

## Appendix F: A Short History of Human Traffic in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, 1937-2001

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In recent years, the dramatic increase in clandestine human traffic transiting the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument has developed into the Monument's most critical resource issue.<sup>1</sup> However, the movement of peoples through the area of the Sonoran Desert, which is now Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, is not a recent phenomenon. The presence of limited natural water sources and the contour of the landscape have dictated human routes in the area for hundreds of years.

The border region between Mexico and the United States represents a unique space; it is the only global dividing line between a First and Third World country. Century old migration ties between the two nations persist due to continued economic discrepancies. But since the 1990s, unprecedented numbers of undocumented aliens (UDAs) are choosing the Monument as a crossing point in their strategy to enter the United States. It is the increased human presence, both illegal traffic and law enforcement, which have contributed to the current alteration of the Monument landscape. However, it is the perception of this space and its administration as a wilderness area, which have made the changes in the land so apparent.

### Establishing Routes

Archeological evidence points to the early development and long-term use of several trails within the modern Monument

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<sup>1</sup> Environmental concerns were expressed by Bill Wellman (Monument superintendent), Bryan Milstead, (Ecological Monitoring Coordinator), and Dale Thompson (Chief Ranger) in an interview with the author March 29, 2002.

boundaries. In particular, the presence of a major north-south route connecting water sources in the eastern portion of the Monument indicates consistent travel between what are now Sonora, Mexico and Arizona. One of the most staid historic trails in the Monument, it reflects use by numerous cultures from as early as 1500BC through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hohokam shell collecting expeditions trod the path from present day Central Arizona to the Sea of Cortez, the Tohono O'odham people utilized the route to collect sea salt from the same body of water, and later the same route was adopted by Spanish, Mexican, and finally Anglo inhabitants of the Sonoran Desert region from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

The conquest of Mexico by the Spanish Empire enhanced the tradition of movement and connection between interior Mexico and its northern frontier. *El Camino del Diablo*, or the Devil's Highway, which passes just to the south and east of the Monument, became one of many arteries of travel and trade between towns in northern Mexico and the villages and presidios of the *Pimaría Alta*.<sup>3</sup> After the Mexican Revolution, political control of Arizona lands passed from Spain to Mexico in 1820, and finally to the United States through the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. American ownership of the land south of the Gila River established a new international boundary in the

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<sup>2</sup> Rankin, Adrienne G. "Archeological Survey at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Southwestern Arizona: 1989-1991". Special report prepared for the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service (Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1995), 365-371.

<sup>3</sup> Wyllys, Rufus K. *Arizona; The History of a Frontier*. Phoenix: Hobson & Herr, 1950, 268.

Southwest where none had existed before, bisecting traditional human travel corridors.

New economic opportunities quickly developed with Arizona's new ties to American enterprise. From 1876 to 1911, Mexican leadership committed the country to a program of economic modernization whereby the Mexican government sold or gave large tracts of land to investors. The removal of these communal lands resulted in an epidemic of landlessness among Mexico's rural population. In order to alleviate their poverty, these displaced peoples began seeking wage labor opportunities in the United States. By the 1890s, pacification of the Apache Indians and the construction of American owned railroad spurs into Mexico provided unprecedented transportation for Mexican laborers to reach employment opportunities in American railroad, agricultural, and mining industries. The penetration of railroad lines into the Western Plateau region of Mexico encouraged American labor recruiters to target the states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán, the primary source states of migration to the U.S. for the remainder of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Soon, large numbers of undocumented Mexican workers regularly crossed the U.S.-Mexican border establishing a pattern of seasonal return migration that would become a part of Mexican culture.<sup>4</sup>

In the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the central Arizona borderlands experienced an increase in human traffic. After the opening of the Ajo copper mine in 1917, currents of Mexican migrant traffic accelerated through

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<sup>4</sup> Cardoso, Lawrence. Mexican Emigration to the United States; 1897-1931. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), 18-19.

lands now encompassed by the Monument.<sup>5</sup> At least by the 1920s, the increased and regularized movement of people precipitated the building and maintenance of a principal road between Ajo, Arizona and Sonoyta, Mexico that evolved into Arizona Highway 85.<sup>6</sup> Mexican and American bootleggers engaged in a brisk cross-border illegal alcohol trade in the Ajo vicinity, often skirting authorities in the vast undeveloped desert.<sup>7</sup> In 1917, one Ajo local observed the "great many roads leading to Mexico" in the Ajo area reflecting the increase in transnational movement.<sup>8</sup> During this period, several ranchers began operation in the Organ Pipe area. The Gray family began a cattle business in 1919 that lasted well into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The Gray men worked their cattle on both sides of the border, recalling that the "Mexican border didn't amount to nothing" in the years before the cessation of the *Bracero* program.<sup>9</sup> Like the legal and illegal Mexican workers, the Gray brothers passed back and forth across a porous border running their cattle between Ajo and Sonoyta.

Prior to 1924, U.S. customs officials provided little effective international border regulation in the Southwest. Growing concern over Mexican immigration, particularly the smuggling of Chinese immigrants through Mexico, prompted the Commissioner General of Immigration to assign a token force of inspectors to patrol

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<sup>5</sup> Harner, John P. "Patterns and Processes of Undocumented Mexican Migration to Arizona". Master's thesis (Arizona State University, 1993), 45.

<sup>6</sup> Road repair reported in the *Ajo Copper News*, February 10, 1923.

<sup>7</sup> Based on over 20 newspaper articles addressing instances of bootlegging found in the *Ajo Copper News*, 1916-1945.

<sup>8</sup> Excerpt from article on C.H. Lester, firewood distributor between Yuma and Tucson, AZ, *Ajo Copper News*, May 26, 1917.

<sup>9</sup> Bobby Gray, transcript of interview by William Werrell, January 1975; 15. Transcript housed in the office of Organ Pipe Cactus Plant Ecologist.

the entire U.S.-Mexico Border beginning in 1904<sup>10</sup> Fanned by national anti-immigration sentiment, the Johnson-Reid Act of 1924 both imposed an immigrant quota system and created the United States Border Patrol, the first permanent border authority assigned to begin shoring up America's perimeters against an increasing "immigrant tide". This directive introduced a new law enforcement presence in the U.S.-Mexico border region. However, the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 greatly reduced migrant flow from Mexico as many laborers remained in their own country for lack of work in the United States. Significant northward movement of workers did not resume until the WWII induced labor shortages of the following decade.<sup>11</sup>

During the relatively quiet period of migrant flow on the Southwest border, politicians and conservationists took an active interest in the desert landscape around Ajo. Once regarded as a barren tract on the national periphery, scientists argued for the value of preserving a section of Sonoran Desert terrain as open space.<sup>12</sup> After Washington had marked a reservation for the Tohono O'odham Nation in 1874, land along the border west of the reservation had remained largely open range. In 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt invoked the Antiquities Act of 1906 to transform a 331,000 section of land abutting the reservation to the west into Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. Two years later, congress established the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge neighboring the Monument, and in 1940 the U.S. Department of Defense acquired the remaining surrounding land into the

Barry Goldwater Airforce Range. Within four years, federal authorities had remade land management divisions along the western portion of the Arizona-Mexico border, significantly altering the administration of the desert acreage. Increased federal presence did not immediately affect the fixed human transit patterns in the region, but established new administration practices and perceptions of land values.

Upon his arrival in 1939, the first custodian of the Monument, William Supernaugh, found a landscape marked by countless years of human movement through the area. He was so impressed with the travel networks manifest in the desert landscape that he made a notation of the "many miles of car trails just winding through the desert" in his first monthly report.<sup>13</sup> In 1939, Supernaugh initiated the construction of a perimeter fence for the Monument. The fencing project ostensibly targeted the exclusion of hunters, woodcutters, and stray stock, not the prevention of undocumented migration flows.<sup>14</sup>

### **The Southwest Border and WWII**

The outbreak of WWII renewed the American need for Mexican labor as thousands of young men left the U.S. to fight overseas. The 1942 initiation of the cooperative labor agreement between the United States and Mexican governments known as the *Bracero* Program arranged for temporary legal entry into the U.S. for Mexican workers. Because of the persistence of rural poverty in the region, over 50% of the *Bracero* contracts were

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<sup>10</sup> Harner, 118-120.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>12</sup> Rothman, Hal. *Preserving Different Pasts; The American National Monuments*. (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1989): 170-171.

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<sup>13</sup> Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument.

"Superintendent's Monthly Report, October 1939". Photocopies of original reports are located in the Monument library while the originals reside at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, AZ.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* Sup Monthly report May 1939

awarded to inhabitants of the states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán, thereby reinforcing the out-migration from that region. These established networks have influenced migration patterns clear through the 1990s.<sup>15</sup>

The presence of military and Border Patrol personnel along the Southwest border grew during the War years. Intensified patrols of the 31-mile stretch of international border shared between the Monument and Mexico caused the Organ Pipe superintendent some consternation, but ultimately he found the U.S. cavalry officers very cooperative and respectful of park policies.<sup>16</sup> Also during the 1940s, park laborers constructed the first monument patrol road just inside the international boundary in 1946, and the Department of Agriculture established several border inspection stations apparently to prevent the spread of hoof and mouth disease by Mexican drift stock, not to address problems with migrant traffic.<sup>17</sup>

The Eisenhower administration's massive deportation of undocumented Mexicans during "Operation Wetback" in 1954 signaled growing American alarm at the increased numbers of Mexican newcomers spurred by the *Bracero* Program. The *Bracero* program had actually stimulated both legal and illegal immigration as undocumented migrants followed the social networks established by legal contract workers. Despite the changing American social atmosphere, Mexicans were continually compelled to seek work in the United States. Starting in 1940, Mexico's "Green Revolution" perpetuated the displacement of rural labor as a series of Mexican administrations sought to modernize

agricultural production. In addition to the sending states of the Western Plateau, more migrants traveled to the U.S. from the states of Zacatecas, Durango, and San Luis Potosí.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Post-*Bracero* Border**

In 1964, under mounting domestic pressure, Congress repealed the federal authority for the *Bracero* program. However, rather than halting the influx of migrants from south of the border, the legislation simply drove illegal immigration to unprecedented covert levels. In the three years after the termination of the legal apparatus for Mexican labor entry, the number of apprehensions of undocumented persons more than doubled along the Southwest border from 40,020 in 1964 to 96,641 in 1968. Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s the number of apprehensions in the Southwest made by the Border Patrol increased yearly almost without exception.<sup>19</sup> According to recent scholarship, the interpretation of post-*Bracero* Border Patrol apprehension statistics as indicators of actual illegal traffic flows have been underestimated by as much as half, making these numbers even more striking.<sup>20</sup>

Successive amendments to the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act during the 60s and 70s attempted to address the growing numbers of undocumented people entering the United States through Mexico. Simultaneously, the U.S. and Mexican governments negotiated several agreements

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<sup>15</sup> Harner, 13.

<sup>16</sup> Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. "Superintendents' Monthly Report, January 1942".

<sup>17</sup> "Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1947".

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<sup>18</sup> Cross and Sandos, 73.

<sup>19</sup> "INS Southwest Border Patrol Apprehensions By Sector; Fiscal years 1960-2001", unpublished statistics from Tucson Border Patrol Intelligence Office database, current as of February 25, 2002.

<sup>20</sup> Espenshade, Thomas J. "Using INS Border Apprehension Data to Measure the Flow of Undocumented Migrants Crossing the U.S.-Mexico Frontier", *International Migration Review*, 29 (summer, 1995): 545-565.

to create new trade zones based on export processing along the border. American companies placed factories, or *maquiladoras*, in close proximity to the border where products could be assembled with inexpensive Mexican labor and then easily shipped to markets in the U.S. The *maquiladora* system initiated a rapid wave of economic and demographic growth along the border.<sup>21</sup> *Maquiladora* programs may have contributed to the emergence of “Stepwise migration”, a phenomenon of the last twenty years where migrants temporarily move to a Mexican border town before entering the U.S. Some major border redistribution cities include Ciudad Juarez, Agua Prieta, Nogales, San Luis Rio Colorado, and Tijuana. It is unclear whether or not these cities were intended to be stopovers to an ultimate American destination or if they became temporary residences because of failed opportunities there.<sup>22</sup>

In the early 1960s, apprehensions in the Tucson Border Patrol sector, in which the Monument is located, ranked low among the nine sectors. This suggests that fewer numbers of clandestine migrants and smugglers were attempting to cross in the rural desert interior than in the more urban sectors such as San Diego and El Paso. However, like the rest of the Southwest border, apprehensions rose in the decade after removal of the formalized migrant program culminating in a decade high of over 50,000 seizures in 1974. This number was not exceeded in the Tucson sector until 1985.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile, in the midst of growing covert human transit flows, Monument managers implemented the first systematic study of

the Monument’s ecology initiating such investigations as the first desert bighorn sheep census in 1967 and the Monument’s first sustained “monitoring” project in 1970.<sup>24</sup> Initiatives such as these served to both deepen the understanding of the natural systems extant in the Monument as well as to establish a credible baseline from which to measure future environmental change. In 1978, after the lapse of the remaining grazing and mining permits, Congress designated 95% of the lands within the Monument as federal wilderness. This legal mandate governing the treatment and regulation of the Monument’s desert holdings transformed it from a multiple use unit of the national park system to an area managed primarily for its wilderness character. This conversion bore serious implications for future migration trends.

In 1978, the same year as the wilderness designation, the current superintendent recorded in his annual report the first significant reference to the apprehension of undocumented aliens within the monument boundaries.<sup>25</sup> From that point, park records indicate modestly increasing concern over the presence of illegal migrants and drug traffickers in the Monument throughout the 1980 s. In July 1980, the tragic deaths of 13 immigrants from El Salvador attempting to traverse the Monument highlighted the emergence of a disturbing trend. These travelers were led into the harsh monument environment and then abandoned by the guides they had paid to lead them safely into the U.S. Many authorities acknowledged those border crossers and smugglers alike were beginning to target the Monument not only due to the convenient presence of Highway 85, but

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<sup>21</sup> Durand, Massey, Parado, 519.

<sup>22</sup> Harner, 112-116.

<sup>23</sup> “INS Southwest Border Patrol Apprehensions by Sector; Fiscal Years 1960-2001”

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<sup>24</sup> Department of the Interior National Park Service, “The Division of Natural and Cultural Resources Management - Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Annual Report, 1996”, 11-12.

<sup>25</sup> “Superintendent’s Annual Report 1978”.

also because of the management of the Monument as a wilderness area. The absence of maintained roads, relatively small numbers of rangers, and motorized vehicle restrictions all increased the odds of evading capture.<sup>26</sup>

### **A “New Era” of Immigration**

By the early 1980s the United States government felt it had lost control of its southwestern borders. High immigration, stagnant American wages, and widespread unemployment (particularly in California) all contributed to the rise of nativist sentiment in the U.S. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) attempted to control and deter illegal immigration by providing amnesty for long term workers, penalties for employers hiring undocumented workers, and a significant infusion of money and personnel for the Border Patrol. The first three years after the legislation, border apprehensions decreased overall, but by the early 1990s the Border Patrol again reported a rise in unauthorized entries across the southwestern border.<sup>27</sup>

In their 1999 study, Jorge Durand et al found that “more than any other factor, IRCA is responsible for creating a new era in Mexican immigration to the United States”.<sup>28</sup> Instead of discouraging illegal immigration through Mexico, IRCA seems to have transformed the pattern of undocumented migration. Before the passage of IRCA Mexican workers tended to travel seasonally to work abroad for a specific economic goal. One family member was typically sent, and the fundamental objective was to return to Mexico. After IRCA, the relative security offered by legal status in the U.S. and turmoil at home

encouraged many migrants to remain north of the border. Consequently, IRCA became a trigger for more migration as families moved from Mexico to reunite in the U.S. Family reunification translated into higher numbers of female and urban migrants. One study found that the probability of a family illegally immigrating to the U.S. increased by a factor of seven if a family member had been recently legalized.

In addition, IRCA influenced a wider geographic dispersal of Mexican immigrants throughout the U.S. and away from traditional gateway regions. The employment of workers in agricultural areas such as California and Texas fell in the 1980s and early 1990s while employment in urban areas grew. Legalization permitted more freedom of movement toward economic opportunities in the interior. In 1986 82% of legal immigrants settled in California, Texas or Illinois. A decade later, large numbers of Mexican immigrants were settling not only in the traditional states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and Illinois, but in Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and the New York-New Jersey area.<sup>29</sup>

One study in Arizona from 1989 to 1991 demonstrated a change in the almost century old Mexican migration paradigm. Arizona reflects slightly different connections to Mexico than the rest of the U.S. as Arizona historically retains a stronger affiliation with the Mexican state of Sonora. Evidence seems to suggest network links between specific Mexican municipalities and Arizona. Culiacán, Sinaloa represented the dominant single source for undocumented migrants to Arizona and Nogales was found to be the most important redistributor city.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Tucson Star*, July 5, 1981.

<sup>27</sup> “INS Southwest Border Patrol Apprehensions by Sector”

<sup>28</sup> Durand, Massey, Parrado, 522.

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<sup>29</sup> Durand, Massey, Parrado, 525-530.

<sup>30</sup> Harner, 115.

Although no evidence exists to confirm or refute national trends extant within the Monument, the national data implies change across the southwestern border as a whole, including the Monument region.

Throughout the 1980s Organ Pipe managers reported an increase in law enforcement activities related to the presence of UDAs. Monument officials report the apprehension of 26 UDA's in 1991 and 66 in 1992. The removal of boundary fence, more perceptible apprehensions of border crossers, increasing drug related clashes, and a rash of thefts at Monument installations all indicated a rise in illicit activity. The acceleration of drug trafficking in the Monument precipitated the initiation of multi-agency coordinated drug interdiction activities. In 1991, law enforcement conducted 31 special operations followed by 49 operations in 1992.<sup>31</sup> Although migration and smuggling flows appeared on the rise, it was not until the mid-1990s that the Monument experienced prominent change.

### **The Tightening U.S.-Mexico Border**

In response to the early 1990s return to increased cross-border illegal traffic flows, the INS launched a series of aggressive Border Patrol initiatives in the mid-1990s. In September 1993, the El Paso sector began "Operation Blockade" later renamed "Operation Hold-the-Line". Increased Border Patrol staffing and activities appeared successful as apprehension fell by more than half the following year. In the San Diego/Tijuana area, "Operation Safeguard" met with similar results in 1995. However, numerical declines in these areas did not necessarily indicate overall border deterrence. Instead, INS statistics demonstrate a dramatic shift in immigrant

corridors after the urban initiatives. Sociologist Thomas Espenshade has developed what he terms the "Repeated Trials Model" which demonstrates that migrants typically repeat attempts to enter the U.S. until they are successful. In the words of one migrant interviewed for his research, "It's harder to cross, but we do get across, if not on the first try, then on the second, third, or fourth."<sup>32</sup> As crossing at urban points became more unsuccessful, immigrants gravitated to the interior deserts of the Southwest.

The failure of the North American Free Trade Agreement to alleviate significant economic inequalities and the Mexican financial "bail out" in 1994 perpetuated the high number of immigrants entering the U.S., unleashing a renewed nativist sentiment in the United States as witnessed by California law makers approval of Proposition 187. In 1996, the Mexican congress voted to change the Mexican constitution to permit dual citizenship. These two factors have combined to touch off a new flood of applications for naturalization in the late 1990 s producing a new influx of illegal immigrant family members seeking entry into the U.S.<sup>33</sup>

Redirected migrant flows through rural sections of the border materialized as border crossers adopted new strategies to enter the U.S. Immediately after the implementation of the El Paso and San Diego border initiatives, the regions most impacted were the El Centro, CA sector, where apprehensions doubled, and the Tucson Sector, where apprehensions tripled between 1993 and 1996. By 2000, the Tucson sector far outdistanced all others in number of apprehensions with a staggering 616,346, followed by El Centro with just over a third that number. Again in 2001,

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<sup>31</sup> Organ Pipe Cactus Annual Reports, 1978-1992.

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<sup>32</sup> Espenshade, 550.

<sup>33</sup> Duran, Massey, Parrado, 533.

the Tucson sector emerged with the most apprehensions followed by the El Centro sector.<sup>34</sup>

Within the Tucson Sector, the Border Patrol apprehended the highest number of UDAs in the Nogales and Douglas stations through the mid-1990s. Despite an overall increase in apprehensions during the same period, the Ajo station maintained the lowest number of arrests until 1994. However, in 1995, the station reported an increase to 2,656 from 938 the year before. A dramatic increase to 9,100 apprehensions followed in 1996, elevating the Ajo area to the sixth busiest station. For the next four years, the Ajo station consistently ranked seventh in arrests, but in 2001 again emerged as the sixth most active area.<sup>35</sup> Statistics indicate the continued popularity of the Douglas, AZ area as a crossing point while the Ajo station seems to be gaining in popularity. Although statistics are not complete, apprehensions within the Monument seem to confirm an increase in migrant movement through the National Park Service lands, with the most pointed increase in 1999.<sup>36</sup>

Statistics from the 1990 s indicate the presence of a noticeable seasonal cycle of movement. In concert with other stations in the Tucson Sector, the Ajo station experienced the highest number of apprehensions during spring and early summer with particularly heavy movement in the months of March and April. Movement typically declines in the late summer and early fall, plummeting to the lowest numbers of the year in November

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<sup>34</sup> "INS Southwest Border Patrol Apprehensions by Sector"

<sup>35</sup> "Tucson Sector Arrests; Fiscal Year 1992-2002", unpublished INS statistics.

<sup>36</sup> Monument apprehensions in 1998 totaled 215 while they reached 447 in 1999, Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument "Law Enforcement Monthly Reports", November 1993-February 2002.

and December.<sup>37</sup> Monument law enforcement records parallel the Ajo statistics.<sup>38</sup> This pattern suggests the largest influx of traffic in the early part of the year with immigrants either returning south of the border or staying home at the end of the year, possibly due to the Christmas holiday season.

Concurrent with rising apprehensions of illegal migrants, the 1990 s reflect a staggering increase in the smuggling of illegal drugs through Monument lands. Interestingly, drug confiscation in the Tucson sector have dropped overall from 1999-2001, yet the amount of illegal substances captured by agents of the Ajo station have significantly increased. Statistics for the actual number of drug related cases are not available, therefore it is not possible to determine whether activity or shipment amounts increased. Since the maintenance of consistent record keeping in 1996, Monument law enforcement rangers annually seized larger amounts of illegal drugs, rising from 902 pounds in 1997 to 14,731 pounds in 2001. The number of drug related violation have paralleled the growing drug confiscation amounts so that the relationship between citations and quantity appear to have remained comparable.<sup>39</sup>

As the Southwest borders have become more militarized, many scholars and activists have focused on the human costs of undocumented border transit. Since 1997 there have been an estimated 1,600 possible fatalities associated with illicit border crossing, mostly due to hypothermia, hyperthermia, and dehydration. Migration flows had shifted away from California by 1997 explaining the decrease in deaths in

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument "Law Enforcement Monthly Reports", 1993-2002.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

that state while death counts along the rest of the border grew. In response to humanitarian concern, the INS partnered with the Mexican government in the summer of 1998 to launch a safety campaign; coordinators initiated civil air patrols, an aggressive advertising drive promoting the dangers of desert passage, and special training for law enforcement field agents.<sup>40</sup> Migrant death tolls did not increase in Arizona from 1993 to 1997, however confirmed deaths in the Tucson Sector escalated from 29 in 1999, to 74 in 2000, and 78 in 2001. In this three-year period, deaths in the highly isolated West Desert Corridor, where the Monument is located, remained significantly higher than either the Douglas or Nogales Corridors.<sup>41</sup> In 2000, Monument staff made a highly controversial decision to place two water barrels along an already impacted powerline track in an attempt to channel the illegal traffic thereby reducing environmental impact and saving lives.

The reported rise in border activity in traditionally quiet Border Patrol sectors can be partially accounted for by congressional increases in INS funding, Border Patrol personnel, and staff hours devoted to physical patrol of the border. From 1975 to 1986, congress steadily raised the INS fiscal budgets almost doubling the agency allotment to \$754 million by 1986. Steady increases over the next 10-year period resulted in another twofold increase in funding by 1995 to \$2,044 million. The past six years have seen larger yearly increases resulting in an annual INS budget of \$4,378 million in 2002.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Eschbach, Karl et al. "Death at the Border", *International Migration Review* 33 (Summer, 1999): 430-454.

<sup>41</sup> "Migrant Deaths; Fiscal Year 199-2001", unpublished INS statistics.

<sup>42</sup> Budget numbers are calculated in 1993 dollars. "Immigration and Naturalization Service; Authorized Positions - Fiscal Years 1975-2002." At

Reflecting INS budgetary change, INS staffing, and more importantly, Border Patrol staffing, increased as well. Southwestern border enforcement hours increased relatively evenly from 1986 to 1992. Among the nine southwestern Border Patrol sectors, the traditionally busy San Diego Sector remained among the top two of the nine sectors in border enforcement hours from 1992 to 2001. The Tucson Sector was consistently sixth in the expenditure of staff hours from 1992 to 1996. As staffing increases deflected migrant flows away from urban crossing areas such as San Diego, the Tucson Sector responded by hiring more agents. Consequently, Tucson reported the third highest number of hours in 1997, second in 1998 and 1999, and led all other southwest sectors by 2001.<sup>43</sup> The eight stations within the Tucson Sector experienced change in patrol hours concurrent with the overall border adjustments. In 1999 the Ajo station, which encompasses the Monument, ranked seventh among the stations in enforcement hours reporting 89,182 in 1999. Activity dropped to 79,610 hours in 2000, and made a leap to 134,161 hours in 2001 placing it fifth among the Tucson stations.<sup>44</sup>

Today, monument managers face a number of environmental issues resulting from the dramatic numerical increase in undocumented human traffic maneuvering through the Monument, often utilizing the historic roads and trails. Large numbers of clandestine migrants and smugglers as well as magnified law enforcement presence compromise the movements of endangered species such as the pronghorn antelope,

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[http://www.usdoj.gov/jmd/budgetsummary/btd/1975\\_2002/btd01ins.htm](http://www.usdoj.gov/jmd/budgetsummary/btd/1975_2002/btd01ins.htm) [cited 3 March 2002].

<sup>43</sup> "Border Enforcement Man Hours (Non-Administrative hours)" INS unpublished statistics.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

create semi-permanent paths in the delicate desert vegetation, and leave behind trails of trash, abandoned automobiles, and human waste. Although movement of peoples through the Monument landscape has a long history, the construction of a protected wilderness space along the border combined with shifting federal immigration policy, particularly since the mid-1990s, have altered the impact intensity upon lands

within the Monument. Since the wilderness designation in 1978, and particularly since the tightening of urban border crossings, the area has drawn clandestine traffic as individuals wishing to enter the U.S. from south of the border have shifted and adapted their crossing strategies. In many ways though, it is the nature of the Monument as a preserved, monitored, and highly public landscape that has invited as well as highlighted environmental change resulting from transnational human passage.

