INTRODUCTION

In Tijuana, Mexico’s “Colonia Federal” neighborhood, someone has painted the words “EL ARTE TUMBARA ESTE MURO” on the side of a house. Beneath the house runs a tunnel that was, until recently, used by smugglers to transport people and contraband across the US-Mexico border. After the tunnel’s discovery in 2004, the house was sold to Tijuana’s Consejo Fronterizo de Arte y Cultura (COFAC) to be used as a cross-border center for arts and culture. Run by local artist Luis Ituarte, La Casa de Túnel features gallery and workspace for artists, a store, and a rooftop café/presentation space for music and performances.

On a rainy afternoon in February, Luis tells me that they are trying to buy up as much real estate in the neighborhood as possible to start an international artists’ colony. The border, he says, is a part of life and that art goes on; it grows up and around the border. Art may eventually knock the wall down, but for Luis, the US-Mexico border is not something to be overcome or transcended. It is simply to be lived, with conscience and with resistance, each collaborative art practice demystifying the border’s seemingly monolithic strength and rendering it into possibility and future.

In a geography that often feels torn apart by the simultaneous, contradictory forces of the national and the transnational, containment and flow, fear and pleasure, projects like La Casa de Túnel in Tijuana reflect the transformative power of culture-making on the US-Mexico border. By turning an underground smuggling tunnel into a transnational cultural center, COFAC, and organizations like it, are speaking back to mainstream representations (in both the United States and Mexico) that portray the international border as dangerous, culture-less, militarized, an export-processing zone, a hedonistic playground for tourists, or a cartel-ridden war zone.

These negative representations, the stories they tell and the images they portray, are everyday border encounters on both sides. As an alternative, Fiamma Montezemolo, an Italian anthropologist; Rene Peralta, a Mexican architect; and Heriberto Yépez, a Mexican scholar/writer, declare Tijuana as a “transa” in their photo-textual essay Here Is Tijuana! (Montezemolo et al. 2006, 5). “Tijuana,” they insist, “instead of a city, more often than not, is a transa.” They define transa as
agreement, bribery, business, intention, reflection and project. Transa refers to the illegitimate and what happens on the verge; not only of illegality but also of any non-conventional initiative. It is derived from ‘transaction.’ A transaction within another transaction—this is how Tijuana functions, Tijuana muddles everything up—Tijuana transa.

(Montezemolo et al. 2006, 4)

Transa may originate in Tijuana, but like so many Tijuanese, it is a mobile, border-crossing word. In transa, we hear the echo not only of transaction but also of transnational, transboundary, and many other concepts that have become increasingly popular in cultural studies of the Americas. Transa describes alternate forms of borderlands representation that are “transa-national” and “transa-genre.” Drawing on Montezemolo, Peralta and Yépez’s use of transa, in this chapter, I explore the varied potential of transa as an alternative border encounter—an approach that theorizes how transactions between the material realities of the US-Mexico borderlands and innovative aesthetics (form) produce experimental, transnational cultural texts.

Tijuanologies

In Here Is Tijuana!, the authors use “transa techniques” which connect reader-viewers to a practice of reading-viewing (both text and city) that contests both US and Mexican stereotypes of Tijuana and, by extension, the greater borderlands. The authors “decided the book would have to be a transaction of disciplines and disagreements, a transaction between the many discourses about Tijuana (statistical, literary, academic, popular etc.) and its rich visual cultural [sic].” Textual-visual collage, pastiche, and juxtaposition are some of the experimental strategies the authors use to represent the geopolitical and cultural phenomena encountered in Tijuana: free trade, uneven urban development, migration, labor struggles, and urban and folk art, for example. These familiar stories are retold using transa as metaphor and aesthetic strategies to link Tijuana to the transnational and national material realities of Mexico and the United States. The book forces reader-viewers into new ways of “reading” and “seeing” the US–Mexico border that testify to the contradictory power of the US–Mexico border to transgress, and even render obsolete, national boundaries, while also heightening the perceived power and presence of states and cohesive national identities.

Transa offers an alternative to hybridity as metaphor for the US-Mexico borderlands. In rejecting Néstor García Canclini’s well-known metaphor of Tijuana as “postmodern laboratory,” Here Is Tijuana! critiques popular hybridity theories (Canclini 1995). In Hybrid Cultures, Canclini effectively illuminates how the cultures of the US–Mexico borderlands reflect the larger forces of conflict, change, resistance, and continuity in Latin America. He uses Tijuana as a case study for similar geographies where the transnationalization of markets and migrations creates conditions of cultural crossing. Here Is Tijuana! advances Canclini’s work by arguing that Tijuana, as a transa, cannot be abstracted into what Canclini famously called a “laboratory of postmodernity.” Drawing on previous work by contributor Yépez, the authors suggest Canclini’s postmodern laboratory may oversimplify the city’s deviant transas.

Elsewhere, Yépez has theorized the US-Mexico border through oppositional forces of “fission.” He argues against hybridity theories that portray the borderlands as the uncomplicated synthesis of two bounded (but always inherently unequal) cultures. He asks us to reconsider what he identifies as the overused metaphors of “happy hybridism” (Yépez 2005,
In “Adiós happy híbrido: Variaciones hacia una definición estética de la frontera [más allá del mítico personaje mixto],” Yépez declares: “La hibridación como metáfora para describir los fenómenos de contacto en la frontera México-Estados Unidos ha llegado a su fin. La metáfora de la hibridación probó ser ingenua, neoliberal, hegeliana.” Yépez argues Canclini’s audiences of academics, artists, authors, and journalists have simplified “su tesis sobre la hibridación y el postmodernismo—quienes establecieron lo ‘híbrido’ como la categoría automática bajo la cual habría que definir lo fronterizo” (Yépez 2005, 12). Postmodernism, he argues, has become “Decontextualización Feliz. Happy meal de los discursos.” In the postmodern celebration of blurred boundaries, Yépez worries that we have “depoliticized” borders and that we celebrate a Hegelian synthesis of differences “mientras que en realidad observamos todo lo contrario: las fronteras, de ambos lados, se remarcan.” Yépez reminds us that “the border reality is much more complex than this metaphor” and the “asymmetric reality of the border demands different metaphors” (Yépez 2005, 14). In sum: “El concepto de hibridación desdibuja tensiones; neutraliza. Y lo que la frontera realiza es transgredir entendidos, cargar intencionalidades: abrir conflictos.” Thus, Yépez turns to the physical sciences for different metaphors: “La frontera no se define por su fusion sino por su fisión.” For Yépez, images of opposing magnets illustrate the border’s erotic clashes, attraction and repulsion; they represent the fuerza-de-resistencia (force of resistance) that is, finally, his alternative metaphor. The tension of opposing/resisting forces “molds the structures, identities and forms” of the borderlands (Yépez 2005, 35). In Here Is Tijuana, Yépez’s forces of fission become transas, connecting the forms of culture (their aesthetic qualities) to the material realities of the borderlands.

For example, the book’s selection and arrangement of photographs and text creates a pointed critique of exploitative labor practices and the deadly ironic gap between the rhetoric

![Figure 27.1](left) Photograph by Julie Orozco
Reproduced by permission from Montezemolo et al. (2006, 144).

![Figure 27.2](right) Photograph by Tarek Elhaik
Reproduced by permission from Montezemolo et al. (2006, 127).
of globalization, neoliberalism, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the realities free trade imposes on workers. A two-page spread called “Assemblyland” provides a brief history of the Border Industrialization Program (BIP), which is credited with bringing the first factories to the border region. Indeed Here Is Tijuana! reports that, with 562 plants, Tijuana has the most assembly plants of any Mexican city (Yépez 2005, 142). The overwhelming majority of assembly plant workers are women. In 1995, 57.2 percent of the total employees of the assembly plant industry of the border states were women (144), who are generally favored due to the common perception that they are innately suited for work requiring little skill and a light touch. In addition to being seen as “nimble fingered,” women are often thought to be less likely to unionize and easier to control (Hu-DeHart 2007, 252; Biemann 2002, 105–106).

Images of domination and control are reinforced through photographs taken inside a maquilas. Figure 27.1, originally a color close-up, depicts women’s hands attached by a cord and wristband to the assembly line they are working. The photo focuses on the bright yellow wristband and emphasizes the continuity between woman and machine. The photo’s perspective reveals an endless line of workers, stretching down the assembly line, in the same way Figure 27.2 depicts a border art installation piece: painted coffins nailed to the border fence, each coffin listing a year and its corresponding number of crossing-related deaths, emphasizing a seemingly endless line of victims. The similar composition of both photographs, and their placement in the same book, uses repetition— with-a-difference as a transa technique to critique the dominant narratives about the US-Mexico borderlands. As we recall the previous photograph while viewing this one, we create a visual palimpsest. This layering technique invites reader-viewers into reflexive dialogue, where both photographs inform the meanings and narratives we see and read into them. Next to Figure 27.1, the authors quote Norma Iglesias: “All of the women had assimilated the fundamental words of being an industrial worker: enter, leave, push, pull, hurry, pull the handle, push’ the button, produce” (Biemann 2002, 102). This lack of separation blurs the distinction between the organic body and machine, contributing to the “technologizing” of women’s bodies and the gradual erasure of their humanity, an erasure finalized somberly in Figure 27.2.

The gap between free trade’s happy rhetoric and its brutal realities reinforces the authors’ interest in questions of representation (as “transas within transas”). Without lapsing into oversimplifications and yet paying careful attention to how regimes of representation create real effects for citizens, TV manufacturing emerges as one symbol of the complicated relationship between representation and Tijuana. Several photographs depict televisions in various stages of assembly. These photos are accompanied by statistics: “Since 1989, Mexico has been the first exporter of color televisions to the United States...In 1996 the five television set companies located in Tijuana absorbed 16% of the employment in their area” (Biemann 2002, 146). Indeed Yépez reports that seven out of ten televisions in the United States were made in Tijuana (Yépez 2012, 58). In black and white, Figure 27.3 shows a pile of discarded, out-dated televisions half-buried in dirt and stacked in intervals like a staircase rising out of the dump. Next to it, also in black and white, and cropped to exactly the same size: a picture of middle-class rooftops, similarly stacked. The televisions themselves call attention to the ways in which Tijuana, the border, and Mexico are represented through media and cultural forms and discourses, yet the authors use the transas between the images and the statistics—combined with the other forms of textual information on the page—to highlight the disparity between how Tijuana is represented through public discourse and the real-life experiences of citizens and visitors. This particular photograph solemnly captures this tension: the ascending
“staircase” of discarded televisions invokes all the images of the US-Mexico border as seen on TV, while their disposal into a trash heap recalls the worst of the region’s poverty, where assembly plant workers do not earn enough to purchase one of the new color TVs they assemble every day. The juxtaposition with the photo of middle-class rooftops reinforces another transa—the relationship between public and private spheres of representation. The rooftops frame domestic, interior spaces where people come together to participate in social rituals, such as watching TV. Thus televisions also serve as sites where public discourses, images, and representation in general are translated into private, domestic spaces. Both photographs comment on the tension between the public spaces of the working classes (who are often denied the privilege of private, interior spaces) and the private spaces of the middle and upper classes (who get to have interiors). While the rooftops contain domestic scenes, the photo emphasizes their uniform exteriority, and while the old televisions represent a site where public and private spheres collide, here they have been relegated to a public city dump. Adding a final transa to this multi-layered collage, the photos themselves are yet another form of representation, whose construction, composition, and placement on the page are not neutral acts.

*Here Is Tijuana!* uses experimental aesthetic techniques in the composition of the text itself to offer visual–textual transas that not only reflexively mirror the juxtapositions and multiplicity of the city itself but also more effectively represent the specific forces at work in our encounters with the greater US-Mexico border. In particular, by inviting reader-viewers into new ways of
reading-viewing, Here Is Tijuana! dramatically visualizes how images are made meaningful through a range of other discourses (Pink 2001, 131). The book’s innovative combinations of text and image bring multi-vocality and non-hierarchical reading-viewing practices to the traditional text and image, a technique I identify as a transa aesthetic in order to emphasize how specific material realities of Tijuana and the US-Mexico borderlands transact with innovative form.

Here Is Tijuana!’s many-voiced, multi-perspective transa techniques question, trouble, contradict, and render visible the complex processes through which Tijuana is represented and encountered. These transa techniques juxtapose both macro- and micro-level transactions to document and expose their mutually constitutive relationships, while also drawing reader-viewers into the process of interrelationship and representation themselves. As the book visualizes a series of transa-border encounters, from the most intimate to the most abstract, the book itself becomes yet another series of encounters that forces reader-viewers to reflect on how representation works through culture on the US-Mexico border. Although the authors favor a multiplicity of readings and meanings, the Tijuana that emerges from the book’s pages continually asserts itself, with its unavoidable difference and its refusal to be collapsed into or consumed by the metaphors that would attempt to describe it. Ultimately, the book offers a productive opportunity to draw on the authors’ opening claim of Tijuana as transa and to expand transa’s field of reference from the site-specific pages of Here Is Tijuana! to a new metaphor for confronting, encountering, and interpreting other innovative cultural US-Mexico borderlands texts.

### How a border orders disorder

For example, I identify a transaborder poetics in Harryette Mullen’s fourth book of poetry, Muse & Drudge (1995) (Mullen 2006); a long lyric poem “sung” in bluesy, multilingual quatrains that journeys through feminized spaces of the black diaspora, including the US-Mexico borderlands (Reimer 2013). In addition to using Spanish in the text, Mullen references the geography and material realities of the borderlands. I locate a transaborder feminist poetics in the transactions between Mullen’s innovative form, particularly her linguistic sampling and word play, and the corresponding sets of material conditions such multiple discourses conjure. Her use of transa techniques such as fragmentation, collage, allusion, parataxis, code-switching, and signifying invite readers into dizzying, innovative multiplicity where geopolitical and gendered-racialized borders, the subjects who cross them, and the aesthetic borders of culture transact.

As Mullen’s poem moves between layered discourses, each layer invokes a set of material geopolitics: slavery’s history, drug trafficking, exploitative labor, urban poverty, sexual and gender violence, racism, and the commodification of culture, for example. The poem calls attention to the presence of borders (as literal and figurative tools of representation and regulation) and attempts to work from the space of negotiation and transaction between them. Themes of hybridity, separation, definition, and regulation are always already gendered and racialized concepts, deeply embedded in the violent histories of racial mixing and mestizaje that are both named outright and alluded to metaphorically by Mullen’s hybridized language.

Mullen’s poem travels temporally as well as spatially. In the following quatrain, written in Spanish, Mullen references the colonial history that produced mestizaje:

mulattos en el mole
me gusta mi pozole
hijita del pueblo Moreno
ya baila la conquista
(Biemann 2002, 165)\textsuperscript{15}

The quatrains are deceptively playful. The first two lines have a singsong rhythm and rhyme scheme, and the words seem nonsensical: “mulattos in the _mole_ / me gusta mi _posole_.” However, the third line introduces the “little daughter from Brown town/people,” the result of the conquest’s “dance.” Roughly translated as “and the conquest dances on,” the last line captures the idea of continuity between past and present implied by the Spanish word “ya,” which can translate in multiple ways in different contexts as “already,” “still” or “and.” Mullen plays on the double meaning of _pueblo_: “town/village” and “community” or “people.” She also takes advantage of the Spanish preposition “de,” which means both “from” and “of.” Thus, the “little brown daughter” embodies the first line’s reference to “mulattos.” The _mole_ and _posole_ cease to be solely iconic cultural markers and instead become symbols of mixing, specifically racial mixing. _Mole_, a traditional Oaxacan chili and chocolate-based sauce, and _posole_, a Mexican stew made from hominy, meat, and chili peppers, are both dishes that depend on the combination of different flavors, textures, and spices. In the discourse of mainstream multiculturalism, food and cooking metaphors are often (over)used to describe racial and ethnic heterogeneity (e.g. the tiresome “melting pot”) or even metaphors for people themselves (e.g. Latino/as as “hot” and “spicy”). At first, Mullen appears to be echoing the same kind of essentializing discourse, but the last two lines of the quatrains subvert this discourse and remind us that mixing is the product of the conquest’s violent “dance.” Colonialism’s dance is not over and the consequences of colonial violence continue in contemporary social injustices, she suggests.

To peer beneath the surface of Mullen’s seemingly playful rhymes reveals multiculturalism’s silent history—the deeply embedded histories of racial and sexual violence in the Americas. While Mullen’s multiple discourses might often celebrate the complexity and interconnectedness of transnational American cultures, the mulatta is not part of a happy multiculturalism. Alicia Arrizón reminds us that the word “mulatto” comes from the Latin word for mule. It is not surprising that Mullen chooses a little girl to represent colonialism’s racial legacy; indigenous women and girls were the earliest victims of the conquest’s sexual violence. Arrizón notes: “Massive miscegenation was facilitated not only by the social condition of the natives but also by the fact that the conquistadors’ position of power made it possible for them to exploit women at will” (Arrizón 2006, 7). The mulatta is a site of both history and empowerment. In her historical role, she is “the embodiment of transculturation, commodification, eroticization” (Arrizón 2006, 84), perpetually denied full inclusion in both her “native” and “dominant” cultures.

Mullen’s mulatta turns this history onto itself by using the “in-betweenness of cultural hybridization” (Arrizón 2006, 101)—a _transa_—to contest the history of racist, patriarchal power structures. Mullen aggressively makes her art from that transaborder space of marginality. Her muse demands that we “reconfigure the hybrid” (Mullen 2002, 158). This reconfigured hybrid (whether a multi-voiced text or a multi-raced or multi-voiced body) becomes a radical opportunity for “collaborative reading and an occasion to unite audiences often divided by racial and cultural differences” (Mullen 2002, xi). To read _Muse & Drudge_ as a transaborder feminist text means more than simply claiming the text as part of a new, expanded borderlands or African American canon: it opens up multiple critical perspectives that reveal how the text’s diversity performs and models the transnationalism of American cultures themselves.
¡Americano!

Transa connects geography to genre in the music of Roger Clyne, lead singer-songwriter for the Arizona-based rock band, Roger Clyne and the Peacemakers. The band’s fourth studio album, 2004’s ¡Americano!, explodes with social-sonic US-Mexico borderlands geographies (Reimer 2014). Transnationalism as a theme unites the album: in the stylistic elements of the music and the geographic location out of which it was produced, in the identities of songs’ characters and stories, and in how Clyne questions the ability of nations, nationalisms, and patriotism to fully capture the depth of human experiences.

Clyne’s musical borderlands are a chronotope defined by border crossings that offer new ways of charting contemporary social geographies. He incorporates Mexican musical traditions and fragmented Spanish language into Western American musical traditions (such as honky tonk, country western, cowpunk, American folk, and rootsy rock n’ roll) to create music that slips and slides over the borders of genre and tradition. It’s precisely the music’s inability to be absolutely located that invites us to hear Clyne’s music as a transa, where the borders of national music come against the borders of national identities.

The music rests provocatively on a central tension between the physical reality of borders and the fluidity of borders as a metaphor for art that reimagines social-sonic identities. As the landscape of his musical genesis and inspiration, Clyne’s music engages the physical borderlands literally. He draws on the region’s rich musical traditions to create a sound that is not quite country, not quite American “roots” folk music, not Mexican norteño, but distinctly regional. In his songs, characters move between the United States and Mexico, their physical border crossings becoming symbols of the other barriers they evade, such as language, racism, or violence.

Written by Clyne in Cholla Bay, Mexico in the aftermath of 9/11 and the US second invasion of Iraq, ¡Americano! decries a world at war and advocates the necessity of peace in an age of nativism, separation, and violence. Clyne felt the United States was “awful aggressive, and very, very imperial. And it seemed we had lost compassion and track of the truth, to be frank” (Clyne 2006). Thus, the album intervenes not only with a political message of opposition, but also with an attempt to rediscover and celebrate compassion, truth, and human dignity. In several interviews, Clyne has commented on how ¡Americano!’s conception and birth in Mexico influenced the album’s overall tone and messages. Clyne has said that the album grew out of his sense of America’s failure to live up to its promises to citizens and the world: “I believe in the Constitution and the American ideals. But I’ve got to say I don’t think we’re living up to those things...The album is about being very confused in a very complicated time” (Brown 2004). In Mexico, Clyne says: “I began to focus on where I stood as a citizen and as a man, as a father and as an artist. [American!] could be viewed as a proud declaration or as a pejorative” (Lustig 2004). Thus, the album’s transas interrogate what it means to be an American during an imperial war; its crisscrossing sonic geographies asking us simultaneously to consider what music forms this ambivalent “¡American!”

Critic Josh Kun writes that music “can be of a nation, but it is never exclusively national; it always overflows, spills out, sneaks through, reaches an ear on the other side of the border line, or one the other side of the sea” (Kun 2005, 20). Likewise, ¡Americano! testifies to a series of transnational flows and circuits, where cultures converge, conflict, and occasionally coalesce. Check out the gut-busting title track, “¡American!,” which Clyne has said is about “awakening to … [sic] individual or national course of
empire” and recognizing the consequences of our actions and taking responsibility for them (Clyne 2006). There is the meditative, existential angst-filled love song, “Your Name on a Grain of Rice,” which probes the limits of national identity and patriotism through individual pathos. Clyne’s gritty anti-war anthem, “God Gave Me a Gun,” is an incisive critique of wars waged on the basis of deeply national-cultural ideologies and the rhetoric that accompanies such violence, followed by the tragic cross-cultural border ballad, “Switchblade,” (a revised corrido). Ethno-mariachi sounds structure “Mexican Moonshine,” while “Jack vs. José” cheekily displays Clyne’s (fluent) Spanish language skills and interlingual rhyme and word play.

As the music crosses borders of nation and genre, creating new musical styles to reflect the transnational identities of the borderlands created out of specific geographic and political conditions of the borderlands, Clyne’s music is a transa. His admittedly more utopic trans-actions between genre and nation nonetheless envision new possibilities through shared cultural expressions, such as music listening, and point toward a more positive future where borderlands subjects are united in struggle, moving beyond passion to compassion to confront and create new worlds of meaning.

**Conclusion**

Transa, as slippery slang with its deviant connotations, also reminds us that cultural practices, even the most aesthetically innovative or experimental ones, cannot be solely abstracted into new metaphors. Transa as metaphor for US-Mexico borderlands culture continually brings us back to the material realities of the everyday lives of border dwellers and border crossers. The exciting opportunities for transa to enter into other discourses about the US-Mexico border is precisely its inelegant elegance: transa offers a lens of interpretation that embraces the postmodern and experimental but can never be delinked from lived experiences. I propose transa as metaphor for cultural productions of and from the borderlands, not to contain them within neat theoretical concepts but to more fully inhabit them and enliven them with the potentially radicalizing diversity so evident in their experimental aesthetic qualities.

**Notes**

1. Art will knock this wall down. Note: all translations from Spanish are mine.
2. Border Council of Arts and Culture.
4. Theorists such as Saldivar, Pratt, Lowe, Anzaldúa, and Bhabha have used various forms of hybridity theory to link cultural studies to specific historical experiences and communities: the colonized female body of the US-Mexico borderlands, the migrant border-crosser, the Asian immigrant, or the global postcolonial subject.
5. In a more recent work, Canclini has rethought the concept of hybridity and his earlier assessment of Tijuana as “one of the biggest laboratories of postmodernity” (Canclini 1995, 233). By including theories of interculturality as part of hybridization, Canclini has remarked that it is perhaps more accurate to call Tijuana “a laboratory of the social and political disintegration of Mexico as a consequence of a calculated ungovernability” (Montezemolo 2012, 94).
6. Goodbye happy hybrid: Variations toward an aesthetic definition of the border (more than the mythic mixed personality).
7. Hybridity as a metaphor for describing the phenomena of contact in the Mexico–United States border has reached its end. The hybridity metaphor proved to be ingenuous, neoliberal, Hegelian.
Border encounters

8 Yépez argues Canclini’s audiences of academics, artists, authors, and journalists have simplified “his thesis on hybridity and postmodernism, those who established ‘the hybrid’ as the automatic category for defining all things related to the border.” (Yépez 2005)

9 Happy Decontextualizing. Happy Meal of discourses.

10 In the postmodern celebration of blurred boundaries, Yépez worries that we have “depoliticized” borders and that we celebrate a Hegelian synthesis of differences “while in reality we are observing the complete opposite: borders, on both sides, are reinforced.”

11 The concept of hybridity blurs tensions, neutralizes. And what the border accomplishes is to transgress understandings, to overload intentionalities, to open conflicts.

12 The border does not define itself by its fusion, but rather by its fissure.

13 BIP was an outgrowth of a larger effort on behalf of the Mexican government during the early 1960s to “beautify” Mexican border towns and attract greater levels of tourism (Nevins 2002, 45). The BIP “established the border zone corridor of export processing industries known as maquiladoras. The stated intention of the program was to create location-specific magnets for economic growth and thus serve as a development engine for the entire northern border” (Nevins 2002, 45). Additionally, the BIP sought to reduce unemployment in border towns (see also Kopinak 2012, 71–93).

14 Maquila is the Spanish word commonly used to refer to the assembly plants (factories) located on the US-Mexico border.

15 I like my posole / little daughter from Brown town (people) / the conquest dances on.

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