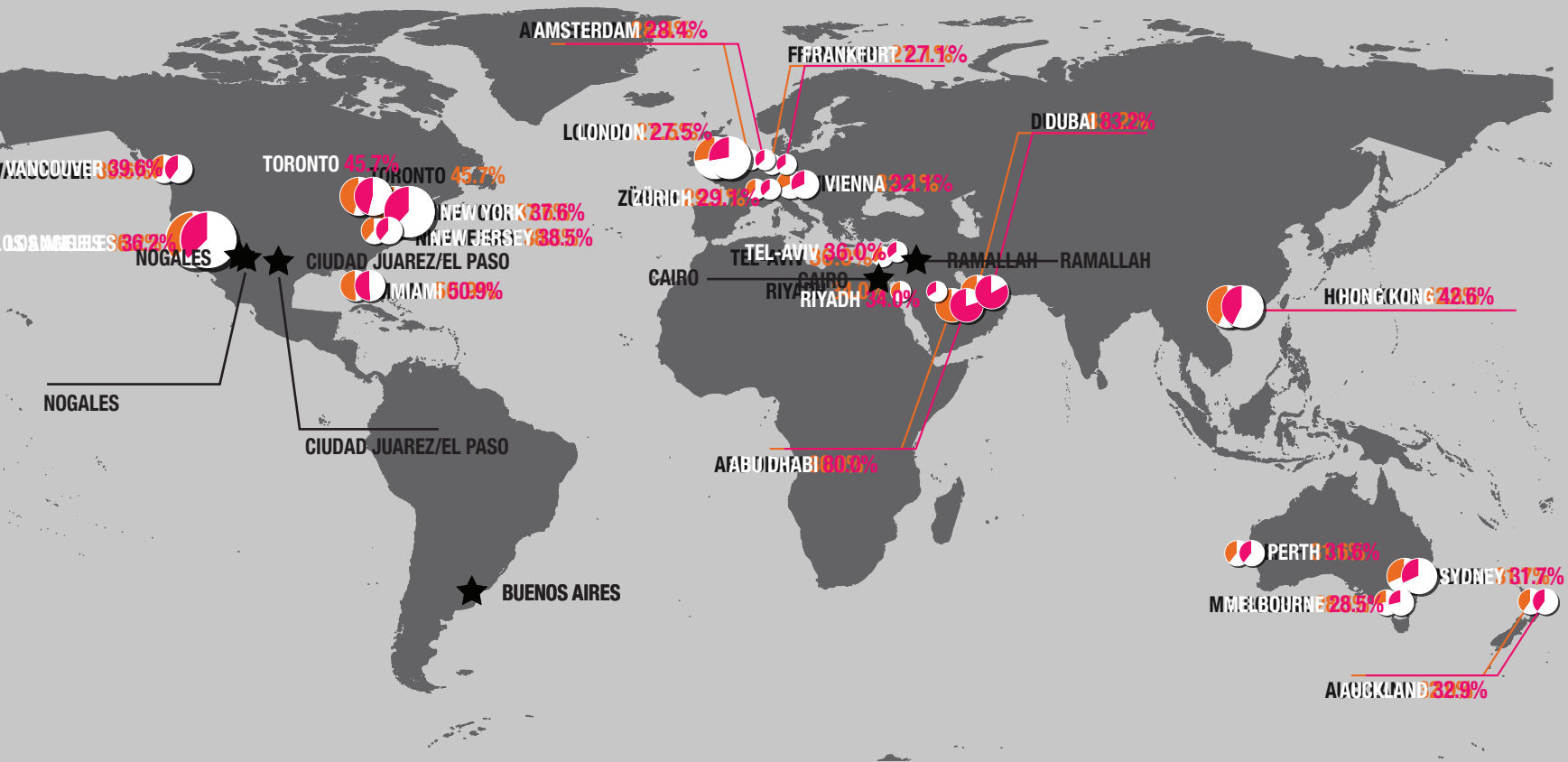


WORLD MIGRATION TO CITIES % OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND OBSERVATION

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CASE STUDIES OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON LOCAL URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

edited by Kaja Kühl

MIGROPOLIS

SPATIAL PRACTICES OF MIGRATION

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Fall 2011

edited by Kaja Kühl

El Paso, Texas



Ciudad Juarez, Mexico



Influence / Confluence

El Paso and Ciudad Juarez

By Heather Anderson, Caitlin Hackett and Allison Hurlbut

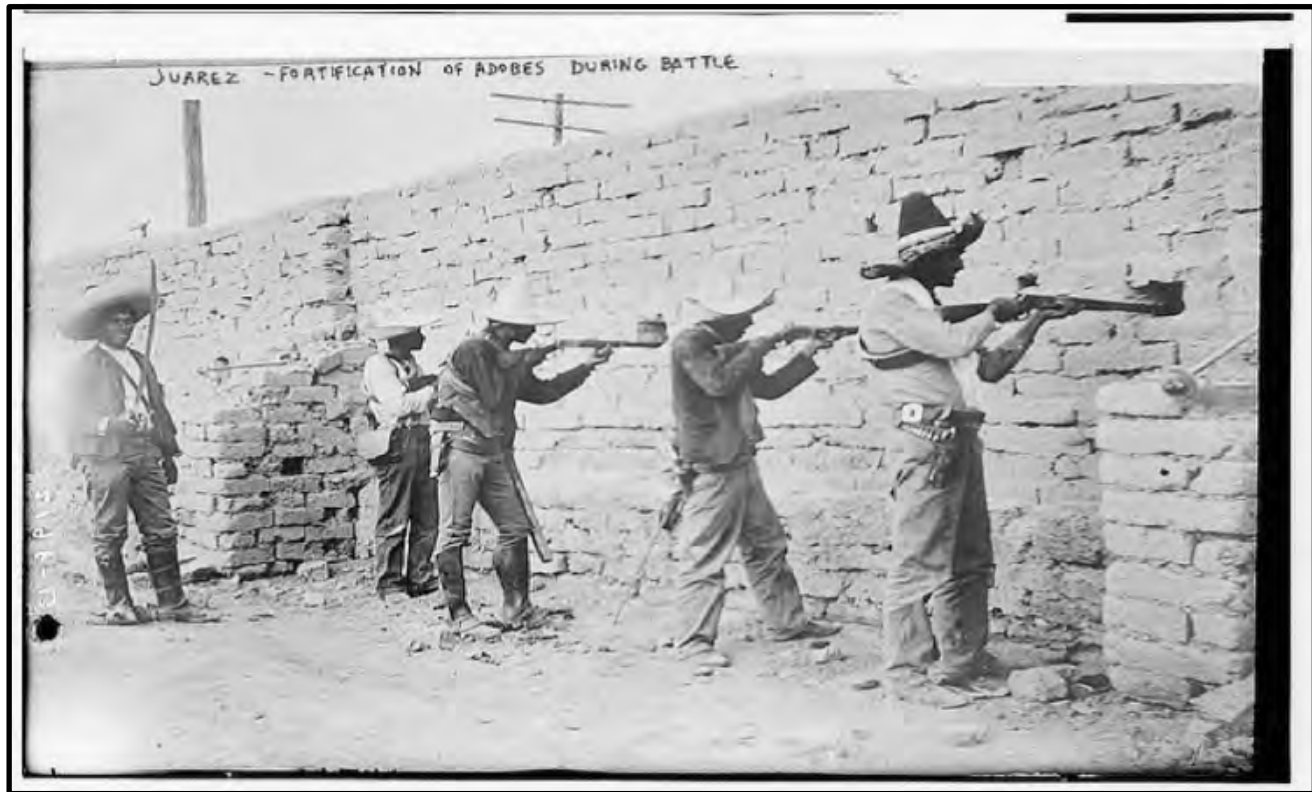
“El Paso and Juarez lie uncomfortably, like an estranged couple.”

Andrew Rice perfectly encapsulates the relationship between El Paso and Ciudad Juarez in the above statement. A close and symbiotic connection pulls these two cities together, yet there remains a distinct disconnect keeping each tense and overly aware of what lies across the river. The contemporary climate of movement across the border at El Paso and Juarez is the confluence of three influences: development of maquiladoras, drug cartel wars and post-9/11 immigration policy. This chapter looks to explore the complicated relationship between two border cities with respect to the above influences and concurrent results.

Influence: border formation, governmental structure and demography

The development of El Paso and Ciudad Juarez highlights the continually expanding and diminishing recognition of the border. El Paso and Ciudad Juarez grew as one city, separated and then reconnected through their historical evolutions. Interestingly, there was no combat between El Paso and Juarez during the Mexican American War (1846-48), although, as the following picture shows, Juarez had fortified itself. However, the most important impact of the war was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that resulted in establishing El Paso as an American settlement and therefore separating it from El Paso del Norte - now Juarez.

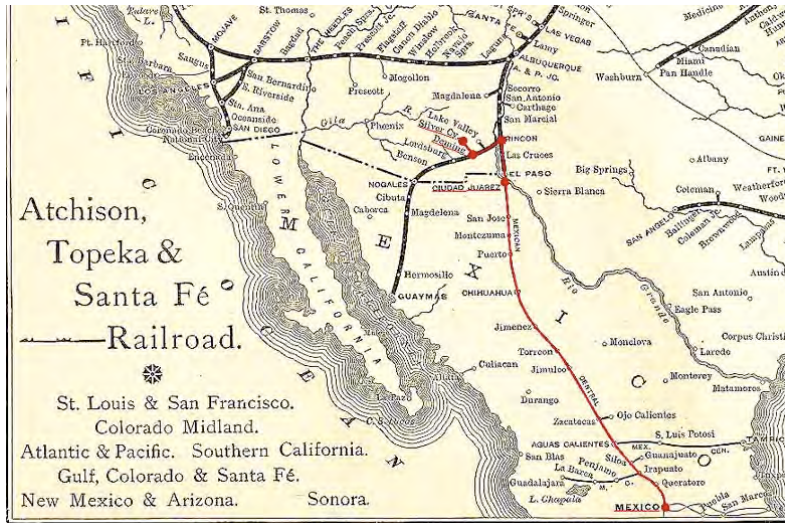
The arrival of railroads surrounding El Paso - the Southern Pacific, Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe - in the 1800s encouraged development of the city and its formal incorporation in 1873. Similar to El Paso, the city of Juarez grew with the help of Mexican rail-lines which increased productivity, demand and development within the city.



Fortified wall in Juarez

During the Mexican Revolution, in the early 1900s, revolutionaries fought for control over the city, forcing much of the population to abandon it altogether and seek refuge in bordering El Paso. This helped to develop a strong sense of Mexican culture within the American city and reconnected the two cities' close and dependent relationship.

In order to understand one of the most prominent origins of difference between these two cities, one must understand the two different and greatly separated government structures at play.



Railroad Lines



Governmental Structure

For Mexico, the presidency is the paramount institution. The current president of Mexico is Felipe Calderon, who was elected in 2006. Calderon will continue his presidency through 2012. Critics of the Mexican political system have labeled the presidency a “six-year” monarchy due to the seemingly unchecked power of the office. The presidential power comes from the president’s direct control over both the state apparatus and the ruling political party, the PRI.

Mexico is divided into 31 states and a Federal District that encompasses Mexico City. Juarez lies in the state of Chihuahua, which is governed by Cesar Horatio Duarte Jaquez. Each state has its own constitution, modeled on the national charter, with the right to legislate and levy taxes beyond interstate customs

duties. Following the federal organization at the national level, state and the local governments also have executive, legislative, and judicial branches. However, despite the federalist structure of Mexico's political system, the power remains highly centralized. The State governments depend on Mexico City - and the Federal District - for much of their revenue, which they, in turn, funnel to municipal governments in a seemingly arbitrary and favoritist fashion. Historically, the Mexican presidents played a prominent role in selecting gubernatorial candidates, from the PRI party, and ultimately deciding any state-level electoral disputes.

The most basic unit of Mexican government is the municipality. The municipal governments are the units responsible for public services, from water and sewage to park maintenance. However, the educational, emergency, medical and environmental services are provided at the federal and state level, leaving municipalities able - but with diminished power and capacity - to assist in the provision of these services. Municipal governments are headed by a mayor and a municipal council and are elected for three-year terms. Although they are authorized to collect property taxes and user fees, municipalities have historically lacked the means to do so; leaving a heavy reliance on intergovernmental revenues streams. Which in turn reinforces the centralized control exercised throughout Mexico's governmental system. Juarez's current mayor Hector Murguia, who was recently elected.

El Paso's population, (for the city proper), is 649,121. A third of the population are between the ages of 25 and 49. 80.7% of the population is Hispanic and this is a 46% growth since 1990, coupled with a 21% decline of other ethnicities and races in El Paso since 1990. 70% of the population speaks Spanish fluently, however, only a fourth of the population was foreign born in 2010. Which has been a consistent proportion of the population since 1990. However, we must also consider the fact that the foreign born reported are only the documented foreign born, so this number may not completely represent the foreign born in El Paso.

Almost all of the population has been reported as households (98.7%), which is a drastic difference from Juarez's 25%.

The major industry in El Paso is the Educational Services, Health Care and Social Assistance with approximately one fourth of the working population employed in some aspect of this industry. And since 1990, this industry has experienced a 62% growth in employment. Not surprisingly, the manufacturing industry has experienced a decline of 50% of those employed since 1990, and correlates to the building of maquiladoras in Juarez. Also a federalist governmental structure, the American system decentralizes much of the power to the states, leaving the President's power in that of the popularly elected Congress, and ultimately that of popular opinion. States and localities are able to decide upon and collect their own taxes and fees and therefore help decrease the need federal finance assistance. Federal tax dollars are also collected and remain an important factor in state and local programs. Unlike the centralized control of services such as the police force in Mexico, American municipalities and states have individual service providers funded by local tax revenues. Therefore, leaving legal authority largely local. Currently, Barack Obama serves as the American President, with the Governor of Texas Rick Perry and the Mayor of El Paso, James Cook.

current demography

The city of Juarez has a population of 1,332,131, with the population being almost completely divided by male and females and 1/3 of the population is between the ages of 15 and 29, implying a large young adult population. However, out of the 1 million plus population, only 25% are considered part of households. In Juarez, 92.8 having a "judgement conviction" which indicates some sort of criminal activity, coupled with the average highest completed degree in school being grade 9, the population is young, uneducated, and high rates of criminal convictions. Which correlates to the recent increase in vacancy rates in Juarez and cartel involvement.

The problem with gathering demographic information from Mexico was the lack of complete or temporal data. The Census Bureau for Mexico is the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía and only allows recent data to be published for municipalities with limited information. There is no reported industry or occupation data and many of the categories seem arbitrary. For example, for Juarez, the INEG only gives age divisions of 15 to 29 and over 60, thereby leaving out young and middle-aged individuals. And the difference between the collected and reported data sets for the INEG and the U.S. Census make social and economic comparisons between the cities difficult.



Ciudad Juárez

The contemporary climate of movement across the border at El Paso and Juarez is the confluence of three influences: development of maquiladoras, drug cartel wars and post-9/11 immigration policy. Throughout this article we discuss these forces and the resultant and concurrent effects.

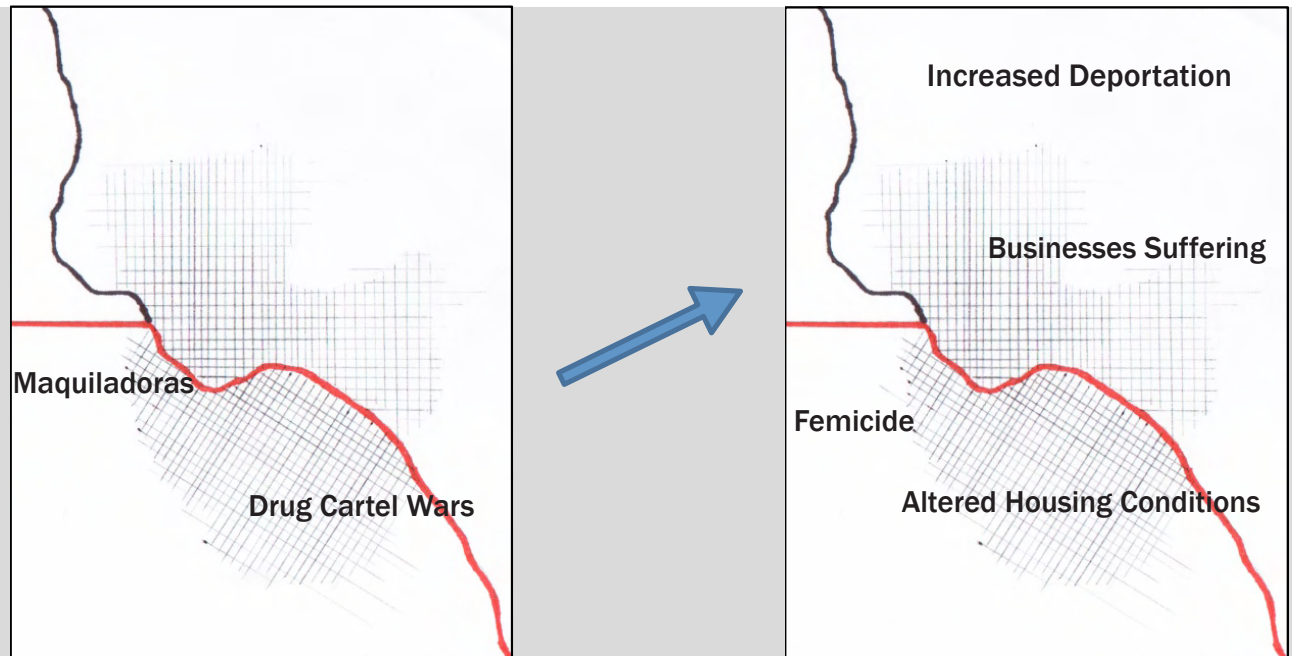
Post 9/11 Immigration Policy Influence : maquiladoras

The introduction of maquiladoras to Mexico had a significant influence on migration patterns by bringing people to Juarez. Maquiladoras are plants that assemble parts for predominantly American owned companies. Multiple policies and events converged to trigger the growth of maquiladoras in Juarez, as well as other border cities and later the Mexican interior.



The Border Industrialization Program essentially replaced the Bracero program. In 1964, the US and Mexico negotiated the BIP, which initiated the growth and operation of maquiladoras at the border. Later, in 1982 the Mexican peso began a series of devaluations that dramatically lowered the wages of workers and inspired companies to open new plants.

The 1986 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) further changed the Mexican economy. Before the agreement the nation manufactured goods internally, but then after the agreement their economy became flooded with cheap American and Asian products due to the lessening of trade barriers. While this was supposed to lower the price of goods and bring Mexican industry up to speed, it actually resulted in many lost factory jobs within the country. Around this time, Mexican farmers lost subsidies and their lands became available to large agricultural companies. The government cut social programs and poverty increased. As a result, people migrated to cities in an effort to find work.



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In 1994, NAFTA created free trade zones that dramatically increased the number of maquiladoras along the border, including in Juarez, as well as caused further migration to the interior of Mexico. The US establishment of maquiladoras in Mexico allows those corporations to pay workers less and endure fewer environmental regulations than if they operated elsewhere in the US. Furthermore, many of the maquiladora workers are young women because it is socially acceptable to pay them less than men and some believe they are better able to handle the repetitive assembly plant work. Many people migrated to Juarez from Central America and other areas in Mexico for work in the assembly plants. The turnover rate at the plants is high partially due to the many health problems workers endure, and perhaps because of that Juarez able to receive a steady flow of migrants.



Maquiladoras on Mexican Border

Maquiladora workers and a plant exterior



RELATED HOUSING migrant maquila workers lived in slums, shantytowns, or colonias. People constructed their own houses across from the plants or on the outskirts of Juarez. Houses were often made from tar paper, cast off pieces of industrial waste, cement blocks, cardboard, and/or wood. Many of these communities did not have running water or electricity.



Within the last decade about 500 plants in Mexico closed because of competition from China, Malaysia, India and Pakistan. However, hundreds of maquiladoras still exist in Juarez alone. Maquiladoras are responsible for over half of the documented US-Mexico trade.

As NAFTA triggered further growth of maquiladoras in the 1990s, more people migrated to Juarez to work at the factories, and the workforce primarily consisted of women. Their quality of life was heavily impacted by the economic exploitation of the plants as well as the mass femicides that began in Juarez. Femicide is the systematic killing of women who are often poor and/or immigrants, and in Juarez it was the maquila workers who were targeted. Since the number of maquiladoras dramatically increased in the 1990s, more than 500 women's bodies have been found in Juarez. Usually they are raped, tortured, mutilated, or sodomized. In addition to the murders, thousands more women have gone missing from the area. Due to the threat of violence, women must alter their behavior and routines. Women are often restricted to the home, factory, and the van that takes them in between.



Not One More

The police either do not respond when women are in crisis or after they've been killed. When pressured from international forces they tend to focus their investigation on the victims and if they came from bad families or were prostitutes. They have even burned evidence.

Influence : Cartel Violence

Another major influence on migration patterns is the increase in violence from the drug cartels. As opposed to the migration effect of maquiladoras, drug cartel violence is sending people out from Juarez. Since the late 1980s, The Juarez Cartel consisting of members of the Carrillo Fuentes family controlled drug smuggling in the area. The assassination of a Carrillo Fuentes family member in 2004 was one event that led to a drug war between the Carrillo Fuentes family and several traffickers based in the Sinaloa state of Mexico. The Juarez Cartel forged an alliance with the Gulf Cartel in an effort to maintain control of the Juarez area. However, federal troops in Mexico have weakened the Gulf Cartel through arrests and pressure. In addition, more than just the cartels are involved in the recent war. For example, the Juarez Cartel recruited street gangs such as Barrio Aztecas to distribute guns and drugs, while the Gulf Cartel originally brought in a group of hired hitmen named the Zetas.

In the recent past some of the groups that were originally allies, such as the Gulf Cartel and the Zetas, are now fighting each other. They first formed a coalition called The Company that focused on drugs, human trafficking, product piracy and theft. As time went on, the Zetas tried to get control of Juarez for themselves. Overall as alliances shifted and wars within the war developed, terrible violence has increased in Juarez and spread to other northern cities along the Rio Grande.

The police response to the cartels has been inadequate. Currently only federal officers are allowed to investigate drug trafficking. Perhaps that's partially due to the corruption and local ties to cartels. In the 1990s, before his death in 1997, Amado Carrillo had about 90% of the local police on his payroll, as well as the protection of the state governor and several high-ranking federal officials. Because of these ties, many local police officers have been targeted in the killings.

In 2006, Mexican President Calderon declared war on the cartels. Federal police and military patrols were then stationed in Juarez, but it's difficult to say how much that helps. Things settled for a short time when they were first stationed, but many troops are believed to have been seduced by the money from cartels and violence increased again. Many believe that the federal government is siding with the Sinaloans due to the exponentially higher rate of arrest and targeting of those affiliated with the Juarez Cartel. Furthermore, last year the Army was implicated in a collaboration with the Sinaloa cartel and was removed from Juarez. Things are not running so smoothly between the Federal and municipal police there, especially since the federal police tried to kill the police chief of Juarez in July.

Police on patrol



Since 2006, up to 30,000 people in Mexico, including 8,000 in Juarez, have been killed as a direct result of the cartel wars. Now many of the murders are a result of refusal or inability of business owners to pay extortion fees. Killings have also become increasingly random, as street vendors in broad daylight, people at bars, weddings, drug rehab clinics, government officials, groups of migrants and even kids at a birthday party have been targeted.

In the last three years, over 10,000 businesses have shuttered due to the violence and extortion. A few still remain, and some owners actually flee and run their business from El Paso. In the last three years, it's estimated that 30-50,000 residents of Juarez left to live in El Paso alone. Furthermore, about 150,000 people migrated elsewhere in Mexico. Many of the migrants from Juarez are middle class and have the means to move.

The poorest Juarez residents are left to deal with the conditions. Meanwhile, reactions to cartels are complex. Some people believe that things would return “to normal” if one cartel controlled the city. The drug trade provides the base of the economy and brings in an estimated 35-45 billion annually.

RELATED HOUSING what was one of the fastest growing cities in Mexico is now a war zone with pockets of abandoned housing. The violence and recession slowed construction.





It was estimated this year that there are 116,000 abandoned houses out of a total stock of 416,000 houses in the city. One-quarter of the houses in Juarez are vacant.

Post 9/11 Immigration Policy, *National*

Post 9/11, concerns for homeland security fueled a political push for heightened border security and stricter immigration policy enforcement. The national border security discourse culminated with the Secure Fence Act of 2006, which mandated increased personnel, checkpoints and technologies in service of a tighter border, as well as recommendations for 700 additional miles of border wall. Federal appropriations of \$1.2 billion were granted to begin the changes. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is responsible for reporting progress on the initiative to Congress. At 21-feet tall, the new wall additions have contributed to a divisive edge condition.

*In the decade before 9/11, 1.6 million people were deported from the U.S.
In the decade following 9/11, 2.3 million people were deported.*



Stricter immigration policy has resulted in a deportation boom. In 2010, the U.S. set its own record for deportations at 392,000. With the passing of 2011, Immigration, Customs and Enforcement (ICE) has announced another new record. 396,000 people were deported/are being deported from the U.S. in 2011. Although post-9/11 immigration policy rhetoric is founded on the threat of terrorism, the brunt of action has affected the U.S.-Mexico border, and many people living undocumented in the U.S. As advocates struggled for immigrant rights, and enforcement agencies were overwhelmed by the estimated 11 million people living undocumented in the U.S., the strategy to focus efforts on criminals was developed a few years ago with the creation of Secure Communities.

Secure Communities is a federal program which requires all people getting booked to have their fingerprints run through an ICE database to check for immigration status, violations or criminal activity. Evidence that local police force is using Secure Communities to round up undocumented workers, and concerns that it deters people from reporting crimes call into question the equity and safety goals of Secure Communities. In August of this year, DHS suspended all deportation proceedings for those who are not considered a safety threat. Despite this declaration, advocates remain attentive to Secure Communities-related issues, including the increasing physical and sexual abuse of inmates at detention centers throughout the U.S. DHS has the goal of having all jurisdictions cooperating with Secure Communities by 2013.

How does the drug cartel violence and post-9/11 immigration policy affect Mexican asylum applications and approval?

For years 2006-2010, a sample country is included for comparison. Data for years 2004 and 2005 was unavailable.

Data acquired through the Department of Justice Executive Office for Immigration Review, Asylum Statistics: <http://www.justice.gov/eoir/efoia/foiafreq.htm> and DHS Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: <http://www.dhs.gov/files/statistics/publications/archive.shtm#1>

Table 1. Asylum Applications Received and Granted, Mexico 1997-2010

YEAR	COUNTRY	APPLICATIONS FOR ASYLUM RECEIVED	RANK (in number of asylum applications)	ASYLUM GRANTED	PERCENT OF APPLICATIONS GRANTED
1997	Mexico	13,663	1	34	0.2%
1998	Mexico	5,326	6	2203	41.4%
1999	Mexico	1,369	12	307	22.4%
2000	Mexico	3,755	3	35	0.9%
2001	Mexico	8,980	1	29	0.3%
2002	Mexico	8,977	2	31	0.3%
2003	Mexico	3,846	3	26	0.7%
2004	Mexico	*	*	*	*
2005	Mexico	*	*	*	*
2006	Mexico	2,818	5	49	1.7%
	Albania	790	12	497	62.9%
2007	Mexico	3,080	6	49	1.6%
	El Salvador	10,025	1	139	1.4%
2008	Mexico	3,527	4	73	2.1%
	Indonesia	996	7	195	19.6%
2009	Mexico	3,335	3	65	1.9%
	China	9,916	1	3448	34.8%
2010	Mexico	3,321	2	49	1.5%
	India	1,002	5	241	24.1%

Post 9/11 Immigration Policy, State

The mismatch of post-9/11 concerns and the fortification of the U.S.-Mexico border is a subject of some discussion. The national immigration debate is amplified in the border states of Arizona and Texas. The mismatch of concerns and actions became most evident last year, when attention focused for a moment on ‘terror babies.’ Louie Gohmert, the U.S. State Representative for Texas, was the most outspoken of the ‘terror baby’ conspiracy. He used the threat of terrorists giving birth to future terrorists on American soil as a justification for the Arizona immigration law, clearly illustrating the conflation of post-9/11 paranoia with the U.S.-Mexico border. The Texas state anti-immigration political climate is further demonstrated in Texas State Representative Debbie Riddle. Another believer of ‘terror babies,’ Riddle introduced six anti-immigration bills this past spring. All had the tone of the Arizona legislation.



One of the bills would have made it illegal to hire an undocumented worker (punishable by a two-year sentence and a \$10,000 fine) unless the worker was hired for household chores. Governor Rick Perry built his campaign for re-election on the platform of border safety and security. Within the last couple of years, in his fervor for declaring the border unsafe in the light of the cartel wars, he was caught falsely exclaiming that bombs were going off in the streets of El Paso. A comparison of murder rates in the two cities proves how grossly out of proportion any expression of a threat to El Paso is. El Paso is considered one of the safest cities in the U.S. Prompted by the conviction that the federal government is not doing enough for border protection, Perry has implemented the Texas Border Security Strategy. The comprehensive plan includes additional border wall construction and installation of security cameras.

“Thank You for Becoming a Virtual Texas Deputy”

Governor Perry’s \$4 million border security camera project proposed more than the traditional surveillance. Virtual Border Watch allows internet access to live feeds supposedly enabling citizen participation in border protection. Viewers have their option of the 22 cameras currently in service (with the ability to watch from two feeds at once), with each camera having it’s own descriptor, for example: This is a known area for illegal drug activity. If viewers see anything suspicious, they can alert authorities. Local media depict the resultant scenarios with confusion. How does this fits into everyday Americans’ lives? The Texas Tribune printed an article about a working mom who logs onto Virtual Border Watch after tucking in the children, as if it is part of her end-of-day wind-down.

Virtual Stake Outs - Live Border Cameras



Camera 1

This area is known for drug activity. Please report persons on foot and or vehicles that are parked along road.



Camera 2

This is a drug crime area. Should you see anyone on foot in this area please report it. Should the camera be focused along the river and you spot swimmers or rafts crossing please report this activity as well.



Camera 3

This is a known drug traffic area. If you see people or vehicles in the lower right hand portion of the view please report this activity.



Camera 4

This area is known of illegal drug activity. If you see people moving in this area please report activity.



Camera 5

During the day watch for subjects on foot carrying large bags. You may see them cross this area. Subjects may approach a vehicle or continue on foot.



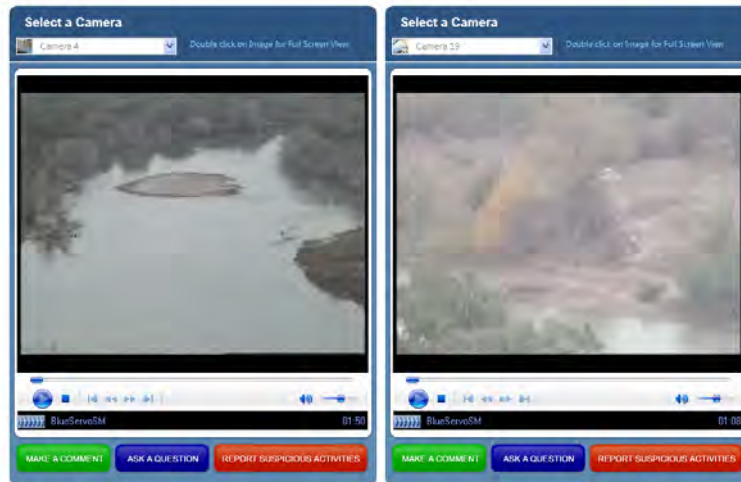
Camera 6

This is a known drug traffic area. If you see people in this area with backpacks please report this activity.



Camera 7

This is a drug crime area. Should you see anyone on foot or crossing the river



This area is known of illegal drug activity. If you see people moving in this area please report activity.

This is a drug crime area. Should you see anyone in this area on foot around or in front of these buildings please report this activity. Sometimes the view is moved to a field area. In this area you are looking for subjects on foot with backpacks. Please report this activity as well.

To Watch More Virtual Stakeouts Click on the Virtual Border Watch Tab



What We Do

The Texas Border Sheriff's Coalition (TBSC) has joined BlueServoSM in a public-private partnership to deploy the Virtual Community Watch, an innovative real-time surveillance program designed to empower the public to proactively participate in fighting border crime. The TBSC BlueServoSM Virtual Community WatchSM is a network of cameras and sensors along the Texas...

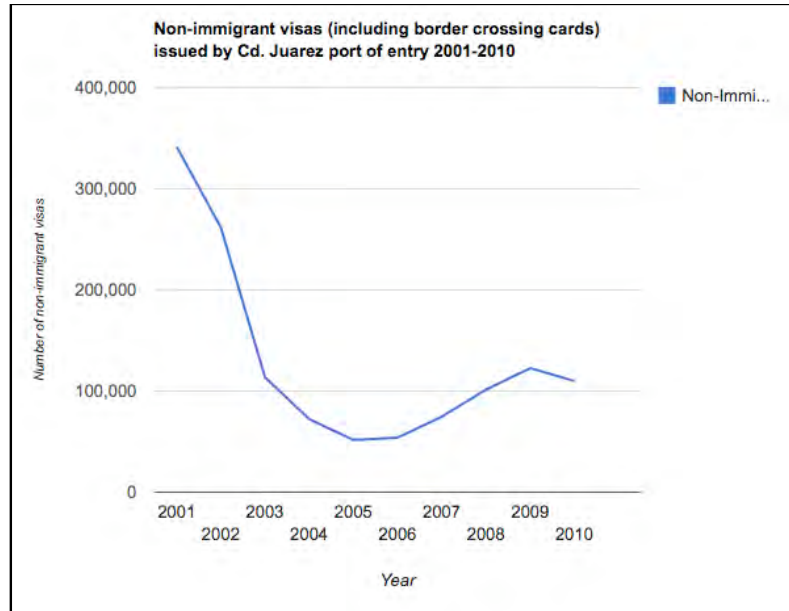
“We as Mexicans became the enemy. After September 11, they sealed the border, built a wall, and began persecuting immigrants and justified it as a problem of security. This perspective became an excuse for everything.”

Sandra Rodriguez, investigative reporter for Juarez’s newspaper *El Diario*



Post 9/11 Immigration Policy, *Local Effects*

The residents of El Paso and Juarez are connected by family networks, through business operations, and through sheer geography. The connections that once flourished under a porous border now are strained. Some families live in Juarez, but have children who are American citizens and daily cross the border to attend school. Some residents own a business in one city, while living in the other.



Graph created by *Mexodus*, <http://mexodus.borderzine.com/>

The longer waits at the border have had multiple effects. Drug consumption has increased in Juarez since 9/11 because the tighter border has meant that more drugs are staying in Juarez. Drug access used to be restricted to one area of Juarez; now most neighborhoods have street dealers. Prolonged car idling times have increased carbon emissions and particulate matter pollution, exacerbating environmental issues resulting from maquiladoras. And as the graph above illustrates, border crossings have decreased.

Following the border tightening, the economy initially suffered in both Juarez and El Paso. Juarez and El Paso both had business sectors that served the needs of residents across the border, so both struggled due to the loss of business caused by less border crossings. But the recession and cartel wars have created a more dire situation in Juarez. Massive maquiladora closures and a decrease in wages and full-time work in Juarez followed the recession. The cartel wars have been the biggest blow to small businesses in Juarez. Kidnapping and extortion have fueled 10,000 business closures (representing 40% of all businesses in Juarez), and 85,000 job losses (representing 1/3 of all jobs). The cartel threat has inspired many businesses to flee. Of businesses still in operation in Juarez, El Norte estimates 90% pay local gangs for protection. Some businesses are finding refuge in El Paso. Investors' Visas went up from 800 in 2007, to 1,400 in 2008. Requirements for a Investor's Visa is proof of \$500,000 to invest and employment of at least 10 people. Some business owners are keeping their businesses in Juarez, but moving to El Paso for safety (in the event they have citizenship).

Casa de Nacimiento Case Study

Casa de Nacimiento is a birthing center open in El Paso for 26 years and run by the midwife, Linda Arnold. Although the midwife discipline is not largely accepted in the U.S., El Paso provided an amazing opportunity for business given the demand for birthing on U.S. soil to establish citizenship for children. On top of the opportunities that U.S. citizenship offered, the cartel war added the threat of violence and parents desire for their children to escape it. During Casa's time, Arnold estimates she assisted in over 13,000 births, and trained over 700 midwives. The business was part of the city fabric. But with post-9/11 anti-immigration tension, the Texas legislature was working to scrutinize birthright citizenship. Regarding this, Arnold said, "We're not doing anything illegal. Yet." Under the additional pressure of economic stress, Casa de Nacimiento closed this summer.



Amidst the effects of these influences, people are organizing to affect change. The following is a sample of such organizations, offering services and support for a variety of people, including business owners, homeless, and those in need of legal assistance :

El Colegio de la Frontera Norte * Juarez Competitiva * La Red, the Network * Las Americas Immigrant Advocacy Center * Mexodus * Annunciation House * Bienestar Familiar Church * Centro Santa Catalina * Centro Mujeres de Fe y Esperanza * Centro Mujeres Tonantzin * Centro para el Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer * La Mujer Obrera * La Posada * Organization Popular Independiente

Centro Santa Catalina Case Study



Centro Santa Catalina is a church with locations in El Paso and Juarez which coordinates many services and events. In general, their mission is to improve conditions for women working in maquiladoras, offer employment alternatives, help women with no options, and provide a place away from the violence, especially for women recovering from violent situations and trauma. Within Centro Santa Catalina, there is a 30 woman sewing collective called Centro Mujeres de Fe y Esperanza (Women of Hope and Faith). The women live at Colonia Panfilo, “work three days a week together, and on the fourth day we pray and reflect on our lives.” The sewing collective provides an alternate means of employment for women who are otherwise under- or unemployed. Following the lead of the community organizations in El Paso and Juarez, who are addressing housing and business issues, informs the needed perspective of planning and policy for the future of this binational city.

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