VOICES of Mexico

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Impact of the Peña Nieto-Obama Dialogue on Bilateral Relations
Leonardo Curzio

Ayotzinapa: Another National Outrage
José Buendía

Frida's Wardrobe
Denise de Rosenzwieg
Magdalena de Rosenzwieg

History Made of Bread
Isabel Morales Quezada

In Memoriam: Vicente Leñero
Articles by *Rosa Beltrán, Felipe Garrido, and Ignacio Solares*

SPECIAL SECTION
Highly Qualifield Migration to the U.S.
Articles by *Ana María Aragonés and Uberto Salgado, Fernando Lozano And Telésforo Ramírez, José de Jesús López, José Luis Ávila,Luis Calva, Alma Maldonado, Nuty Cárdenas, And José Carillo*

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Tree of Life with mexican arts & crafts subjects.
Its origin is probably linked to Metepec, State of Mexico.
Courtesy of the Museum of Folk Art Museum.

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Our Voice

This issue was prepared during Mexico's midterm election campaigns, when President Enrique Peña Nieto found himself with a tattered image and an approval rating of only 32 percent, the lowest in decades for a president midterm, according to BBC World.

The president's party, the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution, dropped 10 points in the balloting compared to the 2012 elections, with 29 percent of the votes, although it continued to be the country's largest political force. Its wins came in Mexico's poorest regions, the most populated states, and even those marked by violence. It is interesting to note that the number of votes exceeded predictions: 47 percent of registered voters went to the polls. In addition, some independent candidates came out on top, outstanding among whom was Jaime "Bronco" Rodríguez Calderón, who won the governor's seat in Nuevo León. This state is a leader in northern Mexico since its economic development is very positive, positioning it as one of the five states with the most foreign direct investment due to its links with the U.S. economy.

Precisely to talk about relations between Mexico and the United States, in this issue we have included articles by UNAM researcher Leonardo Curzio and Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera from the University of Texas at Brownsville. The former wields his capability for summary in pointing to the central issues dealt with at the meetings between the leaders of our two countries, reiterating the themes of trade and security and adding, fortunately, education. The latter article predicts that the Mexico-U.S. border will once again be a talking point in the 2016 U.S. elections and invites our readers to review the author's reasoning on this matter.

Also in these pages, Jonathan D. Rosen looks at an important domestic U.S. issue, explaining why it has been extensively covered in the international press in recent months: the events documenting police brutality against Afro-Americans and Latinos in that country amidst the increasing militarization of police forces. He emphasizes the growing racism and the risks that this implies for safeguarding civil rights, but above all the legitimate right of U.S. Americans to take to the streets, like in the cases of Ferguson and Baltimore, to demand reforms to stop the abuses by those charged with defending the lives and physical integrity of the public.

Marisol Franco explains how women's participation in drug trafficking rings in Mexico has been essential, though it has changed from their being in charge in some cases in the early twentieth century to being subordinate and violently exploited in most cases today.

This issue's "Art and Culture" section offers several examples that will stimulate everything from our readers' imagination to their taste buds. Let me first mention the article by Denise and Magdalena Rosenzweig, who had the enormous privilege of working directly in cataloging Frida Kahlo's wardrobe and personal items. Her determination to wear traditional *huipil* blouses from the region of Tehuantepec, shawls, and other traditional indigenous clothing closed a perfect circle, an inseparable amalgam of the woman and the sublime artist. Mexico has in this painter a cultural icon that allows the world to recognize her beauty and talent. Her clothing is evidence of pride in wearing the work of our artisans.

In another order of things, this issue is festooned with popular music and dance as part of Mexico City's urban culture. Gina Bechelany writes about the atmosphere and characteristics of the emblematic Los Ángeles Ballroom, where *danzón* and other Latino rhythms continue to recreate a space where everyone joins the fiesta. Anchored in a working class neighborhood, this venue's fame has transcended

generations, social classes, and nationalities; in the harmonious movement of the dance, they all find a unique space for coexisting.

Returning to the pleasures of the palate, the world knows that Mexico's culinary tradition is exceptional. Part of this legacy is Mexican baked goods; Isabel Morales tells us their story. Introduced by Europeans in the colonial period, this fundamental part of our diet gradually took root among the populace, who made it something all our own through the combination of unique forms and unusual names, delighting us every day.

As a corollary to these articles, we ask our readers to look at the Folk Art Museum as written by Teresa Jiménez. Without a doubt, this museum contains pieces that demonstrate the diversity, wealth, color, and passion for life of our traditional artists.

Voices of Mexico continues to distinguish itself as it has since its beginnings as a magazine that disseminates the work of prestigious Mexican authors. In this issue, we pay posthumous homage to Vicente Leñero, known for his social commitment and valuable artistic production. Journalist, playwright, novelist, and script writer, Leñero created an entire school with his ability to communicate the vicissitudes of Mexico's marginalized population. A man of profound Catholic convictions, he leaves us a legacy of a vast oeuvre to reiterate the value of ethics in the face of an ominous world.

Continuing in the literary vein, Iván González's article contributes an interesting reflection contrasting the work of U.S.-American Nobel Prize laureate William Faulkner and Mexican writer Juan Rulfo. González underlines their affinities, among which is the centrality of characters who are outsiders marked by violence, such as in paradigmatic works like Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* and Rulfo's *El llano en llamas* (The Plain in Flames).

CISAN researcher Camelia Tigau draws our attention to one of the great issues of contemporary debate: skilled migration. Bringing together eight articles by scholars in the field, the special section allows us to identify the big challenges of Mexico's geographical proximity with the United States and Canada, marked by growing interdependence that has not managed to close the gap of the asymmetries that affect our country in particular. In today's knowledge era, demographic trends emerge that point to the aging population in advanced societies like the United States, which, together with the lack of investment in Mexico in technological and scientific development and the wage differential, end up making us the fourth country that contributes human capital to the United States, surpassed only by the skilled migration from India, Canada, or Great Britain.

This discussion cannot be separated from the unconcluded debate about the migratory reform in the United States. All indicators show that the priority interest in that reform is to attract highly-skilled migrants to cover the deficit of human resources in the sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Focusing attention on women's growing role in this competitive context, as well as analyzing in detail the results of public policies aimed at educating new highly-skilled personnel in Mexico like those of the Conacyt, are some of the obligatory reflections in several of the contributions to this section.

To finish up, I urge you to read the reviews of the books we offer here, particularly the one of the book by Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla, given the crisis and conflicts that have continued to escalate in different parts of the globe. One sad example is the case of Ayotzinapa, in the state of Guerrero, which reiterates that Mexico is by no means the exception. For that very reason, we have decided that this issue should include how this unfortunate event has been dealt with, recognizing that corruption and impunity are still pending issues for our country. We did it in the pen of the Mexican journalist José Buendía.

Silvia Núñez García
Director of CISAN

Universidades

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The Peña Nieto-Obama Dialogue And Its Impact on Bilateral Relations

Leonardo Curzio*

Kevin Lamarque/Reuters

Though not old acquaintances, much less friends, Presidents Enrique Peña Nieto and Barack Obama have already met several times. They have coincided at different trilateral and multilateral forums, among them the North American Leaders Summit in Toluca, Mexico, in 2014, and G20 meetings. Shortly before taking office, in November 2012, President-elect Peña Nieto visited Obama. At that brief cordial meeting, he presented his reform program and received the confirmation that Vice-president Biden would attend his inauguration on December 1 of that year.

During that visit, the idea was firmed up that it was very important that Peña Nieto dilute security in a multi-thematic agenda in order to throw into greater relief other issues like trade integration. The idea of a TransPacific Partnership (TPP) was even rumored. This did not imply, however, that he would elude the issue, which was finally an important part of the official communiqué. Perhaps the most important thing to underline was the announcement of a new strategy for dealing with violence and the emphasis on "cooperation with respect for sovereignty." From that time on, the idea began to take shape of "one-stop" communications centered in the Ministry of the Interior to centralize and then deal

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Obama's 2013 visit was promising. Certain doubts about security persisted, but the new projects and a discourse less marked by security opened up favorable prospects.

with all contacts that had previously been decentralized and made autonomously between government bodies under the Felipe Calderón administration and their U.S. counterparts.

Months after that meet, Obama continued not understanding —or he didn't want to understand— the overall guidelines of the new security strategy, to the point of stating on the eve of his visit to Mexico City in May 2013, that he wanted to hear about their scope directly from Enrique Peña Nieto.

Obama did, in effect, make a much-talked-about visit to Mexico. He used it to listen first-hand to how the Mexican government had tweaked its security strategy and concretely to put his administration's seal of approval on the cooperation framework established by the Merida Initiative as the right one, and just to avoid confusion or wrong interpretations, that it was best to even retain its name. And that's what happened.

The security issue continued to be on the agenda, however, even though the Mexican government made efforts —and rightly so, in my opinion— to open up other avenues for bilateral relations. A basic understanding already existed about how to manage the common border that was not to be reformulated,[1] and the issues highlighted were prosperity and competitiveness, whose profiles faded during the Calderón administration, innovation, and education. A new coordinating body, the High Level Economic Dialogue, was created, co-chaired by the U.S. vice-president and Mexico's minister of finance. Promising paths were opened in the field of education to foster mutual understanding with ambitious goals for increasing the presence of Mexican students at U.S. universities. A specific fund was also created for the Bilateral Forum on Higher Education, Innovation, and Research.

In short, at first glance, the visit was promising. Certain doubts about security persisted, but the new projects and the promise of a discourse less marked by security opened up favorable prospects. Obama's visit also was also extensively covered in the media and included a memorable, hopeful speech at the Museum of Anthropology and History.[2] In that speech, Obama thanked the decisive support from the Mexican-American community for his reelection and his commitment to move ahead with a profound, comprehensive immigration reform. He spoke masterfully about the Dreamers and the future Mexico was carving out for itself.

What seemed a different, warmer stage of relations between the two countries after that successful visit generated favorable expectations for 2014, the year in which NAFTA celebrated its twentieth anniversary, as the appropriate space for deepening integration and taking some bold steps to improve the region's competitiveness. Without there being exactly any misstep, the year transpired without official commemorations. This can probably be explained by the political calculations on the part of each of the administrations, but the fact is that neither D.C. nor Mexico City's D. F. was in a celebratory mood. The anniversary's stellar moment came and went with the protocol-fulfilling celebration of the North American Leaders Summit in February 2014 in Toluca. Barack Obama, Enrique Peña, and Stephen Harper only skimmed the surface of NAFTA's twentieth anniversary.

Many observers of public life noted this lack of interest in taking advantage of the anniversary. In fact, the business community and even academia spent more energy on remembering and analyzing the implications the trade agreement had had in the three countries and the region as a whole than the governments did. From May 2013 to the closing months of 2014, the general trend seemed to be, rather, that of two partners cooperating formally and correctly, moving through their joint plan of action without any further ambitions. In other words, each party did its part. Period.

One irritating and rather unexpected item was the crisis over the unaccompanied migrant children, which made for a large part of the news headlines last summer. Many critics, such as the governor of Texas, for example, pointed to Mexico as responsible for unleashing this problem on their southern border, which created momentary tensions but that did not go very far. In fact, Obama thanked the Peña administration at the January 2015 summit for its willingness to cooperate and alleviate this problem.

In September 2014, Peña made a comprehensive trip to New York, visiting the UN General Assembly, which seemed to re-channel things onto a smoother path, accepting awards, speaking to investors, and making as much as politically possible of his legislative successes based on an impressive reform agenda. The events of Iguala, Guerrero, were just about to occur.

A particularly weighty concern floated in the air, however, about the possibility that Obama was going to lose strength, as he did, due to the unfavorable mid-term election results and the possibility of his facing a two-year period in

which he would grow weaker and weaker, and that Mexico's president would not have made an official visit to Washington. Finally, in early 2015, Obama received Peña at the White House. It was not a state visit, and therefore, the agenda was limited, consisting of a private talk between the two presidents, a press conference, and a couple of parallel activities.

In contrast with presidential visits to other nations, which have been very successful in terms of media coverage, Enrique Peña Nieto was treated rather unfortunately by the press, and the balance of the opinions published was unfavorable. The headlines of the capital's main newspapers had no news that really attracted attention. Some underlined Obama's congratulations on the reforms; others mentioned security; and finally, the most important was Obama's mention of the case of the Ayotzinapa Normal School. However, the content of the bilateral meeting included traditional items and some new ones that are worthwhile reviewing.

With regard to the prosperity agenda, the presidents centered on the key points of more effective border crossings, trade, and investment, while Mexico's discourse highlighted the will to make the region the world's most competitive. A good part of the text published in *The Politico Magazine* centered on the two economies' interdependence and the impressive bilateral trade figures.[3] The figures are there and they are irrefutable, but they increasingly seem less effective for spurring a different regional project.

The U.S. public is not too impressed by Mexico's auto production, and it cannot be said that exporting light trucks or flat screens positions our country's image in the United States, since a large part of these products are not associated with the universe of perceptions about Mexico. That is, neither the design, nor the brands, nor the colors add anything to Mexico's "brand." In this sense, NAFTA seems to be an effort parallel to each of the countries rather than a will to create incentives for convergence and a sense of regional belonging.

Obama, for his part, took a more traditional tack, congratulating Peña on his reforms and their potential for promoting investment. The most sensitive issue in their private conversation was probably the conflict of interests that Mexico's president and the minister of finance have been accused of and, particularly, the U.S. concern about sectors in which Chinese companies can invest in Mexico, specifically energy. Parallel to all this, the High Level Economic Dialogue met without reporting anything new.

The second important chapter was about security. The thorny Ayotzinapa issue was the first mention in the White House communiqué, very clearly stating that it would maintain its support to eliminate the causes of criminal violence and the power of the criminal organizations, but that, in the last analysis, it is Mexico's responsibility to make the pertinent decisions to remedy the situation.[4] For the Mexican government, the mention of Iguala put security back at the heart of the bilateral conversation, exactly what Enrique Peña Nieto was trying to change by his visit to Washington as president-elect.

One irritating item was the crisis over the unaccompanied migrant children. Obama thanked the Peña administration at the January 2015 summit for its willingness to cooperate and alleviate this problem.

Naturally, the border was one of the issues on the presidents' agenda. As already stated, Obama thanked the Mexican government for its work to contain the crisis of unaccompanied Central American immigrants that had caused so much tension in the summer of 2014. The possibility of cooperating to improve the situation in their home countries was left open. Cuba was also briefly discussed and Mexico, not an important actor in the process of reopening diplomatic relations, reiterated its willingness to facilitate the process to the extent of its abilities.

The most novel point of the meeting was precisely immigration. Obama's executive order clearly reinforces border security to dissuade new flows of migrants and there is no doubt that Washington is not going to change its deportation policy for recent arrivals, but it has opened a door of hope to several million of our fellow citizens. The Mexican government applauded what it termed the "bold" initiative and announced that the consular network would support all the work of dissemination and documentation necessary for facilitating the process for migrants.

In sum, we can say that in these two years of the Peña administration, there has been an important effort to open up new channels. Its main success has been in education. The combination of Mexican aspirations to increase the number of students, with the goal of 100 000, and the Obama administration's 100 000 Strong in the Americas Program has already borne some fruit.[5] Twenty-three cooperation agreements have been signed between universities from both countries, and a website, Mobilitas, has been created, which in principle, helps students find educational opportunities

The White House clearly stated in 2015 that it would maintain its support to eliminate the causes of criminal violence, but that it is Mexico's responsibility to make the pertinent decisions to remedy the situation.

in the two countries.[6] In 2014, the number of Mexican students attending different U.S. universities rose to 27 000, not an optimum number, but a considerable improvement.

How migration evolves, in particular the opportunities opened up for undocumented immigrants in the United States, will depend on the way in which the political conflict between President Obama and the Republicans is resolved. For Mexican interests, it is key that the president's executive action be successful and that, eventually, the benefits of regularization of immigration status be extended to more and more citizens. The crisis of the U.S. immigration system is still a pending issue that clearly affects relations between the two countries.

Finally, the rule of law and security remain on the agenda. The Mexican government must ramp up its efforts to reduce the widely-held perception that corruption is a practice not only tolerated but backed from the highest levels of government. Despite the attempt to reduce the importance of security and its impact on bilateral relations, it is more or less clear that this issue will continue to be one of the priorities on the agenda in coming years. VM

Notes

[1] "Plan de acción bilateral México-Estados Unidos," http://embamex.sre.gob.mx/eua/index.php/en/comunicados2010/454-plan-de-accion.

[2] "Discurso del presidente Barack Obama en el Museo Nacional de Antropología," May 3, 2013, http://spanish.mexico.usembassy.gov/es/news/discurso-y-publicaciones/otros-oficiales/discurso-del-presidente-barack-obama-en-el-museo-nacional-de-antropologia.html.

[3] Enrique Peña Nieto, "Why the U.S.-Mexico Relationship Matters," January 6, 2015, http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/01/us-mexico-relationship-enrique-pea-nieto-113980.html#.VLgWeyuG-So.

[4] The White House, "Remarks by President Obama and President Peña Nieto after Bilateral Meeting," January 6, 2015, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/01/06/remarks-president-obama-and-president-pe-nieto-after-bilateral-meeting; and Presidencia de México, "Coinciden los presidentes de México y Estados Unidos de América en el interés mutuo de seguir profundizando los vínculos entre ambos países," http://www.presidencia.gob.mx/articulos-prensa/coinciden-los-presidentes-de-mexico-y-los-estados-unidos-de-america-en-el-interes-mutuo-de-seguir-profundizando-los-vinculos-entre-ambos-paises/.

[5] See http://www.state.gov/p/wha/rt/100k/.

[6] http://mobilitasedu.net.

Rhetoric, Policy, and Reality
U.S. Border Security and Migration Reform

Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera*

Jim Young/Reuters

In recent years, comprehensive immigration reform has been a central issue in U.S. public debate. Different estimates put the number of unauthorized immigrants at 11 million. Special attention has been given to the need to approve a broad reform to improve a clearly dysfunctional immigration system. For political reasons, this discussion has centered on border security, and today it is front and center in the U.S. campaigns running up to the 2016 presidential elections.

The debate about the need for a comprehensive immigration reform in the United States is not new, nor has it been put forward exclusively by the Democratic Party or the Obama administration. Actually, the recognition of the broad problem and the design of alternative proposals have involved members of the country's two main political parties. One example was the Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act, a bill introduced May 12, 2005, by Senators John McCain (R-Arizona) and Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.), which even then included the possibility of amnesty or legalizing the status of part of the immigrant population.

Despite general recognition of the need to resolve the big limitations in the current U.S. immigration system, the debate has become partisan and considerably polarized and tainted with a discourse based on imprecise information that has curtailed consensus and the design of an effective solution.

Recently, but mainly since the 9/11 attacks, the debate on immigration reform has been directly linked to the issue

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Little by little, the issue of border security has displaced that of comprehensive immigration reform, which is why President Obama's proposal has not fared well.

of border security, using the argument that "illegal" immigration contributes to crime and violence and represents an important national security risk. Some have even talked about a possible link between undocumented immigration, organized crime, and terrorist groups like Al Qaeda or even the Islamic State. Thus, in recent years, the main proposals for immigration reform have made border security their priority. Just consider, for example, bills like the Security through Regularized Immigration and a Vibrant Economy Act of 2007 or the Comprehensive Immigration Reform for America's Security and Prosperity Act of 2009, and, more recently, the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act, which was approved in the Senate on June 27, 2013, but did not get through the House.

In recent years and parallel to the election of the first African-American to the presidency in U.S. history, public opinion has become significantly polarized and racist and anti-immigrant stances have been expressed more openly. In this context, little by little, the issue of border security has displaced that of comprehensive immigration reform, which is why President Obama's proposal has not fared well. The conservative wing of Congress, represented mainly by the Republican Party, has been quite effective in stopping any advance in this area. Amnesty has been the point most objected to, mainly by those linked to the Tea Party. Possibly in an attempt to reconcile opposing positions, the president and those favoring the reform have accepted the reinforcement of border security and supported mass deportations. It should be pointed out here that the Obama administration has deported the highest number of people in the country's history.

The attempts to reconcile the different positions and come to a consensus have not rendered the expected results. Groups opposing immigration reform and undocumented immigration have been much more effective.

In addition, government spending on protecting the border has increased exponentially. In the last eight years, border security spending has been in excess of US$100 billion, and since 2004, the number of Border Patrol agents has more than doubled.

Congress has massively expanded its infrastructure and technology expenditures for border protection, including the construction of a fence that divides the two neighboring nations. Also, the executive actions to defer deportations that President Obama took given Congress's inactivity on the issue have recently stopped moving ahead. These actions may have been temporary, but they would have maintained the legal status of approximately four million unauthorized migrants in the country. The federal judge for the Southern District of Texas, Andrew Hanen, ordered these measures postponed while their constitutionality was being evaluated, granting the motion brought by a coalition of 26 states.[1]

These victories have been based on quite aggressive rhetoric underlining the costs of unauthorized immigration and the supposed insecurity of the border with Mexico. Different political actors, above all in Texas, like Republican presidential hopeful Senator Ted Cruz and the state's governor and vice-governor, Greg Abbott and Dan Patrick, respectively, have forcefully expressed their positions against comprehensive immigration reform and in favor of more border security spending.

It should be pointed out that the arguments of many of these people and agencies, like the Texas Department of Public Safety (TxDPS), do not seem to be based on the actual situation in the region as reflected in official crime statistics.[2] The real figures show that the U.S. side of the U.S.-Mexico border is quite safe. On the other hand, no appropriate measurements exist to effectively assess the results of the enormous border security spending of recent years.[3] It would truly be a tragedy if after the enormous amount of resources spent the border continued to be as dangerous as some politicians or members of local security agencies claim.

Looking at the hard data and the experience of border inhabitants —again, on the U.S. side—, we seem to be observing a political strategy to artificially stimulate border state economies through increases in aggregate demand. It is important to underline that the growth derived from greater government security spending is only short-term, since we are not talking here about productive investment. At the same time, the law of diminishing returns would explain the few potential advantages of increasing border security spending even more as proposed by Texas authorities.

Taking into account the most recent debates about immigration reform and border security, as well as the special emphasis on these issues in last year's mid-term elections, it is to be expected that the border will again occupy a central

place in the 2016 presidential campaign. However, in such an important, complex process, it is vital that the electorate has information about the border's real situation. According to the National Research Council, undocumented immigration seems to represent more benefits than costs to the United States, and the argument that the border is unsafe seems to be fallacious, as already mentioned. Perhaps U.S. Americans would prefer their taxes to be spent more efficiently in areas like education and productive infrastructure. Otherwise, those who really benefit are private security contractors, who displace productive investment and could limit sustainable growth in the long run. VM

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Law and Disorder: Police Violence and Racism in the United States

Jonathan D. Rosen*

Patrick Fallon/Reuters

It seems that you cannot pick up a newspaper without reading a story about police violence against under-represented minority groups in the United States. In August 2014, Darren Williams, a white police officer, shot Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. Brown, an African-American teenager, was unarmed, yet the accounts differ as to what happened. According to Williams, he attempted to stop Brown and speak with him, but the situation quickly spiraled out of control as Brown became aggressive and eventually reached for Williams's gun. Williams shot Brown and his body was in the streets for hours in plain view of bystanders as law enforcement officials investigated the crime. Large-scale protests throughout Ferguson occurred as residents expressed their displeasure with what appeared to be another instance of racialized police violence. A grand jury decided not to indict the officer for killing Brown, only inciting the riots even more as protesters burned cars and looted stores. Photos of Ferguson looked like a war zone as police officers in their anti-riot gear rolled down the streets in tanks trying to quell the protests. The protests were so disruptive that airplanes seeking to land at the St. Louis airport were rerouted to other airports.[1]

Racialized police violence continued in November 2014 when police officers in Cleveland, Ohio, were called to respond to an African-American male who was waving a gun in a local park. The dispatcher failed to warn the officers that the

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While much of the media attention has been focused on the racialized violence against African-Americans, less coverage has been given to police violence against Latinos.

bystander who reported the gun stated that it might not be a real gun. A video shows the police officers arriving on the scene and shooting 12 year-old Tamir Rice.[2] The officers ignored Tamir Rice as he was dying in the park, choosing instead to handcuff his sister and place her in the back of the police car. Rice was taken to the hospital and underwent surgery but doctors were unable to save his life. Rice's family has suffered a great deal from the loss of Tamir and is seeking justice by filing a federal civil rights and wrongful death lawsuit against the two police officers involved in the incident as well as the city of Cleveland.[3]

Seemingly unnecessary police violence continued in December 2014 when Eric Garner was choked to death by a New York City Police Department officer. Garner, an African-American male, had been warned before about selling illegal cigarettes on the street corner. The Caucasian officer, Daniel Pantaleo, put Garner in a choke-hold, and the overweight male with various health problems was unable to breathe and later died. A video was recorded of Garner telling the officer that he could not breathe. Even after repeated cries for help, the officer did not stop, resulting in Garner's death. Protests throughout New York City began as residents chanted slogans of "I can't breathe." Despite the excessive use of force and the overwhelming evidence against the officer, a grand jury decided not to indict Pantaleo.[4] Such events led to nationwide protests where participants held up signs reading, "I Can't Breathe." Some cities, such as Philadelphia, organized "die-ins," where protesters lied down pretending to be dead in support of Garner.[5]

In April 2015, 50-year old Walter Scott was stopped by Officer Michael T. Slager in Charleston, South Carolina. A video shows Scott attempting to flee the scene on foot unarmed and Slager firing at him repeatedly, killing the victim. It has been alleged that Scott fled the scene because he had warrants out for his arrest for child-support payments.[6] This horrific event led some to call for more accountability among law enforcement. The Rev. Al Sharpton, a civil rights activist, declared, "We are saying for the sake of this family in Charleston, that not only are we with you; we are saying that there must be national legislation around cameras and police accountability."[7]

While much of the media attention has been focused on the racialized violence against African-Americans, less coverage has been given to police violence against Latinos. In March 2015, Antonio Zambrano Montes was shot by Washington State Police. This case represented one of three killings in a short timespan as Ernesto Javier Canepa Díaz was killed by the police in February 2015 in Santa Ana, California. Seven days earlier, a police officer in Grapevine, Texas shot Ruben García Villalpando.[8] Mexico's Minister of Foreign Affairs condemned the death of Díaz, and the Mexican government argued that the U.S. Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division should investigate the deaths of Zambrano Montes, Díaz, and García Villalpando as they did not appear to be isolated in nature.[9] Such incidents have resulted in outrage among Latino communities, revealing that it would be a grave mistake to assume that only African-Americans have become victims of police profiling and racial violence. A. B. Wilkinson declares, "The U.S. has long been a police state for Latinos, Native Americans, African-Americans, and other men of color. Police brutality is a reality today. The only debate needs to be on how best to change it. If we are going to push back against future growth of militaristic policing in the U.S. then we will all need to get behind this important struggle together."[10]

Two main elements are at play here: the militarization of the police and racist practices. Images from some of these protests, particularly the events in Ferguson, look like a war zone. The police are well armed and patrol the streets with tanks and a wide array of weapons at their disposal, from tear gas to guns that shoot rubber bullets. Differently put, the police forces look like robot cops that you would see in a Terminator movie, making it harder for citizens to distinguish between the military and the police. Mark Thompson argues, "Many Americans were surprised by the martial response, which had the St. Louis suburb looking more like Baghdad or Cairo. Some veterans of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq noted that the cops appeared better armed and outfitted in middle America than the GIs had been in the war zones."[11] The police have received US$4.3 billion since 1997 from the Pentagon,[12] and the events of September 11, 2001 have fundamentally changed the nature of the police, particularly in terms of their duties.[13]

The militarization of the police has been a highly critical practice, since the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act[14] makes it il-

legal for the military to patrol the streets of the United States. Citizens do not feel safer with military-style police officers with extensive weapons who have demonstrated a lack of judgment in the various aforementioned cases. The American Civil Liberties Union states, "Our neighborhoods are not warzones, and police officers should not be treating us like wartime enemies. Any yet [sic], every year, billions of dollars' worth of military equipment flows from the federal government to state and local police departments. Departments use these wartime weapons in everyday policing, especially to fight the wasteful and failed drug war, which has unfairly targeted people of color."[15]

Under-represented minorities, particularly Latinos and African-Americans, have reason to be concerned about the police. Under Mayor Michael Bloomberg, New York City implemented a program known as Stop-and-Frisk. The American Civil Liberties Union argues that it is a myth that this program is not discriminatory. African-Americans and Latinos have been unfairly targeted. From 2002 to 2011, an estimated 90 percent of the individuals stopped under this policy were Latinos and African Americans, yet approximately 88 percent of the people stopped were innocent.[16] These statistics demonstrate that police officers have clearly used racial profiling to select which individuals to stop, question, and frisk. Stopping people based on the color of their skin or what they look like is a clear violation of an individual's civil liberties and should be treated as a form of discrimination. Worst of all, the Stop-and-Frisk policy has been proven not to reduce crime, leading critics to call into question the use of such policies if they did not help keep New Yorkers safer.[17]

Not surprisingly, the Latino community in the U.S. has very little confidence in the police. A 2013 report revealed that 45 percent of Latinos surveyed asserted that they are less likely to voluntarily provide law enforcement with information about crimes because of fears that the police will question them or individuals that they know about their immigration status in the United States.[18] In addition, 45 percent of the individuals polled indicated that they are less likely to report a crime to law enforcement for the same reason.[19] When asked to respond whether drug dealers and criminals have been relocating into their neighborhoods because they believe that we are scared to report them to the police since more law enforcement officers have become more active in immigration enforcement, 63 percent of undocumented Latino individuals agreed, 31 percent of individuals born in the U.S. concurred, and 49 percent of people born abroad agreed.[20] The vast majority (61 percent) of undocumented individuals in the survey revealed that they were afraid to leave their residences due to the increased involvement of local law enforcement in immigration enforcement activities compared to 22 percent of U.S.-born Latinos surveyed.[21]

In conclusion, the alarming number of instances of police violence, particularly against African-Americans and Latinos, has been astonishing. Police officers have shot and killed unarmed men who posed no threat to their safety. It is quite difficult for an officer to argue that a man running away is a danger to the officer's security. It is important to remember that racialized violence has not just been against African-Americans; Latinos have suffered a great deal as well. More needs to be done to hold police forces accountable. Policies and procedures should be reviewed about the use of force and when it is appropriate.

Along with combatting police violence, more must be done to decrease the number of racial profiling instances. The U.S. has come a long way since the 1950s as a result of civil rights movements, yet the aforementioned statistics reveal that African-Americans and Latinos are often unfairly targeted and viewed as suspects. Law enforcement officials need probable cause to search someone and cannot stop any individual just based on his or her profile. The New York City case demonstrates that African-Americans and Latinos were unfairly targeted in the Stop-and-Frisk program. Worst of all, the stops were overwhelmingly unwarranted and based purely on race. People should not have to live in fear because of their appearance, and police departments must be better trained about racial sensitivity and what constitutes racial profiling. Simply asking people to stop and frisk them because they are African-American or Latino and look "suspicious" when these individuals are not committing any crime is a clear violation of the law. Such behavior is unacceptable, and it is quite troubling that in 2015, the United States still treats certain members of society as second-class citizens.

The police forces look like robot cops seen in a Terminator movie, making it harder for citizens to distinguish between the military and the police.

Finally, the militarization of the police is also extremely troubling. Many citizens are alarmed at the need for the police to be so heavily armed, particularly after the countless instances of police killing unarmed individuals have led people to call into question the judgment of law enforcement. Lev Raphael argues that the police "weren't just being given the weapons of an army by the Pentagon; they were being trained like armies, trained to think of citizens as the enemy. Which made them overreact."[22] The goal of the police is to protect and serve the people by maintaining order on the streets, not to instill fear in society. It is important to highlight the fact that the law in the U.S. separates the duties of the military and the police and clearly defines the role of the military, prohibiting the military from enforcing civil law. However, there does not appear to be any difference between the police forces and the military in terms of their weapons and logistical capabilities. The U.S. population is right to protest and demand that government officials and lawmakers implement major reforms to stop such horrific acts from continuing. VM

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What Happened to Ayotzinapa? The Story of Another National Outrage

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Henry Romero/Reuters

Seven months after the students from Ayotzinapa disappeared now one year ago, an "anti-monument" appeared on Mexico City's Reforma Boulevard, one of the capital's most emblematic thoroughfares and the frequent site of demonstrations and protests that disrupt the city's financial and political center almost daily. Out of the soil in its central divider rises a three-meter-high structure in the form of a plus sign and the number 43, as though it appeared from *the nothingness* to which the normal school students were reduced. The movement of the parents of the victims of the Raúl Isidro Burgos Rural Normal School picked one of the most important points along the 14.7 kilometers of Reforma Boulevard to erect this: it is known as "information corner,"[1] as though the site itself was making their main demand, the right to know, patently clear.

Along that same avenue, the parents periodically express their demand that the search for the young people continue. The official story, however, is that that is impossible because they were "deprived of their freedom, their lives, burned, and thrown into the Cocula River" by a local cartel with links to the municipal authorities of Iguala in Guerrero state. When the investigation by the Attorney General's Office (PGR) ended last January, this was the version presented by then-Attorney General Jesús Murillo Karam as the "historic truth," which is legally valid according to the jurisdictional bodies. However, the parents simply considered it the official story and demand an accounting by all those involved in this crime against humanity. Some people think that this is part of their natural refusal to believe in the tragedy, but others think their rejection of the official version goes far beyond their grief, and the government has suggested that they do not accept the investigation results because they are being manipulated. Nevertheless, they have pushed their cause onto the political stage, expressing their indignation with calls to not go to the polls in Guerrero in June 7 local elections.

Despite the fact that at the public presentation of the investigation results an attempt was made to close the book on the matter, domestic pressure and international scrutiny

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The cruelty of the execution of the normal school students and the discovery of new graves during the search for them caused the biggest security crisis of the current administration. President Peña Nieto himself called the violence in Guerrero "barbarism".

have kept the case alive. Above all, what is being sought is to continue to shed light upon the many other cases of forced disappearances whose victims are hidden in hundreds of unknown, clandestine graves. On the one hand, some demand that the search continue despite the ashes found in the Cocula River, which are almost useless for identifying victims using scientific procedures like DNA testing. On the other hand, international bodies have expressed concern innumerable times about human rights in the country, to the point of even saying that disappearances and torture are "generalized."

The movement of parents and NGO activists has rejected the PGR's conclusions and increased their demands to include not only the presentation of their children alive, but also that they have access to all the information about what happened that night of September 26-27, 2014, which led to the darkest night for human rights in the last quarter century. The location of the "anti-monument" and its symbolism seek to make completely clear that another of the victims of the "Iguala case" has been precisely information. The tragedy became the face of the thousands of disappearances caused by the war against the drug traffickers over the last decade that remain hidden from the public.

Until the "official version" was announced on January 27, 2015, the interpretations about the reasons for the slaughter ran rampant amidst the authorities' sluggishness and confused answers, regardless of the recognition of the professional, exhaustive investigation headed by Murillo Karam. The official version of the fate of the disappeared contains elements that make it believable, in addition to the fact that the PGR's work has been positively assessed by several international human rights bodies. All of this has not been sufficient, however, to close the book on the matter, and contradictions even continue to arise in the investigation by experts from the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (CIDH), invited by the Mexican government to issue another result. For example, according to the CIDH, government authorities and police knew from the beginning that the young people were Ayotzinapa students, while the official version maintains that their captors confused them with members of the local Los Rojos (The Reds) Cartel, an opposing criminal group to those responsible for the massacre, the Guerreros Unidos (Warriors United) Cartel.

Different attempts have been made to explain the crime. For example, one explanation has been that it was a confrontation between Guerreros Unidos and old, remaining cells of a guerrilla movement in the state, based on a communiqué from the Indigenous Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERPI) that declared war on that cartel. Another argument has been to attempt to personally place all responsibility, whether deliberately or not, on Iguala's "narco-mayor," José Luis Abarca (from the Party of the Democratic Revolution) and his wife, María de los Ángeles Pineda, for the evident collapse of the local institutions. However, even today, most people admit that the causes are unknown and that they are perplexed by the senselessness of the killings, regardless of the "official investigation's" reconstruction of the events based on the confessions of 39 police, 487 affidavits from experts, 386 formal statements by witnesses, and 153 inspections.

Thanks to this shock wave that reverberated throughout the country, from the swampy sands of violence and corruption of the Cocula River emerged a tragedy that was much more extensive than the case of Ayotzinapa: the problem of forced disappearances managed to surface despite efforts by the previous National Action Party administration of Felipe Calderón and the current Institutional Revolutionary Party administration to hide and stave off accountability for security and crime-fighting policies. The 43 young people who disappeared were added to the 266 people that only four months previously had already become forced disappearance statistics, but had practically gone unnoticed in reports and private statements, like the one made by former national Ombudsman Raúl Plascencia on May 21, 2013.

Forced disappearances constitute a human rights crisis "of enormous proportions" in Mexico, as Human Rights Watch says, that has existed for a very long time and is not an isolated case of Guerrero state. The same is true for the impunity that accompanies almost all the cases. From 2005 to June 2014, the National Human Rights Commission (CNDH) has registered 24 800 disappearances, while other sources cite a higher number, and no reliable official count exists. In addition, indications exist that in 2 344 cases, public servants were involved.

The cruelty of the execution of the normal school students and the discovery of new graves during the search for them caused the biggest security crisis of the current administra-

tion. President Peña Nieto himself called the violence in Guerrero "barbarism" and admitted that communities exist in the country with complete vacuums of authority and complicity between authorities and criminals. However, in the case of forced disappearances, the cloak of silence and impunity does not stem solely from the disarray of municipal or state institutions.

For example, the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHCHR) has said that for years it has noted the impunity prevailing in Mexico in the cases of enforced disappearances, extra-judicial executions, and torture, and has informed the authorities. Despite the figures for the last decade, from 2009 to 2014, the CNDH only made a paltry 17 recommendations. The UN Committee on Enforced Disappearances has asked the CNDH for information about complaints, recommendations, and its work, since it did not include those numbers in its report about Mexico last March. The tension accumulated around this issue between Mexican authorities and representatives of international human rights bodies spilled over with cases like the alleged illegal executions in Tlatlaya and the disappearanced students from Ayotzinapa, which the Mexican government has continued to treat as kidnappings, given the absence of protocols and laws on forced disappearances.[2] Mexican law does not recognize the existence of enforced disappearance. Therefore, it also lacks a trustworthy list of the disappeared beyond a "data base" that the Calderón administration is purported to have left behind on compact discs in the Ministry of the Interior. These CDs have been lost.

For this very reason, Congress has committed to writing up and passing a law about enforced disappearances, as well as its respective protocols and registries. The legislation is important, but insufficient. The cloak of silence covering this issue was ripped to shreds in the Ayotzinapa case by the demonstrations of indignation about the tragedy and impunity. This shows the importance of social controls for ensuring that things get done. and there is an attempt to get to the "bottom" of the issue, as the CNDH continues to promise seven months after the events. The thousands of disappeared in the country over the last decade reflect, first of all, the absence of government control to impede crimes against humanity. Second, they show the authorities' inability to prosecute and punish those responsible, as well as the fact that the federal and local human rights commissions have not even denounced them.

Proof of all this is that, up until now, the demand for accountability in the tragedy has not turned into any sanction for any authority, except those originally pinpointed as those who ordered the students be "picked up": the mayor of Iguala and his wife. Impunity for those politically responsible has been supported, as on other occasions, by local congresses and parties, which have even accepted schemes like the proposal by then-governor of Guerrero state, Ángel Aguirre, for holding a public consultation about revoking his mandate, in order to stay in office amidst his state's institutional debacle. Aguirre finally resigned under the pressure of the mobilizations, and, above all, his party's pressure given the up-coming elections. However, neither he nor those in charge of security in his administration have been held responsible for the crime. Seven months after the tragedy, more than 100 people have been arrested, including police and alleged members of the Guerreros Unidos Cartel, accused of participating in the massacre. The most recent of them is the former operational deputy director of Iguala's municipal police, Francisco Salgado Valladares. Also being held are the mayor of Iguala and his wife, although in her case with weak arguments and evidence that have already made it possible to get injunctions against her prosecution.

Most people admit that the causes of the violence in Ayotzinapa are unknown and are perplexed by the senselessness of the killings, regardless of the official investigation.

There is also no information about the role of the soldiers and the 27th Military Zone, headquartered in Iguala a short distance from where the clashes took place between local police and students, who were then loaded onto a truck during the night. Almost two months after the CIDH experts began a parallel investigation, they had not received authorization to interview any military personnel. The person in charge of that military zone was transferred and no soldier has been deposed up until today, despite the fact that it is quite hard to believe that anything could move in the area where the greatest amount of opium is produced in the state without the soldiers' knowledge. CIDH envoys have complained of the obstruction of their obtaining statements and testimony.

The lack of punishment is the problem that undermines Mexico's institutions of justice and security. We know that 90 percent of crimes go unreported nationwide. But the surfacing of crimes against humanity like enforced disappearance has been effective in making the collapse of our institutions

Forced disappearances constitute a human rights crisis "of enormous proportions" in Mexico that has existed for a very long time and is not an isolated case of Guerrero state.

visible, particularly on a local level. It could even be a point of inflection for rebuilding the rule of law and modernizing the justice system, as Peña Nieto demanded, as long as the pacts of mutual complicity involving governors, parties, congresses, judges, and human rights commissions are broken.

For more than a century, the country's history could be told through the failed attempts at modernization, which have succumbed to violent movements, revolutions, or popular uprisings. Benito Juárez's effort to build a republican government through the ballot box was thwarted by the French Intervention; the 1910 Revolution against Porfirio Díaz under the banner of "effective suffrage and no reelection" ended in the formation of the authoritarian, single-party Institutional Revolutionary Party system; and President Salinas de Gortari's trip to the First World through the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement produced the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas. Today, the promise of "moving Mexico" toward a new chapter of modernization through Peña Nieto's structural reforms has bogged down in the human rights crisis opened by the Tlatlaya and Ayotzinapa cases. This has become the biggest challenge for democracy since an opposition party won the presidency, culminating the process of alternating in office.

The basis for any democratic rule of law, such as the one we aspire to build, is respect for human rights. Those rights have been brought into question by both these crimes given that military and civilian authorities responsible for guaranteeing their protection are involved. These facts shed a shadow of doubt on the political system and its parties due to the persistence of authoritarian ways of exercising power.

Mexico is once again the scene of violence and reflects the authorities' inability to clear up crimes and overcome the profound crisis of mistrust in the state and its institutions. The basic problem is that, standing behind Iguala are the thousands of disappeared in other parts of the country, as well as the corruption that shores up impunity and has become a cancer that the political class has refused to attack. Proof of this is that even the legislative commission investigating the Iguala case has met with obstacles to its work due to the lack of inter-government coordination and the non-transparency in how information is handled between the different authorities involved.

Despite this, the response of the political class to these events could turn these tragedies into an opportunity to relaunch the human rights agenda and the construction of democracy, as long, of course, as it does not succumb to the temptation of using old, worn-out formulas, simulating symbolic ways out, or making cosmetic reforms. At stake in the resolution of Tlatlaya and Ayotzinapa is a large part of the possibility of success for the structural reforms, which, until recently, it was thought would move ahead without attacking corruption and the complex varieties of violence generated by illegality. The force of the complaint and international pressure must make the federal government aware that the reform agenda has not concluded, as was said after the energy reform passed.

The agreement of the parties to push forward the creation of a National Anti-corruption System may be a good step if there is political will to attack the web of complicities that affect everyone and that, as also shown in the Iguala case, now incorporate crime in them and in state structures. The official accusation that the Iguala mayor and his wife headed a local cartel and ordered the police to disappear the students is a blow against the political class's credibility, situating the problem of corruption on a new plane that involves its very survival.

Until now, the fight against corruption has been part of the campaigns of successive administrations and party propaganda. In fact, they have done very little to change the systematic abuse in the exercise of power in patrimonialist, opaque ways without any effective accountability. They have done very little to design controls of legality and to sanction law-breaking. However, today we are at a turning point that we hopefully will be able to take advantage of to recover the future. VM

Notes

[1] This is the corner of Reforma Boulevard and Bucareli Avenue, known as "information corner" because two of Mexico's most important newspapers, *Excélsior* and *El Universal*, are headquartered there.

[2] In Tlatlaya, State of Mexico, more than 20 persons were killed, some of whom, disarmed, were executed with a *coup de grace* to the head, showing that government authorities were involved in the events. [Editor's Note.]

Women and the Changing Structure of Drug Trafficking in Mexico

Marisol Franco Díaz*

Daniel Aguilar/Reuters

Introduction

The role of women in drug trafficking in Mexico has undergone a substantial change: they have gone from a place of leadership to being trophies. As we know, patriarchal ideology has existed in Mexican society for centuries, but it has not always manifested in the same way. Different practices have made the masculine predominate, and in the context of what is today known as machismo, women are considered inferior, submissive beings to be treated as objects —objects of value, but objects in the last analysis— in any space of social interaction.

So, it comes as no surprise that the history of drug trafficking in Mexico situates men as the main actors in its economic development, without recognizing the role women have played, and, what is more, without questioning their changing role in these activities.

Today, we can situate women in spaces that a few years ago were considered exclusive to "the stronger sex." Strictly speaking, however, they have been present in every stage of history, occupying places that were not supposed to correspond to their profile and recognized functions.

Over time, they have consolidated their inclusion in practically all spheres of work and society, including the world of crime in all its variety, in this case, drug trafficking, where their participation has been very significant.

Some analysts see women drug traffickers as "victims" of a socio-cultural, economic, or even political phenomenon, even though in practice, this characterization is sometimes

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Some analysts see women drug traffickers as "victims" of a socio-cultural, economic, or even political phenomenon, even though in practice, this is sometimes a simplification.

a simplification. To look more deeply at their trajectory in drug trafficking, I will briefly and very generally review the twentieth century and the early years of this century. I will underline the cases of some women members of these networks, focusing particularly on those we know were leaders, without forgetting that there most certainly are innumerable additional undocumented cases.

Known Origins

Drug trafficking in Mexico has its visible origins in the first third of the twentieth century, disseminated through a series of stories, customs, and plots played out by both state and societal actors. As Valdés Castellanos writes in his book *Historia del narcotráfico en* México: *Apuntes para entender el crimen organizado y la violencia* (History of Drug Trafficking in Mexico: Notes for Understanding Organized Crime and Violence), it is important to take into consideration different factors: we have to understand that this is a very lucrative business, the product of supply and demand, the policies of Mexico and the United States, and the double standard that plagues the institutions of the security and justice systems.[1]

Some authors think that in the first decades of the twentieth century, women's participation began to increase in Mexican drug trafficking. It is often believed that women have only recently entered Mexican drug trafficking. However, as stated at the beginning of the article, women's presence has been documented as early as the first decades of the 1900s and has undergone changes since 1980.

In 1920, women were the perfect traffickers and were very useful in smuggling goods because it was unlikely that they would be searched. Customs agents on the Mexicali-Calexico border calculated that they were responsible for approximately 60 percent of the flow of drugs between the two countries.[2] In the 1930s, the cities that had been used as ports for bootleggers were turned into places of transit for the drug trade, particularly heroin and marihuana. In that context, women became the visible contrabandists, even in places as far away from the main cultivation and production centers as Mexico City and Cholula, Puebla. Thus, we have one of the first women drug traffickers from Central Mexico, Felisa Velázquez, whom the press called "the queen of marihuana." She owned marihuana fields in Cholula and it is believed that she participated in distributing marihuana in Mexico City.[3] Another famous female trafficker was María Dolores Estévez, "Lola, la chata" (or "Snub-nosed Lola"), who in 1937 was dubbed "the most active drug trafficker" when she used a network of women as local drug dealers to supply Mexico City's most inveterate addicts. It is also known that she lived in a luxurious mansion in the Lomas de Chapultepec neighborhood,[4] and that, as a little girl, she sold pork rinds on the streets of the Merced central market neighborhood until she began selling morphine and marihuana at the age of 13. She was arrested at least seven times until she was sentenced to 11 years and 6 months in jail after President Manuel Ávila Camacho issued a decree in 1945,[5] since from the beginning of that decade, the Mexican government could no longer deny the problem of transnational contraband from inside its borders.

Where Everything Begins and Changes

At the end of the 1930s and in the early 1940s, thanks to increased agricultural production in the Culiacán Valley, trafficking began to become a profitable business that in a short time would become industrial and international. This meant the cultivation of marihuana and opium poppies began to flourish. Many women played leading roles in this, taking control of drug production, distribution, and commercialization.

In mountain areas, women were in charge of both planting and harvesting, making their role essential and giving them a real possibility of countering their precarious living conditions. The story of one woman in particular in this period stands out: Ignacia "La Nacha" Jasso, who used a mediator to avoid arrest. Working in northern Mexico, but the native of another state, it is said that she operated in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and was for quite a long time the head of an important network of drug traffickers along the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez border.[6] She took control of those cities and the network in 1931 when her husband Pablo "El Pablote" González died after a clash between drug traffickers.[7] In 1943, she was arrested and sent to the Islas Marías prison, leaving her

partner Consuelo Sánchez in charge. Consuelo was responsible for the merchandise from there to the Tijuana-California border and, together with Ignacia Jasso's daughters, managed the business while La Nacha served her sentence.[8]

In the 1960s, Margarita Caro López, born in Badiraguato, Sinaloa, was linked to organized crime when 763 kilograms of marihuana were found stored in her home.[9] Another case was that of Manuela Caro, who, together with Gil Caro and Rafael Fonseca, was involved in the family business of producing, distributing, and commercializing opium gum.[10] Manuela was in charge of making the heroin; for that, she purchased distilled water and mixed it with the gum, lime, sodium chloride, and ammonia.[11] In later decades, women's roles morphed as both the Mexican and U.S. governments changed their policies, establishing "strategies" to fight a business now considered illegal.

In the 1980s, a series of rifts occurred, like the one between the Tijuana and the Sinaloa cartels; this gave rise to a new hierarchy in the world of organized crime. Alicia Félix Zazueta, the cousin of Miguel Ángel Félix Gallardo, was the person who made the organization's most important decisions, while Enedina Arellano Félix was the front for important money-laundering operations.[12]

Women in the Narco Culture

It is no coincidence that women began to be a kind of inspiration and figures representative of transnational drug trafficking. That is how the first *corrido* songs came about, like *Camelia la Tejana* (Camelia the Texan) and *Pollitas de cuenta* (Heavy-Duty Chicks), where passion, death, and transgression come together. But all of this changed radically when the country was divvied up in the 1980s and 1990s. Big drug trafficking began to change its values and its leading figures. Enormous ground was lost regarding traditional ethics and respect inside their organizations at the same time that they began a series of practices and internal agreements among the members of each cartel in which vengeance and death, always present but limited by certain rules, began to cleave to the usage of the new era.

Since the end of the last century, what has been called "narco culture" has exalted the lifestyle of one part of the population, distinguished by profligacy, corruption, impunity, drugs, arms, and an increasing tendency to see women as trophies, not actors or colleagues. Among other things, the narco culture has promoted the construction of a hegemonic masculine figure with the return of preeminence of the kingpin or chief. It has become a kind of misogynous cult, where women have gone from being leaders, producers, and distributors to being "decorative objects for exhibition."[13] Women have gone into drug trafficking for very diverse reasons: some have been forced or were interested in a profitable business, others have been in it to solve different economic needs and deprivations, while still others have been seeking a life of luxury.

In this context, they are often pressured to comply with certain stereotypes of beauty to be able to be fully developed "items for exhibition" that serve as escorts and on occasion are exchanged to close a deal or pact. However, the reconfiguration of Mexican drug trafficking starting in 2006 has "adjusted" the trend to exclude women from economic activities, moving from leadership to subordination, and many of them have increasingly been used as "drug mules," fronts for money laundering, and even in execution squads and kidnapping, among others.[14] Before the Felipe Calderón administration, the main reason women were jailed in connection with trafficking was for robbery, but today the statistics have changed and women are mostly charged with crimes against public health.[15] The states with the highest number of women jailed for drug trafficking-related offenses are Baja California, Jalisco, Mexico City's Federal District, Guanajuato, Nuevo León, and Durango.[16]

When we say women are inextricably linked to drug trafficking, implicitly this refers to the definition of gender identities that, to a certain extent, define the culture that we today call narco culture. In addition, we must recognize that while women in drug trafficking resort to their beauty to move through that world, this is thanks to a subordinate position and a generalized context of violence. That is, their participation is still essential, but their status inside the organizations has been turned upside down.

The fragmentation and reconfiguration of the cartels in the current drug war context molds relations between men

Narco culture has become a kind of misogynous cult, where women have gone from being leaders, producers, and distributors to being decorative objects for exhibition.

Women have held different positions inside Mexico's drug trafficking rings, often consolidating themselves in the organizational structures of the different groups as *de facto* leaders or Machiavellian strategists.

and women. This has had an impact on their spaces for participation. In this sense, the questions we have to ask ourselves are no longer how women went from being producers and leaders to being objects for exhibition for the men in the drug trafficking world, but rather, how women participate and fit into the masculinized spaces. And, what is more, it would be interesting to know what power means to these women and how much they share in it in this industry.

Conclusion

To understand the role women have played in Mexican drug trafficking, it is important to point out that it is not enough to resort to theory or official documents. Rather, a large part of the information can only be obtained directly.

In general, women have held different positions inside Mexico's drug trafficking rings, often consolidating themselves in the organizational structures of the different groups as *de facto* leaders or Machiavellian strategists. Others have simply been treated as "objects" to be shown off to other criminal organizations.

Generally speaking, women's history has always been marked by subordination; however, as we have seen, some have occupied central spaces and positions inside this kind of economy. However, this article does not have the intent of suggesting that gender roles determined by an ideal of masculinity or femininity exist or should exist, but rather only that in Mexico, like in most countries, conceptions exist that correspond directly to the currently dominant ideal of masculinity and femininity. Therefore, women's role has evolved drastically, not only in how it manifests or is characterized, but even how it is documented.

For that reason, I want to recall Judith Butler's proposal about the construction of gender identity, which she conceived of as a piece of theater that individuals play out in order to fit into the roles defined for their sex. This means that we are always doing things that convince others that we are acting as either men or women.

With this understanding, the role that women played during the entire last century and today in the history of drug trafficking in Mexico has been unique. They have gone from playing roles of commanders and decision-makers to carrying out tasks that are increasingly foreign to that due to the reconfiguration of their role in drug trafficking. For that reason, we must decipher the new signifiers for them and their bodies in this milieu, as well as the reasons behind the increasing violence they are being subjected to. VM

Notes

[1] Guillermo Valdés Castellanos, *Historia del narcotráfico en México: Apuntes para entender el crimen organizado y la violencia* (Mexico City: Aguilar, 2013).

[2] Elaine Carey, "Mujeres de armas doradas: el narcotráfico en Norteamérica (1900- 1970)," in Jorge Trujillo, ed., *La encrucijada: historia, marginalidad y delito en América Latina y los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica (siglos XIX y XX)* (Mexico City: Universidad de Guadalajara/CUCSH, 2010), pp. 379-403.

[3] Valdés Castellanos, op. cit., p. 51.

[4] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[5] Luis A. Astorga, *El siglo de las drogas* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 2003), pp. 165-168.

[6] Carey, op. cit., p. 397.

[7] Juan Carlos Ramírez-Pimienta, *Cantar a los narcos. Voces y versos del narcocorrido* (Mexico City: Planeta, 2011), p. 53.

[8] Carey, op. cit., pp. 381-400.

[9] Valdés Castellanos, op. cit., p. 115.

[10] Opium gum is extracted from the opium poppy by women because it is "delicate" job, considered practically artisanal.

[11] Despite the fact that this section mentions women working in the opium trade beginning in the 1960s, the cultivation, processing, and commercialization of marihuana and opium derivatives began in Sinaloa at least as early as the first third of the twentieth century, as mentioned at the beginning of the text, if not before. They flourished with the agreements between the Mexican and U.S. governments during the Korean War. Those who worked with opium-gum derivatives were called *"gomeros"* (gummers), and by extension, so were all the drug traffickers. For more about historical and political aspects of this business, see the work by Luis Astorga, referenced in this article. [Editor's Note.]

[12] Jesús Belmont Vázquez, "Una estirpe matriarcal," *Proceso*, Special Edition "Los rostros del narco" part 1 (February 2001), p. 48.

[13] Marcela Turati, *Fuego cruzado. Las víctima atrapadas en la guerra del narco* (Mexico City: Grijalbo, 2011).

[14] Arturo Santamaría Gómez, *Las jefas del narco: el ascenso de las mujeres en el crimen organizado* (Mexico City: Grijalbo, 2012).

[15] Ibid., p. 44.

[16] Dulce Ramos, "BC es el estado con más mujeres presas por narco," *La crónica*, October 21, 2010, http://www.lacronica.com/EdicionImpresa/ejemplaresanteriores/BusquedaEjemplares.asp?numnota=705595&fecha=21/10/2010.

Recurrences in William Faulkner and Juan Rulfo

Héctor Iván González*

William Faulkner (1897-1962) ventured into several literary genres painting a portrait of the southern United States. Based on a huge number of characters, families, and generations (the Snopeses, the Bundrens, the McCaslins, among others), his literature delved into a long-standing endeavor: to narrate the U.S. American epic. This epic, rooted in the country's history, began during the War of Secession (1861-1865), portraying the condition of blacks and showing the economic transformations that took place. Faulkner was interested how the country's general history was fed by small stories, anecdotes, elementary episodes, where the character of that culture was present. Endowed with its true dimension by the specificities, the community that Faulkner portrays is changing, unstable, in perpetual transformation. This can be seen in several of the texts in the volume *Uncollected Stories of William Faulkner*, which includes fragments of unfinished novels and stories he published in magazines.[1]

Faulkner's work shows us the identity traits of a nation emerging from different phenomena: the economic revolution of capitalism, which broke with incipient trade, and brought a cultural reconfiguration

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after the end of slavery. In his work *Faulkner, Mississippi*, poet and essayist Édouard Glissant relates how, during a trip to the United States, he was able to see the way all traces of what had been the slave culture had been erased, as though white U.S. Americans were ashamed of it and wanted to obliterate their past. It is obvious that the outrage of slavery and the trade in human beings brought from the Antilles and Africa provides a vast vein of material for literature. However Faulkner's aim is not simply a post-colonial reading, but the construction of his work using the most ambitious resources of literary experimentation.

As fundamental parts of his aesthetic proposal, his narrative plays with space and time and uses internal monologues by people who would not appear to have the capacity to have one, as well as different viewpoints. Rhetorically, his writing is extremely rich in figures of speech and thought, literary devices such as metonymies, hypallages, synecdoches, and ekphrases.

His experimentation shows influences of Joyce (the monologue), but also of Marcel Proust (time). However, he does not always emphasize the influence of Thomas Mann, particularly of his *Buddenbrooks*, in which several generations succeed each other throughout the story and it is necessary to show how time transforms, which continues to provide arguments for doubting that elastic modernity has been surpassed. It is interesting that when people talk about what allows us to identify post-modernity, such as fragmentation, the death of the author, multiple viewpoints, or experimentation with syntax, they forget that in the mid-twentieth century, this could already be found in Faulkner's novels.

His poetics borders on the political and the descriptive; however, Faulkner did not intend to write purely descriptively or for his work to approach naturalism. Quite to the contrary: he attempted to reconcile the proposals of avant-garde schools, such as U.S. modernism —a very different version from Latin American modernism—, and therefore his writing achieves a new approximation to history and a renovation of narrative techniques, which would bring him close to poetics such as those of T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, or William Carlos Williams; and his novels

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would have the depth of *Four Quartets* by Eliot, *The Cantos* by Pound, or *Paterson* by Williams.

It is also appropriate to point to several aspects that he developed as few other authors did. It is true that modernism has outstanding exponents such as Virginia Woolf or Aldous Huxley, and that the exploration of new narrative devices can also be found in authors like John Dos Passos. However, Faulkner comes closer to new spheres of thinking. For example, in one of his most ambitious works, *The Sound and the Fury*, he explores the point of view of a disabled character, Benjy, and how his perception of the world manifests itself anomalously. His sensitivity allows him to elucidate in a particular way the forms that heat or cold take. For example, the character talks about how he perceives certain colors when he experiences cold through the gate, as if the narrator were trying to make the character express himself through a particular synesthesia, but that he does not know how to react to pain, so he does not let go of the gate either. One of the mysteries that Benjy poses throughout the whole story is that he suddenly bursts out crying when he is near a golf course. In fact, this forces narrative experts to ask themselves new questions like why we take it as a given that the narrator must only be a part of the story or external to it. Could the character not have a distorted awareness?

One of the authors who best captured this possibility of exploration and of creating a portrait of society using elements different from realism was the Mexican Juan Rulfo (1917-1986), since his work maintains an intense dialogue with Faulknerian themes. When we think of the figure of Benjy, we can remember the character Macario in the short story of the same name included in *El llano en llamas* (The Plain in Flames) (1957), narrating his musings and ramblings. Macario talks about how time passes because his aunt sits him in front of a drain to kill frogs for hours. The narrative voice is presented as a monologue,

and we gradually discover that it does not come from a completely lucid consciousness. He also talks about the way he relates to his cousin Felipa, with whom he has an incestuous relationship. Thus, Benjy and Macario are each connected to a female character, Caddy and Felipa, respectively, without knowing if it is because of "love," "sexual attraction," or "affection." For them, language loses meaning. In Faulkner's case, the characters are influenced by language; that's why the play on words with the nickname for Candace, Caddy, becomes torture for Benjy when he hears people calling for the "caddy" over and over on the golf course; Rulfo, meanwhile, plays with religious guilt in the region of Jalisco.

Both authors' stories portray the spirit of wild arid regions where freedom becomes debauchery, barbarism. Although the story is narrated by one of the characters, enigmatic fragments are introduced into it, voices from the future and the past that are reiterated in the "literary space." *Absalom, Absalom!* would be the example of this way of playing with narrative time. For Rulfo's part, the novel *Pedro Páramo* (1955) is an experienced sample of narrative discontinuity, not only because the characters, all ghosts, appear to protagonist Juan Preciado, but because the story of Pedro Páramo himself is dealt with in his formative years as a pitiless *cacique*, or local strongman; that is, past and future merge in an instant.

Faulkner conceived a different landscape, created on the basis of his interests. Yoknapatawpha County, whose Indian name comes from one of the rivers that flanks the county —the other river is the Tallahatchie—, is the changeable space where the stories take place, outside the county seat, Jefferson, based on the real city of Oxford in northern Mississippi's Lafayette County. From their marginal space, the characters enjoy free will to survive, raise a family, or get ahead at the cost of the town. In his novels and in the stories, a series of local references, anecdotes, or rumors are known and repeated by the community. Something similar happens in Juan Rulfo's Comala, since he makes a reference to the "*comal*," a griddle used for cooking and that can withstand high temperatures. When Juan Preciado goes down to that place where he begins to feel that very strange climate, Rulfo writes,

> "It's hot here," I said.
> "Yes, and that's nothing," the other answered me. "Just you wait. It'll be even hotter when we get to Comala. That's on the coals of the earth, right in the mouth of Hell. Just imagine, a lot of the people who die there come back from Hell for their blankets."[2]

The Rulfian Comala is a land with characteristics like the Bajos de Jalisco region,[3] where gangs still live, people accustomed to taking whatever they want even violently. To a large extent, this is the ambiance that Faulkner shows in his first novels, like *Sartoris*. Faulkner's and Rulfo's geography are very in tune; this can be observed in the aftereffects of the two conflicts that raged through their respective regions, the War of Secession and the Cristera War. In an interview for Spanish radio and television chain RTVE, Juan Rulfo said that the inhabitants of Jalisco had been left with the need to re-experience the violence of those moments. He added that the people who seem the mildest could secretly be murderers, and described how a peaceful person could have a long list of murders to his name.[4] Obviously, creating the characters in *Pedro Páramo* and *El llano en llamas* is not a realist quest to portray them, but to imagine them. For his part, Faulkner, when asked whether he was obsessed with violence, answered that a carpenter was obsessed with his hammer; that violence is one of the carpenter's tools, and that the writer, just like the carpenter, cannot build a house with only one tool. Finally, Rulfo concluded that characters "are irrational." I think this shows his greatest affinity to William Faulkner, and the profile of the character he shows us most frequently.

The best exponent of the social changes that took place in Yoknapatawpha after the War of Secession is the Snopes family, whose members try to appropriate local natural resources or even benefit from

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their posts as public servants. I think the way that Faulkner perceives this inertia of an official who tries to take advantage of his position to get rich, something that so clearly remains valid in the twenty-first century, is very important. The Snopes Trilogy (*The Hamlet*, *The Town*, and *The Mansion*) portrays how this family takes over towns with insatiable voracity. The so-called "business mentality" is brought into question as on few other occasions. In retrospect, it is difficult to think of any other literature as anti-system, as anti-capitalist, and as critical of bourgeois ideology. Paradoxically, the literature that responded to the capitalist onslaught the world faced in the twentieth century did not come from the Soviet bloc. Despite being one of its principles, the production of what was called "socialist realism" foundered before fulfilling its purpose of showing the most deplorable aspects of capitalism and limited itself to being a simple way of praising the feats of the Russian army, falling into the absurd cult of personality —usually of Stalin— and backing what it supposedly should have criticized: bureaucratic power. What catches the eye about this comparison is that the literature that reflected the absurdity of capitalism, even without putting forward solutions or alternative roads, but limiting itself to exhibiting its worse vices —no small thing— came from the very belly of capitalism. The place where there had been a trade in human beings, who were denigrated in a way comparable to Nazism, would offer up the breeding ground to show the way in which the "free world" had fed for decades on the work of the enslaved.

Something very similar occurs in Juan Rulfo's literature, although he did not create altarpieces or great murals to denounce the injustice of a system like Mexico's, characterized by vast empty spaces taken advantage of by *caciques* (local strongmen), leaders who used violence, usually armed men and extortion, to appropriate the natural resources and businesses. What he did instead was to create a scene in which all of that was the background upon which the story of the characters was inscribed. Their voices and personalities are what stand out; the way they relate to each other is exactly what makes up the Rulfian world. Stories like "Nos han dado la tierra" (They Gave Us the Land), which depicts the distribution of land despite which people continued to live amidst overwhelming rising prices, since the role of the post-revolutionary government was very limited, are an example of literature that acts as a catalyst to transmit the paradox of the situation.

For his part, Pedro Páramo is a *cacique* who surpasses the social or political sphere and is the father of the protagonist, situating the story's tragedy from the very beginning. Just like in Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*, the characters are involved in a chaotic situation that overwhelms and constrains them. Mexican Revolution or Cristera War, these holocausts influenced several later generations, which was the case of the people who Rulfo knew.

Similarly, several U.S. American authors spoke clearly about the consequences of an absurd civil war. Faulkner's artistic and political perspective, as well as that of most of the so-called Lost Generation would be one of the most influential elements in a literary world that had found itself on pause or eclipsed by World War II. The views of authors like John Steinbeck (1902-1968), Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940), Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961), and John Dos Passos (1896-1960) transcended the apology of the Soviet bloc. These authors faced other kinds of obstacles to continue their work, since their problem was not whether their novels were to the taste of the party, but that this critical literature had to be so good that everyone had to like it or no one would buy it and it would pass into oblivion.

This makes for an undeniable paradox: the literature that was most critical of capitalism had to be self-sustaining and even translatable into other languages like cinema because, if it wasn't, the market would crush it immediately. The clash with reality would have to be the bait for the public to read these works. In short, a kind of artistic ambition and a commercial watchword combined; nevertheless, and fortunately for them, these were great works of literature that did

not fit into the niches of the fleeting or the recherché; their aim was to be appropriate for all audiences and also worthy of dissertations by seasoned readers.

For this reason, it is difficult to say that this literature has been surpassed, since its influence has even extended to what has been called the Latin American Boom. We should remember the impact that narration from this perspective had on authors who read Faulkner and admired him, like Juan Carlos Onetti, José Donoso, Mario Vargas Llosa, and a long etcetera. We can discern in their work the interest in digging deep down into the psyche of a character to whom discourse is denied, and therefore, we must admit that Faulkner's literature enjoys a currency and contemporaneity that even today we have not valued to its fullest extent. For his part, Juan Rulfo has also been a reference point for approaching the literature of Gabriel García Márquez or Daniel Sada. It is undeniable that their interior worlds, the literary devices that these writers use, can already be found in foundations like those of the author of *El llano en llamas*.

The specialists talk of Franz Kafka, Marcel Proust, James Joyce, and Thomas Mann as the fathers of twentieth-century literature. It is not my intention to dispute this assertion. However, the work of the Lost Generation, and particularly that of Faulkner, occupies a place closer to the ordinary reader, the one who reads not in a study, but in the few hours he/she has after a day's work; the reader who found in these stories characters who, just like their boss, used tricks to try to get them to work more hours for less money; and stories that also portrayed the spirit of the Negro people, who lived under the rule of racism and slavery. This was not the far-off world of *The Death of Virgil* or *Ulysses*, but the world of farmers who resisted paying taxes or big landowners who refused to admit that they had had a child with a black slave woman.

Finally, one of the greatest contributions to literature of Faulkner and Rulfo lies in achieving an opus that could establish a dialogue between two dissimilar social estates, the working class and intellectuals. Making those two worlds participants is one of the achievements of that fresh, modern, current literature, that deals with things that happen through constantly renovating narrative forms, giving rise to an interesting phenomenon since, at the same time that more experienced readers enjoy the way the stories are narrated through the "ruses" that make the story complex page after page, beginning readers know that there is a mysterious attraction that pushes them to continue reading and makes them desire the knowledge that will at some point allow them to unearth the very last of its secrets. VM

> Rulfo thought that characters "are irrational." I think this shows his greatest affinity to William Faulkner, and the profile of the character he shows us most frequently.

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Notes

[1] This book, first published by Vintage International in 1979, was translated and published in Spanish in 1997 by Anagrama as *Relatos*. [Translator's Note.]

[2] Juan Rulfo, *Pedro Páramo* (Mexico City: Plaza&Janés, 2000), pp. 9-10.

[3] Comala actually exists in Colima, a Mexican state near Jalisco state. [Editor's Note.]

[4] RTVE, Joaquín Soler Serrano, "Juan Rulfo, entrevista a fondo," April 17, 1977, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V74yJztkxc&spfreload=10. Look specifically at minute 16:12.

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In this issue, we bring you a little bit of everything and a great many good things. We hope you enjoy it.

› LOOKING AT THE DETAILS. The joining of art and philosophy is a good way to describe Teresa Velázquez's painting. She is a young, but established artist in Mexican visual arts, and we bring you some outstanding details of her pieces.

› FRIDA'S WARDROBE. THE STORY OF A FIND. Frida Kahlo once again graces our pages; this time, however, we are not publishing her work, but her clothing. The restorers who repaired it after it had been locked away for many years chronicle their work.

› BRINGING JOY TO THE SOUL AND LIGHTENING THE BODY. A VISIT TO THE LOS ÁNGELES BALLROOM. In a legendary venue in Mexico City, people have been meeting to show off their dancing skills since 1937.

› HISTORY MADE OF BREAD. Mexico's most deeply rooted gastronomic tradition is probably the consumption of "our daily sweet bread." We bring you the history of its origins in the colonial period, a review of the main traditional bakeries still standing in Mexico City; and a "visual taste" of the most delicious kinds and their original, engaging names.

› THE SATELLITE CITY TOWERS. ICONS, INDICATORS, AND SYMBOLS. Part of the identity of Mexico City's urban modernism, these towers were the brainchild of Mathías Goeritz, the centennial of whose birthday we celebrate this year. This history is presented to us by another one of the greats of architecture, Fernando González Gortázar.

› ANONYMOUS HANDS, ALL OF OUR SOULS. The Folk Art Museum shelters Mexico's cultural wealth in its hundreds of pieces, the product of the talent, the imagination, and the creativity of artists and artisans from all eras. This museum can't be missed if you want to know about our country's history.

▲ *Emergency,* 86 x 115 cm, 2008 (oil on canvas).

TERESA VELÁZQUEZ

Looking at the Details

Looking at the details. It seems like an ordinary phrase, but it summarizes the nature of painting and, at the same time, describes with penetrating clarity the work of Teresa Velázquez (Mexico City, 1962).

Carlos E. Palacios*

▲ *Reflections on Claesz*, 80 cm diameter, 2009 (oil on wood).

In *Emergency*, the artist manages to transform the real into an abstract pictorial gesture, and abstract painting itself into a real, photographic event.

◂ ***London Jubilee***, 130 x 100 cm, 2012 (oil on wood).

In 2009, she made a tondo, or circular composition, thinking of the gaze of another creator, who, like herself, understood the immense richness to be found in detail: Pieter Claesz, a painter who specialized in *ontbijt* or breakfasts. This was a subgenre of the Dutch still lifes and a subject that made him famous for decades in the seventeenth century, in which austere meals (a herring, a piece of bread, a ham) were accompanied by a ubiquitous rummer goblet, known for its broad base studded with small textured crystal ovals or prunts. And it is exactly in his treatment of the goblet's glass sphere that Claesz's mastery can be seen. This small detail activated the argumentation Teresa Velázquez inscribes in her painting titled *Reflections on Claesz*: painting the transparent and the reflection of the light in the old *waldglass* or "forest glass" that these goblets were made of from the Middle Ages until the seventeenth century.

In the concert of painting in Mexico, since the late 1980s, Teresa Velázquez's work has stood out clearly as an example of reflexive art, not only in relation to reflecting light, as mentioned above, but also with regard to the craft of painting as a way of thinking. Her paintings, above all the most recent, are an exercise —excuse the repetition— of

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visual reflection. This is the origin of her meticulousness, her courageous anachronism, and her willingness to take a risk, as opposed to the routine styles dominating the work of many artists of her generation. Without even wanting to, all this moves her away from a practice that had become either a mere exercise in slightly abstract formalist derivations or very speculative figurative painting about vacillating, aerial, hackneyed topics —that is, kitsch canvases.

The immense challenge of expressing a condition completely foreign to the opacity of painting, like the diaphanous effect of light moving through a glass by Claesz, and which Velázquez expands in her detailed view, can be intuited in a previous work titled *Emergency*, from 2008. It supposes a link among her previous paintings, more concentrated on a formal approach to color as a mechanism for maximizing darkness versus natural luminosity. In this work, the shattered crystal is the perfect vehicle to put to the test painting's possibilities as a function of a visual experience, where the subject and the light shining on it are transformed in a luminous phenomenon, like the reflection in Claesz's crystal goblet.

At the same time, *Emergency* becomes a plastic event *per se*. If we just glance at it, what we see is simply a brush sliding along the canvas as it is tied into knots, creating a network of pure painting. If we look at it in detail, we suddenly perceive the glass

▲ *Solar Hierophany*, 121 x 162 cm, 2012 (oil on wood).

shattered into a thousand pieces. This is like in *Reflections on Claesz*, in which our sharp gaze fixes on the upper edge of the tondo where the semicircular edge of the rummer goblet appears. In *Emergency*, the artist manages to transform the real into an abstract pictorial gesture, and abstract painting itself into a real, photographic event.

This reflexive dynamic (in the broad sense of the term) around a pictorial image is what makes Teresa Velázquez's work profoundly intelligent, much more rationalist than intuitive. A painting like *London Jubilee* (2012) is very eloquent in this sense.

It is important to underline that on this oval canvas (ingeniously anachronistic in a context dominated by right-angled paintings), what we see is merely an excuse. Velázquez insists on problematizing a concept like reflection as the definition of the painting itself: light as a mechanism of sensible visualization, from its mirrored reflection on the city's rain-soaked pavement. *London Jubilee* is also founded on extremely rigorous manufacture and from a clearly figurative form of painting, even though everything we see, the simple detail of an unimportant snapshot, is elevated to another category thanks to the painting itself, just as Pieter Claesz in the mid-seventeenth century would equally raise to the historic place of the sublime the meager remains of an everyday Dutch breakfast.

▲ *Flying Dusk*, 90 x 120 cm, 2012 (oil on wood).

◂ *Moon*, 48 cm diameter, 2008 (oil on wood).

The reflexive dynamic around a pictorial image is what makes Teresa Velázquez's work profoundly intelligent, much more rationalist than intuitive.

▴ *Dancing Lady Orchid*, 65 x 87 cm, 2013 (oil on wood).

Finally, in this cursory, hopscotched look at some of Teresa Velázquez's work, we should underline two paintings in which the artist took a considerable risk: *Solar Hierophany* and *Flying Dusk*, both painted in 2012. In both, she uses a genre like the landscape that has moved away from the strictly pictorial, losing the prominence it once had. Velázquez deals with it from a classical point of view, with the composition of romantic colors; again, another strange anachronism. For some reason, both canvases are perturbing and move away from the recurring topics that have vulgarized to the point of nausea both figurative landscapes and the meridian light that bathes both paintings.

What makes these paintings different, and, I insist, shimmering, to use a term related to light and, therefore, to painting, is that they are the result of looking at something in detail and turning that gaze into a phenomenon with plasticity, into a moment of pure painting and, at the same time, an opening and shutting of the eye, in a flash of evanescent light, or, to paraphrase the title Teresa Velázquez used for one of her expositions, in a past meridian moment. VM

Photo, courtesy of Denise & Magdalena Rosenzweig

Photo by Graciela Iturbide

Photo by Graciela Iturbide

FRIDA'S WARDROBE

The Story of a Discovery

Denise Rosenzweig*
Magdalena Rosenzweig*

In 1997, art collector Dolores Olmedo asked us to begin working in her museum on the collection of works by painters Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera.[1] Before she died in 1999, she asked us to go to the Frida Kahlo Blue House Museum to restore the collection curated by poet Carlos Pellicer, which had not been touched since its inauguration in 1958. Despite being a museum with art objects on display, the house held great surprises: boxes with strange objects left by its inhabitants, an enormous collection of *exvotos*, small naïf paintings made by people to thank saints for granting their prayers, and the decoration displayed just as Frida and Diego

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▲ *Huipil* or tunic-like blouse from the Tehuantepec Isthmus made of machine-embroidered velvet using a one-strike technique; flounced skirt from the isthmus made in printed cotton.
Photo by Pablo Aguinaco/Antecámara Photo.

▲ Cotton coat made of fabric woven on a foot loom with button-hole embroidery in yellow and purple silk from San Marcos, Quetzaltenango or Totonicapán, Guatemala; Mazatec cotton *huipil* or tunic-like blouse with embroidered yoke and strips of ribbon and lace, from Jalapa de Díaz, Oaxaca.
Photo by Pablo Aguinaco/Antecámara Photo.

The most important find was a large amount of folded clothing piled in a small wardrobe. One by one, each piece revealed different moments in Frida's life.

had arranged it. The house/museum was still steeped in the presence of these two people.

The bathroom in Frida's room was locked according to Diego's orders that it not be opened until 25 years after his death. After the death of Dolores Olmedo, in 2004, her son Carlos made the decision to open it and catalogue or, if appropriate, throw out anything inside that might be of no use.

When the door was opened, the room emitted a strong odor, both acrid and sweet, a mixture of everything inside, besides dust, humidity, and time. From the start, the discoveries were surprising: cleaning and beauty products, as well as a large amount of Frida's medications were in the drawers. The bathtub held all her different crutches and plaster corsets, as well as her prosthetic leg, but the most important find was a large amount of folded clothing piled in a small wardrobe. One by one, each piece revealed different moments in Frida's life: the shawl she is wearing in the magnificent photo taken of her by Edward Weston, the Tehuana blouse that we see in the painting *That's Where I Hang My Dress*, or the Tehuanan splendor of her self-portrait. It should be underlined that the pieces of clothing were not valuable solely because they had belonged to a great public figure, but because they had their own enormous historical relevance. Day after day for two years, we aired, examined and evaluated and made a first catalogue of the clothing stored for 50 years.

The wardrobe and the objects it contained could be read in multiple ways: with regard to Frida's person, they revealed a body a little under 5'3" tall, measuring 34"-25"-32", with a small foot only 9" long. The clothing and different objects also testified to a women who spent a lot of time making herself

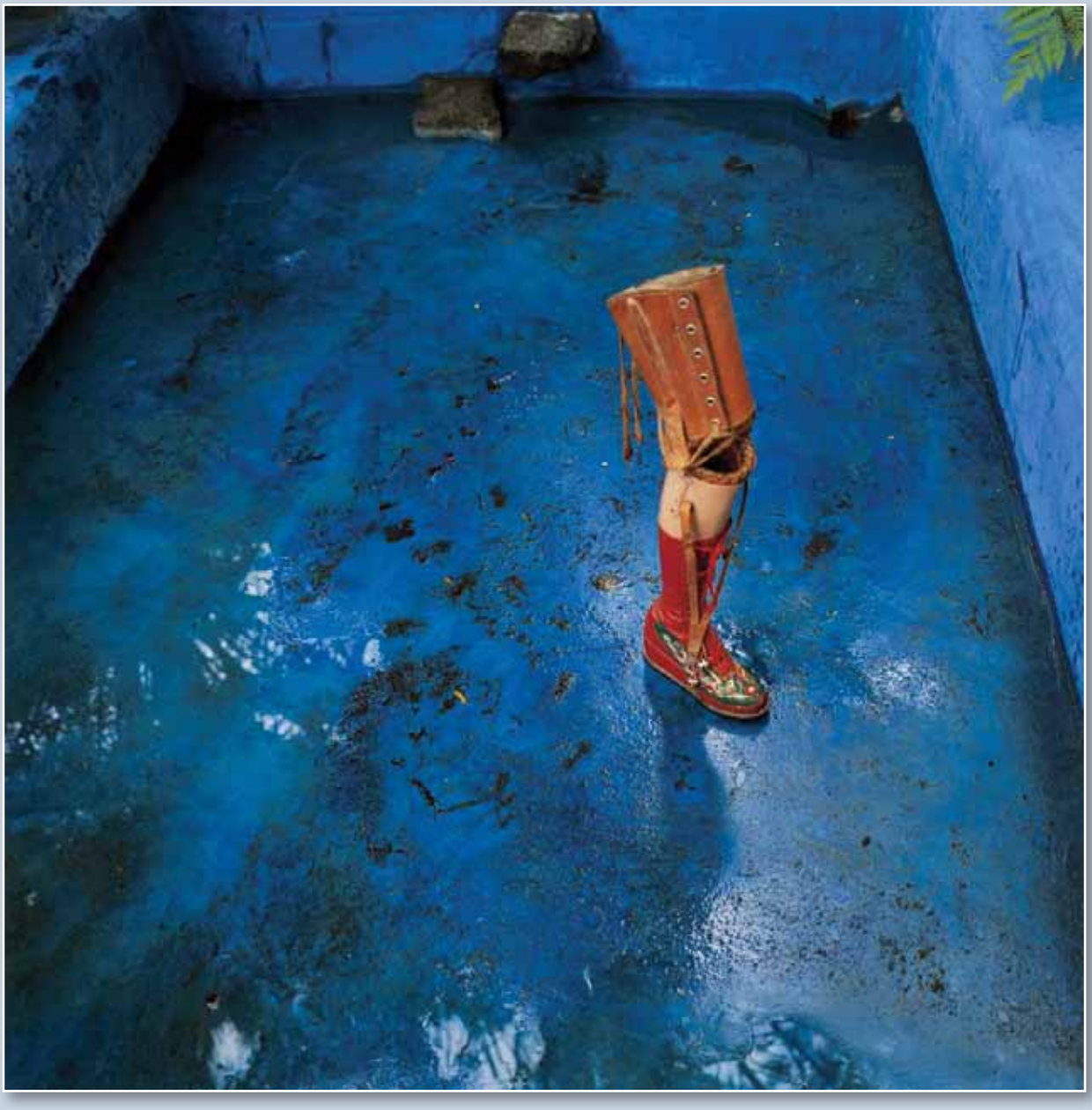

Photo by Graciela Iturbide

There was also the painful, every-present aspect
of the painter's life: corsets, medications, syringes, prosthetics,
surgeon's scrubs, and ABC Hospital gowns stained with paint,
since Frida painted during her long hospital stays.

beautiful: perfumes, creams, nail polish, ribbons of all kinds and colors, artisanal bags and purses. . . . Frida also took time to maintain a house every corner of which was fresh and colorful: we found bed linens, tablecloths, carpets, yarn, and pillow covers in bright colors, some embroidered with her initials.

There was also the painful, every-present aspect of the painter's life: corsets, medications, syringes, prosthetics, surgeon's scrubs, and ABC Hospital gowns stained with paint, since Frida painted during her long hospital stays.

When we picked up and unfolded the pieces for the first time, we were invaded with the feeling that we were profaning them somehow, and we had to tone that down in the following work sessions. We decided to center on the clothing and research its provenance. We began by photographing each piece and then hanging it on a hanger and putting it in the patio of the house. This also allowed us to establish the conditions each one was in. We selected a few to begin washing, and others to dry clean. When washed, the clothing emitted an even stronger smell than it had originally, as well as the aroma of Frida's perfume.

Simultaneously, we looked for financing to be able to put out a publication. We formed a multi-disciplinary team with historian Teresa del Conde, anthropologist Marta Turok, photographer Pablo Aguinaco, and designer Mónica Zacarías. The result, *El ropero de Frida* (Frida's Wardrobe), came out in summer 2007. Its texts continue to be relevant because they contain valuable information documented and photographed by experts who love their respective professions.

Teresa del Conde mentions in her article that in the 1920s and 1930s, some women in the cities wore traditional dress, but none of them wore the different versions of regional dress

Dressy Zapotec *huipil* from Yalalag decorated with a Chardonnet silk braid and tassels; silk taffeta shirt. Photo by Pablo Aguinaco/Antecámara Photo.

Cotton *huipil* embroidered with beadwork from Chilac-Sierra Negra, Puebla; cotton and Chardonnet silk sash with Altepeji, Puebla warp work; and Ñah Ñu double woven woolen and cotton bag from the Mezquital Valley in Hidalgo.
Photo by Pablo Aguinaco/Antecámara Photo.

Photo, courtesy of Denise & Magdalena Rosenzweig

Details of items from Frida's bathroom in the Blue House, April 2004.

"When we picked up and unfolded the pieces for the first time, we were invaded with the feeling that we were profaning them somehow, and we had to tone that down in the following work sessions."

with the same consistency and frequency that Frida did. "She insisted on wearing everyday regional dress, whether stylized old-fashioned or home-made, in public and in private, with special preference for Tehuana-style skirts and *huipil* blouses, although we found in the collection clothing from very diverse places in Mexico and Guatemala." She adopted this look as her way of dress mainly, although not exclusively, after she married Diego Rivera on August 21, 1929. She also had several pieces of high fashion clothing in the French style of the late nineteenth century that probably had belonged to her mother or her maternal grandmother. She not only preserved them very carefully, but had a seamstress make appropriate alterations so she could wear them out at night. We also found silk skirts with Chinese embroidery in the wardrobe.

Frida herself said about her clothing, "In another time, I dressed like a boy: pants, boots, a jacket . . . but when I went to see Diego, I would wear my Tehuana outfit. I have never been to Tehuantepec, and Diego hasn't wanted to take me. I have no relationship with the people there, but of all the outfits, it is the Tehuana form of dress that I like the best, and that's why I wear Tehuana clothing."

Even though she doesn't mention it, wearing this kind of clothing (loose blouses and long skirts) probably also gave her much longed-for freedom of movement at the same time that it flattered her injured body.

Photo, courtesy of Denise & Magdalena Rosenzweig

Frida's wardrobe (the "humble old thing"), April 2014.

▲ Silk camisole with lace ruffle at the neck and silk appliqués; overskirt with lace train.
Photo by Pablo Aguinaco/Antecámara Photo.

Photo, courtesy of Denise & Magdalena Rosenzweig

Frida herself said about her clothing: "In another time, I dressed like a boy: pants, boots, a jacket . . . but when I went to see Diego, I would wear my Tehuana outfit. I have never been to Tehuantepec, and Diego hasn't wanted to take me."

In the mural *The Arsenal* (1927-1928), Diego portrayed his partner wearing the clothes of the revolutionaries, and in later paintings he always painted her wearing indigenous clothing. The last time he painted her was in the mural *Nightmare of War, Dream of Peace*, in 1952, wearing a Yalalag *huipil* from Oaxaca and a Tehuana skirt, sitting in her wheelchair. In the twilight of her life, Frida told her friend, photographer Lola Álvarez Bravo, how she should dress her when she died. She requested a Yalalag *huipil* and rings on her fingers. The *huipil* from that region is worn for the first time by Zapotec women on fiesta and wedding days.

Did Frida know the meaning that the clothing she wore originally had? Possibly, but she wore it as a mark of her personal expression and aesthetic projection. We agree with anthropologist Marta Turok that nothing was part of her attire by chance. When Frida included clothing in her paintings, she seemed to highlight the symbolic importance with which she imbued her professed "realism" —this, in response to André Breton's intention of situating her as a surrealist— since practically all the clothing she painted can be found in the collection.

Marta Turok described her work for the publication as being done from the ethnographic perspective, which is why she situates the clothing of indigenous and mestizo origin, as well as its place of origin; this is how each piece acquires the name and face of ethnic groups and communities.

Diego and Frida had friends from the world over who came to stay at the Blue House and who gave them clothing from different parts of Mexico and the world. These included well-known figures of the time like actresses Dolores del Río and María Félix, singer-songwriter Concha Michel, dancer Rosa Roldán and her husband, the artist and dance promoter Miguel Covarrubias, painter-sculptor Carlos Mérida, poet Luis Cardoza, and writer Andrés Henestrosa and his wife Alfa from Juchitán and Ixhuatán, among others. The daughter of the latter two, Cibeles Henestrosa, talks about her mother giving Frida her first *huipil* from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec; judging by the description, this particular piece is not part of the museum's collection.

Frida was particularly fond of clothing from the isthmus. We can see this in her wardrobe, where she has 20 *huipiles* and 20 skirts of different styles all from that region, although none of them make up a formal dress, since the pieces are not coordinated. Some pieces are authentic from the region and others were sewn in the isthmus style using silk cloth and embroidered ribbon appliqués probably designed by Kahlo

herself. Frida left her personal mark on the manufacture of some of these pieces of clothing, which can be seen by the amount of rolls of lace, embroidered ribbon, colored embroidery thread, and different lengths of cloth that we found carefully put away in baskets. In addition, in some of the interviews we did, people spoke of two seamstresses who did work for Frida, who frequented the traditional El Nardo notions store in old Coyoacán.

In her article, Marta Turok differentiates the clothing for everyday use and that used in ceremonies and rituals. She recognizes their origin, deciphers the borders and symbols, describes the ancestral techniques used to make them, some now extinct, narrating the subtle differences between the clothing of Tehuana and Juchiteca women. The textiles, with all their symbolism, color, and texture, are cultural testimony that transmits codes that allow the viewer to know at a glance different things about a woman's life without talking to her. For example, they indicate if she's a widow, single, or married. The most important thing is that Turok calls on readers to value the form of dress and speech of indigenous and mestiza women, their ancestral techniques and tools, and as a result, to understand the real cost and efforts of our great men and women artisans whose work enriches the entire society.

The work and intervention to conserve the pieces in the collection began in 2004 with the participation of a team of six restorers. The criteria for the intervention consisted in stopping or slowing the deterioration of the pieces of clothing without eliminating the traces of Frida's use of them, which are considered part of their essence: paint stains, cigarette burns, darning done by her or on her instructions, and methylate stains, among others. Finally, the conditions in which the pieces would be stored after the restoration and conservation process was a determining factor for their future preservation.

The first encounter with Frida Kahlo's clothing was recounted in the book *El ropero de Frida*, and, when that publication came out, we concluded our work for the Blue House museum. However, the collection continues to be intervened in with different processes even today, and the wardrobe of one of Mexico's most important artists continues to grow. VM

When Frida included clothing in her paintings, she seemed to highlight the symbolic importance with which she imbued her professed "realism" since practically all the clothing she painted can be found in the collection.

▲ Face-framing *huipil* (*bida ni quichi*) made of lace.
Photo by Pablo Aguinaco/Antecámara Photo.

▲ Mazatec huipil made of hand-embroidered cotton cloth with ribbon appliqués and faux lace sleeves from Huatla de Jiménez, Oaxaca; Mazatec wrap-around underskirt with hem border embroidered in a cross stitch, from Jalapa de Díaz, Oaxaca.
Photo by Pablo Aguinaco/Antecámara Photo.

Notes

[1] Dolores Olmedo was the main collector of Frida Kahlo's and Diego Rivera's work; Diego Rivera asked her to take charge of the Blue House and the Diego Rivera Anahuacalli Museum after his death.

Gladdening the Soul and Lightening the Body

A Visit to the LOS ÁNGELES BALLROOM

Gina Bechelany*

The home to different rhythms, these spaces soothe the soul. We humans have always had the imperious need to express our feelings not only through verbal communication but also by moving our bodies.

The working-class Los Ángeles area of the Guerrero Neighborhood in Mexico City's Historic Downtown is the cradle of the country's ballrooms. The importance of the middle and working class as actors —not solely as the broad public, admirers, and consumers— was the reason urban spaces dedicated to dancing emerged spontaneously and imaginatively in the 1930s and 1940s. The opening of ballrooms marked a kind of "cultural victory." Taxi dancers,[1] musical groups, and many more were to be found there, and they made spectators move to the music, there not only to look, but also to participate in the ambiance. It was here that more than 75 years ago, one of the oldest, most traditional "dancings," as they were called in Spanish, opened, the Los Ángeles Ballroom.

Located at 206 Lerdo Street, a few steps from the Los Ángeles Church, from which it got its name and where Mario Moreno "Cantinflas" had been an acolyte, what was once a warehouse for trucks and sacks of coal was turned into one of Mexico City's ballrooms *par excellence*.

The home to different rhythms, these spaces soothe the soul. We humans have always had the imperious need to express our feelings not only through verbal communication but also by moving our bodies. These bodily movements become dance, dance that we relate to enjoying life.

And we Mexicans are no exception: we dance during the week and even on Sundays. For some, dancing is a way of staying healthy; others do it because it's a chance to enjoy being with their partners. Then, there are those who think dancing is an effective, fun therapy for stress. For most, it's a way of

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* Mexican editor.

All photos by Mercury.

These spaces for the body to express itself are an idiosyncrasy in themselves, a culture and way of speaking; actually, an entire way of being.

forgetting their problems for a while. And only the few do it because they were born knowing how to rhumba.

Traditional ballrooms have several advantages: usually they are quite economical and conveniently located, a place where regular customers meet and get to know and respect each other. Every ballroom expresses the spirit of its neighborhood: "Tell me which ballroom you go to and I'll tell you who you are." These spaces for the body to express itself are an idiosyncrasy in themselves, a culture and way of speaking; actually, an entire way of being.

Little by little, the other social classes began to appropriate these spaces, socialize them, and adapt them to their tastes and needs. Today, a wide variety of people from different walks of life converge in the ballrooms and get along comfortably, since, at the end of the day, the main goal is still to dance. That's what Miguel Nieto Applebaum says; for more than 30 years, as owner and manager, he has seen a huge number of lovers of dancing, the curious and the confused, walk through his doors where afternoon after afternoon, they find not only a cure for body and soul, but also a brother- and sisterhood of dancers.

The owner greets me at the door and when I walk through, the ballroom acts as a time machine, taking me back to the atmosphere of 1950s movies. "Anyone who hasn't been to the Los Ángeles Ballroom hasn't seen Mexico" is its well-known slogan. Its walls are covered with sketches and photographs of *pachucos* and *rumberas*,[2] plus a pair of illustrations demonstrating the different steps to the mambo, the *danzón*, and the cha-cha-cha, among others.

"This stage has seen artists and groups of the stature of Celia Cruz, Dámaso Pérez Prado, Willie Colón, Rubén Blades, the incomparable Sonora Santanera, and Benny Moré."
Miguel Nieto (owner)

I was overwhelmed, perplexed and joyous at the same time. Here, you breathe in history, not only of the ballroom, but of the city, of the country. A place full of tradition and culture, where the decoration has changed very little over the years, as can be seen in several of the movies that have been filmed there. Among them is *Una gallega baila mambo* (A Woman from Galicia Dances the Mambo), with Silvia Pinal and Joaquín Pardavé, just to mention one. Films, radio broadcasts, and television programs from every era have documented the existence of this dancing palace.

Continuing along the left side, we encounter the altar to mambo king Dámaso Pérez Prado. The whole place is spacious, in the form of a horseshoe, and in the middle is a large dance floor surrounded by black and white tiles in a square that seems to never have been trod upon; it's completely pristine. At the end of the hall is the stage where the guest orchestras make the music that gets the customers twirling.

I noticed a pink neon sign announcing "The Candy Stand." And that's where I sat down to talk to Miguel, his family's third generation to own the venue. "My grandfather, Miguel Nieto, and a partner decided to establish the ballroom in 1937. The Ángeles is a mirror of the city. It's a working-class spot, but also inclusive; it reflects what's happening in Mexican society: when the economy is rough, attendance drops and obviously it gets better when it improves. The spirit of the people who come here varies according to what's happening in Mexico." With pride and a touch of nostalgia, Miguel Nieto remembers the celebrities: "This stage has seen artists and groups of the stature of Celia Cruz, Dámaso Pérez Prado, Willie Colón, Rubén Blades, the incomparable Sonora Santanera, and Benny Moré. It's even said that this was where Moré composed the song 'But How Well These Mexicans Dance the Mambo.'"

An interminable and diverse line of figures have shined his floor with their feet, from railroad workers and local residents to artists and intellectuals: Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez, José Saramago, Carlos Monsiváis, and even legendary revolutionaries like Fidel Castro or, more recently, actor Matt Dillon. The great Mexican comedian Cantinflas and actor Adalberto Martínez, better known as "Resortes," were all assiduous customers, great dancers, the former of the tango and the latter of the mambo.

"As I was saying, the ballroom, just like our country, has had to adjust to these changes; we've found new ways to

survive. The only two ballrooms from that time that still exist in Mexico City are the Ángeles and the California Dancing Club." To preserve the ballroom's legacy, the Nieto family has opened it up to other cultural activities: dance performances, exhibitions, book launches, conferences, dance classes, and even fashion shows are all held there.

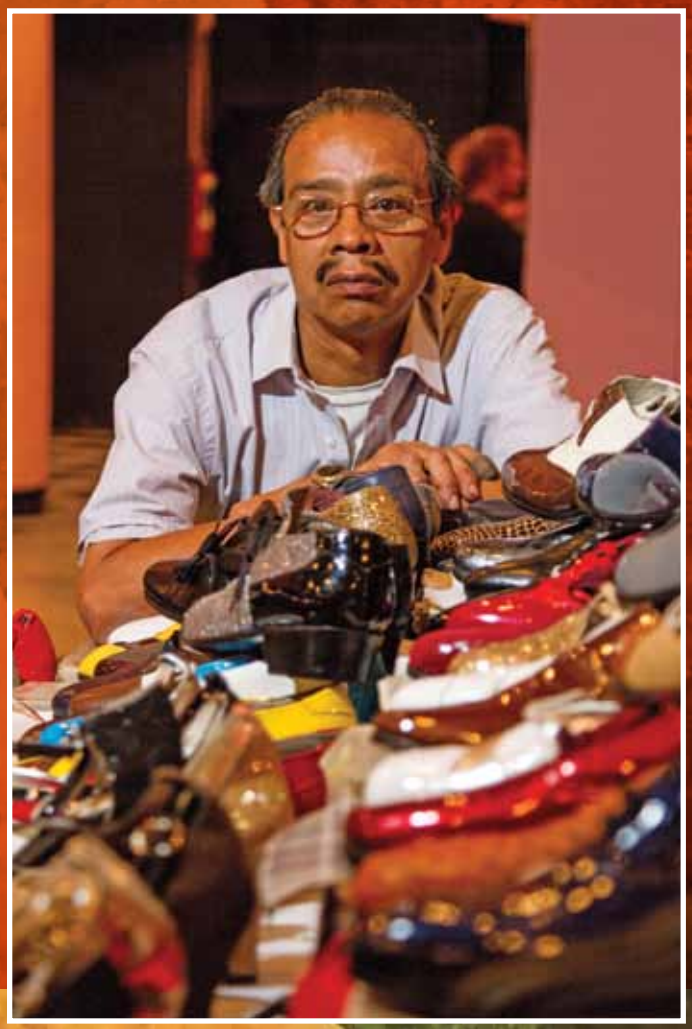
What doesn't change is the tradition of *danzón* Tuesday and the great bands playing the very distinct rhythms of swing, mambo, and cha-cha-cha, as well as of Sundays with Cuban *son*, salsa, and *cumbia*.

Today, like every Tuesday, the place is packed; it's a real fiesta, with couples dancing to the rhythm of the *danzón*. Here, people enjoy life, as María Enriqueta and Daniel say, a married couple that has been dancing for more than 25 years and every Tuesday for the last six has been coming to the Los Ángeles. Daniel says, "It's a way of expressing what we feel inside; we come to dance, and we don't care what people think." María Enriqueta says, "It's a real pleasure; it's a chance to be with my husband and enjoy the music. We come here for the acoustics, for the hardwood dance floor, but above all for the people. The dancers here are very respectful; one of the big advantages of this ballroom is that on Tuesdays, from six in the evening on, we can start dancing and we don't have to stay up late to do it."

The horns start playing and the notes of the *danzón Sea Nymphs* (or *Nereidas* in Spanish) invades the room. Daniel puts his left arm up and takes María Enriqueta's right hand, holding her lightly. He puts his right little finger on his partner's back at the waist. They slide across the dance floor with great cadence to their steps, simple but elegant. During the chorus she fans herself while Daniel takes out a handkerchief and wipes his forehead, and their flirting is clear.

In the ballroom, the ambiance is nostalgic; you breathe harmony. The couples enjoy their passion for the dance, and it's moving to see how, from the very first song, the bodies come together and move, and reality and fantasy combine in each of the dancers.

As I continue my journey through the ballroom, I discover hair slicked down with Vaseline, wide-brimmed hats with one feather, two-toned shoes, wide, baggy pants, sequined dresses, sling-back pumps, and crimson lips. This reminds



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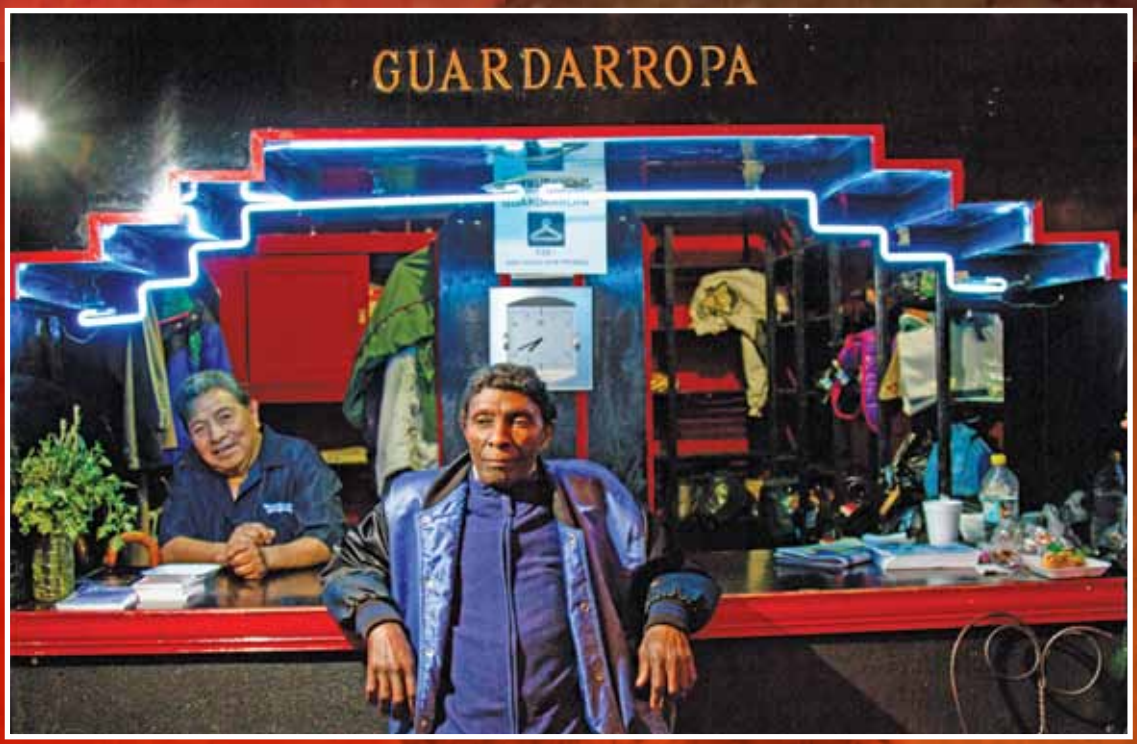

me that the local parishioners don't just come to show off their dance moves, but also their elegant clothing.

One regular tells us, "To come to this ballroom, you have to follow a certain protocol: you have to dress appropriately; anyone who comes here doesn't just come to dance, but also to project an image." He, like several other people, knows what you experience at a night out at the Ángeles: perfect dance steps accompanied by tremendous elegance.

Most take their own dancing shoes, but if not, you can acquire them there from Mr. Alipio, who on a board to one side of the cloakroom displays one by one the pairs of shoes he has made himself. He has been hand-making about 24 pairs of shoes a week for more than 40 years, 14 for men and 9 for women, in his workshop. When I asked him what kind are the most popular, he answered, "The traditional shoes for men are the two-toned saddle shoes in classic black and white; the women prefer bright colors and high heels for dancing and dressing well."

Not only the stories of those who frequent the Ángeles, but also those who work there permeate the place and live there. This is the case of Mr. Alipio, the shoemaker; Joe, the musician who arrived from Cuba in the 1960s and who, when he's not playing with his orchestra, waits on people in the cloakroom; Leonel, the man in charge of the candy stand, who offers customers cake, soft drinks, and a sweet attitude that invites you to buy the sweets; and Guillermina, the

The night of dancing goes by;
people who know each other and who don't share;
angels and archangels will continue
to write stories and anecdotes
about this ballroom,
also dubbed "Heaven."

photographer, who has been capturing just the right moment with her camera, the perfect smile as Cuban singer-songwriter Silvio Rodríguez would say. Guillermina came to work here because of her mother, who has been selling flowers here for more than 40 years, and she tells me, "The Ángeles has been a haven, a place for pleasure and entertainment not only for the Nieto family, but for us workers, who are part of the family, [and it's alive] in the memory of many men and women who have come and gone in search of happiness."

The night of dancing goes by; people who know each other and who don't, share; angels and archangels will continue to write stories and anecdotes about this ballroom, also dubbed "Heaven," where time never stops; it's always in movement to the beat of different rhythms to gladden the soul and the body. VM

Notes

[1] In the days when dancing was a service in the ballrooms, gentlemen bought tickets at the door and gave one to their partners for every dance. The women then exchanged the tickets for money on their way out.

[2] The *pachucos* came into being in the 1920s: young U.S. Americans of Mexican origin, dressed in loud colors, hats, chains, and two-toned saddle shoes who spoke a characteristic slang that was the basis for "Spanglish." The *rumberas* were young women who danced to Afro-Caribbean music in ballrooms and nightclubs.

HISTORY MADE OF BREAD

Isabel Morales Quezada*

"Cloud," "shell," "gendarme," "mustache," "baldie," "shortbread," "nun," "kiss," "ear," "ox eye". . . . In Mexico, all these words have their own flavor and each can be purchased for a few pesos at the bakeries that have endured heroically down through the centuries. Each name is a kind of sweet baked good, and everyone has his or her favorite. At home, breakfast or dinnertime is the best for enjoying a piece, and good luck to anyone who eats somebody else's favorite!

The history of bread in Mexico begins in the colonial period, although it is said that the diversity of forms we can see today may have its roots in pre-Hispanic times since the indigenous of that period were very imaginative in making tamales with corn dough, and molding them as offerings to the gods. "They made them in the shape of arrowheads and flowers; they rolled colored corn and bean dough, for example, and when these were cut into, they looked like shells."[1] When the Spaniards arrived, they brought wheat with them and set up bakeries, where the indigenous were 90 percent of their workers, while mulattos or mestizos made up the rest. In addition, the convents also made bread for their own consumption. This meant that the indigenous women who worked in them may have taken their knowledge home and later done the same, selling out of the house, in stores, or in markets.[2]

That was how the old inhabitants of these lands appropriated wheat dough and invented a diversity of forms that

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All photos by Mercury.









remain in existence today. On the one hand, there are the sweet rolls or pan dulce made with Spanish recipes, and on the other, French baking that introduced the bread we consume today, also had a great influence. But long before French pastry and bread-making techniques arrived, in the colonial period there was a difference between the bread served at the table of bishops and viceroys and that eaten by common people:

> The bread sold to the people, that is, ordinary bread, could be found in *pulperías* (stores that sold all kinds of supplies, eatables, wines, raw alcohol, or spirits, and pharmaceutical products or notions, etc.). All over Latin America, *pulperías* were the precedent for what we now know as our local mom-and-pop general corner stores. Apart from sales in bakeries and *pulperías*, indigenous women sold bread in plazas and markets.[3]

The history of bread in Mexico begins in the colonial period, although it is said that the diversity of forms we can see today may have its roots in pre-Hispanic times.

Consumption of this food was controlled and restricted, and bread made from fine, white flour was reserved for the viceroys. Later, sales moved from *pulperías* to bread shops, which also sent itinerant salespersons out onto the street offering their wares. The influence of late-eighteenth-century Italian cafés and French bread-making and patisseries in the nineteenth century ensured the popularization of the combination that has lasted until today among Mexicans: sweet


18

bread, or pan dulce, and coffee. Later, the Mexican Revolution contributed to French specialties spreading to bakeries, and that is how the bread and pastry boom began in Mexico. Ordinary people took to eating this kind of baked good, and buying and eating it became a ritual that, although time has changed it somewhat, has lasted until today.

In the early and mid-twentieth century, the way people purchased baked goods was different from now: at that time, it was all set out in windows or drawers and anyone who wanted to purchase a piece had to ask the employee behind the counter for it. That's why the names of each kind of bread became so popular at that time: the variety of forms gave rise to the diversity of names. In most cases, you can relatively easily recognize each name, particularly if your family is an avid consumer: the puff pastry ear; the shell, with vanilla or chocolate ridged crusts that make it look like a seashell; the rocks, covered in chocolate and made with a thick dough that uses the hardened leftovers of other pieces of bread; or the brick, made the same way but in a rectangle and also covered with chocolate; the sweet kiss, made out of two rolls stuck together with jam; the rolls made with lard, like the bone (a long roll); or fences, a rectangular piece made of braided strips.

When you enter a bakery, you travel amidst clouds decorated with little pieces of sugar; little round nuns, sprinkled with white flour; rings of cinnamon; sweet, glazed mirrors; spongy ox eyes that force us to look at them when deciding which piece to pick: the list seems interminable. But young people today may not know how many varieties and names of baked goods can be found in traditional bakeries. One of the reasons for this may be that, beginning in the 1950s, the bakeries introduced self-service, changing the ritual: customers could pick up a tray and some tongs and serve themselves. This means that it was less and less necessary to learn the names; plus, most bakeries did not post their names on the shelves.

Despite the fact that some traditions have been lost, and today it is rare for a young person to be familiar with most of the names of the kinds of bread and pastry, the tradition of going to pick it up, picking carefully, continues to be deeply rooted among a large part of the population. In Mexico City it is a big adventure to go into the oldest, most highly frequented bakeries. So, if you want to find out what place bread and sweet bread play in Mexican food and taste, suffice it to go to downtown Mexico City and walk around until, almost like magic, you come upon the first bakery in sight.

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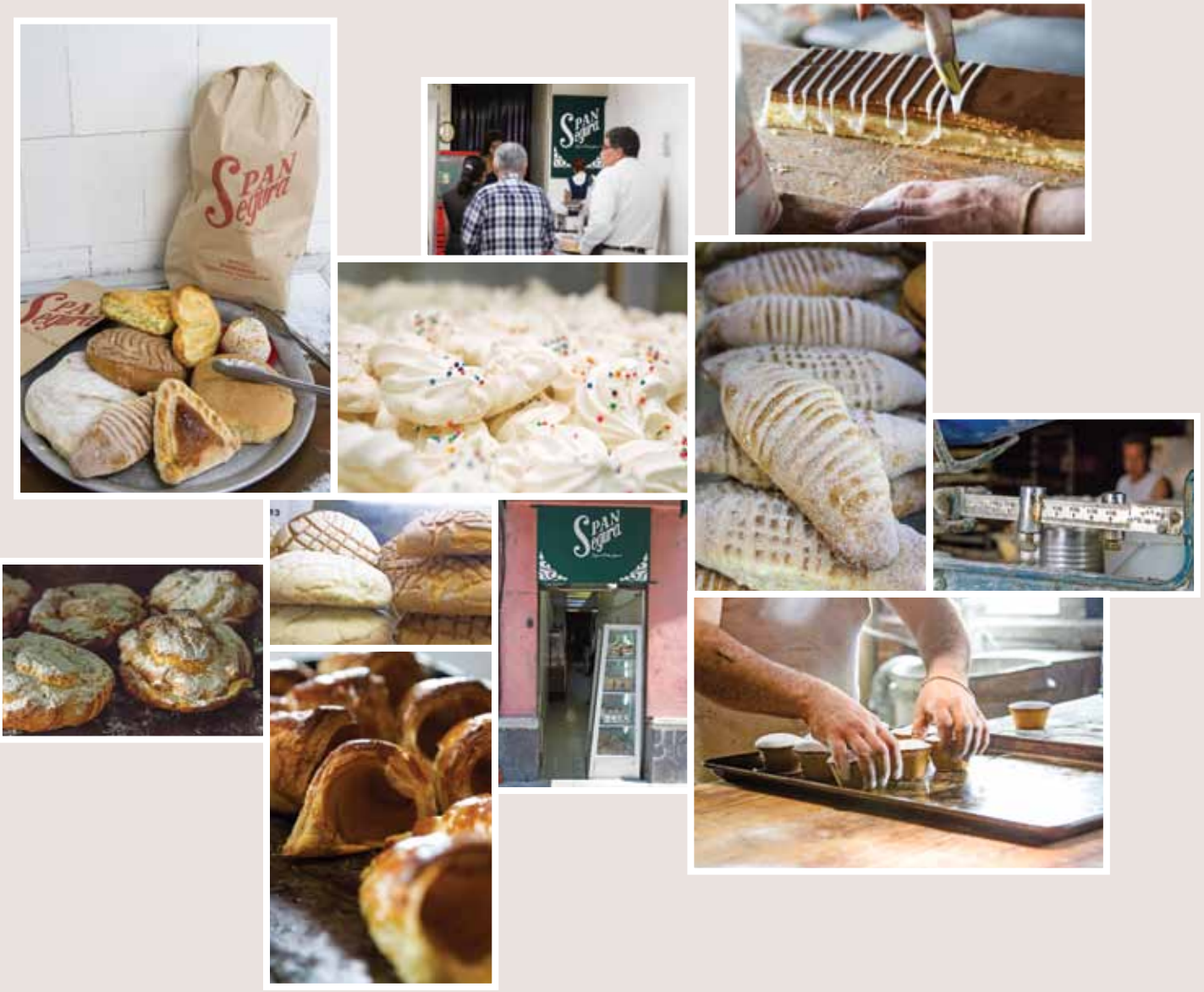


After arming yourself with a tray and tongs, you make your selection and then you get in line at the counter, where a regiment of women is ready to wrap up your choices.

The Ideal Bakery and Patisserie on 16 de Septiembre Street is one of those places where it seems like time has come to a halt. It has an air of bygone eras that you feel from the moment you walk in, perhaps because the building was once part of the old San Francisco el Grande Monastery. Huge candelabra hang from the ceiling to light your way, dazzling anyone who visits. "La Ideal," as it is known colloquially, was founded in 1927 and began as "a modest bread store" founded "in the middle of the Cristera War."[4] In addition to its beautiful architecture, what is surprising is the sheer amount of bread and pan dulce on offer and the teeming crowd of people surrounding them. Its large area is taken up by big tables covered with different varieties, plus the shelves and glass windows that also display little cakes, gelatin, and cookies.

After arming yourself with a tray and tongs, you make your selection and then you get in line at the counter, where a regiment of women is ready to wrap up your choices and give you a slip of paper with the amount of your purchase; you take that to the cash register to pay before you pick up your bag tied with a string. Finally, you leave feeling triumphant for having been able to extricate yourself from the crowd with a bag of baked goods ready to devoured.

The downtown area boasts other bakeries, which, though smaller, are also reference points for bread fans. Two such are La Vasconia and the Madrid Patisserie. These bakeries were founded by Spanish immigrants when in the mid-nineteenth century a group of them from Baztán Valley in the Basque Country and Navarra spearheaded the expansion of the bread


PAN DE DULCE $7.00

industry.[5] La Vasconia, on the corner of Tacuba and Palmas Streets, was founded more than 130 years ago, while La Madrid, on 5 de Febrero Street is already 75 years old. The walls of these establishments display black-and-white photographs, making it easy to imagine the customers from those early days, very different from today's, but with a shared taste that has transcended time.

Lastly, we cannot forget the neighborhood bakeries, less glamorous and visible than the ones downtown, but with an equally important place in the history of Mexico's bread and pan dulce. It should be mentioned that this kind of bakery is disappearing due to industrial production. The packaged baked goods sold in stores and supermarkets have hit the bakeries hard, and sometimes their wares have been replaced by the ones sold in supermarkets, but that are not similar in flavor or variety to those that predominated above all in the first half of the twentieth century. Then, it was common to go into one of these establishments, usually near your home, to buy bread for breakfast or supper. When the Day of the Dead in November, or Christmas, or the Three Kings approached, these shops would decorate their windows accordingly, reminding customers that the delicious Day of the Dead bread or the Three Kings rings were available; plus, their aroma made it impossible for passersby not to go in.

The Day of the Dead bread and the Three Kings rings are two traditions that have been preserved despite the whole industry that has grown up around baked products and the influences on food from abroad. In the days running up to November 2, the Day of the Dead, and January 6, the Day of the Three Kings, all over the city you can see people carrying the boxes of these delicious treats.

Day of the Dead bread can be traced to the pre-Hispanic era, when people made dough out of amaranth seeds to offer to the gods. Some historians say that this dough was mixed with the blood of sacrificial victims. When the Spaniards arrived, they forbade this ritual and created a sugary loaf col-

The colorfulness of Mexico and the imagination of a people are represented in every shape and every name created for a food that is part of history, conquests, and revolutions.

ored red to simulate blood. What is known today as Day of the Dead bread varies from one region of the country to another, but the Mexico City version is round and fluffy, made with orange flower extract, and decorated with little pieces of harder dough representing the dead person's bones.

The Three Kings ring, decorated with dried fruit and gel, represents the passage of the Three Magi who traveled a long distance before finding the Baby Jesus, who was hidden by his parents to prevent Herod from finding him. This is why each ring hides little figurines representing the Baby Jesus. The ring is a tradition Mexicans, whether believers or not, just cannot miss, simply because of the pleasure of enjoying each other's company around a piece of ring and a steaming cup of chocolate.

Finally, after a review of the history of Mexico's traditional bread and pan dulce and bakeries, we can guess that the tradition of consuming this food is far from disappearing. Teens, children, and adults all enjoy together in the same place and at the same time the simple pleasure of picking out a sweet roll at breakfast or dinnertime. The colorfulness of Mexico and the imagination of a people are represented in every shape and every name created for a food that is part of history, conquests, and revolutions. And so, this sweet bread has also made its own history. VM

Notes

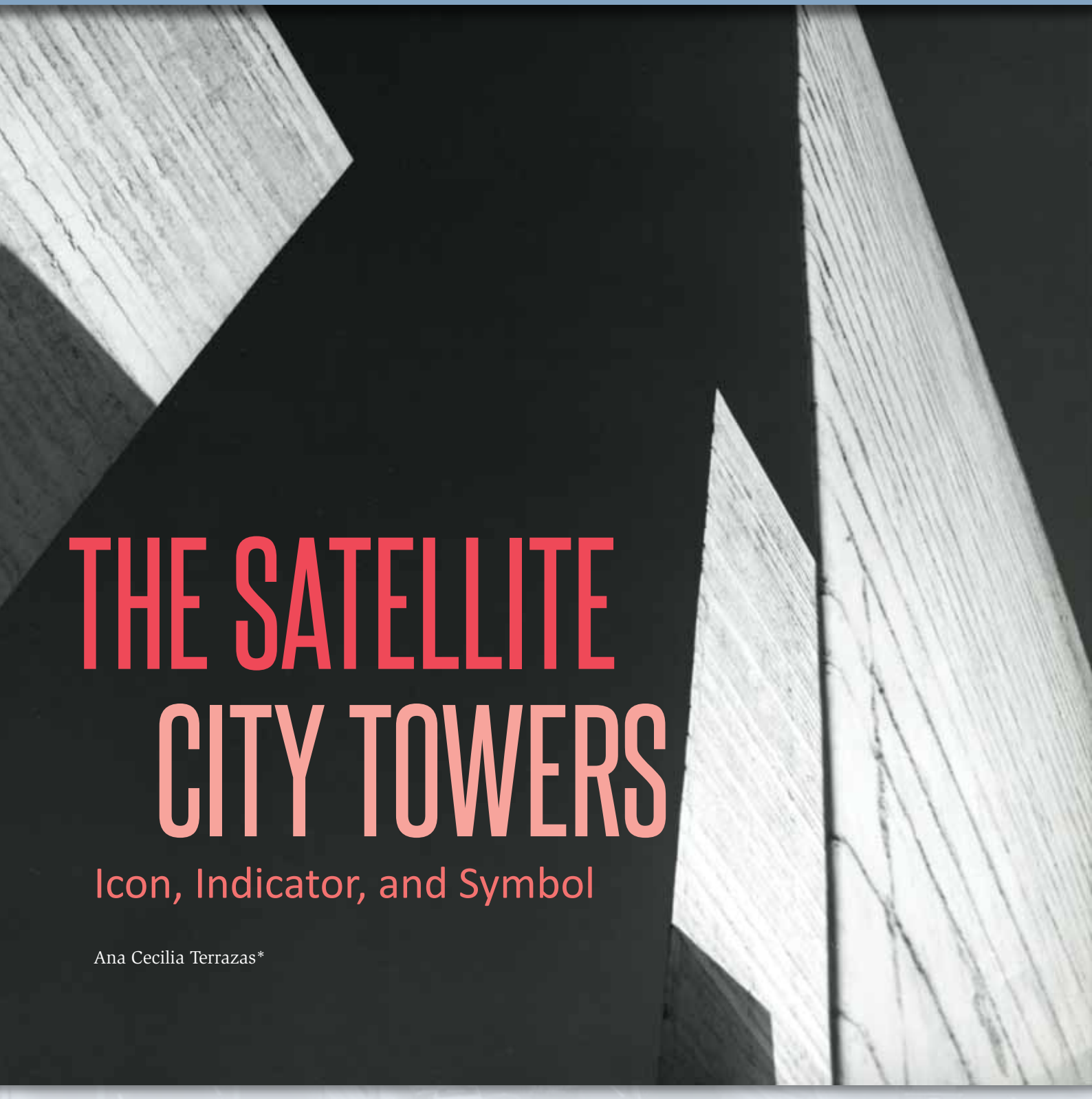
[1] Cristina Barros and Marco Buenrostro, http://www.revistaciencia.amc.edu.mx/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=104, April 6, 2015.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Cámara Nacional de la Industria Panificadora y Similares de México, http://www.canainpa.com.mx/varios/historia.asp, April 6, 2015.

[4] Pastelería Ideal, http://pasteleriaideal.com.mx/nosotros/, April 6, 2015.

[5] Robert Weis, "Las panaderías en la Ciudad de México de Porfirio Díaz: los empresarios vasco-navarros y la movilización obrera," *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 29, file:///C:/Users/Downloads/-data-Revista_No_29-04_Dossier_4.pdf, April 7, 2015.



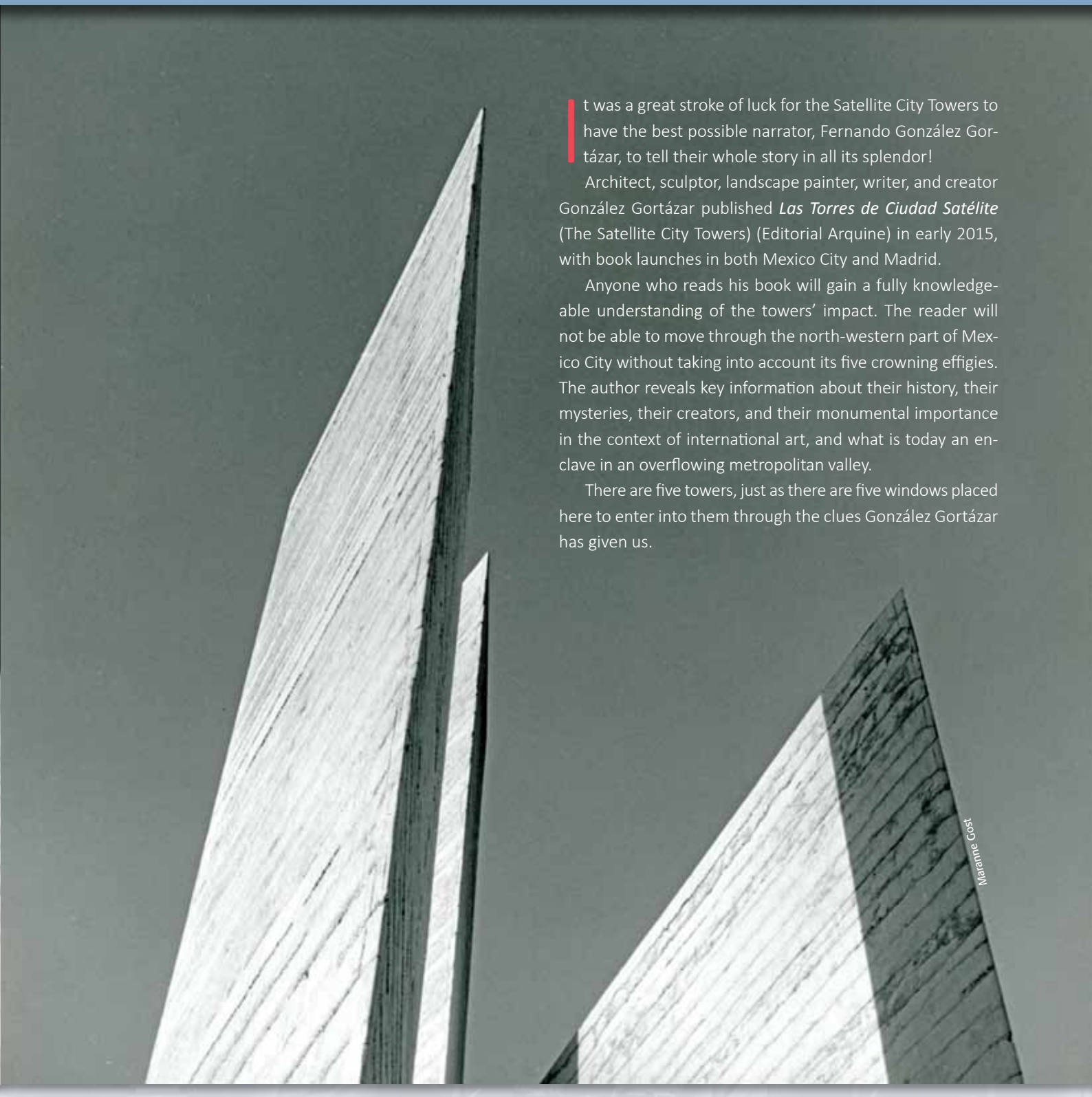
THE SATELLITE CITY TOWERS

Icon, Indicator, and Symbol

Ana Cecilia Terrazas*

*Freelance journalist, acterrazas@gmail.com.

Photos published with the authorization of the Fondo Matías Goeritz, CENIDIAP/INBA.



It was a great stroke of luck for the Satellite City Towers to have the best possible narrator, Fernando González Gortázar, to tell their whole story in all its splendor!

Architect, sculptor, landscape painter, writer, and creator González Gortázar published ***Las Torres de Ciudad Satélite*** (The Satellite City Towers) (Editorial Arquine) in early 2015, with book launches in both Mexico City and Madrid.

Anyone who reads his book will gain a fully knowledgeable understanding of the towers' impact. The reader will not be able to move through the north-western part of Mexico City without taking into account its five crowning effigies. The author reveals key information about their history, their mysteries, their creators, and their monumental importance in the context of international art, and what is today an enclave in an overflowing metropolitan valley.

There are five towers, just as there are five windows placed here to enter into them through the clues González Gortázar has given us.

Maranne Cost

Anonymous

Mathías Goeritz at work in Luis Barragan's office.

González Cortázar's book reveals key information about the towers' monumental importance in the context of international art, and what is today an enclave in an overflowing metropolitan valley.

Brief History

The Satellite City Towers were inaugurated in 1958 to symbolize a housing development with the same name. Two or three years before that, the contract for the development had been handed to real estate promoter Mario Pani by two investors, banker Luis Aguilar and former President Miguel Alemán Valdés, who had only recently stepped down from office. The book explains that Pani owned "the Urbanism Workshop headed by José Luis Cuevas and other renowned professionals."

Around the same time, Ernesto P. Uruchurtu, former mayor of Mexico City for more than a decade, had closed the city to explosive urban growth by creating incentives for decentralized construction. Satellite City fit into that idea both because of the viability of its development in an adjoining urban area and because of the "cosmopolitan fantasy" prevalent at the time.

With his literary craft, González Gortázar points with precision to the place's historic, place-name, conceptual, and cultural "composition" in those years at the end of the 1950s. Post-revolutionary nationalism was coming to an end and the Generation of the Break was rearing its head; "people were

Anonymous

Creative uses of the towers as symbol.

ruminating about what it meant to be Mexican." Side by side with increasing industrialization and the yearning for modernity, a middle class was growing and becoming stronger, and it was precisely for that kind of middle class that this new housing development was conceived.

Initially, a fountain had been imagined at the foot of the towers; later, a stairway that was never built was considered; and ideas of a traffic island were bandied about. In the end, the towers were built with no more noise about their base in three colors: three white, one yellow, and one orange. The original pigments changed with time for different, "chance" reasons.

Eventually, from standing alone on their borderlands, they have been accompanied randomly by the city's growth.


Ursula Bernath

Goeritz with the towers in the background.

Tension about Who Authored Them

Architect Ignacio Díaz Morales, the head of the University of Guadalajara School of Architecture at the time, invited German sculptor Mathias Goeritz to come to Mexico as a guest professor. Goeritz arrived in 1949, when he met Luis Barragán. Goeritz, Barragán, and painter Jesús Reyes Ferreyra, known as "Chucho" Reyes, became fast friends over the years. The three talented colleagues spent a great deal of time together. Nine years later, Pani invited Barragán to participate in the Satellite City project and he, in turn, invited his colleague Goeritz.

Based on the documents and testimony, it is irrefutable that Barragán and Goeritz were co-designers of the towers. However, years later, the friends were caught up in what González Gortázar called "a painful battle," in which "both behaved very badly" and tension reigned about who had actually been the creator. Without making any priorities, the book explains some of the ins and outs of that dispute, with the author underlining that determining "the exact, individual, exclusive paternity of this majestic work" is both "a utopian and unnecessary task."

Nevertheless, he also emphasizes that it is undeniable that the building of the towers was "a dialogue between geniuses."

The text even provides a colorful anecdote in which Chucho Reyes says that the New York skyscrapers he painted also played a role in the creation of the towers.

The most recent interlude in proving who the real creator(s) was (were) had as its protagonist the young PhD. in history, Daniel Garza Usabiaga, who spoke at González Gortázar's book launch at the Tamayo Contemporary Art Museum last February 21. Garza stated that Goeritz's special stamp on the towers could be seen in their wedge-like shape when seen from Mexico City, looking north, whereas, the typical Barragán "particularity" could be observed if they were observed from Querétaro toward Mexico City, when they would appear "monolithic."

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at the foot of the towers; later, a stairway
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Ursula Bemath

"They rose up, soaring and majestic;. . .
they still had no color. . . .It had such a shattering
effect on me that that experience certainly
is the very basis of my professional vocation."
González Cortázar

Fifty-seven-year-old Miracle

In 2007, when the towers celebrated their fiftieth birthday, Catalina Corcuera, the director of the Luis Barragán Studio House, and José Vigil, the president of the Luis Barragán Guadalajara Architecture Foundation, invited González Gortázar to give a talk, which he entitled "The Satellite City Towers: 50 Years of a Miracle."

This "informal" talk, "corrected and expanded," inspired Miquel Adrià, the head of Aquine Publishers, to put out the book *Las Torres de Ciudad Satélite*. The volume includes an introduction by Federica Zanco, the director of the Barragán Foundation in Switzerland, and a large selection of letters, vignettes, illustrations, and photographs that aid readers in their visit to many of the stages in the towers' history.

The edition spares no efforts in graphically explaining the icon, indicator, and symbol the towers represented in their time, all of which were widely publicized together with the housing development they stood for.

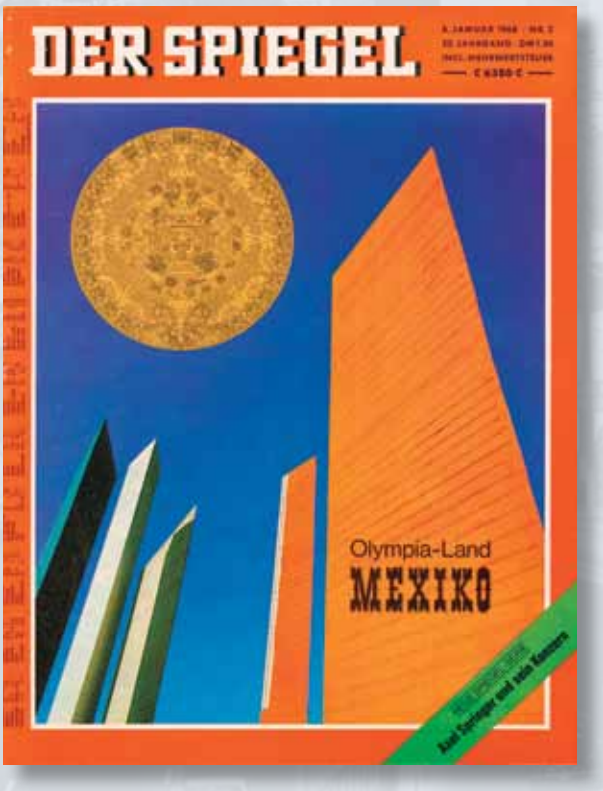
The construction of González Gortázar's text is also an architectural play of light, space, thought, creation, movement, ethics, and aesthetics. All with the accent on Mexico.

González Gortázar and the Towers

At 15, Fernando González Gortázar heard the call of the towers' fame and wanted to see them. During a visit to Mexico City, he asked that he be taken to see them and he thought they were "an absolutely fantastic, inconceivable vision . . . on a kind of gigantic no-man's-land crisscrossed by empty streets; they rose up, soaring and majestic, and as far as I remember, they still had no color. . . . It had such a shattering effect on me that that experience certainly is the very basis of my professional vocation."

That vocation, marked initially by the Satellite City Towers, as he confesses, contains hundreds of honorable epi-

The Satellite City Towers were an advertising icon.



"When they were finished in early 1958, the towers were an instant success: they were written about the world over and generally considered a masterful conception, something completely new."

sodes. Among the most recent are the 2014 retrospective exhibition "Summary of Fire" that brought together 50 years of his artistic career at the Museum of Modern Art and his being awarded the Fine Arts Medal that same year.

A talented witness, no one could write as intimately about the towers as González Gortázar, since as he says, they are also strung together by three geniuses he considers his artistic fathers: Ignacio Díaz Morales, who invited Goeritz to Mexico, Luis Barragán, and Goeritz himself.

González Gortázar's biological father also played an important role in the matter. He remembers that when he was perhaps 12 years old, he visited his father's hometown in Jalisco while he was the governor of the state. The local priest asked his father if he should build the bell-towers or a roof for the church that would help people stand the cold and protect them from the rain. González Gortázar remembers his father's answer, since he recommended the priest build the bell-towers, since "the roof is not a symbol of anything; the towers are."

That was when González Gortázer understood that people "had not only the capability, but the need to create symbols, signifiers, and that the priority is not always obvious." That is also the origin of his delight in the paradoxical or false uselessness of large-scale emblematic works. As he says, "Art proclaims that there are other ways of being useful," among which he points to appropriation, a feeling of belonging, an imprint, the idea of the collective, the possibility of creating in ourselves citizenship, and love of place and recognition.

Epic and Undeclared

Different documents have mentioned that the Satellite City Towers demonstrate Barragán's taste for the San Gimignano Towers in Tuscany. Federica Znaco has also

given them a schismatic importance on a par with León Tolstoy's *Ana Karenina* or Juan Rulfo's *Pedro Páramo* in literature.

For González Gortázar, when the towers were born, "there was nothing else like them in the world." He describes them categorically and unerringly as a "milestone," also giving them "an epic character, an interior greatness, and an eloquently diaphanous simplicity." He also praises their elegance, the colors, the texture "of that escalating, sliding metal centering," their capacity for momentarily dancing through the appropriate "virtual kinetic art they were planned with, for enjoying while in movement." He even celebrates the "archaic" aspects, "between the primary or minimalist language and their almost Expressionist impetuosity, simultaneously dramatic and triumphant."

Above all, finally, he confers on them the quality of providing important service as public urban sculpture: "[This is] what urban art must be: a buoy, a compass, something that guides, provides the essential backbone of the formless; an accent, a fracture in the landscape and routine, a visual alarm clock, a sign of optimism, a murmur of the spirit."

As early as 1993, González Gortázar's conception of urbanism as "a promise of happiness" was already being quoted.

It should come as no surprise, then, that among the few but indispensable voices demanding that Mexico declare the Satellite City Towers a national art heritage treasure, González Gortázar's was the very first.

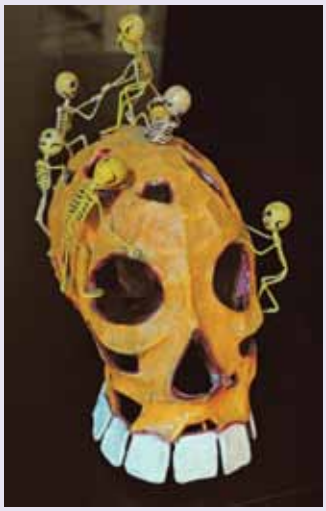
From 2008 on, right after the golden anniversary of the towers, he opposed building a second-story freeway that would irreversibly gobble up the monument, because he considers it to be "the greatest example of universal art of the twentieth century."

He described it this way in the national daily *La Jornada* in the middle of that year: "When they were finished in early 1958, the towers were an instant success: they were written about the world over and generally considered a masterful conception, something completely new, a proposal that changed the way of understanding art for the new urban dimension in the era of the automobile. The Satellite City Towers marked a before and an after in art made for the city."

Those are the Satellite City Towers; that is what is thoroughly argued in this book that redefines and remembers them. VM

ANONYMOUS HANDS,

All of Our Souls



Zaulo Moreno, *Thinking Cranium* (wire, cardboard, acrylic, and multicolored paper). Private collection.

Teresa Jiménez*

The more native the art,
the more it belongs to the whole world.
DIEGO RIVERA

Anonymous, Huichol art (beadwork). Private collection.

When you visit a museum, you usually look for art works with first and last names: the canvas by such-and-such a painter, the sculpture by so-and-so, the room filled with the genius of a celebrated artist. . . . But in the Folk Art Museum, most of the pieces have been crafted by hugely talented but anonymous hands, inspired in the collective imagination. Despite being a relatively new venue —it opened in 2006—, many of the pieces come from ancient traditions, which in turn dialogue with techniques and contemporary motifs from every region of Mexico, resulting in innovative expressions of contemporary art.

*Editor, tejian@unam.mx.

All photos are courtesy of the Folk Art Museum.

As you walk down Independencia Street in Mexico City's historic downtown area, you notice a splendid white building in art deco style. If you let your imagination soar, it's not at all hard to confuse it with an emblematic Miami Beach hotel from the 1930s, whose lobby would be peopled by glamorous celebrities. But no. What you could find here only a few decades ago were criminals and detectives, mountains of money, streams of water, and some old ocean navigation charts. The building that now houses the Folk Art Museum dates from 1928 and was originally home to General Police Headquarters, then the Central Firefighters Offices, then the Treasury, and finally the Ministry of the Navy, until the 1985 earthquake damaged its structure. Almost two decades later, it was remodeled by architect Teodoro González de León and loaned free of charge to the museum.

The building has four floors arranged in a square where the permanent collection is exhibited. All the rooms give out onto a splendid glass-dome-covered central patio where temporary exhibits are sometimes held.

The museum's collection includes pieces purchased all over Mexico and has been enriched by donations from important private and institutional collections from Mexico and abroad. In addition to bringing together innumerable objects to demonstrate the wealth of this artistic patrimony from all over the country and every era, the museum was created with a mandate, which it has completely fulfilled since its foundation: to foster and promote folk art. Today, this

Los Olvidados Workshop, *Sara García* (papier-mâché).
Folk Art Museum Collection.

Cenorina García Nepomuceno, *Tortoise* (smoothed clay).
Private collection.

In the Folk Art Museum,
most of the pieces have been crafted
by hugely talented but anonymous hands,
inspired in the collective imagination.

Anonymous, *Doll* (*cartón piedra*, or "stone cardboard," a technique similar to papier-mâché). Friends of the Folk Art Museum Collection.

Hilano Alejos, *Pineapple* (glazed molded clay decorated with clay appliqués). Private collection.

involves more than eight million people who continue to contribute their knowledge and talent to our nation's artistic patrimony.

The permanent collection is divided into four parts and the museography alludes to the origins and evolution of artistic development; more than any chronological order, it is in a creative order. The first room, called "Essence of Mexican Folk Art," safeguards Mexico's cultural wealth, beginning with primitive forms and ancient motifs, like stone utensils and household items, representations of pre-Hispanic deities or artifacts on which the ancient inhabitants of Mexico portrayed their world view. While these pieces are no longer reproduced in exactly the same way today, they do continue to be an inspiration for modern artistic creations and designs. This room is a kind of bridge between past and present; to paraphrase historian Miguel León Portilla, a country's history explains its folk art, the art that results from the meeting of several cultures.

As you continue your visit, you come to Room 2, dedicated to folk art and daily life, which could remind you of any home in Mexico. Rarely do we notice that in

A visit to the Folk Art Museum is a journey through time, but it also means witnessing the day-to-day, since our surroundings are full of these artistic manifestations that translate our origins, our culture, and our history.

Alfonos Castillo Orta, *Cowboy*
(multicolored clay with clay appliqués). Private collection.

Óscar Sotelo Elías, *Tree of Life (Folk Dances)* (multicolored modeled clay). Private collection.

our homes, we have objects of daily use that are true works of art, the result of the labor of artists and artisans from all over the country working with the materials around them with ancestral techniques handed down from generation to generation. Beautiful objects with utilitarian or decorative functions like Talavera pottery sets of dishes, cast copper pots, clay cooking pots, unique pieces of basketry, carved wooden utensils, and colorful textiles, among many others, are part of our daily lives.

Room 3 concentrates very symbolic pieces of folk and sacred art. It exhibits work expressing the relationship of human beings with their deities down through time, in a combination of earthly and spiritual representations. From pre-Hispanic pieces to syncretic representations from the colonial period, to contemporary figures of the Christ and virgins, as well as rites and ceremonies, it is impressive how the artists manage to express concepts like magic, life, and death. With an immense gamut of colors and representational and abstract forms, as well as the most diverse of materials like coconut, bone, animal horns, or sugar, the soul of Mexico has been engraved in its art.

Your trip through the museum ends in Room 4, in a fiesta of originality: the room is dedicated to folk art and the fantastic. This space overwhelms the imagination to create fantastic, mythological figures like the famous *alebrijes*, made from wood or papier-mâché, combining body parts from different animals and painted in bright colors. The clay-working tradition is represented in the trees of life, which originally narrated passages from the story of creation from the Bible, but which today have diverse meanings and are true works of art. The struggle with the *nahuales*, people with the power to transform themselves into animal form, or the burning of the "evil humor," personified in a papier-mâché devil, are other practices that are part of the Mexican people's imagination.

The beliefs of a people, its joys, its fears, its questions, its answers, its fantasies, its desires, its games: all of this comes together in this museum's hundreds of works of art born of the talent of Mexico's folk artists. A visit to the Folk Art Museum is a journey through time, but it also means witnessing the day-to-day, since our surroundings are full of these artistic manifestations that translate our origins, our culture, and our history. How right was Dr. Atl when he said that the most Mexican thing about Mexico was its folk art.[1]

A diversity of styles, techniques, materials, colors, forms, and objects: pottery, ceramics, basket-making, metalwork, jewelry-making, carving, painting, feather art, textiles, toys, figures made from sugar. One after another, each of the pieces in this museum is dazzling, not only because of its beauty, but also its narrative. To understand the history of Mexico, a visit to this museum cannot be missed. VM

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Colonia Centro
Ciudad de México, D.F., C.P. 06050
Phone: 5510-2201
Open to the Public Tuesday to Sunday,
10 a.m. to 6 p.m.;
Wednesday, 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Notes

[1] Dr. Atl was the pseudonym of Mexican painter and writer Gerardo Murillo (1875-1964).

CISAN

publications

Experiencias de migrantes indígenas mexicanos y guatemaltecos en Estados Unidos

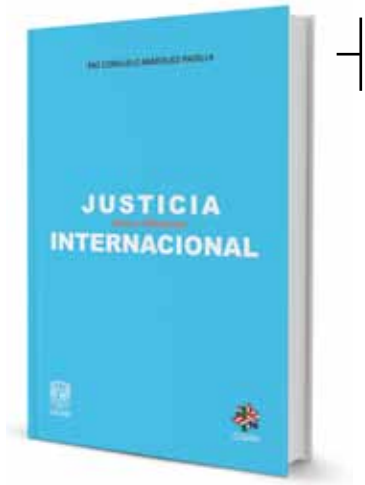
Elaine Levine, ed.

This book presents research results about the specificities of indigenous migration to the United States and the impact it has had in their community life. Each author has underlined a specific aspect of the migrant experience. And each one reveals something about the reaffirmation and redefinition of individual and collective identities that indigenous people experience as a result of migration.

Gobernanza de los recursos naturales y medioamiente en América del Norte

Edit Antal y Simone Lucatello, coords.

North America has very diverse natural resources; their quantity and quality depend on their geographical location. Managing them is a challenge since they determine economic, environmental, and personal stability. This book is the result of different research projects and reflections about how water and energy and mineral resources are managed, as well as how decisions by the different agents of change could be made together.



Justicia internacional
Ideas y reflexiones

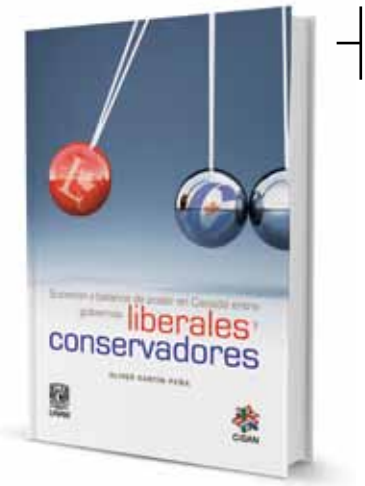
Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla

This book's starting point is that a federalist theory of justice allows us to decipher both conflict and cooperation and that, as a result, we can aspire to establishing relations of equality that are not only rational, but also just and promote order and cooperation.

El Congreso de Estados Unidos: pragmatismo y pluralismo

César Pérez Espinosa

The author presents a critical reflection and a historical, theoretical, and conceptual review of the U.S. Congress. He also offers explanations of the relations between the legislature and the other branches of government, clearly explaining the mechanisms, persons, events, and ideas that intervene in the legislative branch and drive the machinery of the U.S. Congress.



Sucesión y balance de poder en Canadá entre gobiernos liberales y conservadores

Oliver Santín Peña

This work, indispensable for anyone who wants to know about the political history of Canada, takes a detailed look at its processes of alternation in office and presents a new explanation of how that country's political system works.

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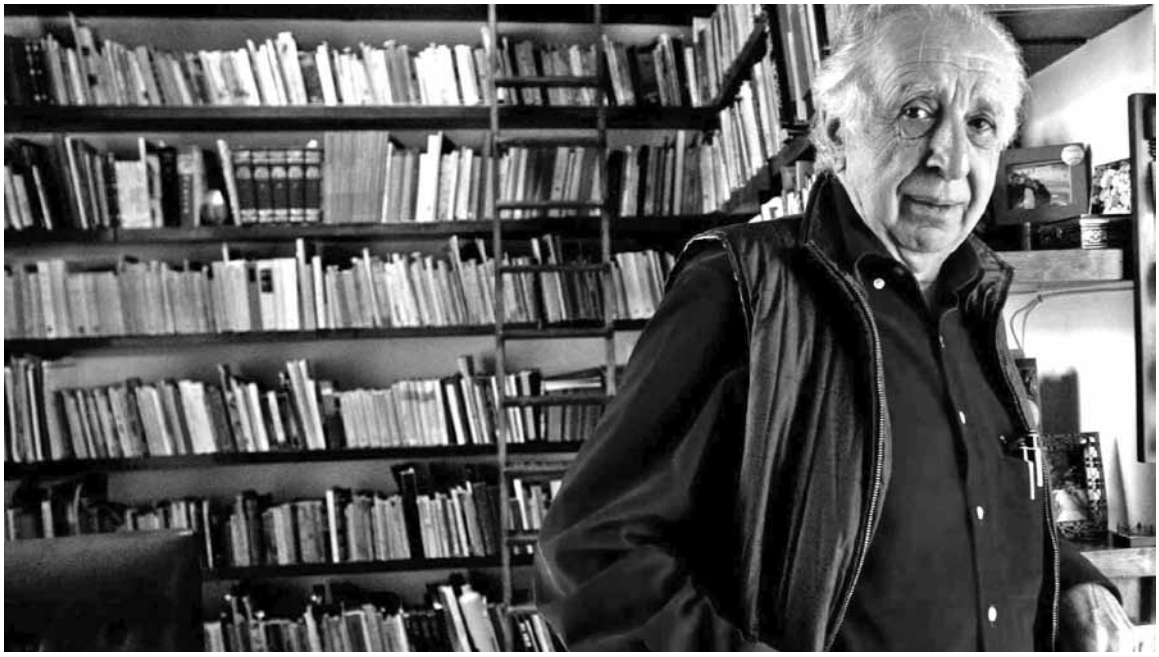
The Invention of the Possible

Rosa Beltrán*



Vengeance makes for good literature. There is no way to settle the score —and who among us does not have some observation to make about his/her past and life?—, to narrate without concessions what did not but should have happened. We suffer to narrate our hardships, says Homer, and on the way, we correct the mistakes that life makes. We could add other elements: Melville, Conrad, Highsmith, and Dumas have taught us that the longer vengeance is put off, the better the story told. This means that time, calculation, and ill will toward a past, above all our own, add points so that the story becomes enjoyable and necessary: an act of poetic justice. A good pen has its influence, of course. I make that a given in the case of Vicente Leñero.

I am writing this and, as I do, I tell myself that I am doing it for myself. Probably when I finish this article it will not be in the orthodox form of a review. It is more like a lesson that is forcing me to think about why, since Leñero wrote *Gente así* (People Like That), I have the impression that he found —or rather was found by— his style. I know that he is the author of *Los albañiles* (The Construction Workers), that emblematic work that won the Premio Biblioteca Breve (Brief Library Prize) at a time when the authors of the Boom were winning it. And that with Julio Scherer in *Proceso* magazine, he re-founded forever the meaning of what it meant to be a journalist in a country like this one. And that he is one of the best, not to say the last of the Mohicans, of the old-style script writers who wrote with two hands —and not with the Greek chorus of

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Photos in this section, courtesy of DGCS, UNAM.

His stories rooted in "hard facts" end up with something fantastic, and thanks to the polished technique and natural cadence of the dialogues, they become more real than the real and betrayed journalism.

the backer, the producer, the director, the cinematographer, the patron, the actors, and even a group of voyeurs in the background dictating the lines in what often ended up being a dialogue among the deaf—, who wrote well-crafted films. *El callejón de los milagros* (The Alley of Miracles or Midaq Alley in English) is a masterful script, one of the best pieces of evidence that a novel can be transferred to film and become a different, autonomous, perfect work. Leñero is a dramatist and a great chronicler. But the author that matters to me is the one who decided to write stories based on real cases in which he merged the tools of journalism, the essay, and fiction. He calls it "auto-journalism." He did that perhaps to defend this last, un-renounceable space in which, by situating the first person as the protagonist, the sacred duty of putting before and above all the event just as it happened can be "left out." Although I mistrust and am simultaneously fascinated by nomenclature, I like the term because by including the autobiography of the author, it speaks to the unavoidable conciliation between reality and fiction.

Already in *Gente así*, he makes reference to several "real" events that exist in the popular imaginary, whose unexpected outcome becomes perfectly possible thanks to the mastery with which they are narrated: the existence of a supposed unpublished novel by Juan Rulfo, *La cordillera* (The Mountain Range), in which he revealed the causes of his mystery. Or a famous chess encounter attended among others —and this seems incredible— the now departed and beloved Luis Ignacio Helguera, Daniel Sada, and Marcel Sisniega, "La apertura Topalov" (The Topalov Opening). In this exceptional story, chess champion Vesilin Topalov, Leñero's former student, whom the teacher had cut to ribbons a literary workshop, takes his revenge. The theme of the teacher who destroys reputations and must pay for it later appears in different ways as an inescapable weight that comes with the job of someone who, to help an aspiring writer, inevitably becomes his/her executioner. His stories rooted in what are called "hard facts" end up with something fantastic, a product of pure invention, and thanks to the polished technique and natural cadence of the dialogues, they become more real than the real and betrayed journalism in order to be true to their loyalty to literature. Magnificent stories that made me think how great it was that Leñero decided to write this false chronicle of our time.

Today, with *Más gente así* (More People Like That), I celebrate the fact that he continued in this vein, writing up moments of his fake —or real— autobiography. Agile, tragicomic, and with a great deal of acid, he portrays a society with more than two faces, where the manager of the newspaper "that reports on the life of the nation" can make you a member of the honorable editorial board and steal your etchings at the same time.[1] Or where Carmen Balcells, the literary agent who grew her bank account and her humanity thanks to the pens of García Márquez and Vargas Llosa, spends her days always smiling at Leñero, courting him, without promoting him, in a dance worthy of Freud at his best.

In an interview with *Proceso* magazine requested by Julio Scherer, Leñero deals with a writer of the stature of Graham Greene, who refuses to answer the Catholic journalist because, as the author of *The Power and the Glory* says, "Catholic journalists don't ask me about literature, about my literature; they ask me about theology, metaphysics, the Vatican. . .or about my faith, like you." They are out for sensationalism; the story. He suspects that Leñero is after the headline, "Graham Greene Loses His Faith." Greene didn't give the interview because he was indignant about journalism —a profession he exercised himself— and at the same time did give it because his diatribe speaks to the issues that Vicente Leñero was most interested in; yet another piece of proof of the mastery with which he can convince us of something that didn't happen . . . or maybe did. And along the way, he situates us in the aesthetic moment in which this happened, an era in which Greene was scorned by Latin American critics, except for García Márquez, who was not only an exceptional writer, but also an exceptional reader.

The literary motifs in which authors, readers, and characters meet appear in several stories. In "¿Quién mató a Agatha Christie?" (Who Killed Agatha Christie?), Poirot allows himself the luxury of judging his creator's oeuvre at the same time that he decides that his own life is a disaster and his professional career as a detective, a failure; that he himself is a pedant, insufferable, a simple puppet who presents himself as a deductive machine. He feels inferior to other professionals in his field like Simenon's Maigret or Chandler's Philip Marlow. His useless existence is the fault of the mediocrity of his author, who was more ingenious in constructing Miss

Marple. The old Pirandellian issue and the idea of the creator who, faced with his/her creatures, in the best of cases according to Borges, has fun, constructing labyrinths where dialogue and issues meet that only the experienced reader can unravel.

There are other characters absolutely unknown even to the author. His mother, for example. That enigma through which the author tries to find a point in common. The son who never saw his mother kissing his father; the son she never caressed —though she didn't pinch or spank either—; to whom one day he gave a pair of hair combs and she responded, "I already have a pair." A mother who gave him "milk, not honey," who offered him "her presence, not her heartbeat," and who, now in his old age, he discovers himself to be almost identical to.

Since Tom Wolfe invented that thing called the "New Journalism," using the first person, which can give greater potential to the experience without betraying it, as opposed to the former canon of "objectivity" —as though such a thing were possible—, he convinced many, more or less successfully, that it is really possible to separate spaces, genres, to speak of a non-constructed memory, to believe in fixed identities. But in a nomadic era like ours, it seems to me that that is where the center of the debate lies, a topic I will leave for another time.

I like the fact that a journalist who believes in the sharp differences between one genre and another is the person who wrote these two volumes. I am happy that a novelist has resorted to journalistic techniques to make an audaciously imaginative and perfectly possible world a reality. Because by hiding methods forged throughout a lifetime dedicated to literature, he shows not only that people "are like that," but also that, if he decides it will happen, there will be many, many more people like that. VM

NOTES

[1] The newspaper "that reports on the life of the nation" was the way the Mexico City daily *Excélsior* referred to itself. [Translator's Note.]

Collage of Memories
Leñero: How I Learned to Write[1]

Felipe Garrido*

Leñero to Ana Cruz Navarro: Ever since I was a child, I was a great reader. My father got us used to reading a lot. What I wanted to do from the time I was young was make up stories. When readers read, they satisfy the need for living a little more. Life is very limited. People go to the movies because there they live more; they live the stories that they can't experience on their own. When they write, authors poke their noses into many lives. I have liked that ever since I was a young man, and engineering taught me to organize and structure my ideas.

I'm attracted by the mystery of the character; the enigma of that being that I'm writing about. I know what I'm writing about the characters, but many things stay in darkness. I never know everything about them.

Leñero to Susana Garduño: The vocation for literature is a mysterious phenomenon. You read and, suddenly, you also want to write and almost copy the authors you're enthused by. I caught the bug reading Verne, Salgari, Mark Twain. I caught the theater bug by seeing theater.

Leñero studied engineering, but he wanted to write, so he studied journalism at the same time. In 1956, the Diocesan Committee in Mexico of the ACJM (Catholic Association of Mexican Youth) organized a contest in which Vicente Leñero Otero, "a

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of the character; I know what I'm writing
about the characters, but many things stay in darkness.
I never know everything about them.

first-year student at the Carlos Septién García School of Journalism," won first prize with a story called "La banqueta de mi calle" *(The Sidewalk on My Street).*

A crew of workers is changing "the old dirt sidewalk that for years had been naked and forgotten . . . into an elegant concrete sidewalk." *For the narrator, the fact that* "the happy path that used to take us nearer to God" *was about to be renovated suddenly evoked* "the memory of my recent childhood days . . ., the flavor of my first prayers, the breath of my student pleas, the innocent fear for my venial sins . . . when, on the first Friday evening of the month, I used to go to confess pranks, fights, disobedience." *That dirt sidewalk knew* "the pulse of my faults and the repentance that always went with them. I told it before I told the priest . . . the times I fought with my brothers and sisters, the days when I disobeyed my parents, the innumerable occasions when I gave into the temptation to pull the long braids of the little neighbor girl from across the street with all my childish strength. Today, all that was going to be interred: a deluge of concrete was about to bury it forever. Another, yes, newer one would be born; wider, more modern, but without the history and without the meaning that the first one left on my soul." *How to keep that past on the point of disappearing?* "When the construction workers finished smoothing out the last layer of cement . . ., I crept up, and, without anyone seeing me, drew my initials in a small, shaky hand with the end of a wire."

"La banqueta de mi calle" was the beginning. Leñero was just learning to write.

Making a Living Writing Stories

To Agustín Monsreal

It was 1957, 1958: the years when Pedro Infante died, when López Mateos was launched as a candidate and took office as president, when the teachers declared their great national strike, when *Miércoles de ceniza* (Ash Wednesday) by Luis G. Basurto and *Un hogar sólido* (A Solid Home) by Elena Garro

were performed for the first time, when Octavio Paz published *Piedra de sol* (Sun Stone) and Josefina Vicens *El libro vacío* (The Empty Book) and Guadalupe Dueñas *Tiene la noche un* árbol (The Night Has a Tree) and Sergio Fernández *Los signos perdidos* (The Lost Signs), and Carlos Fuentes *La región más transparente* (Where the Air Is Clear) . . .

At that time, I was writing without knowing and without thinking; I used to sit in front of my brother Armando's black Remington, a tank-like machine with round keys like bottlecaps, and, with no prior planning of the theme, the atmosphere, the structure, everything that I would later learn is very important for the story writer, I would string words together on those horrible yellowish sheets of really low-grade *revolución* paper. I wrote without thinking. The story invented itself. The characters and their vicissitudes burst forth as though someone had suddenly uncovered a trash can. They were dark stories, or sad stories; small stories whose crudity shocked me afterwards and to which a redeeming spirit added a Band Aid in the form of a final moral in the style of Father Luis Coloma or Father Carlos M. Heredia, so admired at the time, and even now in my remembrances despite what the new generations might think, since they do not know —and never will— who Coloma and Heredia were, those crafters of exemplary stories during the pre-dawn of my ventures into literature.

I wrote stories without thinking, automatically, obsessively, frenetically: flogging the Remington ceaselessly from the first three-space indentation until the final period on page six or nine. It was not until that instant, like the 400-meter runner after crossing the finish line, that I began to suck in air with all due anxiety, to deflate myself finally on the chair, exhausted by the terrible effort.

Naturally, I paid no attention to advice. People recommended that I ought to ponder the topic, that I shape in my imagination the characters' psychology, that I carefully structure the story´s approach, the knot, the outcome and, of course,

above all else, that I study the wise men and theoreticians of the science and art of style. And I did study them. Of course I did. I read them carefully, even underlining the paragraphs and outlining pages, but naturally, I didn't put any of the advice into practice because I was overwhelmed by my anxiousness to write, the gush that would come out by sitting down and not getting up until the end, the wonderful urge that many years ago I lost along the way but that at that time allowed me to write stories in one sitting, filed away in a yellow folder or published sometimes in *Señal* (Sign) magazine, where I got my start as a journalist.

One morning in 1958, I came across a call put out by an ephemeral University Students' Front of Mexico, which, under the motto "Freedom, Unity, and Culture," convened a First National Contest of University Short Stories. The judges were to be no less than Guadalupe Dueñas, Henrique González Casanova, Juan Rulfo, Jesús Arellano, and Juan José Arreola.

I was quite impressed by the judges and my ambition was tempted by the amount of the prizes (Mex$2 500 for first place and Mex$1 500 for second). But what excited me the most was the possibility of being noticed by those cultured people who already had a numbered ticket for the front rows of the nation's literature.

I hadn't even finished reading the call for the contest when I was in front of the Remington writing a short story that, as I say, was coming to me as I wrote. That very afternoon I made a clean copy in a single sitting and gave it the title "La polvareda" (The Cloud of Dust). It had a rural setting, so to speak, that of course copied Rulfo, so admired at the time. I had discovered him two years before when I was flying to Madrid to begin a scholarship at the Hispanic Culture Institute.

There, in Madrid, at the wonderful Latin American literature course given by Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, I dared to ask this Spanish scholar what place he thought the Mexican Rulfo had among the giants that he urged us to devour (Unamuno, Baroja, Azorín, Machado, Camilo José Cela. . .). But Torrente Ballester had never even heard Rulfo´s name; and the disdain with which he said so made me feel from that time on humiliated as a Mexican and as the Mexican writer I was anxious to become. At the end of the course, I gave Torrente Ballester my copy of *Pedro Páramo*, but I never knew if he read it or not. The point is that at that time, most apprentice writers of my generation worshipped Rulfo like a god. And we copied him.

Two days after writing "La polvareda," I wrote a second short story. I tried to make it radically different. It was neither rural nor Rulfian. It ingenuously told the story of some rich youngsters —we called them "juniors" at the time— who stole a car, crashed it on the Toluca highway, and who had to be bailed out by Daddy. In the story, I tried to put into practice Faulkner's stream of consciousness, which I had also just discovered, and even though I didn't do it very well, it helped me escape from the influence of Rulfo. I gave it a terrible title: "¿Qué me van a hacer, papá?" (What Are They Going to Do to Me, Dad?), the question asked by the "junior" at the end, and I signed it "Gregorio," the pen name I had used to write in a high-school newspaper a few years before. To fool the judges, I typed the clean copy on a Smith Corona with tiny letters.

> The vocation for literature is a mysterious phenomenon. You read and, suddenly, you also want to write and almost copy the authors you're enthused by.

Written that way, with two different typefaces, and with very different themes and styles, the judges would never suspect that those two stories were written by the same author. That would give me two chances instead of one, like someone who buys two lottery tickets to double his chances.

And so it was. What had never happened to me with the lottery happened with literature: "La polvareda" won first prize and "¿Qué me van a hacer, papá?" won second.

However, on the night of the awards ceremony at the Manuel M. Ponce Room, with university President Nabor Carrillo in attendance, the president of the judges' panel, Henrique González Casanova, reported that, when he and his colleagues discovered that both stories were by the same author, they decided to give me only the amount of the first prize (Mex$2 500) and to distribute the Mex$1 500 for the second prize between the third-place winner, Julio González Tejeda, and Martín Reyes Vayssade, who had been given the honorable mention.

In truth, I really didn't care very much, I was in the clouds. But, at the end of the ceremony, a voice sounded out in the room. It was Rubén Salazar Mallén, who with great difficulty walked up on the stage to protest "the injustice against this young writer who wins two prizes and you only give him the money for one. It's not fair." Henrique González Casanova insisted, saying the jury was trying to encourage two other contestants, but Salazar Mallén interrupted again, not to fight with González Casanova, he said, but to announce that, since the judges' panel was depriving Leñero of the Mex$1,500, he would

give him Mex$500 out of his own pocket to compensate for it. And no sooner said than done, that great guy Salazar Mallén, who was anything but a rich man, brought out his checkbook, quickly scribbled the numbers and his signature, and gave me the check with a hug and many pats on the back.

My terrible lack of culture meant that at the time I didn't know who Salazar Mallén was, but from that moment on was born a solid, respectful friendship that time would only dissolve because of the complicated city we live in. Friendship from the bottom up, I must say, because I always saw him as a teacher from whom I learned important tips and who opened my eyes to the cannibalism of culture in Mexico. It was through Salazar Mallén, at his occasional social gatherings at the Palermo Café on Humboldt Street, where I later met Jesús Arellano (the poet who dared to offend Don Alfonso Reyes in public and for that was struck from the intellectual registry), the very noble Efraín Huerta, the extraordinary Juan Rulfo. . . .

"You're a prude, by the Holy Cross," Juan Rulfo used to say to me, crossing himself tongue in cheek and clacking his teeth with a sly chuckle.

He had already stopped me cold before when, in the euphoria of my double prize, I had gone up to him to say everything a young man says to an admired author: "I've read everything you ever wrote, Mr. Rulfo, and I think it's wonderful, Mr. Rulfo, and above all, Mr. Rulfo, admiring you as I do, I'm really glad you were part of the judges' panel that gave me the prize, Mr. Rulfo."

"Don't delude yourself," Juan Rulfo replied. "I'm going to tell you the truth if you want to know it. Do you want to know?"

I nodded yes. I couldn't guess his intentions.

"You didn't win unanimously. Did you know that?"

"Well, no."

"You had one vote against you and it was mine," he finished. "I didn't like that story of yours, 'La polvareda.' González Tejeda's was much better."

Of course, I sought no more support or literary guidance from Juan Rulfo. I ran to Juan José Arreola.

"Be careful of Arreola," Salazar Mallén warned.

Leñero joined Juan José Arreola's workshop. His view of the great writer from Zapotlán el Grande in his home, his workshop, and his passion for chess is a delight.

I read, re-read, corrected, re-wrote and re-read again, and finally picked what I thought were my best short stories. With them all arranged in a yellow folder, I presented myself at Arreola's apartment behind the Chapultepec Cinema. He had given me an appointment at 7:30 in the afternoon, and at 7:30, I was there knocking on the door, a little nervous. He

I wrote stories without thinking,
automatically, obsessively, frenetically:
flogging the Remington ceaselessly from the first
three-space indentation until the final period
on page six or nine.

My whole generation owes
Arreola the luck of having let ourselves be inoculated
with a taste for working on a text down
to the last detail.

didn't open the door himself; Orso did, a 13 or 14 year-old kid who I identified right there as the maestro's son. A bit later, Fuensanta, about 10 at the time, his youngest daughter, appeared, and a while later Arreola himself, shaking his hands as though they were wet and swinging his untidy head, with very curly hair, as if he were a gander. I held out the yellow folder to him, but before I could get out the first sentence, he was already rejecting it with a wave of his hand with the pretext that he had to do something in his private rooms for ten minutes or so.

My hopes were very high about having, as Arreola had promised when we made the appointment, a long, severe, rewarding session with him: he would read some of my stories in front of me and point out their good points, defects, mistakes; he would then give me his overall opinion; he would tell me how I should proceed, where I should go, once he had read the rest of my texts slowly and alone.

What vain hopes! Arreola's promise might have been made in good faith, but his literary habits made him a liar. It had been a long time since he had read his students' stories by himself. He read them, when he did read them, aloud, in front of a group, and only during the hours of his workshop, the by-then famous workshop that Juan José Arreola gave in a cold garage at the Mexican Writers' Center on Volga River Street.

It took me a while to find all that out: the existence of Arreola's workshop, of the Mexican Writers' Center, of the maestro's custom of analyzing there, and only there, his disciples' work. I would be one more of those starting then. I was one from the time Orso opened the door, Fuensanta stuck her head in to satisfy her curiosity as if she were a monkey, and Arreola appeared and disappeared with the pretext of something urgent inside in his private rooms after asking, "Do you play chess?"

I didn't know what to say. I had been feeling strange for five minutes in that living room furnished only with a long line of square tables with chessboards painted on them that reminded me of the San Juan de Letrán club where my father used to go almost every day to put his rivals in check. That's what Arreola's house looked like: a chess club. And that's was it was, in the last analysis.

"Do you play?" he asked again, arranging the pieces on the closest board.

"A little."

"How little?"

"A little. Fair-to-middling. I think I'm not very good."

He stopped swinging his gander-like neck. He looked at me with his leprechaun eyes and, smiling, said to Fuensanta, "Play one with him; let's see. I'll be right back so we can look at one of his stories," he lied.

My pride was as offended as much by having to play chess with a little girl as if he had misjudged my literary style. But to tell the truth, both Fuensanta and Orso had game. I beat Fuensanta only with difficulty, and with Orso, I only managed some shameful ties thanks to his continually having me in check.

When Arreola came back to the living room, it wasn't only Fuensanta, Orso, and I there, but also the enormous flow of friends and students who that day every week came to his home to visit, to converse, to recite López Velarde, to play chess with Homero Aridjis, Eduardo Lizalde, Luis Antonio Camargo, Miguel González Avelar. . . . Other visitors were José de la Colina, José Emilio Pacheco, Beatriz Espejo, Fernando del Paso, Juan Martínez, the beautiful Fanny . . .

The social afternoons were complemented by another day of the week in the Volga workshop: Tita Valencia, Carmen Rosenzweig, Elsa de Llarena, and many more who got lost on the way, like *erratas*.

We learned to write by writing, listening to Arreola, and learning from Arreola.

One night, when I was taking a walk with him on Volga Street toward Reforma Avenue, he said, stopping a half a block away, "Do you know what you need to become a writer, Leñero?"

I thought Arreola was finally going to trust me with the magic key to literature.

"What?"

"You need to get rid of your second last name. You can't be a writer who signs 'Leñero Otero.' It's a horrible little line," he told me.

I went away thinking, "Arreola is nuts." But when I published my first book, I got rid of my maternal last name forever. The book (*La polvareda*) was published by Jus. It gathered some of the stories that had been in that yellow folder and others that I wrote in Arreola's workshop. It wasn't a good book, but it was the first: the one of high hopes, of enthusiasms,

Maestro Arreola, midwife
of my generation: without you,
it would have been difficult, truly more difficult,
and you know it, Juan José.

of the yearning to become a writer above all. A short-story writer, I thought.

Thirty years later: now, sometimes, suddenly, one day, I sit down at the typewriter to try to write a story and the hours go by in front of the keyboard without being able to finish the first page. I tear it out, punishing the roller; I crush it hatefully with my fist; I forget it forever, throwing it into the wastebasket. I don't know how anymore. I've already forgotten how to write a short story (July 1987).

Leñero to Susana Garduño: If I had written half of what I've written, I would have done better. Of all the novels I've written since *Los albañiles,* I would keep the last one, *La vida que se va* (The Life that Goes), where I returned to the genre of the novel after 10 or 11 years. The short story is a genre I appreciate a great deal. Writing something short can be more difficult than something long.

Juan José Arreola, the Midwife

It's not that Juan José Arreola taught us to write, but it was with Arreola, between one or another piece worked on especially so the maestro —the writer of *Confabulario*, can you imagine?— would read them aloud one night before everyone, that we learned —writing and rewriting again and again a little later— to write.

How theatrical, how fascinating, how contagious the Juan José Arreola of the late 1950s seemed to all of us who bowed before his perspective and wisdom to drink in knowledge and sensibilities. Sitting there, all attention, we were in his hands absolutely. Our stories hung and depended only on his voice, his reading capable of transforming them suddenly into something wonderful.

Along the way, he corrected words, changed punctuation, and invented tones, cadences, inflections that the original text was far from having. Reading a story well, Arreola taught us to seek out the literary paths for escaping the labyrinth of ambiguity and entering into effectiveness.

Personally, in my inner self, I owe him the luck of having escaped in time —I believe in time— from the sounds of Rulfo. But, in addition, in public, my whole generation owes him the luck of having let ourselves be inoculated with a taste for working on a text down to the last detail, of discovering that what's important for any author is finding a "how": how to say what I want to say, whatever that is . . . the theme is the least of it. I don't remember ever having heard Juan José object to an argument or an ideological position, or political content. I do remember him —and I won't forget it— pointing out mistakes in intent, in tone, in syntax. He was always on the "how" and the "how" was always there with him: in how to write each one of our "whats."

Arreola rose up in his workshop with his gander-like neck, his curly hair that I always suspected was a wig, his pianist's hands fluttering in the air as though they were branches. He rose up and recited and sang and acted.

And you learned by contagion, as I said, with the urgent need to achieve that same passion for the written word that I translated from him, from him first, and above all, from him.

My life is charged with memories of those afternoons-evenings when I learned literature and lost at chess with Orso, with Fuensanta, with Aridjis, with Camargo, with Lizalde, with Arreola himself, in the apartment/home where Arreola captivated us with impossible stories, feats of love, literary lies, bibliographic tall tales, and at the same time published our imprecise texts in the slim volumes of *Unicornio*.

It's not a matter of remembering everything, but, yes, remembering the thrill of our years of the primary school of narration, where he appeared to us like a miracle, a true literary carnival barker who for three cents sold us the elixir of art, the magic pass to a craft that for many of us continues to be our main reason for living.

Arreola the barker, Arreola the magician, the storyteller, the performer, Mephistopheles and Merlin, wizard, sorcerer, warlock, elf, goblin, harlequin.

Maestro Arreola, midwife of my generation: without you, it would have been difficult, truly more difficult, and you know it, Juan José. Without you it would have been more difficult to be born into literature. VM

Notes

[1] This text was written using interviews by Ana Cruz Navarro and Susana Garduño, plus *De cuerpo entero* (Mexico City: UNAM/Corunda, 1992); *Lotería* (Mexico City: Joaquín Mortiz, 1996); and *Puros cuentos* (Mexico City: Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 2004).

Giving Voice to Those Without One

Ignacio Solares*

Few works by Mexican writers show more than those of Vicente Leñero the propensity to universalize that is nestled in the best fiction, that voracity with which he wanted to devour the world, history past and present, the most grotesque experiences of the human circus, the most contradictory voices transmuted into literature. This uncommon appetite for telling and hearing everything, for embracing all of life in a fine-tuned narration or in a courageous journalistic report, so infrequent in a milieu usually ruled by whispers and timidity.

Leñero successfully made inroads into practically all genres, perhaps with the exception of poetry, and he has been honored for all of them: short stories, novels, theater, film and television scripts, interviews, journalistic chronicles. He was one of the most innovative, provocative playwrights of his generation, as well as the best-paid film script writer of his time.

The teacher of many generations of theater and film writers, a large number of the authors whose works have filled our country's theaters and movie houses and been given international awards and honors paraded through his workshops. From the trenches of *Excélsior* and *Proceso*, side by side with Julio Scherer, he fought definitive battles for free journalism committed to the truth and society's best causes.

Vicente Leñero studied with Lasallian Brothers and then majored in civil engineering at the UNAM and journalism at the Carlos Septién García School. All these circumstances marked his literary vocation in terms of form and of content, as well as the topics he picked and the structures he chose to

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In *Los albañiles*, Mexican readers found what a Graham Green in England or a Georges Bernanos in France could write in their books: the presence of evil among men.

write in. Leñero always remained faithful to the student he had been, but only with the starting point of the vocation that marked him. Because literature is a passion, and passion is exclusionary.

The writer's condition is strange and paradoxical. His/her privilege is freedom, the freedom to see, hear, find out everything. What for? To feed the internal demon that possesses him/her, that is nourished by his/her acts, experiences, and dreams. When Leñero studied with the Lasallian Brothers or in the schoolrooms of the School of Engineering, he may not have supposed that he was absorbing facts, ideas, and impressions that he would then transform into his singular conception of literature. Because, for him, just like for any other writer who really is a writer, writing was more important than living.

So, from the microcosm of family life, Leñero extracted plays and novels: *La mudanza* (The Move), *La visita del ángel* (The Angel's Visit), *¡Pelearán diez rounds!* (They'll Fight Ten Rounds!), *Qué pronto se hizo tarde* (How Quickly It Got Late), *La gota de agua* (Drop of Water); from his work in television, a novel, *Estudio Q* (Studio Q), and a play, *La carpa* (Music Hall Revue). From his familiarity with history, he penned the works *El juicio* (The Trial), *El martirio de Morelos* (The Martyrdom of Morelos), and *La noche de Hernán Cortés* (The Night of Hernán Cortés). From his interest in religious life sprang another novel and another play: *Redil de ovejas* (Sheep Pen) and *Pueblo rechazado* (People/Town Rejected). From his experience as a journalist came *Nadie sabe nada* (Nobody Knows Anything) and the novel *Asesinato* (Murder), plus reports that he collected in books like *Talacha periodística* (The Journalist's Job) and *Periodismo de emergencia* (Emergency Journalism).

However, sometimes we forget that Leñero began in a genre that he would only occasionally frequent later: the short story. In 1959, he published "La polvareda" (The Cloud of Dust), strongly influenced by Juan Rulfo. Two years later his first novel appeared, *La voz adolorida* (The Pain-stricken Voice), which he much later rewrote under the title *A fuerza de palabras* (Through Words), in which he delved into one

of the most frequent themes in his literature, confession, or the possibility of redemption using the word (spoken or written, in a book or on a stage).

The publication of *Los albañiles* (The Construction Workers), the winner of the 1963 Seix Barral Prize, marked the real beginning of his literary career and opened up a new path for Mexican letters. For a great work of fiction to be just that, it must add something to the world, to life, something that had not existed before, which thanks to it and only from its publication on will become part of what we call reality, both in the daytime and in our dreams. In *Los albañiles*, the author gave characters who lacked a voice in the world of fiction their citizenship papers. But the most important thing was that they inscribed themselves in a theme that was practically unprecedented in Mexican letters: the Catholic novel, as it has come to be called.

Before Leñero, this genre among us only included such lesser lights as Alfonso Junco or Emma Godoy, incapable of inscribing it in a literature of high quality that would have given it validity. Leñero's first achievement, it seems to me, was to delve into the theme of evil with all of its upheaval and starkness, more than with the apologetic paintings in the devotional novels that we faithful are so prone to read.

In *Los albañiles*, Mexican readers found what a Graham Green in England or a Georges Bernanos in France could write in their books: the presence of evil among men, a theme that has systematically been avoided throughout this century, masking it with the arguments of science, politics, psychology, and even metaphysics. But evil can also be a real, physical, biological presence that causes pain and can be felt and that only a few novelists have managed to give corporeality in their books.

The attentive reader of *Los albañiles* discerns that, beyond the overt drama, another is developing. A kind of hidden

counterpoint resonates in the most insignificant gestures, in the smallest words, in the constant questioning. It is immediately perceptible that the atmosphere is inhabited by another presence —another Presence. From an intricate police procedural, the novel jumps to become a theological problem about guilt and the quest for truth. Who killed Don Jesús, the old, drunken, epileptic night watchman? Everyone had a reason to do it. At the end of the book, the involved reader feels chills down his or her spine: he/she was missing as the book's protagonist; he/she only needed to have asked him/herself sincerely.

After *Los albañiles*, *La vida que se* va (The Life that Is Ending) seems to me Leñero's best-honed novel, although I have a very positive memory of *Estudio Q* (Studio Q), in which a pair of television actors rebel against the script that the director/God tries to impose on them from his cubicle above. Because, curiously, Leñero's characters are never very sure of their beliefs and sometimes their faith seems more like a heavy burden to us, a burden they would like to shrug off more than a soothing spiritual relief. Suffice it to remember the character from *El garabato* (The Squiggle), who in the novel's last lines concludes that Christ was probably not God, with all the disillusionment that this implies for a Catholic.

That fully and tragically human imagination is what inscribed Vicente Leñero in a prominent place in the history of literature in our language. Vicente began writing in our magazine seven years ago —he made 98 contributions— and there is no doubt that his participation lent it importance and high literary and journalistic quality. There were those, he told me, who bought the magazine just to read Leñero's column. The absence in Mexican letters of "Lo que sea de cada quien" (Whatever from Everyone), whose closest predecessor is *Gente así* (People Like That) will be a determining factor for the publication's future. It leaves an empty space that is impossible to fill, just as does the beloved friend and teacher that Leñero always was to me. VM

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Highly Skilled Migration
A Multi-level Review
By Mexican Experts

Jason Reed/Reuters

The old saying that a country's wealth emanates from its people has been proven over and over by policies on skilled migration. Human capital, understood as the professionals who may contribute to development in a broad sense, is linked to innovation, technology, and an effervescent cultural and social life –in a word, to wealth.

This issue's special section is an encounter with Mexican experts in skilled migration. We try to offer a varied panorama of the complexities of skilled Mexican migration, taking into account political, economic, and gender issues, among others. Skilled migration is not a problem to be solved in a globalized world, but an opportunity. However, related issues such as low skills transfer or political disadvantages that may lead to detrimental brain drain are legitimate sources of concern.

Our analysis is integrated into the North American context, due to the relevance of Mexican skilled migration to the U.S. and Canada. The Mexican case confirms that proximity is still important for professionals who choose to migrate, due to factors like regional labor agreements favoring free labor movement, among others. Most importantly, people tend to move where good job opportunities exist, but also to places that are geographically and culturally akin to their places of origin.

Camelia Tigau
Guest Editor

Importance and Consequences of Skilled Mexican Migration To the United States[1]

Ana María Aragonés*
Uberto Salgado**

The 2007-2008 structural crisis highlighted, even if only indirectly, the importance of skilled migrant workers as a substantial part of deepening the knowledge economy, the solution to the crisis. This means that workers are increasingly needed in the sciences and the fields of technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). This is because of the importance of technological innovations, concretely in the areas of nanotechnology, robotics, the aerospace industries, information technologies, etc., all high on the list of creating value. That is, what is central is knowledge, information, and technology.

The United States has been considered a leader in the knowledge economy, and different developed countries have followed this same road with greater or less success. We can say that one characteristic of the globalization that grew out of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan's proposals in the 1980s has been the application of knowledge, technology, and information to production. The knowledge economy, on the other hand, required society to create the educational conditions to respond to labor market demands. These needs centered on specific professions, many of which were lagging behind the unprecedented sustained capital boom in the United States after the Vietnam War. It is not surprising that in the framework of the new migratory pattern that has emerged from globalization, one of the very important flows has been that of qualified migrants. This is so much the case that the United States is one of the main receivers of highly qualified migrants worldwide, together with Australia, Canada, Japan, and New Zealand, which, taken all together, in 2005 alone received a little over 100 000 skilled workers from abroad.[2]

The structural crisis is giving rise to certain competition for talent globally since countries that before the crisis were already part of the knowledge economy continue to be interested in deepening it so they can move ahead, and, therefore, require this kind of immigrants. To attract qualified migrants, countries have even changed their immigration laws, facilitating entry and stay, in contrast with their policy toward the low-skilled. These countries face a series of difficulties, both in their educational systems and demographically, given low fertility rates. All this explains the need to incorporate skilled migrants; this is in stark contrast with what happened during the Great Depression of 1929, when these countries closed their doors completely, as we have pointed out in our previous research.[3]

The Situation in Mexico

Role as Sender of Skilled Migrants

We can consider Mexico a country whose economic, political, and social conditions made it a reserve of skilled workers, since it cannot absorb them into its work force, and therefore they accept job offers and facilities that other countries offer. Although Mexico trains qualified professionals, they face a

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dearth of research and innovation centers, universities, and scientific laboratories where they can apply their knowledge.

The Dynamics of Higher Learning

The number of graduates from institutions of higher learning grew 2.94 percent on average annually between 2000 and 2009.[4] However, the economy averaged only 1.2 percent growth per year, according to data from Mexico's National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI). This meant that the number of graduates remained above the rate of economic growth, with negative effects on the highly skilled labor market, since in this period, the number of professionals increased by 2.8 million, while their unemployment rate rose from 2.3 to 5.1 percent.[5]

Among the fields linked to jobs required by the knowledge economy, the number of graduates in all kinds of engineering increased from 15 percent to 19 percent from 1999-2000 to 2008-2009. The rest of the areas maintained their relative proportions, except education and teaching, which dropped considerably.[6] The case of engineers is very interesting since the number of graduates from both public and private institutions increased in 2010 to 75 575, a number quite close to their U.S. American counterparts in 2011 (83 000).

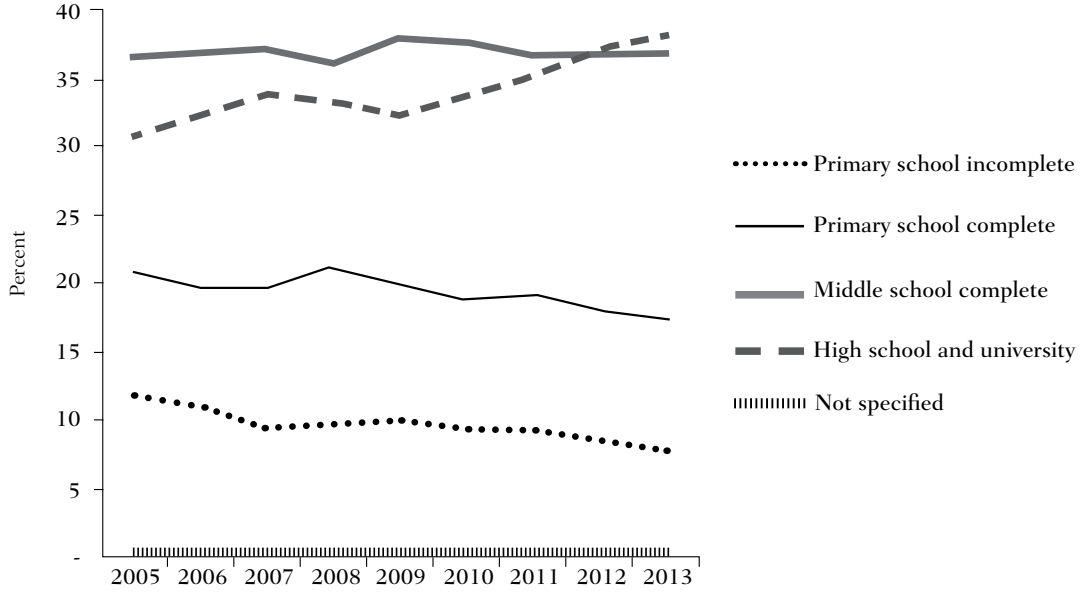
Labor Supply and Investments In Innovation and Development

However, the number of Mexicans employed as engineers has only grown slightly, from 1.1 million in 2006 to 1.3 million in 2012.[7] This indicates that the favorable evolution in the number of graduates causes an increase in the number of professionals vying for jobs; nevertheless, given that the economy has not been dynamic at all, not only has unemployment grown among these workers, but something even worse has happened: the quality of employment has deteriorated.

One central problem is the low investment channeled into innovation and development, particularly if we compare Mexico with other developing economies like Brazil, or developed economies like South Korea. In 2000, these two economies spent 1 percent and 2.3 percent of their GDPs, respectively, on research and development (R&D), while Mexico invested 0.3 percent in 2000 and only 0.4 percent in 2011, according to World Bank data.[8]

This situation explains why unemployment among workers with higher educational levels is even greater than that of the rest of workers. According to INEGI figures, this unemployment has been increasing considerably in recent years, as shown in Graph 1. It seems very clear that Mexico is seriously lagging behind in its full incorporation into the knowledge

GRAPH 1
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (2005-2013)



Source: Banco de Información Económica-INEGI, http://www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/bie/, accessed November 25, 2014.

To attract qualified migrants, countries have even changed their immigration laws facilitating entry and stay, in contrast with their policy toward the low-skilled.

economy. This explains why these workers must seek opportunities in other countries, particularly the United States, the main destination for Mexican migrants.

Highly Skilled Mexican Migration to the United States

Table 1 shows an important increase in the number of skilled migrants entering the United States with H-1B visas. While in 1996, Mexico was in sixth place with 3.7 percent, by 2010, it was in third place with 6.7 percent. The number of L-1 visas issued to workers transferring internally inside their companies has risen considerably: in 1996, Mexico was also in sixth place with 3.4 percent, while by 2010, it had increased greatly, also climbing to third place, just behind Canada and India (see Table 2).

Similar behavior can be seen in the case of O-1 visas issued to workers with extraordinary achievements or abilities: in 1996, our country was in eighth place with a participation of only 2.4 percent, while by 2010, there had been an extraordinary hike to third place with 6.4 percent, just below the United Kingdom and Canada (see Table 3).

Luke MacGregor/Reuters

We should underline that the main areas hiring qualified Mexican workers are the sciences and engineering. By 2010, Mexican scientists and engineers were 3 percent of all foreign engineers in the United States, with levels similar to countries like Vietnam, Germany, and Taiwan (3 percent each), and only below the United Kingdom and Canada (4 percent each), the Philippines (6 percent), China (8 percent),

TABLE 1
TOP 10 COUNTRIES GRANTED H-1B VISAS BY THE U.S. (SELECTED YEARS)

1996			2000			2010		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
All countries	144 458	100.0	All countries	355 605	100.0	All countries	454 763	100.0
India	29 239	20.2	India	102 453	28.8	India	138 431	30.4
United Kingdom	18 221	12.6	United Kingdom	32 124	9.0	Canada	72 959	16.0
Japan	7 401	5.1	China	14 874	4.2	Mexico	30 572	6.7
Germany	6 117	4.2	France	14 745	4.1	China	19 493	4.3
France	6 076	4.2	Germany	13 533	3.8	United Kingdom	17 099	3.8
Mexico	5 273	3.7	Mexico	13 507	3.8	Japan	12 099	2.7
China	4 377	3.0	Canada	12 929	3.6	South Korea	11 815	2.6
Canada	4 192	2.9	Japan	11 989	3.4	France	10 804	2.4
Soviet Union	2 805	1.9	Brazil	8 719	2.5	Germany	8 380	1.8
Russia	2 190	1.5	Australia	6 882	1.9	Australia	2 229	0.5

Source: Department of Homeland Security, "Yearbook of Migration Statistics" (several years), http://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics, accessed November 25, 2014.

TABLE 2
TOP 10 COUNTRIES GRANTED L-1 VISAS BY THE U.S. (SELECTED YEARS)

1996			2000			2010		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
All countries	140 457	100.0	All countries	294 658	100.0	All countries	502 732	100.0
United Kingdom	24 872	17.7	United Kingdom	55 917	19.0	Canada	109 732	21.8
Japan	24 284	17.3	Japan	34 527	11.7	India	68 445	13.6
Germany	10 259	7.3	Germany	23 974	8.1	Mexico	49 650	9.9
China	8 281	5.9	France	19 929	6.8	United Kingdom	45 293	9.0
France	8 088	5.8	Canada	19 221	6.5	Japan	44 902	8.9
Canada	7 037	5.0	Mexico	14 516	4.9	Germany	19 912	4.0
Mexico	4 759	3.4	India	11 945	4.1	France	19 893	4.0
India	2 255	1.6	Australia	9 000	3.1	South Korea	15 310	3.0
Soviet Union	1 519	1.1	Brazil	8 470	2.9	Australia	8 060	1.6
Russia	1 296	0.9	China	4 567	1.5	China	7 923	1.6

Source: Department of Homeland Security, "Yearbook of Migration Statistics" (several years), http://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics, accessed November 25, 2014.

TABLE 3
TOP 10 COUNTRIES GRANTED O-1 VISAS BY THE U.S. (SELECTED YEARS)

1996			2000			2010		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
All countries	7 177	100.0	All countries	21 746	100.0	All countries	63 984	100.0
United Kingdom	1 900	26.5	United Kingdom	5 094	23.4	United Kingdom	13 844	21.6
France	495	6.9	France	1 469	6.8	Canada	6 703	10.5
Canada	481	6.7	Germany	1 285	5.9	Mexico	4 082	6.4
Germany	437	6.1	Canada	1 195	5.5	France	3 452	5.4
Soviet Union	276	3.8	Australia	1 082	5.0	Germany	3 096	4.8
Russia	225	3.1	Japan	622	2.9	Australia	2 742	4.3
Japan	220	3.1	India	542	2.5	Japan	2 155	3.4
Mexico	171	2.4	Mexico	542	2.5	South Korea	966	1.5
China	70	1.0	Brazil	404	1.9	India	694	1.1
India	52	0.7	China	305	1.4	China	611	1.0

Source: Department of Homeland Security, "Yearbook of Migration Statistics" (several years), http://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics, accessed November 25, 2014.

and India (19 percent).[9] Thus, Mexico is contributing to the expansion of the U.S. knowledge economy given the impossibility of doing the same at home. It is important to point out that another U.S. strategy to foster the STEM areas is to retain students who have studied there.

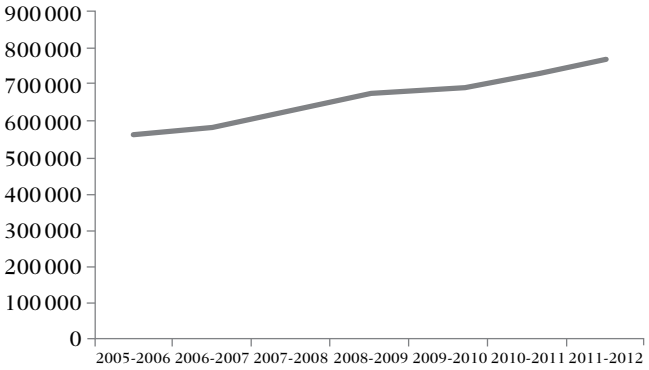
FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with Project Atlas estimates for 2011-2012, the number of foreign students enrolled in U.S. public or private institutions of higher learning came to 764 495. Between 2005 and 2006, on the other hand, enrollment was 564 766; this represents an annual average growth rate of 5.17 percent, an increase that continues even in the context of the U.S. financial crisis. This can be seen in Graph 2.

In the case of Mexican students, 13 931 were pursuing graduate studies between 2005 and 2006; by 2011-2012, this number had dropped to 13 893, although Mexico continues to be among the 10 main countries of origin for foreign students.[10] It is important to point out that Mexican students are concentrated in areas linked to the knowledge

We can consider Mexico a country whose economic, political, and social conditions made it a reserve of skilled workers, since it cannot absorb them into its work force.

GRAPH 2
NUMBER OF FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE U.S.
(2005-2012)



Source: Project Atlas U.S., "International Students in the United States," http://www.iie.org/Services/Project-Atlas/United-States/International-Students-In-US, accessed November 25, 2014.

economy: between 1989 and 2009, 3 589 received doctorates in U.S. institutions in the sciences and engineering. This number is much higher than those who earned PhDs in other disciplines (694).[11]

CONCLUSIONS

The demographic and educational difficulties faced by the United States, which we have studied previously,[12] explain why migrant workers are central for overcoming structural lags that make the internal supply of workers insufficient. In addition, the country's proposal for climbing out of the crisis is linked to the strategy of deepening the knowledge economy. This explains why it has become one of the world's most important destinations for skilled migrant workers. The case of Mexico is paradigmatic since, while it does train professionals who are key to developing our own country and who should expand innovations through what is called the knowledge economy, these talented workers cannot contribute because they are forced to emigrate. One of the central problems in Mexico is that it does not invest what is needed in research and development. According to World Bank data, average R&D investment as a proportion of GDP by OECD member countries was 2.4 percent in 2011. But Mexico only invested 0.42 percent in that year.[13] This means that economic growth is weak since it does not favor the knowledge economy, but rather an economy based on maquiladora-style industrial policy, which, as we know, cannot contribute to developing the country because these assembly plants do not generate domestic productive linkages.

On the other hand, it is by no means surprising that many Mexican students educated in the United States consider staying there, since job opportunities in Mexico are not attractive. It is a matter for concern that the number of students who decide to remain there is quite high. In their work, Suter and Jandl estimate that 58 percent of international students who received doctorates from U.S. universities in 1993 continued to live there in 2003.[14] This represents an important loss of highly skilled human resources who cannot contribute to growth and development at home. VM

NOTES

[1] This article was written in the framework of the research project "Migration and Development. Debates and Proposals." The authors wish to thank the UNAM Program for Support to Research Projects and Technological Innovation (PAPIIT) for funding, and Elizabeth Ortiz Trejo, Andrea Luna Ceballos, and José Rafael Valencia González for finding and systematizing the information.

[2] Lucie Cerna, "Policies and Practices of Highly Skilled Migration in Times of the Economic Crisis," *International Migration Papers* no. 99 (Geneva: ILO-IOM, 2010), pp. 1-47.

[3] Ana María Aragonés and Uberto Salgado, "¿Competencia internacional por la migración altamente calificada?" *Comercio Exterior* vol. 64, no. 2 (March-April 2014), pp. 18-26.

[4] Enrique Hernández, *Mercado laboral de profesionistas en México* (Mexico City: ANUIES, 2013), p. 434.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] William Booth, "Mexico Is Now a Top Producer of Engineers, but Where Are Jobs?" *The Washington Post*, October 28, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/mexico-is-now-a-top-producer-of-engineers-but-where-are-jobs/2012/10/28/902db93a-1e47-11e2-8817-41b9a7aaabc7_story.html, accessed December 1, 2014.

[8] World Bank, "Research and Development Expenditure (% of GDP)," http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GB.XPD.RSDV.GD.ZS, accessed November 25, 2014.

[9] National Science Board, "Science and Engineering Indicators 2014," National Science Foundation, http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind14/, February 2014, accessed November 27, 2014.

[10] Project Atlas, "International Students in the United States," Institute of International Education, http://www.iie.org/Services/Project-Atlas/United-States/International-Students-In-US, accessed November 25, 2014.

[11] National Science Board, "Science and Engineering Indicators 2012," National Science Foundation, http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind12/pdf/seind12.pdf, accessed November 25, 2014.

[12] Ana María Aragonés and Uberto Salgado, "La crisis y la economía del conocimiento en Estados Unidos. Su impacto en la política migratoria," *Norteamérica* vol. 8, no. 2 (July-December 2013), pp. 71-104.

[13] World Bank, op. cit.

[14] Brigitte Suter and Michael Jandl, *Comparative Study on Policies towards Foreign Graduates - Study on Admission and Retention Policies towards Foreign Students in Industrialised Countries* (Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2006), p. 99.

Obama's Immigration Executive Action And STEM Workers

Fernando Lozano Ascencio*
Telésforo Ramírez García**

Jo Yong hak/Reuters

"Are we a nation that educates the world's best and brightest in our universities,
only to send them home to create businesses in countries that compete against us?
Or are we a nation that encourages them to stay and create jobs here,
create businesses here, create industries right here in America?"[1]
BARACK OBAMA

INTRODUCTION

On November 20, 2014, President Barack Obama presented his Immigration Accountability Executive Action to the U.S. public, an initiative of the greatest importance because it defers the deportation of more than 5 million immigrants. In addition, the proposal contains a series of measures to recruit and facilitate the permanence of qualified immigrants, particularly foreign graduates from U.S. universities in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM):

a) Provide portable work authorization for high-skilled workers awaiting Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status and their spouses;
b) Enhance options for foreign entrepreneurs; and
c) Strengthen and extend on-the-job training for STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) graduates of U.S. universities.[2]

What is Obama's interest in recruiting and retaining foreign scientists and bachelors in technology? Is it that the United

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Low wages in companies employing STEM workers are insufficiently attractive for the U.S.-born. This may partially explain the growth in immigrants in this kind of work.

States does not have a sufficient supply of this kind of qualified labor? Why implement a specific policy to offer jobs to foreigners recently graduated in STEM fields?

Scarcity or Over-Supply of STEM Workers?

In the United States and many industrialized countries, a broad consensus exists that workers in STEM areas are fundamental for innovation processes and increasing productivity given that their work is linked to the generation of ideas, technology, companies, and industries. One example of this is the increase in the number of U.S. university graduates in these fields: the number of degrees in STEM fields grew 55 percent, jumping from 1.35 million in the 2002-2003 academic year, to more than 2 million in 2011-2012. In those same years, the graduates in other fields increased only 37 percent.[3] Despite this, U.S. companies still complain of a lack of available labor in STEM areas.

For example, Microsoft states that "throughout the nation and in a wide range of industries, there is an urgent demand for workers trained in the STEM fields —science, technology, engineering, and mathematics— yet there are not enough people with the necessary skills to meet that demand and help drive innovation."[4] They say, for example, that between 2010 and 2020, the U.S. economy will produce more than 120 000 jobs in the field of computing every year, jobs that require at least a bachelor's degree. However, only 40 000 graduates with bachelor's degrees are produced every year, which, for Microsoft is a clear indicator that the demand for labor is greater than the supply, at least in this field. This leads them to propose that the number of H-1B visas should be increased to temporarily hire migrants highly skilled in STEM fields to cover the specialized labor needed in production.

Arguments of this kind would justify to a certain extent President Obama's executive action, aimed at recruiting, retaining, training, and increasing the number of immigrant workers with STEM capabilities. However, another series of studies have shown the opposite. Work by researchers like Salzman, Kuehn, and Lowell, who analyze the supply and demand of professionals in these areas, maintain that "for STEM graduates, the supply exceeds the number hired each year by nearly two to one, depending on the field of study. Even in engineering, U.S. colleges have historically produced about 50 percent more graduates than are hired into engineering jobs each year."[5] They also state that about half the 2009 graduates from computing majors who had a job one year after finishing their studies were working in fields different from those they had studied, either because they did not find work in information technology (IT) companies or because the working conditions and wages were not sufficiently attractive there.

The most important result of this study is linked precisely to the issue of wages. The authors found that between 2001 and 2010, wages for IT company workers practically stagnated, decreasing slightly during high-unemployment periods, but not returning to the wage levels of the end of the 1990s. The low wages in companies employing workers trained in STEM fields are insufficiently attractive for native-born workers. This might explain not only the important growth in immigrants in this kind of work, but also that congresspersons, senators, companies, and even President Obama himself insist on the approval of measures to favor the immigration of workers trained in these areas. Therefore, the authors conclude, "Immigration policies that facilitate large flows of [highly-skilled] guestworkers will supply labor at wages that are too low to induce significant increases in supply from the domestic workforce."[6]

Evidence

To respond to the questions posed at the beginning of this article, we present here a brief analysis of the supply of U.S.-born and immigrant workers with bachelor's degrees and graduate work in STEM fields, as well as the sector or branch of industry that employs them. The idea is to present empirical evidence about whether there is a scarcity or over-supply of labor in the United States, using data from the 2013 American Community Survey (ACS). The results show that, of the total employed workforce in 2013, 10.3 million workers had bachelor's degrees or graduate studies in some STEM area: about 7.4 million were U.S.-born, representing 71 percent of the total, and the remaining 2.9 million (29 percent) came from other countries. This shows the importance of skilled immigrants trained in STEM areas.

Another piece of data that should be underlined is that of the 10.3 million workers with training in one of the STEM

fields, only 35 percent work in activities involving their field of training. Therefore, a considerable majority of 65 percent do something else. This reveals, contrary to what companies like Microsoft are saying, that in the United States there is, rather, an over-supply of qualified personnel, but they are employed in tasks that do not involve their area of study.[7]

On the other hand, not all employees of science and technology companies have formal training in these areas. If we analyze the occupational structures of STEM firms, we can see that a little over two-thirds of their 5.5 million employees had studies in STEM fields (65.7 percent). However, if we only take into consideration U.S.-born workers, this percentage drops to 60.4, which is much lower than the percentage among Mexicans (67.1), Asians (81.6), and immigrants from other countries (74.4). This might explain the greater demand for foreign professionals to take some of the jobs not held by U.S.-born workers (see Table 1).

Clearly, the important demand for immigrant professionals by STEM companies cannot be explained by the scarcity of U.S.-born workers, but it could be linked to other U.S. labor market conditions, like the stagnation of wage levels in these companies. Some authors think that this situation has discouraged U.S. students from training in STEM areas even though the demand for this kind of labor remains high and has created incentives for them to look for work in other, better-paid occupations.

It would seem that for U.S. bachelors in technology and scientists, it is more attractive to work in companies not necessarily related to these two fields.

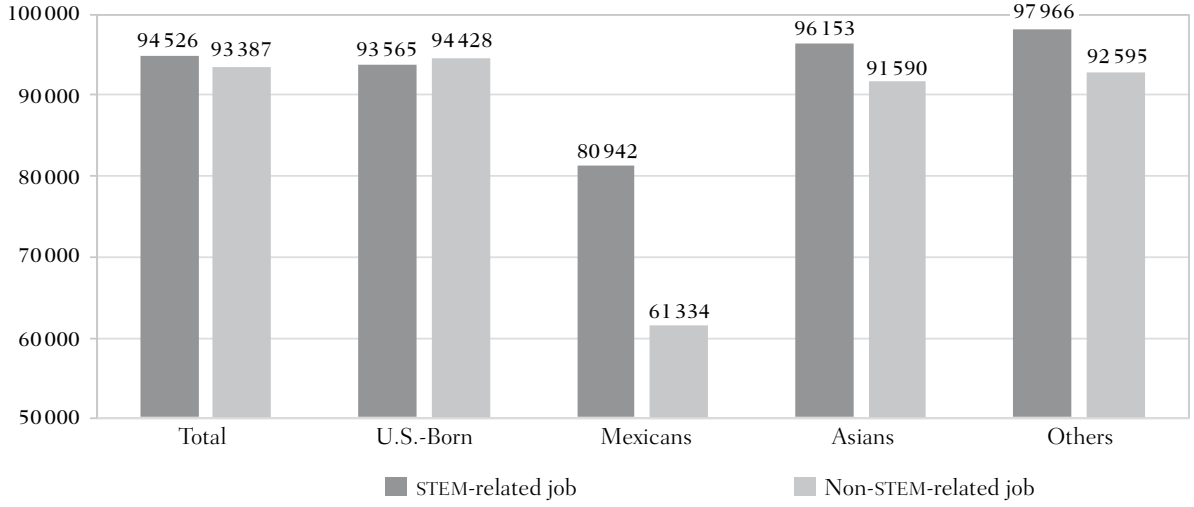
Our results show that the average annual income of workers with training in STEM fields is slightly higher than that of those who work in other areas of the economy (US$94 526 vs. $93 387). This shows that the U.S. labor market still offers a wage incentive. However, if we analyze the average annual income but take into account the country or region of origin,

TABLE 1
EMPLOYEES 19 AND OLDER WORKING IN STEM JOBS, WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR GRADUATE WORK IN THE UNITED STATES, BY COUNTRY/REGION OF ORIGIN AND FIELD OF EXPERTISE (2013)*

			Immigrants		
Field of Expertise	**Total**	**U.S.-Born**	**Mexicans**	**Asians**	**Others**
Total Population	5 540 238	3 961 060	38 809	1 053 728	486 641
Population with STEM Field Training	3 641 526	2 393 583	26 056	859 939	361 948
Computing	871 394	569 395	5 315	208 543	88 141
Mathematics	180 854	127 404	465	36 719	16 266
Engineering	1 910 314	1 217 458	17 508	491 381	183 967
Physics and Life Sciences	678 964	479 326	2 768	123 296	73 574
Training in Other Areas	1 898 712	1 567 477	12 753	193 789	124 693
Total Population (%)					
Population with STEM Field Training	65.7	60.4	67.1	81.6	74.4
Computing	15.7	14.4	13.7	19.8	18.1
Mathematics	3.3	3.2	1.2	3.5	3.3
Engineering	34.5	30.7	45.1	46.6	37.8
Physics and Life Sciences	12.3	12.1	7.1	11.7	15.1
Training in Other Areas	34.3	39.6	32.9	18.4	25.6

Source: Estimates by the authors using data from IPUMS, American Community Survey (ACS), 2013, https://usa.ipums.org/usa/.
***Note:** The classification of STEM areas of knowledge and jobs was taken from David Langdon, George McKittric, David Beede, Beethika Khan, and Mark Doms, "STEM: Good Jobs Now and for the Future," U.S. Department of Commerce. Economics and Statistics Administration, http://www.esa.doc.gov/Reports/stem-good-jobs-now-and-future, 2011.

GRAPH 1
AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME OF THE EMPLOYED U.S. POPULATION WITH STEM TRAINING BY COUNTRY/REGION OF BIRTH AND KIND OF JOB (2013)



Source: Developed by the authors based on data from IPUMS, American Community Survey (ACS), 2013, https://usa.ipums.org/usa/.

Mexican immigrant workers at STEM firms receive a considerably higher average annual income than those employed in other areas: the wage gap is almost US$20000 a year.

we can see that in the case of U.S.-born workers, the ratio is the inverse: that is, people with STEM training who work in that field have a slightly lower average annual income than their countrymen and women who do other kinds of work (US$93 565 vs. US$94 428). In contrast, among the immigrant population, workers at STEM firms receive a considerably higher average annual income than those employed in other areas.

For example, among Mexican immigrants, the wage gap between workers with STEM jobs and others is almost US$20000 a year. Among Asians, the gap is US$4 563, and among workers from other countries, it is US$5 372 (see Graph 1). Taking into account that the wage incentive is greater for immigrant STEM workers than it is for the U.S.-born, it is to be expected that the latter would opt to study or work in other kinds of jobs outside the STEM field.

FINAL COMMENT

These research results reinforce the notion that the United States has no scarcity of STEM trained qualified workers. On the contrary, the empirical evidence and findings show that two-thirds of STEM professionals work in fields different from the one they were trained in. Why, then, does a government initiative like the one Obama announced seek to recruit qualified workers from other countries instead of among the U.S.-born population? Having the world's best and brightest qualified workers, as the president said in his November 20, 2014 speech, undoubtedly contributes to raising U.S. companies' competitiveness and earnings, as well as that of the economy as a whole. However, it would seem that for U.S. bachelors in technology and scientists, it is more attractive to work in companies that do not necessarily have anything to do with science and technology. And that is precisely where the best and brightest qualified workers from other countries come into the picture. Just like in other moments of migrations to the United States, such as during the massive flow of medium-skilled and unskilled workers in the last century, these are the ones who historically have been willing to take the jobs not covered by the U.S.-born population. VM

NOTES

[1] Remarks by President Barack Obama in an address to the nation on immigration, http://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/immigration/immigration-action#, November 20, 2014.

[2] The White House, "Immigration Accountability Executive Action," Office of the Press Secretary, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/11/20/fact-sheet-immigration-accountability-executive-action, November 20, 2014.
[3] United States Government Accountability Office, "Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics Education. Assessing the Relationship between Education and the Workforce," Report to Congressional Requesters, GAO-14-374, http://www.gao.gov/assets/670/663079.pdf, May 2014.
[4] Microsoft Corporation, "A National Talent Strategy: Ideas for Securing U.S. Competitiveness and Economic Growth," http://www.microsoft.com/en-us/news/download/presskits/citizenship/MSNTS.pdf, 2012, p. 4.
[5] Hal Salzman, Daniel Kuehn, and B. Lindsay Lowell, "Guestworkers in the High-skill U.S. Labor Market. An Analysis of Supply, Employment, and Wage Trends," EPI Briefing Paper no. 359, Economic Policy Institute, http://www.epi.org/publication/bp359-guestworkers-high-skill-labor-market-analysis/, April, 2013, p. 7.
[6] Ibid., p. 3.
[7] Daniel Costa, "STEM Labor Shortages? Microsoft Report Distorts Reality about Computing Occupations," Economic Policy Institute, Policy Memorandum no. 195, http://www.epi.org/publication/pm195-stem-labor-shortages-microsoft-report-distorts/, November 2012.

Mexican Lobbying in the U.S. A New Generation Understanding the System

José de Jesús López Almejo*

Larry Downing/Reuters

In this article, I will itemize some of the Mexican Diaspora's lobbying efforts in the United States to explain how its new generations, more highly qualified than their predecessors, are getting involved to defend the interests of their fellow citizens. Lobbying is a cultural practice of the U.S. political and business classes and civil society. Rooted in the first amendment right of petition,[1] it is an effective tool for bringing pressure by domestic or foreign interest groups to influence government decisions by hiring professional firms or through grassroots mobilization.[2] It is only logical that Mexican-origin organizations have had to learn to do it over the years.

My definition of Mexican Diaspora in the United States is the group of people made up of Mexican immigrants and their descendants born there, known as Mexican-Americans.

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The latter, together with a segment of immigrants, children, or young people who have become naturalized U.S. citizens, consider themselves Latinos or Hispanics, and play that role to achieve greater acceptance in political life.[3] The organizations that consider themselves representatives of the interests of the U.S. Latino population, like the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (Maldef), the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), or the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), are part of this group. I also identify as part of the Diaspora the coalition of networks of Mexican migrants and the councils, federations, and clubs of Mexican-born U.S. residents.

Three main critiques have been made of this definition: first, that the Diaspora is not well organized, though it is segmented; secondly, that it does not have a permanent structure for coordination; and third, that most of its members are not politicized. To respond to these points and argue that they do not necessarily affect the concept itself, I would underline three characteristics pointed out by Yossi Shain:

1. Diasporas' cores are made up of well-organized elites of the group who mobilize the community. According to this logic, only the minority is permanently active and is not always visible.
2. The majority are passive members who second the core group in mobilizations. Although not permanently organized, they are receptive to the coordination by Diaspora elites.
3. Most people in a Diaspora are silent members of the group.[4] Ordinary people are not up to date on political, social, or cultural issues, but their number and weight in the economy make them the target of the Diaspora elites. The Mexican case has these characteristics.

The approval of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986, the most important legislation on the issue of the twentieth century, was an initial factor in organizing the Mexican Diaspora community since it legalized the status of more than 2.5 million Mexican-origin immigrants who had been living there clandestinely.[5] In the words of Jorge Durand, with this law, Mexican migration stopped being circular and clandestine, and migrants became involved in the U.S. system and assumed their new status.[6]

Another factor was Proposition 187, a racially tinged bill promoted by the then-governor of California, Republican Pete Wilson, and approved by the state legislature in November 1994, which prohibited undocumented immigrants from accessing non-urgent social and health care services funded by public monies.[7] This prompted both first-generation migrants and U.S. citizens of Mexican origin to organize to defeat it and mobilize the grass roots in the biggest effort up to that point in history.[8]

Narrowing the institutional gap between the Mexican government and the Diaspora resulted in the historic case of their joint lobbying of the U.S. House of Representatives to stop the HR10 bill.

The experience of political cooperation between Mexicans and Mexican-Americans would be repeated again during the huge marches of May 2006, when more than five million people came out to demand a comprehensive immigration reform. The country had never seen demonstrations that large,[9] which showed that the level of political awareness in the Diaspora had increased over the previous two decades. Carlos Salinas de Gortari understood this in 1990, when he was president of Mexico, since he recognized the importance of Mexican-Americans and their knowledge and understanding of the U.S. political system. And he knew that it was strategically important to approach them so they could help foster the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), or at least not oppose it.[10]

Since NAFTA was initially rejected by Democratic circles and Republican congresspersons from conservative, anti-immigrant regions, Salinas went to Maldef, LULAC, and La Raza, among others, to repair Mexico's negative image and to get them to become a domestic political bloc that could help lobby Congress. To legitimize his alliance with the Diaspora, he created the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad, which began the process of bringing institutions together, and which Alexandra Délano defined as going "from 'non-intervention' to the institutionalization of relations."[11] This is where the idea for the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME) was born, though it materialized in 2003 with Vicente Fox; from there the Institute's Consultative Council emerged to create synergies of collaboration between the Mexican government and the Diaspora.

Narrowing the institutional gap between the Mexican government and the Diaspora resulted in the historic case of their joint lobbying in the United States to stop the HR10 bill in the House of Representatives. Historically, Mexico has pro-

vided migrants with a consular identification card without anyone objecting. However, in 2001, after the 9/11 attacks, the House approved HR10 bill 282 votes to 134.[12] The bill's central idea was that U.S. authorities would invalidate the consular identification card for security reasons and refuse to receive it as identification because it was not designed with security measures and was easily forgeable.

In response, the Mexican network of consulates, the IME, and different Mexican-origin Latino leaders, like Raúl Yzaguirre, the director of the La Raza's National Council, and Maldef Director Thomas Sáenz, carried out public activities to defend the card so the federal, state, county, and city governments would accept it.[13] The Mexican government coordinated with the Diaspora to bring pressure to bear on a local level and in Washington, not only on the federal government, but also on financial institutions, counties, cities, police departments, and schools. When HR10 was scuttled, it showed that Mexico and the Diaspora had considerable lobbying muscle seldom seen before.[14]

When the government turns to the Diaspora to pressure congresspersons and officials on a grassroots level, possibilities for impacting a decision broaden because the number of people involved grows and the effort is joined by new generations, better prepared educationally, who understand the steps to follow and the political rhythms of the U.S. system. Of the 33.6 million people of Mexican origin in the U.S., 21.9 million were born there and 11.7 million in Mexico. Their average age is about 25, two years younger than other Hispanics, and 12 years younger than the U.S. national average, which is 37.[15] Of those 33.6 million, 24.7 million are U.S. citizens, 22.4 million are bilingual, 7.5 million speak English every day, 12.1 million speak it very well, and 10.3 million at least understand it.[16] Contrary to what Huntington argues in *Who Are We?*, the Mexican Diaspora has adapted to that culture even better than other ethnic or national groups.[17] If we take into account the fact that the Diaspora is growing due to the entry of people with higher and higher educational levels, the community's perception of itself is gradually changing and growing in self-confidence.

Mexicans and Mexican-Americans would again cooperate at the huge marches of May 2006; more than five million people came out to demand a comprehensive immigration reform.

One concrete example is the number of Mexicans with doctoral degrees, which came to 20 000 in 2009 according to BBVA Bancomer figures.[18] As Miryam Hazan says, this makes the Mexican Diaspora one of the most highly qualified, trailing only China and India.[19] In this context, it is important to mention two aspects that Arturo Sarukhán has reflected upon: that the Mexican Diaspora in the United States has constantly been fed by migratory flows from Mexico and that it co-exists with the phenomenon of migration as a whole, which is fed by migrants with higher educational levels.[20] That is why it is worth repeating that the new generations of that Diaspora have learned from the U.S. political culture and increasingly resort efficiently to lobbying to push for their interests. Two other examples are experiences involving the California and Illinois state governments.

In 2005, the California legislature approved SB670, the Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program, thanks to mobilizations and demands by the Diaspora, led by Maldef, emphasizing the unconstitutionality of the deportations of U.S. citizens and legal residents of Mexican origin to Mexico between 1929 and 1944, in the framework of the Mexican Repatriation Program. With this act, California offers a public apology to those individuals illegally deported and forced to emigrate to Mexico and requests that the Department of Parks and Recreation place a commemorative plaque in a public place in Los Angeles.[21]

The bill was introduced into the California legislature by Senator Joseph Dunn on February 22, 2005. After being approved by both houses in September, it was signed into law by Governor Schwarzenegger on October 5, 2005. The legislators who sponsored this bill in California's Congress were U.S. politicians of Mexican origin whose electoral campaigns were supported by Mexican-American organizations.[22]

During the discussions about the bill, Maldef presented speeches and reparations petitions of surviving deportees before different legislative committees in 2003 with the support of Cruz Reynoso, a civil rights attorney and former official of the California Supreme Court; Dolores Huerta, an icon of unionism together with César Chávez and civil rights defender; and Esteban Torres, president of the Junta de LA Plaza and former federal congressman for District 38. When the issue was reported in the press and pressure on California's Congress stepped up, the legislature gave in.[23]

A similar case took place in Illinois: SB1557 was signed into law by Governor Pat Quinn on August 25, 2009, condemning and declaring unconstitutional the deportation of be-

When Congress has blocked his bills, Obama, with 2016 in mind, has resorted to executive action to alleviate the situation of 5 million immigrants, mostly of Mexican origin.

tween 1.5 and 2 million Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in 1933. This state law mandates all state-funded educational institutions, from primary schools to high schools, to include a specific module in their history study plans to deal with the issue with that focus.[24]

Journalist Vicente Serrano led the Diaspora lobbying effort to get this bill passed; he later made the documentary *Injusticia olvidada* to tell the story. The senator for Illinois District 2, William Delgado, took up the fight in the state legislature.[25] Both in California and in Illinois, mobilizing the Diaspora was essential for success. In Illinois, Mexican immigrants took the lead, and in California, Mexican-Americans. In both cases, both groups supported each other's efforts. What happened in California in 2005 was key for inspiring what was done in Chicago in 2009.

These two cases of successful Diaspora lobbying on the issue of deportations united the community given the perception of a collective threat: they recover the historic memory in the same way that the Jews and Armenians have done by remembering their traumatic events (the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide). This shows that new generations of the Diaspora better understand the U.S. system and its lobbying mechanisms for pushing forward their historic demands.

It is no coincidence that President Barack Obama, with 2016 in mind, has resorted to executive action to alleviate the situation of 5 million immigrants, mostly of Mexican origin, using his constitutional right to make decisions when Congress has blocked his bills. As columnist León Krauze points out, the power of the Mexican-origin community is increasing because its members are more and more organized to demand their rights, even in the electoral sphere.[26]

To conclude, I would like to cite the idea of academic Carlos Heredia, who suggested the Mexican government pay attention to the movements in the Diaspora: "Since the issues that most interest us Mexicans are matter of U.S. domestic policy, our best strategy is to strengthen the organizing capability of our migrants and foster the U.S. agenda of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. . . . Supporting them is the best way of helping ourselves."[27] VM

Notes

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Highly Skilled Mexican Women Migrants To the United States

José Luis Ávila*

Tobias Schwarz/Reuters

International migration is undergoing profound transformations; understanding them requires a thorough review of the conceptual and methodological frameworks used for analysis and the design of public immigration policies. Recent UN information confirms that 232 million people, or 3.2 percent of the world's population, live somewhere other than their usual country of residence. Of that total number of migrants, 136 million are located in industrialized countries and the other 96 million in developing nations.

It should be noted that in recent years, growth in international migration has slowed significantly due to the recessive effects of the global crisis that broke out between 2007 and 2008. However, different information sources, among

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Women immigrants get better jobs than men and are more prone to integrate into U.S. society, achieving better living conditions for themselves and their families.

them the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), suggest that flows are reactivating with the incipient economic recovery in some advanced countries, which puts the issue of migratory policy back on the multilateral agenda.[1]

In this context, it is very important to remember that, since the 1990s, one of the emerging realities of international migration has been an increase in the number of highly skilled individuals vs. that of less skilled, and that in Latin American and Caribbean nations, women make up the most significant contingent.

Skilled migration corresponds to very different factors, among which are the transformation of knowledge into one of the most valuable assets of development, globalizing markets, the segmentation of goods production so that they can be made in several countries, as well as the line-up of incentives from the industrialized nations to attract highly skilled persons, unleashing a truly global competition for talent.

This article presents evidence about the dynamics of highly skilled migration from Mexico to the United States from 2000 to 2013, underlining that women are managing to incorporate themselves more favorably into the U.S. labor market. It also emphasizes the need for Mexico to develop a policy to reduce highly skilled migration and to take better advantage of its potential benefits.

Current Situation of Skilled Migration From Mexico to the United States

Countries' competitiveness relies increasingly on their capacity to create knowledge and apply it to the production of goods and services. This has unleashed a worldwide demand for talent that spurs increasingly large flows of highly skilled individuals both among advanced nations and from emerging nations to the advanced ones.

As part of the policies to attract talent, developed nations, the headquarters for scientific and technological advances, are reproducing programs used in the United States, the main destination country for skilled migrants, by facilitating their visas. They also offer them better opportunities for finding employment appropriate to their capabilities, higher wages, and facilitating their families' integration into society, in addition to offering scientific infrastructure and an institutional environment conducive to professional development. The United States also makes attractive job offers for persons who have moved there to do graduate work in strategic areas and have performed well academically. The U.S. elite shares a broad consensus about this policy of attracting talent.

In the case of highly skilled Mexican migration to the United States, in addition to those factors, others are also at work linked to the development gap between the two countries, the better educational quality of U.S. universities, the secular nature of migration, the powerful social networks built by migrants over time, and geographical proximity, which reduces transaction costs.

The operation of these forces, together with the U.S. economic boom in the 1990s and the first five years of the new century, made for a significant increase in Mexican immigrants. The micro-data from the U.S. Census Bureau *Current Population Survey* (CPS) confirm rapid growth in recent decades of Mexican migration, reaching 8 million born in Mexico and residing in the United States.[2]

By 2005, 11 million Mexicans were living in the United States, a 37-percent increase over 2000. However, the outbreak of the 2007-2008 financial crisis there, and the resulting recession, which translated into unemployment and the loss of real income, affected immigrants more than others, and not only made migration contract abruptly, but also encouraged the return of thousands of Mexicans to their homeland. So, in 2013, 11.8 million Mexicans were living in the United States, a modest increase of 7 percent between 2005 and 2013.

Several years of CPS information show that the schooling levels of Mexicans in the United States has increased rapidly as a result not only of a higher average in years of schooling in Mexico, but also because of the greater incorporation of persons with high qualifications into migratory flows.[3] According to the CPS, the migration of Mexicans with higher education increased 154 percent between 2000 and 2013, rising from 411 292 to 1 045 326, while in that same period, total migration to that country increased 46 percent.

It is revealing that these new trends can be seen among those with master's degrees, whose numbers have gone from 31 000 to 122 000 in that same period, followed by those with a bachelor's (156 percent increase), or a technical uni-

versity degree (133 percent). Migrants with doctorates increased 49 percent, rising from 12 416 to 18 529 Mexicans.

More Mexican Women among Highly Skilled Migrants

One of the emerging phenomena in international migration is women's increasing participation, not only in passive roles as wife, mother, or daughter, but also autonomously, increasingly frequently, regardless of their marital status or fecundity.

In that sense, a gender focus on the study of international migration has not only made visible women's multifaceted participation, but also enriches the understanding of recent dynamics in migration, both with regard to determinants (which must be differentiated by gender) and to the impacts on the dynamics in the households and communities of origin and destination.

In the case of international skilled migration, a gender focus reveals that women are improving their professional qualifications significantly more than men; they get better jobs and are more prone to integrate into U.S. society, with which they achieve better living conditions both for themselves and other members of their households.

By disaggregating 2013 CPS information by sex, one finding is that, of the one million highly skilled Mexicans living in the United States, 598 412 are women, a clear majority of 57 percent, compared to 446 914 men (43 percent). This has come about during the crisis and the subsequent recession, given that in the previous period, the figures favored the men slightly. However, it should be pointed out that today, men are the majority of the Mexican population in the U.S. with up to a high school education; women are the majority among those with a technical university degree (62 percent), a bachelor's (55 percent), or a master's (58 percent); only on a doctoral level do men continue to be an overwhelming majority: 15 467 compared to 3 062 women.

Women's Economic Participation Is Less Disadvantaged

Higher schooling levels among women migrants and the measures to reduce their vulnerability are creating relative advantages for them *vis-à-vis* men, which can be checked by looking at their more favorable insertion into the job market

While no household of women with doctorates lives in poverty, 13 percent of the homes of males with doctorates do.

and their greater integration into U.S. society. The same 2013 CPS micro-data sustain this assertion. In the first place, it is noteworthy that the largest occupational group for women is professional activities (29.4 percent); while this activity is also the most important for men, the proportion is significantly lower (21.5 percent). In order of importance, the second most important occupation for women is in the service sector (23.5 percent), while for men, it is public administration, business, and financial sector jobs (17.8 percent). The third largest concentration of women is in the financial sector (19.5 percent), and among men, it is construction and mining. These are followed, for women, by office work and clerical support (11.5 percent), and for men, the service sector (10.2 percent).

The economic sector also shows a clear gender bias: in 2013, one out of every three highly skilled women worked in education and health, 15 percent in professional and business services, 11.4 percent in manufacturing, and 10.5 percent in retail and wholesale sales. By contrast, the men were spread over a wider area of economic activity: the largest grouping was in professional and business services (17.9 percent), followed by construction (17.1 percent), wholesale and retail trade (13.9 percent), education and health (10.9 percent), and manufacturing (9.5 percent), among the most important.

Another sphere that shows up gender differences is in whether a person is employed or not. Thus, 95 percent of men with master's degrees had jobs, as did all of those with doctorates; among women, the proportion was different, since of those with master's degrees, only 69 percent were employed. Unemployment among both men and women with advanced academic degrees was non-existent, except for women with master's degrees, 7.3 percent of whom were jobless.

Wages and salaries among highly qualified Mexican migrants living in the United States were lower than those paid to equally academically qualified U.S.-born employees or immigrants from other nations. Among Mexicans, significant gender differences also exist, which, when added to the different situations in their households, determine different living conditions for men and women.

In general, 2013 CPS data suggest that gender inequality is less adverse for highly qualified Mexican women residing

in the United States than in Mexico. Women with master's degrees earn a monthly average of US$5 720, while men with the same schooling earn US$3 711 on average. The situation is the reverse among those with doctorates, since the men earn a monthly average of US$8 536, while women with the same degree earn US$6 833.

It should be pointed out when assessing this information that the data are a snapshot of March 2013, and that the high level of women's inactivity may be due to their tasks in the home, raising children, and taking care of older adults, activities that traditional cultural patterns assign to women, and that this stereotype may continue to be affecting them even though they are part of this highly skilled segment of the population.

One way of approaching knowledge about the living conditions of highly qualified Mexicans living in the United States is to ask about their opportunities for escaping poverty. According to the U.S. norm, 19 percent of the homes of men with a master's and 8.5 percent of those of women with a master's are poor; and while no household of women with doctorates lives in poverty, 13 percent of the homes of males with doctorates live in poverty.

To complete the picture that reveals less vulnerability among Mexican women migrants with advanced academic degrees, it should be pointed out that 52.5 percent and 75.4 percent of women with a master's and a doctorate, respectively, have become naturalized U.S. citizens. The proportions among the men in the same circumstances drop notable: 31.1 percent and 47.4 percent, respectively.

Final Consideration

Mexico-U.S. migration patterns are moving rapidly toward greater participation by highly skilled Mexicans; among them, more and more women are present, except among PhDs, where men continue to be the majority. Women are also achieving more favorable insertion into the labor market, and the income they earn and kinds of households they are in allow them to fight off poverty to a greater degree than the men.

The U.S. 2007-2008 financial crisis and the slump that has followed until today caused a brusque containment of Mexican emigration north, as well as the return to Mexico of a little over one million people between 2005 and 2010; of these, only a minimum number is highly qualified.

The new profile of international migration and the eventual recovery of migratory flows with the reactivation of the U.S. economy put forward the imperative that Mexico structure a new migratory policy to avert the loss of human capital and increase productivity and the national economy's competitiveness. In this sense, it is a priority to deepen our knowledge of women's migratory patterns. VM

Notes

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Increasing Numbers of Qualified Mexican Women in the United States

Luis Calva*

In recent years, scholars have pointed out the importance of women's participation in skilled migration or the international mobility of the population with high levels of schooling. They suggest that the same thing is happening with Mexico-United States migration: in 2010, highly skilled women were the majority of qualified Mexicans residing in the United States. The data indicate that, in absolute terms, more skilled women than men were living there (273 822 women vs. 256 175 men). Between 2000 and

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Jose Manuel Ribeiro/Reuters

2010, the number of women grew 82.4 percent, almost 15 points above the growth of the male population.[1] However, although it is true that migration of people who have graduated with at least a bachelor's degree in their country of origin has increased, what some authors call "skilled migration,"[2] in the case of Mexico-U.S. migration it is not clear that the above data refer to the same phenomenon. This is because they are the result of analyzing qualified workers born in Mexico and residing in the United States, but this is not necessarily due to highly skilled migration: many of these individuals did not study or graduate in their country of origin.

Based on this observation, in this article I propose to rethink the phenomenon of the growing presence of qualified women immigrants in the United States, but identifying the migratory and educational processes they followed to get there.

An analysis of the Mexican population with higher education residing in the United States is often used to determine the size of Mexican skilled migration there.[3] Based on its volume, today more than half a million, this indicates that Mexico is in fifth place among the main countries of origin of qualified immigrants residing in the United States, behind only those from India, the Philippines, China, and South Korea. It is even said that in absolute numbers, Mexico is among the world's main countries that expel highly skilled labor. However, not all Mexican emigrants with high levels of schooling residing in the U.S. left their home country after concluding their studies; therefore, not all of them are part of the group of high-skilled Mexican emigrants.

Skilled migration implies that the individual has the qualifications at the time of migrating; otherwise, it would be unlikely that he/she would participate in these selective "dynamics and logics."

For example, let us look at the case of Nancy, a Mexican woman who emigrated to the United States when she was only nine years old, continued her studies there, and despite being undocumented, managed to study business administration, graduating with honors in 2004.[4] Or, we have the case of Sergio, an undocumented immigrant recently featured in different U.S. media after passing the Bar in California. Born in 1977, before the age of two, he "emigrated illegally" with his family to the United States. He lived there until he was nine, when he was taken back to Mexico. At 17, he returned to California with his parents, where he continued his studies and graduated from Cal Northern School of Law.[5] Are these cases examples of highly skilled migration?

From the perspective used here, these are examples of processes in which an individual emigrates as a child and performs with high academic achievement in their destination country (as in Nancy's case), or more complex cases like Sergio's, which included at least three changes of country before concluding his bachelor's degree. What is not observable in these stories is migrants' being able to use their qualifications as a resource for getting a work visa when they go to the United

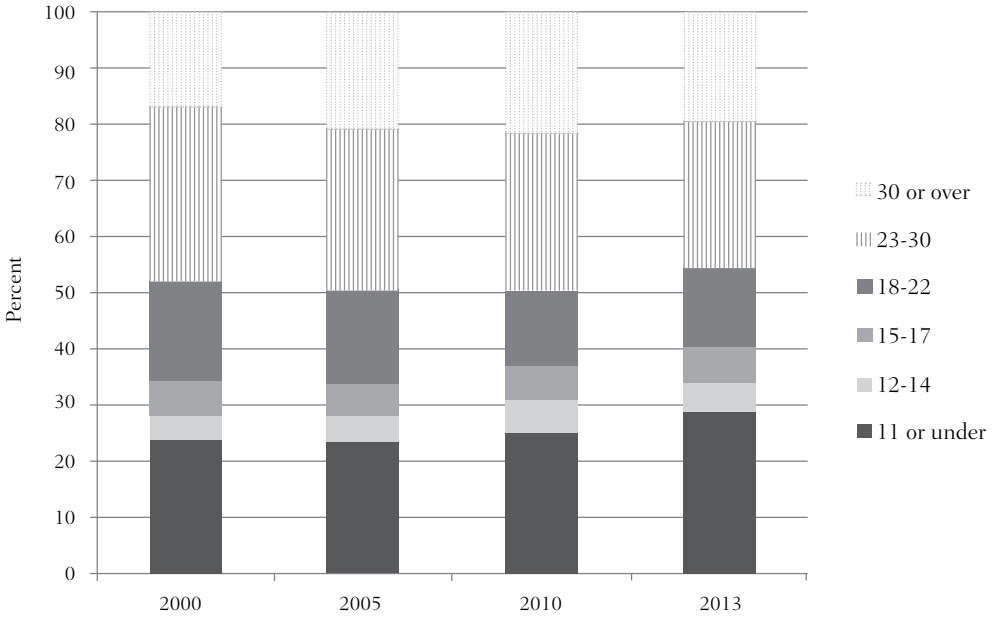
States from Mexico, since at that time they were not university graduates. It should be pointed out that, to understand this perspective better, the demographic definition of the words "migration," "immigration," "emigration," "migrant," "immigrant," and "emigrant" must be taken into account. They refer to different moments or perspectives of place from which an individual's movement is analyzed, one of whose consequences is the change of residence.

When we talk about migration, we are talking about movement or displacement; when talking about skilled migration, we are referring to the mobility of the skilled work force between countries. Also, as Lozano and Gandini point out, rigorously speaking, one of the most important contemporary characteristics of international migration is the split between skilled and unskilled migration since they are movements with different dynamics and logics.[6] Among them is the differential treatment given migrants based on selective immigration policies that limit the crossing of international borders of low-skilled migrants and favor that of highly qualified migrants. That is, as a process, skilled migration necessarily implies that the individual must have the qualifications at the time of migrating; otherwise, it would be unlikely that he/she would participate in these selective "dynamics and logics." Based on this, we can argue that Nancy's and Sergio's processes were completely outside the logic and dynamics that characterize highly skilled migration because they were not motivated by labor issues nor was there any possibility of requesting preferential visas for them as qualified workers.

So, the question is how many Mexicans with higher education have emigrated to the United States and stayed there. These estimates are often made based on data from the American Community Survey (ACS).[7] However, this survey does not offer information about the country where the interviewees obtained their bachelor's degrees. This means that the data must be found using other variables like the duration of their stay in the United States and their ages. For a panorama of the female population born in Mexico with undergraduate educations or more, Graph 1 presents the percentage distribution of the age of arrival in different years of the twenty-first century.

Mexico is in fifth place among the main countries of origin of qualified immigrants residing in the United States, behind only those from India, the Philippines, China, and South Korea.

GRAPH 1
PERCENTAGE OF MEXICAN WOMEN WITH UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES OR HIGHER RESIDING IN THE UNITED STATES (BY AGE GROUP)



Source: Developed by the author using American Community Survey (2000, 2005, 2010, and 2013) data.

TABLE 1
MEXICAN POPULATION WITH UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES RESIDING IN THE UNITED STATES (BY SEX AND AGE GROUP)

		Year			
Sex	**Age on Arrival**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2013**
Women	11 or under	32 871	48 224	70 165	89 526
	12-14	6 368	9 728	17 086	17 606
	15-17	8 584	11 282	17 219	19 798
	18-22	24 959	35 488	37 961	44 605
	23-30	43 987	59 246	80 634	82 874
	30 or over	22 926	42 201	59 478	60 350
	Total	139 695	206 169	282 543	314 759
Men	11 or under	30 281	45 894	57 543	68 334
	12-14	8 245	12 040	12 585	18 017
	15-17	11 377	16 825	19 938	17 016
	18-22	28 916	43 635	39 215	41 676
	23-30	47 690	58 181	74 515	75 325
	30 or over	32 251	55 062	60 282	67 081
	Total	158 760	231 637	264 078	287 449

Source: Developed by the author using the American Community Survey (2000, 2005, 2010, and 2013) data.

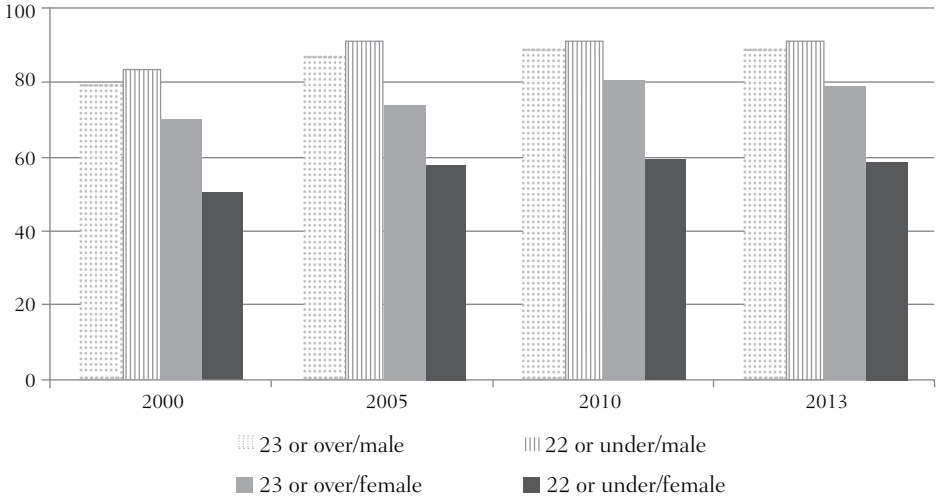
In 2010, highly skilled women were the majority of qualified Mexicans residing in the United States. The data indicate that, in absolute terms, more skilled women than men were living there.

The first thing that stands out is that in 2000, only 47.2 percent of women who arrived were 23 or older; that is, their arrival was probably after having finished their undergraduate studies. By 2013, contrary to what would be expected in a scenario of greater skilled migration from Mexico to the United States, this percentage had dropped to 45.5. That is, the role of Mexican little girls and female teens who emigrate, possibly with their families, and finish their education in the U.S., is increasing in importance, even if only slightly. We should underline that the 11-and-under group grew the most, rising from 23.5 percent in 2000 to 28.5 percent in 2013. Approximately one out of every four Mexican women with bachelor's educations residing in the United States completed her studies almost entirely in that country.

These little girls' migration has little to do with skilled migration if we associate the latter with the international mobility of "intellectuals," scientists, and bachelors in technology identified by their research work and the creation of advanced knowledge. The same thing would happen if we used a less restrictive definition that included persons who had received at least their first university degree in their country of origin or other workers like athletes, models, and actors, even if they had not achieved the same level of schooling. The difference is not in the quality or quantity of knowledge, but rather in the moment in which the individual possesses it, since —and I underline this— the definition of highly skilled migration takes into account the individuals who have that training before they move; and these little girls achieved their level of schooling after migrating.

According to ACS data, in 2000, 139 695 Mexican women with undergraduate university studies or higher were living in the United States, a number that had increased 125 percent by 2013. However, this rise can be explained more by looking at the number of women who arrived before the age

GRAPH 2
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEXICAN POPULATION WITH UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES RESIDING IN THE UNITED STATES (BY SEX AND AGE GROUP, 2000, 2005, 2010, AND 2013) (PERCENT)



Source: Developed by the author using American Community Survey (2000, 2005, 2010, and 2013) data.

of 23: 54.3 percent of the 2013 figure corresponds to this age group, which grew more with respect to the year 2000, increasing 136 percent. As already mentioned, this was due to the fact that the group of women who arrived by 11 or younger jumped from 32 871 to 89 526, a hike of 176 percent. This shows that, while it is true that skilled migration from Mexico to the United States has grown considerably in the first years of the twenty-first century, it does not by itself explain the increase in the population of Mexican women immigrants; the academic achievements of these little girls and female teens play an equally or even more important role.

The highly skilled male migrant population increased from 158 760 to 287 449 between 2000 and 2013. These figures show what other studies have demonstrated: men stopped being the majority of qualified Mexican immigrants in the United States. However, we have to underline that, in comparison with the female group, the main source of that increase in the stock of males continues to be skilled migration, since, while the 0-22 age group increased only 84 percent, the 23-or-over group increased 126 percent.

Finally, we should emphasize the role of this population group in the labor market, seeing whether or not it is employed. Given that the definition of skilled migration is closely linked to the labor market —part of its definition focuses on professional activity—, it is pertinent to ask if qualified Mexican women who emigrate to the United States join the work force or not. In order to do this, I calculated the percentage of the population working or seeking work, for each of the groups, by sex and age at arrival (22 years or under and 23 years or over) (see Graph 2).

Since the definition of skilled migration is closely linked to the labor market, it is pertinent to ask if qualified Mexican women who emigrate to the U. S. join the work force or not.

The data show significant differences between the groups, specifically in the case of the women who we suppose were skilled migrants (those who arrived at the age of 23 or over). In 2000, their participation in the labor market was only 50.3 percent: one out of every two highly skilled women migrants was not working in the destination country at the time of the survey. In contrast, of the women educated in the destination country, the rate rose to 70 percent, and among men educated in their country of origin, to as much as 83.2 percent. In 2013, the differences between these groups persisted: the numbers increased to 58.9 percent among skilled women migrants, still very much below the 78.7 percent of those who arrived younger and were doing paid work.

What this article has shown is that the presence of highly educated men and women in destination countries is not only the result of skilled migration. In cases like that of Mex-

ican residents in the United States, little girls and boys and teens who emigrate with their families and finish the university there play a very important role, and their weight is even more important in the case of women. Finally, we should reflect on whether women migrants with university studies who do not join the work force of the destination country should be considered skilled migration. But this must be resolved by defining the phenomenon as a function of this population's mobility, identifying whether the displacement occurs in a different framework than that of general migration. Only then will it make sense to talk about skilled migration of Mexican women to the United States. VM

NOTES

[1] Fernando Lozano and Luciana Gandini, "La migración calificada de México a Estados Unidos: tendencias de la última década 2000-2010," *Coyuntura demográfica* no. 2, 2012, Sociedad Mexicana de Demografía.

[2] Enrique Oteiza, "Drenaje de cerebros. Marco histórico y conceptual," *REDES* vol. 3, no. 7, September 1996.

[3] Conapo, "La migración calificada de mexicanos a Estados Unidos," *Boletín de migración internacional* no. 22 (Mexico City: Secretaría de Gobernación, 2007).

[4] "De vuelta a un mundo desconocido. Testimonio de la deportación de una *dreamer,*" videoconference with Nancy Landa, organized by the master's program in population studies at El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana campus, published Friday, September 6, 2013, http://www.colef.mx/evento/de-vuelta-un-mundo-desconocido-testimonio-de-la-deportacion-de-una-dreamer/.

[5] *Milenio*, "Inmigrante, ahora abogado quiere inspirar a otros en EU," November 9, 2014 (Mexico City), http://www.milenio.com/internacional/Inmigrante_abogado_EU-licencia_abogado_EU_inmigrante-inmigrante_ilegal_abogado_EU_0_406159575.html.

[6] Fernando Lozano y Luciana Gandini, "Migración calificada y desarrollo humano en América Latina y el Caribe," *Revista Mexicana de S ociología* vol. 73, no. 4, 2011.

[7] IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota, www.ipums.org.

Is Mexico Sending Mixed Messages About International Skilled Migration And Knowledge Production?

Alma Maldonado-Maldonado*

The competition for international talent, that is, international migrants with graduate degrees or who are highly skilled, has increased considerably in recent years. Many nations have had to change their immigration policies to attract people with a "desirable" profile. For example, Germany introduced the "blue card" in 2012 to make the immigration process more flexible for highly educated individuals. The United States has changed its immigration laws to retain more graduates in the so-called "STEM fields" (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics). Similarly, Denmark, Japan, and France have made changes to keep highly qualified people from other countries. And Canada also revised its immigration laws in 2013 to facilitate the immigration of highly qualified personnel.

In fact, in most of these countries, attracting highly qualified individuals begins with promoting and competing to attract graduate students and fostering this educational level. Some other countries have taken different measures, like Estonia, which in 2012 decided to offer social security and increased numbers of scholarships to motivate students to pursue doctorates; in 2014, Italy created programs offering scientific independence to young researchers. Other countries that have developed this kind of policies are Russia, Slovenia, New Zealand, Turkey, and England. The Organisa-

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The emphasis on national graduate programs and not pushing students to go abroad except in strategic areas speaks to a conception of how to train highly qualified workers, but also of the role of knowledge and the way it is produced.

Henry Romero/Reuters

tion for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) also mentions Mexico's Professorship Program at the National Council for Science and Technology (Conacyt), just created in 2014, which we will touch on here.[1]

While the countries look for how to attract more international students with publicity programs like "Study in Australia," "Study in Germany," or "Study in Texas," among many others, the competition for international talent goes way beyond this. It implies issues such as, for example, the budget earmarked for science and technology, hiring conditions, and stimuli for pursuing specialized studies, among others. This is why the central questions in this article are what place Mexico occupies in terms of attracting and training talent and producing knowledge, and what its main policies in this field are.

National Scholarships or Scholarships to Study Abroad?

The main policies for training highly skilled personnel in Mexico can be summarized as follows: awarding scholarships for graduate studies in Mexico and abroad (since 1971); the establishment in 1991 of what is known today as the National Program for Quality Graduate Studies (PNCP);[2] national sabbaticals and post-doctoral programs and national sabbaticals and post-doctoral programs abroad; the repatriation of high-level scientists and technicians; retaining high-level researchers; retaining high-level scientists and bachelors in technology; fellowships for scientists and technicians' professional development abroad and the placement of high-level scientists and bachelors in technology in companies; and the recently created (2014) Conacyt Professorships for Young Researchers. It is worth pointing out that these policies have not been unchanging or established at the same time; practically all of them have changed their original criteria and some have disappeared.

The current Mexican government scholarship strategy for training highly qualified personnel involves a clear bet on strengthening the country's national graduate programs and limited internationalization (it puts a priority on temporary, not permanent, mobility, in master's and doctoral programs and post-doctoral extended stays); awarding scholarships to foreign students in national graduate programs; and beginning to promote young recent graduates being given academic posts.

When the Conacyt scholarship program was created in 1971, 378 were given for students to go abroad (65 percent), and only 202 for graduate programs in Mexico (35 percent). In 2014, 5 205 scholarships were given for graduate studies abroad, compared to 46 109 to study in Mexico. The tendency changed so much that 90 percent of the budget earmarked for graduate scholarships went for studies inside Mexico and only 10 percent for studying abroad. Graph 1 shows the historic trend in Conacyt scholarships.

That is, the emphasis on national graduate programs and not pushing students to go abroad, except in strategic areas, speaks to a conception of how to train highly qualified workers, but also of the role of knowledge and the way it is produced. The same trend can be seen in other scholarship programs

like the Program for Teachers' Professional Development (previously the Program for Teacher Improvement).

The Production of Knowledge

According to the OECD, countries can be classified as producers of knowledge or passive or technologically disconnected users.[3] When it defines the knowledge-based economy, it refers to knowledge directly linked to industrial and commercial impacts, knowledge that generates value on the market. The quest for innovation has become a kind of mantra repeated in universities, companies, and governments. However, it should be remembered that emphasizing a certain kind of knowledge relegates other equally important kinds that apparently do not generate economic benefits to the back burner.

Although many kinds of knowledge exist, applied and specialized knowledge is what has become more important in recent years.[4] Different authors have written about the new forms of production of this kind of knowledge: from Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons and others, who have written about "mode 2" production of knowledge (socially distributed, oriented to application, transdisciplinary, and subject to accountability);[5] Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff, who made contributions about the "triple helix" (relations established among the university, industry, and the government);[6] to the work by Slaughter and Leslie and Slaughter and Rhoades about "academic capitalism" (how new regimes in production have been established, emulating economic production, particularly in universities).[7]

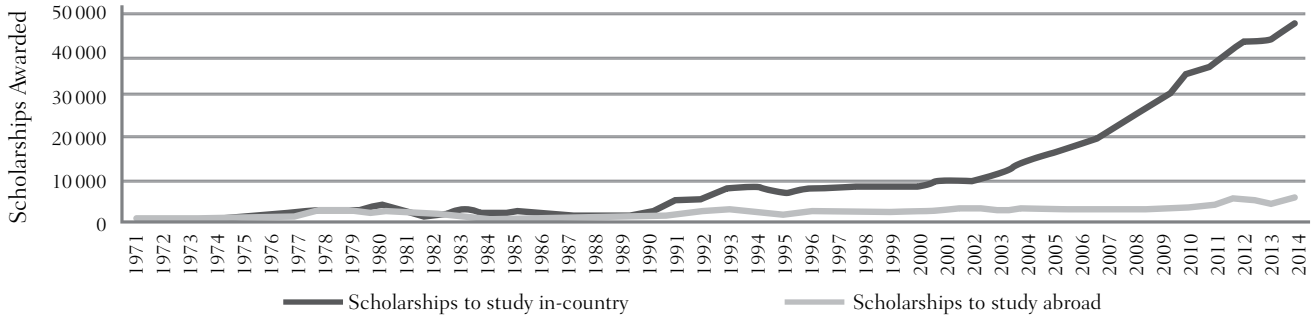
The National Science and Technology Council (Conacyt) eliminated the concept of "scholarship-loan" that forced recipients to return to work with Mexican institutions because the Mexican government is not obligated to offer a job in the country.

In fact, some work now proposes the idea that we find ourselves in "mode 3 of knowledge production" and that the image representing this is a quadruple helix (university, industry, government, and civil society).[8]

But, beyond the different interpretations of how knowledge is produced, the fact is that the process has become more complex, universities have lost their exclusive claim to its production, and international cooperation has been fundamental for the most important achievements of recent years. For that reason, it is appropriate to ask ourselves what the most effective forms are for ensuring the establishment of fruitful collaboration and participating in the world's most important networks for producing knowledge. And, in this context, what is Mexico doing about it?

This article presents only three examples. In the first, the country decided to join forces to strengthen and support the development of national graduate programs, at the cost, perhaps, of not sending some students abroad to study, but supporting short stays outside the country. Despite this, the number of scholarships to study abroad is by no means negligible. The change in policy consists of not forcing students who have scholarships abroad to return to the country; they

Graph 1
The National Science and Technology Council (Conacyt)
Scholarships for Graduate Work in Mexico and Abroad (1971-2014)



Source: Developed by the author using data from Conacyt, *Indicadores de actividades científicas y tecnologías. Edición de bolsillo*, 2012, http://www.conacyt.gob.mx/siicyt/index.php/indicadores-cientificos-y-tecnologicos/indicadores-actividades-cientificas-y tecnologicas, del *Primer informe de gobierno* (Mexico City: Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 2013), and from *Segundo informe de gobierno* (Mexico City: Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 2014).

are only asked to finish their graduate studies. Does this indirectly encourage young people with scholarships for studying abroad to remain there? Would it not be better to vigorously promote their leaving, but also returning home?

In 2004, the Conacyt eliminated the concept of "scholarship-loan" that to a certain extent forced recipients to return home or establish some form of collaboration with Mexican institutions. The policy read, "At the end of the study program, [the student] must show that he/she has returned to Mexico to contribute to national development."[9] The change occurred not only to make criteria more flexible, but also because the Mexican government is not obligated to offer its former scholarship recipients a job in the country. Considering the fact that not many scholarships are awarded to study abroad and that they are quite expensive for the country, is it really the best idea for the country to free a scholarship recipient from his/her obligation to the country? Is it a good idea for a system to put forward the idea that there will be few students with scholarships abroad, perhaps fewer and fewer with regard to those offered stipends to study in-country, but to consider it okay if they do not return?

In the second example, Conacyt's support for post-doctoral stays abroad aims mainly "to support high-level human capital desirous of continuing their training, allowing them to place themselves on the cutting-edge of knowledge and innovation to be able to compete in international circuits."[10] However, we should take into account that people with post-doctoral studies are a fundamental part of the work force in the process of knowledge production in universities worldwide due to their high level of training. Their numbers have increased internationally at the same time that the number of available academic positions has decreased; therefore, they constitute a less expensive work force than academics already working in institutions, who, thanks to these hires, are freed up from activities like supervising other students.[11]

In the United States, the survival of certain fields in mathematics or engineering depends on the participation of international students. That is why it is worth asking, if post-doctoral students carry out important work in the production of knowledge, why Mexico should subsidize their stays in the institutions where they go to work. Is this not actually a subsidy to those universities, most of which are in developed countries? Is it worthwhile to subsidize them in exchange for the students' acquiring work experience in research? Does the subsidy compensate the benefits received in terms of participation in networks and the hope of future collaboration? No matter how complementary the support is, should paid post-doctoral stays entirely sustained by the universities be promoted, as happens with most of the individuals employed in this way?

> Mexico's strategies around the production of knowledge seem to be based on the premise that increasing national graduate programs will bring us closer to knowledge-producing countries.

Third example: the Special Program for Science, Technology, and Innovation underlines the importance of "the social appropriation of science and knowledge in Mexico." However, it has never been clear what that social appropriation consists of and what it should look like concretely. The Conacyt states that "the knowledge generated by scientific and technological research and innovation must be utilized by Mexican society in its on-going process of transformation and social and economic development."[12] One recently created program, Conacyt Professorships, states that one justification for its operation is that "the private appropriation of knowledge plays an essential role as the detonator for the country's economic development, an essential motivator for private investment in research and economic development."[13] That is, the right of researchers to register the knowledge they produce should be promoted and, if the institution tries to interfere, it should be penalized. What is not clear here is whether the right to individual intellectual property and the importance of social appropriation of knowledge can both fit in a single objective. What is meant concretely by the phrase "social appropriation of knowledge"?

Final Reflections

The foregoing examples serve to show some of the problems that arise when defining countries' policies on science and development. In the case of Mexico, several contradictions come to mind immediately; they are not necessarily negative, but rather should motivate the discussion about what the best, most effective way forward is for discussing how public monies should be spent on science and development in an emerging economy that is primarily a consumer of knowledge like Mexico.

If we support the training of highly-qualified personnel, what should the obligations of the individuals who receive the support be and what would an unrestricted policy with

no conditions look like? Until now, Mexico's strategies around the production of knowledge seem to be based on the premise that increasing national graduate programs will bring us closer to knowledge-producing countries. The biggest proposition today is that this may not require getting a degree abroad, but that it would be sufficient to have a degree from a Mexican institution and spend a short, temporary stay abroad to become highly specialized and establish international networks. Would that be enough to close the gap with the more advanced countries? If we contrast these policies and their results with the ambitious goals they purport to aim for, like guiding the country "toward a knowledge-based economy,"[14] then, up until now, these strategies would seem to leave us with more questions than answers. VM

Notes

[1] OECD, *Science, Technology and Industry Outlook 2014* (Paris: OECD, 2014), pp. 76 and 246-247, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/sti_outlook-2014-en, accessed January 2, 2015.

[2] This was known from 1991 to 2000 as the Registry of Excellence, and from 2000 to 2006 as the Program for Strengthening National Graduate Programs. [Editor's Note.]

[3] OECD, *The Knowledge-based Economy*, OECD/GD (96) 102 (Paris: OECD, 2006).

[4] Burton Clark, *El sistema de educación superior. Una visión comparativa de la organización académica*, R. Kent, trans. (Mexico City: Nueva Imagen/Universidad Futura/Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1983), p. 36.

[5] Helga Nowotny, Peter Scott, and Michael Gibbons, "Mode 2 Revisited: The New Production of Knowledge," *Minerva* vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 179-194.

[6] Henry Etzkowitz and Loet Leydesdorff, "The Dynamics of Innovation: from National Systems and 'Mode 2' to a Triple Helix of University-Industry-Government Relations," *Research Policy* vol. 29, no. 2 (2000), pp. 109-123.

[7] Sheila Slaughter and Larry Leslie, *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), and Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[8] Elias G. Carayannis and David F. J. Campbell, "Mode 3 Knowledge Production in Quadruple Helix Innovation Systems," *SpringerBriefs in Business* vol. 7, 2012, doi: 10.1007/978-1-4614-2063-0_1.

[9] Conacyt, "Trámite de carta de liberación," http://www.conacyt.gob.mx/index.php/tramite-de-carta-de-liberacion, accessed January 2, 2015.

[10] Conacyt "Convocatoria 2014. Estancias posdoctorales al extranjero para la consolidación de grupos de investigación," http://www.conacyt.gob.mx/index.php/becas-y-posgrados/becas-en-el-extranjero/estancias-posdoctorales-y-sabaticas-en-el-extranjero, accessed January 2, 2015.

[11] Brendan Cantwell, "Academic In-sourcing: International Postdoctoral Employment and New Modes of Academic Production," *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* vol. 33, no. 2, 2011, http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713431525, accessed January 31, 2014.

[12] Conacyt, *Programa Especial de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación 2014-2018* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, 2014).

[13] Conacyt, "Cátedras Conacyt para jóvenes investigadores. Convocatoria para instituciones de adscripción 2014-1," http://www.conacyt.gob.mx/index.php/el-conacyt/convocatorias-y-resultados-conacyt/convocatoria-catedras/jovenes-2015, p. 10.

[14] Conacyt, *Programa Especial* . . . op. cit.

Twenty-first Century U.S. and Canadian Immigration Policies Compared

Nuty Cárdenas Alaminos*

More than a decade ago, the United States and Canada, like the other developed countries, began what has been called "the competition for talent." These countries' knowledge-based economies require large numbers of skilled workers, who cannot always be found domestically given low birth rates and because they cannot develop all the specialized labor they require themselves. In the face of this, they have designed different policies and actions to attract skilled migrants. These regulations determine which people will be selected, the criteria used to select

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Given their respective systems' limitations, both countries have sought alternatives. However, Canada has been more flexible in adjusting its immigration policies in accordance with labor market demand.

them, how long they can remain, and what conditions or rights and obligations they will be subject to during their stay. This article seeks to answer two questions: What are the similarities and differences between U.S. and Canadian policies for entry of highly qualified migrants and what have some of the implications been?

The United States and Canada have long traditions of migration, but two different systems for attracting highly skilled workers. Canada's points system consists of choosing permanent or temporary migrants based on a government list of criteria, such as work experience, language skills, and level of schooling, among others. It is a system for accumulating human capital, since it seeks to increase the number of skilled workers, whose capabilities are considered fundamental for the economy long term.[1] The United States system, in contrast, is based on demand, and, accordingly, it is employers who choose workers according to their needs, in compliance with certain government regulations.

Most skilled immigrants enter the United States temporarily under annual quotas using a broad variety of visas. In the Canadian case, in contrast, an important number of skilled migrants enter permanently without any set annual limits. In the first case, the priority criteria for permanent entry into the United States is family reunification, which accounts for about 64 percent of admittances, while about 17 percent of permanent migrants enter under economic criteria. The latter category includes skilled workers, grouped into five categories: migrants with extraordinary abilities, professors, researchers and their families (spouses, children); professionals with advanced studies and their families; certain skilled and unskilled workers and their families; employees of international organizations and religious and media workers; and, lastly, researchers and their families.

In the United States, skilled migrants often enter temporarily, mostly for up to six years. A broad variety of visas exists, some with annual quotas.[2] Although these visas are granted for specific time periods, temporary immigrants can request permanent residency after a certain number of years at work.

In contrast with the U.S. case, for Canada, the priority is the entry of immigrants for economic reasons, who represent 60 percent of permanent entries. Among these immigrants are the highly skilled and their families. Family reunification represents about 25 percent of entries, and the remaining 15 percent are refugees and individuals admitted for humanitarian reasons. In 2001, the 1976 immigration law was reformed and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) passed. One important legislative change placed greater priority on migration for economic reasons; also, the selection procedure for skilled migration changed in two ways: the number of points for choosing persons rose from 70 to 75 out of 100, and more emphasis has been placed on individuals' speaking English and French than on work experience.

In Canada, temporary migrants or residents are classified into different categories, but these are not as varied as in the U.S. system. The classification is carried out by Canadian Immigration and citizenship (CIC), and is made up of four groups: temporary workers, foreign students, migrants for humanitarian reasons, and others. Skilled migrants include students and temporary workers who enter via international accords (NAFTA and others like the GATS). Then there are workers who enter without a specific job offer, focused on research for the interests and benefit of the Canadian economy, and their family members. Finally, we find workers who have a specific job offer in a technological field.[3]

The two systems have advantages and disadvantages for the competitiveness of their respective economies and their labor market demand, as well as for the well-being and protection of migrant rights. Given their respective systems' limitations, both countries have sought alternatives. However, Canada has been more flexible in adjusting its immigration policies in accordance with labor market demand.

On the one hand, in the United States, specific market needs are met since the workers enter at the request of employers. However, a first obstacle has been that certain categories have a limited number of visas, which is adjusted using processes that can take a considerable time. For example, at several different times of economic growth, H1B visas have been insufficient to cover market needs, and some companies have opted for not prolonging their stay in the United States, but relocating in other countries, like Canada, where they can access and retain skilled immigrants.[4] In addition, to retain skilled workers who have entered temporarily, but who want to change to permanent status, they must request permanent residency visas, or green cards, which are limited in number and whose processing takes a long time. Only about 15 percent of these green cards are given to migrants who


Mick Tsikas/Reuters

work in specific economic sectors, and the wait time for getting one is approximately 4.4 years.[5]

Since the 1990s, some economic sectors like information and communications technologies have tried to change the system and create more flexible immigration policies to ensure greater and swifter access to immigrant labor. However, neither laws nor programs have been approved to change the quota system for skilled migrants. What has happened, rather, is that Congress has either increased or reduced the entry quotas through these visas, but these adjustments have been infrequent.

Given these difficulties, visas granted in the framework of NAFTA, the TN visas, have turned into an escape valve, since they last three years and do not require that employers request a permit to hire foreign workers.[6] By contrast, Canada's points system presents no problem of limited numbers of visas; in addition, more skilled migrants stay permanently because, as mentioned initially here, the system itself puts a priority on permanent residents for economic reasons. Nevertheless, given that immigrant selection usually does not include employers, immigrants are often admitted whose professional training does not correspond to labor market needs. At times, no clear standards exist for establishing the equivalence of schooling levels between immigrants and Canadian citizens.[7] This creates a dearth of workers needed in the labor market.

Given this, starting in 2001, Canada's different governments have introduced changes to their laws and programs to deal with some of the obstacles created by the points system itself. In general, with the 2001 law, the category of economic migration broadened out to include not only skilled and business immigrants, but also those requested by the provinces in accordance with their specific economic needs, migrants who do not have to go through the points system at all.

In 2008, an immigration reform was passed, Law C50, to reduce processing times for the entry of skilled migrants and their families. In addition, the Ministry of Immigration was given the power to issue instructions to immigration officials about which requests should be processed first due to economic needs, in order of their priority.

At the same time, different Canadian governments promoted a series of programs and measures to facilitate the hiring of both temporary and permanent skilled migrants at times of high demand for labor. For example, entry times for permanent residents under the Federal Skilled Worker Program were reduced, and the Provincial Nominee Programs were promoted. The first of these were created in 1999 to give provinces the ability to choose some of their economy-based permanent residents in accordance with their productive needs. Another measure was the creation of the Expedited Labor Market Options and the Lists of Occupations under Pressure; as the latter's name indicates, these are lists of jobs published by the provinces for temporarily recruiting foreign workers for specific kinds of work.

The provinces also developed the Pilot Project on Postgraduate Employment for International Students, based on the idea that Canadian academic institutions' global competitiveness should be improved and that a model of insertion into the labor market nationwide with pilot projects compatible with immigration laws was needed.[8] This measure was presented as an alternative to the limitations faced by immigrants in revalidating their educational certificates issued by their countries of origin in order to favor candidates for permanent immigrant status who had been educated in the destination country.

Despite immigrants' high educational levels, they do face obstacles, such as the time it takes them to get a job, the kind of jobs they get, and the pay they receive.

With regard to temporary immigration, important changes were also made through the Canadian Experience Class. This allows foreign students in Canada and temporary workers the possibility of acquiring permanent residency. They do not have to go through the points system, but must have two years' experience —this was reduced to one in 2012— and have a working knowledge of English or French.[9]

Finally, different authors have agreed that both countries' immigration systems have had both positive and negative effects on skilled workers. In the United States, one of the risks for immigrants and the protection of their rights is that selection by employers without appropriate regulation can foster paying low wages to reduce costs. In addition, policies can hinder workers' mobility between companies, creating dependency on a single employer.[10] At the same time, while in the U.S. case temporary visas for skilled immigrants are often a way of staying permanently, the processes for obtaining permanent residency are slow and have long waiting lists.

In the Canadian case, the number of immigrants with higher levels of schooling has increased. The immigration policies seem to have been effective, since they have fulfilled their objective of attracting more skilled labor. At the same time, despite the high education levels of immigrants who are accepted, they do face different obstacles, such as the time it takes them to get a job, the kind of jobs they get, and the pay they receive.[11] VM

NOTES

[1] Demetrios G. Papademetriou and Madeleine Sumption, "Rethinking Points Systems and Employer Selected Immigration" (Washington, D. C.: Migration Policy Institute, June 2011), p. 2.

[2] The visas extended to skilled workers include the H1B visa, for professionals and highly trained workers in specialized jobs, which can be granted for up to six years; O visas, granted to workers with extraordinary capabilities; P visas, for recognized athletes or trainers in exchange or cultural programs; Q visas, given to workers in cultural exchanges; and R visas for religious. TN visas also exist for the mobility of professionals in terms of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); L-1 visas for transfers of personnel inside companies; and E-1, E-2, and E-3 visas for the movement of investors and their spouses and children. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), "Yearbook of Immigration Statistics," http://www.dhs.gov/year-book-immigration-statistics-2012, accessed November 21, 2014.

[3] Government of Canada, "Canada Facts and Figures: Immigrant Overview," Department of Citizenship and Migration, http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/resources/statistics/facts2012/index.asp, accessed November 21, 2014.

[4] Demetrios Papademetriou and Madeleine Sumption, "The Role of Immigration in Fostering Competitiveness in the United States" (Washington, D. C.: Migration Policy Institute, June 2011), p. 9.

[5] Ibid., p. 11.

[6] Isabel Studer and David Orozco, "Mercados de trabajo y capital humano en América del Norte: oportunidades perdidas," *Foro Internacional* vol. 52, no. 3 (July-September 2012), p. 607.

[7] Jacques Ramírez, "La migración calificada: el caso de los ecuatorianos en Canadá," Caracas, OIM-SELA, 2009.

[8] Fernando Neira, *Los migrantes latinoamericanos calificados en Canadá: una mirada a su situación actual* (Mexico City: CIALC, UNAM/Eón, 2011).

[9] Delphine Nakache and Paula J. Kinoshita, "The Canadian Temporary Foreign Worker Program: Do Short Term Economic Needs Prevail over Human Rights Concerns?" *IRPP Study* no. 5, May 1, 2010, p. 10.

[10] Papademetriou and Sumption, "Rethinking Points …".

[11] Several authors quoted in this article have agreed on this point even though they have studied groups of migrants of different nationalities.

Experiences and Strategies
Skilled Migration from Mexico and Taiwan

José Carrillo Piña*

Skilled migration is one of the most important phenomena of the twenty-first century; in some countries it is surpassing that of low and unskilled labor. Mexico is one of the top six countries that expel highly qualified human resources and, although Taiwan is not part of that group, a large amount of its local talent does go abroad.[1]

These two countries have different experiences. Mexico has been hurt by the migration of these skilled workers, who often return neither temporarily nor permanently, nor are interested in doing business or having any other kind of contact with their country of origin mainly because of the vio-

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Richard Chung/Reuters

Mexico's main income is from oil, tourism, and the sale of raw materials. Therefore, there is no broad job market for highly qualified workers; so, they migrate and most often do not return.

lence, insecurity, economic problems, and corruption there. Taiwan, on the other hand, has had a different experience: a large number of its talented migrants who leave to study or work abroad return home temporarily or permanently, and in some cases, they do business inside the country or set up networks of contacts with their government or specific sectors.

Mexico's main economic income comes from oil, tourism, and the sale of raw materials; therefore, there is no broad job market for highly qualified workers. As a result, they migrate, and most often do not return. In contrast, in Taiwan, science and technology, concretely the manufacture of semiconductors, computing equipment, and biotechnology, are strategic sectors of the economy. This has meant that qualified human resources who have left at one point are motivated to return or establish some kind of contact with their country of origin, whether to work, do business, or exchange experiences. It should also be mentioned that Taiwan's large infrastructure and promotion of research and development (R&D) has turned it into an economy that attracts talent from the world over. This has been an incentive for its government to develop strategies to use them as a motor for economic development in a globalized context, where knowledge and innovation that generate highly qualified human resources are what are important.

In this article, I will analyze the main experiences and strategies used in the last three decades by Mexico and Taiwan about this kind of migration.

Background

At the end of World War II, Mexico's economy was dynamic, allowing it to grow at constant rates to transition to the import substitution model. The economy produced mainly raw materials and basic manufactured goods that did not require large numbers of skilled workers. However, it should also be pointed out that large contingents of highly skilled workers did not emigrate since the labor market was able to absorb the graduates the universities were producing at the time. The number of people who at one point or another decided to leave the country temporarily or permanently was not large.

Taiwan, for its part, focused on strengthening its agricultural sector. Only a small group of experimental agricultural research units and institutions linked to state-owned companies existed at the time. In the 1950s, after noting that human resources were scarce in the field of science, several scientists fostered the design of a government policy to deal with the situation. Taiwan's Executive Yuan approved long-term directives for national scientific development, creating in that same decade the National Science Council, in charge

The Hsinchu scientific-industrial park employs the largest number of qualified workers in all of Taiwan. Its objective has been to generate an atmosphere more conducive to high-tech industrial development.

of the country's scientific development. It should be mentioned that that at that point, the number of highly skilled workers to migrate was significant and increasing because the country's growing industry could not provide a broad job market.[2]

The first international studies of skilled migration were published in the 1960s and 1970s, but the Mexican government paid little attention because, due to political conflicts in other countries in Latin America and Europe, at the time, Mexico was beginning to receive political refugees and exiles. The country benefitted from these highly qualified human resources who took jobs in the country's main universities and research centers.

In the 1960s, Taiwan changed its strategy, focusing its efforts on improving the investment atmosphere, promoting labor-intensive industries, and creating a manufacturing sector with export capabilities. This strategy required human resources with mainly technical knowledge and low skills; therefore, a broad job market for the highly qualified did not exist. In this period, the government strengthened basic research capabilities and improved the teaching of science in schools and universities with an emphasis on the basic and applied sciences. Public and private companies also decided to participate in R&D; therefore, new scientific research institutes were set up that did not really employ many highly qualified workers because the institutions were very new.[3]

In the 1970s, permanent migration of qualified workers reached its peak, which Taiwan considered very worrisome. In response, the government focused its strategies on this sector: it strengthened industrial infrastructure and set up government and private bodies to promote technology. This would be the origin of new demand for highly skilled human resources in the following decades.[4]

The 1980s

In the 1980s, the Mexican government established strategies for creating an R&D infrastructure to contribute to national development and use the qualified human resources the universities were turning out. It created and strengthened specialized institutions like the Mexican Oil Institute (IMP), the Institute for Electrical Research (IIE), the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE), the National Council for Science and Technology (Conacyt), and the National Institute for Nuclear Research (ININ). These changes required certain qualified human resources to academically manage them, which helped decrease the migration of Mexican talent abroad.[5]

To promote and strengthen the country's technological development, the Consortia Program was created to foster links between science and industry. The program's main objective was to build a critical mass of knowledge through qualified human resources. However, the fact that it only operated for a short time, the lack of commercialization of its research results, and the absence of on-going institutional support made big results impossible.[6] All of this meant that talented Mexicans began to leave the country to work or study.

In Taiwan, one of the most important moments of this decade was when the Hsinchu scientific-industrial park opened in December 1980. Today, it employs the largest number of qualified workers in all of Taiwan. Its objective has been to generate an atmosphere more conducive to high-tech industrial development. The National Science Council also opened a research and evaluation department, which began to require specialized human resources.[7]

These strategies' overall objective was to deal with the growing demands of globalization and liberalization, promoting select technologies and generating basic scientific research by creating better educational opportunities for highly trained workers. All this meant that workers began to return both temporarily and permanently, some in order to set up businesses in their own country linked to their fields of study.

In 1982, the Taiwan government held the Second National Science Conference, where the successes and failures of previous strategies and policies were examined, and guidelines for the future were drawn. The conference also reviewed and formulated programs focused on science and technology, as well as measures to strengthen recruitment and preparation of highly qualified human resources required by national development.

In order to build a solid foundation for basic scientific research, the Center for Biotechnological Development and the Center Specialized in Precision Instruments were set up, and plans were put in motion for the construction of the Center for Radiation Research using a synchrotron. Taken altogether, these strategies increased the country's research

capabilities and its international competitiveness, sparking the return of highly skilled workers and attracting talented workers of other nationalities.[8]

The 1990s

At the beginning of this decade, national and international economic trends sparked changes in Mexico's science and technology sector: the government reduced its budget in an attempt to incentivize private funding. This put an end to several projects because of corporate requirements like certain forms of evaluation and the demand for constant achievements. All of this constricted the labor market for qualified workers and caused a spike in their migration to developed countries.

In response to this, in 1991, the Conacyt created a program to retain and repatriate Mexican researchers. But results were scanty because the number and quality of job opportunities were insufficient to entice them to return in large numbers. In 1995, the Program for Mobility in Higher Education in North America (Promesan) was established, involving 348 academic institutions in Mexico, the United States, and Canada.[9]

Later in this same period, the Mexican government attempted to increase the science and technology structure to turn back the constant migration of Mexican talent abroad. To do this, it created nine regional research systems and the state councils for science and technology. All this helped improve Mexico's R&D system, but did not decrease skilled migration caused by the national economic crisis.

In this decade, when the world's economies were setting up to compete in scientific development, Taiwan adapted with no difficulty to the changes and new trends. In 1996, it held the fifth National Science and Technology Conference, where it established strategies for technological development for the twenty-first century. The second scientific-industrial park was also inaugurated in the country's South; this would support and raise scientific-technological production, causing an increased demand for qualified human resources.[10]

1998 saw the approval of strategies to turn Taiwan into a nation based on science and technology with an increased demand for highly qualified human resources; the Basic Law for Science and Technology was also passed.[11]

The international community gradually eased into the era of an economy based on knowledge. This led Taiwan to place even more importance on this sector, mainly on the generators of this knowledge, highly qualified human resources, by establishing strategies for their training, retention, and attraction. High-tech industries also grew; thus, the productive factors previously essential for traditional manufacturing, like land, raw materials, and capital, were displaced by technologized knowledge, science, and innovation in other fields.

The Twenty-First Century

Mexico

In the early 2000s, a series of changes took place in science and technology, making them more attractive for talent abroad. One of these was the passage of the Law to Foster Scientific Research and Technology (FICyT); another was the Program for Science and Technology (Pecyt) established in the 2001-2006 National Development Plan.[12]

In 2002, the Law on Science and Technology was passed, one of the most important contributions and that would be the cornerstone for developing the sector, including qualified human resources. Mexico also designed its first plans for working with the qualified Diaspora: the Special Program for Science and Technology pointed to the need to create working networks of Mexicans abroad.

In 2005, the Network of Mexican Talent was created, which aims to maintain constant contact for the transfer of knowledge, abilities, and experience among Mexican talents abroad and at home. This network is organized by chapters distributed as follows: eight in the United States, three in Canada, and four in Europe. Up until now, its main achievement has been to speed up technology business in Michigan and the Silicon Valley.[13]

In the last decade in Mexico, skilled migration strategies have centered on creating networks of knowledge, since promoting return migration has become more complicated because now not only is the unstable economy acting as a factor expelling skilled labor, but so are the insecurity and violence levels of recent years.

In the last decade in Mexico, strategies have centered on networks of knowledge, since return migration has become more complicated due to the unstable economy and the insecurity and violence of recent years.

Taiwan

In 2001, Taiwan held its sixth National Science and Technology Conference, which approved the 2001-2004 Program, bringing with it an increase in science and technology spending, including investment in skilled human resources, with the private sector contributing up to 63 percent. In 2003, the third scientific-industrial park was inaugurated in downtown Taiwan, which, just like the first two, has served as a center for developing and attracting national and foreign talent.[14]

Later, to adjust to the science and technology challenges and the changes in globalization, the Yuan Executive created the National Development Program in 2008. It consists of ten investment programs with strategic objectives: cultivating talent, incentivizing R&D, and generating an atmosphere of high quality of life to attract foreign talent.[15] Lastly, in early 2014, together with the National Development Council and other ministries, this body developed a series of public policies that converge in a program for training, retaining, and attracting qualified human resources; the aim is to turn the country into one of the most attractive in the world for talented migrants.[16]

Final Thoughts

It would be difficult to suggest that Mexico should follow the same strategies as Taiwan since the two countries' history, population, and geography are different. What is possible is to say is that our country must put more emphasis on one of the most important sectors for economic development in a globalized world in which knowledge and its creators will be key. VM

Notes

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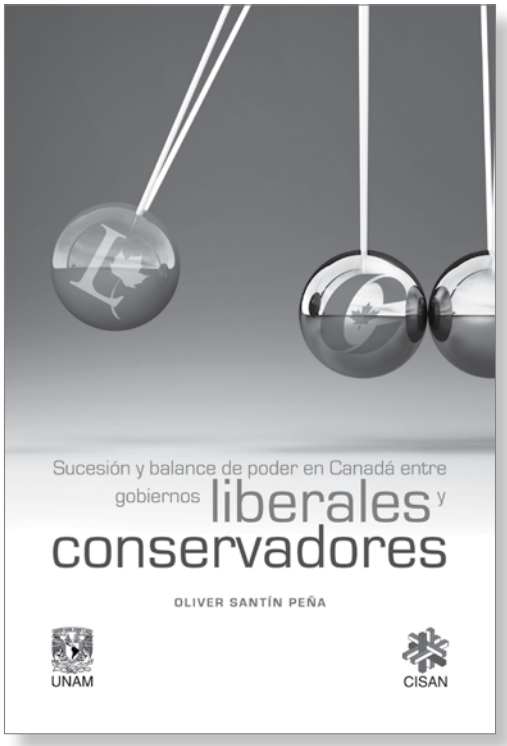

Sucesión y balance de poder en Canadá entre gobiernos liberales y conservadores. Administraciones y procesos partidistas internos (1980-2011).
(Succession and Balance of Power between Liberal and Conservative Governments in Canada. Administrations and Internal Party Processes)
Oliver Santín Peña
CISAN, UNAM
Mexico City, 2014, 336 pp.

This book offers a very broad, detailed panorama of the Canadian political system since its formation, as well as of the behavior of its two main political parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, until our time. This is why it begins with a broad explanation about Canadian federalism, fundamental for understanding the pillars that support this political system and the actions of these two main political forces.

In the first place, the author identifies the characteristics of the Canadian political system in order to understand how the political platforms and actions of Canada's two most important parties are determined. Secondly, he describes and analyzes in detail their evolution, above all concentrating on a series of worldwide transformations in the 1980s, a period characterized by the preeminence of neoliberal economic policies that impacted both of them. This allows us to understand their relatively consensual political behavior until 2006, when the Conservative Party broke a series of unwritten rules that ensured a certain degree of harmony between them.

One of this book's hypotheses is that both Liberal and Conservative groups in the oligarchy have managed to amalgamate their values around relatively undifferentiated government practices; that is, they have shared power oriented toward a policy of the center, allowing them to replace each other with fewer complications. This shows that, at bottom, Conservatives and Liberals often coincide in their practices, even if they have different styles, which has led to governmental actors, but not values and principles, being renovated. The intention of this, which generally speaking provides widespread social benefits, has been to maintain the unity of a very large, multicultural country, but above all, to forge a common front to deal better with the United States. The author posits that this way of working continued without major changes until Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper took office and consolidated his position.

To understand the current situation and the changes in Canadian policy after his taking office in 2006, the book studies the origins of Canada's federalism. Understanding the federal system not only makes it possible to understand how political life operates, but also how the two first political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, were founded, the dynamics of their functioning, and the political play between the two. This allows for a better understanding of how the power elites are formed, their actions since Canada gained independence from the British Crown, the way they maintain their broad power in the federation, and how through these mechanisms they have managed to keep the country united.

The detailed analysis of both parties' most outstanding successes and mistakes and the way they act once in office shows that their values, identities, and platforms are based on very old government achievements, at the same time that their styles of government tend to be moderate and identified with centrist, not radical, values. This helps us understand how, despite the fact that they have different ideologies, both parties seem highly conservative. The author explains that in the Canadian federalist political system, power is paradoxically enormously centralized, although this is seen more as an advantage than not.

Santín Peña puts forward the idea that when Stephen Harper took office, he made it clear that the rules established by the two parties had begun to change. The prime minister has implemented policies different from those of the parameters set up before by these two political forces, ideologically linked to the extreme right, and that contravene central values of Canadian society. Among them are his environmental policy, the prolonged Canadian military presence in Afghanistan, and a migratory policy that is in some ways exclusionary. It is important to note that these three issues used to be one of the things Canada was most proud of and to a certain extent represented a point of unity among the provinces. However, they were not only that: they were also a trait that distinguished it from the United States.

Originally from Ontario and a former Alberta oil worker, Stephen Harper has decisively supported the development of the oil industry in that province, which extracts oil from tar sands using a highly polluting extraction process. This has meant that Canada has had to make large compensation payments to international bodies for contravening the Tokyo Protocol with its greenhouse gas emissions. Finally, in 2012, it withdrew from the protocol to avoid making the high payments due. Despite this, Canadian society assured Harper an uninterrupted term of office from 2006 to 2015, which is surprising given his extreme rightwing affiliation and polemical personality, something unique in Conservative Party history.

Former Liberal Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's term was one of the longest of any Liberal Party government. But Harper's case can be explained in part because of his tax cuts, which, of course, have been well-received by the public. In addition, we should remember that during the 2008 economic crisis that shook the United States and the world, despite being the United States' first trade partner, Canada was not so very hard hit, above all due to its traditional caution in financial markets.

Despite this not being something that could be traced specifically to Harper, the citizenry did not feel that its prime minister had acted badly in the face of the crisis and continued to give him a vote of confidence.

He is recognized as the restorer and the great patriarch and defender of the old, traditional, and most conservative values that have expanded across all of Canada, the effect of what the author calls "a profound conservative revolution," which consistently fends off progressive policies.

One of the book's conclusions is that, once the Harper era comes to a close, the Canadian political system might go back to its well-worn road of cooperation between Liberals and Conservatives, and therefore gradually restore the balance of power achieved by the two groups over more than a century and a half of Canada's political existence.

This end could be marked by several issues. The first is the discontent around environmental matters linked mainly to extracting oil from Alberta's tar sands: the production of an equivalent of one barrel of oil emits three to five times more greenhouse gas than extracting conventional oil. In addition, these operations will have flattened about 800 square kilometers of boreal forest or taiga; the Athabasca River will have been contaminated; and several kinds of fatal illnesses linked to this contamination of the aquifer will have been visited on nearby towns. This is all linked to the construction of the TransCanada oil pipeline, the most important in North America, which allegedly can transport 400 million barrels of oil a year. The second issue is public health; this is not new on Canada's agenda, but it has recently become more important and a matter for more concern among the public.

Finally, the Liberal Party seems to be paving the way to regaining office after its terrible defeats, marked among other things by internal division and corruption scandals during its most recent administrations. However, we will have to await the decision of the citizenry, since 2015 is a federal election year.

In conclusion, I should add that few works in Spanish analyze Canadian politics, and fewer still its political system in the detailed way this book does. Reading it gives us a broad and accurate vision of political life in Canada through two of its main pillars, the Liberal and Conservative Parties. VM

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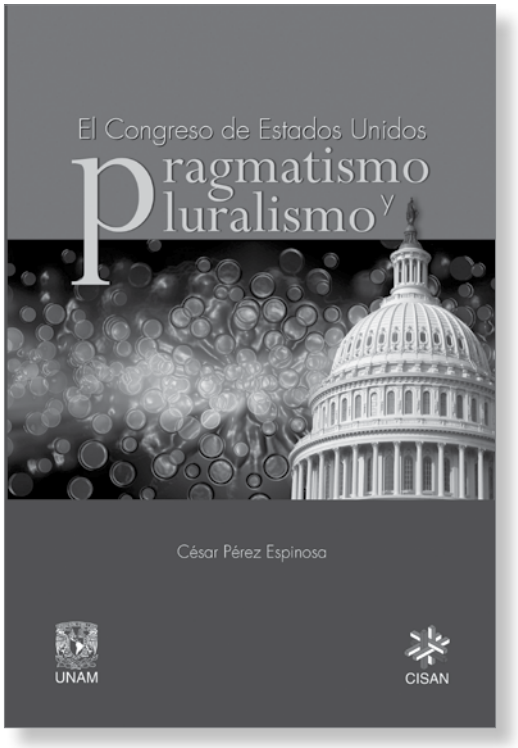

El Congreso de Estados Unidos: pragmatismo y pluralismo
(The U.S. Congress: Pragmatism and Pluralism)
César Pérez Espinosa
CISAN, UNAM
Mexico City, 2014, 156 pp.

The U.S. Congress is a paradigmatic institution, an example and seedbed for modern political systems. It is undoubtedly a key deliberative, decision-making, and legislative body for its nation and is important internationally, particularly for our Americas due to the effects beyond its borders of its positions, decisions, faculties, and actions. However, the works of political science produced in Spanish have reflected little about the processes, actors, guiding principles, and other variables that nourish its well-known "exceptionality," an adjective that in the different analyses about the Congress is applauded but also questioned.

In this universe of approaches, research, and studies, César Pérez Espinosa offers an interesting critical, multi-dimensional reflection in his work *El Congreso de Estados Unidos: pragmatismo y pluralismo* (The U.S. Congress: Pragmatism and Pluralism), published by the UNAM Center for Research on North America in 2014. The author presents it as different from that of the a-critical, functionalist liberalism that has dominated the analysis of our neighbor's Congress. His greatest contribution is having analyzed legislative representation based on the paradigms of pragmatism and pluralism, which, although it sounds complicated, turns out to be an appropriate theoretical framework.

The first section briefly sketches the historical processes that molded the U.S. political representation system, which Pérez Espinosa describes as a polyarchy with the pragmatic flexibility to govern an even more complex society. Outstanding here is his accent on the human nature of the Founding Fathers together with the political experience of an elite with founded, very specific interests. This led to a representative government grounded in minorities organized through different interest groups, which prevented the formation of a tumultuous dictatorship of the majorities.

This "exceptional" republic conceived of Congress as a space for plural political negotiation that would avert the secessionist pretentions of the colonies. Documents like *The Federalist Papers*, which attempted to convince readers of "the benefits of the Union," reflected the national project as outlined by the founding elites, who maintained that government was "a necessary evil."[1] This context resulted in a political design based on the exercise of power through a schema of representation and distribution backed up by mechanisms of checks and balances, sealed with a pact that guaranteed the fundamental freedoms and protection of property. Its aim, they said, would be prosperity and the construction of political system of its own that would act as a "nation on a hill," a beacon

that would send out rays of the values underpinning the U.S. American socio-political pact: equal opportunities, freedom, and property.

Pérez Espinosa emphasizes that Congress's pragmatism can be explained, among other factors, by the representative nature of its institutions, its plural actors, and the construction of spaces for negotiation by the different sectors of society. The argumentation for the political machinery and its procedures is based on what they consider the common good, a concept, in this case, nourished by a pluralist aspiration that brings together the different though convergent interests present in its collective imaginary.

The author underlines that Congress is not fully an institution. Its nature can be better understood if it is seen as a deliberative body and a space for intermediation. Its work is not restricted to creating laws and passing budgets: it is the third branch of U.S. government, with faculties like those derived from working in committees, the trade clause, the veto, and impeachment of the president. Its powers go beyond those conferred by the Constitution: its members are political mediators who in the Senate represent the states of the Union, and in the House of Representatives personify the citizenry, interest groups, and even companies, reminding us how, from its very inception, the United States has operated as a corporate state.

The relationship of legislators to citizens can be best understood as a continual process of negotiation of interests fostered by both sides through concrete demands and mediated by the representative's experience and tenure. In this sense, when the author analyzes the institution's machinery, he underlines the processes of successive reelection to retain that experience and to explain the controversial process of gerrymandering to determine district boundaries in order to thin down the representation of some social sectors. He also narrates how professional lobbyists represent corporations and sometimes civil society organizations, becoming emissaries of interests as they simultaneously offer professional consulting services.

In this particular scenario of interests and groups, the representative is a unique agent since he/she must possess all the following characteristics: agile adaptability to changes in context; the capacity to coexist and coincide with plural, divergent, and sometimes conflicting points of view; having access to timely, strategic information sources; being open to lobbying; being aware of the practical value of an action; and having the capacity to navigate different milieus, from the most formal and protocol-laden, to those closest to their constituencies.

The author reminds his readers that U.S. political reasonability is based on the complex articulation of interests and capacities for political negotiation of the plurality of its social sectors and on the difference in the demands and interests with the supposition of equal opportunities for all its citizens, and that this is the dynamic Latino legislators must use to conduct themselves as a group in expansion with leadership inside Congress.

Pérez Espinosa also states that "Hispanic" or "Latino" are labels difficult to pin down since they do not refer to homogeneous groups, but to a plural group. At the same time, he describes how the Latino caucus is characterized by having to bring together factors like the ethnic interests they represent and to construct and maintain a leadership of their sub-culture. The representatives also have to deal with configuring and reconfiguring their own ideology as well as that of the social sector they represent, the country they live in, and today's world, a context which in general can be summed up as a dialectic of conciliation, adaptation, and transaction.

With all of this, the Latino caucus has consolidated certain expertise; there are even figures among them who have been in Congress for decades and more than one has been a presidential hopeful. Therefore, Latino political leadership is a key issue and, given the rapid demographic growth of this ethnic minority, it will continue to be fundamental. The author thinks that this congressional group must strategically link up the acceptance of the political game they are part of with the negotiation of spaces for their concrete demands.

Pérez Espinosa argues his thinking solidly with examples that mark congressional history and that reformulated and reformed its dynamics and processes. These simultaneously invite the reader to extrapolate this thinking to recent events such as the 2013 debate about raising the debt ceiling, congressional approval of the Plan Colombia and the Merida Initiative, today's immigration debate, and deferred deportation for "dreamers."

He also encourages debate about the political game as played in the U.S. legislature, putting forward questions about the way in which public and private interests are articulated in a corporate state where business is fundamental to understanding it. The depth of his analysis of the influence of actors exogenous to politics like social sectors and interest groups that influence decision-making is particularly noteworthy. He analyzes the different levels of capitalization of social

sectors, organized in pressure groups, lobbies, and caucuses. And he reflects upon lobbying and its influence on today's decisive issues, among other topics that, without being the central theme of the book, are touched on indirectly and will certainly give rise to fruitful academic discussions.

Thus, this book represents a necessary compact but reflexive analysis of the historical and contemporary processes that have influenced the make-up of the U.S. Congress. Presumably "the most complete democracy," its political mandate was outlined to protect above all fundamental freedoms and property as values that were the glue of society at a time when the population was diverse in its ethnic identity, socio-economic level, and interests. This spirit has endured and, despite its intrinsic pragmatism and the endogenous pluralism of its society, it continues to have formal mechanisms to incorporate new demands through processes that, although sometimes slow, tend to be repeatedly analyzed.

Finally, it should be underlined that this book is a fundamental resource for anyone interested in the U.S. political system and the study of political representation in the legislative branch that inspired the representative republics that are the generalized form of political organization today. It is also a must for anyone who wants to understand how politics are done in the United States and will be a well-founded reference for later studies in this area. VM

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NOTES

[1] See http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1786-1800/the-federalist-papers/. [Editor's Note.]

Justicia internacional. Ideas y reflexiones
(International Justice. Ideas and Reflections)
Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla
CISAN, UNAM
Mexico City, 2014, 268 pp.

Dr. Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla launched her book *Justicia internacional. Ideas y reflexiones* (International Justice. Ideas and Reflections), published by the UNAM's Center for Research on North America, during the academic activities surrounding the opening of the doctoral program in international security and the creation of the School of International Studies, formerly a department, at the Mexico North Anáhuac University.

This prestigious Mexican researcher has written an academic work of high quality, worthy of the thinking that we

all need to contribute in order to make the first quarter of the twenty-first century fruitful.

Although the study of international relations theory occupies a privileged place in any undergraduate international relations program, very few of the future internationalists comprehend its fundamental importance. And, when due attention is paid to the issue, very few successful attempts are made to exit traditional paradigms and sketch new routes to search for better opportunities for the human community.

In other words, although the international system has changed, many authors abuse clichés and abominable extrapolations, applying incorrect paradigms to unprecedented circumstances that demand new ways of dealing with them.

The book *Justicia internacional* is obligatory reading for training any scholar in international relations committed to having a positive impact on the transformation of contemporary society and offering elements for change today and for future generations.

There seems to be no other way forward. More than ever, we live in a chaotic, violent, unjust world, but after a century of scholarly work in international relations, we have accumulated more knowledge in the area than any other generation. This has made us more aware of our own deficiencies and limitations, and this work can make us more committed to responsible change.

The volume is the result of in-depth research based on a meticulous review of classical texts and contemporary theories of international relations. It is a reflection for paving the way to a world with limits on injustice, avoiding romantic Utopias or dark pessimism. This 11-chapter work must be appreciated through its various contributions.

The first will seem obvious and, therefore, that it does not require mention, but it is a virtue all too infrequent in contemporary works about international relations theories: the author situates her work in the inner depths of globalization, with all its crude realities and complex challenges. These include economic dependence, financial interdependence, technological interconnectivity, social inequalities, guaranteed power clashes, assured intricate conflicts, and momentary, and therefore, insufficient, forms of cooperation.

Given the premise that a federalist theory of justice allows us to aspire to establishing equal relations that will not only be rational, but also fair, and will promote order and cooperation, Márquez-Padilla seeks to complement what John Rawls dealt with insufficiently in two of his texts, *A Theory of Justice* (1971) and *The Law of Peoples* (1999). The aim, inspired in institutionalist theory, is to force all nations, equal to each other, to establish a conversation so that they can come to a minimum consensus acceptable to all parties, in which they can act according to the agreements that come out of that consensus.

Thirdly, while it is not only necessary, but urgent, to talk about international justice, it should not be done exclusively from the Western —that is, European or U.S. American and also neoliberal, supposedly superior— interpretation of culture. The author suggests a moral compass for achieving a balance between economic growth and social justice, or international justice in which a common responsibility is recognized as inclusive to avoid conflict.

Every attempt to approach the Kantian idea of perpetual peace runs the risk of a minimum dose of idealism, a tendency the author corrects by insisting on concepts like "well-ordered societies," "acting rationally" by not leaving aside what, as even Rawls did when he referred to the "outlaw states," are an important part of the international scenario vulnerable to unending injustice.

Changing our present circumstances is no easy matter, but, as has already been pointed out, it cannot be postponed upon risk of imminent extinction.

The community of humankind has limited itself to being a lethargic witness to the multiple scenes of extermination in absolutely all the world's latitudes in recent months —granted, with different causes, but all in response to a thirst for justice, proof of the repudiated injustice that prevails all over the global village.

Márquez-Padilla planted a tree; she raised three children to become good people; and today she presents us with a new publication that aims to contribute its grain of sand to the debate about how to conceive of new mechanisms to prevent the propagation of conflict.

For any professional, teacher, or undergraduate or graduate student of international relations, this work focuses on hope and arduous work. More than a book about the theories of international relations, we have here a work by a humanist thinker for the twenty-first century. We recognize in it the Tulane sociology teacher and the MIT political scientist who calls on us to carry out a profound reflection to foster the changes that humanity demands. VM

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