: the first congresses of researchers and writers dedicated to its study and public readings. In August 1998, the First International Minifiction Conference took place in Mexico City with the participation of writers and researchers from Colombia, Chile, Spain, the United States, Mexico and Venezuela. Their presentations have been published in the specialized magazine *El Cuento en Red: Estudios sobre la Ficción Breve* (The Short Story on the Net: Studies on Brief Fiction).

Brief Conclusion

Undoubtedly, in recent years in Mexico we have witnessed an increase in publishing, academic and literary interest in minifiction as part of its rise in the rest of Latin America.

One of the reasons that helps explain that rise is readers' sensibilities. In recent years, readers have shown greater interest in elliptical, demanding reading, with a degree of interest and complexity similar to those of any other literary genre, but with the advantages of extreme brevity, which, in Julio Torri's words, is an extreme form of courtesy to the reader. VM

Notes

[1] Jorge Luis Borges and Adolfo Bioy Casares, eds., *Cuentos breves y extraordinarios. Antología* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1997 [1953]).

[2] Edmundo Valadés, ed., *El libro de la imaginación*, Biblioteca Joven Collection (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984 [1976]).

[3] José Luis Martínez, ed., *El ensayo moderno en México* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971).

[4] Genaro González Henríquez, ed., *Desocupado lector. El ensayo breve en México (1954-1989)* (Mexico City: Verdehalago, 1998).

[5] Emmanuel Carballo, ed., *Cuentistas mexicanos modernos* (Mexico City: Libro-Mex, 1956).

[6] Luis Leal, ed., *Antología del cuento mexicano* (Mexico City: De Andrea, 1957).

[7] Luis Ignacio Helguera, ed., *Antología del poema en prosa en México* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993).

[8] Edna Brandenberger, ed., *Cuentos brevísimos/Spanische Kürzest-geschichten* (Munich: Deutscher Tschenbuch Verlag, 1994); Raúl Brasca, ed., *Dos veces bueno. Cuentos brevísimos latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires: Instituto

Movilizador de Fondos Cooperativos, 1996); R. Brasca, ed., *2 veces bueno 2. Más cuentos brevísimos latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Movilizador de Fondos Cooperativos, 1997); Juan Armando Epple, ed., *Brevísima relación. Nueva antología del micro-cuento hispanoamericano* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Mosquito Comunicaciones, 1999); Antonio Fernández Ferrer, ed., *La mano de la hormiga. Los cuentos más breves del mundo y de las literaturas hispánicas* (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, Fugaz Ediciones, 1988); José Luis González, ed., *Dos veces cuento. Antología de microrrelatos* (Madrid: Ediciones Internacionales Universitarias, 1998); Gabriel Jiménez Emán, ed., *Ficción mínima. Muestra del cuento breve en América* (Caracas: Fondo Editorial Fundarte, 1996); Alejandra Torres, ed., *Cuentos breves latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires: Coedición Latinoamericana, 1998); Lauro Zavala, ed., *Relatos vertiginosos. Antología de cuentos mínimos,* Juvenil Collection (Mexico City: Alfaguara, 2000).

[9] René Avilés Fabila, ed., "Antología del cuento breve del siglo XX en México," Comunidad Latinoamericana de Escritores, *Bulletin* 7 (Mexico City) 1970, pp. 1-22.

[10] Concepción del Valle Pedrosa, "Como mínimo. Un acercamiento a la microficción hispanoamericana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Complutense University of Madrid, 1987).

[11] Andrea Bell, "The *cuento breve* in modern Latin American literature" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1991); Laura Pollastri, "Hacia una poética de las formas breves en la actual narrativa hispanoamericana: Julio Cortázar, Juan José Arreola y Augusto Monterroso," (master's thesis, National University of Comahue, Argentina, 1989); Karla Seidy Rojas González, "Estrategias de lectura en el minicuento hispanoamericano," (master's thesis, Autonomous Metropolitan University, Mexico, 2000).

[12] Antonio Cajero Vázquez, "El lector en 'Continuidad de los parques'. Un cuento de Julio Cortázar," (bachelor's thesis, Autonomous University of the State of Mexico, 1992); Carmina Angélica Quiroz Velázquez and Verónica Vargas Esquivel, "Una propuesta para desmitificar el *Génesis* 3," (bachelor's thesis, Autonomous University of the State of Mexico, 1994).

[13] Currently at the printer's is the collective volume this author edited called *El dinosaurio anotado. Edición critica de "El dinosaurio" de Augusto Monterroso* (The Annotated Dinosaur. A critique of Augusto Monterroso's "The Dinosaur"), to be published by Ediciones El Ermitaño.

[14] R. Díaz and Carlos Parra, *Breve teoría y antología sobre el minicuento latinoamericano* (Neiva, Colombia: Neiva, Samán Editores, 1993); Juan Armando Epple, "Brevísima relación sobre el cuento brevísimo," in the *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía* (Washington, D.C.) (1996), a quadruple issue of the Organization of American States' magazine containing 12 studies on the genre and an anthology of 100 Latin American ministories; Nana Rodríguez Romero, *Elementos para una teoría del minicuento* (Tunja, Colombia: Colibrí Ediciones, 1996); Violeta Rojo, *Breve manual para reconocer minicuentos* (Mexico City: UAM Azcapotzalco, 1997), pp. 135-191; Angela María Pérez Beltrán, *Cuento y minicuento* (Bogotá: Página Maestra Editores, 1997), with a study of the genre and an anthology; Graciela Tomassini and Stella Maris Colombo, *Comprensión lectora y producción textual. Minificción hispanoamericana* (Rosario, Argentina: Editorial Fundación Ross, 1998), complete with a brief didactic anthology; Lauro Zavala, comp., *Lecturas simultáneas. La enseñanza de lengua y literatura con especial atención al cuento ultracorto* (Mexico City: UAM Xochimilco, 1999), with eight studies and essays from Peru, Chile, the United States, Mexico, Canada and Brazil.

Passion in the Desert

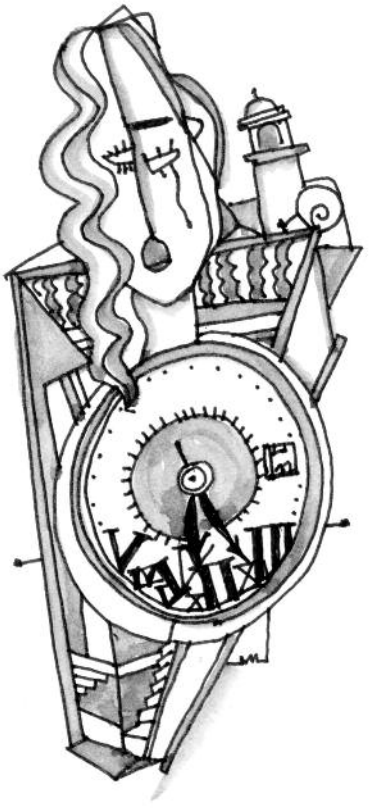
The exhausted, thirsty traveler, lost in the desert, saw the beautiful
woman from the oasis coming toward him carrying an amphora,
the water dancing to the rhythm of her hips.
"By Allah!" he cried, "Tell me that this is not a mirage!"
"No," said the woman, smiling, "You are the mirage."
And in a blink of her eye, the man disappeared.

José de la Colina
"Una pasión en el desierto," *Tren de historias*
(Mexico City: Aldus, 1998), 28 pp.

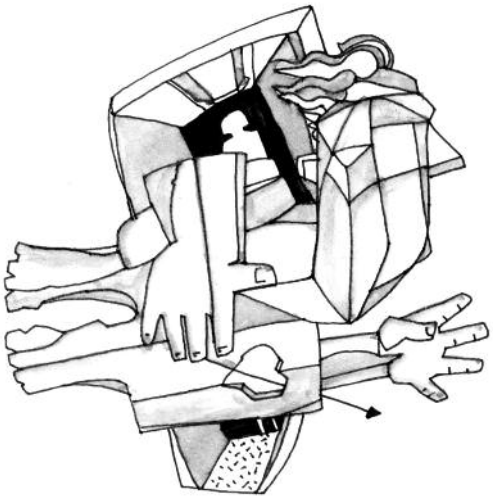
Absentminded

They were taking a long time to open the door.
She made sure she had the right apartment number.
She had so often stood in front of the wrong house,
or gone to an appointment a day late that she thought it better to be sure.
She smiled remembering the fumblings of her mind. As a little girl,
she used to forget her sweater on the school bench; as a young woman,
her glasses, the teachers' names and her boyfriends' birthdays.
Her absentmindedness had increased with age.
One day she went home on the bus and her husband, surprised
by her lateness, asked her where the car was. She had left it
parked outside her work. On many an occasion she had
tried to get into someone else's car, struggling
with the lock until the rightful owner found her.
Nobody opened the door. She peered into the windows.
The Venetian blinds were closed, leaving only a glimpse of dust
on the paint. Night fell. The church bells in the distance reminded her.
She had forgotten her own death.

Mónica Lavín
"Despistada," *Retazos*
(Mexico City: Tava Editorial, 1996).



Under My Breath



You are life itself, I tell myself without uttering a word, caressing you with my gaze as you stand in front of me.
Silent, like a glowing ember. Profound like forgetfulness. Impenetrable. You are life itself, I tell myself under my breath, before you get to me, and I know that my voice is secret, that it doesn't reach you, that it doesn't even move my lips, busy saying other things that I don't want to hear. I raise my hands as if to touch you, but I know that you're out of reach. That only my gaze, only my desire reach their yearned-for shore. Absent like a rose, you look at the equivocal gesture and pretend not to understand it.
Alien like the night, like happiness.
"You are life itself," I say and watch you leave.

Felipe Garrido
"En voz baja," *La musa y el garabato*
(Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), 200 pp.

Rainy Season

The rain also wets our feelings. They are the land of our spirit, where plants of sadness, joy, nostalgia and memories shoot up. And the rainy afternoons come to mind, when we got wet playing soccer or when the sky turned grey and even the prettiest things got damp. That's why this afternoon at my window, even though the water falls far from me, I feel I'm getting wet.

Guillermo Samperio
"Tiempo de aguas" (1986)
La cochinilla y otras ficciones breves
(Mexico City: UNAM, 1999), 174 pp.

Carlos Castillo Peraza
Ideologue of Democracy

Photos by Antonio Nava/AVE

Carlos Castillo Peraza, philosopher, writer, journalist and, above all, political activist committed to the struggle for democracy in Mexico and to the ideals of the only party he ever belonged to, the National Action Party (PAN), died in September in Bonn, at the age of 53. A man of sharp intelligence and integrity, true to his ideas, which he always put into practice, Castillo Peraza is considered one of the ideologues of the so-called transition to democracy. His party strategies are credited with the National Action Party win in the July 2000 presidential elections which put an end to 70 years of political domination of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

Born in Mérida, Yucatán, April 17, 1947, he graduated in philosophy and letters at the National Autonomous University of Mexico and did post-graduate studies in political philosophy at Switzerland's Fribourg University. A practicing Catholic, Castillo became active politically in the PAN as a young man in his hometown. It was

the 1960s. Opposition victories were systematically blocked by the PRI's political monopoly.

Castillo's dedication and party vocation took him to party district committees training activists and explaining party policies and his own views all over the country. By 1979, he was already a member of the party's National Council; he was secretary of international relations of the National Executive Committee from 1979 to 1982; twice elected federal deputy (1979-1982 and 1988-1991); and founder and director of the PAN's National Political Training Institute. In the turbulent times after Carlos Salinas de Gortari's 1988 presidential victory, Castillo Peraza always defended the benefits of and need for negotiation. Despite his unconditional support for PAN candidate Manuel Clouthier and being named Minister of Education in the alternative cabinet that the latter formed as a protest for what he considered the doubtful election results, Castillo Peraza was roundly criticized both inside and outside his party for having remained open to negotiation with the Salinas administration. Together with Diego Fernández de Cevallos, Castillo Peraza led the party through the so-called "conciliation-concession" period that began in 1991 when PAN member Carlos Medina Plascencia was named governor of Guanajuato state even though a different PAN candidate had actually run, after PAN protests about electoral fraud forced the resignation of PRI candidate Ramón Aguirre, previously declared the winner.

A little later, Castillo went through one of the most brilliant stages in his party career after winning the party presidency. For three years (1993-1996) he capitalized on the PAN's electoral gains in the previous six years: its winning the governors' seats of Baja California in 1989, the first PAN victory recognized by the federal government and official party, and of Chihuahua in 1992. He kept up the strategy of dialogue with the PRI government at the same time that he promoted an ideological proposal for the 1990s. This proposal was finally decided on by the Identity Commission, created by the PAN Executive Committee in 1989. Castillo Peraza was responsible for defining the party's different points of doctrine, with two dimensions: "identity, understood as a definition of doctrine, and its governmental program. For the first, the party leadership used the social doctrine of the Catholic Church; for the second, the proposals of Christian Democracy." (*La Jornada*, 10 September 2000).

This was the first stage of the party's greatest political and electoral growth: in addition to

A polemical man, like all those who leave their mark, Carlos Castillo Peraza should be remembered as a man who was always able to imagine a better Mexico.

maintaining the Baja California and Chihuahua state houses, it won the Jalisco governor's seat and consolidated its electoral presence in municipalities and state capitals across the nation until it was governing almost 40 percent of Mexico's population. Dialogue with the Salinas administration led to government reforms and initiatives that the PAN leadership claimed as their own. Castillo Peraza said, "Today in Mexico we are witnessing a victory of the PAN; not just a political victory, but above all, a cultural victory." (*La Jornada*, 10 September 2000). Ever since then the PAN has been known in political circles as "the party of the cultural victory."

Despite its victories, the old guard PANistas considered that the "gradualist, pragmatic" style of their new ideologue was a departure from their basic principles. The disagreements led to a split in the party which in turn led to the resignation of prominent members like Pablo Emilio Madero, Jesús González Schmal, Bernardo Bátiz and Jorge Eugenio Ortiz Gallegos.

To everyone's surprise, Castillo Peraza decided not to run for reelection to the party presidency in 1995 despite having enough support to win. Two years later he was the party's candidate for mayor of Mexico City in the first elections for that post, running against PRI candidate Alfredo del Mazo and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the PRD hopeful who won by a landslide, while Castillo Peraza lost resoundingly with only 16 percent of the vote. This defeat is explained by his lack of charisma before large crowds, constant problems and clashes with the press, particularly the reporters covering his campaign, and a general discourse divorced from the needs of the middle class and the poor.

After his defeat, Castillo Peraza decided to go back to private consulting and continue in the party's international relations department. In April 1998, after 34 years as a party activist, he resigned from the PAN to devote himself full time to research and academia.

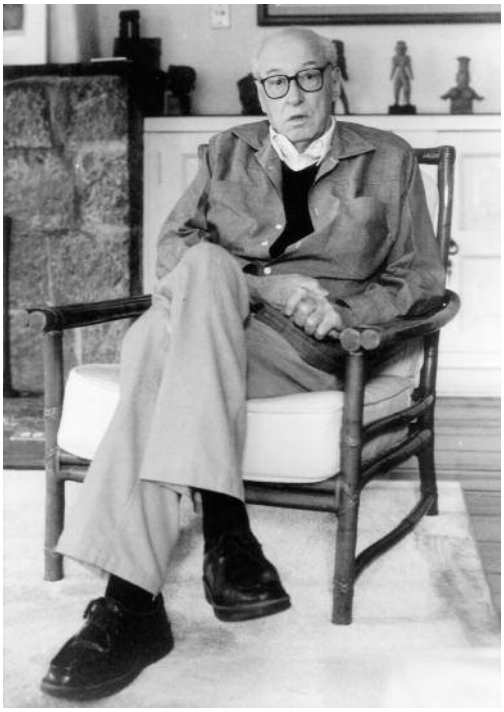
Castillo Peraza was also a lecturer, a teacher of political philosophy at La Salle University and the founding editor-in-chief of *Palabra* magazine (1987). He was a contributor to the Mexican national dailies *Ovaciones*, *La Jornada*, *Reforma*, *El Universal*, the local papers *Diario de Yucatán* (Mérida), *Público* (Guadalajara), *El Imparcial* (Hermosillo) and *La Opinión* (Los Angeles, California), plus the magazines *Proceso*, *Nexos*, *Vuelta* and *Zeta*. He also wrote several books and participated regularly in the weekly Mexico City television program of political analysis, "Front Page."

Castillo Peraza died suddenly while on a trip to study and rest in Europe, causing consternation in Mexico's political and intellectual circles. Both inside and outside the PAN he had won admiration and recognition for his intellectual abilities and total, principled dedication to politics. His friends remember him as a consistent Catholic, a lover of good books, culture and his family, a baseball fan, an untiring traveler and great conversationalist who collected dinosaurs and Tweety birds.

A polemical man, like all those who leave their mark, Carlos Castillo Peraza should be remembered as a man who was always able to imagine a better Mexico.

Elsie Montiel
Editor

Gunther Gerzso
The Appearance of the Invisible



Courtesy of Conaculta

The urgency of freeing the spirit from the ideological blackmail of orthodoxy (whether in art or in politics) and the need for space for an "intimist" sensibility —to allow for the appearance of the emotional and the abstract— in surroundings dominated by the post revolutionary epic journey were some of the motifs of Gunther Gerzso's work. Painter, sculptor and professional set designer, he founded the Mexican abstractionist school, although he classified his style as "psychological realism."

Born in Mexico City June 17, 1915, to Oscar Gerzso and Dore Wendland, he was sent to Switzerland in 1927 to live with his uncle Hans Wendland, a collector who trained him in the different schools and styles of art. In artistic soirees he met painters like Paul Klee and set designers like the Italian Nando Tamberlani, who were influential in his becoming an artist.

In 1931, Gunther returned to Mexico to continue his studies. Three years later he went into the theater as a set designer, and director Fernando Wagner used his work in productions of Molière, Lope de Vega and Shakespeare. Later, encouraged by an American professor, he went to Ohio and worked at the Cleveland Playhouse as an apprentice and assistant set designer from 1935 to 1941. Surprised by his talent, an art student who thought that set design "had no future," recommended that he turn to painting. In what would be a prophetic act, he gave Gunther the paint and brushes with which he would execute his first canvas in 1940, *Two Women*. A little later he met and married Gene Rilla Cady.

He returned to Mexico in 1941 with the idea of dedicating himself fully to painting, but his economic situation did not permit it. Gene and Gunther decided to return to the United States.

The night before they were to leave, he received the providential offer to design the sets for the third film version of the romantic novel *Santa*. This would be the beginning of three decades of an intense career as a set designer for 137 films, most of them Mexican. "The cinema has allowed me to see the world and life ... [and] how people on the margins live, people like madmen." (Alfredo Camacho Olivares, "Homenaje nacional a Gerzso en mayo," *Excélsior* [Mexico City] 25 April 2000). Some of his paintings display a certain voyeurism as though the viewer were looking through a keyhole.

"The Image, A Creation of the Spirit"

Although he admired Mexico's muralists and pre-Hispanic art, particularly that of the Mayas, he was not interested in either government-line nationalist painting or the great topics of the socialist left of the time. He sought a more universal language, but a language that at the same time would mean a return to the "intimate homeland," an aesthetic treatment of impressions and memories. His work takes the sediment of dreams and Freud's hypotheses very much into account. In 1944, he met the leading protagonists of surrealist painting exiled in Mexico (Remedios Varo and Leonora Carrington, among others). Immersed in that "school of the senses" that is Mexico and influenced by surrealism, he tended toward its combination of ethics and aesthetics in the act of painting. *Bird Woman* (1944) and the oil painting *The Days on Gabino Barreda Street* (1944) are two examples of work from this period.

Gerzso defined himself as an "intuitive painter" and his painting as "the image of a state of mind." He used to say that technique is important only if an emotional element is obtained from it, since each painting is a variant of the primeval emotion. "When you want to look into my paintings, you will always find a wall that keeps you from entering, [that] will stop you with its dazzling light, but at bottom, there is a black plane: fear," he once confessed to Rita Eder (*Gunther Gerzso. El esplendor de la muralla* [Mexico City: Conaculta-ERA 1994]).

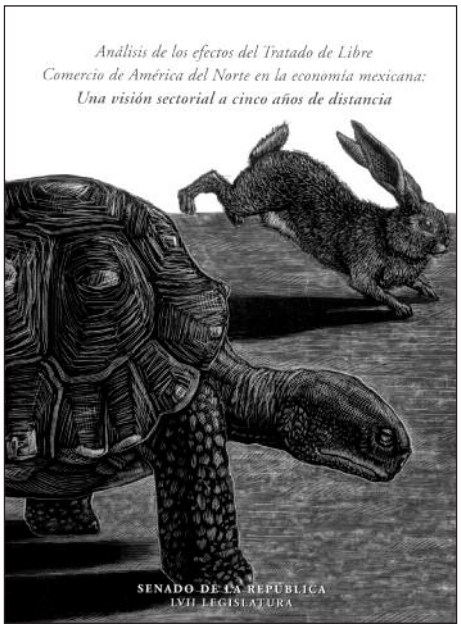
In 1950, encouraged by the German painter Otto Butterlin, he put on his first show at Inés Amor's Mexican Art Gallery, at a time that was not very propitious for paintings that did not represent the great artistic trends of the moment. Despite the show's lack of success, the gallery owner, very impressed with his pictorial proposal, tried to convince him to continue. "Mr. Gerzso, you are a painter above all else," she said (Carlos Monsiváis, "Gunther Gerzo," *Letras libres* 18 [June 2000], p. 84). Unbelieving, Gerzso thought he would concentrate wholly on set design for film, but Gene encouraged him not to abandon painting.

Public Recognition

After 1960 Mexican critics and the public gradually opened up to the possibility that Mexican art could exist that had meaning from the universal human point of view, without being strictly committed to any particular ideology. This made it possible for the avant garde, represented by Gunther Gerzso, to receive more recognition and opportunities. Throughout the 85 years of his life, he eventually presented 30 individual exhibitions and participated in 60 collective ones. Among other honors, in 1963, the National Institute of Fine Arts organized a retrospective, and in 1994, the Carrillo Gil Museum did the same; in 1984 he was given the National Prize for Science and the Arts. That same year the book *Gunther Gerzso* was printed in Switzerland, including texts by Octavio Paz and John Golding. He was a member of the National System of Artists and a member of its executive board until his death in April of this year. California's Santa Barbara Museum will organize a retrospective of his work in 2002.

María Cristina Hernández Escobar
Assistant Editor

Reviews



Análisis de los efectos del Tratado de Libre Comercio en la economía mexicana: una visión sectorial a cinco años de distancia

(Analysis of the Effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement on the Mexican Economy
A Sectorial View, Five Years Later)
José Luis Valdés-Ugalde, Research Director
Senado de la República
Mexico City, 2000, 2 vols., 582 pp., 767 pp.

This book is the result of the Mexican Senate's evaluation of NAFTA and includes presentations and discussions carried out in fora organized by its technical committee. It includes the points of view of experts on different sectors of the economy as well as those of businessmen and workers directly affected by NAFTA, either positively or negatively. It also includes an overall balance sheet of the agreement's impact.

In these comments, I will address only three aspects of the evaluation which I consider particularly significant.

First, what has been evaluated is the result of the economic policies generically referred to as the opening of the Mexican economy. This process began in 1983 and accelerated after 1989, with the 1994 corollary, the North American Free Trade Agreement with the United States and Canada. The evaluation was a response to the need for a government body other than the executive branch to assess the effects of its public policies in the name of the whole society.

This exercise's particular relevance lies in the political context in which it was carried out. Rather than simply rubberstamping these policies, this evaluation was used by the most affected sectors of society as an opportunity to speak out and voice their concerns in order to rectify, correct and even eliminate policies with a negative impact, as well as to explore and expand those which have been beneficial.

Economic policies are rarely neutral; they favor some and are detrimental to others. It is the function of the state to strive to benefit the majority and the obligation of political bodies representing society to make sure that this is the case and to take action when it is not.

Although this was not the first forum for discussion organized by the Senate recently, it may be the first in which the results reflect the community's feelings and have a direct impact on economic policies. Now is the moment in which the opening of the national economy must be explained and accounted for and corrections made so as to achieve more favorable results for society. Economic policies are a means to an end, an instrument used to benefit society. Therefore, NAFTA should be a political instrument generating tangible, concrete benefits.

Second, I would like to point out the quality and objectivity

both of the fora's organization and the compilation and presentation of their results. The theoretical and practical treatment of each topic, the extensive consultation and the analysis were all carried out objectively and without ideological bias, which would not have allowed a clear vision of the positive and negative aspects of government actions. Just as state ideology led to detrimental indiscriminate protectionism, likewise, neoliberal ideology, so fashionable today, has led to the indiscriminate opening of the economy, causing as much —or more— harm as the protectionism of the past.

Third, as far as content is concerned, I believe this careful evaluation indicates that despite the positive impact on exports of the opening of the Mexican economy, and of NAFTA in particular, important negative effects lead us to conclude that some aspects of this policy and of NAFTA itself should be reviewed. Favorable effects on production, employment and the foreign currency balance have expanded exports. However, this is counteracted by the unfavorable impact on domestic production due to the increase of secondary and raw material imports. This has resulted in some production chains being broken and increased pressure on the trade balance.

On the other hand, I believe that export-based growth has not been sufficient to increase formal employment enough to recover the lag of various years and to reduce underemployment. Without a clause in NAFTA addressing the mobility of the work force, a great number of Mexicans will continue to emigrate to the United States in search of jobs. The export-based growth model could have a greater and better impact if it were combined with policies ensuring more —and not less, as is the case— national content in the goods produced. I do not share the motto "That's the way it has to be." I believe there are other options. Changes are not only possible, but necessary, even if this goes against what the experts preach.

Finally, I believe that because of its importance, this book should be widely distributed and this evaluation continued in the future. VM

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Translated by Andrea Martínez

Canadá. Un estado posmoderno

(Canada: A Postmodern State)
Teresa Gutiérrez-Haces (comp.)
Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Canadienses-
Canadian Ministry of Foreign Relations and International Trade-Plaza y Valdés
Mexico City, 2000, 578 pp.

Arthur Schopenhauer once commented that some books "are not only useless, but absolutely pernicious," while others are "good books, with noble aims,"[1] that is, useful and timely.

This still applies to books today. *Canadá. Un Estado posmoderno* qualifies as the latter. However, although some books have outstanding qualities, that does not mean they are without failings. The following is a review of both.

This volume's compiler is the author of numerous publications on Canada and has presented similar works[2] on different issues concerning a nation which, although not unknown, is studied very little outside certain circles of specialists.

The book includes the work of 33 researchers on Canada from academia and institutions in different parts of North

America. Its objective is to present —to connoisseurs and newcomers alike— a mosaic of essays interpreting contemporary Canadian reality. The subject matter, approached expertly, is divided in six chapters:

I. Reflections on the Canadian State: From the Postwar Period to Globalization
II. The Canadian Economy between the Requirements of Free Trade and Structural Adjustment Policies
III. New Themes and Strategies for North America: Migration and Refugees, Unions, Civic Organizations and Cultural Industries and Professional Services
IV. Ethnicity, First Nations and Self-Government in Canada
V. The Redefinition of Canada's Foreign Policy
VI. Culture and Society in Canada

For readers who wish to delve deeper into certain subjects, 23 pages of basic and complementary bibliographies on Canada from the perspective of different disciplines are included as well.

Although *Canadá. Un estado posmoderno* presents a broad spectrum of studies on a country characterized by its multi-culturalism, the treatment given to different topics is disproportionate. Political, economic and social issues are far more prevalent than cultural questions, an arena where postmodern manifestations are more evident, such as in literature, music, art, film and architecture.[3]

This is my main criticism of this work —and its title— since it is not only these topics —the socioeconomic, political, commercial spheres and what derives from them— that determine whether or not a state is considered postmodern.

Finally, for readers interested in editorial details, various inconsistencies in the publication hopefully will be corrected in a future edition. VM

Hugo A. Espinoza Rubio
Staff writer
Translated by Andrea Martínez

NOTES

[1] "On Reading and Books" in Arthur Schopenhauer, *Reading, Books and Other Essays*, Edmundo González-Blanco and Miguel Urquiola, trans. (Madrid: EDAF ed.,1996), pp. 169-180.
[2] Teresa Gutiérrez-Haces and Mónica Verea Campos, eds., *Canadá en transición* (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones Sobre América del Norte, UNAM, 1994).
[3] Todd Gitlin, "To Finally Know What Postmodernism Is," Mercedes Córdova, trans., *La Jornada Semanal*, no. 82, 6 January 1991, pp. 20-25, and Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Logic of Advanced Capitalism,* José Luis Pardo Torío, trans., Paidós Studio Collection, 83 (Barcelona: Paidós, 1991).

senses ~ interprets ~ speaks ~ tells ~ weeps ~ wonders ~ understands
transforms ~ invents ~ creates ~ veils ~ reveals ~ embraces ~ dreams
molds ~ perturbs ~ weaves ~ polishes ~ builds ~ unites ~ offers

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because when you think about it,
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