Former Maquiladora Workers, New Guardians of the Environment in Tijuana

By

Rosa Maria Ramirez

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts

in

Latin American Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Lydia Chavez, Chair
Professor Cynthia Gorney
Professor Sylvia Guendelman

Fall 2012

Tijuana—B.C. Margarita "Mago" Avalos spends most nights going over her stacks of spiral notebooks with details of events she has witnessed inside the assembly plants in Tijuana. There are notes of the time a supervisor of an American company insulted Avalos and her co-workers in English. He had the habit of throwing things at their heads, she says. And the time a production line supervisor called her stupid. "You're not the one to make decisions. I'm in charge here," he snapped. And of the time the plastic gloves of a factory worker dissolved in her hands. The woman had been working with chemicals.

The 30-year-old former assembly plant worker uses these narratives to raise awareness of the living and working conditions of factory workers. The pollution, which she also documents, is the result of years of having these factories humming along the U.S.-Mexico border, she said.

It's not that Avalos needed to check her notebooks to explain how these Mexican and international companies dump solvents into drains or how workers are constantly exposed to chemicals. She has many stories of her own to tell.

But referring to her notes is a way of giving a voice to the many who are afraid to speak up. Since 2002, the maquiladora industry has shed millions of jobs as business owners have set up their companies in Honduras, Thailand and China. Avalos knows that people need the few factory jobs left here.

Avalos, an environmentalist in Tijuana, began jotting down what happens inside the factories, often called maquiladoras, after she and a co-worker were punished in 2001. The reason, she said: Mexico's labor law stipulates that some companies pay their salaried workers a year-end tenth of the company's pre-tax profits, and Avalos had urged their fellow workers to demand their annual bonus.

But before they had the chance to ask, their supervisors learned of their plan. The plant manager ordered them to take two weeks off, a tactic employers use to retaliate against workers. Avalos and the others sued the American textile company. They represented themselves in court, and to their surprise, they won.

"Although we won the case, we weren't able to collect the money," Avalos said. "But we did gain experience."

Avalos is one of a growing number of women who are trying to change the maquiladoras that have employed them all their working lives. These women are in the forefront of the new wave of environmentalists in Tijuana, a city of about 1.5 million residents. Some of these footsoldiers are former maquiladora workers who have taken on the fight for clean rivers, worker's

health, and clean streets. Some of these women have taken jobs cleaning homes, selling homemade food, and making and selling clothes but continue to work on cleaning up the city. They are young, vastly female and not traditionally trained in environmental activism. Most are from low-income neighborhoods. These environmentalists learned about contamination, the effects of fine particles in the lungs, chemical toxins on the reproductive system, and even environmental laws and regulations—all because of what they've experienced first-hand.

Once, a group of these women hand-painted signs with a skull and crossbones and the word "peligro" or warning, and placed them near a closed factory that abandoned barrels with lead and red phosphorus, an explosive. They were going to take the matters in their own hands. The Mexican government wasn't acting fast enough.

Avalos is 30, and makes a living making and selling jewelry and hand-stitched handbags. She has olive skin. Her dark brown eyes are the shape of almonds. She's just shy of 5 feet tall. Her powerful voice commands attention.

A year after she quit from her last maquiladora job, she enrolled in a school for business administration. On her days off, she teaches senior citizens how to search for information on the Internet. Avalos believes the best way to empower a community is to help them do things for themselves.

Another activist, 30-year-old Mayoli Torres, said she became interested in the effects of long-term exposure to chemicals on factory workers when her own six-year-old nephew was diagnosed with a neurological problem. The boy can't pay attention. He's behind in school. The boy's mother worked at an assembly plant making televisions throughout her pregnancy. At that time, the company still used lead parts.

"We didn't know how dangerous lead was," she said.

A 48-year-old who once worked for 10 years in an American-owned eyewear factory said she attended a health training for managers. One of the trainers told them the chemicals they used came with labels warning that the product caused sterility—but that they should not take those labels seriously. He'd been working for eight years with the products, the trainer told them. He was still fertile.

"Mírenme a mi," the health trainer boasted. "Soy papa de tres niños." Look at me. I'm the father of three children.

In many ways, it's not surprising that women like Avalos, Torres and Estrada are fighting the maquiladora industry that started with the Border Industrialization Program in the mid 1960s. The industrialization was done to create jobs for returning braceros, or farmworkers, usually men, who crossed the border each year as guest workers. With the ending of the Bracero Program in 1964, Mexico had to find a way to deal with unemployment.

In the mid 1980s, when the country started to loosen trade restrictions to attract direct foreign investment, the maquiladora industry grew rapidly. Not only did these corporations have access to a massive cheap labor force, but they also had their largest buyer for the goods they produced to the north.

Both Mexico and the U.S. hoped the industrialization of the border would keep Mexicans from crossing illegally to the U.S. But people, looking for better wages and to reunite with relatives, continued to cross. Others, like Estrada, stayed to work in maquiladoras.

Estrada still remembers when she arrived with her husband to the Mexican border city in 1991. The couple had saved money to pay a coyote to guide them across the border. She hoped to work in a garment factory in Los Angeles like some of her relatives, and send money to her mom and the couple's two young children in Toluca. They planned to stay in the U.S. only long enough to construct a home near her mother's. But when her husband heard the dangers women face in the desert to reach U.S. soil, he decided they would not risk their lives.

They stayed in Tijuana. Job opportunities were robust after the U.S. and Mexico implemented the North America Free Trade Agreement in 1994. NAFTA allowed companies to import materials duty-free and pay taxes only on the value added. By the late 1990s, revenues from the maquiladora industry had surpassed those from oil and tourism. Asian investment in the electronic sector of the maquiladoras earned the city the title "TV capital of the world."

And since most production lines require that workers are dexterous, fast, and handle with care delicate products like lenses for eyeglasses, chips inside cell phones, or thimble-size parts that get attached to the television motherboard, these factories sought out to hire female workers.

So when Estrada's husband walked around the Otay Mesa industrial park, he saw plenty of help wanted ads looking for "damitas," or young women. Estrada's first maquiladora job was at an eyewear company.

“I came to wonder how many blind people there must be in the world because each of us in the production line had to clean 1,300 glasses daily,” Estrada said.

She was pleased with her weekly earnings. It was about $31 dollars. Since wages in maquiladoras were higher than other sectors in Tijuana, the city attracted thousands to the border each month. Baja California had approximately 2.5 million residents, half of which lived in Tijuana, by 2000. It wasn’t surprising since 40 percent of Mexico’s maquiladoras operated in the border city. Scholars have noted that between 60 and 80 percent of maquiladora workers were born outside Baja California. This, however, created a severe housing shortage.

The couple found themselves competing with the millions of other low-wage workers for affordable housing. For the first two months, she said, the couple slept inside the central bus station. She’d fix her hair and brush her teeth in the station’s bathroom. She would sponge bath.

Despite the population explosion, Tijuana lacked a plan for how it would house the thousands who continued to arrive in the city looking for work, said Ana Elena Espinoza Lopez, director of the Urban Center for Social and Sustainable Urban Studies in Tijuana. Many would set up their homes in shantytowns in the peripheries. Those who were able to buy their homes often could only afford them in colonias, improvised slum communities, with no plumbing or running water.

One day, Estrada’s co-worker told them about a house that had recently been vacated in a shantytown more than an hour away from the factory. They quickly moved in. But the house lacked basic necessities. One of her first large purchases was a large aluminum pot to warm up water to shower.

With time, Espinoza Lopez said, maquiladoras began to open near these residential communities, where land was cheaper. In Tijuana, it is common to see an assembly plant adjacent to homes and child-care centers.

So it was really women, both working in the maquiladoras and also going home to play with their children amid maquiladora pollution, who began assuming the leadership of the new activists. Some of them, like Avalos and Estrada, began their activism while still employed in assembly plants. Torres is the only one from her organization who continues working in one.

These environmentalists believe that environmental protection, worker safety, and safe and clean neighborhoods can’t be separated. These conditions contaminate more than the environment, Avalos said. They destroy the self-

esteem of an entire community. People start to believe they aren't worthy of a decent life.

Interest in environmental degradation in Tijuana soared in the 1980s. Talks of trade expansion through NAFTA generated interest in the area, prompting researchers, environmentalists and international media to flock to the border to document the environmental degradation.

It wasn't long before international organizations like the Ford Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the National Audubon Society, and the Sierra Club began giving money to local activists, sometimes even urging them to organize around environmental issues, said Laura Silvan, an environmentalist who has been working in Tijuana for more than 20 years. She remembered the excitement at the time.

"Foundations dropped a lot of money to support organizations that helped address the problems that a large industry in the border would create," Silvan said.

By Silvan's own account, Baja California had about 34 environmental groups by the time NAFTA was implemented. Of those, between 17 and 18 worked in Tijuana alone. Many of them were backed by such grants, she said.

The maquiladora industry has drawn criticism and support because of its highly complex structure that connected the economies of three countries—U.S., Mexico and Canada. On the one hand, it created jobs for millions of people from the interior of Mexico. On the other hand, it created a perception among some residents, including Avalos, that international corporations moved to Tijuana to skirt environmental regulations in the U.S.

And to some extent, residents' fears of serious environmental degradation became a reality. So far, the Mexican government has documented 66 commercial hazardous waste sites in northern Mexico, said Magdalena Cerda, the Tijuana representative for the San Diego-based Environmental Health Coalition. Tijuana is home to the worst toxic waste abandonment cases in Mexico.

On Thursday, January 12th, Cerda and her daughter drove to the spot where one of the worst cases of toxic waste abandonment in Mexico occurred. They drove for several blocks lined with single-story maquiladoras and warehouses in the Otay Mesa industrial park in Tijuana. They stopped at Calle 2 Oriente No. 119.

Instead of a building, a warehouse or parked industrial trucks, No. 119 had a basketball court. A group of young boys in tank tops and shorts ran from one

end of the court. It was a hot day. The boys chased a teenager dribbling the ball against the sultry cement ground. In a quick hand maneuver, another teen swooped the ball from him and ran in the opposite direction. Under their toes were thousands of tons of buried lead waste.

Since Metales y Derivados, a battery smelter, left 6,000 metric tons of lead slag, and byproducts, such as sulfuric acid, arsenic, cadmium and copper after the Mexican government shut down the company in 1994, Cerda has come to this site.

The Mexican government closed down the company for multiple environmental violations. Mexican inspectors had found three wastewater discharges, one coming from sanitary facilities. Another time, they found that the lead smelting furnaces lacked emission control. And yet another time, inspectors found empty containers that once had arsenic, stacked in the rear of the building. On this day, Cerda stood near the basketball court. The boys were too focused on the game to notice her.

She said that when the smelter left the lead in open drums and sacks, residents of nearby Colonia Chilpancingo would complain that the wind and rain moved the hazardous waste toward their homes. Some of these women protested in an effort to get the Mexican government to clean up the lead. Lead exposure can harm children and babies even before they are born, according to the EPA.

Cerda recalled how difficult it was to get the government to listen to them. Nearly eight years after Metales y Derivados shut down, the Commission for Environmental Cooperation, a trilateral organization created under NAFTA, finally declared the site posed a serious health risk to residents. The site cleanup started two years after that.

Other contamination cases are just as egregious. In 1993, RSR Corporation agreed to pay Mexico $2.5 million in fines for abandoning 80,000 tons of lead near Tijuana, according to the Texas Center for Policy Studies. A major source of pollution from maquiladoras, scholars have found, are small and medium-size Mexican-owned maquiladoras. What complicates matters more is that few hazardous waste disposal sites exist in northern Mexico. This year, a Nevada company, Scorpex, secured permits to create a hazardous waste disposal and recycling center in Ensenada, just minutes from Tijuana. Construction is scheduled to start in 2012.

It has become conventional wisdom among these activists that as more maquiladoras continue to leave Tijuana in favor of even cheaper labor in Central America or China, the interest in the environment also dwindled. But Saul Guzman Garcia, director of the Tijuana office of SEMARNAT, or Mexico's

equivalent of the EPA, said that Mexico has a program encouraging assembly plants with multiple violations to comply on their own. Instead of getting fined, these companies have the option of getting themselves up to date.

In addition, PROFEPA has been proactive by conducting random inspections each week to ensure the companies are disposing of their materials properly.

Mexico has also created a more efficient method of reporting the hazardous waste maquiladoras generate, he said. The law requires maquiladoras to return waste deemed hazardous to the country where the goods were bought.

In addition, Guzman Garcia said, there are materials that aren't hazardous but need to be returned to the country of origin by law Mexican law, such as defective parts, broken eyewear, or boxes that shipped the temporary imported materials.
Since Mexican environmental agencies don't have the ability to closely monitor these factories, the corporations are essentially policing themselves.

"There's an element of going to your backyard, where you don't have much responsibility, where there's not too much vigilance, where you can meet some requirements but not others," Guzman Garcia lamented.

But there are inherent problems here, too. Assembly plants are not required to report potential hazardous waste generated from materials purchased in Mexico.

The maquiladora industry, too, began to experience a sharp decline in late 2000 due to a downturn in the U.S economy. Nationally, Mexico shed 290,000 jobs from 839,200 during its peak in the 1990s, according to a 2003 General Accounting Office report to Congress.

Increased competition from China, Central America and the Caribbean, as well as appreciation of the peso, further drove companies to leave Mexico. The owners also worried about drug-related violence in the country.

Now, few jobs in maquiladoras have remained. Those entering the maquiladoras are doing so on month-to-month contracts. On-the-job abuses are rampant, which makes Avalos' job even more essential. But that doesn't mean her activism is any easier. These environmentalists have been working with little or no resources.

They know they have a challenging job ahead of them. A large part of their work is simply getting residents to stop dumping old tires or trash in empty lots and rivers.

When they organize free workshops on the effects of chemicals on the body, sexual harassment on the job, or recycling, only a handful of people show up. It's difficult to get people to meetings. Transportation in Tijuana is costly, and poor families with a young child or two rarely have spare time or money to spend it on non-essential things like traveling an hour by bus during their days off from work to attend a meeting. Avalos' organization has started to raise money for bus fares as an incentive.

One Saturday in January, Avalos was in her group's spacious offices. The bare walls gave the office a cold feeling, like that of an industrial warehouse. She was there on a weekend to work on a grant application. Like many small environmental organizations in Tijuana, money is always tight.

She began to type on her laptop.

Her colleagues huddled around her. She has become the leader of this group almost by default. Few in this organization know how to use a computer or have access to one. Even fewer understand the ins-and-outs of fighting in court.

The three spoke out loud. If they get the funding, they will map out which types of illnesses are more prevalent in which maquiladora workers. They hope to link those with the types of chemicals or solvents used in the factories. They hope to hire someone who can help them with the caseload of people who get injured on the job or those who are fired illegally. They hope to get monies for health workshops and for bus fares. All of the members are volunteers, and even they don't have enough money for transportation at times.

"Collect information," said Jorge Reyes.

"--of the illnesses produced by the chemicals," Avalos said, finishing his thought.

Reyes is the only man in the group. Reyes, who was recently let go from a maquiladora, attends meetings when he can. Both have been working together for more than three years. They agreed it was important for them to include a workshop on chemicals on the reproductive health of workers in the maquiladora industry. After seven hours of working on the grant application, the three go home. They hope to finish it on time. None of them have experience writing grants.

Estrada is the person in the group who usually gives the workshop on chemicals. Most of her trainings are recounting what she's experienced inside the maquiladoras. She has also gotten information from speaking with other

people, and by reading whatever pamphlets she can get her hands on.

One time, she said, she was hired in an assembly plant where employees worked under low lights to prevent damaging the eyewear. Her new employer told her that if she could handle the smell of the chemicals on her try-out day, she could have the job. She remembered working under a thick bluish haze. A strong odor burned her nose. She got the job, but left it after a few months.

But it wasn't until she became a manager for another eyewear making maquiladora that she began to really understand the effects of chemicals on the body. When no one was looking, she would peel off the labels from containers and take them home. She kept them in a binder.

One of the labels was of an eyewear coating called Signet Armolite 90-0997.

The label is in English. The letters are in bold. It reads: WARNING: can cause severe irritation on the eyes and skin on contact. Allergic skin reaction may occur in some individuals. Inhalation and over exposure may cause liver, lung and heart effects. Contains materials that can cause cancer.

Neither Estrada nor the other activists in her group know how to speak or read English but they know the word cancer; it's the same in Spanish. And they know the word warning. Many of their friends, co-workers, and neighbors have come to them with unexplained illnesses, and some of them with cancers.

Estrada has taken it upon herself to speak to people about the chemicals. Sometimes she and Torres will drive out to some of the 36 industrial parks in Tijuana. They try to catch workers coming out of the factories. They ask them what employees have told them about the chemicals. Estrada tries her best to educate them on the spot.

Other times, she will go to neighborhoods with large apartment buildings occupied by factory workers to deliver her message. She'll knock on doors until someone opens. No one pays her for this work. She does it because that's one sure way to reach out to people.

One Monday in March, she and Torres went to Colonia Bajamar el Aguila, an industrial park where one of Tijuana's Sony satellites once operated. They walked up to an Infonavit building, one of the government-subsidized housing developments funded by the National Workers Housing Fund Initiative.

On the first floor of the building was Teresa Calle's apartment. She had turned her living room into a mini-mart. A refrigerator with sliding glass doors was well stocked with cans of Coca-Cola, half-gallon milk containers, and egg

cartons near the entrance. On a small side table was a tray with Mexican sweet bread wrapped in cellophane. Her walls had shelves with canned food, cereal boxes, detergent, diapers, notebooks, and anything a family might need in between their trips to the supermarket. Calles sat behind a small counter that divided her store and the rest of her home.

She punched the buttons on the cash register as soon as a customer picked up a packet of tortillas. Most of her patrons are residents living in this 92-unit building. She says she saved enough money to open this store before she quit her job at a television assembly plant.

During the decade that she worked there, she smelled paint thinner for hours at a time, as she cleaned the pieces with the solvent, sometimes without gloves. She developed breathing problems and a persistent cough.

“It was too much working in the maquila,” she said.

People just don’t really know, or for that matter want to question supervisors about the chemicals they’re exposed to. And despite the health risks, Calles says, people will continue to take the jobs.

Another maquildora worker in her store said she also spent long hours on the job inhaling paint thinner. Her job was to clean picture frames with solvents. She would blow on the frames so they would dry quicker. At the end of her shift, she’d go home with a pounding headache.

“When I would come out of there, I’d be really dizzy and with my eyes red,” said Josefina Soto, 34.

There’s an inherent underlying conflict for these factory workers. On the one hand, these factory workers need their jobs to feed their families. On the other hand, even if Estrada makes them aware of the health risks, many will remain quiet for fear of losing their jobs. And for many of these workers, laboring in the maquiladoras is better than struggling in their hometowns where there are no jobs.

“Our priority is to get in, to get hired, to earn money to buy what we need,” Calles said.

Part of the problem is that Mexico lacks effective right-to-know laws. While Estrada hopes to one day help change these laws, she believes she first has to help empower workers to understand the risks, so they can protect themselves.

Outside of Calles' store, a man wearing blue overalls was working on his car. He appeared to be in his 30s, and said that for a dozen years he has been as electrical technician with Sharp Electronica Mexico. He works mainly with ACF, an epoxy material used to make electrical connections. The epoxy is shipped from China and makes the plastic softer, he said.

Since he's been with the company, he said, he has received workshops on how to protect himself on the job. The assembly plant ensures that its workers have mouth covers, goggles, and gloves. "They provide everything so employees are protected," he said proudly.

Estrada, who listened intently to the technician, was not satisfied with his answers. "But does your employer tell you what those chemicals are doing to your body?" she said, not letting the man finish his sentence.
The young man was silent for a few seconds. "No, they don't," he finally said.

Estrada walked to the SUV. When the man was out of earshot, she said, "You have to ask them that question. I've learned that you have to ask that question."

There are many environmental problems that these women will have to fight against. In Tijuana, buses continue to use diesel fuel. One can taste the fuel in nearly every area of the city. There's also a perception among the residents that it's the government's job to clean up the beaches and the streets. Even when residents get involved in cleaning up the beaches, they say the municipality is slow to do its part. After a recent beach cleanup in March in Playas de Tijuana, more than 3,000 people showed up. But trash dumpsters near the beach were already overflowing with garbage. The volunteers had to place the black trash bags full of debris next to the dumpster, where any street animal could shred them to pieces.

Yet these activists continue the uphill battle because they also know a new generation is watching them. And they want to set a good example.

In 2000, Cerda's group created Jóvenes Pro Justicia Ambiental, an organization for the children in Colonia Chilpancingo.

The children had grown up amid pollution, threat of lead exposure, and later attended meetings with their parents on the cleanup efforts for Metales y Derivados, vigils, protests, and health workshops.

During class assignments on the environment, Cerda says, the children would recall their own experiences. Some of them even began using their parents' cell phones to take pictures of trash in the street or in the river.

“We realized they were learning a lot,” Cerda says.

The youth group now has about 20 members. Their ages range from eight to 19-years-old. They created a comic book with the story of the clean up of Metales y Derivados, said Anibal Mendez, the group’s youth coordinator.

Last year, the children, with the help of their mentors, prompted the local government to put up street signs prohibiting semitrailers and trucks servicing the maquiladora industry from driving near their schools. Air tests near schools showed high levels of diesel. Diesel exhaust is associated with serious health risks, such as asthma, cancer and heart disease. Exposure to fine particles is associated with increased frequency of childhood illnesses and can also reduce lung function in children, according to the EPA.

The semi-trucks often took shortcuts through residential communities to reach the industrial park. Some 2,000 children were exposed to the diesel fuel from these tucks. In August, the municipality put large white signs banning trucks from driving through residential areas in Colonia Chilpancingo and Murúa in Tijuana in various intersections. Vanessa Estefania Hernandez, 16, was among the youth who fought for the signs. She says she was timid at first to speak with the media.

“Now, I can talk with anyone,” she says.

During a recent hot and dry day in February, Avalos, Torres, and Estrada traveled with a group of Mexican environmentalists to the Alamar Creek. Avalos and other local activists had organized a tour of the maquiladora industry. The water, which gushed westward, would have given the place a feeling of serenity, except that it was the color of mud and had a distinct putrid smell, polluted from decades of factory runoff. People covered their noses.

This was the first time a mostly Mexican group had joined this excursion. These types of fieldtrips in the past were primarily for American and European activists, and students from San Diego who wanted to see the pollution first-hand. But news of shootouts and kidnappings in Mexico borders cities have kept foreigners away. Schools in San Diego have discouraged students from crossing into northern Mexico, said a professor of Chicano Studies at San Diego Community College.

On this tour, some of the activists traveled from San Jose de la Zorra, an isolated Kumiai indigenous community about 40 miles southeast of Tijuana. Residents there can still see natural wildlife and breathe fresh air. Others arrived from Tecate, the destination of the dirty water. Others came from Tijuana’s sister city, San Diego, just across the border.

Cerda, and environmentalists with the Environmental Health Coalition, took the group to the edge of the creek, which runs near Colonia Nueva Esperanza. Some, including those who grew up in Baja California, had never seen this part of the Alamar. The creek originates in California and zigzags across both borders until it discharges at Imperial Beach in Southern California.

Mexico's national water commission, Conagua, is working on a project to canalize the riverbed. It plans to cover it with concrete. Tijuana officials say channeling the storm water will prevent flooding in some areas and will make it possible for the state to create roads so vehicles can drive across the creek. They estimate it will benefit more than 350,000 local residents.

But Cerda and others fear cementing the creek will eventually kill what's left of the Canadian geese, shrimp, herons, owls, and natural vegetation down the stream, closer to the Tecate River where water is not as polluted yet.

Avalos listened to residents' complaints. People who live near this creek shared stories of foul odors and human waste from squatter settlements. On this day, the Alamar Creek was filled with sediments and garbage. Tests on this creek show the water has high levels of heavy metals like chrome, cadmium, mercury and lead. The levels of lead were sometimes as high as 3,400 times the accepted level from the EPA. The area is currently traversed by dirt roads.

This neighborhood is not much different than the one Avalos left in her native Puebla, or the one where she currently lives for that matter. She believed that working in the maquiladoras would maker her life better. But it didn't. Her neighborhood in Puebla lacked sewage system, running clean water, electricity, and trash services. The one where she lives now has electricity but few other resources.

"I was born in a place where neither God nor the government comes," she likes to say.

People in this colonia cross the Alamar Creek by foot. The bridge is a three-foot-wide compilation of tattered pieces of wood, likely put together by residents. Without any beams to support the weight of the crossers, the bridge looks like it could crumble under the right pressure. It doesn't have handrails.

Avalos takes more pictures of the river and of the people crossing. That's also going in her collection in her binder.

Bibliography

Bryce, Robert, “Toxic Trade Imbalance. Is NAFTA turning the border into a 2,000-mile hazardous waste dump?” January/February 2001. Mother Jones. Print. URL: http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2001/01/toxic-trade-imbalance

Grossman, Gene M., and Krueger, Alan B., “Environmental Impacts of a North American Free Trade Agreement.” November, 1991, Working paper No. 3914, National Bureau of Economic Research. URL: http://www.nber.org/papers/w3914.pdf?new_window=1

Hilary, Abel, “Endangering women’s health for profit: Health and safety in Mexico’s maquiladoras” Development in Practice, 1999. Vol. 9, Issue 5, pages 595-600.

Kopinak, Kathryn, “Environmental Implications of New Mexican Industrial Investment: The Rise of Asian Origin Maquiladoras as Generators of Hazardous Waste.” Asian Journal of Latin American Studies. 2002. URL: http://www.ajlas.org/v2006/paper/2002vol15no104.pdf

Kopinak, Kathryn, “Maquiladora industrialization of the Baja California peninsula: the coexistence of thick and thin globalization with economic regionalism.” International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. June, 2003. Vol. 27, Issue 2, pages 319-336.

Kopinak, Kathryn, and Barajas, Maria del Rocio, “Too Close for Comfort? The Proximity of Industrial Hazardous Waste to Local Populations in Tijuana, Baja California.” The Journal of Environment Development. September, 2002. Vol. 11, No. 3, pages 215-246.

MacLachlan, Ian, Aguilar, and Adrian Guillermo, “Maquiladora Myths: Locational and Structural Change in Mexico's Export Manufacturing Industry.” The Professional Geographer. August, 1998. Vol. 50, Issue 3, pages 315-331.

Schatan, Claudia, and Castilleja, Liliana. 2005. “The Maquiladora Electronics Industry and the Environment along Mexico’s Northern Border.” Commission for Environmental Cooperation. Third North American Symposium on Assessing the Environmental Effects of Trade. URL: http://www.cec.org/Storage/58/5077_Final-Schatan-T-E-Symposium05-Paper_en.pdf

Watkins, Ralph, “The China Challenge to Manufacturing in Mexico.” September, 2006. URL: http://2011.fashion-networks.com/images/article_pdf/chinachallenge.pdf

United States General Accounting Office. Report to Congress. “Mexico’s Maquiladora Decline Affects U.S.-Mexico Border Communities and Trade; Recovery Depends in Part on Mexico’s Actions.” GAO-03-891. July, 2003. Print.

United States Government Accounting Office. Report to Congress. “Commerce Department Conference on Mexico’s Maquiladora Program.” GAO-03-7562 December, 1986.