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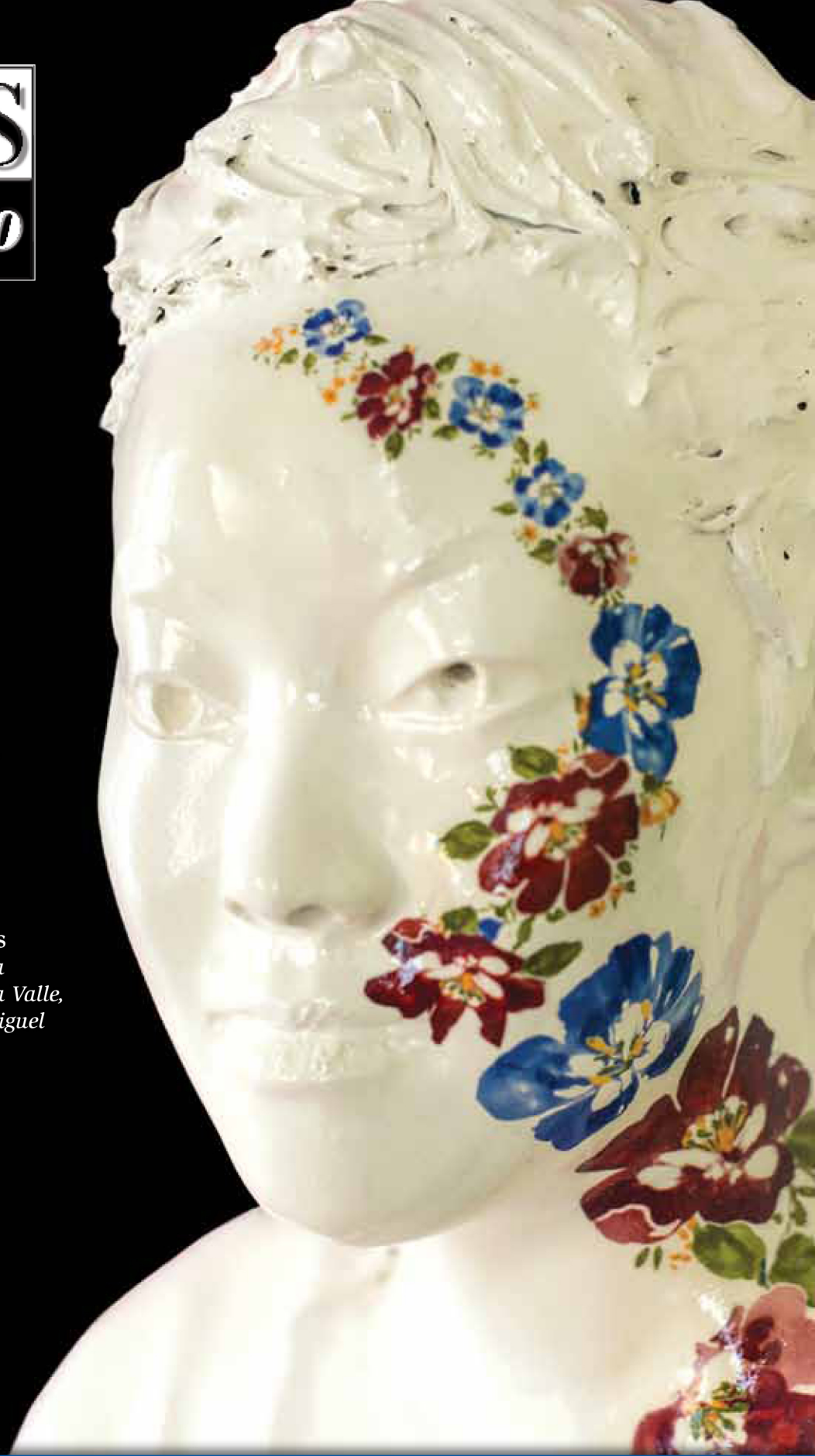

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The Shipwreck

Cover
Alejandra Zermeño, *Cherchez la femme*.

The Splendor of Mexico

Museums

Special Section

Reviews

Gerardo Sánchez

Our Voice

The history of all peoples is marked by sudden events whose cruelty shakes the collective consciousness, and, unfortunately, Mexico is no exception. With great sorrow, we are obligated to refer to the forced disappearance of 43 young students from the rural community of Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, in late September 2014, since solidarity with them and their families is an ethical duty. We must recognize that poverty and violence feed each other in this country and that our circumstances cannot be changed by decree. While the current government has been betting on centering its media strategy on the positive aspects of a structural reforms agenda, distancing itself from the previous Felipe Calderón administration's emphasis on the fight against organized crime, the consequences of what happened in Guerrero, the state nationwide with the second largest number of people living in poverty, have been to discredit the regime as a whole. The lack of an immediate, effective response by federal authorities to deal with this ominous case has reinforced the Mexican population's distrust and indignation. Organized and with the support of different groups in other countries, that population continues to demonstrate to demand justice, raising the demand "You took them alive; we want them back alive." Other particularly keenly felt causes have been added to this one, summarizing our demand for an end to corruption and impunity.

Although this issue of *Voices of Mexico* does not specifically analyze the case of Ayotzinapa, Enrique Pino's article does testify to how violence permeates Mexico's most vulnerable communities, with a particular impact among young people. Carlos Casillas shows us the reasons the constitutional reforms were postponed so long in Mexico, with a public debate that lasted for more than a decade, reforms that the Peña Nieto administration is now taking credit for. He also notes that their effectiveness will depend on the regulations for implementing them, together with the consensus required from different political forces, something that is always unpredictable.

Covering the impacts of globalization in our country and their characteristics, researcher Luis Díaz Müller enumerates key national, inter-American, and world events to underline the challenges that cannot be postponed: the eradication of poverty and hunger, access to quality education, among the most important, framed by his proposal to inextricably link human rights to development.

Mexico's foreign policy made an outstanding adjustment with the presidential announcement a few months ago that the country would actively participate in UN peacekeeping operations. The issue had been under discussion for some time, airing opposing views. We are now fortunate enough to have two authorities on security and international relations, Raúl Benítez Manaut and María Cristina Rosas, share their thoughts with us. While the Mexican government bases its position about the need for our foreign policy to mod-

ernize and adapt to the world's new circumstances, "the risks and opportunities that this implies will have to be analyzed case by case," as Dr. Rosas so correctly points out.

Now for the playful part of this issue: our "Art and Culture" section is dedicated to women's art, starting with Fanny Rabel's feminist denunciation; the sculpture of Alejandra Zermeño, who explores the human body and a reflection about our natural state; and the work of Helen Escobedo, undoubtedly an homage to nature. Lorena Wolffer includes performance in her aesthetic production; and to this we can add the clear photographic social denunciation by Maya Goded. Together, these artists close a virtuous circle of contributions to make this issue something special, since we can say that these Mexican women artists marshal both talent and a commitment to change.

What can be said about the meaning for our culture of the colossal stone Olmec heads? These figures depicting different helmeted faces have become icons of the Olmec identity, transmitting to those of us who have had the good fortune to see them the power, strength, and creative capacity of the first great civilization of Mesoamerica.

As a contrast, we include two articles, one about famed director Luis Buñuel's cinematic expression in Mexico City, and a second one that deals with the Jumex Contemporary Art Museum, our megalopolis's newest.

The CISAN shows its commitment to deepening our new lines of research by including a special section in each issue. On this occasion, it is coordinated by Dr. Valeria Marina Valle and analyzes the characteristics and challenges in the field of health faced by Mexico and the United States along our common border. Stretching over 3 000 kilometers and inhabited by more than 14.6 million people, the border area, taking into consideration exclusively municipalities on the border itself, has been profoundly examined from the standpoint of security and migration. For that reason, *Voices of Mexico* is proud to be the platform for 10 voices of experts from both countries to help us understand different aspects of the issue in a context in which asymmetrical interdependence is undisputed. The authors deal with institutions, actors, strategies, public policies, and figures that, taken together, allow us to recognize that disease prevention based on access to health care and the containment of sanitary risks must be strengthened as a priority for guaranteeing the quality of life that both Mexicans and U.S. Americans deserve.

To close this editorial, allow me to share with you our satisfaction at *Voices of Mexico*'s having been awarded for the third time the National Prize for Editorial Art in the category of "Political, Economic, and Financial Information Magazines," by the National Chamber of the Mexican Publishing Industry.

I want to congratulate and thank the entire team that makes this valuable publishing effort possible; it is their constant effort that has once again been validated by this acknowledgement. Our thanks also to the UNAM for having honored the CISAN with the responsibility for publishing this magazine. And, our gratitude always for the authors who collaborate with us, together with the dedicated eyes that peruse each issue.

Silvia Núñez García
Director of CISAN

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Behind the Scenes of The Structural Reforms

Carlos Enrique Casillas*

STRINGER Mexico/Reuters

Eleven reforms of the Constitution in the first 20 months of the administration: that is Enrique Peña Nieto's record just before the second anniversary of his inauguration as president. The reforms, in the areas of energy, telecommunications, taxes, labor, education, and politics, among others, had all been part of the public debate for 15 years without reaching any concrete results, and yet they now passed practically without a murmur. What's the secret? Was it a matter of strategy or the confluence of circumstances? Has Mexican democracy entered into a new era of consensus, or does perhaps the political skill of the governing party explain it all?

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While a good part of national public opinion and almost all international observers are optimistic and even celebrate the cascade of legislative changes, some sectors are skeptical about the scope of the reforms, particularly about their implementation in the long term. It is known that many of them should have been implemented two decades ago and that their delay has made Mexico's economic development more difficult. What is significant, in any case, is to ask ourselves the reasons why they passed this time, and whether, behind those agreements, favorable conditions exist for a permanent stage of collaboration between our country's executive and legislative branches, at odds for 15 years.

It should be pointed out that all these constitutional changes had been postponed since 1997, when the Institutional

Revolutionary Party (PRI) lost the majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Even after alternation in office came to the presidency with Vicente Fox (2000-2006) and Felipe Calderón (2006-2012) from the National Action Party (PAN), the reasons, excuses, and arguments were the same: the party in office did not have the majority in either of the two chambers of Congress (deputies and senators) and the presidents, instead of consensuses, were always faced with obstructionist legislative oppositions.

The Mexican press has said that, in contrast with previous first executives, Enrique Peña Nieto has a weak, collaborative opposition, that the PRI has more deputies and senators in this Congress, allowing it to advance the president's agenda, and that it has greater parliamentary expertise than its legislative adversaries. All this is true, but it still does not sufficiently explain the reasons for the current administration's political success compared to previous presidents.

Imperatives or Priorities

Just like with failures, political successes are due to a series of circumstances. Some of them are well designed, planned, and executed, but external factors that are part of the political moment also favor the objectives proposed. That seems to be the case of the broad range of reforms recently approved in Mexico.

For Vicente Fox the most important thing in the first year of his administration was to differentiate himself from the PRI, picking persons "of note" for his cabinet instead of traditional politicians, changing the names of the ministries, creating new structures in the federal public administration, pointing out cases of corruption and abuses of the past, but, above all, innovating a formula of direct communication with the citizenry that would break the mold of the old authoritarianism.

Felipe Calderón, faced with the crisis of legitimacy he was burdened with because of achieving the presidency after a highly contested and questioned race, opted to position his administration around the issue of security and the fight against organized crime. This was the wrong agenda, as it would end by dragging his administration into a spiral of violence that the country still has not been able to extricate itself from. In both cases, policy design and politics took a back seat; the urgent replaced the necessary and priorities were confused with what looked good in the media.

By contrast, before the formal start to his term, Peña Nieto and his team of collaborators set their priorities. In the transition stage between September and November 2012, they set up a negotiating body with the opposition parties, the so-called "Pact for Mexico," based on an agenda to achieve equilibrium between what was desirable and what was possible. On the long list of issues were the seeds of what would become the structural reforms, and a message was sent to the public that, this time, government and opposition would work together.

None of this had happened with previous administrations. For different reasons in each case, for both Vicente Fox and Felipe Calderón, working with the opposition became taboo. In the case of the former, it was because his natural adversary was the PRI, and it seemed indispensable for him to stay away from anyone he had attacked in his race for Los Pinos. For Fox, negotiating with the PRI would have been like making a pact with the Devil, and the fear of ruining his image and letting down his voters who, in effect, had voted more to throw the PRI out of office than for a PAN government made it unthinkable.

For Felipe Calderón, things were different. The PRI had fallen behind to third place in the national vote count as well as its congressional caucus. But the most important thing was that the second political force, the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), did not recognize Calderón's victory at the polls. He took office in conditions of frank political instability; some even doubted that the inaugural ceremony to transfer the office of the presidency could be held because of the protests headed by his former adversary Andrés Manuel López Obrador. It was impossible for the PAN and its president to find points of agreement with the PRD to advance a joint agenda and the PRI's political weight in Congress was limited.

The long post-electoral conflict and the polarization between the PAN and the PRD not only canceled a large part of Calderon's political options, but also strengthened the PRI among the voters as the only reasonable option. After its second setback in a presidential election, the PRI understood

A united PRI and a divided opposition willing to collaborate was an impeccable equation. The presidential team had a clear flight plan and never wavered from its path.

Many brilliant starts to administrations have ended painfully in debacle. Mexicans' memories, but particularly those of the money men, have them clearly registered.

that if it wanted to regain office, it would have to play its hand in the field of a collaborative opposition without accruing irreparable political costs.

None of these factors were present at the start of Peña Nieto's administration. Once the presidential election had been officially decided, the PRD's most radical group, headed by Andrés Manuel López Obrador, left the negotiations and decided to become an independent political force. With López Obrador thus occupied, building his own political party (the National Regeneration Movement, or Morena), plus his having health problems that took him out of politics, the PRD currents more open to negotiations opted for collaborating with the government. Meanwhile, the magnitude of the PAN's defeat —it dropped down to third place nationally— produced a Balkanization among its leaders and legislative caucuses that sapped its strength considerably in the face of possibly thinking of making a common front against the government. Without rivals of any weight, since they were fragmented, the PRI and the government were facing the best scenario for the structural reforms to be able to move ahead in Congress.

The Negotiators

Deciding to make the structural reforms the priority required not only their design, but also a strategy that would involve the key players. Peña Nieto, in contrast with his two predecessors, did not delegate to his minister of the interior, traditionally the head of negotiations with Congress, the forging of agreements with the caucuses and leaderships of the opposition parties.[1] He took the political operation into his own hands, through the chief of the President's Office, Aurelio Nuño. Having a direct interlocutor with the first executive gave the opposition a minimal basis for confidence about the commitments.

Parallel to this, two experienced politicians, Emilio Gamboa Patrón and Manlio Fabio Beltrones, took over as the heads of the PRI caucuses in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, respectively. The Beltrones-Gamboa team had already proven its efficacy in the first part of the Felipe Calderón administration; in fact, it was their negotiating capability that averted the shipwreck of the inaugural ceremony and was the key factor in getting legislation and budgets passed in those years. But there was something more: the experience of previous legislatures showed that it was indispensable to involve the PRD in the negotiations about the reforms if they wanted to succeed, and that's where the operation of the PRI congressional leaders was vital.

With the more radical PRD legislators isolated and the PAN falling apart, the task of building a majority to get the reforms passed, while long and drawn out, never deviated from the path toward its goal. The election of new national leaderships in both the PAN and the PRD was an additional exogenous factor that kept both parties' political figures busy in internal confrontations during the months of the most intense negotiations. A united PRI and a divided opposition willing to collaborate was an impeccable equation. The economy might not grow satisfactorily, crime rates might not have dropped enough, but the presidential team had a clear flight plan and never wavered from its path.

Implementation

Getting a plane to take off and stay in the air heading toward its destination is only half the pilot's job. Making the landing and ensuring the passengers arrive safely is the main mission. In that endeavor, knowing whether the cooperation achieved between the executive and legislative branches is going to be long-term will count a great deal; and knowing whether the mid-term elections will force a change in course or if the 2018 presidential race, which will begin the day after the June 2015 balloting, will turn into an insurmountable obstacle.

Each of the reforms passed requires time and maturation to yield fruits. They require regulatory legislation and, in all cases, public and private resources in order to be implemented. What is more, they need the certainty that the new legal framework offers guarantees for investors. It is a two-fold task: political domestically, and promotion and dissemination abroad. It's not enough to tell the world that there will be new, very varied business opportunities in Mexico; investors have to be sure their capital will be secure and can grow in the country.

Many brilliant starts to administrations have ended painfully in debacle. Mexicans' memories, but particularly those of the money men, have them clearly registered: six-year terms that seemed very promising at the start that ended in bankruptcy. Exorcising those demons requires more than a simple media strategy to erase the bad international press that Mexico has been dragging behind itself for the last three administrations. It's true that none of the last administrations began so forcefully *vis-à-vis* structural reforms. But it's also true that the simple changes in the law without actions are dead letters, above all in a country accustomed to finding a way of breaking its own laws.

The future of the reforms is in the hands of the same political actors who forged them; to make them a reality, they will have to maintain the same level of consensuses that they have achieved up until now and will have to ensure that electoral issues do not polarize the political forces and radicalize society. As in any legal process, with the reforms there will be winners and losers who are not yet visible; they will meet with resistance and obstacles when they are put into practice. For that reason, their success goes beyond the threshold of the legislative moment and is situated in the terrain of public policy.

The Mexican people urgently need to see their daily lives change: at work, in their pocketbooks, in their quality of life. That is the other great immediate task of the federal government. VM

Notes

[1] It should be pointed out that at the start of the administration, the Ministry of the Interior transformed its structure and broadened its faculties, absorbing all the public security and crime prevention tasks, among others. A powerful ministry was born at that moment, a kind of strong ministry of the interior. This overhaul thrust the most delicate political operation directly onto the shoulders of Los Pinos.

Notes on Mexico in Globalization
Three Looks at the Street

Luis T. Díaz Müller*

Kieran Doherty/Reuters

Introduction

We are in crisis. From the 1929 crisis until today, we have witnessed the world's ups and downs, the waves of globalization, the timing of economic policy, the commodification of life.

The revolution in communications and technologies changes what the world looks like as well as business, culture, entertainment, and daily life: Benetton, Nina Ricci, Nike, Federer, Nadal, Cristiano Ronaldo, playing golf in China, malls and the consumer society, the Outraged Movement.

In fact, we are moving toward a new civilization, as I have stated in other works; a new civilization and a new global ideology, profoundly unequal, unjust, pyramid-shaped, and multipolar. It would be overwhelming to explain here the structural characteristics of this civilization as the projection and effect of neoliberal capitalist globalization in crisis: the technological systems. I will focus on these key concepts:

1. The BRICS countries (with the addition of South Africa): these countries represent the emerging world

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We are moving toward a new civilization, and a new global ideology, profoundly unequal, unjust, pyramid-shaped, and multipolar as the projection and effect of neoliberal capitalist globalization in crisis.

and its emergencies. An interesting challenge to the club of the great powers;

2. A conceptual approach to the structure and method of Mexican foreign policy; and,
3. The inclusion of Mexico in the New World Order after the magical year of 1989: Berlin, the dismemberment of the USSR, German reunification, and the subsequent U.S. unipolar hegemony.

In this context, Mexico emerged unscathed from the changes and restructuring of the world order, maintaining its subordinate relationship with the United States. The United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reaffirmed the commitment to peace at the end of the World War II. An alternative analysis approach that I have mentioned before would be: The national approach, Inter-American relations, and the insertion in the global context. These three levels have pedagogical clarity, although given the complexity of the affairs of Mexico and the world, I chose to take three looks at the street. Today, with the euro crisis and the debacle in Greece —and Spain, Italy, and Portugal— we must examine issues of economic crisis (Keynes, Polanyi) and political crisis: legitimacy, democracy, rule of law, for which Michel Dobry[1] propounded the complex interdependencies between legitimacy and crisis. Not to mention David Easton, Almond and Powell, and Habermas. The 2008 collapse of the financial sector is the strategic variable that summarizes this article, which aims to highlight trends and the main processes of Mexico in the world of neoliberal globalization.

The Fog of the Cold War: 1947-1989

George Kennan did not imagine the echoes his 1947 "long telegram" would have, setting out what the main lines of containment policy of the USSR should be in the period of the war between the blocs.

Law and history had much to say about this period. From the standpoint of legal analysis, I can mention great contributions to thinking, civilized, conscious, decent humankind: the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right to non-alignment, decolonization, and outlawing war, with its precedent, the Kellogg Briand Pact of 1928.

Although they do not agree, both good and bad historians contribute ideas and provide keys to understanding global realities: Hobsbawm, Niall Ferguson, Tony Judt, Joseph Fontana and others tried to explain the "short" twentieth century, although it is a task of Titans. This article tries to interpret the trends and transitions from industrial society to the knowledge society and scientific-technological civilization.[2]

The twenty-first century, therefore, should announce a world of progress, peace, and harmony, development and fulfillment: but this is going against the current. The complexity and disorder, barbarism, inequality, the distress of minorities, partial wars, poverty, and looting lead to an unequal, uncertain society: civil society is asleep. It is the case of Somalia, a country still living in misery.

1989: Neoliberal Globalization And Human Rights

The case of Mexico, an interdependent and dependent country, has been studied serenely: Bernardo Sepúlveda, Emilio O. Rabasa, César Sepúlveda, Blanca Torres, Gustavo Vega, Mario Ojeda, Soledad Loaeza, Lorenzo Meyer, and Guadalupe González, at the risk of omitting some names. From these contributions, Mexico was able to advance the construction of international relations and incorporated into its Constitution basic principles like self-determination, non-intervention, peaceful settlement of international disputes, prohibition of the threat or use of force, legal equality of states, international cooperation for development, the struggle for peace and international security. These principles are laid out in Article 89, Section X, of the Constitution.[3]

Also, in June 2011, the concept of human rights was added to Article 1 of the Constitution, particularly with regard to the *amparo*.

I argue that in the Cold War period, Mexico approached the issue of human rights. With four presidents: Miguel Alemán, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, Adolfo López Mateos (and stabilizing development), and Gustavo Díaz Ordaz:[4] industrialization;

Guatemala (Jacobo Arbenz) and migrants; the position on Cuba's expulsion from the OAS; and cooperation and conflict, respectively.

In essence, during the Cold War, Mexico was discussed in terms of dialectical development and underdevelopment (Raúl Prebisch, Celso Furtado, Víctor L. Urquidi at ECLAC in Santiago [1948]): import substitution, integration, autonomy, the fight against marginalization were all part of a project for Latin American development.

Consistent with these ideas, the book edited by Ana Covarrubias offers a scenario of foreign policy in Mexico.[5] For example, J. Domínguez, mentioned in the article, asks himself if Mexico's foreign policy is the exception. An analysis of three areas, it raises the key variables: geographical location and the nature of the international system proposed by Mario Ojeda, who suggests Mexico is a weak country, determined by its structural condition with challenges from the global system.

The current debate is centered on the topic of whether a country is part of the BRIC, or not. It is by no means pointless to inquire about Mexico's virtues in relation to other emerging nations: resources, environment, tourism, seas, oil.

First Look
Mexico and the BRICs: Many Are Called; Few Are Chosen

First of all, I must explain what I mean by an emerging country. In fact, there are several criteria or sets of elements to take into account. For example, the BRICS, a term coined by Goldman-Sachs, have four characteristics that allow them to emerge: territorial size, magnitude, size of the economy, and structural capacity. These elements would enable them to access power.[6]

In previous work, I proposed the concept of broad technological power (BTP), to refer to the array of variables that a developing country or BRIC country should have. Also, the BRICs themselves had been talking about Indonesia or South Africa as future emerging countries. Emergence is a complex concept. To it should be added the ideas in Kenneth Waltz's book *The Emerging Structure of International Politics*, which analyzes the patterns of international power.

Mexico has "weaknesses," which, for now, prevent it from being an emerging country: insecurity, weak relations with the United States (asymmetric and unequal), the poverty of 52 million people, poor educational levels, and technological backwardness.

In Mexico, the style of work is also based on improvisation and the work ethic, according to Weber's concept, is limited.

Second Look: Mexican Foreign Policy Structure and Methods in Globalization

Attempting to make notes about the essence of Mexican foreign policy on the stage of globalization is not easy.

Beginning with the seven foreign policy principles embodied in the Constitution in 1988 and strengthened by the addition of human rights to Article 1, we must add the ever-increasing acceptance and legitimacy of the Inter-American Human Rights System: several human rights cases have been accepted and submitted to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and Court. The importance —sometimes formal— given to the rights of indigenous peoples and migrant workers supports my words.

Thus, foreign policy has a quite pronounced formalist bias. This is the case of feminicide in Ciudad Juárez: many complaints, many convictions, few solutions. This is, mainly, a domestic policy matter. However, it took on an international character when the United Nations and the international community sent observers: rapporteurs went, films were made, and seminars held.

This transnational dialectic between the internal and external penetrates the outer bases of the political regime, many committees, and non-governmental organizations, obtaining poor results and entailing a great deal of expense. At the end of the day we have to deal with the issue of sovereignty. Traditionally, the country experienced "historic isolation," especially regarding sovereignty and human rights. The noble functions of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and the Inter-American Human Rights Court came late. Similarly, the international human rights regime was only accepted gradually. Ana Covarrubias has studied it pro-

Mexico has "weaknesses," which, for now, prevent it from being an emerging country: insecurity, weak relations with the U. S. (asymmetric and unequal), poverty, poor educational levels, and technological backwardness.

A virtuous relationship between nation-states in Latin America and the world system must exist: human rights equality, non-discrimination, tolerance, and respect, as key issues.

foundly:[7] lawless frontiers, arms trafficking, and drugs, transnational situations, as Philip Jessup wrote. A constant interaction between global cities and the real world.[8]

A virtuous relationship between nation-states in Latin America and the world system must exist: human rights equality, non-discrimination, tolerance, respect, as key issues for the twenty-first century. The ECLAC called it "time for equality" in a 2010 study.

The excellent study by Natalia Saltalamacchia and Ana Covarrubias supports this interpretation.[9] In the case of Mexico, the sustenance of human rights policy seems to be revolutionary nationalism. The authors note three stages: a) the classical phase: the tension between global patterns and national attitudes, such as sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention; b) the interaction between international regimes and legitimate actors; and finally, c) the development of an active foreign policy on human rights,[10] which I wrote about in my book, *América Latina: relaciones internacionales y derechos humanos* (Latin America: International Relations and Human Rights) (1991), in which I propose a structural view of human rights from a certain conception of development.

Third Look: Mexico and the New World Order

For Timothy Ferris, the world stage can be understood in three phases: the Renaissance, the scientific revolution, and the Enlightenment. He argues that science is the theater of liberty. As he said himself: "Science is experimental testing."[11] The inexorable transition from science to technology admits multiple (and strong) interpretations. Herein lies the essence of this strategic variable: the power of ideas dictated since Napoleon, the militarization of science, the DNA revolution.[12]

In Mexico, the National Council of Science and Technology (Conacyt) says that the production of knowledge is closely linked to economic growth and development: the flow of goods, services, information, and goods and people between regions, the heavier industries and high technology exports, and the use and application of information technologies (ICT) in production and the organization of business.[13] This is a diagnosis of Mexico's situation *vis-à-vis* the knowledge economy. Actually, we should consider the broader notion of knowledge society: solidarity and access to new technologies.

The key is broad technological power (BTP): invention, innovation, transfer and equal access to knowledge, resources, goods, services, people, and capital. A strategy to access the knowledge society: escape the prisoner's dilemma. The predominance of the immaterial: a necessary, abstract and diffuse (until now) equation to change the space-time interaction: Albert Einstein's theory of everything.[14] The right of the intangible heritage of humanity in its various meanings.

Conclusions So Far: the Transition to the Knowledge Society

Bill Gates, in his November 2011 report to the G-20 in Cannes, presented a diagnosis of the current situation. He began with health: during his life time, he said, innovations in business, technology, and science have driven the global market and economy in unprecedented ways; the world economy is 500 percent bigger than before and science and technology and innovation have become key drivers of growth.[15] Gates's report relates the diagnosis of the world situation with the UN Millennium Development Goals, and he was successful in doing so. The UN resolution on this subject, from October 19, 2010, sets out the objectives for 2015:

1. Alliance for development
2. Good governance and rule of law
3. Poverty eradication
4. Sustainable development
5. Peace and security
6. Transformation of the global environment
7. Universal access to basic services
8. Right to development
9. South-South cooperation
10. Climate change risks
11. Support for least developed countries.

The UN Conference in Istanbul in 2011 stipulated the need for respect, promotion and protection of human rights, linked to the Millennium Goals:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Gender equality
4. Promote global public health
5. Reduce child mortality
6. Improve maternal health
7. Establish environmental sustainability.

In view of the Millennium Development Goals, the concept of broad technological power (BTP) acquires strategic importance: the key to development and competitiveness. This should become a state science policy proposal, dearly lacking in Mexico. For now, we must mention the following BTP areas:

1. Cultural factors: access to education, reading levels, quality schools per capita, free education, and ethics;
2. Political and evaluative factors: democracy and participation, a human rights project, respect for minorities, and others;
3. Economic factors: basic income, development level, growth rate, an increasing employment structure, satisfaction of basic needs, and others; and
4. International factors: proper integration into the global system, increased exports, international trade, emergence of new technologies, international autonomy, and others.

Research Notes

These are a set of preliminary suggestions about the uneven and unbalanced inclusion of Mexico in the global context. A partnership for equality, achieved through universal basic income, is imperative. In the case of Mexico, the August 1982 crisis marked a fundamental turning point in the country's economic direction. As Víctor L. Urquidi noted, this crisis was the result of adverse domestic and international factors:[16] the country lost important options for improving its international position.

In view of the Millennium Development Goals, the concept of broad technological power (BTP) acquires strategic importance: the key to development and competitiveness.

Through NAFTA, free trade grew exponentially.[17] In 2000, trade flows reached US$263 billion. However, the emergence of China as a strategic partner and rival for the United States created difficult and complex relations with this country.[18] On the road to being an emerging economy, Mexico will come across many obstacles and complexities. As Albert Einstein wrote, do not expect different results if you always do the same thing. VM

Notes

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Economic Stagnation And Violence in Mexico
Too Dangerous a Cocktail

Enrique Pino Hidalgo*

Alejandro Bringas/Reuters

A singular component of President Enrique Peña Nieto's anti-crime strategy is eliminating the government discourse on public security and criminal violence prevailing in different regions and cities of Mexico. This is an attempt to influence the public's perception of the phenomenon. One form of this policy are the affirmations —foolhardy as they are— that the activities of organized crime do not affect the basis of the economy or that their costs are marginal.

Shoring up a positive perception of government performance in the fight against crime is based on official reports and media campaigns that announce its abatement or containment. However, this discourse has its limits and loses credibility in the face of the persistence and expansion of violence and public insecurity, creating skepticism in society about the possibility of denouncing them and the public's feeling that it is defenseless.

This article will analyze the impact of criminal violence and public insecurity in the institutional sphere of business and companies' behavior, as a sector that has moved from caution and evasion to pro-active demands. This is happening in an atmosphere of greater political risk because of the convergence of crime and the economy's slow growth, and its consequences, unemployment and marginalization.

Public Insecurity, Foreign Investment, And Economic Stagnation

The National Statistics and Geography Institute (INEGI) has published the results of its "Encuesta nacional de victimiza-

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A survey revealed that neither big companies nor any others escape insecurity: the direct economic cost of those crimes was calculated at approximately US$10 billion.

ción de empresas" (National Survey of Victimization of Companies), the basis for estimations of this phenomenon in 2011. It estimated that 37.4 percent of companies —that is, four out of ten— were the victims of a crime in that year. At the same time, 41.6 percent of large companies, 36.6 percent in industry and 32.7 percent in the service sector, were likewise affected.

The survey revealed that neither big companies nor any others escaped public insecurity: 63.1 percent have been victimized; 62.5 percent of the medium-sized firms and 57.8 percent of small ones. The direct economic cost of crimes against companies was calculated at Mex$115.2 billion (approximately US$10 billion), a little under 1 percent of the gross domestic product. The companies affected, on average targets of three crimes each, totaled 1 389 000.[1]

Significantly, the survey also showed that nationwide, 59.3 percent of companies see public insecurity and crime as the most important problems they have to deal with, followed by the public's low purchasing power (40 percent) and the lack of government support (38.1 percent). With regard to the deterioration of the business environment, 76 percent said that the state or the capital where they operate is unsafe (see Table 1).

Specialists are debating about the economic costs and benefits that illegal activities generate macro-economically; this includes everything from drug trafficking, extortion, and kidnapping to illegal manufacture of products, prostitution, and human trafficking. One point of view underlines the negative effects of criminal activity, estimating that they outweigh the benefits. For these analysts, the net result is negative in terms of growth, investment, and the market. Other less well-known approaches posit that the benefits from drug trafficking are higher than the costs since, they argue, it creates jobs, investment, and cash flow into the country.[2]

Some analysts state that it is not clear that criminal violence has negative macro-economic impacts and underline that production has been maintained. They argue that foreign direct investment (FDI) flows, a key variable for growth,

TABLE 1
MAIN INDICATORS IN THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF VICTIMIZATION OF COMPANIES (2012)

Economic units that were crime victims in 2011	Absolute number	1 389 000
	Rate per 10 000 economic units	3 737
	Percent of economic units	37.4
Crimes, 2011 (Economic units)	Absolute number	4 324 529
	Average per victimized economic unit	3.1
Unreported crimes, 2011 (uninvestigated crimes)	Absolute number	3 810 888
	Percent	88.1
Percentage of economic units that perceive insecurity (May to July 2012)	State (%)	76.0
Perception of municipal police performance (May to July 2012)	Percent (very and somewhat effective)	37.6
Perception of state police performance (May to July 2012)	Percent (very and somewhat effective)	44.4
Estimated total cost due to insecurity and crime in economic units	Absolute number	Mex$115.2 billion
	Percentage of GDP	0.75
	Average per economic unit	Mex$56 774

Source: INEGI, http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/encuestas/establecimientos/otras/enve/enve2012/.

are high. Between 2006 and 2010, the years of former President Felipe Calderón's "war against drug trafficking," FDI averaged US$23 billion; in 2007, it came to US$31.49 billion and during the 2009 crisis, US$16.12 billion.[3]

It is true that foreign investment is high and in 2013 it rose to a record US$35.2 billion, but this number is inflated because of the sale of the country's biggest beer producing consortium, Grupo Modelo, for US$13 billion to Belgian multinational Anheuser-Busch InBev. This operation does not really qualify as direct investment given that it is a transfer of assets (plants, equipment, transport, etc.) for a payment, which in and of itself creates no new jobs or investments in equipment.[4] Despite the entry of this foreign capital, the Mexican economy has grown slowly: in the last eight years it averaged 2.2 percent of GDP, a figure that in the United States, Germany, or Spain would be considered good, but not in Mexico, whose average growth rate is lower than Brazil's 4 percent a year, Colombia's 5 percent, and far from China's (see Table 2).

The impact of foreign direct investment on economic growth is overestimated. In the first quarter of 2014, overall output grew only a modest 1.8 percent, while manufacturing moved ahead 1.6 percent and services, 1.8 percent. This means that annual growth expectations dropped from 4 percent to less than 2 percent for annual output. The economy cannot seem to climb out of a cycle of "stabilizing stagnation" that has lasted more than 20 years. Under these conditions, the government's strategic objective of improving the country's competitiveness and productivity may well be postponed until further notice.

Recent research underlines that violence is not a determining factor in competitiveness, but its prolonged existence does have an impact on more than 190 variables, particularly in economic performance, government efficiency, the business environment, and infrastructure. These studies, then, warn about the urgency of making substantive strides forward in public security that will contribute to creating an institutional context to generate trust in economic agents and society itself.[5]

> Some analysts state that it is not clear that criminal violence has negative macro-economic impacts and underline that production has been maintained.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), for its part, admits that organized crime has an impact on growth, employment, and competitiveness. Mexico is the country with the highest rate of murders and the greatest regional disparities among OECD members, reflected, for example, in the fact that the murder rate in Chihuahua is 56 times higher than in Yucatán.[6]

Helen Clark, the head of the United Nations Program for Development (UNPD), agrees on the effect of high levels of violence on Mexico's economic growth and development, emphasizing that it has a greater effect on the poor and marginalized. Clark has stated that in marginalized communities there is more violence and participation or recruitment of young people by organized crime. She argues that one of the keys for getting out of poverty and decreasing the differences between rich and poor is precisely the creation of decent jobs and underlines the need to have trustworthy police forces and an effective justice system, prerequisites for economic growth.[7]

TABLE 2
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT, MEXICO, BRAZIL, COLOMBIA AND CHINA
(AVERAGE GROWTH, 2005-2012)

Country	2005-2012 (%)	2011 (%)	2012 (%)
Mexico	2.2	4.0	2.0
Brazil	4.0	3.0	1.0
Colombia	5.0	7.0	4.0
China	10.0	9.0	8.0

Source: World Trade Organization, Trade Profiles, March 2014, http://stat.wto.org/CountryProfile/WSDBCountryPFView.aspx?Language=E&Country=BR%2cCO%2cMX%2cC.

Thomas Wissing, the director of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Country Office for Mexico and Cuba, states that young people who are not studying and are unemployed "could be easy prey" for criminal organizations. So, he underlines the urgency of creating policies to narrow the gap between universities and labor practices. In Mexico, almost 25 percent of undergraduates see no sense in continuing their studies, have no opportunity to do so, and also cannot join the labor market. Ours is the country with the third-highest percentage of young people living in these conditions among OECD member countries, surpassed only by Israel (27.6 percent) and Turkey (34.6 percent).[8]

Response from Business: From Moderation to Public Demands

The business sector's response has undergone interesting changes that show a more realistic, pro-active attitude, which I will briefly review here. In December 2012, Cementos Mexicanos (Cemex), one of the most powerful Mexican-owned multinationals, was subject to extortion and threats in Acapulco, in the state of Guerrero. Other businesspeople, owners of restaurants, hotels, and cattle ranches, publically denounced similar attacks. This forced the federal and state governments to announce new police measures that at the end of 2013 came to be called the "Safe Guerrero" program.[9] In mid-2012, the Sabritas company, which makes chips and snacks for the national market and has a strong position in sweets nationwide and in Central America, was subject to sabotage with fires in its installations and vehicles in the states of Michoacán and Guanajuato. This was a coordinated attack by criminal organizations in six cities in those states when the company refused to pay for "protection."[10]

Kroll Mexico City, a consulting firm for risk mitigation and prevention against corruption and fraud, recommends specific measures to protect companies and prevent practices such as bribery or extortion. It calculates that in the last three years, these kinds of acts in companies have increased 13 percent. In its survey, the INEGI reports businesspersons surveyed considered corruption to be the most frequent crime in their companies (24.7 percent), followed by burglary or theft of merchandise, money, or goods (22.6 percent), and extortion (14.5 percent) (see Table 3).

Mexico is the OECD country with the highest murder rate and the greatest regional disparities, reflected, for example, in the fact that the murder rate in Chihuahua is 56 times higher than in Yucatán.

Table 3
Most Frequent Crimes against Companies, by Size (2011)

Size	Most Frequent	Second Most Frequent	Third Most Frequent
National	Corruption	Theft or burglary of merchandise, money, inputs, or goods	Extortion
Micro	Corruption	Theft or burglary of merchandise, money, inputs, or goods	Extortion
Small	Corruption	Theft or burglary of merchandise, money, inputs, or goods	Extortion
Medium-sized	Theft or burglary of merchandise, money, inputs, or goods	Corruption	Petty thievery
Large	Theft or burglary of merchandise, money, inputs, or goods	Theft of merchandise in transit	Corruption

Source: INEGI, "Encuesta nacional de victimización a empresas 2012," http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/encuestas/establecimientos/otras/enve/enve2012/.

Part of the public's response has been the radical, massive creation of community guards and armed self-defense groups, who had an important media impact.

The geographical spread of an atmosphere of insecurity has created a thriving market of highly profitable security goods and services in Mexico. The year 2015 will see the thirteenth edition of "Expo Security Mexico," bringing together 300 manufacturers, distributors, and merchandizers who do demonstrations for businesspersons and public officials interested in systems to detect intruders, biometrics, detection of explosives, and tracking and armoring vehicles.

Part of the public's response has been the radical, massive creation of community guards and armed self-defense groups, who had an important media impact in 2013 and 2014. These are community organizations with a strong rural component that includes small and middle-sized agricultural business people and professionals who decided to take back control of the towns and lands in many municipalities dominated by criminal organizations in Michoacán and Guerrero.

Economic Stagnation, Criminality, and Political Costs

A study called "México: política, sociedad y cambio" (Mexico: Politics, Society, and Change), carried out in mid-2013 by the polling firm GEA-ISA, reported that, when asked what the current administration's greatest success was, 58 percent of those surveyed said "none" or "don't know." This can be interpreted as a lack of perception of the administration's achievements. When asked how many approved of Peña Nieto's administration, 45 percent responded favorably, a drop from the 55 percent who had approved three months before. According to the survey, among the causes of Peña Nieto's diminishing popularity was, first of all, a perception that the economy was getting worse, followed by lack of public safety. It also showed that one-third of the population would be willing to participate in protests because of economic conditions, insecurity, and corruption.[11]

Different answers have been given to the questions of who will pay the political costs of insecurity and criminal violence and how they will do so. One answer is that accepting the costs is linked with which institution society sees as responsible.[12] On the list are the state and authorities as guarantors of security of individuals and their property. However, the drop in the administration's popularity ratings does not necessarily imply that the costs for the authorities and the party in office will be significant. In Mexico, the public has tended to fragment institutional responsibility for organized crime and its effects among actors and public entities like courts, judges, police forces, attorneys general, and the chambers of Congress themselves. Under these conditions, this dispersal of responsibility makes it possible for the economic and political costs of insecurity and criminal violence to be diluted among Mexican society. VM

Notes

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The End of the "Tin Drum" Blue Berets for Mexican Troops

Raúl Benítez Manaut*

STR New/Reuters

The post-Cold War world, based on globalization, made Mexico's foreign policy break down. The so-called "foreign policy principles" had become sacred, even if occasionally discretely broken. It was so in the case of El Salvador, in 1980, when the FMLN-FDR guerrilla force —the current government— was given diplomatic recognition. Diplomatic activism was also justified by pointing out that the action served to contain U.S. "interventionism" in Central America, and, although no one said it so as not to shake the wasp's nest, also to stop the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Mexico's Ambiguous Constitution *vis-à-vis* the UN Charter

Article 89, paragraph 10 of Mexico's Constitution, which deals with the "foreign policy principles," highlights ambiguously "self-determination of peoples" and "the principle of non-intervention" as well as "the struggle for world peace and security." The isolationist thinking that has predominated in Mexico since the end of the twentieth century is based on the first two principles, while those who promote sending troops to back up the country's external actions base themselves on the third. In Enrique Peña Nieto's speech before the UN General Assembly last September 24, nationalist isolationism is put to one side, giving way to making Mexico an active country in the international security system (see box, p. 24).

That speech to the UN commits the government to making Mexican troops available to the UN Security Council. The UN Charter's Chapter VI states that it must undertake "peace building," while Chapter VII states that it must carry out peacekeeping efforts (see Graph 1). Articles 43 to 48 stipulate that countries must commit to placing troops at the disposition of the Security Council's Military Staff Committee. This may put Mexico's armed forces in a tense situation, given that only in World War II, in 1945 —and then only briefly— were its troops put under the command of other countries.

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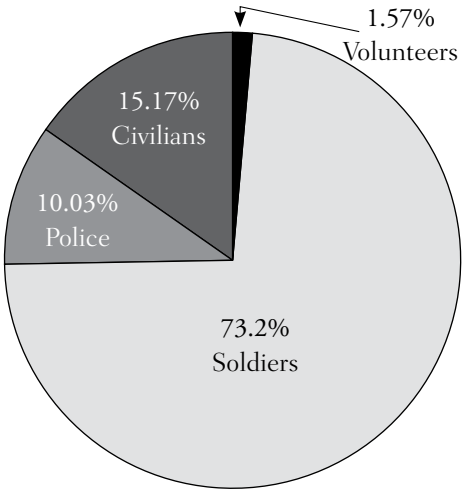
"My country is willing to be an active part of this transformation. It is determined to evolve with the United Nations. Mexico supports and values peacekeeping operations, the UN instrument that helps countries overcome conflicts and create conditions for a lasting peace through reconstruction, humanitarian aid, and security. For that reason, Mexico has made the decision to participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations carrying out humanitarian work for the benefit of the civilian population. Our participation will be in accordance with a clear mandate by the Security Council and will adhere to the foreign policy principles set out in our Constitution. With this decision, Mexico, as a responsible actor, is taking a historic step in its commitment to the United Nations."

Enrique Peña Nieto, "México: la ONU debe atreverse a cambiar para mejorar," September 24, 2014, http://www.un.org/spanish/News/story.asp?NewsID=30550#.VDQ7ZGd5P85.

Around 1950 Mexican diplomatic activism consisted of backing the prevalence of international law, promoting disarmament and avoiding U.S. interventionism, mainly in Latin America.

GRAPH 1
PERSONS IN UN-LED PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS (2014) (%)
Total Number of Participants: 113 822



Source: Data for this graph taken from http://www.un.org/es/peacekee ping/resources/statistics/factsheet.shtml, accessed July 31, 2014.

Immediately after the end of World War II, Mexico looked like it was going to be active internationally, but it was not. It was an observer in the Balkans between 1947 and 1950 and in Cashmere in 1950. Another 40 years would pass before it thought of backing up UN peacekeeping operations. In the meantime, Mexican diplomatic activism consisted of backing the prevalence of international law, promoting disarmament —its greatest victory was the Treaty of Tlatelolco in 1967—, and avoiding U.S. interventionism, mainly in Latin America.

Diplomatic relations did not exist with Spain, for example, because Mexico supported the Republic defeated in 1939, until the death of General Franco and the restoration of democracy. Mexico was a harsh critic of the coup d'état in Guatemala in 1954 and the attempt to isolate Cuba between 1960 and 1965 —at one point, only Mexico had diplomatic relations with Fidel Castro's government. It relentlessly criticized U.S. aid for coups d'état, mainly against Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973, and then promoted détente diplomacy in Central America for 18 years, ranging from support for the revolutionary government in Nicaragua in 1979 to aiding the UN in fostering the peace process in Guatemala in 1996.

El Salvador

Support for UN peace missions was concretized with the signing of the El Salvador Peace Accord in the historic Chapultepec Castle on January 16, 1992; 120 officers from different police forces were immediately dispatched. Why no troops were sent is still a question. That important diplomatic action has left positive memories in the annals of the next-to-the-last effort of Mexican activism. The last was support for the Guatemala peace process in 1996, but no Mexican police or missions were sent there. That was the death of Mexican diplomatic activism, reborn September 24, 2014.

Eighteen years had to go by for the government to react. There were many opportunities; the South Americans took advantage of them and began sending police to the Balkans, Africa, the Middle East, and even East Timor to support its independence from Indonesia. Their presence in the international community grew as promoters of peace efforts. When the Haitian crisis began, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay rapidly committed themselves in 2004. By contrast, in

Mexico, politicians, diplomats, and traditionalist military personnel insisted that we should not go, since the world is dangerous and we were not prepared. In addition, a very Cold-War-type discourse made a reappearance: the UN is an instrument of the United States and for that reason, we should not do any favors for our neighbors to the north. The metaphor used was that of the little boy who never grows up from *The Tin Drum*, the great novel by German author Günther Grass, who refuses to recognize what is happening under his nose and decides to stay dwarf-sized. That's how lethargic our diplomacy was.

The protocol of Felipe Calderón's war against drug trafficking determined that no one should talk about sending troops abroad. The isolationists and nationalists came out on top again.

The Tragedy in Haiti

Ten years ago, the Haiti crisis reached unsuspected heights: the government collapsed and President Jean Bertrand Aristide left —rather, U.S. helicopters "rescued" him— when he was about to be lynched by the population. The UN made an urgent call to the international community and nine Latin American countries answered. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay signed up quickly. For years, Chile and Brazil controlled the peace mission. These countries have reaped big geopolitical rewards for their presence in Haiti, in addition to all the experience acquired by their troops, police, and diplomats.

Between 2004 and 2005, the UN requested troops from Mexico and an agreement was almost reached. But, the then-minister of national defense stoutly refused. The Ministry of the Navy was on the tide that was taking the frigates to Haiti. The military elite's opinion was divided, as was that of other sectors of the country like the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, where globalists and nationalists, isolationists and those who stood on principle debated. The same happened among academics and the press. In other words, in those years, the inertia of the past won. Once again, the country was afraid of the world.

In January 2010, the Haitians were hit by a great tragedy, this time a natural disaster: a huge earthquake. More than 316 000 people were killed, 350 000 injured, and more than 1.5 million left homeless. Mexico's navy took its valuable resources there, but not even this terrible blow made Mexican politicians sensitive to the tragedy. Mexico's war frigates should not have returned home, but stayed to help with the difficult reconstruction. Haiti needed Mexico more than ever, and we were not up to the task. The internal dynamic in the military stifled that debate and the possibility of renewing activism seemed very far off. The protocol of Felipe Calderón's war against drug trafficking determined that no one should talk about sending troops abroad. The isolationists and nationalists came out on top again. However, in his 2013-2018 National Development Plan, Enrique Peña Nieto included a phrase that at the time seemed just like more of the same: "Mexico with global responsibility." The question was how to do that if we refused to help the international security system and a country struck by tremendous tragedy.

How was Mexico perceived in the community of nations? It is clear that other countries with similar development levels and strategic size are present in the world: the Latin American countries already mentioned, but also Pakistan, India, Nigeria, and South Africa offer their troops. The worst part of this isolation is that much smaller countries contribute troops to UN efforts, even if only symbolically. This is the case of Peru, Guatemala, Bolivia, El Salvador, Ecuador, and Honduras, just to name some in Latin America (see the box in p. 26, and Table 1).

Peña Nieto's capability is unquestionable. If he had opened a national debate before announcing his decision in the UN, the isolationists would certainly have been able to stop the initiative, which is what happened to Vicente Fox in 2004-2005. By contrast, Peña Nieto launched the idea at the UN, breaking with aging schema; and in time, it will undoubtedly be discussed, but the hand has been dealt by the president, and it will be hard for anyone in his administration or his party to oppose it.

We should note that the military commanders have not blocked the initiative. This speaks of more modern winds blowing and a new military way of thinking that is rapidly changing the two military institutions, the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Navy. Clearly, the new generations of the military are moving in favor of those who know the world, have studied abroad, and even want to venture abroad with a UN blue beret. Peacekeeping missions bolster professionalism, and the army and navy command

Countries Present in Haiti in 2014

With troops
Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia, Jordan, Nepal, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, United States, and Uruguay

With police officers
Argentina, Bangladesh, Benin, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Croatia, Egypt, France, Granada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Madagascar, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Senegal, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Vanuatu, and Yemen

Source: Developed by the author with data from http://www.un.org/es/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/facts.shtml.

structures are aware of that. These are very intense experiences for the troops because of their interaction with other armies; they develop to a maximum the key to modern warfare, what is called interoperability, and many other factors like relations between civilians and military.[1]

The Mexican government has not specified which peacekeeping mission it has in mind, but the logical choice is what is in our geographical epicenter, the so-called "third frontier," the Caribbean, where Haiti urgently requires help. The best from each sector should be sent: army, air force, navy, and services such as engineering and medical personnel, to cover the Haitian people's enormous deficits in services. The mission must be led by a diplomat, with civilians, police, troops and also, as I mentioned before, specialists in engineering and medicine.

One of the concerns is the issue of bearing arms. The troops take them to the UN peacekeeping operations, but they can only be used in extreme cases of legitimate defense. In the case of Haiti, the mission is called Minustah and its aim is "stabilization." There are no military enemies, and it focuses clearly on helping the civilian population and on rebuilding the country's infrastructure. The UN pays each soldier US$1000 per month. For that reason, in many countries, young people enlist in the armed forces to have the chance to travel abroad, have a good job, and get international experience.

Peacekeeping missions bolster professionalism, and the Mexican army and navy command structures are aware of that. These are very intense experiences for the troops because of their interaction with other armies.

Mexican Military Capabilities

Mexico's military institutions have two very important qualities: the ability to aid populations in serious disasters and the high quality of military medical training, reputed to be the country's best. Both of these are undeniable comparative advantages. In the past they have done outstanding work: during the 1996 wave of earthquakes in Ecuador, in 1998 in Haiti and Bolivia, and in Colombia in January 1999, and firefighting in Guatemala in 2000. In 1998, they helped Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala after the devastating Hurricane Mitch, which left 11 000 dead. In 1999, Mexican military forces spent three months on the Maique-

Table 1
UN Stabilizing Mission in Haiti (2014)

Uniformed troops	7 522
Soldiers	5 145
Police officers (including existing units)	2 377
International civilian personnel	346
Local civilian personnel	1 168
United Nations volunteers	132

Source: Developed by the author with data from http://www.un.org/es/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/facts.shtml, accessed July 31, 2014.

tía Venezuelan coast helping the population after unprecedented flooding. In January 2005, two Mexican naval vessels, the *Zapoteco* and the *Usumacinta*, transported 184 tons of aid to Indonesia after the disaster caused by the tsunami. In September of that same year, after Hurricane Katrina, Mexican troops went to the United States to help the homeless, and in January 2010, navy and civil protection forces went to Haiti to help. They are experienced. The operations mentioned above were not under a UN flag, but now those capabilities are put at the service of the international body responsible for guaranteeing international security.

If Mexico went to Haiti, it would not extricate the broad sectors of the populace from the poverty they are in, but it is time to add a valuable grain of sand to the effort. And what is more important, our country must project itself as what it is: a medium-sized power with huge resources that must have geopolitical influence. Now is the opportunity to shake off that immobilizing ostracism alien to the geopolitical dynamics of the twenty-first century.

We must keep in mind that this would be a win-win operation. The UN needs peacekeeping forces for some missions like Haiti, and the country that sends troops earns prestige in the world. On a military level, its armed forces learn important lessons that are difficult to acquire outside of experiences directly on the ground in peacekeeping operations. On the other hand, in the day-to-day exchanges with their counterparts from other countries, they learn other cultures, languages, and traditions, as well as how to carry out non-combat military operations with respect for the civilian population's rights.

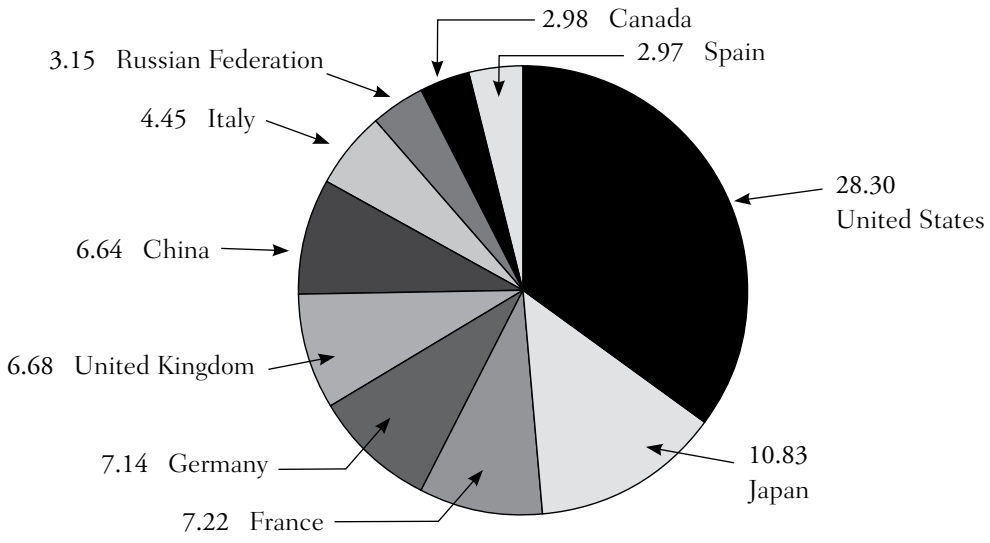
President Peña Nieto launched the idea at the UN, breaking with aging schema; and it will be hard for anyone in his administration or his party to oppose it.

It is true that the soldiers have to face difficult experiences, but these are also learning situations: for example, how to operate and survive in conditions of extreme poverty, such as those the people they deal with live in; with temperatures like the Caribbean's, which are extreme; carrying out multidimensional operations; sometimes the dissuasive deployment of military force, or lending medical assistance; and in other cases, such as in the aftermath of a hurricane, the reconstruction of the country's infrastructure. VM

Notes

[1] In the 69 UN missions from 1948 to 2014, a total of 3 263 troops and civilians have died. See http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/fatalities/documents/stats_5a.pdf, accessed October 8, 2014. Currently, 16 missions are active and 120 countries have sent troops, police, and civilian personnel to participate in them. See http://www.un.org/es/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/factsheet.shtml, accessed July 31, 2014.

Graph 2
Main Financial Contributors to the UN in 2014



Source: Data for this graph taken from http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/structure/, accessed July 31, 2014.

UN Peacekeeping Operations
Challenges and Opportunities for Mexico

María Cristina Rosas*

Tomás Bravo/Reuters

The debate about Mexico participating with troops in UN peacekeeping operations has intensified in recent years. It finally entered a decisive phase after Enrique Peña Nieto announced on September 24, 2014, to the UN General Assembly that Mexico would gradually begin contributing troops to these missions.

Mexico is one of the main financial contributors to these peacekeeping missions, and in addition, it has been sporadically present with military and police contingents since the United Nations was created, plus having civilian personnel participating in these operations, for example, to lend assistance during elections.

Despite this, to date, the country has no definite policy with regard to these missions. This should change based on an evaluation of the national interest and the characteristics and needs of the world in matters of peace and security, which should determine the contribution that Mexico could make. Domestically, now that it has been decided to involve Mexico in the peacekeeping missions with military personnel, the risks and opportunities they imply should be carefully analyzed given that these operations are dynamic and changing and today are very different from what they were originally. Before continuing, I should explain what the peacekeeping operations are, what they are for, and what they look like today.

What Are Peacekeeping Operations?

The UN Charter does not specify the tasks that peacekeeping troops, or Blue Berets, will carry out. The founders of the United Nations, in fact, knew that the body they were creating did not have the attributes to be able to wipe war

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from the face of the Earth. Therefore, in practice, they limited themselves to emphasizing that one of the new institution's main objectives was to maintain international peace and security but without identifying the mechanisms to make that a reality. This is where the concept of peacekeeping operations comes into play.[1] Given that eradicating conflicts would be difficult, the UN pragmatically decided to create mechanisms to mitigate them, especially when they had already broken out.[2] Preventive peacekeeping operations have been less frequent than those aimed at places where a conflict is already underway or where what is needed is to consolidate the peace.

In the 1990s, when peacekeeping missions were drastically on the rise, a series of documents proliferated that sought to delimit their mandate and redefine them in the light of the changes going on in the world. Suffice it to mention that, in contrast with the Cold War, when most conflicts were international, in its aftermath and until today, they are markedly domestic.

In addition, intervention for humanitarian reasons in countries suffering from violent conflicts has been consolidating in international relations as the minimalist vision of human security suggests, in light of which the international community has adopted the principle of what is called "the responsibility to protect." This means that if a state cannot or does not wish to protect its own population in the face of violent conflicts and the violation of its most fundamental human rights, it is the responsibility of the international community to intervene.[3] While the UN Charter itself posits the principle of non-intervention in the internal matters of states, the trend is to overlook this consideration in the face of the destruction and desolation generated by violent conflicts among the civilian population. Non-intervention is also a guiding principle of Mexico's foreign policy; for that reason, as will be seen further along, the country's participation in peacekeeping operations is only supposed to happen when the mission is in accordance with traditional usage, that is, by petition of the government of the territory where deployment is to be made and in accordance with a series of rules that should be clearly known.

In any case, the most usual definition of peacekeeping operations was articulated by former UN Under-secretary General Marrack Goulding. Briefly stated, Goulding described them as UN field operations with the consent of the interested parties to aid in controlling and resolving conflicts between them, under UN command and control, financed by all the member states, with military personnel, as well as other types of personnel and equipment provided voluntarily by them. These forces are to act impartially between the parties and to use the minimum amount of force necessary.[4] With the passage of time, however, these operations have not always stayed within these guidelines, as we will see below.

Mexico is one of the main financial contributors to peacekeeping missions, and it has sporadically sent military and police contingents since the United Nations was created.

Peacekeeping Mission Stages

Broadly speaking, four stages of peacekeeping missions can be distinguished during their history:

1. *Between 1948 and 1988. Classical* or *traditional* peacekeeping operations were carried out, starting in 1948 with observers, and, during the 1956 Suez Canal crisis, peacekeeping troops were sent to situate themselves between the clashing parties. In these four decades, 13 peacekeeping operations were organized. The great powers did not participate, but rather that was left to countries like Canada, Australia, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, etc. The use of force by the Blue Berets was only justified in cases of legitimate defense and, in addition, deployment was effected with the permission of the parties in conflict.
2. *From 1988 to 1998.* The peacekeeping operations during this period should be called complex or multi-dimensional. They broadened out their tasks, going beyond the simple monitoring of the ceasefire and placing themselves between the parties in conflict, to include activities such as disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), humanitarian aid, electoral assistance, protection of human rights, civilian policing, removal of mines, and cooperation with regional bodies. In this period, 36 operations were carried out, almost three times as many as in the Cold War years.

The kind of conflicts they were involved in were, above all, intra-state, which is why in many cases the so-called right to intervene was invoked. Thus, in contrast with the Cold War period, Blue Beret deployments in this decade took place even when the parties in conflict had not given their consent. It should be pointed out that in this period, the great powers were becoming involved directly.

3. *From 1998 to 2005.* The great powers began to withdraw after the failures and criticisms about their inability to act as impartial, efficient Blue Berets.[5] Certain caution was evidenced in this phase in the creation of new peacekeeping missions, and different reports were published suggesting the need to "learn from the mistakes," putting a priority on preventive actions and supporting post-conflict national reconciliation, including the reconstruction of infrastructure and the fabric of society. Outstanding among these were "The Brahimi Report" and "The Responsibility to Protect," published in 2000 and 2001, respectively.
4. *From 2005 until today.* At the time of the UN's sixtieth anniversary, what was emphasized was the consolidation of the post-conflict situation in order to give rise to national reconciliation and a *sustainable* peace. That was how a poorly financed Commission for the Consolidation of Peace was created, which at least warns of the importance of a territory overcoming the conditions that gave rise to armed conflict in the first place in those cases where a peacekeeping mission was needed. This is so it would not be necessary to deploy Blue Berets to the same place, or worse, prolong their presence indefinitely. It should also be underlined that in this period, there has been a much greater participation of troops from developing countries than before, although the quality of the contingents sent, with a few exceptions, was not the best. In addition, UN peacekeeping mission deployments have been carried out jointly with regional bodies such as the African Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the European Union (EU), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The basic aim of peacekeeping operations has been to mitigate violent conflicts and their consequences. Mexico has experience in many of these tasks and can provide assistance, even with non-military personnel.

Peacekeeping Operations' Aims and Tasks

From the political point of view, with the 1995 publication of the supplement to *A Peace Program* by then-UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in order to make it possible for the UN to carry out actions aimed at maintaining international peace and security, five kinds of actions can be taken to aid with peacekeeping operations:

1. Preventive diplomacy
2. Achieving peace
3. Keeping the peace
4. Imposing peace
5. Consolidating peace.

All of these, with the exception of imposing peace, are part of the traditional sphere in which they operate. However, a mission that "imposes" peace changes conditions drastically, to the point that the soldiers sent could be deployed heavily armed without the consent of the parties in conflict so that, if necessary, they could join in combat.

Also, the possibility that Blue Berets carry out new tasks increases to the extent that the international agenda tends to be defined based on a *broad* concept of security, which includes both traditional and non-traditional threats. While the basic aim of peacekeeping operations has been to mitigate violent conflicts and their consequences, their sphere of action has also been broadened to include tasks such as DDR, organizing elections, reconstruction of basic infrastructure, the creation or re-adaptation of national institutions, etc. In many of these tasks, Mexico has experience and can provide assistance, even with non-military personnel.

Final Considerations

Peacekeeping operations emerge first of all from a growing moral and political demand from civil society organizations, multilateral bodies, and governments to protect victims from the violation of their fundamental human rights and/or to

stabilize situations that imply grave risks for certain populations, circumstances that impact the security of the nation in question, its region, and the world. Thus, each operation is a particular case and constitutes a political action. Therefore, it is carried out in a dynamic political context and is constructed on the ground, on the move, progressively. While the operation's mandate and length are relatively easy to establish, the same cannot be said of the processes to build the peace. For this reason, the culmination date of a mission can be put off as time passes.

Mexico has participated sporadically with troops in peacekeeping operations, basically in the first years of the United Nations. Later, it became involved in different operations but only with civilian personnel. It should be underlined that the possibility has now opened up for the country to participate with military personnel in these operations to carry out tasks included in the classic meaning of the term that Marrack Goulding talked about. Nevertheless, given that during a violent conflict, the mandate of a peacekeeping operation can evolve into tasks of imposing the peace, Mexico must be cautious, since this kind of operation would contravene the principle of non-intervention enshrined in our Constitution. This is why it is very important that the country clearly define its position about the type of peacekeeping operation in which it would be participating, stipulating the inadmissibility of its being involved in any operation aimed at imposing peace.

It is important for the country to clearly define its position about the type of peacekeeping it would participe in, stipulating the inadmissibility of being involved in imposing peace.

It is also important to underline that 16 peacekeeping operations are currently underway worldwide, most in Africa, a continent very little known to Mexico's foreign policy. Regardless of the country to which Mexico would send troops, it is very possible that it will receive a request to go in aid of an African nation. For that reason, our national authorities must have better knowledge of the world in general and the situation of the countries that it would support, for example, those in Africa.

Diverse technical, logistical, financial, and personnel-training considerations also exist that Mexico will have to deal with in order to send military and civilian personnel on peacekeeping operations. They must all be carefully examined to guarantee that the participation jibes with the national interest and genuinely contributes to maintaining international peace and security. VM

Notes

[1] Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, "Maintaining International Peace and Security: UN Peacekeeping and Peacemaking," Michael T. Clare and Daniel C. Thomas, eds., *World Security. Challenges for a New Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

[2] Berel Rodal, *The Somalia Experience in Strategic Perspective. Implications for the Military in a Free and Democratic Society* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada/Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, 1997).

[3] United Nations, "La responsabilidad de proteger" (New York: Oficina del Asesor Especial para la Prevención del Genocidio, n/d), http://www.un.org/es/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml.

[4] Marrack Goulding, "The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping," *International Affairs* vol. 69, no. 3 (July 1993).

[5] Whether it was the United States in Somalia, France in Rwanda, and/or Russia in Moldova, Tajikistan, and Georgia, countries in the "Russian sphere of influence." See Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention* (Washington D. C.: Westview Press, 1997); Jonathan Stevenson, *Losing Modadishu: Testing U. S. Policy in Somalia* (Washington D. C.: Naval Institute Press, 1995); François-Xavier Verschave, *Complicité de génocide? La France au Rwanda* (Paris: La Découverte, 1994); Jean-Paul Gouteux, *Un génocide secret d'État: La France et le Rwanda, 1990-1997* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1998); Vénuste Kajimae, *France-Rwanda, les coulisses du génocide: Témoignage d'un rescapé (L'esprit frappeur avec Dagorno)* (Paris: Éditions Dagorno, 2002); Patrick de Saint-Exupéry, *L'inavouable. La France au Rwanda* (Paris: Éditions des Arènes, 2004); and John Mackinlay and Peter Cross, eds., *Regional Peacekeepers: The Paradox of Russian Peacekeeping* (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 2003).

Down through the ages, images of women have always been present in art. Until the twentieth century, save a few exceptions, women in the visual arts were categorized as mere objects of contemplation, ideals of beauty and goodness, or representatives of canons dictated by society, which had little or nothing to do with real living women.

In this issue, we have dedicated a series of articles to art made by women, inspired, in addition, by multiple views of women`s existence, with different roles and meanings, women seen by themselves. The articles we present here include everything from the social dimension, like the defense of feminist ideals in times when women artists were the exception, and interventions in public spaces, to more intimate views of women who, through art, seek to find, defend, and celebrate their own voices.

Panoramic View or Cityscape, 3 panels, 80 x 150 cm each, from the *Requiem for a City* Series, 1979-1982 (acrylic on canvas). Paloma Woolrich Collection.

WOMEN'S CAUSES IN THE ART OF FANNY RABEL

Dina Comisarenco Mirkin*

Boldly distinguishing herself from several Mexican women artists who, even now, are reluctant to accept any direct relationship with the feminist movement, Fanny Rabel was always very up-front in her recognition of its importance in multiple ways. In fact, as a woman artist, she knew that her professional development was largely possible thanks to the social struggle carried out for several years by the feminist movement; she enthusiastically participated in many collective shows of women artists organized by feminist groups; throughout her life, she very actively supported different feminist activities in defense of women's rights; and she felt a profound thematic empathy with some of the main problems denounced by the feminist movement, especially during its rise in the 1970s and 1980s.

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Photos by Jorge Arreola Barraza.

FANNY RABEL'S LIFE AND WORK

Fanny Rabinovich (1922-2008), known as Fanny Rabel, was born in the city of Lublin, Poland, into a Jewish family of stage actors. Their profession and the complicated situation in Europe after World War I meant they spent a great deal of time traveling through different areas of Poland, Russia, and France. In 1938, fleeing from fascism and the imminent World War II, the artist and her family moved to Mexico.

At first, given her family's precarious condition as recent immigrants, the young Rabel had to work to contribute to their support. She began her artistic career by attending drawing and printmaking courses at the Evening Art School for Workers, and shortly afterwards, her talent and perseverance allowed her to join David Alfaro Siqueiros's mural art collective. Finally, in 1942, she entered the La Esmeralda National School of Painting and Sculpture, where she met teachers like Diego Rivera and José Chávez Morado,[1] who consolidated not only her artistic education, but influenced her social concerns and political activities as well. Through her acquaintance with Frida Kahlo, Rabel became part of the group known as "los Fridos," and later on continued her instruction in mural painting working as one of Rivera's assistants. Rabel was a key member of the Popular Graphics Workshop and the Mexican Salon of Fine Arts, where not only did she develop a very active professional career, but also participated in union activities and many public conferences and debates in favor of artists' rights.

Throughout her life, she produced a wide range of artistic work, including prints, easel paintings, murals, and scenery

Self-portrait, 79.2 x 60 cm, 1966 (acrylic on masonite). Paloma Woolrich Collection.

In her paintings Rabel was able to communicate a very intimate, complex, and painful account of what it meant to be a woman in Mexico during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

© Jaime Sommer

Mirele Efros, 69 x 51 cm, from the *Far and Near Theater* Series, 1986-1989, (acrylic on fiberboard). Jaime Sommer Collection.

Her style evolved from realism to expressionism, demonstrating her outstanding creative capacity and her open-minded spirit, never fearful of experimentation and change.

designs; she also participated in numerous collective and individual exhibitions, both in Mexico and abroad. Later on, her style evolved from realism to expressionism, demonstrating her outstanding creative capacity and her open-minded spirit, never fearful of experimentation and change.

In the 1970s, Rabel was in her fifties and at the height of her artistic career. She began to exhibit widely, painting and organizing her individual shows by thematic series, such as *The Social Media News* (1972), *About Time* (1975), *Requiem for a City* (1979), and *The Distant and the Near Theater* (1989), which, more broadly than the scope of their different specific topics, share the artist's talent for denouncing some of the contemporary world's most excruciating social problems, with a very original mixture of nostalgia and her ironic sense of humor.

THE FEMINIST AWAKENING OF THE 1970s

As in other parts of the world, the 1970s was the decade of the feminist boom. The 1960s cultural revolution, and the rising socialist, anarchist, and Marxist ideals in Latin America in general, and particularly in Mexico, offered some of the reference points needed for the emergence of a very radical, militant, and avant-garde type of feminism, which began to be felt in every political, social, and cultural field at the time.

The 1970s, the inaugural decade of the modern new wave of Mexican feminism, was a time of discovery and passionate struggle. The pioneering founders were a very small group of no more than 30 women, who together gained consciousness of their so-called shared "condition as women" as "subjugated beings" *vis-à-vis* men. Like in other parts of the world, the spectacular discovery that the oppression they experienced was not just individual but a collective experience gave them enormous strength, and in spite of their reduced number, allowed them to make lots of productive noise.

The founding feminists of the 1970s generally belonged to the intellectual Mexican middle class. They formed autonomous groups, with no fixed alliances in political parties or unions. At that time, the movement was not structured; it did not have carefully thought-out strategies, or fixed declarations of principles, but their enthusiasm and energy is still difficult to match. They frequently organized some very emblematic actions and interventions, using artistic expressions in very persuasive ways.[2] Through the first academic courses, the first feminist journals, and the organization of

the first collective women's art shows, the pioneering Mexican feminists denounced and fought against the historical confinement of women to the domestic world, "where a lack of educational opportunities and the burden of exhausting and monotonous work added to women's backwardness in the political, economic, scientific, and artistic worlds, objectifying them and depriving them of their voice, their consciousness, and their right to history and creativity."[3]

RABEL'S FEMINIST WORKS

In accordance with the Mexican feminist political agenda of the 1970s and 1980s, and with her own personal experiences as a woman living and working in a patriarchal society, Rabel created some very paradigmatic works. In all of them, despite their different inspirational sources and styles, the artist boldly denounced some of the social "imperatives" or "deformed desires" that have oppressed women throughout history: domesticity, beauty, and dependence on males. As expressed by Rabel´s works, women commonly appropriate these social mandates in spite of their serious and dangerous self-damaging effects.[4]

Rabel´s *The Shipwreck* (1983) represents a surreal atmosphere where stormy waves violently irrupt into an apparently quiet room, where a woman seated on a bed is self-absorbed in her own thoughts in front of a TV set displaying a giant pistol. This very strange and powerful iconography was most probably inspired by the movie of the same title from 1977, directed by Jaime Humberto Hermosillo, and based in turn, on Polish writer Joseph Conrad's short story *Tomorrow* (1902). Both the painting and the movie metaphorically refer to the dramatic consequences that the patriarchal system can have in a woman's life, when, once again, she has internalized a "deformed desire" by renouncing her own intellectual capabilities and placing instead all her hopes on the arrival of an idealized man for self-validation. The metaphoric "wreckage" alludes to the existential crisis women embark on when the idealized "hero" finally shows himself to be no different than other violent, indifferent men who characterize the patriarchal system.

In *Be Beautiful* (1977), the body of the woman portrayed assumes the seductive pose of a reclining odalisque, a very frequent stance for female figures in Western iconography, but in this case re-appropriated by Rabel to ironically criticize not only the social mandates regarding the damaging

The Shipwreck, 124 x 202 cm, 1983 (mixed techniques on canvas). Paloma Woolrich Collection.

Be Beautiful; each triptych panel measures 111 x 75 cm, 1977 (mixed techniques on canvas). Private collection.

absolute standards in relation to women's bodies and beauty, but also the complicity of many women who allow themselves to be objectified this way. The painting becomes another good example of the unmasking of another "deformed desire" internalized by many women who obsessively follow diets, fashion, and other diminishing practices, discriminatorily and exclusively applied to their bodies.

The naked body of the modern odalisque of Rabel's image evidences how, in fact, our most personal acts are many times scripted by patriarchal social conventions, referenced in this specific painting through its iconographic allusion to Western artistic tradition. At the same time, the painting's triptych composition, breaking the woman's body into three different parts, acts as a potent visual metaphor of women's fragmented identities throughout history.

The Empty House (undated) is a very moving piece created by Rabel most probably during the late 1960s, since it relates both thematically and stylistically to her series of that decade, such as *Solitude* (1962) and *The Prisons of Humankind* (1967). In these works, the artist explicitly alludes to the difficulties of human communication and to the burden that some social customs, including marriage, can impose on human beings, since they often damage our well-being and freedom. *The Empty House* originates in the dramatic experience of many women, but particularly housewives, who, once their children grow and leave home, experience a painful sense of loneliness and emptiness. This feeling, called the "empty-nest syndrome," which frequently coincides with other major changes like menopause and trying to cope with increasingly dependent elderly parents, turns out to be very difficult to overcome.

The painting is an original mix of realist and surrealist styles, where a seated and almost paralyzed woman occupies the empty space of her present, evoking at the same time the ghostly presences of her recent past, filled with the very demanding mother-housewife's activities that up to that point had kept her busy, but not necessarily happier. We can conclude that the great value of Rabel´s painting resides not only in her astonishing aesthetic qualities, but in the important fact of making visible a very common and serious social problem, the dangerous depression that invades many adult women and is not openly acknowledged by society and even less treated than it should be.

THE ART OF DENUNCIATION

Even though Rabel was not a feminist activist, throughout her life, she was very close to the feminist movement, supporting various initiatives in favor of women's causes, and

drawing inspiration for some of her themes from the main issues denounced by the movement during those years.

Combining both the information and the ideas discovered and denounced by early Mexican feminism and her own inner experiences as a woman living in a patriarchal society, in her paintings Rabel was able to communicate a very intimate, complex, and painful account of what it meant to be a woman in Mexico during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

By denouncing the social constructions surrounding what women "ought to be" and their dramatic consequences, including the unbearable sense of solitude and meaninglessness, the internalization of the highly self-diminishing objectification of women by women themselves, and the violence of the patriarchal world from a very intimate and well-informed perspective, Rabel was able to denounce some of the ideological bases and gender prejudices that commonly characterize the lives of many women in Mexico even today. As an artist greatly influenced by the feminist movement, Rabel at the same time contributed enormously to the advancement of the struggle in favor of women's causes, becoming a key figure in the genealogy of resistance to the social discrimination exerted against women in Mexico. VM

River of Time, 72 x 109.5 cm, 1975, from the *About Time* Series, 1975 (oil on canvas). Museum of Modern Art, State of Mexico Institute of Culture.

Notes

[1] Rabel also studied with Feliciano Peña, Raúl Anguiano, Carlos Orozco Romero, Francisco Zúñiga, and Alfredo Zalce.

[2] Let us remember the 1976 protest against the celebration of Mother's Day, May 10, because of the conservative ideological basis of the tradition, when activists dressed in mourning black walked to the Mother's Monument in Mexico City and deposited a funeral wreath made out of instruments, pills, and herbs used by women to perform clandestine abortions. Another important public rally was held at the National Auditorium, this time to protest against the Miss Universe Beauty Pageant, because of its appalling objectification of women. Even though the first Mexican feminists got together in order to reflect on their own condition as women, as a consciousness-raising strategy, some of them began to organize in bigger and more public types of associations such as the Women's Liberation Movement (MLM), created in 1974 by Eli Bartra, Marta Lamas, Berta Hiriart, Lucero González, and Martha Acevedo, who because of their coherence and permanence, constructed the bases of the new feminist consciousness in the country. Other important organizations of the times were the Movement of Solidarity Action (MAS), founded in 1971; the National Women's Movement (MNM), in 1973; and the *La Revuelta* Collective, created in 1975.

[3] Delia Selene de Dios Puente, "Preface," *Mujer y sociedad* (Mexico City: Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la UNAM/Salón de la Plástica Mexicana, 1984).

[4] I am using the concept as used by the Norwegian social and political theorist Jon Elster (1940). For him, a person acquires "deformed desires" in order to adapt his/her preferences to his/her opportunities, such as in the so-called "sour grapes" phenomenon of the classic fable, where, since the fox could not reach the grapes, he declared that they were sour to convince himself that he preferred not to eat them.

Super-elegant Women, 83 x 62 cm, from *The Society Pages* Series, 1971-1972 (mixed techniques on wood). Lailson-Zorrilla Collection.

The Cycle.

EVERYDAY GODDESSES

ALEJANDRA ZẼRMENO´S ART

Christian Gómez*

In the vestibule of Mexico City's Women's Museum, four female bodies face each other. The figures, each with a hand on her chest and another on her belly, have formed a circle, a silent encounter. They are black- red-, pink- and aquamarine-colored. The expression on their faces is of someone who is about to say something, with lips slightly parted, as though they are waiting for someone, man or woman, to decide to join the conversation. A frank, naked dialogue.

This space for encounters, for possible dialogue, is the result of artist Alejandra Zermeño's work. Her most recent series consists of these bodies: sculpted portraits of Mexican women. Together with other graphic art and woven pieces they are part of the exhibit "*Cherchez la femme*," where she represents histories of abuse, inequality, and models of backward lives imposed by education.

"This is not a feminist call," says the sculptress about this moment in her work. "These works seek to return to a state of respect for recognizing ourselves in the gaze of the other."

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Prompted by this exhibit, a significant moment in her career, I visited her studio and we talked about the different issues that have surrounded her oeuvre: the relationship of human beings with their surroundings, with skin, with space, her interlude in the world of cinema, the problems of sculpture. The artist returns to her own history and talks about the catharsis of doing her work. At the same time, she insists that it is one stop on the road of her investigation, which already suggests other routes.

HIDEAWAYS

Alejandra Zermeño's studio is in a traditional neighborhood in the city's downtown area. The colorful house where she works stands out among the grey walls of the old buildings. Inside, you can appreciate its special organization. An enormous room with the floor covered in blue plastic and a pink wall is where she sculpts; a small room stores materials on the point of being turned into something else; an office —artists have offices, too—; and a small room full of crated works, of piled-up bodies.

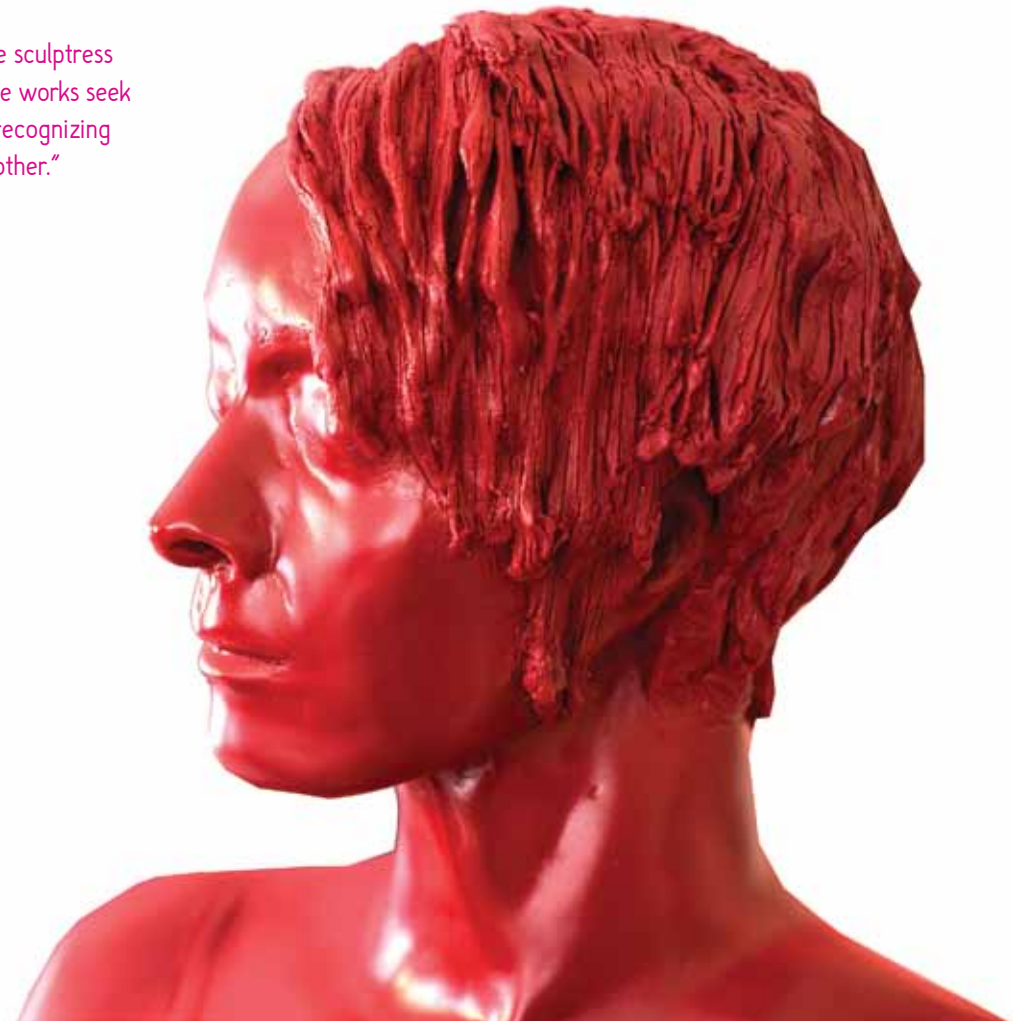
On the walls are postcards of her exhibitions and honors, like her first place in the 2009 Women in Art National Painting and Sculpture Competition or the acquisition prize 2008 at the First Contemporary Sacred Art Biennial in Monterrey.

Alejandra returns to her office with tea, cookies, and fruit. The teakettle, the plates, and the cups belong to another time. Just like almost every object in that space. Every book or postcard seems to harbor a history. In those surroundings, the artist tells hers, which we could refer back to that moment in her childhood when she was eating cookies in the kitchen and, hidden, she would moisten them to make figures.

"I remember the anxious ecstasy that it gave me to model. From a very young age, I also drew and watched people's faces. I was interested in the human body. At that time I didn't understand, but I was surprised by human beings' capability to just be alive," she remembers.

That sensibility, that relationship with things, all of that which today defines her work, seems to have gestated in the

"This is not a feminist call," says the sculptress about this moment in her work. "These works seek to return to a state of respect for recognizing ourselves in the gaze of the other."



different hiding places. Like a special relationship with the past, an intense process of self-discovery.

"I was a very solitary little girl. My mother was a teacher; she worked two shifts and had to raise three children. That's why I was alone a lot; my imagination soared. From hiding with the cookies to creating spaces for myself. Now that I'm an adult and have a more rational contact with art, I realize how art heals. Artists may tell you that works are made up of form, concept, light, contact with the public, the studio . . . but it's not that. Art is a return, a connection with something much more profound that makes it possible to heal situations from your past, present, and even future."

The Plenitude of Being.

INSISTING

The story does not end with that primordial preoccupation that makes Zermeño always return to sculpture. The road was not simple. She was left-handed and they made her use her right. In her first ceramics course at 15, she failed because she hadn't done things with her right hand, the right way. "You have no talent," they told her. "You like fantasizing; you have no ability; it would be better to start a business," she says a guidance counselor told her.

Empowerment and the Clever Fox of the Storybooks.

After her mother's death, the artist's next investigation moved toward talking about the feminine in dialogue with women around her.

But it was an exhibition of Mexican sculptor Javier Marín at the Fine Arts Palace that made her decide to do everything possible to train as a visual artist. So, at the San Carlos Academy she learned art history and, together with other young people, caught the bug of wanting to make art. But technical training was frustrating. There was no place for experimenting. By then, expenses were piling up, and she took the road not of selling work, but using her abilities as a sculptor to do special effects in movies and television.

But although this was no simple matter either, the field turned into a formative period in her relationship with materials. "That's where I realized that I didn't even know how to make a mold. They looked at me like I was going to ruin

everything. I went out to the park and cried about how terrible I was," she remembers. One of her challenges was to make a mold of U.S. American actor Mickey Rourke. Being able to complete the project when Rourke was shooting the film *Man on Fire* (2004) in Mexico was a defining technical learning experience.

From then on, she considered the possibility of making life-sized sculptures and made her special effects work finance her own sculpting. At first, she did one sculpture every six months, but her rapid rise in the world of cinema allowed her to learn and produce her own work in her studio. The last film she did was Mel Gibson's *Apocalipto*, thanks to which she saved enough to be able to return to art completely.

"Since in the movies they need everything yesterday, I acquired discipline and learned an enormous amount about processes and materials, above all about how to solve problems, because a sculptor is always coming up against problems, like in a lab."

Mama/teacher.

Dress as Blanket.

THE BODY, THE MATERIALS, THE CITY

Since then, she has divided her work among the different series, conceived as investigations into different themes, materials, and personal processes, and the fundamental task of processing her own projects. The themes are always different. Zermeño explores different dimensions of human beings.

Once she left the world of cinema to work fulltime as an artist, she began to work on themes like the human body and its relationship with its surroundings. The first series developed like this, *The Industrial Being*, proposed reflections about the implications of moving through the city. As a consequence, the materials used in the work were industrial in origin.

Artificial Territories was the second series that she became deeply involved in. At the same time that she was studying her master's degree at the San Carlos Academy, between experimentation and formal questions, she went back to a technique that she had learned at the age of six: crocheting. Incorporating it into her sculptures let her think about the role of clothing as people's second skin, on the one hand, and, on the other, it was a way of expanding sculpture. Also, crocheting was a metaphor for the constitution of living beings.

Cherchez la femme.

This project was key to what would come in the artist's career. In the same way that bodies take shape cell by cell, the process taught her the way that concepts, projects, and works are produced step by step. So, after her investigation about the city, materials, and the body came two of her most personal projects. The first was "BIDA (Internal Biology of Animals)," the first series that after many years of work she managed to create exactly as she had imagined it. The series, a reflection about animal mechanisms for survival in nature emerged as an homage to her mother, the pillar of her family, who at the time was ill with cancer.

"It was a difficult moment. On the one hand, I was working on the collection from the hospital, watching my mother decline, and the change in museum management meant that they almost cancelled the exhibit. On the other hand, I managed to say that life is wonderful and we have to fight for our dreams."

CHERCHEZ LA FEMME

After her mother's death, the artist's next investigation moved toward talking about the feminine in dialogue with women around her. The result was the series *Cherchez la femme*, an intimate exhibit that took her back to the workshop and made her review her processes. Once again, she made molds from people, she thought about the relationship between drawing and line, between workshop and solitude.

Incorporating crocheting into her sculptures let her think about the role of clothing as people's second skin, on the one hand, and, on the other, it was a way of expanding sculpture.

"This collection began as the idea that it would be just self-portraits, but at the very first one, I stopped short. My mother was a single mother with three children and I grew up with the vision and the example that women suffer a ton. They're the ones abandoned, they're the ones who sacrifice, who work. The feminine defined in social standards was not one of my reflexes. I grew up with lots of fear of being a woman. I wanted to be a man because I thought that men didn't suffer," she remembers.

That's where her relationship with the phrase "*Cherchez la femme*" came about. In French, it is derogatory and suggests that behind every problem there is a woman. However, she wanted to put this idea in tension, so she abandoned the

self-portrait project to propose to the women around her that they look for themselves to create an awareness of being. She decided to include the other women's histories because she needed to see herself reflected in the eyes of other women and men.

The process consisted of interviewing women close to her between the ages of 26 and 56. She turned the sculptures into psychological portraits. This time, her question about the constitution of the body included an emotional dimension. She used elements of the histories that she filtered with what she noticed; through her gaze, she underlined a beauty that they saw in another way. At the same time, she encountered histories that overwhelmed her: sexual abuse, inequality, disproportional demands in education. That, together with her own history: the arduous work of dealing with a profession made for men.

The series was, therefore, an exercise in recognition that sought to move through the cycles of women until death; that's why she included her mother's. Creating herself to find the other: "an awareness of returning to listen to each other to then look at the other and recognize each other with their gaze."

Sketching, like the bodies gathered in a circle at the Women's Museum, represents the possibility of an encounter: of forms and concepts, or opportunities that counterpose themselves to obstacles, of the equilibrium of things. Thus, Alejandra Zermeño's work has become a possibility of translation between her own history and forms; between work, the agents that make it possible, and the public. After this very intimate collection come extraordinary explorations into siblings and animals.

"This is not a feminist call, or a gender issue; rather, it's a call to the conscience in order to return to a state of respect, a natural state, of listening to each other and recognizing each other in the gaze of the other. This is a small exercise in my professional life of reflecting myself through the gaze of the other. For me, the creation of objects has been a way to understand why I exist. And, taking symbolic elements like materials, or elements that I integrate into the work, the person who I am, that person we are, comes into being." VM

Sasuke.

Rabbits of the Desert.

Sravasti.

Helen Escobedo, *The Death of the Forest*, 2.50 x 7 x 4 m, 1990 (iron lattices and dried leaves).
Lebanese Center Gallery. Photo: Helen Escobedo Archives.

ON WOMEN, ART, PUBLIC SPACE, AND ACTION
HELEN ESCOBEDO

Angélica Abelleyra*

Women and their bodies. Women and their micro- and macro-social surroundings, from life as part of a couple to how to be an actor in the collective. Ephemeral, critical creative action, which with the bittersweet mark of humor and denunciation, throws darts to point out the (non)human ways of nature, not just animal nature, but that of all life on the planet: from trees to turtles, in the seas and in the forests, among waste and fires. Above all, reflection about vulnerable human life, with the marks of aggression, violence, and exile, both on geographical maps and the cartography of thought and emotions.

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Helen Escobedo and Lorena Wolffer are two Mexican women artists through whose work common threads cross, get tangled, take shortcuts, darn the multiple feelings of our two main houses, the personal and the shared: body and city, mind and street.

Helen Escobedo (1934-2010) was a gatherer of quality; not only of ideas and dreams, but also of materials, waste, and problems that each place in the world made a gift of to her. All she needed was just to put her feet on a sidewalk, beach, convent, or forest in cities in Germany, Denmark, Finland, Mexico, or Costa Rica, and her head would start to design creative *solutions* for the place; or, at least, *accents* so the public could see the myriad problems in their immediate surroundings: the deforestation of the forests in Helsinki or the

Lorena Wolffer, *Look Me in the Eyes*, 2014 (cloth hangings and prints on paper).
Ex-Teresa Today's Art Museum and Mexico City Subway System. Photo: Gerardo Alberto Sánchez Aguilera.

AND LORENA WOLFFER

illegal hunt for turtles on Costa Rican beaches; the forest fires in Copenhagen or a street garbage dump in Chapultepec Forest.

The ephemeral was something she loved. It offered her the freedom to go to a place, investigate its ecological or other social problems, and create local working groups (with students, street sweepers, housewives) to find *in situ* the materials that would become her installations. Through donations, inexpensive purchases, or picking through the garbage, she would gather old chairs, tires, umbrellas, and dried leaves, later turned into the spirits of ancient trunks, turtle shells, and reconstructed trees.

After the exhibit, the artist dismounted it, returning the borrowed, improved materials (old chairs, restored) and the rest was waste. No bothersome, expensive customs red tape, insurance, or transportation. A video, a photo, and memory —her memory— were the important thing about every project.

But, if passion for the ephemeral marked her work from the 1970s on, Escobedo's first steps were more conventional. Born of an English mother and a Mexican father, she began her journey in sculpture with her teacher Germán Cueto. First, bronze was the raw material for the pieces that brought her honors at the Gallery of Mexican Art (1956) and prizes in art biennials in the 1960s, and allowed her to participate with her *Doors to the Wind*, a public sculpture on the Route of Friendship, part of the cultural program for the nineteenth Olympic Games in Mexico City (1968), one of the three works that were central to her artistic life. In addition,

(de)marcations, 2014. Autonomous Metropolitan University, Cuajimalpa campus, Mexico City. Photo: Lorena Wolffer Archive.

Survey of Women about Violence, Mexico City's central Zócalo Square, 2008. Bus and subway stations, Jamaica Market, Academia Street, in downtown Mexico City. Photo: Lorena Wolffer Archive.

LORENA WOLFFER

Helen Escobedo was a gatherer of quality; not only of ideas and dreams, but also of materials, waste, and problems that each place in the world made a gift of to her.

starting with this piece, placed on the Outer Beltway Freeway in the southern Mexico City neighborhood of Xochimilco, she became interested in how her monumental creations permitted the passage of light and the containment of shadow.

A decade later, working collectively brought her to one of her highest points when, in 1978, she was the only woman who participated, along with Manuel Felguérez Hersúa, Mathías Goeritz, Federico Silva, and Sebastián, in the design of the UNAM's Sculptural Space: a circular marvel open to the sky, surrounded by 64 concrete polyhedrons placed on the rough volcanic surface of the Pedregal de San Ángel area.

About the piece, which she considered the second among her three main works, she wrote, "[a] dialogue between the primeval and the modern. . . . There, space and time merge. The four winds, the four lunar phases, the four elements, and the four phases of human life all pass through there."[1]

The complement to that monument, but this time an individual work, was her steel sculpture *Coatl* (1980), a penetrable, transparent serpent with the colors of fire spread along the stony walk in University City. Transparency was a substantive element of the third of the top three pieces that marked her art: *The Great Cone of Jerusalem* (1986), painted iron rods woven together to form a yellow mesh cone inside a red cylinder. Eight meters high and seven meters in diameter, it stands on a Jerusalem street without obstructing the public's view of its surroundings.

Just as she had paid homage to nature in the Sculptural Space, with the passing years and their ecological tragedies, she dedicated herself to a critique of humanity's predatory acts against ecosystems. *The Death of the Forest* (1990) was one of those critiques. On iron mesh, she placed thousands of dead leaves that recreated trees in a dried-out walkway. What she called her "ephemeral sentinels" were the verification of the whirlwind of deforestation of our forests and jungles, as well as the little attention we pay to tree life.[2] In other installations, she simulated summer fires, put up umbrellas that *brought relief* to the trees from acid rain, or placed crutches to support old tree trunks.

Metaphors full of humor, tender, acerbic winks, accents on the perspective for their survival in forests and seas that

humans have lost. Because in that other universe, the watery, lavish universe, the hand of humankind commits abuses, and Helen was always there to *point it out* with art. *For the Turtles* (1993) was one of her celebrated pieces in San José, Costa Rica. One hundred turtles made of old tires, umbrellas, plastic bags, and wood *wandered* in the Park of Peace to create awareness about the unrestricted hunt for these animals, just as dozens of figures filed through ex-monasteries, patios, galleries, and museums of Germany and Mexico as *The Refugees* (2004). Seventy-one full-sized figures made of lengths of cloth, bent over, begging. On their voyage, the refugees were the painful translation of the human migrations that today define the world of hunger, discrimination, poverty.

Sensitive to "the spirit of each place," Helen was faithful to the end in order to achieve her creative and ethical aspirations.[3] "Being an artist means sharpening your feelings about beauty. . . . I am concerned about society and the system I live in. What can I do? Politically, nothing. Perhaps just improve what's around me. Make beauty. What beauty? Mine. I hope it's useful."[4]

NARRATIVES FOR EQUALITY

She is her body, but she also represents the others, who are not her, but it is as though they were. Her body is metaphor, cartography, map. She tattoos it with felt pens, she laces it together with yarn, and puts up bridges of perception with that string to the people she has in front of her, whether women or men. Because Lorena Wolffer (b. Mexico City, 1971) tries to put an end to those binary gender definitions. She thinks that those static categories, together with the norms and customs that second them, generate a large part of the violence in our societies today.

Each of her projects, whether performance art, a survey, or a billboard, tries to build an intermediate space between art and activism; to generate immediacy and communication with the public; to lead to questions about the construction of gender identity, to understand, give to understand, and understand each other in the attributions assigned to women, their sexuality, their social role, and the naturalization papers of violence.

Because in that other universe, the watery, lavish universe, the hand of humankind commits abuses, Helen was always there to *point it out* with art.

HELEN ESCOBEDO

For the Turtles, 150 m² installation, 1993 (tires, rubber, and umbrellas). La Paz Park, San José, Costa Rica. Photos: Helen Escobedo Archives.

If in her first steps in Barcelona, she found art through painting, in the United States, she found the medium that fit with her social and aesthetic concerns: performance art. *Miss Mexico*, *Alienation*, and *Mapping Shaheeda* became actions that she presented in Spain, the United States, Quebec, France, and Mexico, her own country, which has pained her for decades because of the murder of thousands of women in Ciudad Juárez, but also in the State of Mexico, and a growing list of other states.

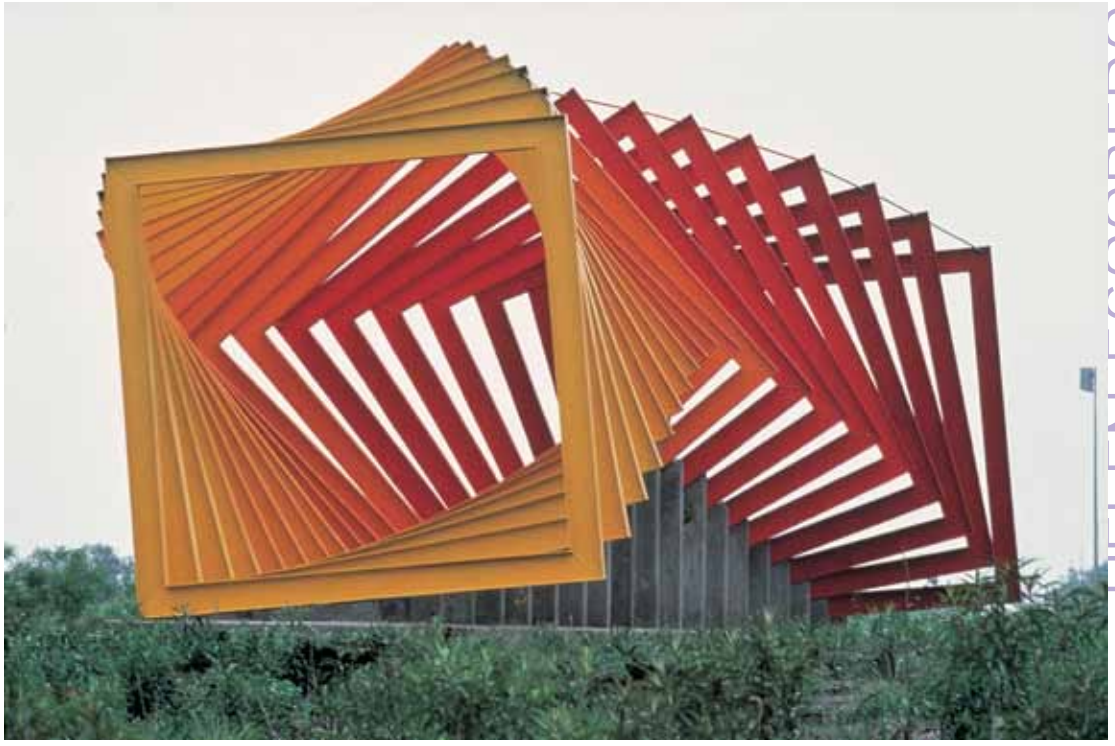
In *While We Slept* (2002), she named 50 women murdered in the border city at the same time that she used a surgical marker to circle on her body the places where the blows and wounds had ended the lives of Rosa, Alma, Lucía . . . turned into a single number, nameless and deprived of justice.

As one of the many aspects that generate gender hatred, sexist advertising became another critical focus. Her counter-campaign, *I Am Totally of Iron* (2000), took up 10 billboards in different areas of Mexico City. For two months the black and white ads with touches of red displayed a dark-skinned, defiant, powerful, ironic woman before the lascivious gaze of men on public transportation or in the midst of the city's chaos, its own "Iron Palace."[5]

Another strategy to approach the feelings of women who are psychologically, physically, or sexually violated was her *Survey on Violence against Women* (2008), which she carried out outside subway and bus stations and popular markets in Mexico City's Federal District. The questionnaire asked anonymous respondents about any kind of violence they might have experienced, whether they continued to live with their partner, and if they had made a formal complaint about it. A red pin and a green pin stuck on each person polled was the public recognition of their condition. The red pins (an alert to violence) circulated much more widely than the green.

Another performance experience has been *States of Exception* (2013), presented in London, Mexico City, and Querétaro, where a group of women passersby sat at a table and

Lorena is her body, but she also represents the others.
Her body is metaphor, cartography, map.
She tattoos it with felt pens; she laces it together with yarn.



HELEN ESCOBEDO

Coatl, 3 x 15 x 3 m, 1980 (steel). UNAM University Cultural Center. Photo: Helen Escobedo Archives.

I Am Totally of Iron, 2000 (iron frames and printing on paper). Different public spaces. Photo: Lorena Wolffer Archives.

Each of Lorena's projects, whether performance art, a survey, or a billboard, tries to build an intermediate space between art and activism; to generate immediacy and communication with the public; to lead to questions about the construction of gender indentity.

chatted for three hours. Regardless of age, marital status, socio-economic level, or sexual preference, they talked in the middle of the street, showing the multiple ways of relating to each other pleasurably. In addition, the menu stipulated women's rights under Mexican law and international agreements. At the end, each one left written testimony of her experience. This project earned Wolffer the 2014 Artraker Prize in the category of social impact.

Look Me in the Eyes (2014) was another collective declarative action. That is how the artist defines her work of articulating the presence of 26 women who live, work, or circulate on Licenciado Verdad Street in the middle of downtown Mexico City. After asking the question, "What do you do to *be a woman*?" she presented the participants' reflections and portraits of their backs. The women "transported their gender identities to the terrain of the visible and intelligible, of the word and the declaration."[6] The result was an exhibit of photo-murals plus a conversation in four public rooms of the Ex-Teresa Today's Art Museum. More recently, in *(de) marcations* (2014), Wolffer attempted to weave a network of complicities. Starting from the marker "woman" as a category of identity, she built a dialogue with the male and female participants in a circle in which they responded to medical and psychological test questions about sexual and gender *normality*. With a piece of red yarn and a wooden loom, she intertwined the participants with the yarn as well as with the personal responses that become public. This open sample of subjectivities broadens out the lines of identity and empathy with male and female others with regard to their differences and similarities.

With this kind of artistic and collective work, Lorena Wolffer maintains her status of outsider, since she is not part of any group in the so-called artistic community. By contrast, her freedom is corroborated in each action in the face of women, their circumstances, and their yearnings. VM

Notes

[1] Amalia Benavides, Irela Gonzaga, and Magali Lara, comps., *Paisajes: Helen Escobedo* (Mexico City: Conaculta, Fonca, UNAM, 2011), p. 88.
[2] Ibid., p. 183.
[3] Angélica Abelleyra, "Reinventar la naturaleza," Angélica Abelleyra, ed., *Mujeres insumisas* (Monterrey: Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2007), p. 28.
[4] Amalia Benavides, Irela Gonzaga, and Magali Lara, comps., op. cit.
[5] This is an allusion to the Mexico City department stored named Palacio de Hierro (Iron Palace) and its ad campaign "Soy totalmente Palacio" (I Am Totally Palace), considered sexist. Source: "Conversar con el cuerpo," *Mujeres insumisas*, Angélica Abelleyra, ed. (Monterrey: UANL, 2007), p. 238.
[6] Lorena Wolffer's text at the public chat and exhibition *Look Me in the Eyes*, at the Ex Teresa Arte Actual, April/June 2014.

MAYA GODED
PHOTOGRAPHER OF FREEDOM

Teresa Jiménez*

The photographer's gaze brings dignity to what is photographed.
SUSAN SONTAG[1]

The Witches of San Luis Series.

Disappeared Women Series.

Women, always women. Women full length, women with hidden faces, dead women, living women, women in love, disappointed women, women under the ground, women on a bed, women in the street, women on a slab in the morgue, first-, second-, and third-generation women, wise women, ignorant women, joyful women, nostalgic women, abandoned women, desired women, excluded women, disguised women, naked women, women who love, women who suffer, dignified women . . . women on the edge.

The Witches of San Luis. Ancient women who live on the margins in two senses: on the outskirts of the city, and marginalized, judged, feared, and sought out, just like prostitutes. People go to them to access "dark" knowledge, but nobody talks about them or recognizes their existence.

The Witches of San Luis Series.

Maya Goded's work is a visual response to existential questions of the photographer herself, who through her lens does not aim for simple answers to sate her curiosity or mitigate her anxiety, but who seeks arguments to denounce the ethical injustice with which society continues to classify the feminine condition: the "bad" woman or the "good" mother, a condition which, by the way, she shares as do many other women in

**Voices of Mexico* editor.

Photos reprinted by permission of Maya Goded.

Mexico. That's why sexuality, violence, and marginality is the triad on which she has built her photographic oeuvre for many years now and which she insists upon time and again whenever there is a reason to document that condemnation. That's why her photographs are not instantaneous or from a single sitting, but are rather the result of recurring encounters with the figures, with whom she weaves a common history, sometimes years long; she does not attempt to rescue them, but only to document their reality.

When asked about the images of a documentary series about prostitutes from Mexico City's Soledad de la Merced neighborhood, she explains, "These photos arise from the need to find answers to certain questions that unconsciously led me to wander through the streets and plazas observing the people who inhabit them. I grew up in Mexico City, where Catholic morals decree

The Witches of San Luis Series.

what a 'good woman' must be, mythologizing maternity and virginity as though the body decided our value as people and, finally, our fate. I wanted to do something that would let me look deeply at the roots of inequality, transgression, the body, sex, virginity, maternity, childhood, old age, desire, and our beliefs. I wanted to talk about love and the lack of it. I wanted to know about women. I photographed prostitutes, their people, their neighborhood."

Before that experience, Goded had confronted an atrocity that was also absurd: the Ciudad Juárez feminicides. The series *Disappeared Women* is a paradoxical visual testimony: images of non-existence, of young women who are no longer here, who have been murdered, but whose presence we can intuit under the earth in those desolate wastes that filter through the camera, in the painful memory marked on the face of a mother who has lost her daughter or in the indifference of an unperturbed official. *Disappeared Women* is a painful metaphor

Disappeared Women Series.

Disappeared Women. Representation of pain, desolation, violence, hatred, and the senselessness of a society that crosses its arms in the face of Ciudad Juárez's feminicide.

Disappeared Women Series.

of hatred, violence, and impunity that for a long time fogged her lens, imposing a brief pause or "photographic silence" for a time —but not for long, because her camera is her word, and she soon began to focus on other women with whom she once again engaged in dialogue and that she humanizes through her images. Women who meet on the real edge, like the women who every day try to cross or live temporarily on the border, or the metaphoric limit of the prohibited and the permitted, like the "witches" of San Luis, who possess knowledge that defies reason, condemned by a society fearful to break through the permitted limits. Maya Goded finds in every woman the possibility of free-

Plaza de la Soledad. Prostitutes from the Merced neighborhood, photographed with their children, their partners, their clients, with each other, with their bodies, with their sexuality, their dreams, in their day-to-day life, and their yearnings for freedom.

Plaza de la Soledad Series.

Plaza de la Soledad Series.

Plaza de la Soledad Series.

dom, since she thinks that through a break, we can reconstruct ourselves in many ways more freely than the ones to which society had condemned us.

Without affectations, without pre-established scenes, through photography, Maya Goded simply confirms what she sees and feels, leaving before our eyes testimonies of great expressive force and a beauty as unusual as it is startling. And, after looking at these photos, there comes a point at which we viewers don't know if we're seeing them, we're experiencing them, or if we're feeling them. Image, reflection, experience; before her photographs, we are simultaneously witnesses, reflection in a mirror, and protagonists of this visual document, images that are worth looking at because, more than inert images, Maya Goded captures with her camera experiences of great emotional impact. The photographs of Maya Goded enjoy a dual category: art and truth. VM

Notes

[1] Susan Sontag, *Sobre la fotografía* (Mexico City: Alfaguara, 2006).

COLOSSAL HEADS

Olmec Masterworks

Ann Cyphers *

Colossal Head 8, San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, Veracruz, Xalapa Anthropology Museum.

Colossal Head 5, San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, Veracruz, Xalapa Anthropology Museum.

Of the many interpretations of the meaning of the colossal heads, one stands out: that they were portraits of important personages like rulers and priests.

Mexico's colossal heads are recognized worldwide for their huge size and extraordinary beauty. They are the most celebrated symbols of the Olmec civilization, which reached its peak between 1400BCE and 400BCE on the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Two questions are often asked about them: What do they represent and how were they transported? Despite their simplicity, these questions encompass an extremely complex issue involving the structure and functioning of Olmec society.

Of the many interpretations of the meaning of the colossal heads, one stands out: that they were portraits of important personages like rulers and priests. Despite the formal similarity among them, all the faces are different. In addition, each exudes the power and dynamism of great rulers since these stone sculptures act as political symbols with the connotations of a social hierarchy.

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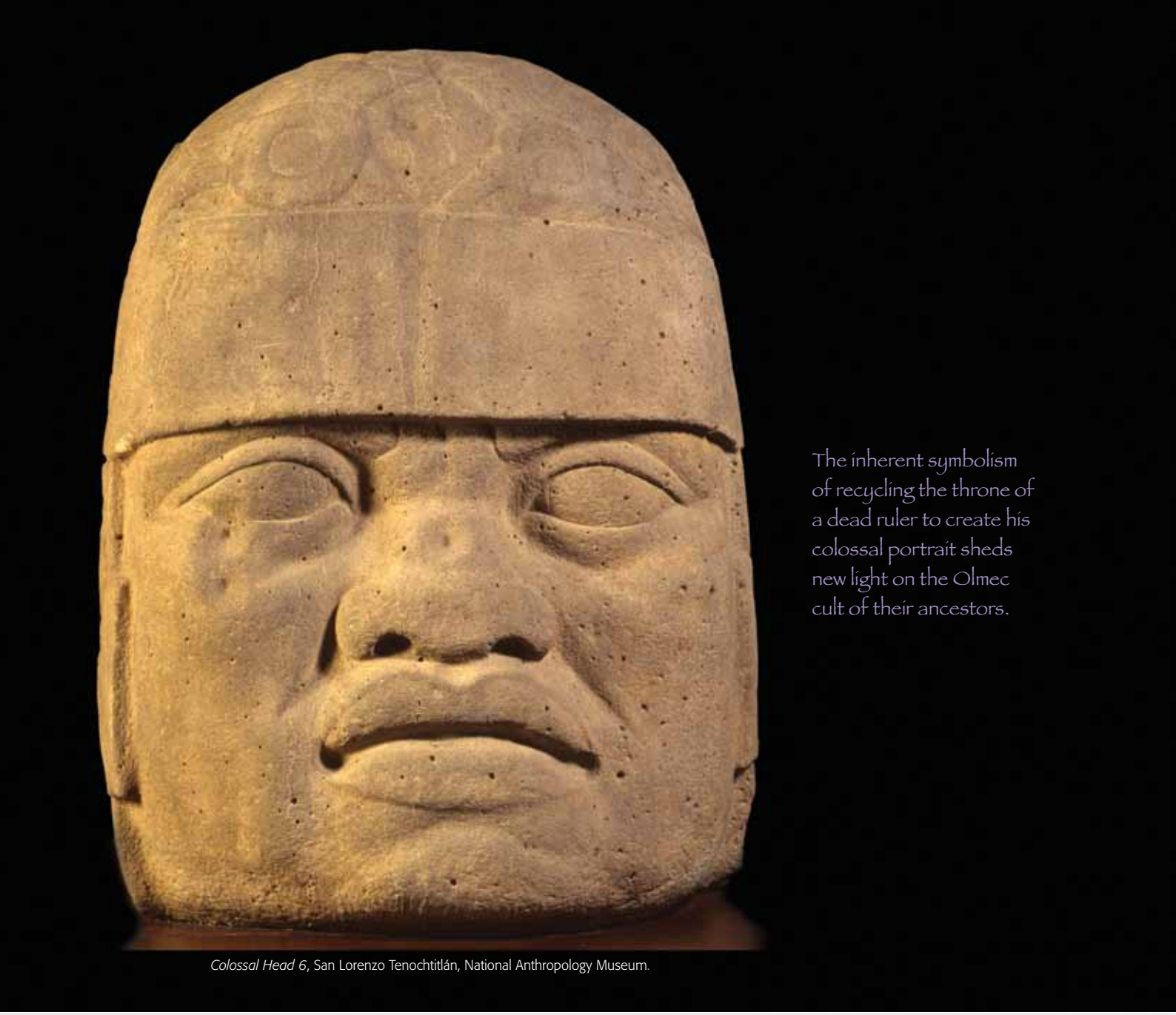


Colossal Head 6, San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, National Anthropology Museum.

The inherent symbolism of recycling the throne of a dead ruler to create his colossal portrait sheds new light on the Olmec cult of their ancestors.

San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, the first Olmec capital,[1] is the place with the greatest number of colossal heads: ten in all. Although scholars have assumed that the monumental sculptures were carved out of natural rocks, some of them have been recycled; that is, previously existing pieces were re-carved to change their form and meaning. This is the case of most of the colossal heads from San Lorenzo. It is worthy of note that that some of these pieces were carved out of large thrones, as is noticeable in the ones that still preserve remnants of the frontal niche of a throne. The flattened features and compressed form of nine of San Lorenzo's ten heads, as well as the flat sides, must be the result of this recycling process and not indicators of African origins, as has sometimes been said.

The inherent symbolism of recycling the throne of a dead ruler to create his colossal portrait sheds new light on the Olmec cult of their ancestors and also provides evidence that the recycled heads were not transported from the distant fields of volcanic rock in the Tuxtla Mountains since the rock was re-utilized in the very capital of San Lorenzo a short time before its decline around 900BCE. This is also related to the waning power of the capital's last rulers and their inability to import the rock from faraway deposits. After 1000BCE the problems that were to

disastrously affect San Lorenzo society began. One of the ways in which they manifested was precisely the increasing recycling of sculptures, which suggests difficulties in obtaining the raw materials and the labor needed to move the monuments.

This recycling carried out to create the enormous portraits is a complex phenomenon with implications on various, not mutually-exclusive levels: the personal or individual, the social, the official, the historical, and the mythical. The large thrones are probably the only potentially recyclable monuments for making colossal forms. If most of the colossal heads were created out of recycled seats of power, then many symbols of Olmec authority have been lost, and therefore, key traces of this civilization's socio-political and ideological development. The loss of thrones must not be ignored since the socio-political basis that motivated the recycling systematically and intentionally eliminated important elements that registered the identity of past rulers, previous hierarchical structures, and predecessors to the ruling positions; this must have had both advantages and disadvantages for different social groups.

It can be seen that the carving of three of the ten pieces was not finished, which is why they were not placed in their final destination: two long lines of ancestral portraits that were being mounted in the site center. The aim of creating this great scene of heads is not completely clear, though it would seem to be an attempt to reaffirm

Colossal Head 7, Villahermosa, Tabasco, La Venta Park Museum.

the legitimacy and right to govern of one or several of the site's last rulers, who were facing the imminent disintegration of their reign and had to transform the pre-existing sculptures. This scene was never finished given the socio-political problems that caused it to be abandoned. The existence of two lines of heads was confirmed with the discovery of the tenth head in 1994. The carving of three of the heads remained unfinished, which is why they were not shifted to the commemorative lines. The custom of forming linear scenes of colossal heads endured through time, since in the La Venta archaeological site in Tabasco, we can also see the alignment of three heads north of the ceremonial area.

The specificity of each face and the characteristics of each headdress allowed the Olmec people to recognize the figures, even though today we cannot identify them by name.

Colossal Head 10, San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, San Lorenzo Community Museum.

Colossal Head 4, Villahermosa, Tabasco, La Venta Park Museum.

The Olmec sculptures may have been moved time after time for different reasons. Each time a sculpture was moved from one place to another or when a scene was formed with various sculptures, a considerable amount of labor was required, reinforcing, promoting, and proclaiming the nobility of the elite. Thus, the monuments were used periodically to re-create scenes imbued with mythological and historical significance. Several examples of this practice exist, outstanding among which are the sculptural scene in the Azuzul acropolis at the Loma del Zapote site, made up of the twins and two felines, and the macro-scene of the colossal heads.

These scenes are unmistakable material manifestations of the dramatization of power that aided the ruling group to design and control the social experience to take and remain in power. Clearly, the creation of each scene had a cost in labor, carried out by the common people, at the same time that it reinforced these sacred ideas. This kind of dramatization of mythical and historical events was essential

Colossal Head 1, San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, Veracruz, Xalapa Anthropology Museum.

in the symbolic construction of authority; the creation of the scenes constituted a dazzling mixture of emotions, cosmology, and the power that legitimized it.

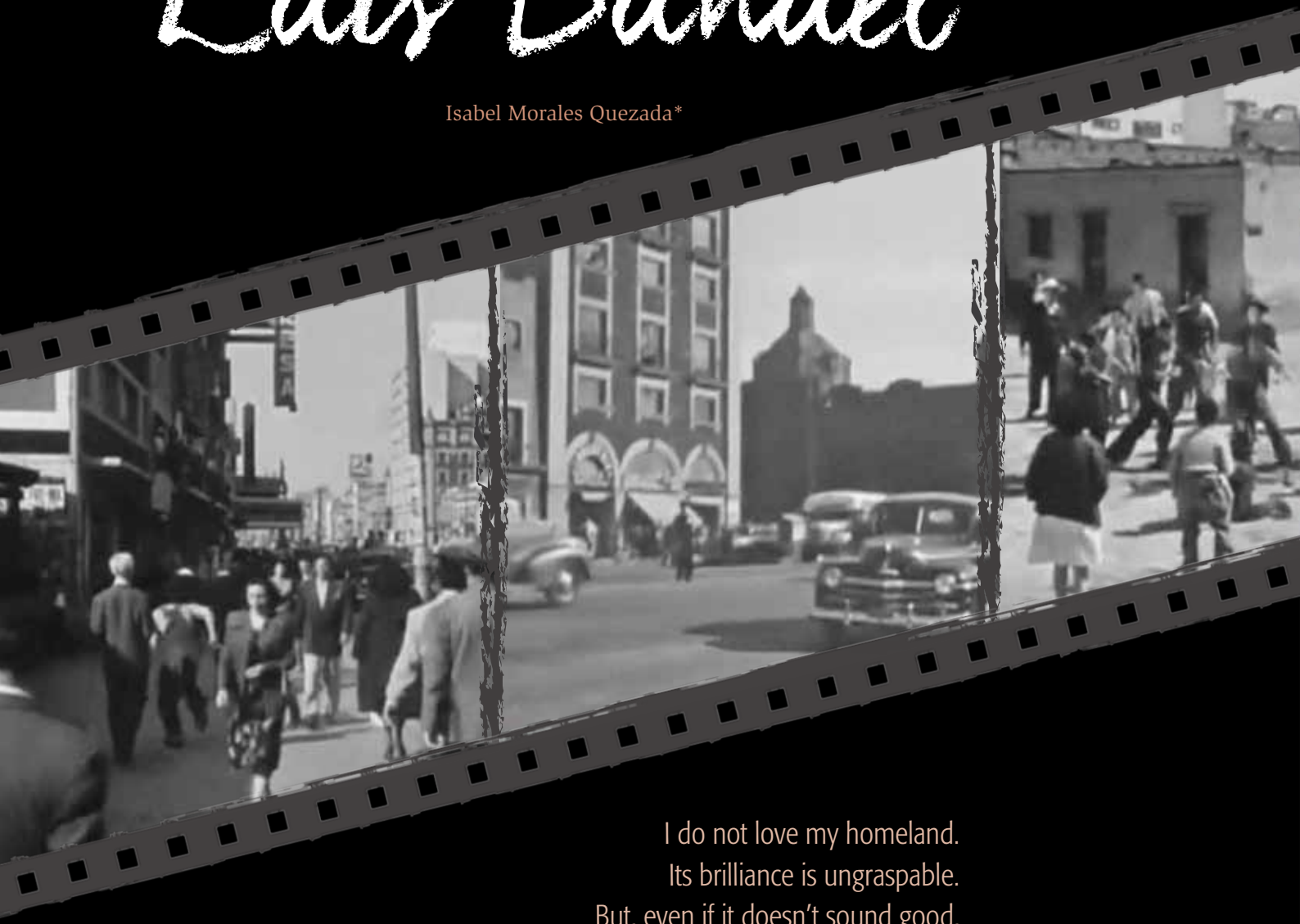
The colossal portraits of the Olmec rulers are a valuable historical registry of the Olmec governments as pointed out by the great scenes of the heads in both capitals. The specificity of each face and the characteristics of each headdress allowed the Olmec people to recognize the figures, even though today we cannot identify them by name. These stone testimonials are a demonstration of the greatness of the central authority of Mesoamerica's first civilization, but also the registry of its decline. VM

Notes

[1] San Lorenzo's oldest settlement dates back to 1800BCE-1400BCE.

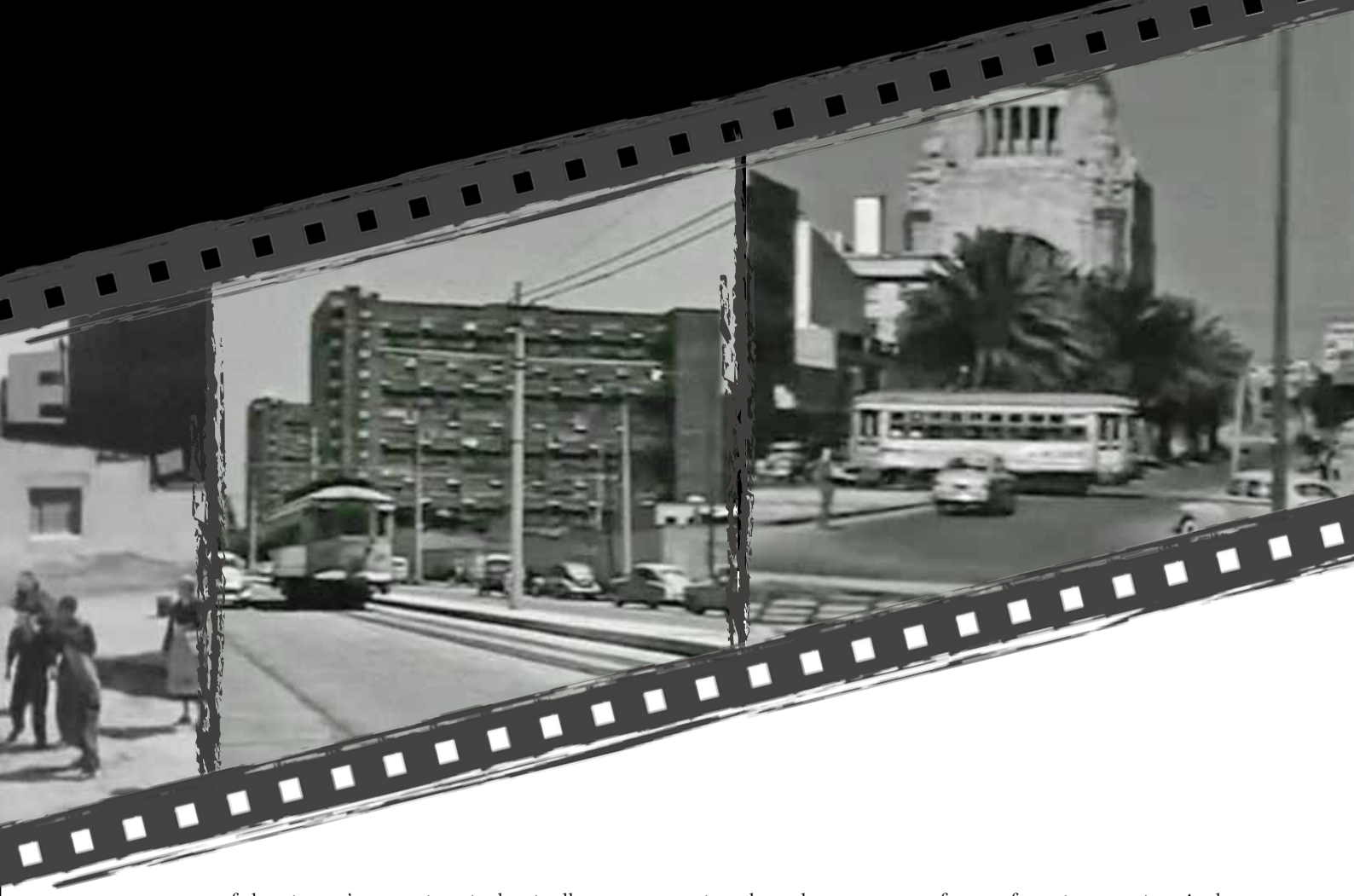
Mexico City through the Eyes of Luis Buñuel

Isabel Morales Quezada*



I do not love my homeland.
Its brilliance is ungraspable.
But, even if it doesn't sound good,
I would give my life
for ten of its places, certain people,
ports, pine forests, fortresses,
a city undone, grey, monstrous,
figures in its history, mountains
—and three or four rivers.

José Emilio Pacheco
"Alta traición" (High Treason)[1]



One of the cinema's attractions is that it allows us to glimpse other eras. This is what a large number of the films that Luis Buñuel shot in Mexico represent today: the opportunity to delve into the past of a city and its inhabitants, to discover places that have disappeared, changed, or remained inured to the passage of time; the possibility of wandering through Mexico City through the particular gaze of a cinematographer who was always ahead of his time.

Luis Buñuel, born in Spain, was a naturalized Mexican citizen. He came to live here in 1946, and although his first movie, *Gran Casino* (released in English as *Magnificent Casino*) is more commercial, his later work broke with the canons of the so-called "Golden Age" of Mexican cinema, where morality and happy endings were the norm. His film *Los olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned* in English), made in 1950 and inscribed in the UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2003, is the most representative case of this break. Buñuel's is not a "sugar-coated version" of poverty, as Carlos Fuentes described the way the issue had been dealt with in cinema until then.[2] Rather, he transports us to the forgotten parts of a big city, where the poverty we often prefer to ignore exists. At the beginning of the movie, the narrator warns the audience,

> Behind their magnificent buildings, the big modern cities, New York, Paris, London, hide poor homes housing undernourished children, with no hygiene, no schools, a breeding ground for future criminals. Society tries to correct this evil, but with very limited success. . . . Big, modern Mexico City is no exception to this universal rule. That's why this film, based on real life, is not optimistic.

What differentiated Luis Buñuel from his contemporaries in Mexico was his interest in showing other realities, warts and all, without leaving behind his fascination with surrealism. It was precisely his interest in those ignored, censored worlds that made him take special care with the locations for all his films. In *Los olvidados*, most of the scenes are shot in the real places of a city that was beginning to grow, to fill in and disappear at the same time:

> Mexico City began to grow, to spread out. The nearby old agricultural towns began to merge, but between them and the city, what were called "lost cities" sprang up: irregular settlements

*Staff writer.

All photos by Mercury.

In *Los olvidados*, most of the scenes are shot in the real places of a city that was beginning to grow, to fill in and disappear at the same time.

inhabited mainly by immigrants from the rest of the country who had come in search of jobs. These old towns began to become a part of the metropolis.[3]

The young character Jaibo, played by Roberto Cobo, who has escaped from a reformatory, walks freely along what is now known as Mexico City's Eje Central (Central Boulevard). Behind him, the audience can see the vertical marquis of the Teresa Cinema, which, surprisingly, still exists. Cars pass on the boulevard and people hurry along the sidewalk, men in suits and women going to work; a man is washing his car and a sandwich salesman shouts his wares. It's an agitated city, alive and noisy. An inhabitant of today could still recognize some of these places, though now they are noisier and the itinerant sellers are on every corner. The periphery that began to be settled in the 1950s is by now an extension of a city that has become infinite and unfathomable.

The modernity that the narrator mentions at the beginning of the film, with its broad avenues, office buildings, and cinemas, is juxtaposed with the nearby towns, neighborhoods, and other cities that get lost among nooks and corners, where shawls and provincial clothing mix with the overalls of workers and cotton shirts. Enclaves made of corrugated sheet metal, cardboard, and wood, surrounded by new concrete buildings, big structures, and neighborhoods that are urbanized but still preserve the small-town air, like the Romita neighborhood, where the marginalized kids gather to talk about their adventures and the stories woven in these spaces, witnessed by a little church dating from 1530 and that still stands today. A few steps away from the Roma neighborhood, this space and its church preserve today a feeling of quiet compared to the noise of their surroundings.

The city, for its part, continues to be built, and its growth is blind and overwhelming. In several key scenes of *Los olvidados*, unfinished spaces are used as no-man's lands and at the same time as hideouts. Construction sites or developments are a kind of limbo for people with nowhere to go, places that will not be crowded until they're finished. Nonoalco, one of the places where Jaibo hides from the police, was populated for a long time by recently-arrived immigrants who came in search of work. In that same place, but 14 years later, in 1964, the enormous, modern Nonoalco-Tlatelolco housing project would be inaugurated, designed by architect Mario Pani, and dubbed by Carlos Monsiváis "the Utopia of a Mexico without tenements."

Large urban centers like Mexico City have a history of construction and destruction as an interminable cycle. In the film, the Medical Center is about to be built on the flatlands of the Doctores neighborhood, its structures jutting up like

Central Boulevard.

The Teresa Cinema.

great steel monsters, cold and hostile. However, 35 years later, on September 19, 1985, some of the hospitals in that center were flattened by an earthquake that put an end to many other emblematic sites in the city, like the Nuevo León Building in the Tlatelolco housing project. Despite this, the Medical Center was rebuilt, and the Tlatelolco project still stands, the survivor of that earthquake and other events in Mexico's history.

Finally, the Tlalpan Farm School that appears in the film was located on the land where the Hospital of Neurosurgery and Neurology now stands. The farm was a project to reintegrate into society young men living on the streets or who had misbehaved; the boys grew crops and raised animals and the school earned money from the proceeds of their sale. It was located in the La Fama neighborhood in the southern part of the city, which still preserves its wooded areas and a picturesque air, particularly in the main plaza and environs of the San Fernando neighborhood.

But Buñuel was not only interested in recounting what happened in the dark, marginalized cracks of a great city; he also knew how to capture the essence of a people who had fun wandering and experiencing Mexico City in a very special way. This is what happens in *La ilusión viaja en tranvía* (Illusion Travels by Streetcar) (1953), in which the two main characters, played by Carlos Navarro and Fernando "Mantequilla" Soto, take us on a streetcar tour of different parts of the city. This form of transportation has disappeared, leaving its mark in the form of the tracks on the pavement of the avenues where they used to run. During the trip, the city emerges in its day-to-day bustle, in its splendor as a city that had recently debuted in modernity. Here, the narrator explains,

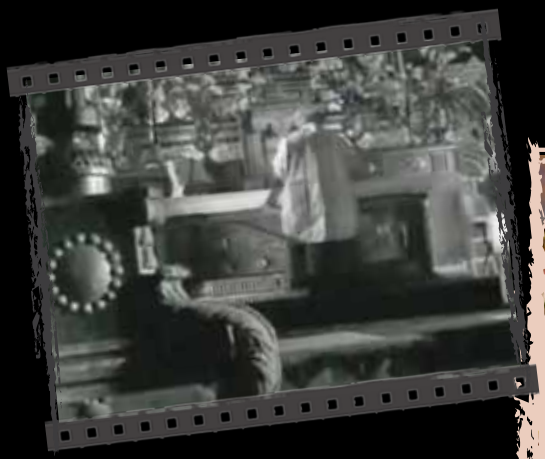
> The city continues to be built, and its growth is blind and overwhelming. In several key scenes of *Los olvidados*, unfinished spaces are used as no-man's lands and at the same time as hideouts.

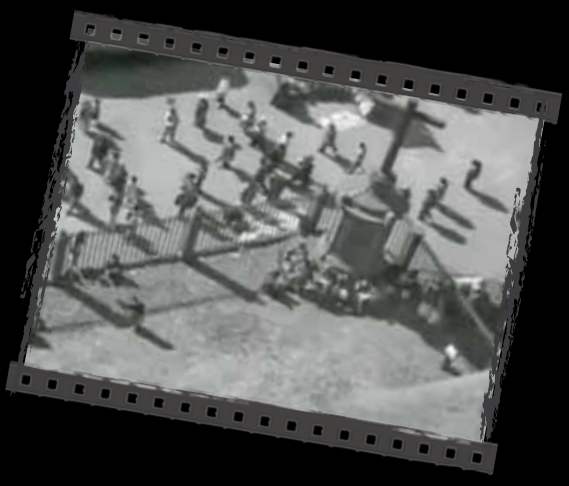
> Mexico City, a great city like many in the world, is the stage for the most varied and disconcerting events . . . ; millions of men and women weave their fleeting, simple stories, hour after hour, their actions and words always moving toward the realization of a dream, of a desire, of an illusion. United, they all form the colossal swarm of city life. . . . And so, this film will be just another story, simple and almost trivial, of the life of the modest working people who make up the great mass, the ones who travel by streetcar.

The trip has one special characteristic: it's illicit. It seems that the characters, who drive their beloved streetcar, have gotten drunk and decided to spirit it out of the yard in the wee hours after it has been put out to pasture as old and useless. So, the unexpected, unusual trip takes the audience into equally unexpected situations, looking out the window

The Romita neighborhood.

The Indianilla Station.





The Metropolitan Cathedral's atrium, altar, and bell tower.

Cuauhtémoc Circle.

of a means of transportation that no longer exists, at what is happening out there, in the streets of the big city.

The Monument to the Revolution, the Statue of Diana, the trolleys and streetcars that crisscrossed the city at that time are the first images that introduce us to the film. On the trip, not only will we come across those places, but also all their inhabitants on an ordinary day. The old streetcar goes up Tlalpan Boulevard to Xochimilco and is forced to make stops; the first is at the slaughterhouse, where passengers board with pieces of meat to sell. Later, it stops to pick up a group of children and the teacher in charge when they confuse it with the "special" streetcar that will take them on a school trip. The children and their teacher wait in front of the Centenario Cinema that used to be in downtown Coyoacán, in the Hidalgo Garden, in a place that now houses a store. It is curious that the streetcar also functions as a kind of equalizer because, although Buñuel, incisive as he was, did not forget to mark the difference between the popular classes and the bourgeoisie, at the end of the day, everyone needs to get on board.

After several circuits, the trip continues through the Glorieta de Colón (Columbus Circle), Buena Vista, and ends up where it started: at the Indianilla streetcar repair and maintenance yard. The yard began operating in 1880, when the streetcars were pulled by mules or horses, and was vacated in 1985 when the electric streetcars disappeared. The yard was abandoned for 20 years, but in 2006, the space was used to create the Indianilla Station Cultural Center, with two contemporary art galleries and the Frida Art Object Toy Museum, which shows work by artists like Leonora Carrington, Francisco Toledo, Sergio Hernández, Brian Nissen, Luis Nishizawa, Rodolfo Morales, and Raúl Anguiano.

The trip is circular, perhaps because, as the narrator says at the end, the characters in this city "once again return to the day-to-day, simple rhythm of their lives, while their footsteps move through the oft-traveled streets. . . . Meanwhile, the big city will continue to scheme and create thousands of different stories." There will always be a story to tell, because the city creates millions of them, even if some only follow the routine of the day before, going down the same streets to get to work or school. Many of the stories that unfold today take place in the same scenarios as the film, but others have disappeared together with the customs of that time, like traveling by streetcar.

In *Ensayo de un crimen* (released in English as *Rehearsal for a Crime* and also as *The Criminal Life of Archibaldo de la Cruz*) and *Él* (*This Strange Passion*, also known as *Torments*), Mexico City is the perfect stage to tell the story of two obsessive, angst-ridden characters. Archibaldo de la Cruz (played

In *Illusion Travels by Street Car*, Buñuel was not only interested in recounting what happened in the dark, marginalized cracks of a great city; he also knew how to capture the essence of a people who had fun wandering and experiencing Mexico City in a very special way.

The streetcar also functions as a kind of equalizer because, although Buñuel, incisive as he was, did not forget to mark the difference between the popular classes and the bourgeoisie, at the end of the day, everyone needs to get on board.

by Ernesto Alonso) and Francisco Galván (played by Arturo de Córdova) are men who are comfortable economically, but whose strange preoccupations do not let them live in peace. These two films underline the contrast between the calm homes of both characters, refuges where they can establish their own norms, and the city. In the case of Archibaldo, it makes him remember that he still has not been able to fulfill his most important goal since childhood: committing murder. Francisco, on the other hand, feels threatened by the city and its inhabitants, obstacles to his happiness. The places where these houses are located, like the San Ángel neighborhood in the south of the city, evoke that quiet; cobblestoned, tree-lined streets with little vehicular traffic or pedestrians make you think they don't belong to the city. Today, urbanization has enveloped them, and they are surrounded by buildings and busy avenues.

Another of Francisco Galván's refuges are the capital's churches, like the San Juan Bautista Church in Coyoacán, used to shoot some of the exteriors. One example is when Francisco enters a church and meets the women he will fall in love with; another is the interior of the San Diego Churubusco Church, where he suffers an attack of paranoia toward the end of the movie.[4] Both these churches continue to be visited by Mexico City residents, as do the gardens in downtown Coyoacán where Archibaldo walks, one of city's most popular public plazas, which on weekends fills up with life, music, and cultural activities and, during the week, breathes more quietly, where people walk or just sit on one of the benches reading a book.

The Metropolitan Cathedral is another of the venues for a scene in *Él*. Sick of people, Francisco takes his wife up into the cathedral's bell tower and from up there shows her the city, all the while telling her of his disdain for his fellow men. The shot shows part of Mexico City's crowded Zócalo square, today one of the most important public gathering places and where many go for a weekend stroll.

At the end of the movies, both characters begin new lives, though each in his own way. The final scenes show them in tranquil places: Archibaldo, walking in Chapultepec Forest, and Francisco, inside the Former Churubusco Monastery, which dates from the sixteenth century and today houses the National Museum of Interventions that narrates the history of foreign invasions of Mexico.

The city is not only noise and automobiles, but also places to escape from the urban din. These places have remained standing until our day because, who can live without a haven that, when needed, makes us forget, even if only for a moment, the city's madness?

The Miguel Alemán housing project.

Columbus Circle.

In all these films, Luis Buñuel captured forever the "great city" of the early 1950s, with its avenues, its neighborhoods, its churches and leisure venues, that is, the places where today's inhabitants still go and that are part of their identity. Their stories make us look through the characters' eyes, which are also Buñuel's, at a metropolis in constant movement and growth. A chameleon-like, immense city that, looked at with the perspective of time, reveals itself as a giant that is destroyed and is built uncontrollably, but also endures, stoic, a survivor. Buñuel's films are testimony to a living city; they represent the possibility of peeking into the past, reliving it, and even feeling nostalgia for a place that was situated between modernity and the countryside, between innovation and tradition. Just like the stories that Buñuel imagined, the Mexico City of today continues weaving its own history and that of its inhabitants. VM

A chameleon-like, immense city that, looked at with the perspective of time, reveals itself as a giant that is destroyed and is built uncontrollably, but also endures.

Notes

[1] José Emilio Pacheco, "Alta traición," *No me preguntes cómo pasa el tiempo: poemas 1964-1968* (Mexico City: ERA, 1998).

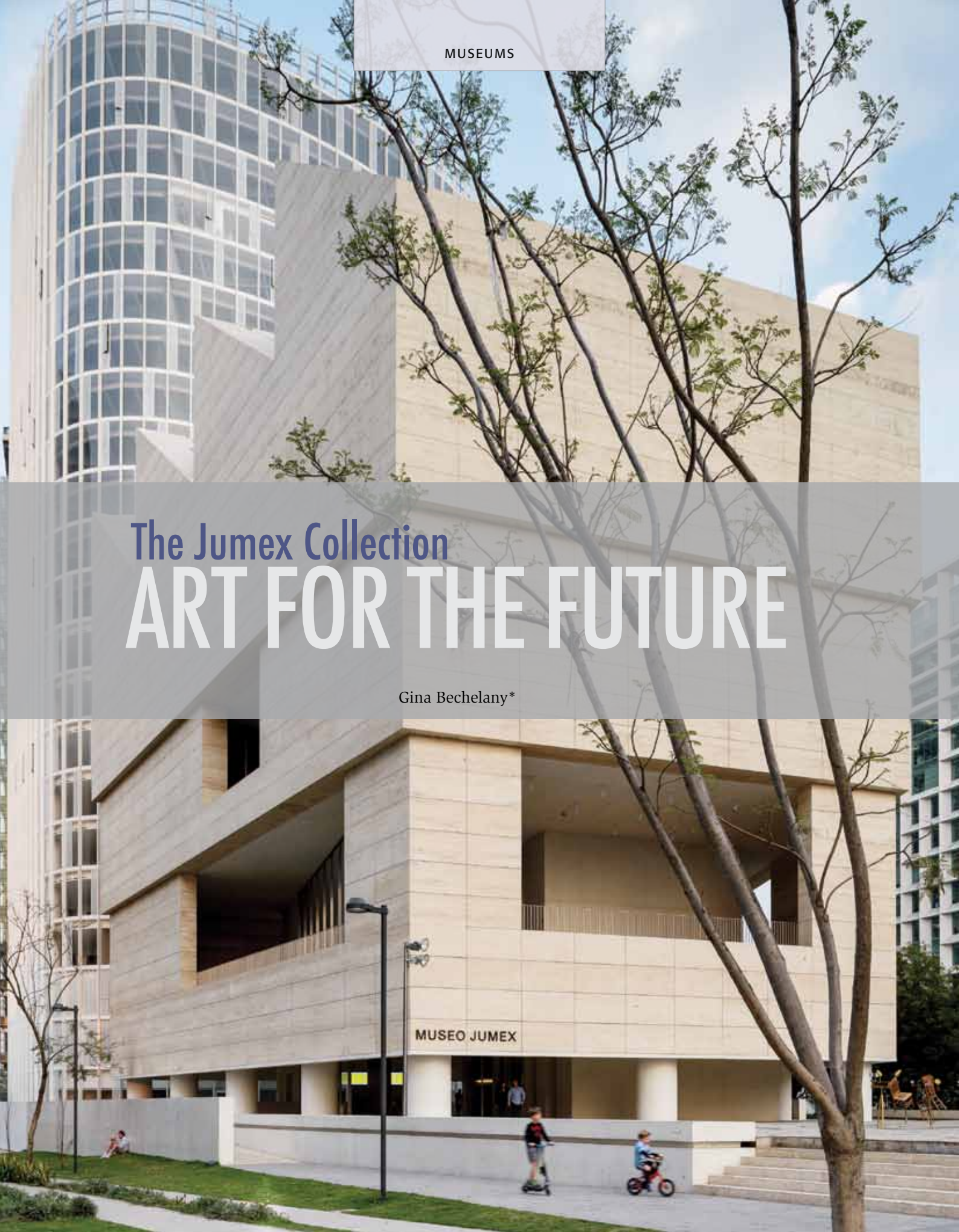
[2] Carlos Fuentes, *Luis Buñuel, el contexto social y literario de su obra fílmica*, Descarga Cultura UNAM, http://descargacultura.unam.mx/app1#autores APP1.

[3] Cynthia Pech, "Tiempo y destino: la fragilidad del bien en *Los olvidados*," *Andamios* vol. 2, no. 3, 2005, pp. 107-127, http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S187000632005000200005&lng=es&nrm=iso, accessed September 22, 2014.

[4] Ciudad de México en el tiempo, *Luis Buñuel*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OksIY162fp4&feature=youtu.be, accessed September 22, 2014.

Chapultepec Lake.

The San Ángel neighborhood.



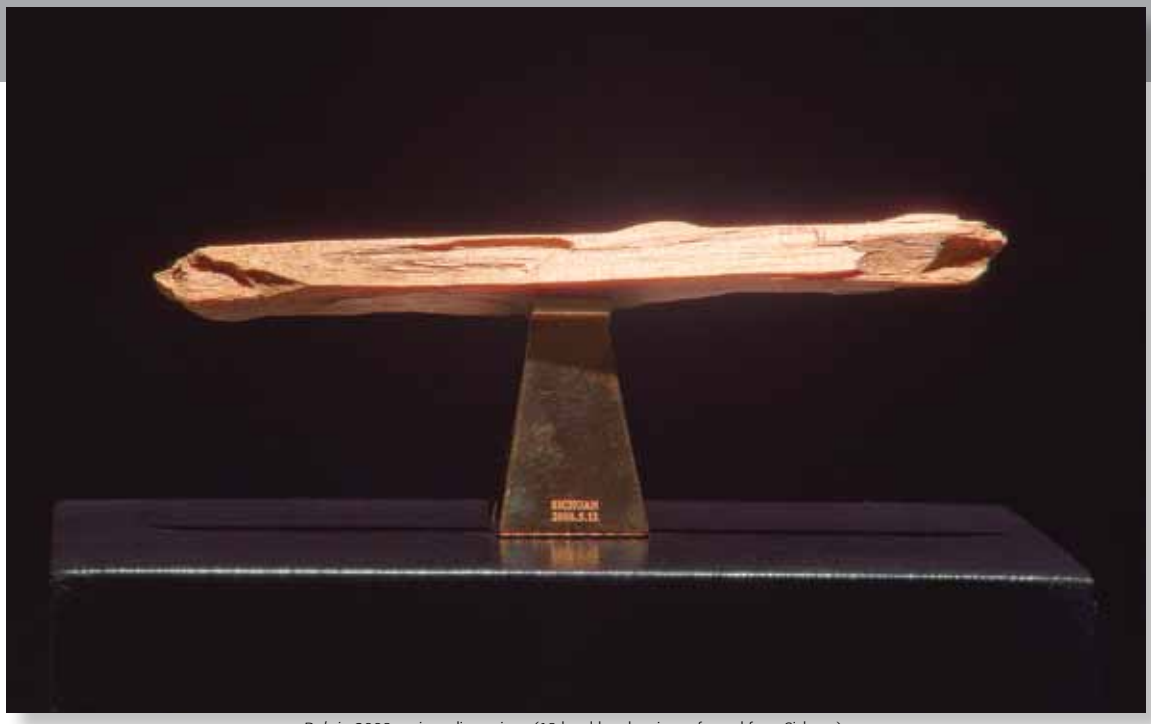
The Jumex Collection

ART FOR THE FUTURE

Gina Bechelany*

TERESA MARGOLLES (b. Culiacán, Sinaloa, 1963)

A photographer and video, performance, and installation artist, Margolles has exhibited her work in several countries the world over. She has concentrated on exploring and researching the social causes and consequences of death. In 1990, she founded the SEMEFO Art Collective (SEMEFO is the Spanish-language acronym for the Coroner's Office). In her art, she uses forensic materials and human remains. Among other awards, she has received the Netherlands' Prince Claus Prize.



Debris, 2008, various dimensions (18 k gold and a piece of wood from Sichuan).

Very patiently and with no missteps, one of Mexico and Latin America's main art collectors has been caching away valuable late-twentieth-century and early-twenty-first-century art works. They are now on display at his collection's new home, the Jumex Museum.

Young Art Connoisseur

In 1993, 20-year-old Eugenio López Alonso, sole heir to the gigantic juice company Jumex, wanted to live abroad. He found a pretext: opening a Latin American art gallery in Los Angeles. Despite the fact that it was not successful, it was the jumping-off place for his entry into the art world. He very quickly became one of the most important patrons of emerging Latin American artists, and by the late 1990s, he had already made a reputation for himself as a collector of international art. In 2001, he created what today is the JUMEX Contemporary Art Foundation, and recently, in late 2013, he founded the museum that will be the home to his collection.

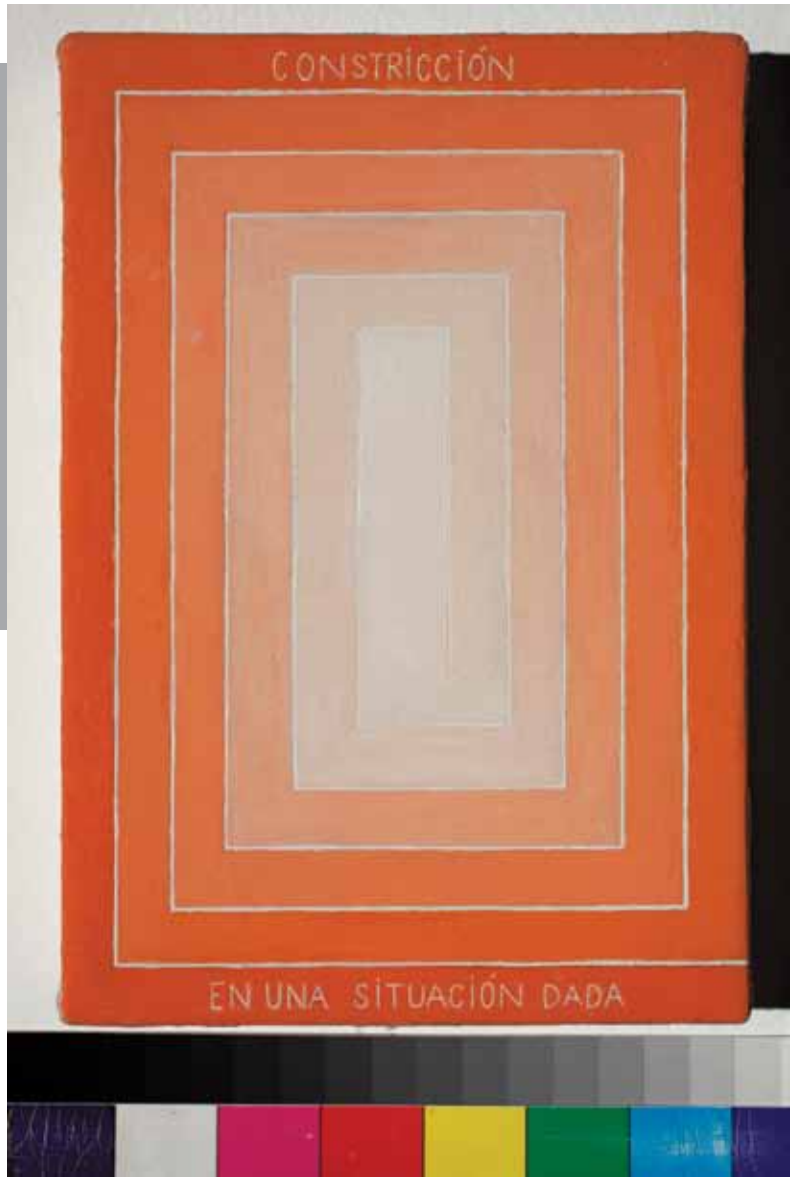
*Mexican editor.

Photos published by permission of The Jumex Collection.

FRANCIS ALŸS (b. Antwerp, 1959)

Alÿs arrived in Mexico in 1987 to participate in a Belgian government engineering project to help reconstruct the city after the 1985 earthquake. He stayed and began his artistic career. His work is nourished by his wanderings through cities, since he is a student of art's influence on the *polis*. His artistic work includes video, sketching, painting, and sculpture, and it has been done in various cities such as New York, Lima, and Jerusalem.

"The aim is to share my passion and my collection with my country and bring national and international art to people."



In a Given Situation (studies for *Tornado*), 2010 (19 oil and encaustic paintings on canvas stretched on wood).

López studied law, but realizes that he was educated in the field of art by experiencing it. That and reading were fundamental for igniting his passion for it; in addition to reading everything about contemporary art, he delved deeply into the art market, and thanks to his extensive travel, learned that many European companies purchased art to share with the public. All this changed the course of his life, and, although some thought this would be a passing hobby, he was convinced that his project would be very important.

The Foundation

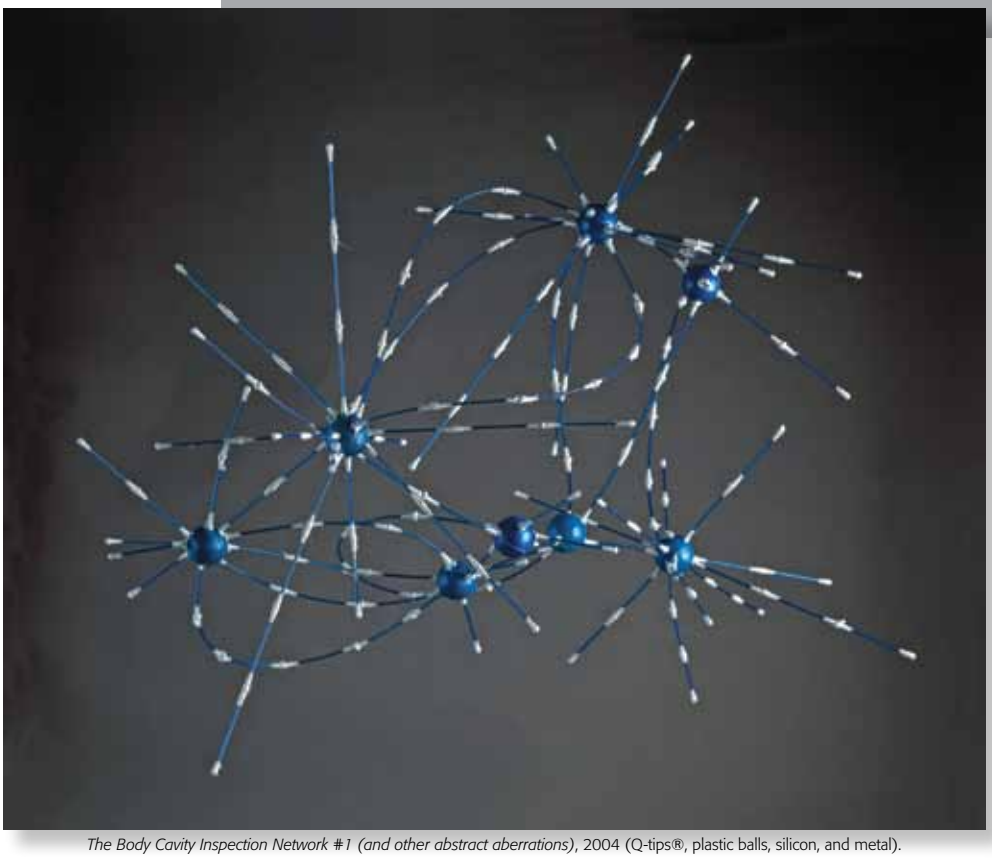
"The aim is to share my passion and my collection with my country and bring national and international art to people. That is, I want to ensure that people don't feel intimidated by museums," says the young heir.

The Jumex collection was inaugurated in March 2001 in an enormous space located in one of the economic group's factories in Ecatepec, State of Mexico. This was the venue for exhibiting pieces of one of the world's most important private collections of contemporary art, in large part minimalist and conceptual art from the 1960s. The collection has been added to with the work by artists still creating today, including works from Mexico and abroad.

In addition to showing the art, the foundation was created to comprehensively promote the production of and reflection and knowledge about contemporary art, as well as to generate new proposals for supporting culture. That is why it has a graduate fellows program, a broad educational program for the viewing public, and a library specialized in contemporary art with documental archives about each of the artists represented in the collection.

EDUARDO ABAROA (b. Mexico City, 1968)

An artist, writer, and art critic, Abaroa's art spans sculpture, installation, and site-specific art. His work has been exhibited in museums and galleries in Mexico and other countries such as the United States, England, Holland, Canada, South Korea, Germany, and Spain. Also important was his participation in the Mercosur Biennial in Porto Alegre, Brazil (2011), and the Busan Biennial in Korea (2008). In the 1990s, he was the co-founder of Mexico City's Temístocles 44 Art Space.



The Body Cavity Inspection Network #1 (and other abstract aberrations), 2004 (Q-tips®, plastic balls, silicon, and metal).

Domestic Cosmogony, 2013, various dimensions (installation).

DAMIÁN ORTEGA (b. Mexico City, 1967)

Ortega ventured into art at a very young age as a political cartoonist; at the same time, he began exploring sculpture, installation, and video. He uses objects from daily life, including food like tortillas, with which he represents traditional spaces, adding other values and objects, in addition to his own. His work questions the structures and some forms of behavior in the modern era, like consumerism.

Ortega has exhibited in cities around the world such as Philadelphia, Venice, Belo Horizonte, and Paris.

The Collection Today

The collection currently numbers more than 2 500 works and is considered one of the world's most important. It began with a painting by Roberto Cortázar (*Torso*, 1992) and includes key works from the 1950s. The period most strongly represented, however, is the 1990s until today, including works of neo-minimalism and neo-conceptualism. Among them are pieces by Cy Twombly, Donald Judd, Ed Ruscha, Jeff Koons, John Baldessari, Damien Hirst, Franz West, Louise Bourgeois, Dan Flavin, and Gordon Matta-Clark. The difference with other great collections of the world is a strong presence of important Mexican artists like Gabriel Orozco, Carlos Amorales, Damián Ortega, and Félix González-Torres, among others.

A large number of the pieces López has accumulated are shown by the foundation, although he keeps others in his different homes. "Some works —my favorites—, because

they're difficult to mount, I keep myself, like Louise Bourgeois's spider, Jeff Koons's sculpture in an elephant's garden, Damien Hirst's aspirin cabinet, Cy Twombly's paintings, Tracey Emin's neon work, or Richard Prince's humorous paintings."

The Jumex Museum

The collection's new home is in itself a work of art, designed by British architect David Chipperfield, whose vast experience includes the construction of spaces like Tokyo's Gotoh Museum, or Berlin's Neues Museum, among others.

For this building, Chipperfield opted for open areas, well-lit with natural light, so the curators of each exhibition would have full freedom to establish a dialogue among the pieces.

The collection has been added to with work by artists still creating today, including pieces from Mexico and abroad.

SANTIAGO BORJA (b. Mexico City, 1970)

Borja first trained as an architect and later ventured into both the theoretical and practical study of art. His most recent work is a mixture of art, architecture, and ethnology.

Outstanding among his projects are *Fort Da / Sampler*, at the Los Angeles venue Casa Neutra-VDL; *With the Shadow of the Sun*, at the Irish Museum of Modern Art; *Divan*, at Mexico City's Jumex Museum; and *Halo*, at Paris's Pabellón Le Corbusier.

Divan, 2010, 80 x 120 cm (photograph).

The Count of the Days, 2009, various dimensions (mixed media: digital printing, painted panels, recovered furniture, personal objects, and wooden shelves).

DANIEL GUZMÁN (b. Mexico City, 1964)

Better known in Mexico for his drawings, Guzmán centers a large part of his work on the intersection of texts or things related to music, like song titles or words, while at the same time exploring other artistic fields like sculpture. Among his influences, Guzmán underlines the culture of his childhood, a kind of recuperation of the past, where violence and sexuality, expressed in music and comics, are important. His work can be found in many collections, and he has exhibited in several museums and galleries in Mexico and abroad.

The opening of this new venue has sparked great curiosity among the public, not only to see the works in the exhibitions and the collection, but also about the building itself. Many visitors go to see the first building in our country designed by the renowned British architect. But what about the collection's first home? Just because there's a bright shiny new museum, that doesn't mean that the Ecatepec venue has been forgotten. In fact, it continues to be the main home not only to the collection but also to the library, a more specialized exhibition space.

Although Eugenio López's collection is private, it has been a key to positioning Mexico in the eye of today's art market. The young collector has said that he does not expect to stop collecting in the future. On the contrary, he continues to have the same desire to make significant achievements in the art world and grow his collection. At the end of the day, that is the best way to preserve both public and private artistic wealth. VM

Museo Jumex

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra 303, Colonia Ampliación Granada
Open Tuesday to Saturday 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. Sunday 11 a.m. to 9 p.m.
fundacionjumex.org/site/museojumex

Assessment of Strategic Health Issues On the U.S.-Mexico Border

Fred Greaves/Reuters

Health is a very important aspect of development and should be considered a key issue in U.S.-Mexico relations. For a comprehensive assessment of strategic health issues on the U.S.-Mexico border, a multiplicity of actors must be included using a public-private responsibility perspective. According to conclusions of the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) report *Health in the Americas 2013*, some of the most worrying health issues on both sides of the border are child obesity, diabetes, and certain infectious ailments, such as tuberculosis and vector-borne diseases.

These topics were analyzed at the international seminar "Assessment of Strategic Health Issues on the U.S.-Mexico Border," which took place at CISAN November 21, 2013. This special section presents a selection of presentations made at the three panels: "Overview of Border Health: the Answer of the Public and Private Sectors"; "Obesity, Overweight, and Diabetes, with Special Emphasis on Children and Adolescents"; and "Infectious Diseases, Including Vector-borne Diseases." The articles bring the reader an updated perspective from both the public and private sectors and academia on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border.

Valeria Marina Valle
Guest Editor

U.S.-Mexico Border Health Commission Initiatives and Activities

José Luis Velasco*

Geoff Robins/Reuters

Background

Recognizing the need for an international body to provide leadership in optimizing health and quality of life along their border, the governments of the United States and Mexico signed a binational agreement to establish the U.S.-Mexico Border Health Commission (BHC) in July 2000. Since that time, the commission has advanced binational efforts at the local, state, and federal levels to identify the health needs of border residents and develop effective approaches to address them.

The commission continues to target its goals by promoting initiatives and activities that address key border health priorities, including the U.S.-Mexico Border Tuberculosis Consortium, Healthy Border 2010/2020, binational obesity and diabetes prevention and awareness campaigns held during Border Binational Health Week, and Health Insurance Marketplace Workshops organized in support of U.S. federal Affordable Care Act education and enrollment efforts.

The commission's ability to institutionalize a binational focus on regional health issues is closely linked to the continual support provided by individuals, organizations, the academic community, and other binational public and private stakeholders.

The U.S.-Mexico Border Region At a Glance

The border area, defined in U.S. Public Law §103-400 (22 U.S. Code, 290 n-5) and the La Paz Agreement of 1983 as the area 62 miles (100 kilometers) north and south of the U.S.-Mexico border, includes 44 counties in the four U.S. border states and 80 municipalities in the six Mexican border states.

* United States-Mexico Border Health Commission (BHC) Executive Director of the BHC U.S. Section, El Paso, Texas.

Border States

The U.S. border states are California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The Mexican border states are Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas.

U.S. Border Health Offices and Mexico Outreach Offices

The four U.S. Offices of Border Health (OBH) and six Mexico Outreach Offices work closely with their respective state health departments. The U.S. OBHs receive funding through U.S. Department of Health and Human Services cooperative agreements provided to each of the four U.S. state health departments. The Mexico Outreach Offices receive funding through the Mexican Ministry of Health.

The overall role of the U.S. OBHs and Mexico Outreach Offices is to support and extend the BHC's work along the border. They are strategically located in each of the 10 border states and serve as a binational resource for border communities by offering binational public health activities, disseminating information, and providing critical links to other public and private partners.

Mission

U.S.-Mexico border communities face a variety of public health challenges unique to the region. From escalating rates of chronic and infectious diseases to joint health disparities, the binational border area become a dynamic region uniting various cultures through a shared need to improve health and quality of life. In its efforts to address these issues impacting border health, the BHC continues to work cooperatively with its Mexican counterparts to sponsor, support, and promote binational initiatives and activities in support of sustainable development in research, advocacy, and policy-making that can lead to the optimal health of all residents.

Throughout 2013, the BHC continued to serve as a venue for binational discussion by promoting sustainable, cross-border partnerships between the U.S. and Mexican federal governments, 10 border states, 44 counties, 80 municipalities, and local stakeholders. By encouraging binational communication, coordination, and collaboration between U.S. and Mexican counterparts, the BHC made significant progress on binationally-identified priority initiatives and activities in access to care; strategic planning; research, data collection, and academic alliances; tuberculosis; obesity and diabetes; and infectious disease and public health emergencies.

In recognition of these indispensable binational partnerships, the BHC acknowledges the support it receives from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and its Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Mexican Ministry of Health, the Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization, policymakers, academic institutions, and other border-wide stakeholders who advance the commission's work.

As border populations look to the public health community for assistance and support each year, the BHC will continue its efforts to raise awareness of regional public health challenges, mobilize actions to improve the border health status, promote cross-border information sharing, and prepare current and future leaders to meaningfully respond to ongoing and emerging border health concerns.

Strategic Priorities

The BHC works to raise awareness of public health issues prevalent in U.S.-Mexico border communities by engaging local, state, federal, and international leaders to collaborate strategically with health professionals. To achieve this, the BHC continually gathers community input through its work with binational health councils, community partners, and numerous stakeholders to determine priority areas along the border. Through these processes, the BHC identified the following six key strategic priorities:

1. Access to care: Improve access to health care along the U.S.-Mexico border by creating a culture of wellness and prevention, strengthening public health infrastructure, and promoting evidence-based interventions and models of excellence;

The Border Health Commission works to raise awareness of public health issues in border communities by engaging local, state, federal, and international leaders to collaborate with health professionals.

2. Strategic planning: Convene subject matter experts and other principals from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the Mexican Ministry of Health, and cross-border local and state leaders to address BHC strategic priorities, and initiatives;
3. Research, data collection, and academic alliances: Assemble U.S. and Mexican academic and research professionals to promote border health research and policy development that can enhance border health;
4. Tuberculosis: Reduce the burden of tuberculosis (TB) in binational border communities by advancing cross-border cooperation in TB surveillance, control, education, prevention, and case management;
5. Obesity and diabetes: Promote awareness of the prevalence, risk factors, and health outcomes of the obesity epidemic on the U.S.-Mexico border; and
6. Infectious disease and public health emergencies: Address critical infectious disease and emergency preparedness issues impacting the border region.

BHC Initiatives and Activities

Access to Care

Border Binational Health Week

The BHC continued to celebrate and promote healthy lifestyles for all ages by sponsoring the 10th Annual Border Binational Health Week (BBHW) October 7-11, 2013, in partnership with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), the Mexican Ministry of Health, the Health Initiative of the Americas, the Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization, and the 10 U.S.-Mexico border states.

In 2013, BBHW brought together local, state, federal, academic, non-governmental, and other public and private partners with the binational border community through public health forums, health fairs, trainings, and other community events that advanced the theme "Families in Action for Health" and the adjoining focus "Preventing Obesity and Diabetes." In 2013, U.S. partners also utilized BBHW as an opportunity to promote access to care by incorporating health insurance marketplace education into local events in support of the Affordable Care Act.

Since its inception in 2004, BBHW has connected over 1.3 million border residents with public health professionals in support of sustainable partnerships that can address the unique health challenges facing residents along and across the binational border. Forthcoming BBHW celebrations will continue efforts to increase community and inter-agency networking relationships, information sharing, educational opportunities, and awareness of the BHC and other state and local initiatives.

Since its inception in 2004, the Border Binational Health Week has connected over 1.3 million border residents with public health professionals.

Maternal and Child Health Epidemiology Program

The BHC is proud to acknowledge the work of the Border Maternal and Child Health (BorderMACH) Initiative, a principal program of the Maternal and Child Health Epidemiology Program (MCHEP) operating within the BHC Central Office since 2009.

In support of MCHEP's mission to promote health and well-being for women, children, and families at state, local, regional, and tribal levels, BorderMACH works to strengthen U.S.-Mexico collaboration and infrastructure in maternal and child health (MCH), as well as increase the use of local epidemiologic data.

In the past four years, BorderMACH has established and supported four sister-city teams of MCH experts through training and technical assistance, including teams in Brownsville, Texas/Matamoros, Tamaulipas; El Paso, Texas/Doña Ana County, New Mexico/Juárez, Chihuahua; Nogales, Arizona/Nogales, Sonora; and San Diego, California/Tijuana, Baja California. These teams work collaboratively to bring attention to MCH priorities in their communities and suggest possible interventions. Key team accomplishments include the following: two BorderMACH teams now serve as MCH committees on their local binational health councils, a binational community health organization that examines the health needs, challenges, and available programs associated with the council's cross-border geographic area; the Nogales, Arizona/Nogales, Sonora team proposal has served as a template for wider strategic planning around adolescent pregnancy prevention in Sonora border municipalities; the El Paso, Texas/Doña Ana County, New Mexico/Juárez, Chihuahua team received the CityMatCH Kathy Carson Award for "Promising Practice."

In addition to BorderMACH activities, MCHEP staff conducts collaborative binational research in MCH and other related topics, disseminates their findings at national meetings and in peer-reviewed journals, and provides technical assistance to local and state health departments in the region.

The MCHEP is part of a collaborative effort between the CDC's Division of Reproductive Health and the Health Resources and Services Administration/MCH Bureau. Institutions collaborating with the MCHEP and BHC in these efforts include Mexico's Ministry of Health, National Institute of Public Health, and Mexican Social Security Institute, the National Center for Health Statistics/CDC, CityMatCH, and U.S. and Mexico local and state health departments and academic institutions.

Prevention and Health Promotion Among Vulnerable Populations Stakeholder Meetings

In 2012, the BHC established the Prevention and Health Promotion among Vulnerable Populations on the U.S.-Mexico Border (PHPVP) initiative to focus attention on specific health concerns faced by vulnerable populations residing along the binational border. The initiative aims to increase access and referrals to health and human services and boost the use of preventive/primary care and better health outcomes.

To assist with the initiative's development and activity planning, the New Mexico Department of Health Office of Border Health (NM OBH) and the California Department of Public Health Office of Binational Border Health (COBBH) convened six regional stakeholder meetings throughout the U.S. border states to gather input from health and human services agencies and other relevant stakeholders as well as to advocate for improved access to these services for vulnerable populations.

More than 200 participants representing over 130 agencies and organizations, including representatives from local and state health and human services agencies, community health centers, faith-based organizations, and Ventanillas de Salud (Windows on Health) (VDS), attended.[1]

The Prevention and Health Promotion among Vulnerable Populations Initiative, established in 2012, focuses in specific health concerns faced by vulnerable populations residing along the binational border.

The NM OBH and the COBBH, in cooperation with the BHC, are currently consolidating and incorporating stakeholder input for inclusion as they develop the next phase of the PHPVP initiative.

Health Insurance Marketplace Education and Promotion

A central BHC priority is to increase and improve access to health care for all border residents. In support of this effort, it coordinated a series of Affordable Care Act (ACA) health insurance marketplace educational trainings in collaboration with key federal, state, and local partners, including the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) (Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services), non-profit organizations, and others to assist in promotion, education, and training for partners and communities in the four border states.

Education and enrollment efforts coordinated in conjunction with U.S. Congressman Henry Cuellar were held throughout the Texas Rio Grande Valley in Webb, Hidalgo, Starr, and Zapata Counties, providing information on the legislation and the state health insurance marketplace application process and including on-site enrollment assistance provided by local navigators and certified application assistors. Similar events took place in Arizona, in collaboration with non-profit organizations, focusing on farmworker and migrant populations.

Since access to health care remains a priority on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, the BHC will continue to support these efforts to optimize the health and quality of life for all border residents.

Strategic Planning

Healthy Border 2010/2020

The BHC continued to move forward in 2013 in developing the Healthy Border (HB) initiative, a health promotion and disease prevention agenda established in March 2001 to improve regional health and eliminate health disparities along the U.S.-Mexico border. In 2013, the BHC neared completion of the HB 2020 strategic plan to establish a set of leading health indicators designed to assist health experts, organizations, and communities to prioritize health issues and develop sustainable health programs in the binational border region.

To advance Phase IV, the HB binational technical work group, created to close out HB 2010 and launch HB 2020, convened on February 25-26 and September 23-24 in Phoenix, Arizona. The work group collaborated to update the draft of the HB 2010 Joint Closeout Report, representing a binational effort to evaluate border region data, assess the status of HB 2010 health objectives, and report on HB 2010 outcomes. In addition, the work group initiated the process to develop and draft the HB 2020 Initiative Report, which identifies specific actions to address critical public health issues impacting border populations, including addressing social determinants of health.

The BHC will advance the final phase in 2014 with the publication and dissemination of both the HB 2010 and 2020 reports as well as the launch of HB 2020.

Developing Binational Leaders to Strengthen Border Communities

In 2013, the BHC launched its third iteration of Leaders across Borders (LaB), an advanced eight-month leadership training program designed for public health professionals working to improve the health of communities along the U.S.-Mexico border. Seventeen binational health leaders were selected to participate in this year's program, including seven U.S. and 10 Mexican health professionals representing various areas of public health and health care along the border.

Throughout the program, team members participated in learning events intended to enhance their knowledge of border populations, health systems, and government/non-governmental institutions, as well as their personal and collaborative leadership skills.

LaB is a strategic initiative of the BHC, in collaboration with the Arizona Department of Health Services Office of Border Health, the BHC Arizona and Baja California Outreach Offices, the UA Zuckerman College of Public Health, the Mexican Ministry of Health, and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (Mexico's Northern Border College).

In 2013, the third Leaders across Borders course was held, an advanced eight-month leadership training program for public health professionals.

U.S.-Mexico Border Tuberculosis Consortium Meeting

The BHC convened the Fourth Annual U.S.-Mexico Border Tuberculosis Consortium Meeting (TB Consortium) on May 20 and 21, 2013, in Las Cruces, New Mexico. Hosted by the New Mexico Department of Health Office of Border Health (NM OBH), in collaboration with the BHC Chihuahua Outreach Office, the meeting brought together federal law enforcement officials, legal experts, and medical care providers representing U.S. and Mexico local, state, and federal government agencies and non-governmental organizations to develop action plans that can reinforce binational and border-wide responses to TB issues. Building on discussion topics and action plans generated during the May 2012 third annual TB Consortium, this year's meeting focused on the integration of binational and border-wide efforts to address TB and legal issues affecting case management. In particular, three work groups focused on the development of effective strategies and operational approaches to achieve the following objectives:

1. Improve continuity of care for TB patients;
2. Improve binational coordination in managing TB patients; and,
3. Establish uniform meet-and-greet standards for TB patients being repatriated to Mexico.

To address these objectives, the Legal Issues, Binational Consultative Network of Multidrug-Resistant (MDR) TB Experts, and the Continuity of Care Work Groups developed operational work plans outlining specific activities and projects to be accomplished over the next three years.

With assistance from the NM OBH, the BHC Chihuahua Outreach Office, and the BHC, each work group did follow-up on these actions throughout the year and provided updates at the Fifth Annual TB Consortium, in July 2014.

Obesity and Diabetes

U.S.-Mexico Border Obesity Prevention Summit

The obesity rate of residents living in the Texas Rio Grande Valley is currently higher than the national average.[2] In fact, in the metropolitan area of McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, Texas,

the obesity rate reached 35 percent in 2012. As part of regional efforts to reduce the impact of obesity on binational border communities, such as in south Texas, the BHC sponsored the U.S.-Mexico Border Obesity Prevention (BOP) Summit on July 16-18, 2013, in McAllen, Texas. Hosted by the Texas Department of State Health Services (DSHS) Office of Border Health, in partnership with the BHC Chihuahua Outreach Office, the summit convened more than 200 federal, state, and local partners representing U.S. and Mexico public health, non-profit, and academic agencies and institutions to discuss efforts to prevent obesity at the local, state, and national levels.

The summit included plenary sessions, panels, a poster session, and concurrent track sessions as well as demonstrations and activities designed to encourage healthy cooking and exercise. Presentations included discussions on aspects of obesity prevention ranging from policy interventions, such as proposed beverage taxes and food marketing regulations, to nutrition challenges and opportunities, including increasing access to healthy foods in local communities and schools as well as physical activity.

To combat rising trends in obesity prevalence in the border region, public health professionals and researchers agreed that interdisciplinary and multi-sectoral programs and policies are needed to address biological, cultural, economic, social, and environmental risk factors.

The BOP Summit was the first major conference to address obesity prevention in the region. The BHC will convene the second BOP Summit in 2015.

Infectious Disease and Public Health Emergencies

U.S.-Mexico Border Binational Infectious Disease Conference

The BHC continues to support enhanced relationships and strategic alliances that facilitate binational collaboration on infectious disease, emergency preparedness, and policy development issues impacting the U.S.-Mexico border region. In 2013, the BHC worked in collaboration with the Texas Department of State Health Services' Office of Border Health to assess input and recommendations generated at the U.S.-Mexico Border Binational Infectious Disease (BBID) Conference held in 2012. These action items served as the basis for review and discussion at the 2014 BBID Conference in June 10-12 in El Paso, Texas. The 2014 conference included panel discussions regarding progress updates on the Fourth Annual U.S.-Mexico Border Tuberculosis Consortium and the cross-border sharing of public health items as well as plenary sessions focused on coccidioidomycosis, or valley fever, and rickettsia, both infectious diseases common to the border region. Break-out groups also provided participants opportunities to collaboratively address a multitude of other key health issues affecting border health.

The BHC continues to support enhanced relationships and strategic alliances for binational collaboration on infectious disease, emergency preparedness, and policy development issues impacting the border region.

Conclusions

The U.S.-Mexico Border Health Commission is a critical catalyst in the efforts to raise awareness about public health issues and challenges faced by the border populations. Future actions will continue to promote activities in favor of access to care, tuberculosis response and management, obesity and diabetes prevention, fighting critical infectious disease, and other public health concerns. VM

Notes

[1] The Ventanilla de Salud (Window on Health, or VDS) is a Mexican government program developed by the Department of Health and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Implemented in 50 Mexican consulates in the United States as well as local health organizations, the Ventanillas provide reliable information on health topics, counseling, and referrals to available and accessible health services in local communities. This program was designed to improve the physical and mental health of Mexicans and their families living in the United States, to increase access to primary and preventive health insurance coverage, and ensure culturally sensitive services to reduce the use of emergency services. For more information, visit the VDS website at http://ventanilladesalud.org.

[2] Lindsey Sharpe, "Boulder Remains Least Obese U.S. Metro Area," Gallup, April 2013, http://www.gallup.com/poll/161717/boulder-remains-least-obese-metro-area.aspx.

Binational Health Initiatives On the Mexico-U.S. Border

Gudelia Rangel Gómez*

Background

The United States-México Border Health Commission (USMBHC) is a binational body created in July 2000 by an accord between the two countries' governments to identify and evaluate the border population's health problems and facilitate actions for dealing with them in a bilateral framework, seeking to promote alliances and strategies to improve medical care and quality of life for the region's inhabitants.

Among its functions, the USMBHC supports the efforts of public bodies and not-for-profit organizations in health promotion, prevention, and care. It also aims to strengthen informational systems about health along the border, train human resources involved in the different public health activities in the region, and establish links with diverse binational actors to meet the health challenges prevailing there.

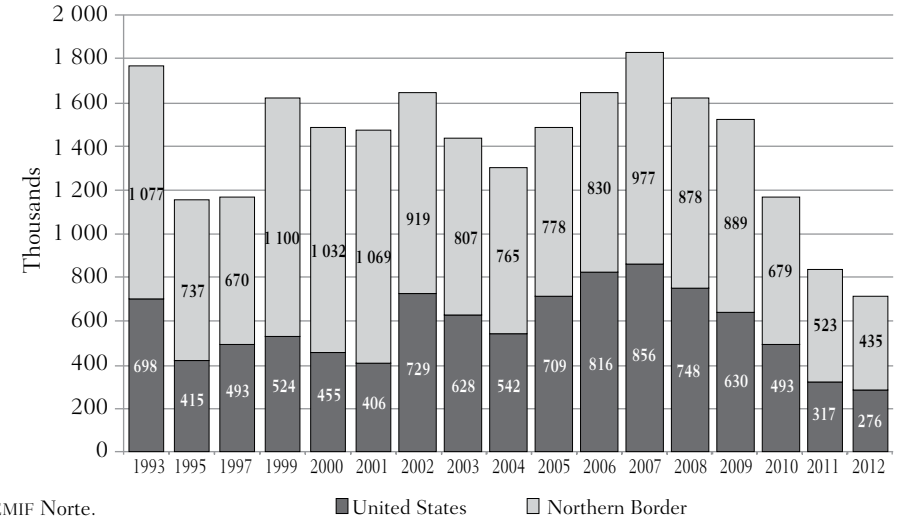
Migrant Flow

A correlation exists between the dynamic of migrant flows toward the United States and toward Mexico's northern border. In the case of Mexicans, in 2012, the flow decreased to one-third that of 2007, an unprecedented development given the relative stability in labor flows at least over the last two decades (see Graph 1).

There is a growing trend for the young and people with higher professional and schooling levels to migrate. And, between 2009 and 2012, there was a decided drop in the volume of voluntary flows, which restricts the circularity of the labor market, increasing the duration of stays in the United States.

*Interim executive secretary of the United States-México Border Health Commission, Mexico Section (USMBHC) and deputy general director of the Strategy for Migrant Health.

Graph 1
Flow of Migrant Workers from the South toward the United States and Mexico's Northern Border



Source: EMIF Norte.

The number of repatriations by the United States remains stable, despite the important drop in the South-North flow, and much more aggressive anti-immigrant policies have increased compared to the years before 2007 (see Graphs 2 and 3). The age of those repatriated has increased, as have their schooling levels, the number of parents among them, and the duration of their stay prior to repatriation. The most critical aspect of the repatriations is the growing dynamic of family separations. In 2005, the percentage of those repatriated without their relatives was 10 percent, and by 2012, it had risen to 80 percent.

Health Conditions in the Region

One of the main things that must be considered when evaluating health conditions of any population is its access to health services and institutions. In the case of the border, a large part of residents lack this access, although we should recognize that between 2000 and 2010 conditions have improved in the Mexican case due to the launch of the Popular Health Care Program.

Main Causes of Death

Cancer

Among the main causes of death are certain types of cancer, with an important incidence of breast and cervical-uterine cancer. On the Mexican side, the mortality rate from breast cancer has jumped, while on the U.S. side, between 2000 and 2010, it dropped significantly (see Graph 4). The implications of this transcend women, since cancer presents in people of working and reproductive age.

One of the main things that must be considered when evaluating health conditions of any population is its access to health services and institutions.

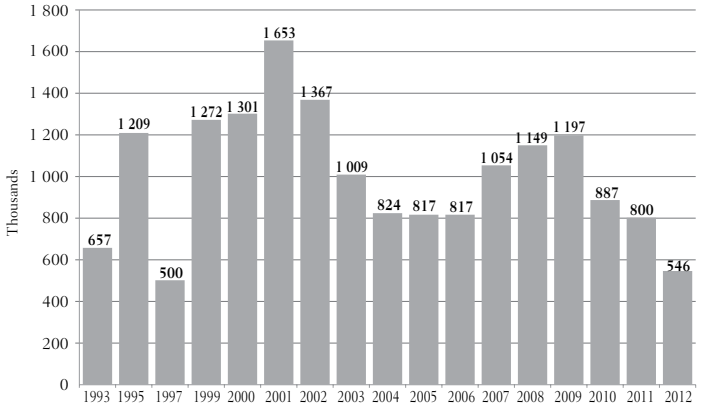
Obesity, Overweight, and Diabetes

Other main health problems are obesity, overweight, and diabetes. On the Mexican side, they have grown steadily, which is reflected in an increase in the mortality rate from diabetes. On the U.S. side, the rate has dropped (see Graph 5). This must be analyzed in a context of greater access to treatments that make it possible to increase the quality of life and life expectancy of diabetes patients.

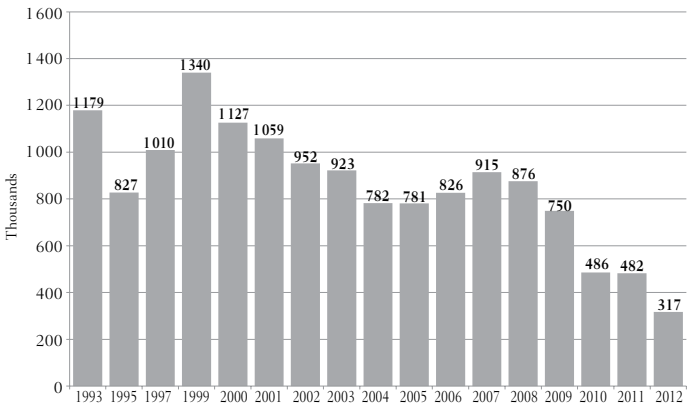
HIV-AIDS

While in Mexico, people continue to think that the HIV-AIDS epidemic is concentrated in the so-called "high-risk populations," Mexico's border states report an important number of cases. Nevertheless, between 2005 and 2010, the infection rate declined in those states, except Sonora (see Graph 6). On

Graph 2
Flow of Labor Migrants from the U.S.



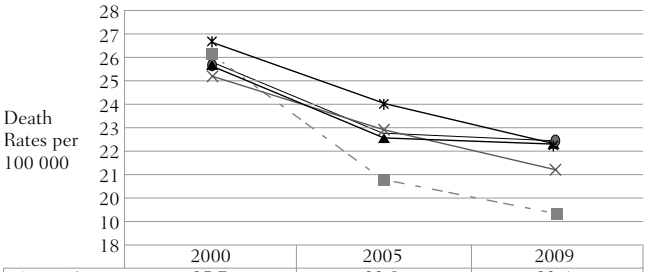
Graph 3
Flow of Migrants Repatriated by the United States



Source: EMIF Norte.

GRAPH 4
CANCER MORTALITY RATE

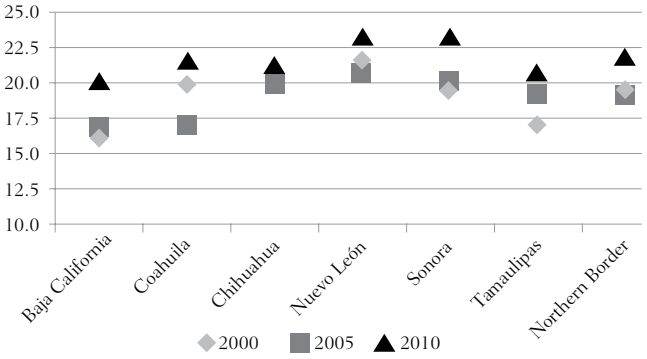
U.S. Border States: Breast Cancer Death Rates (2000-2010)



	2000	2005	2009
California	25.7	22.8	22.4
Arizona	26.1	20.8	19.3
New Mexico	25.7	22.6	22.3
Texas	25.2	22.9	21.2
United States	26.6	24.1	22.2

Source: Informe preliminar Frontera Saludable 2010.

Border Cancer Mortality Rate in the Mexican Border States (2000-2010)



the U.S. side of the border, the rate has also dropped, most notably in California and Texas where, paradoxically, the highest proportion of new cases in general has been detected.

Traffic Accidents

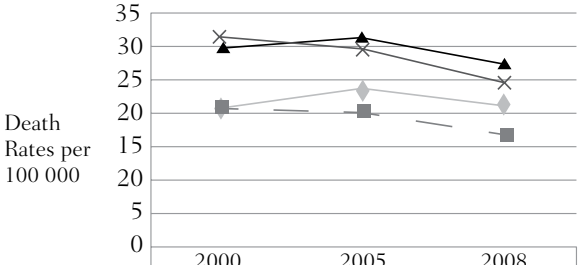
Traffic accidents are another important public health issue, not only because of the injuries and disabilities they can cause, but also because of the high degree of mortality associated with them, which is often more intense in the United States. On the Mexican side, the states of Chihuahua and Sonora have registered hikes in accident-related mortality rates (see Graph 7).

USMBHC PROJECTS

The United States-México Border Health Commission's specific projects for dealing with these health and mortality problems are:

GRAPH 5
DIABETES MORTALITY RATE

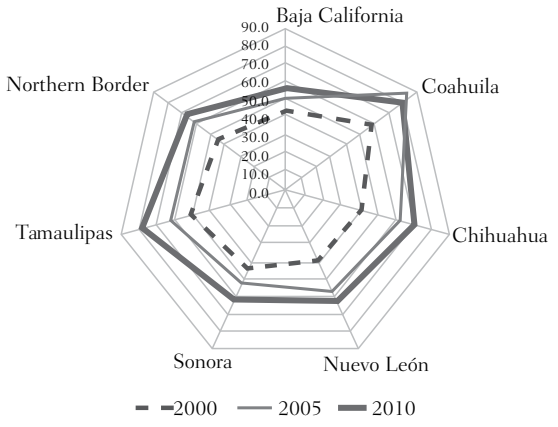
U.S. Border States: (2000-2008)



	2000	2005	2008
California	20.8	23.5	21.1
Arizona	20.9	20.2	16.9
New Mexico	30.1	31.2	27.5
Texas	31.2	29.6	24.5

Source: Informe preliminar Frontera Saludable 2010.

Mexico's Northern Border (2000-2010)



1. The Border Infectious Diseases Surveillance Project (BIDS): epidemiological monitoring of exanthematic diseases (such as varicella, rubella, mumps, and measles), hepatitis, and West Nile virus;
2. Early Warning Infectious Disease Surveillance (EWIDS): epidemiological monitoring of influenza, anthrax, botulism, plague, tularemia, and smallpox;
3. Project Concern International: broaden detection of and follow-up for tuberculosis (TB) patients;
4. Project Together: prevention and tight control of TB cases;
5. USMBHC-UC San Diego-Inesalud-University of Wisconsin at Madison: on HIV-AIDS and injectable drug users;
6. USMBHC, U.S. Section in Arizona, Ministry of Health, El Colegio de Sonora, and the ITESM: Leaders across Borders diploma course;
7. Binational Health Councils, which reemerge as forums for fostering specific projects in the border states; and
8. The Border Governors Conference.

Studies of Border Residents and Migrants' Health Conditions

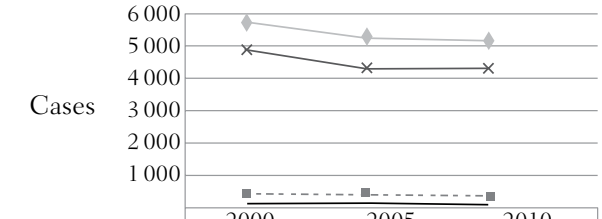
Since 2008, the Baja California Outreach Office has strengthened this area by collaborating with U.S. universities. It is currently developing the following research projects financed by the National Institutes of Health, the National Institute on Drug Abuse, and the Department of Health and Human Services:

Tuberculosis is the infectious disease that causes the second largest number of deaths worldwide. Baja California currently occupies first place nationally in terms of rate of incidence and mortality.

1. Impact of Drug Policy Reforms in the Context of HIV Risk among Injectable Drug Users in Tijuana, Mexico (El Cuete IV). The University of California at San Diego (UCSD) and the USMBHC participate.
2. Risks for HIV and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) among Female Sex Workers and Their Non-commercial Male Sexual Partners in Mexico (Couples): studies the context and epidemiology of HIV and STIs, as well as the behavior between sex workers and their main partners (who are not clients), and evaluates the viability of an intervention designed for couples. The UCSD, USMBHC, and the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juárez (UACJ) participate.

Graph 6
HIV/AIDS

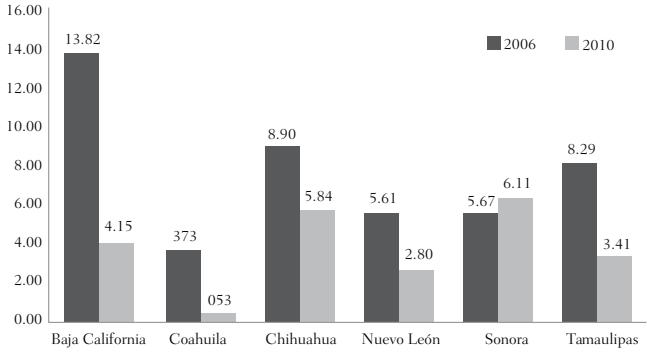
U.S. Border States: Newly Reported HIV Cases



	2000	2005	2010
California	5 708	5 257	5 139
Arizona	439	508	407
New Mexico	128	174	149
Texas	4 824	4 296	4 242

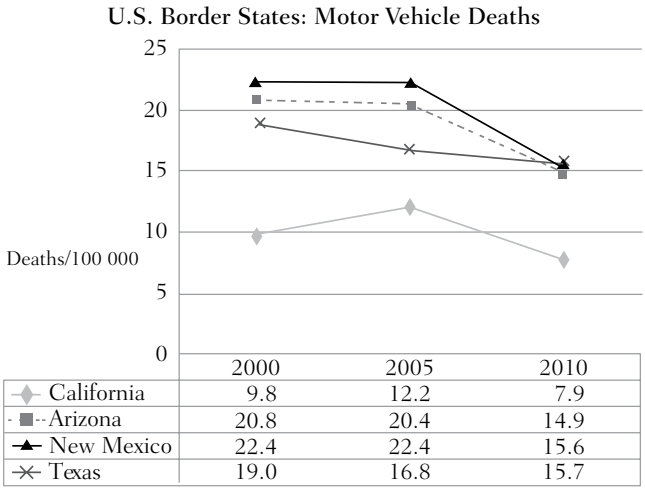
Please Note: New Mexico data listed under 2005 is from 2006.

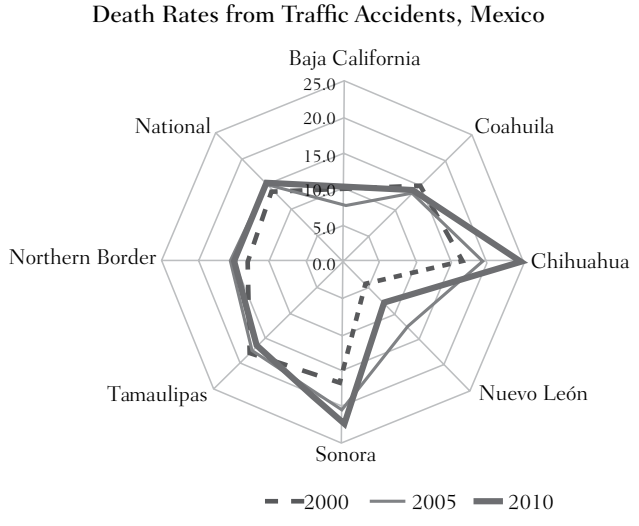
HIV Incidence Rates (per 100 000) in the Mexican Border States (2005-2010)



Source: Informe preliminar Frontera Saludable 2010.

GRAPH 7
TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS





Source: Informe preliminar Frontera Saludable 2010.

3. Safer Sex for Male Clients of Female Sex Workers in Tijuana, Mexico (Safe Man): The objective of this study is to evaluate the efficacy of a behavioral intervention with clients of women sex workers to increase their use of condoms. The UCSD and the USMBHC participate.
4. Evolution of the Context of HIV/STI Contagion among Women Sex Workers on the U.S.-Mexico Border (Health Map): This aims to determine the social, spatial, and physical factors that affect female sex workers in Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez, and their links to the transmission of HIV/STIs, drug use, and their access to services. The UCSD and USMBHC participate.
5. Access to Health Services among Mexican Migrants: This is to measure health service access and use by Mexican migrants both inside the United States and in Mexico, as well as certain risk conditions linked mainly with chronic-degenerative diseases. The University of Wisconsin at Madison and the USMBHC participate (see Graph 8).

The Video Directly Observed Therapy offers a promising solution for following up on TB treatment, compared with the high cost and workload associated with directly observed therapy.

RESEARCH PROJECTS WITH AN IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICIES

The following projects have had an impact on public health and migration policies given their importance and results:

HIV Risk and Access to Health Care Among Mexican Migrants

This project analyzes the relationship between HIV-AIDS and migration, starting at the beginning of the epidemic, taking into consideration migrants as dispersion agents, their vulnerability, and risky practices.

It looks particularly at the case of Mexican-U.S. migration, underlining its importance, which comes to an average net flow of 400 000 persons a year, and exposure to the infection, which is more prevalent in the United States. It took into account the fact that certain previous studies found a high number of risk factors for HIV and other STIs among Mexican migrants to the United States. It also found evidence linking the development of the HIV epidemic in Mexico to migration to the United States. Nevertheless, the data utilized in that research were obtained using small, non-representative samples of the population under study.

When a higher incidence was found among repatriated migrants, support was sought from Censida and the Baja Cal-

ifornia Ministry of Health to set up a facility for comprehensive health care for them in the installations of the El Chaparral (Tijuana) inspection booth, where they are handed over.

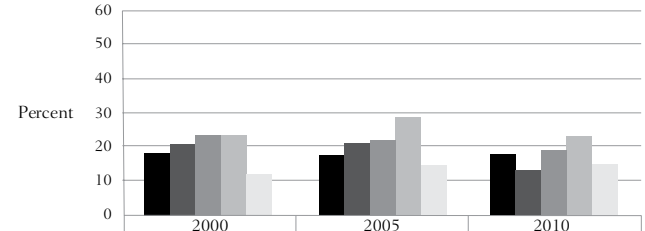
High Tuberculosis Treatment Adherence Using Mobil Phone Video Directly Observed Therapy (VDOT)

The objectives of this project are to determine the viability, acceptability, and cost of directly observed treatment in high- and low-income sectors, as well as to estimate the level of adherence to the treatment using VDOT. An innovative strategy was presented in 2013 to monitor tuberculosis through cellular phone videos. It is based on successful results in Tijuana and San Diego, in collaboration with the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), Isesalud, and the USMBHC from 2010 to 2012.

Tuberculosis is the infectious disease that causes the second largest number of deaths worldwide. Baja California currently occupies first place nationally in terms of rate of incidence and mortality. Despite the fact that the directly observed therapy has been a proven strategy for improving patients' adherence to treatment and their cure, it is very expensive and lengthy, restricts patients' mobility, compromises their privacy, requires transportation, and is not very practical in rural areas, or areas with uneven terrain or difficult access. The VDOT option offers a promising solution compared with the high cost and workload associated with directly observed therapy for following up on TB treatment and that of other diseases that require strict therapy adherence.

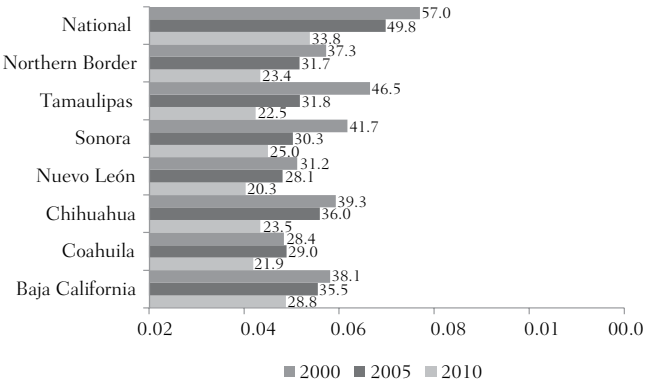
GRAPH 8
ACCESS TO HEALTH SERVICES

U.S. Border States: Adults without Health Insurance (2000-2010)



	2000	2005	2010
California	18.4	17.2	17.8
Arizona	20.7	20.9	13.3
New Mexico	23.5	21.9	19.1
Texas	23.0	28.5	23.1
United States	11.9	14.5	15.0

Mexico Border States-Percent of Adults without Health Insurance (2000-2010)



Source: Informe preliminar Frontera Saludable 2010.

BINATIONAL PROJECTS ON THE BORDER

The following is a list of the projects that the USMBHC is developing jointly and binationally:

1. Border Binational Health Week
2. United States-México Border Tuberculosis Consortium
3. U.S.-México Border Obesity Prevention Summit
4. Leaders across Borders
5. Healthy Border 2010-2020 Strategic Plan
6. Border Binational Infectious Disease Conference
7. Prevention and Health Promotion among Vulnerable Populations Initiative.

MAIN OUTCOMES

To conclude, I should mention the most outstanding results of the binational health initiatives along the Mexico-U.S. border:

1. Greater importance is accorded to training health personnel;
2. Greater technical capabilities and competencies for border epidemiological surveillance;
3. Strengthening the existing capacity through state laboratories, improving timely diagnosis;
4. High-level forums to set health priorities;

5. Recognition of the border region as a differentiated epidemiological unit;
6. The design of binational plans and programs based on trust and complementarity;
7. Dynamic information flow for timely organized responses;
8. Binational management for accessing sustainable resources; and
9. Federal attention to collaboration on border and binational public health.

Conclusions

All the border states in both Mexico and the United States have seen their health indicators improve over the last decade. In the U.S., progress has been made regarding the 2010 Healthy Border Plan with regard to HIV, hepatitis B, tuberculosis, cervical-uterine cancer, and deaths due to motor vehicles. In the case of Mexico, improvements have been registered regarding prenatal care, diabetes, teen pregnancy, and breast cancer. VM

Comprehensive Health Care Strategy for Migrants[1]

Hilda Dávila Chávez*

Health care for migrants is a co-responsibility of the Mexican government and the population residing abroad to preserve and improve health with an emphasis on prevention and promotion. For this reason, the Ministry of Health (SS) has designed and implemented various activities aimed at protecting the health of migrants and their families in their places of origin, as they are in transit, and at their destinations, using binational collaboration strategies.

Taking into consideration migrant behavior in recent years, the Comprehensive Health Care Strategy for Migrants serves people living in the United States, facilitating disease prevention and promoting healthy living habits and their access to services. It also includes certain measures to protect returning migrants as well as those who join temporary work programs, and to deal with border-specific health issues. The work plan is based on different legal norms such as the

Denis Balibouse/Reuters

* General director of International Relations, Mexico's Ministry of Health.

Mexican Constitution, international treaties signed by Mexico, the General Law on Health, the Law on Migration, and the Ministry of Health's Internal Regulations.

Its program references the 2013-2018 National Development Plan, since it is part of the national goal of building an inclusive Mexico. Concretely, it is linked to the objective of ensuring full access to health services and to strategy 2.3.3, aimed at improving care for vulnerable persons. It is part of the fourth objective of the 2013-2018 Sectoral Health Program aimed at closing the health gaps among different social groups and regions around the country, emphasizing stepping up actions for prevention, promotion, and health care for the migrant population, as I mentioned before.

Mexican Migration

Mexican migration to the United States has been characterized, among other things, by being eminently undocumented. This exposes these citizens to conditions of greater vulnerability since, often, to achieve their ends, they must cross the border in places with extreme weather conditions like the intense heat of the deserts or the low winter temperatures of Mexico's North.

Generally speaking, we can say that more than 90 percent of Mexicans living abroad live in the United States, where they make up 60 percent of the Hispanic population. According to the U.S. Census, in 2010 an estimated 31.8 million persons of Mexican origin lived in that country. By 2008, also according to the census, they were the biggest segment (34.6 percent) of persons without medical insurance. Specifically, almost half (48.3 percent) of persons of Mexican ancestry, and 61 percent of persons born in Mexico living there, who are in the most productive age group (from 18 to 64), reported being without insurance.

Determining Factors for Health Conditions

Many factors impact people's health conditions. In the case of Mexican immigrants in the United States, the main ones involve certain changes in life style (sedentary life styles, over-crowding, increased consumption of saturated fats, particularly due to a greater consumption of fast food, and higher use rates of alcohol, tobacco, and illegal drugs, among other products).

Their surroundings also have an impact, with frequent social isolation, lack of family and social support, work-place risks, stress because of not speaking the local language, the culture, and clashes with the way of life. If we add high-risk sexual practices to the list, besides health concerns such as obesity, diabetes, mental diseases, and addictions affecting Mexican migrants' health, we find HIV-AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

Health Care for Migrants

The main programs, actions, and resources that make up Mexico's Ministry of Health strategy for migrants' health care are the following:

1. Binational Health Week
2. Windows on Health (VDS)
3. Preventive medicine and health promotion modules for returning Mexican nationals
4. Repatriation of gravely ill Mexican nationals
5. The Health and Migration Research Program
6. The Mexico-Canada Temporary Agricultural Workers Program.

Binational Health Week

Since it was first held in October 2013 in Washington, D.C., it was decided that every year for two weeks or more, we would hold workshops, fairs, talks, health care days, and health trainings. We would inform about preventive measures and health promotion for migrants and their families at the Windows on Health, Mexican consulates in the United States, and associated agencies. And every year we would also hold a Binational Forum on Health and Migration Public Policies with the participation of experts from Mexico and the United States.

The Ministry of Health has designed and implemented various activities aimed at protecting the health of migrants in their places of origin, as they are in transit, and at their destinations.

Modules in Tijuana and Mexicali provide orientation for preventive medicine and promote the health of repatriated migrants, detect problems, and channel them to health institutions if necessary.

At that first Health Week in 2013, 400 000 people benefited from the participation of 9 000 agencies headed up by 133 consulates and 178 committees; and 800 activities were held, including 350 health fairs and 100 events at clinics and hospitals. Approximately 100 mobile units went to remote locations and about 40 000 vaccinations against different diseases were given.

Ventanillas de salud (Windows on Health)

The aim of this initiative is to build a network of informational windows to increase knowledge about health and access to services for Mexican migrants and their families residing in the United States. These "windows" —50 up to now— are located mainly in Mexico's consulates, and there are two mobile units: one in Kansas City and another in New Jersey.

The services offered are gauged to priority issues like HIV-AIDS, nutrition, obesity, diabetes, women's health, children's health, mental health, addictions, and access to services, among others. Testing is also available for HIV detection, determining the body mass index, and cholesterol and glucose levels; vaccinations are given; referrals to community clinics are made when more specialized services are required; and information is distributed about and pre-affiliation services exist for Mexico's Popular Health Insurance.

Some of the other main achievements associated with the Windows on Health are the following:

1. Continuity and strengthening of collaboration with the United States' Centers for Disease Control (CDC) on priority training issues;
2. The establishment of an advisory board for Windows on Health, made up of leaders from the health sector and immigrant services;
3. The Second Generation Windows on Health Project, which focuses on strengthening and specializing services. The participating windows are in the consulates in New York City, Washington, D.C., Portland, Fresno, and Kansas City;
4. Collaboration with the National Alliance for Hispanic Health (NAHH), through a call center that it operates financed by the Health Department and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS);
5. Collaboration with Text4baby, which provides text message services to pregnant women and distributes material on preventive maternal-child health.

In September 2013, 969 274 people were seen at these windows, and 1 842 471 preventive services were provided, mainly in cases of diabetes and obesity, hypertension, women's health, HIV-AIDS, tuberculosis, domestic violence, cancer, mental health, addictions, and orientation about access to services. The main services offered were orientation/counseling (1 226 389); early detection (394 060); patient referrals to health services (214 237); helping people take out health insurance in the United States (6 750); pre-affiliating people to Mexico's Popular Health Insurance (2 131); and vaccinations (14 366).

The main causes of morbidity and some risk factors in the people who went to the windows are the following: high glucose levels (27.7 percent), excess weight and obesity (50.35 percent), high blood pressure (30.96 percent), high cholesterol levels (22.8 percent), heart disease (28.62 percent), positive for HIV (2.1 percent), positive for a sexually transmitted disease (STD) (5.19 percent), and tuberculosis (4.4 percent).

Preventive Medicine and Health Promotion Modules for Returning Mexican Nationals

The objective of these modules is to provide orientation for preventive medicine and promote the health of repatriated migrants in border cities, detect problems, and channel them to health institutions if necessary. Two modules currently exist, one in Tijuana and another in Mexicali, with external financing arranged by the Ministry of Health and the Mexico-U.S. Border Health Commission.

The main services offered are the following:

1. Referrals for migrants with a problem to the corresponding institutions, on a case by case basis;
2. Evaluation of the associated risk factors through filling out a form;

3. Disseminating information about the main health problems migrants have through printed educational materials;
4. Counseling about health promotion and preventive medicine; and
5. HIV and TB detection; testing for glucose levels, blood pressure, and body mass indices, among others.

From January to October 2013, in the Tijuana module alone, 1 705 repatriated migrants were afforded these services. Of these, 15 percent were women and 85 percent men; and their average age was 36. Of the 27 medical referrals made, 10 patients were diagnosed with HIV, six with chronic-degenerative conditions, six with mental illness, and the rest with miscellaneous ailments.

Ninety-one percent of the migrants received (or 1 120 patients) were given HIV-AIDS tests; 1 125 (85 percent) had their blood-sugar levels tested; and 1 356, their blood pressure. The body mass index of 1 240 migrants was also measured, 30 percent of whom were found to be overweight or obese. Also, 5 000 condoms, 320 packages of oral saline solution, and 600 preventive medicine and health promotional pamphlets were passed out. In October, the affiliation of repatriated migrants to the Popular Health Insurance program began, and in that month alone, 231 people signed up.

Another Important Service: Repatriation Of Gravely Ill Mexican Nationals

When a Mexican residing in the United States requests support from Mexico's federal government because of his or her own illness or that of a relative, a procedure is begun to channel the patient, according to his/her condition, to a federal health center or a hospital in Mexico so he/she can be given care as soon as possible. This process is carried out by the Ministry of Health in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Relations' network of consulates and the support of the health services of the different states and the nation's capital, Mexico City's Federal District.

Research on Health and Migration Program

The objective of this program is to fund research projects in health and migration that can be the basis for making decisions to design public policies to benefit migrants, focusing on the issues that most affect them such as chronic and infectious diseases and mental health. Participants are the Ministry of Health, the National Council for Science and Technology (Conacyt), the UNAM, the universities of California at Berkeley, El Paso, and Minnesota.

Mexico-Canada Temporary Agricultural Workers Program (PTAT)

Mexico's Ministry of Labor the coordinated PTAT. Among other things, this program manages and does the follow-up on medical exams in government medical facilities that Mexican citizens who want to go to work in Canada as temporary agricultural workers are required to have.

Challenges

We seek to harmonize preventive health and promotional efforts among our fellow citizens residing in the United States in order to ensure a better quality of life; foster collaboration through agreements with health institutions in the United States to improve migrants' access to those services; and strengthen the Windows on Health in terms of continuous training, resource management, and access to services. With regard to the Windows on Health in particular, we ensure we work on a plan for standardizing those services, broaden the project of a second generation of "Windows," follow up on recommendations by the Windows Advisory Board, gather data on the windows' activities, and have a budget earmarked for them and for the modules for health prevention and promotion for repatriated Mexican citizens.

When a Mexican residing in the U. S. requests support from Mexico's government, a procedure is begun to channel the patient, according to his/her condition, to a federal health center or a hospital in Mexico.

The Necessary Harmonization

It is necessary to move ahead toward a harmonization of the programs and actions on migrants' health issues. This requires inter-institutional collaboration that would make it possible to coordinate programs and actions harmoniously, joining efforts and optimizing resources, which would make for a bigger social impact. To achieve this, the following tasks, among others, can be carried out: coordinating actions and creating informational networks; synchronizing to achieve multiplying effects; and, of course, guaranteeing the sustainability of institutional efforts. VM

Notes

[1]Paper presented at the international seminar "Analysis of Strategic Health Issues on the Mexico-U.S. Border. Obesity, Overweight, Diabetes, and Infectious Diseases," in Mexico City, on November 21, 2013, hosted by the CISAN.

Private Sector Activities to Reach Millennium Development Goal Six On the U.S.-Mexico Border

Valeria Marina Valle*

Through company or foundation actions, the private sector is an important actor in international cooperation for development (ICD) in health issues. In this article, I will present a few examples of corporate social responsibility (CSR) by pharmaceutical companies and foundations acting along the Mexico-U.S. border and their contribution to reaching the sixth United Nations Millennium Development Goal (MDG): fighting HIV-AIDS, tuberculosis, dengue, and other serious illnesses. This data will be crossed with the MDG monitoring results.

In 2000, the 189 UN member-countries committed to reaching eight MDGs by 2015, measured in comparison with 1990 indices: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; fight HIV-AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and foster a global partnership for development.[1] In 2014, many countries have partially achieved these goals; however, this does not ensure that they will be met worldwide by 2015. Broadly, there are two ways forward to make them a reality: actions by governments themselves and cooperation (ICD).

Through corporate social responsibility, companies develop a long-term vision involving workers and the local community. It also implies the creation of new forms of organization that promote internal leadership.

In a context of international economic and financial crisis, the challenge for distributing resources not exclusively from national governments is very large. Regional and governmental bodies have also had their financing cut, and, therefore, the difficulties for reaching the MDGs by 2015 are enormous. For that reason, multinational corporations and foundations are seen as important actors in international cooperation. Their participation is measurable in the framework of their CSR activities; these are not synonymous with philanthropy and social investment since the former imply donations in cash or in kind of goods or services, such as volunteer work, for humanitarian or altruistic purposes. Social investment ac-

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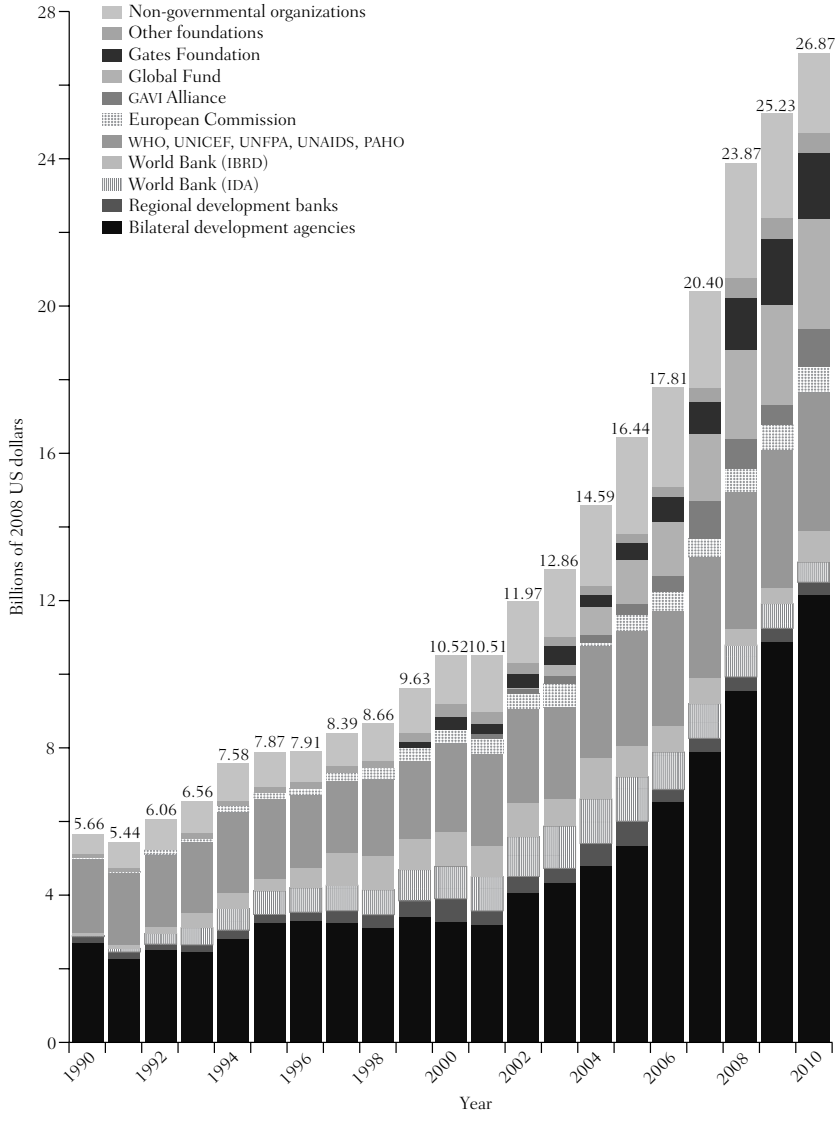
tivities, in contrast, are those that channel company resources into its surroundings or the local community. Their aim is to improve the company's image, and, therefore, is not merely altruistic or humanitarian. CSR actions are more complex, involving the company in processes that not only benefit its reputation or the society in which it is acting, but also the CEO, the workers, the supply chain, the community, and the investors. Through CSR, companies develop a long-term vision involving workers and the local community. It also implies the creation of new forms of organization that promote internal leadership, decentralize authority, and generate an internal climate of trust and commitment to the company's mission through coherent actions.[2]

In 2009, the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation published a report about aid for development in health, according to which, between 1990 and 2007, cooperation in this field has grown. It also reported on the increase in the number of actors and donor institutions, pointing out among the new stakeholders the importance of the Global Compact; Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance; and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. According to 2009 figures, all these actors have been increasing their participation in cooperation for health while some international agencies, like the World Health Organization (WHO), have decreased theirs.[3] Graph 1 illustrates the increase in ICD from these new actors in the field of health starting in 2000, and how the participation of NGOs and

GRAPH 1
DONORS IN ASSISTANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT IN HEALTH (1990-2010)



Source: Christopher J. L. Murray, Brent Anderson, Roy Burstein, Katherine Leach-Kemon, Matthew Schneider, Annette Tardif, and Raymond Zhang, "Development Assistance for Health: Trends and Prospects," *The Lancet* 378 (9785), July 2, 2011, p. 10.
Note: The figures for 2009 and 2010 are estimates based on information from the donors.

The northern border can be considered an epidemiological unit with the presence of certain infectious diseases, among them what are called neglected tropical diseases, endemic to the Mexico-Texas border.

foundations has evolved, outstanding among which is the role of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

CSR and Pharmaceutical Companies

CSR activities vary according to the characteristics of the company. In the case of pharmaceuticals, activities have covered a wide range. For example, they have increased the resources earmarked for research and development (R&D) to perfect medications and vaccines for children and adults; education and awareness programs about diseases have been created; access to medications and health systems has improved; medication costs have decreased; and mechanisms for transferring technology have been set up.[4]

A 2002 report prepared by Oxfam, Save the Children, and VSO presented five benchmarks in five critical policy areas for measuring 11 pharmaceutical companies' CSR: prices, patents, joint public-private initiatives, R&D, and the appropriate use of medications.[5] One example of R&D actions is the creation of vaccines against infectious diseases. Sanofi Pasteur created a vaccine against the dengue virus that is in phase three of its development;[6] it is expected to be distributed in Mexico in late 2015.[7] This lab also has a vaccine against tuberculosis and a new antigen bank against influenza in Mexico. It should be pointed out that the Sanofi Espoir Foundation donated more than 600 000 vaccine doses in 2012.[8]

Neglected Tropical Diseases On the Mexico-U.S. Border

Every year, 350 million people cross the border legally, a dynamic situation that poses huge challenges for the actors charged with preventing infectious diseases in both countries.[9] This border can be considered an epidemiological unit with the presence of certain infectious diseases, among them what are called neglected tropical diseases (NTD) that are endemic to the Mexico-Texas border. They are the most common diseases among the 120 million poorest people in the Americas who live on less than US$2/day. Some are age-old, like hookworm, Chagas disease, amoebiasis, schistosomiasis, vivax malaria, leismaniasis, and dengue fever.[10]

According to the CDC, the diseases of concern to both countries that are present in the border area are the following:[11]

1. Vaccine-preventable infectious diseases such as rubella and pertussis (whooping cough);
2. Vector-borne diseases such as dengue and Rocky Mountain spotted fever, transmitted by mosquitoes, ticks, or fleas;
3. Zoonotic diseases spread from animals to human such as rabies and brucellosis;
4. Illnesses spread through food and water;
5. Tuberculosis;
6. HIV-AIDS;
7. Pandemic influenza and other global health emergencies; and
8. Chronic health conditions.

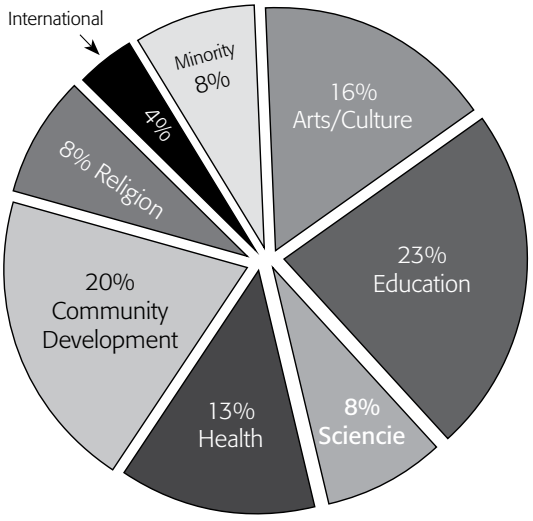
This list contains mainly infectious diseases that are part of MDG 6. As I will analyze later, the existing vaccines and those that will come out onto the market soon can fight them. This is why both R&D and the sale and distribution of vaccines are indicators of best practices for fighting these diseases.

The Role of Foundations

Among the foundations working along the border, the US-Mexico Border Philanthropy Partnership (BPP) should be singled out.[12] This partnership brings together individuals and institutions from both countries to support a network of organizations working on the border. BPP published a report in 2006, "Corporate Giving Trends in the U.S.-Mexico Border," to present the results of a survey of 110 companies operating there to determine where their CSR was being channeled. Of all the goals of the actions carried out, health was the fourth most important after education, community development, and the arts and culture. Health represented 13 percent of the activities. Graph 2 shows the percentages of the priority areas.

Another example is the Binational Health Collaboration Program implemented by the United States-Mexico Foun-

GRAPH 2
AREAS OF INTEREST FOR DONOR CORPORATIONS
ON THE MEXICO-U.S. BORDER (2006) (%)



Source: From U.S.-Mexico Border Philanthropy Partnership, "Corporate Giving Trends in the U.S.-Mexico Border Region," March 2006, p. 31, http://www.synergos.org/knowledge/06/bordercorporategiving.pdf.

dation for Science (Fumec). Its aim is to improve Mexican epidemiological tracking systems with resources from the U.S. State and Health and Human Services Departments, as well as the CDC. Fumec acts as a fiduciary agent to channel funds, coordinate health activities, manage technical and administrative aspects of the institutions involved, and link up actors in academic and institutional networks. It has also trained the personnel from Mexico's Ministry of Health Institute of Epidemiological Diagnosis and Reference (InDRE) to handle molecular diagnostic methods in parasitology, focused on preventing and treating vector-transmitted diseases like Chagas, leishmaniasis, and malaria. Fumec has also coordinated meetings for the Brucellosis Epidemiological Surveillance project in order to compare traditional lab practices with other more advanced techniques to detect and treat this disease, which affects human beings, cattle, horses, swine, and some wild species alike.

It has also collaborated in Mexico in monitoring influenza. The Influenza Epidemiological Surveillance System has 583 Influenza Monitoring Health Units distributed in every state of the country. They received support from InDRE to improve the treatment and laboratories system to prevent epidemics and outbreaks of respiratory diseases through surveillance of new cases of influenza.[13]

In general, Mexico has performed well in fulfilling the eight millennium goals. However, it is lagging behind in some of the health-related MDGs.

In Mexico and the United States, actions have also been carried out to fight neglected tropical diseases (NTD). Outstanding among these efforts is the Carlos Slim Health Institute's launch of a binational initiative to develop vaccines against NTDs, starting with Chagas disease and leishmaniasis.[14] The antigens for preparing these vaccines are developed jointly by institutions in Mexico and Texas and are manufactured by Laboratorios de Biológicos y Reactivos de México (Birmex), which has joined the efforts of the U.S. National Institutes of Health. In addition, the Section of Pediatric Tropical Medicine at the Baylor College of Medicine Texas Children's Hospital has linked up with other institutions that belong to the Texas Medical Center and the Sabin Vaccine Institute to develop vaccines and other technology for fighting NTDs.[15]

Another infectious disease present along the border is tuberculosis. According to U.S. Customs and Border Protection data, more than 22 million people with documents cross the border from Mexico into the United States every year through El Paso, Texas. This population flow shares infectious agents. In Texas, tuberculosis is one of the main health problems. To treat it, the CDC, the Texas Department of State Health Services, and Mexico's Ministry of Health have made preventive efforts along the 1 900 miles of the Texas border.

In addition to these governmental actors, the Mexican Federation of Private Associations Foundation (Femap) has served as the fiscal agent for the fifth year running for the Binational Tuberculosis Program on the border, implemented by the Texas Department of Health and Human Services and the CDC. A total of US$265 166 was donated by 2014 and earmarked for El Paso, Texas/Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; Laredo, Texas/Matamoros and Reynosa, Tamaulipas; and Eagle Pass, Del Río, Texas/Piedras Negras and Ciudad Acuña, Coahuila.[16] Another institution that supports the fight against TB on the border is the International Community Foundation, which is the fiscal sponsor of the Bridges of Hope Program that has been operating since 2006. Its

With regard to the Millenium Development Goals indicators linked to the reduction of the prevalence of and mortality due to tuberculosis, Mexico reached the goal ahead of time.

main functions are to facilitate laboratory testing of individuals from Baja California in San Diego, California; administering anti-TB medications for patients from that state of Mexico; supplying specialized personnel to monitor anti-TB therapy there; and creating a binational network of experts. Thanks to Bridges of Hope, more than 90 percent of the patients registered with TB were able to receive treatment over the last six years.[17]

It should be underlined that the states of Baja California, Veracruz, and Chiapas accounted for 25 percent of all TB cases between 2000 and 2010.[18] Baja California was also the state with the highest TB rate in 2012, with 58.5 cases per 100 000 inhabitants, while the average rate nationwide in that year was 16.8 cases per 100 000 inhabitants. The states with the greatest incidence were those crossed by migratory routes from the South to the North of the country.[19]

Mexico and Meeting MDG Six

In general, Mexico has performed well in fulfilling the eight millennium goals. However, it is lagging behind in some of the health-related MDGs, such as the one involving maternal health, which will not be reached by 2015. In general, goal six was met in 2012, as can be seen in Table 1 and Graph 3. Millennium goal six also has specific goals:

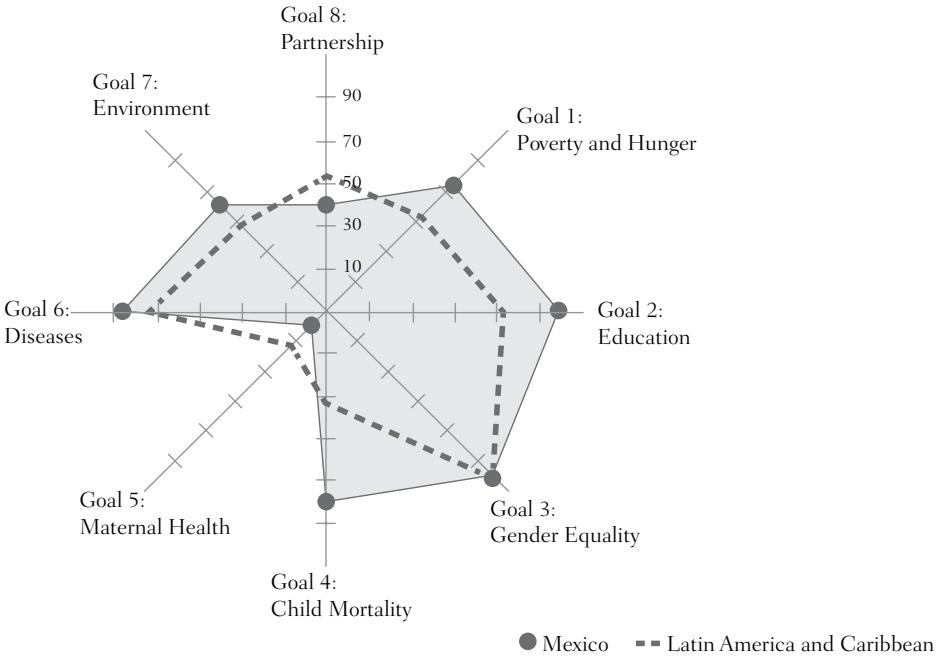
> 6.A: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS;
> 6.B: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it; and
> 6.C: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases.[20]

Table 1
Progress on Millenium Development Goals, Mexico (2014)

MDGs Mexico	Progress	Achieving target in...	
Goal 1 Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	On track for 2015	2014	✓
Goal 2 Achieve universal primary education	Achieved early	2010	✓
Goal 3 Promote gender equality and empower women	Achieved early	2010	✓
Goal 4 Reduce child mortality rate	On track for 2015	2013	✓
Goal 5 Improve maternal health	Not on track	2025	⊘
Goal 6 Combat HIV-AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	On track for 2015	2012	✓
Goal 7 Ensure environmental sustainability	On track for 2020	2016	✓
Goal 8 Develop a global partnership for development	On track for 2020	2019	✓

Source: MDG Track, "MDGs: Where Do We Stand in Mexico?" http://www.mdgtrack.org/index.php?tab=c&c=MEX, accessed August 26, 2014.

GRAPH 3
MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS:
WHERE DO WE STAND IN MEXICO? (2014)



Source: MDG Track, "MDGs: Where Do We Stand in Mexico?" http://www.mdgtrack.org/index.php?tab=c&c=MEX, accessed August 26, 2014.
References: 0 percent = not on track, 100 percent = completed.

With regard to the MDGs indicators linked to the reduction of the prevalence and mortality due to tuberculosis to 50 percent compared to 1990, Mexico reached the goal ahead of time, according to WHO estimates.[21] Table 1 shows that, although the goal of stopping cases will not be met in Mexico by 2015, the incidence of tuberculosis has decreased and in general the goal was already met in 2010. Graph 4 illustrates the progress regarding the goals related to HIV and tuberculosis up until August 2014. For the MDGs to be met, government actors must not only carry out actions, but also join with the private sector, civil society organizations, and other non-governmental actors so their efforts can be backed up and multiplied.

CONCLUSIONS

The year 2000 was a watershed in the architecture of international cooperation for development (ICD) in the field of health when the UN announced eight MDGs, three of which are health related. Several corporations have answered the call by the UN secretary general to become part of the Global Compact and have carried out CSR programs, becoming in the process important ICD actors. We should also underline the work of foundations, which generally act jointly with other actors to improve health along the border between Mexico and the United States.

Both the pharmaceutical companies and the foundations that I studied and that operate on the border have fulfilled the benchmarks mentioned in the Oxfam-Save the Children-VSO 2002 report with regard to public-private initiatives and R&D investment; some examples are the alliances between binational governmental bodies and foundations. With regard to R&D, I have mentioned the development of

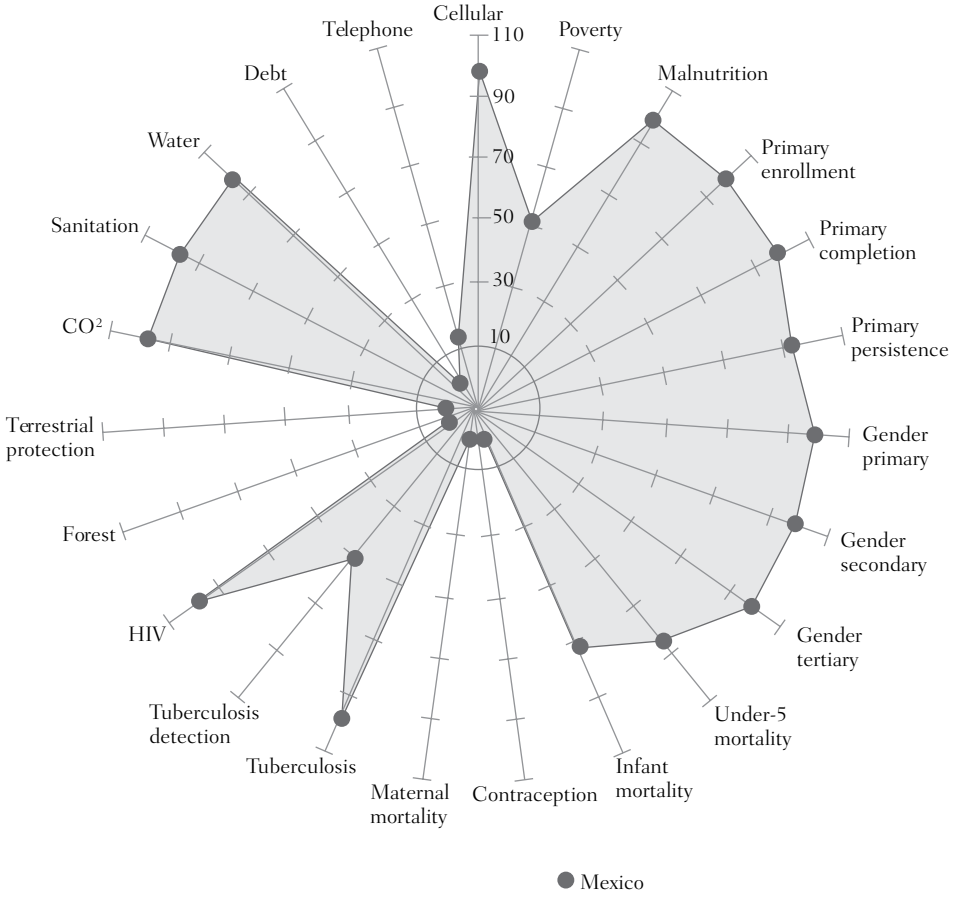
Access to medication and vaccines is fundamental for improving the health of the population on the border. For that, it would be advisable that governmental and non-governmental bodies join forces to donate or distribute at reasonable prices.

TABLE 2
TRACKING MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS, DETAILED INDICATORS. GOAL 6

Mexico. Goal 6: Combat HIV-AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	Initial Value	Last Value	2015 Target	Achieving target in...
Incidence of tuberculosis (per 100 000 people)	61.3	18.7	trend reversal	2010
Tuberculosis case detection rate (all forms)	28.2	92.7	trend reversal	2017
(percent of ages 15-24)	0.2	0.3	trend reversal	2010

Source: Developed by the author based on data from MDG Track, August 19, 2014, http://www.mdgtrack.org/popup-country.php?t=popup&c=MEX.

GRAPH 4
TRACKING MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS
BY INDICATOR



Source: MDG Track, August 19, 2014, http://www.mdgtrack.org/popup-country.php?t=popup&c=MEX.
References: 0 percent = not on track, 100 percent = completed.

vaccines against dengue fever, tuberculosis, influenza, and Chagas and leishmaniasis.

Public-private alliances will be essential for improving health standards in the near future. To do this, I recommend that foundations like BPP, Fumec, Femap, Carlos Slim Health, International Community, and others not mentioned here continue and step up their activities and programs on the border. Access to medication and vaccines is fundamental for improving the health of the population on the border. For that, it would be advisable that governmental and non-governmental bodies join forces to donate or distribute at reasonable prices on the border. Binational alliances must be promoted with corporate participation to fulfill MDG six, in particular so that Mexico may meet all the health goals in the near future.

After 2015, it will be important that the private sector continue offering its support for improving health on the border, even if specific MDG health goals are no longer specifically monitored. In addition, we are responsible for following up on these issues that transcend borders. VM

NOTES

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[6] Dengue fever is an infectious disease transmitted by mosquito. Although it is more common in tropical areas, it has also been detected on the border between Mexico and the United States. To track recent cases in the area, see the dengue map from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), http://www.cdc.gov/dengue/, accessed August 19, 2014.

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[13] Fundación México-Estados Unidos para la Ciencia (Fumec)/The United States-Mexico Foundation for Science, *Reporte Anual de Actividades 2013*, 2013, p. 43, http://fumec.org/v6/htdocs/RepAnual14_Esp.pdf.

[14] Chagas disease is transmitted by the bite of the bedbug known as the "kissing bug" which introduces the parasite through the blood. The infected person may not know he or she has the disease, which can lead to cardiopathy or even death. Laura Martínez Alarcón, "Mal de Chagas y leishmaniasis en México," *Bienestar* 180, May 28, 2010, http://bienestar.salud180.com/salud-dia-dia/mal-de-Chagas-y-leishmaniasis-en-mexico. Leishmaniasis is transmitted by female sand flies (*Plebotomus* or *Lutzomyia*). It can cause symptoms from ulcers on the skin to inflammation of the liver or spleen. It typically presents in poor males without access to health care usually living in rural areas. Instituto Carlos Slim de la Salud, "Leishmaniasis: una enfermedad olvidada que puede ser fatal," August 21, 2014, http://www.salud.carlosslim.org/leishmaniasis-una-enfermedad-olvidada-que-puede-ser-fatal/. Instituto Carlos Slim de la Salud, "Iniciativa Slim para el desarrollo de vacunas contra enfermedades tropicales," http://www.salud.carlosslim.org/vacunacion/.

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[16] Femap Foundation, "Opening the Doors to Binational Cooperation-Responding to TB along the U.S.-Mexico Border," January 9, 2014, http://www.femap.org/projects_detail.sstg?id=85, accessed August 19, 2014. See also Fundación Femap, http://www.femap.org.mx/, accessed August 26, 2014.

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[20] ONU, op. cit.

[21] OMS/OPS/Secretaría de Salud de México, op cit.

Healthy Fiscal Policy Taxing Sugar-Sweetened Drinks

Marcela Torres Peimbert*

Sam Hodgson/Reuters

Politically speaking, an issue's importance depends on many variables that can range from the current administration's agenda to the function of the media to decide which facts, data, or aspects of reality are going to be news. In that world, dominated by political and media power, few issues can be introduced by the public, or even by legislators.

Early in the Senate's sixty-second session, more than 70 civic organizations put forward an issue that at the time was not on the media's agenda, much less the political agenda of then recently-elected Enrique Peña Nieto: the problem for public health and the health system's financial sustainability given the high rates of overweight, obesity, and diabetes in Mexico. The figures are shocking, and the relationship between these conditions and certain consumer habits, undeniable. Let's take a look.

One 600-milliliter soft drink contains 60 grams of sugar, the equivalent of 12 tablespoons, which is more than the maximum approximately 40 grams tolerable per day.[1] Drinking one 227-milliliter serving of soft drink a day increases the risk of obesity in children by 60 percent, and the risk of heart disease in women by 23 percent.[2]

Between 1989 and 2006, in Mexico the consumption per capita of soft drinks rose 60 percent, and that of high-calorie beverages like bottled juices and sugar-sweetened coffee doubled among adolescents and tripled among adults.[3] Based on these figures and the prospects opened by the civil society organizations, I decided to undertake several actions to turn this tide back. The first and most controversial was to establish a special tax on soft drinks.

I was aware that only 50 years ago, when the first study linking tobacco with different health ailments was carried out, our cultural understanding about smoking was completely the opposite of that of today: men and women saw cigarettes as an unequivocal symbol of sophistication and

*Federal senator from the state of Querétaro in Mexico's sixty-second Congress.

adulthood. Films encouraged smoking; it was socially acceptable to smoke in closed public spaces; and publicity for tobacco products flooded magazines and radio and television programs. Cigarettes were the quintessence of both masculinity and femininity; millions of dollars were spent in creating that halo around a product which today we are scientifically certain is completely harmful to health. In general, tobacco was for a long time great business for a few, while for others —millions of others— it caused death and disease.

The real battle among the political and economic forces to establish special taxes and restrict the sale and advertising of tobacco was waged little by little against the absolute resistance and denial of the tobacco industry, just as is happening today with the worldwide soft-drink industry.

In contrast with the tobacco companies, which were sued by those who had suffered damage to their health because the industry took it upon itself to disseminate ideas about tobacco's supposed harmlessness, the soft-drink companies' strategy in the face of criticism about their product's harmful effects on health has been to keep quiet, at least in the first instance. Their direct representatives make no claims in favor or against the issue. However, the associations in charge of protecting their commercial interests have been busy denying the link between the consumption of sugary drinks and obesity and diabetes. They have even gone to the absurd lengths of trying to discredit the scientific evidence presented by prestigious Mexican and foreign institutions like the UNAM, the National Public Health Institute, and Harvard and Cambridge universities, whose research shows that the human body is not designed for twenty-first century eating habits. The refined fats, sugars, sodium, and flours, which do not occur naturally in food, but are abundant in food industry products, ravage the body in the short, medium, and long terms.

The soft-drink companies argue that the individual is free to consume whatever he/she wants and the companies, to sell any product, as long as it is not illegal. However, they neglect to mention the fact that between those two freedoms, the consumer's right to know must prevail, the right to receive accurate, sufficient, timely, and understandable information from the companies about the health effects caused by the products they are selling.

Once the prerequisite of receiving accurate, sufficient, timely, and understandable information has been covered, if, despite the damage to his/her health, the individual wishes to consume the product, then, yes, he/she would be exercising real freedom. In short, freedom of consumption and freedom of the market would be subject to regulations about the information the public needs to have to make a responsible, conscious decision. Once we are aware of these suppositions, it is not difficult to understand why consumption of soft drinks is so widespread and information about its effects so little known.

Mexico has the world's highest obesity rate in the general populace and is also the world's biggest soft-drink consumer. Today more deaths in the country are due to diabetes than to drug trafficking.

In our country, the state has not fulfilled its constitutional obligation of providing the public with services universally considered to be fundamental rights (quality education and drinking water). If we add to this the enormous corrupting capability of economic power, the commercial emporia have used the situation to profit unscrupulously, disguising the information and presenting the most harmful alternatives as fortunate and inoffensive.

I was warned about pressure from the soft-drink industry, although I never thought that fellow senators would oppose the bill so vehemently, that the paperwork for introducing the bill once I had presented it, respecting the formalities of the legislative process and exercising my constitutional right as a senator, would be slowed down. The critics wasted no time in expressing themselves, nor did opinion leaders linked to the industry delay in making insulting remarks.

This is easy to explain: Mexico is the jewel in the crown of the soft-drink companies, a place where their dividends rise to heights unimaginable in First World countries and are truly incredible for a developing country. For this industry, it is just a coincidence that Mexico has the world's highest obesity rate in the general populace and is also the world's biggest soft-drink consumer, that today more deaths in the country are due to diabetes than to drug trafficking. However, for scientific institutions of the caliber of the National Public Institute and the Salvador Zubirán National Institute of Medical Sciences and Nutrition, it is no mere coincidence; they have studied the phenomenon among the Mexican population and have concluded that something must be done about soft-drink consumption.

The perfect moment presented itself when the federal government was crafting the fiscal reform. I knew that was

the opportunity to approach the executive branch to get the proposal included among the reforms that would be proposed by Enrique Peña Nieto to the Congress. Based on consultations with the Minister of Finance and thanks to his sensitivity to the issue, plus the untiring work by civil society organizations, a presidential proposal was achieved that included taxing sugary drinks. We had managed to have an impact on the media's agenda, and that was how the tax on soft drinks became important and widely felt in the political sphere.

Confusion and disinformation were the tricks used by the tobacco industry, and the same ones are being used today by the soft-drink companies, whose main interest is to sell their products despite the damage to Mexicans' health. In different television forums, at the Senate offices, on pages and pages of newspapers and other publications, the soft-drink companies have focused on drawing attention away from the central problem, arguing about whether they are grams or spoonsful of sugar, job creation and social responsibility, and the general diet of the populace. But they never talk about the damage to these people's quality of life and the sustainability of the health system itself.

One of the industry's deceitful, mendacious arguments used to sidetrack the proposal, and that I have heard and read on several occasions, says that the tax will decrease consumption by only 35 calories. However, this average figure takes into account all Mexicans as a block, but what has to be done is to distinguish between two groups: those who do not drink soft drinks or consume them very little and therefore are not going to pay the tax (quite a large group), and the consumers who ingest large quantities of soft drinks. The tax is directed at the third of the population that drinks the most soft drinks (more than 500 milliliters a day). And in their case, the decrease in daily calorie intake would be 70 or more, an important amount for human health.

Just as an example, if a person consumes between 40 and 50 calories more than their normal food intake every day, over a period of 5 to 10 years, he/she will go from a normal weight to overweight, and in a period of 10 to 20 years, will suffer from obesity, even morbid obesity, depending on his/her weight when he/she began to ingest the additional calories. What the soft-drink industry also does not say is that sugary drinks do not create a sensation of fullness and therefore have no reason to be included in the regular diet.

That the tax is not going to solve the problem is partially true because there are no panaceas, no magic formulas, or miracle products; and also because this measure must be complemented; the tax is not conceived as an isolated measure, but as the first thing the Mexican government must do. It must be accompanied by a correct label, accessible to the consumer, the prohibition of advertising hyper-caloric beverages and foods during children's TV viewing times, making health warnings mandatory on the front of the packaging of products that can be harmful to health, as well as regulating the misleading advertising the soft-drink industry uses to confuse consumers.

It is my opinion that the scientific argument cannot be refuted by any commercial or economic argument. For that reason, here and now, together with civil society, I am fighting a battle that the Mexican public understands better and better and that makes sense as more and more citizens die from ailments linked to the massive consumption of sugar. Every year, 80 000 people die in Mexico from diabetes on average.

One year after beginning this project and after negotiations with and putting pressure on the administration and its party's caucus in the Senate, the tax was approved. But not only that: another article, Article Six of the Income Budget Law, stipulates that 2014 spending must include an amount for programs to fight malnutrition, care and prevention of obesity and related chronic-degenerative diseases, as well as to facilitate access to potable water in rural areas, schools, and public spaces and that that sum must be equivalent to the amount of taxes collected by the federation accrued from the special tax on the production and services applicable to flavored beverages. I am deeply committed to accompanying, supporting, and adding important national and international actors to create a harmonious circle in the process of carrying out the actions to resolve this grave public health problem in Mexico.

One of the issues that sharpens the overweight/obesity epidemic among children and young people is the lack of drinking fountains in schools and public spaces.

It is enormously important to also point out that one of the issues that sharpens the epidemic of overweight and obesity among children and young people is the crisis of hydration derived, on the one hand, from the lack of drinking fountains in schools and public spaces, and, on the oth-

er, the effective distribution network of sugary drinks. For this reason, and with the sole aim of insuring that the tax on sugary drinks helps to diminish the rate of overweight, obesity, and diabetes in our country, civic organizations and I are designing a citizen/legislative monitor in charge of analyzing the public policies that the Mexican government funds using the tax monies collected from the Special Tax on Sugary Drinks. VM

NOTES

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Recommendations for Policy Improvements and Environmental Changes to Address Obesity

Belinda M. Reininger*

INTRODUCTION

Communities along the United States/Mexico Border lead their respective countries in rates of what has proven to be the most complex public health problem ever faced: obesity. Among adults, co-morbidities associated with obesity include hypertension, dyslipidemia, chronic inflammation, and hyperinsulinemia,[1] type 2 diabetes, certain cancers, non-alcoholic fatty liver disease, gallbladder disease, sleep apnea, low pain tolerance, and osteoarthritis.[2] Children and adolescents are also negatively impacted by high rates of obesity and overweight with complications including cardiovascular and metabolic disease, diabetes, sleep apnea, early puberty, bone problems,[3] poor psychological health,[4] including low academic performance,[5] negative self-image, depression, and rejection by peers.[6]

Medical and productivity costs related to obesity are rapidly rising generally, including in this region. In the United States alone, costs associated with obesity had risen to an estimated US$190 billion annually by 2011.[7] Reductions in body weight of 5 percent to 10 percent can produce clinically significant improvements in health and could result in billions of dollars in health care savings.[8]

Opportunities for economic vibrancy along the border are relatively untapped[9] and desperately needed to combat chronic, above-average unemployment rates.[10] Today more than ever, neither country can afford to ignore the region's obesity issue and should jointly examine comprehensive

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Obesity among adults in Mexico and the United States is higher than in any other populous countries in the world, and Mexico ranks first with 32.8 percent.

and synergistic policy solutions, programs, and environmental change strategies to curtail it. These solutions must address the youth and adult obesity that are driving health care costs and suppressing the healthy future of this otherwise growing and vibrant region.

Youth Obesity and Overweight Is Prevalent on the Border

Children living in Mexico and the United States are among the heaviest in the world, but the rapid increase in obesity seen from 1980 to 1990 appears to have slowed.[11] However, along the border there is sufficient evidence to suggest children in this region are at least as, if not more, obese and overweight than their national counterparts and less physically fit.[12]

Adult Obesity and Overweight Is Prevalent on the Border

Obesity among adults in Mexico and the United States is higher than in any other populous countries in the world, with Mexico ranked first with 32.8 percent of adults classified as obese, and the United States coming in second, with 31.8 percent.[13] Within these two largely obese countries, some sections of the United States-Mexico border host their respective country's highest obesity rates.

There is an epidemiological transition in Mexico that is more notable in the northern states with rising obesity and chronic disease rates. Two states along the border, Baja California and Tamaulipas, had some of the highest obesity rates in the county in 2006.[14] Along the U.S.-Mexico border, in certain sections the rate of change in obesity from 2001 to 2011 matched that of the rest of the respective country, but in other sections, including the Texas-Mexico border area, the rates far outpaced the respective country.[15]

Cheryl Ravelo/Reuters

Food Insecurity and Obesity

Research shows a significant association between food insecurity and obesity[16] in both U.S. and Mexican samples.[17] According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, household food insecurity is defined as "limited or uncertain availability or access to acquire nutritionally adequate and safe food," and it increased from 11.9 percent in 1995 to 14.6 percent in 2008 in the United States.[18] However along the border, rates appear higher.[19] One study from the border showed that among *colonia* residents, rates of food insecurity are the highest in the United States. This study found that 78 percent of participants experienced food insecurity, which is associated with increasing household food consumption, decreasing household income, employment, and being born in Mexico.[20] Likewise, results from studies in Mexico have shown a relationship between food insecurity with overweight children and food consumption. Overweight schoolchildren were found to have the highest level of food insecurity compared to those with less food insecurity.[21] Households whose members have lower education, have lower incomes, are ethnic minorities, or that are headed by females are more likely to live in food-insecure situations.[22]

Environmental Influences on Obesity

Environmental influences such as urbanization, few opportunities for physical activity, and access to unhealthy foods are risk factors for the obesity rates on the U.S.-Mexico border.[23] It is now widely acknowledged that neighborhood characteristics facilitate excessive food intake and discour-

age physical activity, influencing an individual's risk of developing obesity.[24] Compelling evidence exists that obesity is associated with physical activity variables such as walkability,[25] land use,[26] urban sprawl,[27] density of fast-food outlets,[28] and accessibility of exercise facilities.[29] Obesity is also associated with nutrition variables such as access to supermarkets[30] and poor dietary options (for example, fast food, lack of vegetables).[31] It has been shown that substantial disparities in access to healthy food exist between wealthy and non-Hispanic white communities and poor minority communities.[32]

Policy Recommendations

The following recommendations have been called from research, best practices, and policy recommendations made globally and historically,[33] but are refined and presented as applicable to the U.S.-Mexico border specifically. These proposals address both sides of the energy balance equation, namely, energy intake (food consumption) and energy expenditure (physical activity). The recommendations provide guidance that will support youth and adults in meeting international guidelines for nutritional intake, including consuming fruit and vegetables daily and healthy portions appropriate for gender and age and for physical activity, specifically obtaining at least 150 minutes of moderate and vigorous physical activity each week for adults and 60 minutes daily of moderate and vigorous physical activity for children.

Goal 1. *Implement prevention and intervention evidence-based programs to address youth and adult obesity in communities, schools and worksites*

Government, education, and business leaders should ensure that the monetary and personnel resources for health are directed to programs with strong scientific evidence of producing improvements in obesity and behaviors associated with obesity. Today along the border, community-based, school-based, and worksite health promotion programs are becoming more commonplace, yet often lack evidence for their ability to decrease obesity.[34] Also, current resource allocation patterns heavily favor treatment rather than prevention, resulting in large health care expenditures associated with the treatment and management of chronic diseases. Greater resource allocation to obesity prevention is needed to ultimately contain health care costs and create a healthier population.[35] Strategies for change should include the following and should be monitored to ensure obesity-related outcomes are achieved:

Government, education, and business leaders should ensure that resources for health are directed to programs with strong scientific evidence of producing improvements in behaviors associated with obesity.

a. All government-run or -sponsored programs addressing obesity reduction and prevention should be evidence based;
b. Guidelines, incentives, and restrictions should be enhanced to ensure schools for children of all ages implement evidence-based obesity reduction and prevention programs; and
c. Incentives should be given for worksites' implementing evidence-based obesity reduction and prevention programs.

Goal 2: *Implement policies and programs that increase energy expenditure for the population living along the U.S.-Mexico Border to achieve and maintain a healthy weight based on standard body mass index calculations*

Overall health and obesity improve even with small increases in physical activity. Therefore, the combination of the strategies below to enhance physical activity can add up to more people living at a healthy weight. Explicit attention should be paid to land-use patterns, transportation systems, and design of built environment to promote physical activity.[36] Starting the implementation of these strategies in the lowest-income or marginalized areas of a community as well as ensuring those from which the very young and the very old will benefit provides a lens for addressing health disparities. Policy and environmental change strategies to promote physical activity should include:

a. "Complete Street" ordinances covering new and repaired roadways stipulating designated spaces for cars and bus, bicycles, and pedestrians;
b. Connected paths, hiking and biking trails, and sidewalks to increase the likelihood of active transport for daily living routines;

Obesity is prevalent among the children, adolescents, and adults residing along the United States-Mexico border, and for the most part is higher than their national counterparts.

c. Traffic-calming measures and safe routes in areas where active transport to community destinations is desired (schools, businesses, etc.);
d. Urban and residential planning and development codes to promote walkable, bikeable communities. The codes may address permissible land use, building densities, street widths, building and street design guidelines, and parking requirements;
e. Mandatory daily physical education for all schoolchildren, implemented in such a way that they obtain at least 20 minutes of moderate and vigorous physical activity; and
f. Activity breaks in the classroom implemented in such a way that children get at least 10 minutes of moderate and vigorous physical activity.

Goal 3. *Implement policies and programs that foster the consumption of healthful foods and portions for the population living on the U.S.-Mexico border to achieve and maintain a healthy weight based on standard body mass index calculations*

Dietary intake must be addressed in light of food insecurity and obesity concurrently given its presence on the border. High poverty levels and unprecedented access to inexpensive high-energy-dense foods create populations who live with hunger and obesity. Today children in the U.S. consume 50 percent of their daily calories in schools; for some along the border, the only meals they consume are at schools. Therefore, the importance of foods served in school settings becomes paramount.[37] Policy and environmental change strategies should include:

a. Adequate school funding for food-service programs to provide healthy, tasty food options and avoid the need to sell snacks and *a la carte* items to supplement school budgets;
b. School cafeteria presentation of healthy foods to support its selection;
c. Incentives for grocery stores and convenience stores to offer healthy foods, replacing unhealthy options;
d. Incentives for restaurants to offer healthy, low calorie, and appropriately portioned foods;
e. Increased access to locally grown produce through farmers markets, food stands, mobile markets, and community gardens. These strategies also provide increased economic benefits to the local community;
f. Access to foods and beverages that meet strict standards for good nutrition should be allowed in all government-run or -sponsored programs, vending machines, parks and recreation programs, or worksites. Foods and beverages of minimal nutritional value (MNV) should be banned;
g. Access to free, good-tasting water should be available in public spaces, schools, government facilities and outdoor spaces, and government-sponsored programs;
h. Increased enrollment in government-sponsored nutritional assistance programs whose standards are aligned with good nutrition;
i. Disincentives for the consumption of foods and beverages of MNV such as sugar-sweetened beverages. This could be done by taxing MNV items, or land-use policies to zone vendors who sell MNV items away from schools or low-income neighborhood areas; and
j. Stronger regulations on advertising foods, including incentives for promotion of foods that meet strict standards for good nutrition, plus stronger restrictions on advertising MNV items.

Conclusion

Obesity is prevalent among the children, adolescents, and adults residing along the United States-Mexico border, and for the most part is higher than their national counterparts. Poverty and food insecurity are also common in this growing region. Given these complexities, the policies and environmental change strategies proposed to prevent and intervene on obesity focus on lower-cost options and strategies to modify access to food so that it is healthier, not necessarily to limit access to food. The proposed policy and environmental change strategies also build on programs and infrastructure that may already exist for low-income families such as food assistance programs and school meal/snack and physical activity practices. Numerous proposed evidence-based options for policy and environmental change strategies are available and, as feasible, should be enacted to create synergy between gov-

ernment entities, schools, and businesses so as to more fully address the situation of the majority of the population living at an unhealthy weight in the region. VM

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Controlling TB along the Mexico-U.S. Border

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Introduction

The more than 2 000-kilometer-long border between the United States and Mexico joins us historically, geographically, and commercially in a very particular way. It is a place where different nationalities gather (not just Mexicans and U.S. Americans) and cultures and languages (and not only English and Spanish) converge. It is a great binational community with an estimated population of 25 million.[1] According to the U.S. Department of Transportation, in 2012, more than 234 million vehicles and individuals crossed Mexico's border into the United States through 25 land ports of entry. This represents approximately 70 percent of all U.S. international entries.[2]

In this context of enormous mobility, tuberculosis (TB) and its co-morbidity conditions represent an important burden for the respective state economies.[3] The fluidity of travelers in the area boosts the propagation of TB on both sides of the border. For example, between 2011 and 2013 alone, about 22 million vehicles crossed the border northward from Mexico to Texas, and 18 million in reverse.[4] In addition, according to a 2012 estimate, six million undocumented Mexicans live in the United States.[5] According to the U.S. Department of State, in 2011, 143 446 Mexicans who requested a visa for permanent residency were admitted,[6] all of whom were given TB exams as per Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) technical instructions.[7] Approximately 5 percent of those tested were diagnosed with tuberculosis, requiring follow-up.

Binational Requirements for TB Control

Tuberculosis is the world's main cause of death and morbidity from a single infection, and, although treatable, is re-emerging as a serious public health problem worldwide, with special emphasis on our northern border.[8] In most cases, the bacteria can lie dormant for years and can be activated by malnutrition, the development of type-2 diabetes,

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Luke MacGregor/Reuters

A doctor points to a lung infected with TB.

Tuberculosis is the world's main cause of death and morbidity from a single infection, and it is reemerging as a serious public health problem worldwide.

HIV, and other chronic illnesses that compromise the immune system.[9] Mexican immigrants in the United States and border residents of Mexican ancestry suffer disproportionately from many of these conditions.[10] Today an estimated one-third of the world's population is infected with the TB bacillus without any clinical symptoms (latent or asymptomatic tuberculosis infection). The same is true of residents of Mexican origin in the United States.[11] Approximately 5 percent of those infected will develop the active disease within five years, while another 5 percent will develop it later.[12]

The stress caused by the migratory process imposes an additional risk for developing active TB, which means that 19 percent of all TB cases among foreigners occur among recent arrivals to the United States.[13] But, lapses between TB treatments can be greater among binational patients due to the frequency of trans-border trips. For this reason, the appearance of drug-resistant strains of TB is more common among people born in Mexico.[14]

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 8.7 million people developed non-recurring active tuberculosis in 2011; 13 percent were also infected with HIV; and 1.4 million died due to the disease.[15] For example, according to the CDC, the United States reported 10 528 cases of tuberculosis in 2011.[16] It is no surprise that among them, the TB rate in persons born abroad was 11.5 times greater than in persons born in the United States. Of all the patients born abroad, approximately 25 percent were born in Mexico. More than 75 percent of the cases were in border states: Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas.

In 2001, the rate of tuberculosis cases was five times greater in persons born in Mexico than in those born in the U.S. in those four states. Since 1993, Mexico has contributed the majority of new cases of tuberculosis in the United States.[17] This does not necessarily reflect an unusually high rate of TB in Mexico, but rather a large and consistent flow of migrants from Mexico to the United States.[18]

Strengthening Binational Alliances

Tuberculosis recognizes no borders, and it is imperative that both countries cooperate to prevent and control it in binational border communities. Joint work with binational, local, state, and federal health departments and academic and private-sector institutions has been an important aspect of the binational effort to control tuberculosis on both sides of the border for more than 30 years. Working together, Mexican and U.S. ministries of health and other local and state public health agencies have led important efforts to establish significant collaboration in disease surveillance and control initiatives.[19] The main guidelines for mutual collaboration have been respect for national sovereignty, abidance by the national laws of each country, the recognition of the differences between the two public health systems, the establishment of clear lines of communication and coordinated joint actions, and respect for patients' rights.

Binational Initiatives to Strengthen The Fight against TB

Awareness of the concept and relationship between diseases on both sides of the border led to the development and implementation of an important series of initiatives for binational disease surveillance and control.[20] Among the first was the creation of an improved surveillance system of infectious diseases in 1997 (BIDS) and many other binational

The success of model projects like *Juntos* and the binational patient registry led to the creation of several other binational TB projects, such as the Binational Health Card, CureTB in San Diego, and TB-NET in Austin.

control initiatives. These efforts were approved by the U.S. Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists, the Pan American Health Organization, and later, the U.S.-México Border Health Commission.

One example of a very successful binational strategy against TB is the implementation of TB Juntos. In 1991, the government and community-based organizations in El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, as well as the CDC, created Juntos to guarantee medical treatment for TB patients in the Ciudad Juárez health jurisdictions, to improve access to culture and drug-susceptibility services, improve the clinical management of patients in grave condition, facilitate the crossing of referred patients, and create a health team to help put the project's activities into practice.

The fact that the Juntos project has lasted 23 years is testimony to its general efficacy due to its make-up and complete acceptance by the Ciudad Juárez official TB-control program. It developed as a complementary service to make up for the binational needs that the official TB-control programs on both sides of the border were unable to completely fulfill. The project is based on the experience of case management, laboratory support, and directly observed treatments, short-course (DOTS). From 1991 to 2012, Juntos has achieved the following:

1. Treating 1 762 binational TB patients using DOTS, with an 82.3 percent treatment completion rate, which reached 91 percent in the last five years, compared to the world average of 72 percent;
2. Treating 99 cases of multidrug-resistant tuberculosis with an 83 percent cure rate (the world average is 50 percent);
3. Examining 8 856 TB contacts;
4. Making 108 167 home visits to patients;
5. Gathering 56 913 sputum samples for Ziehl-Neelsen stain tests; and
6. Gathering and processing 8 444 samples for cultures and sensitivity tests.[21]

A second exemplary binational project is one that has traced and binationally registered TB, conceived in 1994 by the El Paso, Texas City and County Health Department, and the Network of Migrant Clinics in Austin.[22] The project was designed to prevent lapses in TB mobile binational patients' treatment. In these cases, treatment is complicated by the fact that many of them cannot remain in a specific place for long enough to complete the long TB treatment.

These patients are registered when they are interviewed in person or by phone by health center personnel. Once the patient is registered, a case officer stays in regular contact with him/her and with the attending physician to document the completion of treatment. At the beginning and end of the treatment, the case officer notifies the original clinic where the patient was registered and reports to the official TB control units in both countries about the status of the case.

Achievements and Challenges

The success of model projects like Juntos and the binational patient registry led to the creation of several other binational TB projects in border areas beyond Juárez-El Paso, such as the Binational Health Card, CureTB in San Diego, and TB-NET in Austin. These have supported trans-border TB control efforts by strengthening communication and coordination among health departments on both sides and by attracting greater binational resources to fight the disease. Other achievements include the adoption of a common definition of binational tuberculosis in the United States and improved binational control strategies for TB cases in mobile trans-border populations.

The cost for Mexico and the United States of implementing these projects has been modest, but the rewards have been substantial. General estimates indicate that the projects have contributed to achieving a lower number of TB cases in the United States (436), have prevented 49 deaths, and saved US$15 million in costs.[23] In addition, preventing treatment lapses in mobile border patients has prevented the development of drug resistance.

Since 2010, the United States-México Border Health Commission (USMBHC) has convened an annual TB Border Consortium meeting between the United States and Mexico.[24] The most recent was organized by the New Mexico's and Chihuahua's Border Health Regional Offices on May 7 and 8, 2013, in Las Cruces, New Mexico. Federal and state

experts were called upon, as were the directors of local Mexican and U.S. TB programs to explain the status of the problem and develop action plans. The TB Consortium members identified the following operational challenges for effective control:

1. Continuing use of inappropriate procedures for guaranteeing secure trans-border movement of TB samples and medications;
2. The repatriation of federal detainees without providing continuity for TB-care plans;
3. The inability to apply appropriate tools for legal TB control;
4. The lack of case reporting on a binational level;
5. The lack of a functional definition of a binational TB case;
6. The continuity of antimycobacterial medication for binational TB patients without medical supervision;
7. The growing volume of international travelers;
8. Accountability and quality control for existing TB initiatives; and
9. Decreasing funding in the United States.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The participants in this international seminar on strategic health issues on the U.S.-Mexico border recognized previous binational TB control efforts and validated the basic guiding principles for collaboration between the two countries. They agreed on the need to deal with the common problem areas classified by the USMBHC TB Border Consortium, including:

A very successful binational strategy has been TB Juntos, a project based on experiences of case management, laboratory support, and directly observed treatments.

1. Improving continuity in patient care and treatment completion rates in binational patients;
2. Continued increase in coordination of patient management among state health care providers in the United States and Mexico as well as making better use of federal binational legal instruments; and
3. Establishing more uniform procedures for handling over and receiving TB patients repatriated from the United States to Mexico.

In addition, the participants pointed to a specific need: formally evaluating the binational tuberculosis projects. Therefore, they recommended forming a special leadership group to decide on the next steps for that evaluation. VM

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Panorama of Tuberculosis in Mexico Focusing on the Northern Border

Martín Castellanos Joya*

Introduction

Tuberculosis is one of humanity's oldest diseases and the one that has caused the most death and suffering. It also continues to be a huge threat given the rise in resistance to medications, its link with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV-AIDS), and, particularly in Mexico and other countries, a closer and closer link to diabetes mellitus (DM), given the role of certain social determinants of health, such as poverty, marginalization, alcoholism, and migration.

This is a generally chronic systemic or localized infectious disease caused by *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* (MTb), transmittable by air (from person to person), traveling through the droplets that accompany usually untreated patients' coughs or sneezes. It manifests itself mainly in the form of a cough with phlegm, at times with blood, weight loss, afternoon fevers, heavy night sweats, fatigue, and loss of appetite.[1] In Mexico, cases are found in all 31 states and Mexico City's Federal District, but along the border it presents with certain specificities, as we shall see further along.

TB in Mexico and the World

World Health Organization (WHO) estimates indicate that one-third of the planet's population (more than 2.3 billion people) is infected with tuberculosis (TB). Every year, almost nine million new cases are detected, and it causes 1.4 million deaths a year worldwide.[2]

In Mexico, official data for 2012 from the National System of Epidemiological Surveillance (Sinave) registered 21 354

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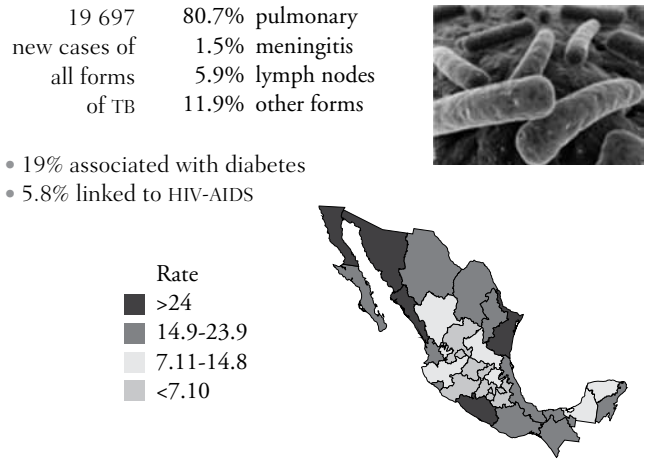
cases of all forms of TB; of these, 19 697 were new cases and the rest had already been treated; 80.7 percent were pulmonary TB; 1.5 percent, tubercular meningitis; 5.9 percent, lymph node TB; and 11.9 percent, other forms (see Image 1).[3]

Tuberculosis can also accompany other diseases, making diagnosis and follow-up more complex and costly. In Mexico, the most important co-morbidity is with diabetes mellitus, at a 21 percent rate of association. The link-up of TB and HIV-AIDS is 5.8 percent, and of TB and malnutrition, 11.6 percent.

It was in 1997 that Mexico registered its highest number of pulmonary TB cases (see Graph 1), with a rate of 20.7 cases per 100 000 inhabitants. Since then, the rate gradually dropped until 2012, when it had decreased by 34.8 percent to 13.5 cases per 100 000 people.[4]

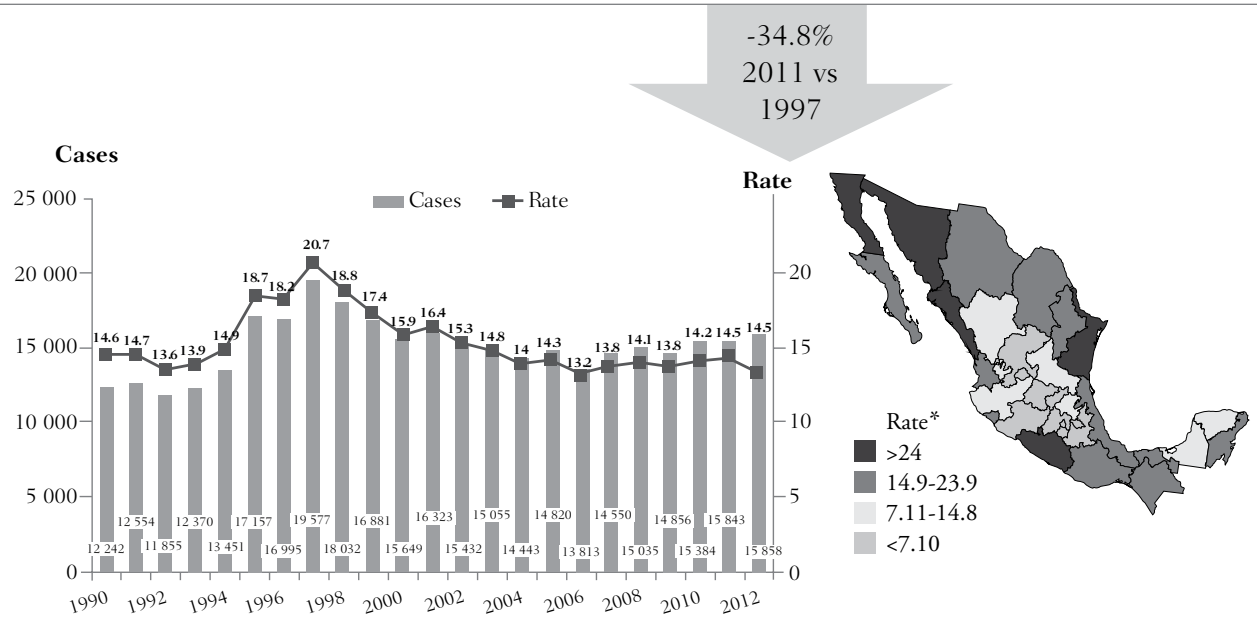
Parallel to this, in 1990, deaths were caused by pulmonary TB, at a rate of 6.5 per 100 000; this has dropped continually, and by 2012, it had shrunk 69.2 percent to a rate of 1.8.[5] The improvement can be attributed to the strategies of directly observed treatment, short-course (DOTS) as part of the Stop TB Global Plan, which Mexico has followed as closely

IMAGE 1
TUBERCULOSIS IN MEXICO, 2012



Source: Plataforma Única de Información/Suive/DGE/SS, June 6, 2013, DGIS/Cubos 2011.
Note: Rate per 100 000 inhabitants.

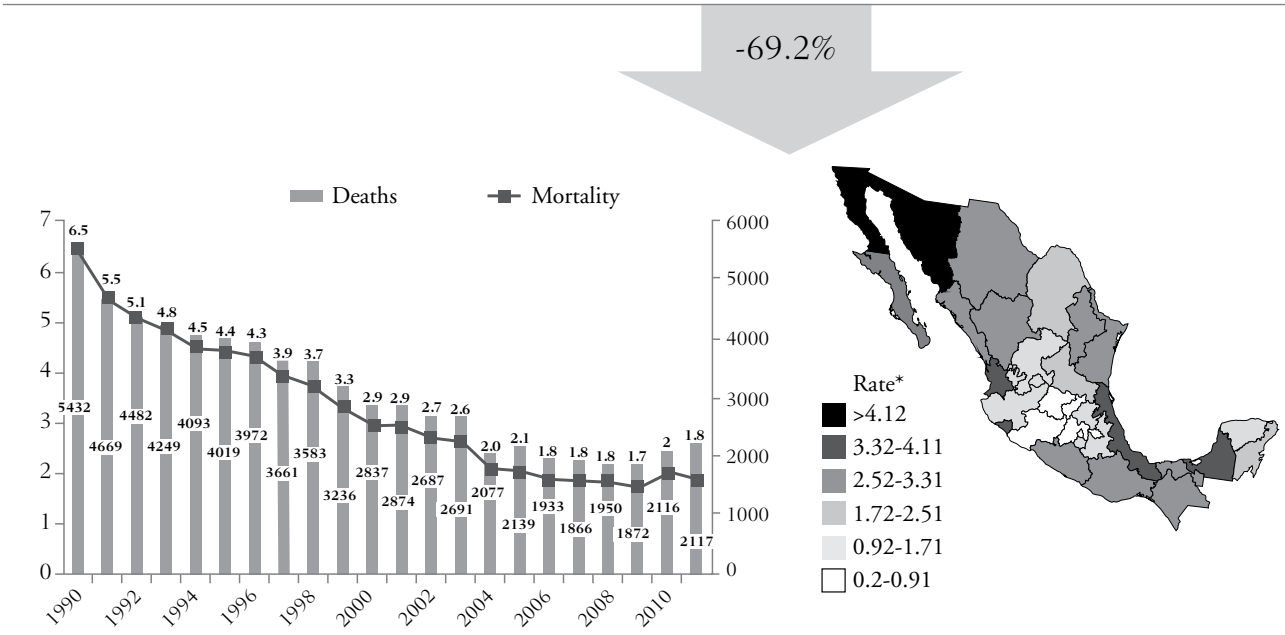
GRAPH 1
INCIDENCE OF PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS, MEXICO (1990-2012)



Year	1990	1997	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012
Cases	12 242	19 577	15 649	14 820	15 384	15 457	15 858
Rate*	14.6	20.7	15.9	14.3	14.2	14.2	13.5

Source: Plataforma Única de Información/Suive/DGE/SS, June 6, 2013. *Rate per 100 000 inhabitants.

GRAPH 2
DEATHS FROM PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS, MEXICO (1990-2011)

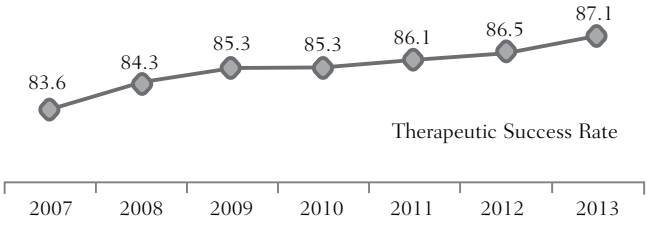


Year	1990	1994	1999	2004	2009	2010	2011
Deaths	5 432	4 093	3 236	2 077	1 872	2 116	2 217
Rate*	6.5	4.5	3.3	2.0	1.7	2.0	1.8

*Rate per 100,000 inhabitants, CONAPO, proyección 2010-2050.
Source: DGIS Cubos dinámicos de mortalidad año 2011.

Tuberculosis can also accompany other diseases, making diagnosis and follow-up more complex and costly. In Mexico, the most important co-morbidity is with diabetes mellitus.

GRAPH 3
THERAPEUTIC SUCCESS



Source: Suive/DGE/SS 2012.

as possible (see Graph 2). The aim of the national program is to diagnose and cure cases, and we can say that therapeutic success has grown steadily, from 83.6 percent in 2007 to 87 percent by 2012 (see Graph 3).

Based on this and the TB-related aspects of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),[6] Mexico has achieved the standards targeted for 2015, both regarding mortality rates and cures. However, in recent years, the concern about a gradual increase in the incidence rate continues due to the number of cases associated with diabetes mellitus, which is a threat for TB control.[7] We should remember that this disease is more frequent among males than females at a rate of 1.6:1, and affects mostly members of the active workforce (from 18 to 45 years of age).

TB ON MEXICO'S NORTHERN BORDER

This border area has certain specificities and conditions *vis-à-vis* tuberculosis. It is the most developed part of the country and, therefore, the destination for the migrant population.

Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas registered 34 percent of the country's total pulmonary tuberculosis cases and almost 40 percent of the drug-resistant cases.[8] This makes it the region with the highest incidence and mortality rates nationwide.

Other social determinants for tuberculosis in this region are the high rate of transient population, of agricultural day-workers, of illicit drug users, as well as the high prevalence of diabetes and HIV-AIDS, the large number of people confined in jails and prisons, and others who for different reasons live in circumstances that make it impossible to strictly supervise treatment due to phenomena associated with insecurity and organized crime. These determinants have the highest incidence in the state of Baja California, which also has the highest morbidity and mortality rates for tuberculosis: more than three times the national number. It is followed by Ciudad Juárez in Chihuahua and Reynosa and Matamoros in the state of Tamaulipas.

In 2012, the northern states reported pulmonary TB cases as follows: Baja California, 1 507, or 9.5 percent of the national total, with a rate of 45.3 cases per 100 000 inhabitants; Sonora, 749 cases, 4.7 percent of the national total and a rate of 26.1; Chihuahua, 630 cases, or 3.9 percent of the national total and a rate of 17.5; Coahuila, 461 cases, 2.9 percent of the national total and a rate of 16.2; Tamaulipas, 1 025 cases, 6.46 percent of the national total and a rate of 30; and Nuevo León, 1 072 cases, 6.75 percent of the national total and a rate of 22 per 100 000 inhabitants. The total for the six states

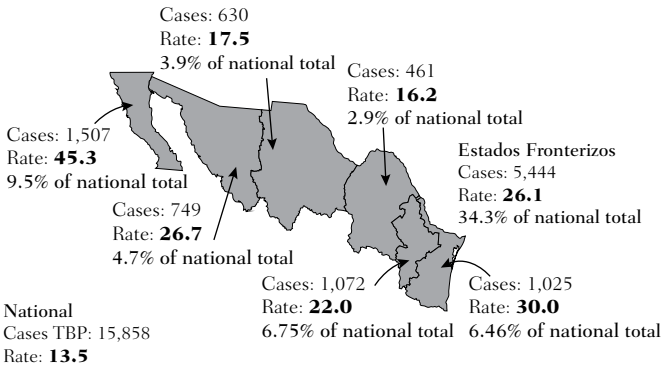
Mexico's six border states registered 34 percent of the country's total pulmonary tuberculosis cases and almost 40 percent of the drug-resistant cases.

is 5 444 pulmonary TB patients, representing 34.3 percent of the nation's total and a rate of 26.1 cases per 100 000 inhabitants, compared to the 2012 national total of 13.5 (see Image 2).

With regard to death rates, the trend is in marked decline both nationwide and regionally. Despite the region's problems, efforts have been aimed at improving TB prevention and control; in addition to national support, binational projects have added to the mix, particularly international agencies like USAID, the Pan-American Health Organization, the PCI, CATRE, Los dos Laredos, Juntos, and Puentes de Esperanza (Bridges of Hope), among others. This has meant that treatment success in the area is 81.5 percent, almost as high as the 87.1 percent nationwide. We can infer from this that the border's success is not greater due to the fact that rates of treatment abandonment and deaths are still high. The state with the least success and the highest number of patients who have stopped treatment is Baja California, with 72.7 percent and 17.3 percent respectively, while Sonora and Chihuahua both registered higher death rates in 2012.

Drug-resistant tuberculosis is a priority for the National Tuberculosis Program (PNT), particularly along the northern border, since 38.5 percent of the cases can be found there, especially in Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, Baja California, Coahuila, and Sonora.[9]

IMAGE 2
INCIDENCE OF PULMONARY TB IN MEXICAN BORDER STATES (2012)

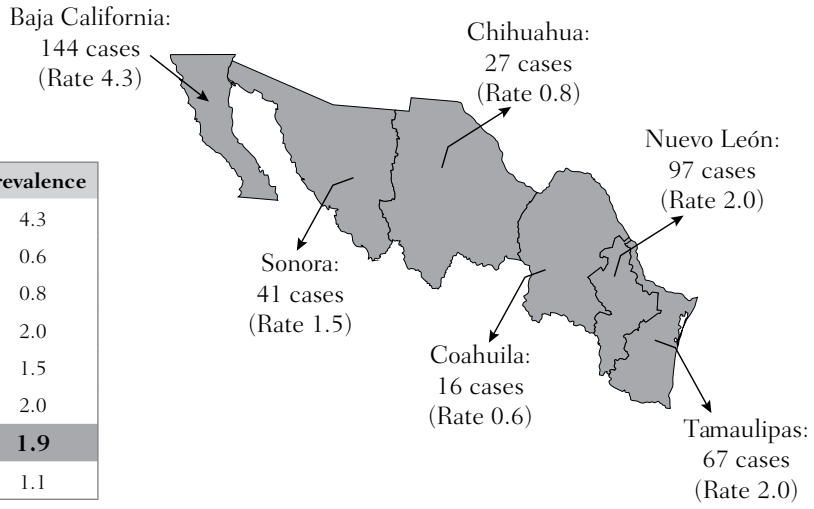


Source: Developed by the author with data from Reforma Única de Información/Módulo Tuberculosis SINAVE.

TB AND HIV-AIDS IN MEXICO AND ON THE NORTHERN BORDER

The TB/HIV-AIDS binomial is a lethal combination: one influences the other. This co-morbidity trend in Mexico is on the rise: in 2003, 598 cases were registered, while by 2012, 1 234 cases had been detected. The northern border logged 32 percent of the total TB/HIV-AIDS co-morbidity cases in 2012, with Baja California registering the highest number (144), followed by Nuevo León (97), and Tamaulipas (67) (see Image 3).

IMAGE 3
ALL FORMS OF TB AND HIV ON THE NORTHERN BORDER, MEXICO (2012)



State	Cases	%	Prevalence
Baja California	144	6.7	4.3
Coahuila	16	2.6	0.6
Chihuahua	27	3.3	0.8
Nuevo León	97	6.9	2.0
Sonora	41	4.2	1.5
Tamaulipas	67	5.3	2.0
Sub-total	**392**	**5.4**	**1.9**
Mexico	1 234	5.8	1.1

Mexico, National Total: 1 234 cases; all forms of TB/HIV (rate = 1.1)
Northern Border: 392 cases of all forms of TB/HIV (rate, 1.9), or 32% of national total.

One priority for controlling tuberculosis is a deliberate search for HIV among TB patients. In 2012, then, 12 239 HIV tests were done on all TB patients over 15 (18 645). This was 65.7 percent, when the National Tuberculosis Program goal for that year was 70 percent. Of those covered, 939 persons tested positive for HIV, or 7.7 percent of newly reported TB cases.

The 2012 cohort of TB/HIV-AIDS cases treated on the northern border was 251; of those, 115 (46 percent) were successful and 30 (12 percent) abandoned treatment. The important thing about this cohort is that of the 76 people who died, only 11.2 percent did so because of TB (see Table 1). The states with the lowest percentages of cures and successful TB/HIV-AIDS treatment are Coahuila and Baja California, with 30 and 33 percent respectively.

TB/DIABETES MELLITUS CO-MORBIDITY IN MEXICO AND ON THE NORTHERN BORDER

Tuberculosis and diabetes (DM) are both serious treatment and control challenges. The idea that there is a strong link between the two is very longstanding. However, few studies evaluate this risk quantitatively in the general population. Based on this, TB/DM co-morbidity has recently been recognized by the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) and the International Union against Tuberculosis and Respiratory Diseases (The Union) as a serious world threat.

The TB/HIV-AIDS binomial is a lethal combination: one influences the other. This co-morbidity trend in Mexico is on the rise: by 2012, 1 234 cases had been detected.

In Mexico the link between TB and diabetes clearly increased from 2003 to 2012, with 1 469 cases in 2003 and 4 031 in 2012, a 174 percent hike. The northern border was home to 1 245 of the 4 031 cases of all forms of TB, a 31 percent rise for the country. The states with the largest number of cases are Nuevo León and Tamaulipas (see Image 4).

In 2012, 8 089 persons with TB accepted taking a test for diabetes; of those, 1 568 (19 percent) tested positive. This finding was made thanks to the strategy of intentionally searching for diabetes among TB patients. The cohort for treatment of the TB/DM binomial contrasts markedly from the results for the TB/HIV-AIDS binomial, with a much bigger advantage for TB/DM patients: of the 830 people who were treated, 81 percent (that is, 673) were successful. However, of that total of 673, 19.1 percent (129 people) did not test bacteriologically

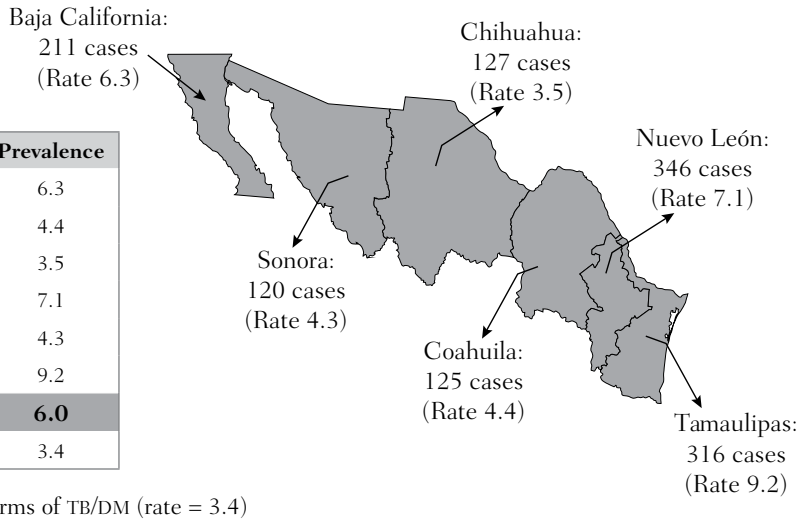
TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF TB-HIV COHORT
(January-September 2012)

22.9% finish treatment without verifying cure through smear or culture; 19% die from causes other than TB					
Total # of cases that began treatment	**Successes**	**Failures**	**Deaths**	**Stopped treatment**	**No follow-up**
Border: 251	115 (46%)	4 (1.6%)	76 (30.4%)	30 (12%)	26 (10.4%)
National: 778	409 (52.6%)	7 (0.9%)	176 (22.6%)	49 (6.3%)	137 (17.6%)

Source: Developed by the author using information published in the Plataforma Única de Información/Suive/DGE/SS, Programa Nacional de Tuberculosis de la Secretaría de Salud.

IMAGE 4
ALL FORMS OF TB AND DIABETES MELLITUS (DM) ON THE NORTHERN BORDER, MEXICO (2012)

State	Cases	%	Prevalence
Baja California	211	9.5	6.3
Coahuila	125	32.6	4.4
Chihuahua	127	15.6	3.5
Nuevo León	345	22.9	7.1
Sonora	120	10.4	4.3
Tamaulipas	316	28.7	9.2
Region	**1 246**	**17.3**	**6.0**
Mexico	4031	18.8	3.4



Mexico, National Total: 4 031 cases; all forms of TB/DM (rate = 3.4)
Northern Border: 1 271 cases of all forms of TB/DM (rate, 6.1), or 31% of national total

Source: Plataforma Única de Información/Suive/DGE/SS, at close of 2012.

negative at the end of their treatment. Now, of the overall number (830), the treatment of 21 patients (2.5 percent) failed and they had to be admitted to a different treatment for drug resistance, which is evaluated separately in this study. Of those, 58 (7 percent) died; 48 (5.8 percent) halted treatment; and in 29 cases (3.5 percent), no follow-up was logged (see Table 2). The states with the poorest treatment results for this binomial were again Baja California and Coahuila.[10]

Among Mexico's national TB control strategies is the referral of the so-called binational cases that enter from the United States. That is, through two agencies, CureTB and TBnet, Mexico is informed when a TB patient is referred voluntarily or involuntarily to Mexico. Information exchange, then,

TB/Diabetes Mellitus co-morbidity has recently been recognized by the Pan-American Health Organization as a serious world threat.

has improved substantially in recent years, which implies a better chance of following up and assuring treatment continuity until a cure is obtained.[11] In 2012, 88 cases were referred, 64 percent of which were therapeutically successful, contrasted with 2005, when the success rate was only 30 percent, and in many of those cases it was not possible to locate the patients for follow-up. It should be mentioned that the state with the most binational referrals is Baja California, with almost 25 percent of the country's total.

Challenges for Advancing in the Control of TB

The challenges are greater today than in previous decades. That is why the performance of state programs is very important, particularly the links inside the sector; only that way will it be possible to consolidate the strategies to beat this ancient disease.

Therefore, we can conclude that the following are the main tasks that will have to be carried out along the northern border during the 2013-2018 administration:

1. Increase political determination in the priority border states. This implies technically and operationally updating public and private-sector health care personnel in the detection, diagnosis, and treatment of difficult cases such as those that are drug resistant;
2. Strengthening inter-program coordination for the comprehensive care of cases of TB/HIV-AIDS and TB/DM co-morbidity;
3. Periodic evaluation of the scope of inter-institutional TB control;
4. Design and implementation of information, education, and training campaigns targeting migrants and agricultural workers about signs of the disease so they know when to request medical care;
5. Effective coordination with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to strengthen strategies for handing over and admitting binational cases;
6. Joint binational evaluation of the on-going projects implemented in the northern border states: Juntos (Together), CureTB, TBnet, CATRE, Los dos Laredos, and Puentes de Esperanza (Bridges of Hope), among others;

The challenges are greater today than in previous decades. That is why the performance of state programs is very important, particularly the links inside the sector.

Table 2
Summary of TB-HIV cohort
(January-September 2012)

Classification	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	%
Deaths	5	5	4	5	2	6	4.9
Lost	20	29	21	34	12	12	23.3
Stopped Treatment	2	2	5	4	6	7	4.7
Cases Cured	50	68	71	25	45	19	50.5
End of Treatment					39	36	13.6
Success in Treatment							**64.1**
Continue in Treatment					2	1	0.5
Counter-referrals					3	3	1.0
Transfers					2	2	0.7
Did not accept treatment					2	2	0.7
Total	**77**	**104**	**101**	**68**	**113**	**88**	**551**
Registered in Platform						77.3	100

7. Promoting operational research in tuberculosis on the northern border for decision-making.

Thus, the National Program for the Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis, together with the different bodies involved in the United States in the control of TB, strengthen their strategies and lines of action for, as the program's slogan says, a TB-free border and Mexico. YM

NOTES

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[5] Ibid.

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Preventing and Responding To Dengue Transmission On the Border

Kacey C. Ernst*
Mary Hayden**

INTRODUCTION

Dengue transmission is rapidly growing in incidence and geographic range.[1] Geographic areas at the boundary of transmission, such as the U.S.-Mexico border region, are the most vulnerable to emergence and increased transmission, and both sides of the border have been impacted. While transmission on the U.S. side has been somewhat limited, Texas has had recurring outbreaks.[2] Dengue transmission in the Mexican border states of Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas has been occurring seasonally for over a decade. Only Baja California has not reported regular dengue transmission. Yet these states are not homogenous. For example, despite established vector populations in Nogales, Sonora, no transmission has been reported. Likewise, across the border in Arizona, no autochthonous transmission has been reported despite established vector populations for nearly two decades.[3]

The emergence of dengue requires not only the presence of a competent vector, a susceptible population, and introduction of the virus, but also an environment that fa-

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Stringer/Reuters

Aedes aegypti mosquitos spread dengue fever.

cilitates the interaction of all three. A comprehensive strategy leveraging resources on both sides of the border should be developed to understand and monitor the current state of transmission potential and the factors that, if changed, could lead to the emergence of the disease or high levels of transmission. We discuss and make recommendations for potential strategies below.

Engagement of Stakeholders

Dengue, like most infectious diseases, is impacted by environmental, social, and political infrastructures. The most important element in controlling dengue is political commitment to shrinking disease transmission through a multi-focal approach to reducing human-vector contact.[4] The most obvious partners include local and national public health agencies, vector control agencies, the medical community, and diagnostic laboratories. Yet efforts should be made to include the following stakeholders, who may have considerable influence over the potential for dengue transmission:

Dengue is impacted by environmental, social, and political infrastructures. The most important element in controlling it is political commitment to shrinking disease transmission.

1. Private and public sanitation: *Ae. aegypti* infestation and dengue transmission are tied to municipal and household waste management.[5] Programs that engage waste management alongside the community have successfully reduced pupal indices in other dengue endemic areas.[6]
2. Private and public water suppliers: Water supply and household water storage have been repeatedly linked to *Ae. aegypti* indices and dengue incidence.[7] Engaging smaller, private suppliers of water, including truck distribution, in addition to the governmental sector would allow broader coverage of public health messaging and appropriate water harvesting/storage technology.
3. Media and communications: Media coverage of dengue often occurs when the problem already exists and the disease is on the rise. Coordination between public health and the media could facilitate more regular reporting of cases by neighborhood. Risk perception is correlated with risk-reduction practices, and knowledge that dengue has been reported within the neighborhood could motivate action.[8] One way to engage communities at a local level is through neighborhood organizations that could train block captains who would be responsible for engaging households on their block to monitor for *Ae. aegypti*. This has been done in some parts of Mexico as part of the Patio Limpio ("Clean Patio") campaign.
4. Municipal administrators: Administrators must deal with a wide variety of community concerns but should be engaged in the stakeholder process since they are instrumental in decisions regarding budget allocations, which can influence funding for control and prevention and essential services.
5. Economic Development Boards (EDB)/Boards of Commerce: Dengue transmission has a significant economic impact on households and communities.[9] EDBs should be engaged in the process to determine developmental projects that could reduce transmission and encourage economic growth.

6. Schools: Secondary schools can be involved to educate young adolescents to act as health messengers to their extended family and to engage in community improvement projects.[10] Furthermore, museums, particularly children's museums, could be engaged in developing interactive tools that allow children and their parents to participate in understanding the lifecycle of *Ae aegypti*.

Cross-border Relationships

Knowledge about dengue should be a bi-directional exchange in all efforts including 1) surveillance of dengue; 2) surveillance of the vector populations; 3) best practices for control; 4) best practices for lab testing; and 5) best practices for treatment. The Border Infectious Disease Surveillance System (BIDSS) was established in 1997 and has been working to address several of these areas including enhanced surveillance in the border region for febrile exanthems, of which dengue is one.[11] Laboratory capacity is another target area for BIDSS.

While governmental collaborations are growing at the national and state levels, local-level collaborations and more academic partnerships should be forged to address dengue control and prevention. Binational academic collaborations, including the Arizona Prevention Research Center,[12] have effectively addressed chronic diseases in the U.S.-Mexico border region. Their approaches are rigorously designed and evaluated community-led health promotion activities. To further efforts to prevent and control dengue and other infectious diseases in the U.S.-Mexico border region, a broad-scale approach such as this one is warranted.

Innovative Surveillance and Vector Control Strategies

Before prevention and control activities can be performed efficiently, the geographic and temporal distribution of risk should be established. Traditional surveillance relies on symptomatic cases seeking care and clinicians ordering tests and reporting results, leading to delays in control implementation. Two primary approaches are being developed to address this issue with vector-borne diseases; syndromic surveillance systems that simply report people with specific symptoms (for example, BIDS and Dengue Trends)[13] and surveillance that tracks vector dynamics to predict proximate dengue risk. Monitoring vector populations provides a window of time between rising vector populations and dengue transmission that can be exploited to implement control. However, dengue incidence does not always correlate perfectly with vector densities, and surveillance systems must operate in tandem. Systems such as DengueWeb incorporate multiple data streams to create predictive risk maps that are tailored to a geographic area.[14] Efforts should be made to test these systems in the border area at the margins of transmission to determine if they are able to pick up low levels of transmission and predict areas most vulnerable to emergence.

Innovative measures to reduce vector densities below levels that can sustain an epidemic are a step toward the reduction of disease transmission. Efforts are currently underway to develop lethal ovitraps as one mechanism for reduction of female adults. These inexpensive yet effective traps used in concert with other household vector-reduction strategies, such as covering water containers and reducing human-vector contact through implementation of insecticide treated curtains, may effectively reduce the number of females capable of transmitting disease.[15]

Binational academic collaborations, including the Arizona Prevention Research Center, have effectively addressed chronic diseases in the U.S.-Mexico border region.

Evaluation of Program Activities and Success

Dengue prevention and control activities are often not rigorously evaluated for their impact and must be continuously monitored for change.[16] The community mobilization campaign Patio Limpio ("Clean Patio") has had initial success in Mexico, but sustainability has been difficult to achieve.[17] Programs that show initial success, such as Patio Limpio, need to be frequently monitored and evaluated to determine when efficacy begins to decline and what underlying factors are impeding their success. Evaluations should engage all individuals involved in the intervention process including community stakeholders, community mobilizers, and community members themselves. Monitoring strategies should include both quantitative and qualitative indicators of acceptability of the program, engagement of partners, frequency of protocol

Public health interventions do not occur in isolation, and identification of ongoing programs/interventions that may have unintended consequences for dengue transmission is exceedingly important.

implementation, profiles of community members not being reached, quality of data collection, and alternative strategies and solutions. Overall program evaluation should examine direct disease indicators. Often endpoints for dengue prevention and control strategies revolve around decreasing vector indices; however, given that dengue incidence and vector density are not synonymous, efforts should also include monitoring of dengue cases in intervention households.

Public health interventions do not occur in isolation, and identification of ongoing programs/interventions that may have unintended consequences for dengue transmission is exceedingly important. One related effort is maintaining water security. This issue is particularly relevant to the arid U.S.-Mexico border region since water scarcity is ranked as critical in the area and is slated to increase as the climate changes.[18] One proposed strategy to adapt to water shortages in arid areas is water harvesting and storage. As public water supplies become even more constricted, governments may implement water rationing and restrictions. Containers for storing water have been productive *Ae. aegypti* breeding sites in various regions and social contexts (for example, when stored for household consumption, gardening, etc.).[19] A recent study in Australia directly linked increased water harvesting and storage as a response to governmental water restrictions to increases in dengue.[20] As indicated in the stakeholder section of this article, including public and private water suppliers as voices for dengue control and prevention could prevent some of these unintended consequences from occurring. With proper communication, messaging about conservation of water could include public health information that outlines the appropriate way to store water. Coordination between agencies could also lead to distribution of appropriate containers, screens or lids, larvivorous fish, or BTI mosquito dunks that could reduce the risk tied to water storage.

Even if programs are effective and do not incur unforeseen consequences, they may not be sustained. Sustainability should be achieved by identifying key individuals in stable government positions that are not subject to turnover with governmental changes in power. If high turnover does impact the continuity of control and prevention efforts, politically neutral or diverse stakeholder groups should be leveraged to educate incoming officials on the importance of dengue control. Rigorous follow-up and evaluation of prevention and control strategies should facilitate adoption of existing strategies by incoming officials.

Conclusion

A multi-sectorial binational approach that addresses social, political, and environmental determinants of dengue transmission will be the most successful strategy for preventing and controlling transmission. Engagement of partners prior to emergence may be difficult since motivation for action generally occurs after the events; however, a core group of actively engaged individuals could lead preliminary efforts to put things in place and maintain contacts with key players who in effect would be "activated" during a response. Strong communication and information exchange will be needed to fully realize the potential of these types of efforts. VM

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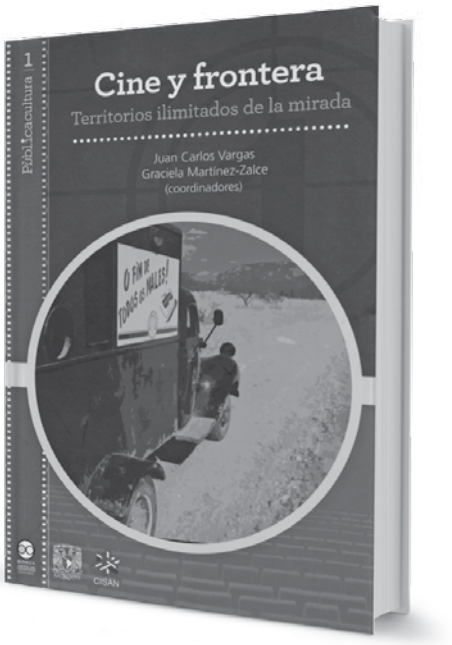

Cine y frontera.
Territorios ilimitados de la mirada
(Cinema and Border. Unlimited Territories to View)
Juan Carlos Vargas and Graciela Martínez-Zalce, comps.
CISAN, UNAM/Bonilla Artigas Editores
Mexico City, 2014, 320 pp.

In 2009, the Network of Cinema Researchers organized the first congress about cinema and the border, entitled "Territorios ilimitados de la mirada" (Unlimited Territories to View) in Guadalajara, Jalisco. The approximately 20 specialists from Mexico and other countries of the world exchanged points of view about the concept of border from the standpoint of cinematic research. When the conference was over, they agreed to publish a selection of the papers presented. The compilers, Juan Carlos Vargas and Graciela Martínez-Zalce, brought together the materials in this publication that attempts to respond to the concerns of the cultural studies academic community at the end of the last century.

In effect, the 1990s brought a change in the circulation of products, services, and persons across borders. Consequently, this sparked a spike in border studies, and, from the cultural point of view, special attention was paid to space, migration, hybridization, and the timeliness of concepts like state and nation. Geographic and symbolic borders were also objects of analysis for film studies: in that decade, they opened up the topic but did not explore the issue directly. This book seeks to fill that void with a multi-disciplinary proposal and approaches ranging from the analysis of film language to cultural studies of content.

The genre inevitably deals with the problem of cultural identity that concerns all borders, not only the one between Mexico and the United States.

The compilation is divided into four thematic sections. The first, entitled "Fronteras territoriales, imaginarias y temporales" (Territorial, Imaginary, and Temporal Borders), begins with an article by Ester Bautista Botello analyzing looks as an experience of the other in the Mexican film *El jardín del Edén* (The Garden of Eden). Set in Tijuana, the film completely fulfills the characteristics that Norma Iglesias recognizes as those of border cinema: a plot set in a border region, characters who debate between both sides of a border, or a main character from the border. The genre inevitably deals with the problem of cultural identity that concerns all borders, not only the one between Mexico and the United States. Proof of that is the next article, in which Graciela Martínez-Zalce looks at two Canadian films, *Highway 61* and *Bordertown Café*, to discern the differences in the approach to road movies around the border between Canada and the United States. But borders are not always geographical regions, as Alma Delia Zamorano's article shows; symbolic borders displace, confine, and violate the other. The author theorizes about the concepts of "inside" and "outside" to examine the territories of exclusion in a series of films that recreate life in the Nazi concentration camps.

The book's second part, "Migración e identidad en el cine fronterizo" (Migration and Identity in Border Cinema), opens with an article by María Ignês Carlos Magno and Vicente Gosciola that analyzes five Brazilian films with a common denominator: the movement of migrants. Based on the concept of "dislocography" or the geography of the non-place, the authors delve into the functions of space, time, and trajectory as the crosscutting themes of a cinema that constructs an imaginary-in-progress. Borders can also separate civilizations: based on the documentary *Crossing the Bridge. The Sound of Istanbul*, Joachim Michael's article shows us Istan-

bul as an inter-cultural city and an area of contact between two worlds, "Western culture" and "the Islamic world." The author takes a particular look at the musical expressions in the film to demonstrate both the marginalization and repression and the manifestations of protest and rebellion in contemporary Turkey. Wilfried Raussert, for his part, contributes to inter-American studies with his analysis of the film *Frozen River*, set in the lands of the Mohawk Indians on the border between the United States and Canada. Using Michel Foucault's concept of "heterotopia," Raussert conceives of borders as transcultural, multi-dimensional spaces in the context of human, legal, and geopolitical relations. To finalize this section, Julio Valdés's article explains how cinema mediates in the process of erosion and reinforcement of national borders and nationalist perspectives. To do this, he focuses on the analysis of three films about the Mexico-U.S. border: *Traffic*, *The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada*, and *Bordertown*.

The next section, "Frontera y género" (Border and Gender), offers the reader two articles that explore films about the women murdered in Ciudad Juárez. The first, by Miguel J. Hernández, looks at the documentary *Señorita extraviada* (Missing Young Woman), using Giorgio Agamben's idea of *vita nuda* (bare life) to recognize that Lourdes Portillo's film proposes a grammar or new way of showing violence against women on Mexico's northern border. Yolanda Mercader, for her part, thematically categorizes the points of convergence and difference among three features, *The Virgin of Juárez*, *Bordertown*, and *Backyard*, and two documentaries, *Missing Young Woman* and *Bajo Juárez: la ciudad devorando a sus hijas* (Bajo Juárez: The City Devouring Its Daughters). Mercader supposes that the fact that the city is on the border determines the cinematic and real development and approaches to the issue of gender violence.

Finally, in "Representación estética de la frontera" (Aesthetic Representation of the Border), Sebastian Thies looks at the artistic dimension of dividing lines, whether symbolic or geographical. He asks himself how cinematic representations of U.S. multiculturalism adapt to the hegemonic discourse. In response, he contrasts the different metaphoric uses of the glass border trope and distinguishes the presence of strategies of the diaspora discourse in three Hollywood films about the border, *Traffic*, *Crash*, and *Babel*. The book ends with an article by Lauro Zavala, who proposes the exploration of a dozen border films from various countries using the internal border as the starting point; that is, the "symbolic border crossing that must be negotiated in the imagination by every person who crosses a territory."

The book is a significant contribution to cinematographic research about borders and broadens cultural studies' theoretical outlook because its multi-disciplinary approach is proposed as an efficient method for future dealings with the theme. Remembering its title, the publication offers new views of the unlimited territories of cinema and the border. VM

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Derechos humanos, migración y conflicto: hacia una justicia global descolonizada
(Human Rights, Migration, and Conflict: Toward a Decolonized Global Justice)
Ariadna Estévez
CISAN, UNAM
Mexico City, 2014, 218 pp.

Ariadna Estévez has become a reference point on the issue of the relationship between human rights and the social sciences. Her most recent book is based on original research that is both empirical, particularly about

the circumstances of migrants in North America and the European Union, and normative, with a proposal for post-citizenship and the universal recognition of migrants' human rights.

In the first chapter, she deals with the relationship between transnational migration and globalization, citing human rights as the mechanism that could harmonize the two. If the free passage of goods and investment is not accompanied by borders open to migrants, it would be indispensable to at least guarantee that the migrants are treated as persons with rights, a supposed conquest of the twentieth century post-war period.

The second chapter describes the so-called "securitization" of borders and cooperation for development. The former is a neologism created based on the word "security," of increasingly frequent use in the social sciences, alluding to the incorporation of police, migratory, and humanitarian policies, into the sphere of the military and national security, particularly after the September 11, 2001 attacks. As an effect of that securitization in Europe and North America, we can see the establishment of detention centers operating with quality standards lower than those of ordinary jails, where migrants cannot receive visitors and entire families are locked in for long periods, thus violating several international human rights conventions. These centers are the most visible face of the increasingly harsh immigration system, which rapidly abandons policies of humanitarian asylum.

What Hannah Arendt denounced in the context of the war before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was written is evoked by Estévez as a problem that reappears and worsens: at the beginning of the twentieth century, as Arendt said, it was often better to be accused of breaking the law than to be a refugee. For that reason, migrants from Eastern Europe to the West were forced to commit a minor crime so that the authorities would bring them into the system, thereby recognizing them as persons. Similarly, Estévez offers testimonies of the fact that today it is often better to be undocumented than an asylum seeker in the United States since, on average, in the former case, you are detained 64 days, while in the latter, up to 10 months, the time that an asylum seeker can be held in regular jails, where their cellmates can be violent offenders.

The third chapter illustrates with concrete examples how the management of human flows is often guided by discrimination. One of the great merits of this first part of the book is to disseminate the recent tragedy of Mexican and

Estévez offers testimonies of the fact that today it is often better to be undocumented than an asylum seeker in the United States.

Central American migrants. The author is not writing only of the violations denounced in previous years by other researchers (labor exploitation, family separation, murders by the Border Patrol, etc.), but of a new repertory of injustices, in particular limitations on the right to asylum. She analyzes Mexico's drug war, which broke out in late 2006, from the point of view of U.S. asylum policy and its discriminatory treatment of Mexicans. In 2007 alone, only a year after "Felipe Calderón's war" began, Mexicans' asylum requests in the U.S. increased 41 percent. But the approval rate did not increase the same amount.

The fourth chapter adopts the analytical frameworks of Coutin and Honneth as categories of analysis of the situation. The former contributes the notion of the "space of nonexistence," which is generated by the securitization of borders, the establishment of detention centers, the criminalization of undocumented migration, and the discrimination against certain ethnic minorities to which migrants belong (Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States; "moros" [people from Northern Africa] in Spain; Pakistanis in England, etc.). Honneth, for his part, mentions three forms of intersubjective recognition: love, the law, and honor, which, as Estévez points out, when absent, correspond to rape, dispossession, and dishonor.

She closes her argument affirming that one consequence of migrants being deprived of their human rights is the worsening of conflicts. In this vein, the author continues a tradition that goes back to Foucault in his famous *Discipline and Punish*, since both books agree that state barbarism produces social violence. Today we could add a third example, of course, though not in the sphere of migration, which would be to say that not respecting human rights expands and sharpens national and international conflicts: the strengthening of extremist Islamist organizations in the Middle East, now organized as armies and calling themselves a state, as a direct result of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, whose argument, paradoxically, was that it was there to fight Al Qaeda.

The normative part of the book begins with Chapters 5 and 6, a brilliant theoretical analysis of the limits of tradi-

tional citizenship. In Chapter 5, instead of defending an improbable fight for universal citizenship, she puts forward the desirability of demanding the recognition of migrants' universal human rights in the framework of decolonized global justice. In particular, she points to the rights of transnational freedom of movement and mobility, with the freedom to leave one country or enter another, the only way to deal with the growing conflicts in today's world.

Post-citizenship

Estévez asks herself what the best way of recognizing migrants' human rights is. She presents two options: a cosmopolitan citizenship that incorporates universal human rights or the application of universal human rights beyond those of national citizenships. She chooses the second option, since the first gives rise to the dichotomy between citizenship and non-citizenship, and, by definition, generates exclusion. When citizenship is defined, the foreigner, the stranger, the undocumented migrant, the temporary worker, or the person in transit are simultaneously defined. This happens whether we understand citizenship as the access to rights within a liberal-democratic welfare state (Marshall's theory), conceived as the duty to participate in political life (republicanism), or we see it as the recognition of cultural and/or social difference (multiculturalism).

In all these cases, citizenship supposes the membership of some and the exclusion of others. In addition, that membership is associated with a nominal citizenship, symbolized by the possession of a passport (for reasons of birth, residence, or family ties, which are criteria different from the basic needs that are the basis of human rights). Migratory documents are not usually given out based on the substantial criteria linked to social, political, and civil human rights, except in countries that practice a real humanitarian asylum policy. But Estévez shows that the latter is falling into disuse in order to comply with securitization. That is why the author supports the idea of post-citizenship: the reinterpretation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to formulate a right to mobility that would include the rights to immigrate and emigrate.

To enter into a post-citizenship era, she suggests innovative measures, in addition to the flexibility of citizenship due to globalization (the freedom to invest in one country, reside in another, and study in yet another) and those stemming from the externalization of citizenship (double nationality, voting abroad). Among the more innovative measures are the participation of the international workers movement in issuing visas: the workers confederations of a country would come to agreements with those of another to ensure that immigration documents are given to workers and that multinational companies respect the labor rights of migrant workers.

> Understanding human rights as an insurgent practice and a social construction demands that we study, precisely, the insurrections that have constructed rights historically.

Human Rights as an Insurgent Practice and a Social Construction

The author uses the definition of the human right to development as that which, inalienable, ensures every person and all peoples to be able to participate, contribute, and enjoy an economic, social, cultural, and political situation in which all human rights and the fundamental freedoms can be fully exercised. Is it possible to achieve this, the readers ask, given that the models of alternative societies have historically put the emphasis on alternative human rights and on competition? The Soviet experiment favored material equality; economic liberalism, individual freedom; the Chinese Communist regime, material prosperity. But, according to the author, we must recognize that after the Cold War, a human rights approach faces the challenge of attempting to harmonize all the normative expectations of societies instead of sacrificing some to maximize others. Given this challenge, she explores an unorthodox, radical definition of human rights. In her opinion, these rights would emanate from an insurgent practice and would be socially constructed.

The author agrees with Baxi that human rights are a scenario of transformative practical policy that, through social struggles and movements, disorients, destabilizes, and even helps destroy unjust concentrations of power. With regard to the affirmation that social rights are socially constructed, Estévez appeals to French post-structuralist philosophy, for which discourses have the effects of truth. This is how she eludes the pessimism that comes of believing that there is

an objective clash of certain human rights with others and, therefore, is able to adopt an ambitious definition of the human right to development.

The Book's Other Contributions

There is an obvious reason for liberalism and the orthodox human rights discourse being insufficient and which also makes Estévez's book inspiring: unequal access to justice. Class differences and racism are reflected at the moment of guaranteeing human rights. It is no coincidence that businesspeople, highly skilled migrants, and Northern European tourists receive the protection from states that Mexican and Central American peasants in the United States or sub-Saharan African migrants in Europe do not. In the face of this inequality, subordinated sectors must organize in social movements, exercise insurgent practices that challenge the *status quo*, and construct their own rights.

For liberalism, respecting fundamental freedoms is a political program in itself. By contrast, Estévez demonstrates that it is necessary to add the consolidation of a combative global civil society. Going beyond denouncing the humanitarian tragedy suffered by migrants (not only the undocumented, but also the politically persecuted and victims of drug-trafficking-related violence), she makes a theoretical proposal that will have to be carefully analyzed and developed from now on. Understanding human rights as an insurgent practice and a social construction demands that we study, precisely, the insurrections that have constructed rights historically. If the 1960s Afro-American civil rights movement beat racism —at least institutional racism— in the United States, will the mobilization of undocumented migrants be able to achieve in the twenty-first century the migratory reform in North America that Barack Obama and U.S. congresspersons cannot?

After years of waiting and frustrations, civic mobilization seems to be the only way still open. At the same time, when xenophobic groups are growing in the United State, it is important to avoid contributing to the stigmatization of migrants and Mexicans with erroneous tactics. What does a constructive insurgent practice consist of? In other words, what road should the immigrant movement take? What are the new human rights that it must demand, and how can we build the basis for their legitimacy?

The era of constitutionalism, which since the late eighteenth century has stipulated that governmental authority must be limited by human rights, was followed in the twentieth century by the proliferation of non-jurisdictional institutions specialized in monitoring the respect for those rights (commissions and popular defense offices, international bodies, etc.). This in turn, has created the need for specialized education, different from that given to judges; this has meant that human rights are now a fundamental issue in the social sciences. Estévez stands out among academics as someone who, without being a jurist —and for that reason without repeating the clichés and the idealization of the so-called "world of how-things-should-be"— makes the social sciences her starting point for the study of human rights. What is more, this book keeps its distance from the liberal discourse that permeates most of the contemporary "neo-constitutionalist" and "guarantor" works, making it refreshing reading. VM

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