

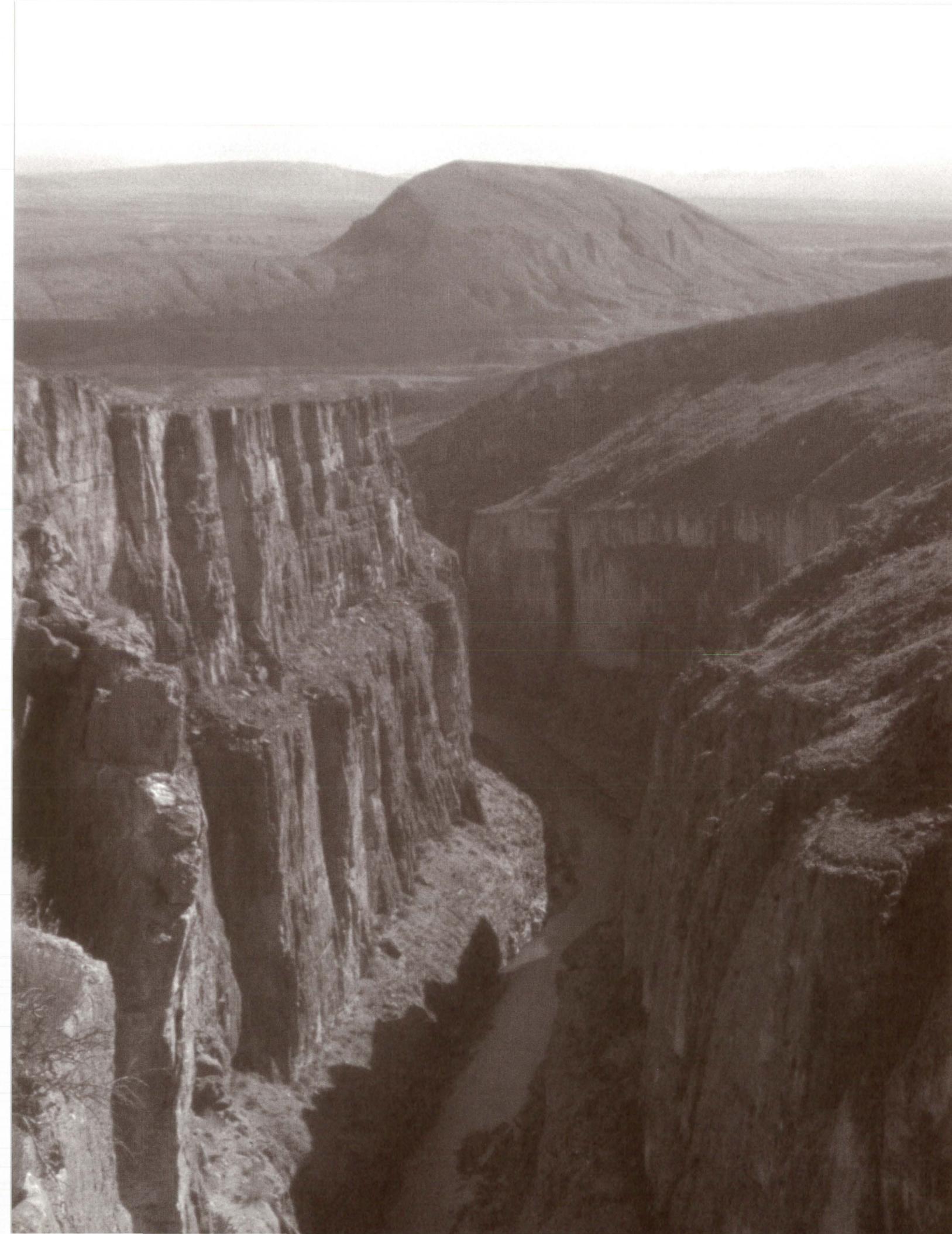
# **El Río:** Culture and Environment in the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin



*by Olivia Cadaval and Cynthia Vidaurri*

**F**rom the mountains of Colorado, through the rugged landscapes of New Mexico and Texas, to the fragile semi-desert of northern Mexico, the Río Grande/Río Bravo is the lifeblood of the ecosystems and cultures of the region. The river has always invited settlement, agriculture, industry, commerce, and recreation. On its banks, Native Americans and later the Spanish established towns that continue to thrive. So much water is diverted from the river for agriculture that little flows from its headwaters into the Gulf of Mexico. Fish are taken from it for human survival and sport. Rafts and canoes bob on its waters when they rise in the







spring. It is both a source of human life and a site of industrial contamination. It flows through many jurisdictions and cultural and geographic regions and provides an international boundary and commercial gateway between the United States and Mexico. The river determines human activity, and human activity defines the river.

The river is the backbone of a larger natural system, the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin. Its primary source is in the forested mountains of San Juan in Colorado and the Sierra Madre in northern Mexico. Snow-melts start as runs, rivulets, and creeks flowing into streams, which empty into rivers. All eventually drain into the Río Grande, as it is called in the United States, and the Río Bravo, as it is known in Mexico. The river traverses deep canyons in northern New Mexico and Big Bend National Park in Texas. It continues through rolling hills and flatlands before meeting the semi-tropical region of the Lower Río Grande Valley and draining into the Gulf of Mexico below Brownsville, Texas. As a whole, the basin is a harsh desert land, which may rapidly shift from periods of drought to flood. This program presents communities that dwell in this river basin. The cultures of these communities can show us some of the ways people have developed to live in this ecology, how they shape it, and how they are shaped by it. How they and others treat the river affects land and life beyond the riverbanks throughout the basin.

People cannot always control natural forces. Rivers may shift and re-form and alter the societies built around them. For example, the Conchos river system in Chihuahua joined the upper Río Grande/Río Bravo fairly recently in geological terms. A shift in the river's course created international concern because it resulted in

Previous page: The river runs between Mexico and the United States, near Presidio, Texas, and Ojinaga, Chihuahua. The view is majestic.

Donde el río corre entre México y los Estados Unidos, cerca de Ojinaga, Chihuahua, y Presidio, Texas, la vista es majestuosa. Photo by/foto de David Bosselman

Mexico's losing land to the United States. The land was eventually deeded back to Mexico, but even though it was not a large amount of land — unimportant in terms of natural resources or strategic position — it became a symbol of national sovereignty. This episode illustrates Paul Horgan's observation in *Great River: The Río Grande in North American History*: "The main physical circumstances of the Rio Grande . . . assume meaning only in terms of people who came to the river" (Horgan 1984:7).

Technology can affect the river's course. The U.S. Corps of Engineers built dams and reservoirs in the 1950s and 1960s to "better manage" the water. In Cochiti Pueblo, the dam physically destroyed agricultural fields and, with them, farming as a way of life. But the Pueblo found ways to sustain their ritual Corn Dance even as residents sought jobs outside the Pueblo.

Living on the land and water nurtures knowledge and values, whose application, in turn, shapes the water and land. Antonio Manzanares of Los Ojos, New Mexico, maintains sheep-herding practices adapted to the arid region that date back to the first Spanish settlements here. These practices, which are based in values of land stewardship rather than land ownership, depend on rotation of pastures and communal land use. Today, this requires collaboration between the local residents and national institutions like the U.S. Forest Service.

River and people have limits in what they can sustain. New populations, new technologies, and new demands for housing, industry, and recreation threaten to bring natural and cultural erosion. The Albuquerque-Bernalillo corridor in New Mexico has become the hub of a computer industry that offers employment to rapidly growing numbers of people from outside the area. Its expanding suburbs encroach on the Petroglyph National Monument, a site the Pueblo Nation considers sacred.

Natural forces sometimes reverse these incursions. María Elena Russom, a weaver with Tierra



Wools in Los Ojos, New Mexico, explained, "It's beautiful, up in the mountains, the closest place to heaven that you can get. Tourists come and they want to live here. They buy land, but when we have one of our real winters, they leave and don't come back. It's a good thing because when it snows, we have water in our rivers, and that's what we need."

We asked several broad questions about the dynamic interplay between culture and environment in the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin. First, how does traditional knowledge developed over generations contribute to managing land and water resources? Second, in what ways does the environment shape a community's cultural identity? And third, how can local knowledge and cultural practices contribute to sustainable development and provide the basis for successful economic enterprise?

The geographic expanse of the basin and its cultural diversity posed a challenge for our research that we met with the help of colleagues and institutions in the region. Together we developed an anthology of case studies that tell compelling stories of the interconnectedness of culture and environment in the basin's complex landscape. We grouped the case studies according to our research questions, and they comprise these three program areas at the Festival.

## TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Shrimpers, ranchers, *vaqueros*, blacksmiths, *barbacoa* (barbecue) cooks, and artisans who use desert fibers all have different work, but all rely on traditional local knowledge and on their own experience with the fragile natural resources of this desert environment. Centenary ranchers in New Mexico maintain the ancient *acequia* (irrigation ditch) system to sustain their ethical values and natural ecosystem with community participation. As new people move into the area, conflicts arise over different values placed on cost-efficient technologies. Festival participants will address

how they combine knowledge and technology from many sources and, as importantly, how they establish dialogue with newcomers about tradition and the quality of life.

## LANDSCAPE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

For the Pueblo, water rights govern ritual practices as much as irrigation. As Regis Pecos of Cochiti Pueblo explains, "Our kind of agriculture is not just a food source — it is intimately connected to who we are." When new residents move into an area, different forms of land ownership and use may challenge existing arrangements. Long ago, Spanish settlers in New Mexico caused great conflict and change, but Pueblo traditions have persisted, and in some cases, Pueblo and Hispano communities have developed shared cultural forms, such as *matachín* dancing.

Some of the Rarámuri, a Native American community indigenous to Chihuahua and known by outsiders as Tarahumara, have recently migrated from their rural environment to Ciudad Juárez. Their dance, craft, and foodways traditions help them sustain their cultural identity in an urban environment. Other such expressions featured in this program are Chicano murals, which illustrate the interconnectedness of belief, history, and cultural identity; and South Texas *conjunto*, northern Mexico *norteño*, and New Mexico *ranchera* music, which illustrate the same thematic connections in their music and words.

## LOCAL CULTURE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Guided by the values shared in local cultures, successful, sustainable, producer-owned businesses combine both traditional and new skills and technology. These enterprises develop collaborative networks through participation in formal and informal economies, selling their products in community markets, flea markets, tourist shops, through craft catalogs and Internet Web sites, and in other domestic and international markets. Craft enterprises to be featured include a weaving coop-

erative, cottage-industry piñata making, glass etching, furniture caning, and *retablo* (sacred image) painting. Building arts include building with adobe, ornamental stone carving, brick making, and self-help home building. All illustrate the creative use of traditional knowledge, available resources, and innovative exchange strategies.

We invite you to talk with the residents of the basin at the Festival this year, who can speak directly to you from their own experience, values, and traditions. After the Festival, we will develop a traveling exhibition that will open at the Smithsonian Institution and then tour to several sites in the basin.

*Olivia Cadaval received her Ph.D. in American studies at George Washington University. Cynthia Vidaurri received her masters in sociology at Texas A & I University and has taught Chicano and borderlands studies at Texas A & M University-Kingsville. They are founders of the Latino Cultural Resource Network at the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage and are co-curators of the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo Basin program.*

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Proyecto Azteca, a self-help housing organization in San Juan, Texas, offers migrant workers construction training and affordable materials for building their own houses in *colonias* (unplanned neighborhoods) of the Texas Lower Río Grande Valley. The project builds on the traditional knowledge, organizational skills, and self-determination that migrants bring to the region, and it creates partnerships between community-based organizations and governmental and non-governmental agencies.

Proyecto Azteca, una organización de auto-gestión en San Juan, Texas, ofrece a los obreros itinerantes capacitación y materiales para la construcción de sus casas en las colonias en el valle de Texas. El proyecto aprovecha conocimientos tradicionales, técnicas de organización y la auto-determinación de los obreros para crear apoyo entre organizaciones de base y agencias gubernamentales y no gubernamentales.

Photo by/foto de Cynthia Vidaurri



# El Río: La cultura y el medio ambiente en la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande

por Olivia Cadaval y Cynthia Vidaurri

Desde las montañas de Colorado y a lo largo de Nuevo México, Texas y el norte de México, el Río Bravo/Río Grande es la médula de los ecosistemas y las culturas de la región. El río siempre ha sido una invitación tanto para asentamientos como para agricultura, industria, comercio y recreación. Es fuente de vida humana pero también un foco de contaminación industrial. Fluye por varias jurisdicciones y regiones geográficas y culturales proporcionando una frontera internacional y una puerta comercial entre los Estados Unidos y México. El río determina la actividad humana y ésta define el río.

El río es la columna vertebral de un gran sistema natural, la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande. Sus principales fuentes vienen de la sierra de San Juan en Colorado y de la Sierra Madre en el norte de México. De la nieve derretida se forman arroyos y riachuelos acabando en ríos. Eventualmente, desembocan en el Río Grande, como es llamado en los Estados Unidos, o Río Bravo, como es conocido en México. El río atraviesa cañones profundos en el norte de Nuevo México y el Parque Nacional Big Bend en Texas. Continúa a través de colinas y planicies antes de llegar a la región semi-tropical en el valle de Texas para desembocar en el Golfo de México. En conjunto, la cuenca es un desierto que sufre cambios bruscos entre períodos de sequía e inundación. Este programa presenta comunidades que residen en la cuenca del río. Las culturas de estas comunidades nos muestran algunas de las formas que



El maestro Arnold Herrera del Pueblo Cochiti talla tambores de álamo que acompañan las danzas en las fiestas Pueblo. Explica su significado: "Las danzas que hacemos durante el año tienen que ver con lo que nos rodea — los animales, las criaturas de la tierra. En la primavera bailamos después de la siembra para que llueva y para prevenir cigarras".  
Cochiti Pueblo educator Arnold Herrera carves drums from local cottonwood that accompany the dancing in Pueblo fiestas. He explains their meaning: "The dances we do throughout the year have to do with what's around us — animals, creatures within the earth. In the spring, we have dances after the planting, for rain and to prevent locusts."

Foto de/photo by Enrique Lamadrid

la gente ha desarrollado para vivir con esta ecología, como la configuran y como ellos son configurados por ella. La forma en que éstas y otras comunidades tratan el río afecta la tierra y la vida más allá de sus riberas.



En la frontera México-Estados Unidos en Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Rita Morales Alvarez ensambla bandas corredizas en la planta maquiladora Cambridge. On the U.S.-Mexico border in Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Mexico, Rita Morales Alvarez assembles steel belts at the Cambridge *maquiladora* (assembly plant).

Foto de/photo by Olivia Cadaval

El programa propone tres preguntas sobre la interacción dinámica entre la cultura y el medio ambiente en la cuenca: 1) ¿Cómo contribuye el conocimiento tradicional en el manejo del agua y tierra como recursos? 2) ¿De qué maneras influye el medio ambiente sobre la identidad cultural? 3) ¿Cómo contribuyen el conocimiento local y las costumbres en el desarrollo sostenible y que base brindan para el éxito de empresas económicas? Estas preguntas forman la base de las tres áreas del programa.

### EL CONOCIMIENTO TRADICIONAL Y EL MANEJO DEL MEDIO AMBIENTE

Los oficios de los camaroneros, rancheros, vaqueros, herreros, cocineros de barbacoa y jarcieros son todos diferentes, pero todos dependen del conocimiento local tradicional y de sus propias experiencias con los frágiles recursos naturales del desierto. A medida que nueva gente ingresa en la región, surgen conflictos entre valores diferentes sobre la definición de las más eficientes tecnologías económicas. Los participantes representarán su manera de combinar el conocimiento y la tecnología de muchas fuentes y la forma en que establecen un diálogo con los recién llegados sobre tradición y calidad de vida en sus comunidades.

### LA IDENTIDAD CULTURAL Y EL MEDIO AMBIENTE

Para los Pueblo, los derechos sobre el agua go-biernan las prácticas rituales tanto como la irrigación. Cuando nuevos residentes llegan al área, diferentes conceptos de propiedad amenazan el orden presente. Tiempos atrás, los colonizadores españoles en Nuevo México causaron grandes conflictos y cambios, pero las tradiciones Pueblo persistieron y, en algunos casos, comunidades Pueblo e hispanas han desarrollado formas culturales compartidas, tal como la danza de los matachines.

Algunos Rarámuri, un grupo indígena de Chihuahua y también conocido como Tarahumara, han emigrado recientemente de la sierra a Ciudad Juárez. Sus bailes, artesanía y tradiciones alimenticias les ayudan a mantener su identidad cultural en el ambiente urbano. Otras expresiones representadas en este programa incluyen murales chicanos que ilustran la interconexión entre creencias, historia e identidad cultural, así como música norteña, de conjunto del sur de Texas y ranchera de Nuevo México, que reflejan las mismas conexiones temáticas en su música y letra.

### LA CULTURA Y EL DESARROLLO LOCAL SOSTENIBLE

Orientados por valores compartidos en la comunidad, exitosos negocios locales combinan lo tradicional con nuevas prácticas y tecnología. Estas empresas desarrollan redes de colaboración que participan en la economía formal e informal, y venden sus productos en todo tipo de mercados. Las industrias artesanales que serán representadas incluyen una cooperativa de tejido y empresas familiares de piñatas, grabado de vidrio, muebles de mimbre y retablos. En arquitectura y diseño se incluye la construcción de adobe, el tallado de piedra, la producción de ladrillo y la construcción de vivienda por las propias familias. Todo esto ilustra como los conocimientos tradicionales, los recursos disponibles y las inventivas estrategias de mercadeo son utilizados creativamente.

Traducido por Edme Pernia and Ileana C. Adam

# Traditional Knowledge in the Río Grande/ Río Bravo Basin

by Victor Hernández

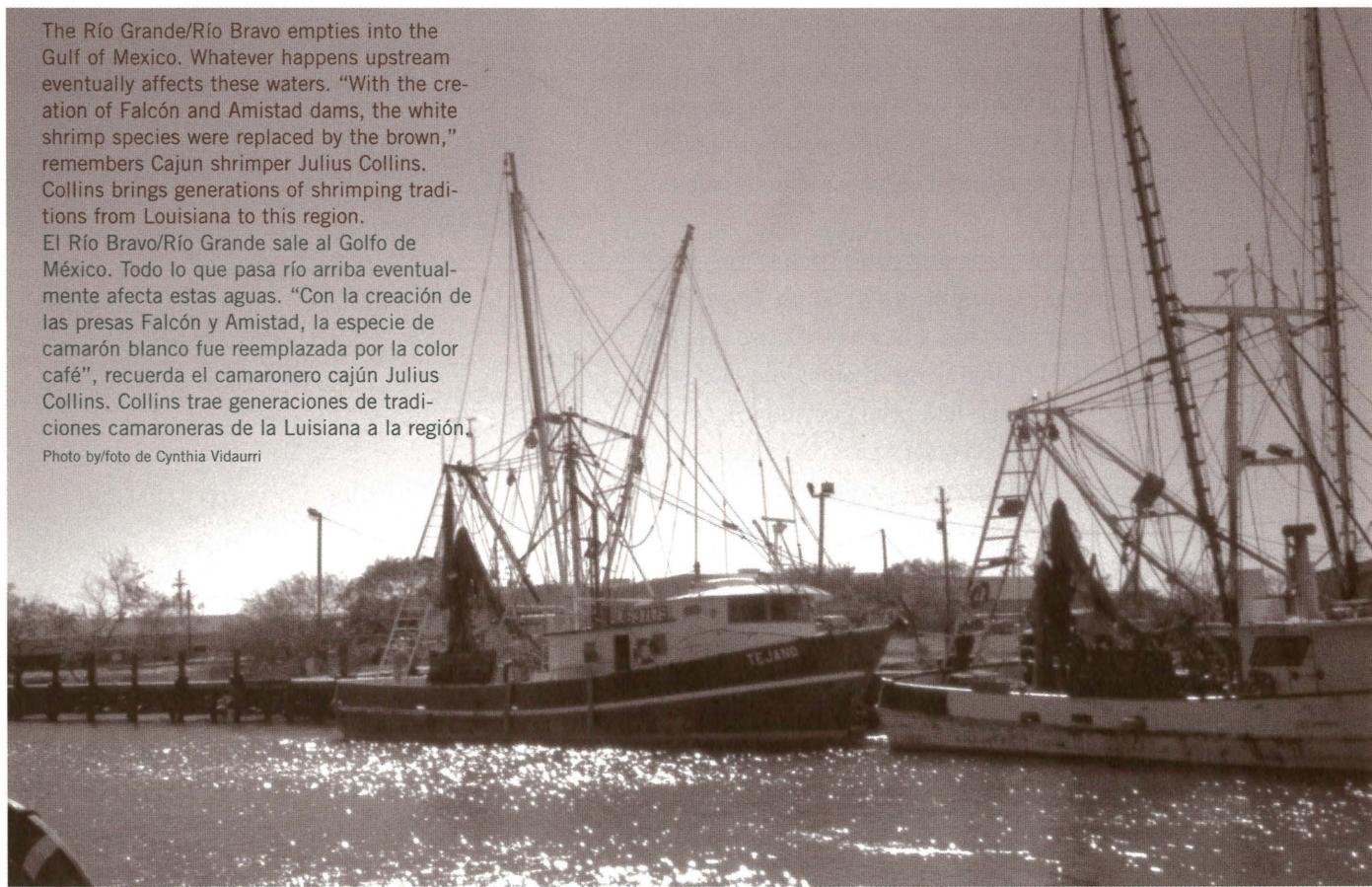
From the headwaters to the mouth of the Río Grande/Río Bravo, the river basin's diverse environmental zones pose unique challenges in land and water management. Long-term experience of, and adaptation to, the river's various habitats have created a traditional

knowledge base with which local people effectively manage and maximize the region's natural resources. Time-tested traditional techniques combine with non-traditional approaches to provide basin residents with an effective water and land management repertoire.

The Río Grande/Río Bravo empties into the Gulf of Mexico. Whatever happens upstream eventually affects these waters. "With the creation of Falcón and Amistad dams, the white shrimp species were replaced by the brown," remembers Cajun shrimper Julius Collins. Collins brings generations of shrimping traditions from Louisiana to this region.

El Río Bravo/Río Grande sale al Golfo de México. Todo lo que pasa río arriba eventualmente afecta estas aguas. "Con la creación de las presas Falcón y Amistad, la especie de camarón blanco fue reemplazada por la color café", recuerda el camaronero cajún Julius Collins. Collins trae generaciones de tradiciones camaroneras de la Luisiana a la región.

Photo by/foto de Cynthia Vidaurri

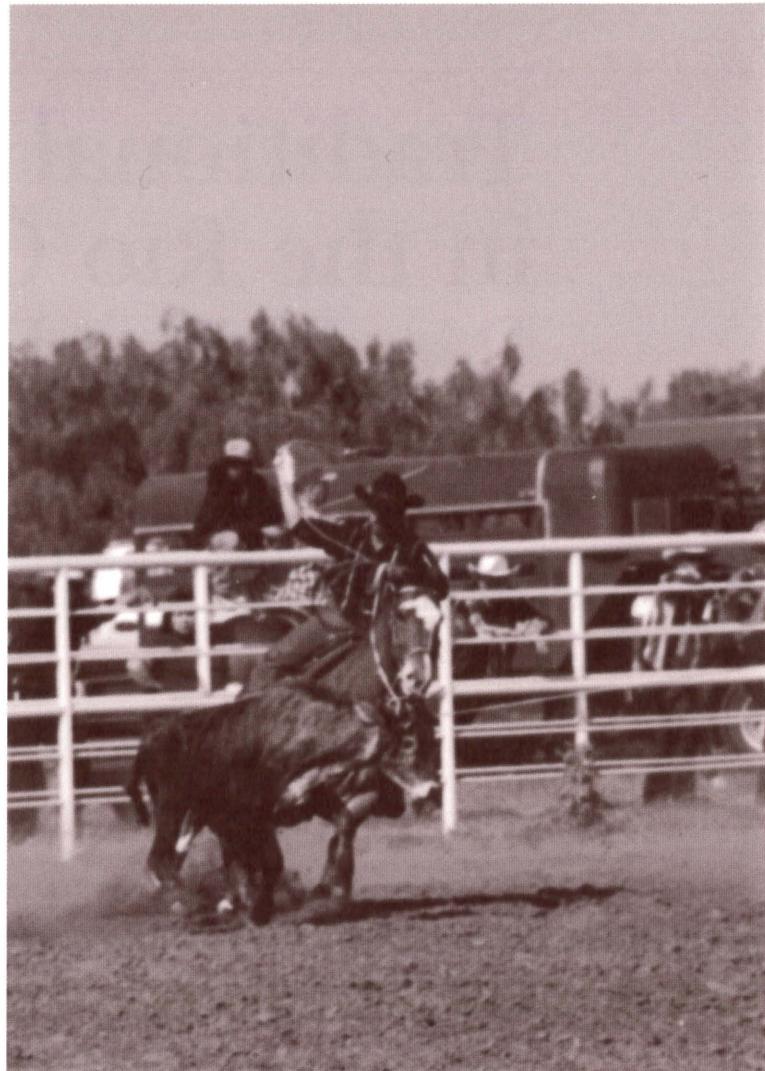


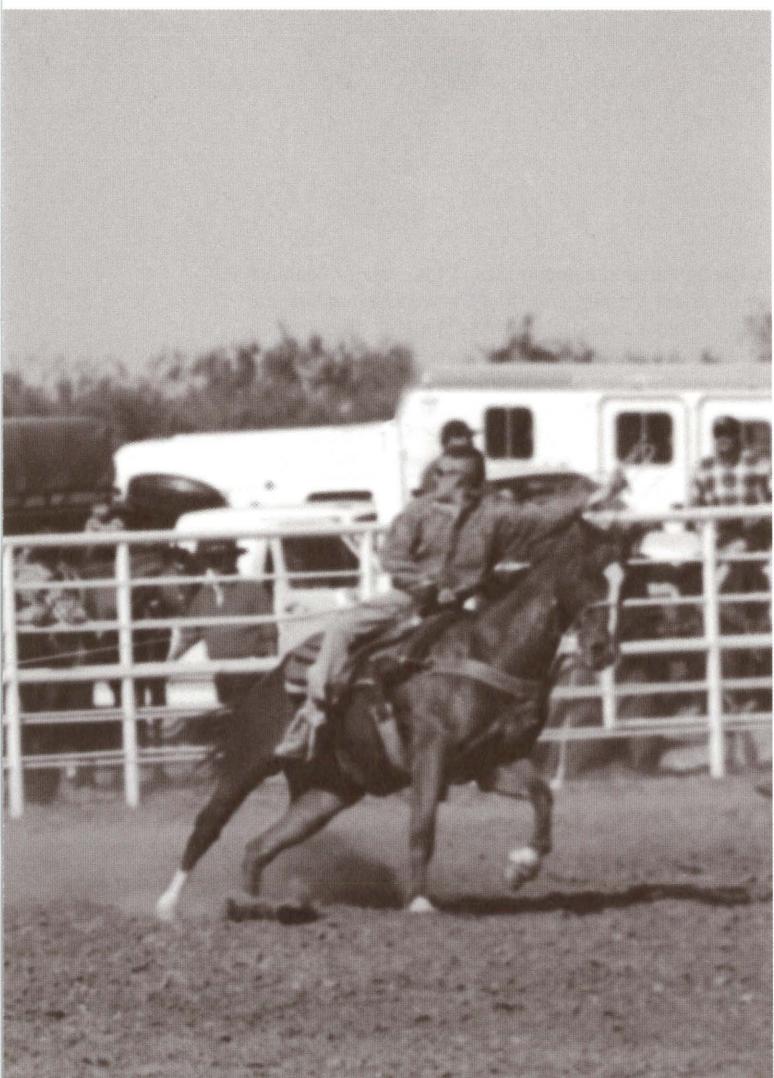
The Embudo Valley of northern New Mexico is home to centenary ranches (land owned by the same family for at least 100 years) created by lands deeded under the Spanish Land Grant ordinances. They are managed in riparian (river-bank) lots, 50 to 500 feet wide and 1 to 20 miles long. Introduced in the mid-1800s, this riparian system is designed to benefit from the different micro-environments of the region. The approach promotes practices which maximize the limited natural resources, and it adapts to what is sustainable in the diverse ecosystems found on any given ranch.

*Acequias*, or gravity-driven earthen-work irrigation ditches, effectively manage limited water supplies, and, beyond their functional value, they reinforce community identity and community collaboration. The spring cleaning of *acequias* is a functional and social task in which everyone is obligated to participate in order to maintain this resource. In many New Mexico communities, the first water flow of the year is celebrated with a blessing and a procession in honor of San Isidro Labrador, patron saint of agriculture. Today, these centuries-old Native American and Hispano *acequias* are combined with 20th-century irrigation systems to manage the region's precious water supply.

Private cattle ranching dates back to the 1750s on the open-plains ranches of South Texas. This isolated and arid land lent itself to very little else. Early settlers brought with them a knowledge for working cattle that had been evolving in Spain and Mexico for seven centuries. Here *rancheros* utilize land and livestock management knowledge and techniques developed over generations of trial and error, a vernacular form of scientific methodology, as well as strategies taught in universities. During periods of extreme drought, *vaqueros* employ a technique called “*chamusquear*” — burning off needles of the abundant nopal cactus and feeding it to cattle to provide a much-needed source of water and protein.

Rancher Lauro Gutiérrez uses modern watering





Rodeos are an opportunity for South Texas *vaqueros* to hone their ranching skills and to pass them on to the younger generation.

Los rodeos dan a los vaqueros del sur de Texas la oportunidad de perfeccionar sus habilidades con el ganado y de pasárlas a la generación más joven.

Photo by/foto de Javier Salazar

systems in conjunction with a hand-dug, turn-of-the-century *presa* (dam) to water the livestock at Rancho Niño Feliz. *Rancheros* incorporate new technology that eases the work, but not all modern improvements have worked as well as expected. The helicopter allowed for faster, more efficient roundups, but some ranchers have reported that the livestock soon became used to the helicopter and could no longer be herded by it. Consequently, some retired *vaqueros* have been called upon as consultants to work with helicopter pilots in search of wild cattle that evade the roundup. The *vaqueros'* extensive knowledge of the land and of animal psychology could not be replaced by technological advances.

Along the banks of the Río Conchos in communities like Valle de Zaragoza, Chihuahua, *rancheros* maximize the region's ephemeral resources. In addition to raising cattle, they have developed an intermittent, river-bank farming method that takes advantage of seasonal changes in the river's level. When the river recedes, it leaves behind rich sediment that forms natural *labores* (fields) on its banks. These fertile fields are ideal for raising watermelon, chiles, tomatoes, and beans. There is always a risk that the fields may be inundated during heavy rains or flash floods. Over time, *rancheros* have learned to gauge the river's ebbs and flows well enough to decide when to plant along its banks.

In the harsh and delicate environment of the Chihuahuan Desert, cultural knowledge is preserved through local crafts. The Department of Ecology of the State of Coahuila has partnered with local residents in an approach that utilizes the desert's natural resources, rescues a weaving tradition, discourages the use of polluting plastic shopping bags, and provides economic benefits. Traditional artists use the fibrous raw materials provided by desert plants such as the *lechuguilla* and *palma mandioca* to produce shopping bags, scrub brushes, place mats, and other items. Wax from the *candelilla* plant is processed and eventually finds its way to cosmetics and foodstuffs.

The mouth of the river is home to the country's largest shrimp basin, which was developed during the 1950s by Louisiana Cajuns who migrated to South Texas. This occupational group feels the impact of what has been done along the entire length of the river. The damming of the river has caused salinity changes in the Gulf of Mexico that have affected the shrimp living there. Today, shrimpers employ a variety of electronic technology for navigating and for detecting schools of shrimp, but the underlying organizational principles of running a shrimp boat are still those used in the earliest days of this occupation.

Managing the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin's natural resources involves constantly responding to environmental changes. The lesson is that technological advancements do not necessarily equate with more effective practices or an improved quality of life. Effective management requires that we maintain a variety of options at our disposal; the loss of traditional knowledge means diminished options. As Arnold Herrera of Cochiti Pueblo says, "Traditional people have important lessons to offer industrial and post-industrial societies." There are lifetimes of knowledge out there that can be incorporated into public policy and practice.

*Victor Hernández is a Housing Specialist at the Housing Assistance Council in Washington, D.C. A native of South Texas, he has worked in the field of community and economic development at a local, regional, and national level. He is a graduate of Cornell University.*

Thirty-six agricultural communities in the state of Coahuila, Mexico, harvest the new growth of the wild *lechuguilla*, an abundant, fibrous desert plant. Mrs. Martínez dries the processed fiber in the patio of her house.

Treinta y seis comunidades agrícolas en el estado de Coahuila, México, cosechan el brote nuevo de la lechuguilla, una planta fibrosa que abunda en el desierto. La Sra. Martínez recoge la fibra de lechuguilla en el patio de secado que tiene en su casa.

Photo by/foto de Imelda Castro Santillán



# El Conocimiento tradicional en la cuenca del Río Grande/Río Bravo

por Victor Hernández



De la cabecera a la boca del Río Grande/Río Bravo, la diversidad medio ambiental de la cuenca desafía métodos convencionales de la administración de la tierra y el agua. Años de experiencia y adaptación en cada región del río han creado una base de conocimientos tradicionales que le sirven a la gente local para manejar con eficacia y aprovechar al máximo sus recursos naturales. Combinando técnicas tradicionales con modos de trabajo no-tradicionales, los residentes de la cuenca desarrollan sus propias formas para administrar el agua y la tierra eficazmente.

En el norte de Nuevo México se encuentran los ranchos centenarios creados por las mercedes españolas. Son lotes angostos que se extienden de la ribera del río y pueden llegar a medir hasta 40 kilómetros de largo. Introducido a mitades del siglo XIX, este sistema ribereño aprovecha las diferentes micro-ecologías de la región. Un sistema de acequias abastece eficazmente el agua del río a las diferentes áreas de los ranchos y sirve para reforzar la identidad y colaboración comunal. Durante la limpieza de acequias en la primavera, todos participan. En muchas comunidades, las primeras aguas se celebran con una bendición y una procesión en honor de San Isidro Labrador, santo patrón de la agricultura. Hoy en día, estas acequias de origen indígena e hispano se combinan con sistemas de irrigación contemporáneos para manejar el abastecimiento de la escasa agua de la región.

La ganadería en las llanuras del sur de Texas empieza aproximadamente en 1750. Esta tierra aislada y árida se presta para muy poco más. Los primeros colonizadores trajeron un conocimiento de ganadería que había estado evolucionando en España y México durante siete siglos. Aquí rancheros usan técnicas tradicionales que han sido puestas a prueba a través de los años, un tipo de metodología científica vernacular, y estrategias enseñadas en universidades.

Rancheros incorporan tecnologías nuevas para simplificar el trabajo, pero no todas las mejorías modernas han funcionado como esperado. El helicóptero es mas eficiente que el vaquero para juntar el ganado pero una vez que las vacas se acostumbran al helicóptero lo evaden.

Consecuentemente, los rancheros contratan a vaqueros jubilados para acompañar a los pilotos y ayudarlos a encontrar las vacas perdidas. El conocimiento extenso del vaquero de la tierra y de la psicología del ganado no se puede reemplazar con avances tecnológicos.

En la cuenca del río Conchos además de la cría de ganado, los rancheros aprovechan las temporadas de lluvia para cultivar sandía, chile, jitomate entre otros vegetales a las orillas del río. Siempre hay riesgo de inundación, pero con el tiempo los rancheros han aprendido a medir el río para calcular cuando conviene sembrar.

En el frágil Desierto de Chihuahua, el conocimiento tradicional se preserva a través de la artesanía local. La Dirección de Ecología del Estado de Coahuila está colaborando con residentes locales en proyectos que aprovechan los recursos naturales del desierto, rescatando tradiciones de jardinería que protegen el medio ambiente a la vez que proporcionan beneficios económicos.

En la boca del río se encuentra el estanque camaronero más grande del país, desarrollado alrededor de 1950 por los Cajunes de Luisiana que emigraron al sur de Texas. Hoy en día, los camaroneros usan la tecnología electrónica para navegar y para detectar escuelas de camarón, pero los principios básicos de la industria continúan



La acequia, "portadora de agua" en árabe, forma parte de un sistema de irrigación de compuertas y canales que trajeron los españoles a Nuevo México. Los miembros de la comunidad se organizan cada año para limpiarlas. Esta actividad generalmente es acompañada por una ceremonia de la bendición de las aguas.

The *acequia*, or "water carrier" in Arabic, forms part of an irrigation system of locks and canals brought by the Spanish to New Mexico. Community members organize themselves every year to clean out these earth-banked ditches. The activity is often accompanied by a water-blessing ceremony.

Foto de/photo by Charles Weber

siendo aquellos que perduran desde los primeros años de este oficio.

Manejar los recursos naturales de la cuenca del Río Grande/Río Bravo implica una constante respuesta a los cambios del medio ambiente. Los avances tecnológicos no resultan necesariamente en prácticas más eficaces, ni en una mejor calidad de vida. Una administración efectiva requiere que mantengamos una variedad de opciones y la pérdida de conocimientos tradicionales significa su disminución. Arnold Herrera del Pueblo Cochiti observa, "Las personas tradicionales tienen lecciones importantes que ofrecer a las sociedades industrializadas".

Traducido por Edme Pernia and Ileana C. Adam

# The Spirit of the Río Grande/Río Bravo: Land, Water, and Cultural Identity

by Enrique R. Lamadrid

In an arid land, home is always by the water. In Colorado, New Mexico, South Texas, and the northern fringe of the Mexican border states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas, home in the most primordial sense is the valley of a bounteous river that cuts an 1,800-

mile course through the largest desert in North America. A dozen cultures and languages over the centuries have named it: Po'soge — the “big river”; Río Grande — the “great river”; Río Bravo — the “wild and brave river.” To the most ancient inhabitants of the watershed, the river was a living



New Mexico *matachines* perform for numerous religious events, including the blessing of an *acequia* (irrigation ditch), saints' days, and, occasionally, funerals. Los matachines de Nuevo México se presentan en numerosos eventos religiosos, incluyendo la bendición de la acequia, los días de los santos y, en ocasiones, en funerales.

Photo by/foto de Peter García



being, a life-giving serpent, sometimes quick and transparent, sometimes lethargic and the color of clay.

Since all human beings need to be by the water, the banks of this river are by definition a contested space. The *españoles mexicanos* or Spanish Mexicans, as they called themselves, arrived in the 16th century with all the fury and repressed desire of the Spanish peasant to possess the land. The price of arrogance was paid in blood in 1680 when the Río Grande Pueblo Indians arose and reclaimed their spiritual heritage. Afterwards, in the space of a few generations, the newcomers who sought title to the land were instead possessed by the land. As they mixed culture and blood with the natives, they too became indigenous to this place. The boundaries of the Campo Santo, their Sacred Ground, spread past the narrow churchyards and the bones of the dead towards valleys, plains, and mountains beyond. The greatest Native contribution to Mestizo or mixed-culture belief systems is their expansive sense of sacred space, that the earth itself is holy.

In the center of this sacred landscape are the Native and Mestizo peoples who have survived the rigors of the northern desert and the cost of each other's desire. They are dancing. The *matachines'* dance drama portrays the cultural and spiritual struggle between Spanish and Native cultures and is the prime example of Indo-Hispanic cultural synthesis in the entire region. The ritual dance drama is staged on key feast days in all seasons. It is often performed along the river itself and the banks of the *acequias*, or irrigation canals, which carry its life-giving water. In all probability the dance was brought to the northern borderlands by the Tlaxcalan Indians who accompanied the Spanish Mexican colonists on their trip north. It is performed throughout the region today.

From Taos to El Paso, from the mountains of Chihuahua to the plains of Laredo, the *matachines* step in unison to the insistent but gentle music of drums and rattles, guitars and violins. The fluttering ribbons that hang from their crowns and

shoulders are the colors of the rainbow. In proud formation, they do battle against chaos and re-enact the terms of their own capitulation. The *toro*, a small boy dressed as a bull, runs wild through their lines. With three-pronged-lightning swords they carve the wind in symmetrical arabesques.

Christian souls or Aztec spirits, they dance in graceful reconciliation, now in crosses, now in lines. In their midst a great king receives the counsel of a little girl. She is Malinche. Elsewhere her name is synonymous with betrayal, but she is no traitor here. At the edges of the fray the *abuelos*, or grotesque grandfathers, guard the dancers, make fun of the people, and ridicule the new order. These old men of the mountains taunt and overpower the *toro*. They kill and castrate the *toro*. They cast its seed to the joyful crowd. Have they vanquished evil, as the people say, or has the savage bull of European empire met its consummation? *Gracias a Dios*, thank God, it is a mystery, we all agree. Legend says that long ago Moctezuma himself flew north in the form of a bird with bad news and good advice. He warned that bearded foreigners were on their way north, but if the people mastered this dance, the strangers would learn to respect them, would join the dance, and come to be just like them. A hard-won cultural tolerance and understanding are the greatest blessings of the people of the Río Grande/Río Bravo.

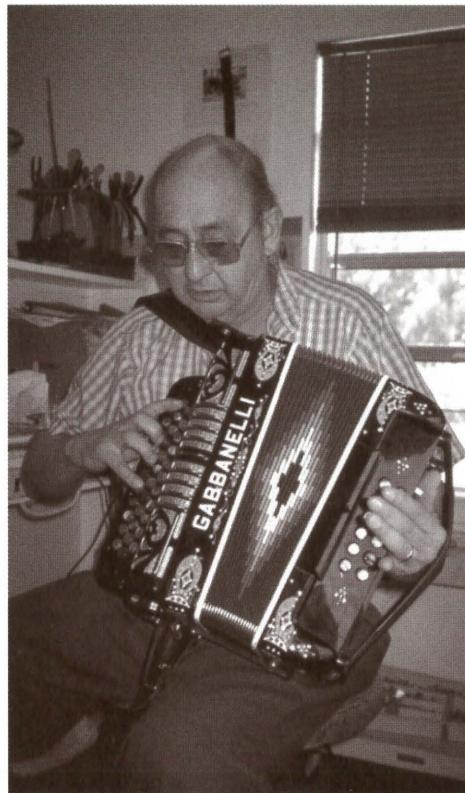
The greatest blessings of the land itself are rain and river water. The desert environment shapes the faith of its inhabitants. In the Pueblo world, clouds are the kachina spirits of ancestors returning and are always welcome since they bring rain and snow. Petitions for rain were prayed and sung to Christian saints like San Isidro (Saint Isidore the Husbandman), San Juan Bautista (Saint John the Baptist), and the Holy Child. Like the makers of kachina images, the *santeros* or saint makers still carve their holy images from the root of the cottonwood, a holy tree revered for its association with water.

When water blessed the fields, another cultural synthesis took place in the valleys. Native American corn, beans, and squash held their ground beside the wheat, legumes, and fruit trees introduced by the Europeans. The chiles and tomatoes of central Mexico found their way north as well to add their piquant flavors to the local diet. The most famous staple of the northlands is as hybrid as its peoples — the fluffy wheat tortilla gives a New World shape and texture to an Old World grain. Of all the elements of human culture, food is the first to be shared across cultural and ethnic boundaries.

By far the greatest changes on the land were wrought by the domestic animals that came north with the colonists. Horses, cows, pigs, goats, and sheep quickly became emblems of European culture, and missionaries used them to upset the power of Native hunting societies and their priests. Besides mobility and meat, the other animal products like wool and weaving technology brought revolutionary change to Native lifestyles.

The horse, which made exploration and trade possible, also upset the political balance in the northlands. When nomadic Native tribes such as Apaches and Comanches acquired horses, their pedestrian hunting and gathering ways changed forever. With horses they mobilized, refined the arts of equestrian warfare, and became a force to be reckoned with.

The lush mesquite forests of the lower Río Grande/Río Bravo were the perfect environment to support large numbers of wild cattle. The first phase of the development of ranching was cattle hunting. Whenever meat was needed, hunters salied out on horseback with *reatas*, or lariats, and *media lunas*, or pole-mounted hocking blades, to immobilize and slaughter their prey. Only when the population grew did the concept of cattle ownership develop, along with the culture of the *vaquero* or Mexican cowboy, fully equipped with the knowledge and technology of large-scale stock management. The ecosystems of the upper Río



Amadeo Flores, a *conjunto* musician from South Texas, started playing accordion in 1947. "We used to play around the neighborhood," he remembers. German immigrants introduced the accordion to northern Mexico and South Texas sometime in the 1860s or 1870s, and *mexicano* musicians used it to create related but distinctive musics, *conjunto* in South Texas and *norteño* in Mexico.

Amadeo Flores, músico de conjunto del sur de Texas, empezó a tocar el acordeón en 1947. "Acostumbrábamos tocar en el vecindario," recuerda. Inmigrantes alemanes introdujeron el acordeón al norte de México y al sur de Texas entre 1860 y 1870, y los músicos mexicanos lo usaron para crear su propia música, conocida como "norteña" en México y "conjunto" en el sur de Texas. Photo by/Foto de Cynthia Vidaurri

Grande/Río Bravo were more fragile, and four centuries of grazing resulted in desertification, degradation of grasslands, and the loss of several feet of topsoil. Fortunately, the introduction of alfalfa helped offset this damage and fertilize the fields.

There is, in the valleys of the Río Grande/Río Bravo, a highly developed sense of place and cultural identity that the people themselves describe as "*querencia*," a folk term from the Spanish verb *querer*, to want or desire. *Querencia*



is a deep, personal, even spiritual attachment to place which collectively defines a homeland. Although in 1848 a national border was imposed along the lower Río Grande/Río Bravo, the sense of *querencia* is intact. Far from the centers of national power, this bio-region developed its own unique culture. As the pressures of urbanization and international commerce strain the ecological resources of the valley, some important lessons can be learned from the Native and Mestizo communities, who know how to survive in the desert. Their cultural and environmental knowledge can help meet the challenges of the future.

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The history and environment of the Río Conchos, the main tributary of the Río Grande/Río Bravo, which flows through the desert in the Mexican state of Chihuahua, is captured by muralist Luis Román. The mural illustrates how the spirit of the people who have lived on this frontier has made it bloom. La historia y el medio ambiente del Río Conchos, el tributario principal del Río Bravo/Río Grande que corre a través del desierto de Chihuahua, son captados por el muralista Luis Román. El mural ilustra el espíritu de la gente de esta frontera que la ha hecho florecer. Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval



# El Espíritu del Río Grande/Río Bravo: Tierra, Agua e Identidad Cultural

por Enrique R. Lamadrid

**E**n una tierra árida, el hogar siempre se sitúa cerca del agua. En Colorado, Nuevo México, el sur de Texas y la franja norte de los estados fronterizos de Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León y Tamaulipas, el hogar en su sentido más primordial es el valle de un caudaloso río que recorre 2,898 kilómetros a través del desierto más grande de Norte América. Para los primeros habitantes de la cuenca, el río era un ser viviente, una serpiente dadora de vida; a veces rápida y transparente, y otras veces letárgica y color de arcilla.

Como todos los seres humanos necesitan estar cerca del agua, las orillas de este río son por definición un espacio disputado. Los españoles mexicanos, como se nombraban ellos mismos, llegaron en el siglo XVI con toda la furia y deseos reprimidos del campesino español de poseer tierras. El precio de su arrogancia fue pagado con sangre en 1680 cuando los indígenas Pueblo se levantaron y reclamaron su herencia espiritual. A medida que su cultura y su sangre se mezclaban con los indígenas, los españoles mexicanos también se convirtieron en nativos en este lugar. La mayor contribución de los indígenas a los mestizos ha sido su sentido expansivo del espacio sagrado; la tierra misma es sagrada.

Al centro de este espacio sagrado están los indígenas y los mestizos que han sobrevivido los rigores del desierto y el precio de sus deseos. Están bailando. La danza ritual de los matachines presenta la batalla cultural y espiritual entre la

cultura española y la indígena, y es el ejemplo principal de la síntesis cultural indo-hispana de la región. De Taos a El Paso, de las montañas de Chihuahua a las planicies de Laredo, los matachines danzan al insistente pero suave compás de tambores y guajes, guitarras y violines. La leyenda cuenta que hace mucho tiempo Moctezuma voló al norte en forma de pájaro con malas noticias y buenos consejos. Advirtió que unos extranjeros barbudos venían en el camino al norte, pero si la gente dominaba esta danza, los extranjeros aprenderían a respetarlos, se unirían al baile y llegarían a ser como ellos. El entendimiento y tolerancia cultural son las mayores bendiciones de la gente del Río Grande/Río Bravo.

Las mayores bendiciones de la tierra misma son la lluvia y el agua del río. El desierto determina la fe de sus habitantes. En el mundo Pueblo, las nubes son los espíritus kachina de los ancestros que regresan y son siempre bienvenidos, ya que traen lluvia y nieve. Se cantaban y recitaban peticiones de lluvia a santos cristianos como San Isidro, San Juan Bautista y el Santo Niño. Como los talladores de kachinas, los santeros también tallan las imágenes sagradas de la raíz del álamo, un árbol sagrado venerado por su asociación con el agua.

En los valles del Río Grande/Río Bravo hay un gran sentido de lugar y de identidad cultural que la gente misma describe como “querencia”. La querencia es una profunda conexión personal y



espiritual con el terruño, el hogar que colectivamente se define como patria chica. Aunque en 1848 una frontera nacional fue impuesta a lo largo de la parte sur del Río Grande/Río Bravo, el sentido de querencia quedó intacto. Lejos de los centros nacionales de poder, esta bio-región desarrolló una cultura propia y única. Mientras las presiones de urbanización y comercio internacional agotan los recursos ecológicos del valle, algunas lecciones importantes se pueden aprender de las comunidades indígenas y mestizas que han aprendido a sobrevivir en el desierto. Su conocimiento cultural y ambiental puede ayudar a enfrentar los desafíos del futuro.

*Traducio por el autor*

La educación bilingüe rarámuri-español sirve de apoyo a la identidad cultural del los Rarámuri — un grupo indígena del estado de Chihuahua también conocido como Tarahumara — que han migrado del la sierra a Ciudad Juárez.

Bilingual Rarámuri-Spanish education helps support the cultural identity of the Rarámuri — a group native to the Mexican state of Chihuahua and also known as Tarahumara — who have migrated from their mountain homes to the border city of Ciudad Juárez. Foto de/photo by Genevieve Mooser

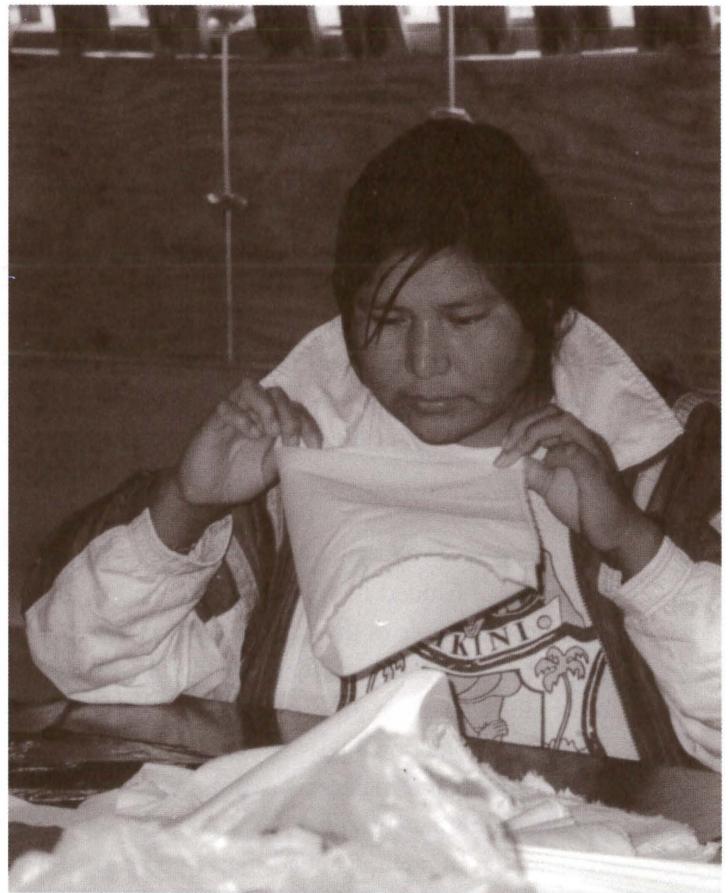


Maclovia Zamora collects many of the herbs she sells in her *hierbería*, or medicinal herb store, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Maclovia Zamora recolecta ella misma muchas de las hierbas que vende en su hierbería en Albuquerque, Nuevo México.

Photo by/foto de Molly Timko

Marta Cruz Moreno embroiders kitchen towels with Rarámuri designs for the tourist trade in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. The Rarámuri are a native group in Chihuahua living in the Sierra Madre Mountains. Many have been forced to migrate to urban areas in order to earn a living. Marta Cruz Moreno borda unos paños de cocina con diseños rarámuri para vender a los turistas en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Los Rarámuri son un grupo indígena en Chihuahua que vive en la Sierra Madre. Muchos han sido obligados a emigrar a zonas urbanas para ganarse la vida.

Photo by/foto de Cynthia Vidaurre





# Making a Living in the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

by Erin Martin Ross

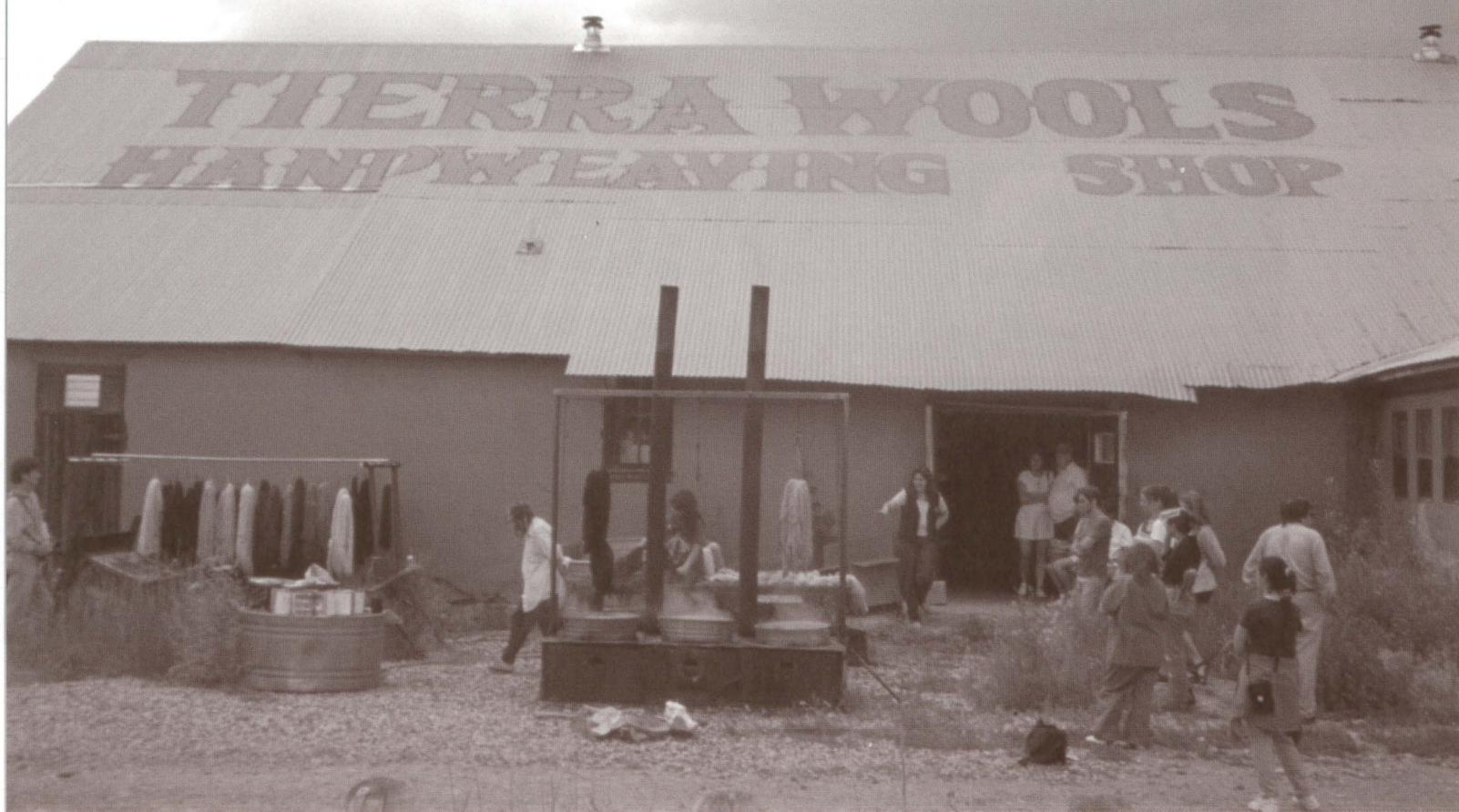
From street-food vendors to international collaboratives, border businesses often succeed by incorporating elements of their regional culture into the commercial process. Juan Caudillo, who comes from generations of piñata makers, runs his business from his home in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas; Jesusita Valenzuela Ramírez de Jiménez builds homes with adobe in the Big Bend region of Texas; while the Tierra Wools weaving cooperative uses wool from the churro sheep originally brought to New Mexico by the Spanish settlers. All of these enterprises rely on regional traditions, knowledge, and experience. They incorporate regional culture into the processes, materials, and forms of organization, which work well for their businesses and fit comfortably within their communities. The strong sense of confidence and self-reliance in these communities enables local small businesses to integrate new materials and technologies without losing their sense of place and value. Many of these enterprises are “sustainable,” showing promise that they can be maintained over a long period of time without degrading the social and natural environments. The family-owned brick-making businesses of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, are an interesting example of this kind of local business, especially as they manage their collaboration with the Southwest Center for Environmental Research and Policy, a binational research organization trying to develop and maintain environmentally friendly economic enterprises.

On any given day in Ciudad Juárez you can see

dark clouds rising like steam from the city’s dirt-encrusted brickyards. These are the clouds of smoke that billow upward from the tops of more than 400 family-owned kilns, the sooty manifestation of an age-old craft that today maintains the industrial momentum of a modern border city. Ciudad Juárez, a metropolis of 1.7 million people, is known for its bustling *maquiladoras*, the enormous manufacturing plants that employ more than 550,000 people in labor-intensive assembly operations. The *maquiladora* industry has grown in Juárez and with it, the need for commercial bricks.

By most standards, Juárez bricks are light in color and porous to moisture. Their touch is coarse and sandy. A Juárez brick is not like the smooth red bricks of the Northeast, the yellow bricks of the Rocky Mountains, or even the unfired adobes of the American Southwest. A Juárez brick is produced expressly for the climate and building conditions of the U.S.-Mexican border.

For obvious reasons, the thermal properties of border bricks must meet the practical needs of a border lifestyle. A good brick must be porous enough to slow the transfer of heat during the intensely hot summer months yet capture and retain internal heat during the winter. A good brick must be heavy, but need not support more than a two-story structure, as tall buildings are incompatible with the warm border climate. Ideally, a good brick represents a perfect adaptation for a sustainable border lifestyle. It is an ideal



material for both the long, low walls of manufacturing plants and the shady patios and heat-resistant walls of Juárez homes.

As a rule, Juárez bricks are used to build walls — long or short in length, tall or short in height. Bricks are rarely used for corner support or for structural foundations, where other materials are believed to be better suited. The brick walls of Juárez are often erected using a mixture of mortar and sand. Typically, a coat of stucco is applied to brick work for aesthetic reasons.

Brick makers, or *ladrilleros* as they are known in the border region, produce bricks chiefly in two sizes: *tabiques*, or large ten-pound bricks, are produced for larger, commercial structures; *ladrillos*, or small five-pound bricks, are designed for constructing smaller structures.

Juárez bricks come in varying shades of color —

Founded as a cooperative in 1983 with a philosophy of local control of land and resources, Tierra Wools has revived the region's weaving traditions, rescued the almost extinct *churro* sheep, and provided jobs to local residents.

Fundada en 1983, con la filosofía de control local de tierras y recursos, Tierra Wools ha revivido la tradición de tejido de la región, ha rescatado la casi extinta oveja churro y proporcionado trabajo para residentes locales.

Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval

often a light pink or pale yellow — according to the sand and clay used in their manufacture. Although these bricks have slightly different structural properties, the color of the brick chosen for a particular building is more often than not determined by the aesthetic preference of the brick buyer.

Brick making is a significant cultural and economic activity in the border region of the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin. In Juárez alone, municipi-



In the border city of Juárez, over 450 family-owned kilns fire bricks commercially. A typical family-owned brickyard contains a small family home, a kiln, and a large open area for drying bricks in the sun.

En Ciudad Juárez, más de 450 familias tienen hornos para cocer ladrillos comerciales. Una ladrillera típica de una familia consiste en una pequeña casa, un horno y un espacio grande para secar los ladrillos al sol.

Photo/foto de Michael Kiernan/MKimages, courtesy Southwest Center for Environmental Research and Policy

pal officials estimate that more than 450 families own and operate commercial kilns, each producing an average of 10,000 bricks per week.

As with many commercial operations, there is an art to the process. Determining the temperature of the flames, assessing the moisture content of the bricks, discovering the length of time for drying a pile of bricks — all these require a sensitivity to process, place, and aesthetics. Underlying the art is the economics of brick making: cracked and ugly bricks don't sell.

When you enter a Juárez brickyard, the smoke may appear dirty and the brick makers sooty or covered in dust. But make no mistake; there is pride and satisfaction among those who practice this craft. The regional business of firing a mixture

of sand, clay, and water to produce a useful and sound construction material for sale is gratifying to the brick maker and his family.

The ancient craft of brick making precedes written history, and today, it supports many families of the Third World. In the U.S.-Mexican border region brick making is a revealing "way-in" to the regional culture, in which we see evidence of the dynamism, spirit, and pragmatism of the people of the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin. Making bricks is a lesson in regional culture and economics.

*Erin Martin Ross is Chairwoman of the Southwest Center for Environmental Research and Policy.*

# Ganándose la vida en la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande

por Erin Martin Ross

De vendedores ambulantes de comida a cooperativas internacionales, las empresas de la frontera generalmente tienen éxito cuando incorporan elementos de su cultura regional al proceso comercial. Juan Caudillo, que viene de generaciones de piñateros, maneja su negocio desde su casa en Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas; Jesusita Valenzuela Ramírez de Jiménez construye casas de adobe en la región de Big Bend en Texas; mientras que la cooperativa Tierra Wools usa la lana del borrego churro que llegó a Nuevo México traído por los españoles. Cada una de estas empresas depende de las tradiciones, conocimientos y experiencias regionales. Incorporan la cultura regional al proceso de trabajo, a los materiales y a las formas de organización de tal manera que beneficien sus negocios y armonizan con sus comunidades. El sentido de confianza y auto-dependencia en estas comunidades hacen posible que los pequeños negocios integren nuevos materiales y tecnologías sin

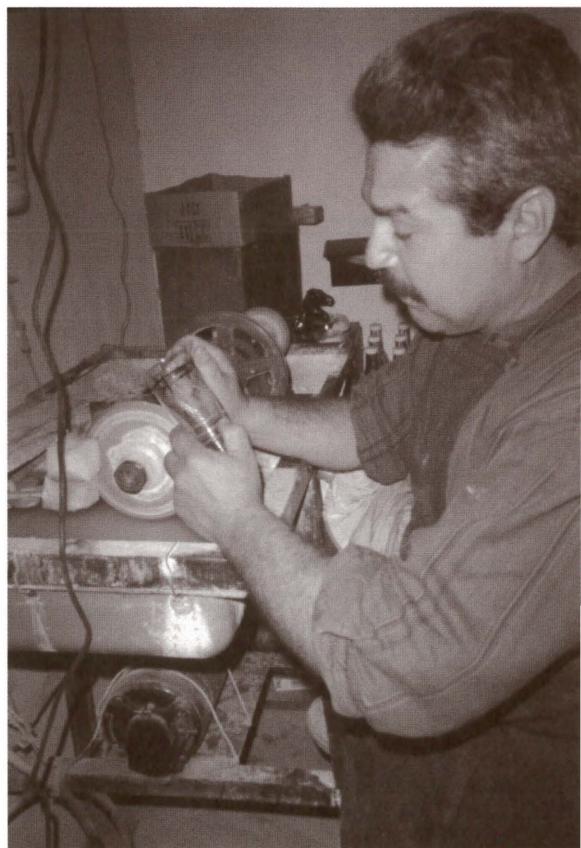
perder su sentido de lugar y ética. Muchas de estas empresas se pueden considerar "sostenibles" o sea que prometen mantenerse a través del tiempo sin degradar el medio ambiente social y natural. Las ladrilleras de Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, negocio de familia, son un ejemplo de este tipo de empresa local, particularmente por la manera en que colaboran con el Centro del Suroeste para Política e Investigación Ambiental, una organi-

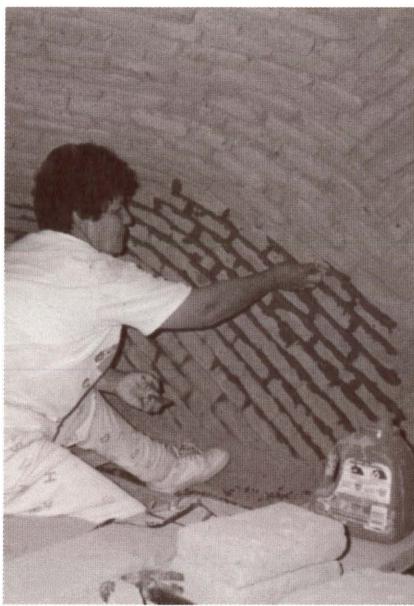
Angel Medina Tobías tiene su propio negocio de vidrio grabado a mano en Bustamante, Nuevo León, en México.

A pesar de varios tropiezos económicos, ha persistido en su propio negocio. Nos explica que "a uno se le hace fácil pero sobre la marcha se va aprendiendo".

Angel Medina Tobías runs his small, hand-etched glass business in Bustamante, Nuevo León, Mexico. He has persisted through many economic setbacks and explains that although one may think owning one's own business is easy, "you learn by doing it."

Foto de/photo by Héctor Guerrero





En Presidio, Texas, y alrededores, Jesusita Valenzuela Ramírez construye casas de adobe. Ha aprendido la técnica del maestro arquitecto egipcio Hassan Fathy para hacer techos abovedados que no requieren vigas de madera.

Adobe maker Jesusita Valenzuela Ramírez builds houses in Presidio, Texas, and in the surrounding communities. She has learned to build with the domed-roof techniques of the Egyptian adobe master architect Hassan Fathy, which require no wooden beams.

Foto cortesía/photo courtesy Jesusita Valenzuela Ramírez

zación binacional de investigación que está tratando de desarrollar y mantener industrias favorables al medio ambiente.

Cualquier día en Ciudad Juárez uno puede ver nubes oscuras que surgen como vapor sobre los polvosos patios ladrilleros. Estas son las nubes de humo que flotan sobre más de 400 chimeneas de las empresas ladrilleras pertenecientes a familias y que con su hollín manifiestan un oficio centenario que hoy en día mantiene el

ímpetu industrial de una ciudad moderna en la frontera. Ciudad Juárez, una metrópolis de 1.7 millón de gente, se conoce por sus maquiladoras, enormes fábricas que emplean más de 555.000 gente en trabajo intensivo de ensamblaje de piezas. La industria maquiladora ha crecido en Juárez y con ella la demanda de ladrillo comercial.

Las propiedades térmicas del ladrillo en la frontera responden a las necesidades prácticas de vida de la región. Un buen ladrillo tiene que ser lo suficientemente poroso para transferir el calor durante los meses intensamente calurosos del verano pero también poder absorber y mantener el calor durante el invierno. Un buen ladrillo debe ser pesado pero sin tener que aguantar una estructura de más de dos pisos ya que los edificios altos

no son compatibles con el clima caliente de la frontera. Un buen ladrillo representa la adaptación perfecta a un estilo de vida sostenible en la frontera. Es un material ideal tanto para los extensos muros bajos de las fábricas como para los patios sombreados y muros resistentes al calor de las casas de Juárez.

Las ladrilleras representan un importante oficio cultural y económico en la región fronteriza de la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande. Solamente en Juárez, el municipio calcula que hay más de 450 familias que son dueñas de y operan hornos comerciales, cada uno produciendo un promedio de 10.000 ladrillos a la semana.

Como en muchas operaciones comerciales, el proceso es un arte. Hay que determinar la temperatura de la flama, asesorar el contenido de humedad del ladrillo, descubrir el tiempo para secar una cantidad de ladrillo — todo esto requiere sensibilidad al proceso, al espacio y a la estética. Dentro del arte se encuentra la economía del oficio ya que ladrillos cuarteados y de aspecto feo no se venden.

Cuando uno entra a una ladrillera en Juárez el humo puede parecer sucio y los ladrilleros polvosos y cubiertos de hollín. Pero hay un gran orgullo y satisfacción para los que practican este oficio. En esta región, el trabajo consiste en el horneado de arena, lodo y agua y la producción de materiales de construcción de calidad para la venta que son de gran satisfacción para el ladrillero y su familia.

La fabricación de ladrillo es un oficio antiguo. Su práctica precede la historia escrita. Hoy en día, se practica en casi todos los rincones del mundo y provee una fuente económica a muchas familias del tercer mundo. Las ladrilleras ofrecen un puente de entrada a la cultura regional donde se ve la evidencia del dinamismo, del espíritu y del pragmatismo de la gente de la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande. El proceso de hacer ladrillos es una lección en la cultura regional y económica.

Traducido por Edme Pernia and Ileana C. Adam



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For many South Texans, ranching is both an economic enterprise and a valued lifestyle. Rancheros blend traditional and modern knowledge, techniques, and equipment as they strive to keep a balance between financial profit and ways of life that have satisfied human needs for centuries.

Para muchos del sur de Texas, el rancho es una empresa económica y también un estilo de vida. Los rancheros combinan el conocimiento tradicional y moderno, técnicas y equipo para lograr un equilibrio entre la ganancia y un modo de vida que ha satisfecho las necesidades humanas por siglos. Photo by/foto de Javier Salazar

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