Border Politics

Social Movements, Collective Identities, and Globalization

Edited by Nancy A. Naples and Jennifer Bickham Mendez

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS
New York and London

Pratt, Geraldine, and Brenda Yeoh. 2003. Transnational (Counter) Topographies. *Gender, Place and Culture* 10 (2): 159–166.
Rechitsky, Raphi. 2013. Humanitarian Racism? International Aid and the Politics of Refugee Integration in Ukraine [Гуманітарний расизм? Міжнародна допомога та політика інтеграції біженців в Україні]. *Spilne* 5, Special Issue on the Political Economy of Racism. http://commons.com.ua/?p=12948.
Rechitsky, Raphi, Renata Blumberg, and Arnoldas Blumberg. 2009. East/West and North/South Fissures in Transnational Social Movements: The Case of 2007 No Border Camps at the Ukraine/EU and U.S./Mexico Borders. Paper presented at the conference Social and Natural Limits of Globalization and the Current Conjuncture, PEWS Mini-conference, American Sociological Association. University of San Francisco, San Francisco, August 7.
Rodrigues, Maria Guadalupe Moog. 2003. *Global Environmentalism and Local Politics: Transnational Advocacy Networks in Brazil, Ecuador, and India*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Routledge, Paul. 2003. Convergence Space: Process Geographies of Grassroots Globalization Networks. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 (3): 333–349.
Sheppard, Eric. 2002. The Spaces and Times of Globalization: Place, Scale, Networks, and Positionality. *Economic Geography* 78 (3): 307–330.
Smith, Adrian, John Pickles, Milan Buček, Robert Begg, and Poli Roukova. 2008. Reconfiguring "Post-Socialist" Regions: Cross-Border Networks and Regional Competition in the Slovak and Ukrainian Clothing Industry. *Global Networks* 8 (3): 281–307.
Smith, Jackie, Scott Byrd, Ellen Reese, and Elizabeth Smythe, eds. 2012. *Handbook on World Social Forum Activism*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
Stroup, Sarah S. 2012. *Borders Among Activists: International NGOs in the United States, Britain, and France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Sundberg, Juanita. 2007. Reconfiguring North-South Solidarity: Critical Reflections on Experiences of Transnational Resistance. *Antipode* 39 (1): 144–166.
Sziarto, Kristin M., and Helga Leitner. 2010. Immigrants Riding for Justice: Space-Time and Emotions in the Construction of a Counterpublic. *Political Geography* 29 (7): 381–391.
Thayer, Millie. 2009. *Making Transnational Feminism: Rural Women, NGO Activists, and Northern Donors in Brazil*. New York: Routledge.
Uehling, Greta. 2004. Irregular and Illegal Migration Through Ukraine. *International Migration* 42 (3): 77–109.
Van Houtum, Henk. 2005. The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries. *Geopolitics* 10 (4): 672–679.
Weinmann, Ute. 2007. Viele Grenzen, ein Camp. Jungle World. http://jungle-world.com/artikel/2007/36/20277.html.
Zimmer, Kerstin. 2008. *Migrants and Refugees in the Buffer Zone: Asylum Policy in Ukraine*. Prague: Multicultural Center.
Zolberg, Aristide R. 2008. Immigrants as Citizens. *Sociological Forum* 23 (2): 403–407.

12

"Giving Wings to Our Dreams"

Binational Activism and Workers' Rights Struggles in the San Diego–Tijuana Border Region

MICHELLE TÉLLEZ AND CRISTINA SANIDAD

Introduction

This chapter examines the work of activists along the San Diego-Tijuana border region,[1] who are seeking to redress the injustices that workers experience in assembly factories, also known as *maquiladoras*.[2] Abuses and corruption within the transnational *maquiladora* industry have been well documented by scholars (Bandy 2000; Cravey 1998; Landau 2005; Muñoz 2004; Peña 1997; Fernández-Kelly 1983; Iglesias Prieto 1997; Sklair 1989); however, in our work, we are interested in understanding the collective responses to these conditions. Bandy (2004; 2000) and Bandy and Bickham Mendez (2003) have advanced an understanding of transnational organizing and regional coalition building through their research on women activists both in Mexico and Nicaragua.[3] We contribute to this work by focusing on the strategies, structure, and coalition-building efforts of three grassroots groups based in the San Diego-Tijuana border region: the Colectiva Feminista Binacional (Binational Feminist Collective),[4] CITTAC (Centro de Información para Trabajadores y Trabajadoras Acción Comunitaria; Support Center for Workers), and the San Diego Maquiladora Worker Support Network.

These organizations serve as the focal point in our research for their leadership in coordinating a worker-led response that empowers and invests in individual workers and their communities; collectively they address short-term needs while, at the same time, build networks and skills for the long term. By identifying the strategies of these groups, we also offer insight to the possibilities for and implications of their work in producing a transnational space for organizing centered on relationship building and the construction of a counterhegemonic identity along the US-Mexico border. We use Millie Thayer's (2010) concept of counterpublics to think through the ways in which globalization may accelerate some forms of domination just as it facilitates the linking and empowering of once disconnected oppositional forces. Moreover, "transnational social movements are best understood not only as structured institutions that engage in formalized campaigns, coalitions, and events, but also as cultural actors who practice less visible forms of cultural politics as they create collective identities and stitch together alliances" (Thayer 2010, 28). The fabric of connection we have found in the San Diego-Tijuana region, as demonstrated by these organizations, is, in its most obvious form, the *maquiladora* industry; yet its evolution to a social space of convergence where multiple political subjects recognize a newly forming collective identity is significant. Furthermore, workers drive initiatives as they come into political consciousness, a consciousness that ultimately marks a broader critique of neoliberal domination at the US-Mexico border.

Some comments about the effects of neoliberal policies on the Mexican state merits mention here. Mexico has been suffering profound economic crisis since the 1980s, when rising interest rates on foreign debt and falling oil prices almost bankrupted the state. The administration at the time (Miguel de la Madrid 1982–1988) and those that followed have adopted austerity measures and structural adjustment programs which have led to continuous erosion of public spending on education, health, housing, and other social services. These changes have grossly affected the living standards for most Mexicans (Gabriel and Macdonald 1994). Furthermore, according to a report published in 2003 about the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, there was an increase of 500,000 jobs in manufacturing from 1994 to 2002, but in the same time period in the agricultural sector, where almost one fifth of the Mexican population still work, 1.3 million jobs had been lost. Consequently, after the implementation of NAFTA in 1994, Mexicans, predominantly indigenous, from the countryside migrated to border-states. Actually, 64

percent of the migrants in Tijuana are from the states of Veracruz, Chiapas, Sinaloa, Jalisco, Sonora, Michoacán, and Mexico City (Rentería Pedraza and Spears Kirkland 2008, 3). Attracted to the northern border for higher wages and employment opportunities, many migrants are dismayed by the unjust wages they find in the booming factories in the border industrial parks, as real wages are lower than they were when NAFTA took effect. In fact, the real minimum wage is half of what it was in 1988 (Davalos 2004; Audley et al. 2003; Arroyo 2003).

State neglect contributes to what Victor Ortiz (2004) calls "persistent frontiers" at the border region as it becomes a site for continued colonizations. He states that "newcomers and institutional bodies based elsewhere command greater influence than most local residents" (Ortiz 2004, xii) and underscores the ways in which "the border region crystallizes the stunning ambiguities of globalization with blinding clarity" (2004, xvii). In this chapter we think through these contradictions by examining the ways in which political subjectivity is being redefined at the US-Mexico border vis-à-vis the nation-state and its governing bodies and the global market. In other words, while some argue that globalization has limited the nation-state's capacity to administer national economies (Safran and Maiz 2000; Miyoshi 1996), we believe that proliferating global markets have actually increased the need for national boundaries and monitoring. Borders have become more porous to the free flow of capital and goods, but not to the free passage of people (Sadowski-Smith, 2002).

At the San Diego–Tijuana crossing point, this reality is most visible with the increased measures of security implemented with Operation Gatekeeper in 1994, the same year NAFTA went into effect. It clearly demonstrates the ways in which the international demarcation has become increasingly more militarized (Dunn 1996; Parenti 1999; Andreas 2000) effectively making it more difficult—and, often, deadly—for migrants to cross from the south to the north.

Grassroots Organizing for Workers Rights: Evidence of the Transnational in the Local

The US-Mexico border region becomes a site in which multiple intersections of power and control increasingly mark the lives of border dwellers and, more specifically, workers in the region. As many have argued, the expansion of economies beyond national borders blurs the jurisdiction and culpability of local and federal governments, multinational corporations, and international organizations over labor conditions, environmental concerns, and human rights abuses in the region (Bandy 2000; Cravey 1998; Landau 2005; Muñoz 2004; Peña 1997; Salzinger 2003; Sklair 1989; Sassen 1998). The lack of accountability coupled with the maximization of profits by transnational corporations has led to an unstable work environment that compromises workers' job-security and freedom to make decisions without facing drastic consequences (Landau 2005; Tiano 2006). The various devastating working and living conditions in and around the *maquiladora* industry have been and continue to be sites for workers' struggle to survive.[5] In the face of complicated constructions of power and division at the border, transnational activism has emerged.[6] As Landau (2005, 359) argues, "on both sides of the border, residents understand globalization not as a theory, but as a result of living the experience." Indeed, the workers and activists of our study have developed a critique of global economic policies and have witnessed the evolving effects in their communities and work places; through this transnational lens they have come to understand the necessity of cross-border solidarity.

Solidarity, Bandy (2004, 412) notes, is formed by workers' critiques of neoliberalism, a concern for the creation and upholding of labor standards, collective participation in unions or other political arenas to affect change, cultivation of communication and relationships that transcend borders, and the "creation of a culture of hope among workers that a more just and democratic development is possible." For example, in his examination of the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM), he demonstrates that with increased solidarity between social actors through worker-to-worker exchanges, a collective consciousness emerges. Solidarity allows for the workers to identify with each other in their common struggles, transforming local resistance into international labor rights struggles. In this way, the movements move from the local to the global. Moreover, transnational activism creates hope. Though this hope may seem relatively unimportant, it serves to fuel the movement: "This language of hope cannot feed or clothe workers in need, and it alone does not regulate capital. Yet, it cannot be

underestimated since, in the absence of substantive reform, it is a primary source of workers' commitments to movement participation and international coalition" (Bandy 2004, 419).

What this research makes evident is that workers are not remaining passive about the policies and conditions that affect them and are instead responding in important ways to create change in their lives. While an internally known counterimage of workers who reside along the US-Mexico border as critical actors in mobilizing social change is emerging (Bandy 2000; Bacon 2004; Camacho 1999; Peña 1997; Rivera-Salgado 1999; Tiano 1987; Téllez 2008; Navarro 2002; Coronado 2008), it is generally restricted to academic works and activist circles, where the humanity and resistance of border dwellers is being documented and publicized in a conscientious act of redefinition. More commonly, on both sides of the border one hears the border region described in a negative way—as a site of violence, drug trafficking, and exploitation. In line with Naples's (2002, 286) call to consider and explore the importance of place and locale while articulating resistance strategies, we note that that the US-Mexico border is not merely a site of passage or transit, as it is often depicted (Ortiz 2004; Téllez 2008), but instead a unique location of intersecting political, social, and class identities that allows for the emergence and development of "coalitional solidarity" (Bandy 2000) and transformative resistance against globalization and its effects.

As Millie Thayer (2010, 4) argues, transnational networks represent the other face of globalization, "the emancipatory possibilities created by new interlocal connections." She asks that we begin to get a better grasp of the cultural dimension of cross-border politics and move toward understanding that "social movements are relational constructs" (Thayer 2010, 6). Similar to the new popular movements and women's autonomy movements as described by Bickham Mendez (2002; 2005), Starr (2000), Domínguez (2002), and MacDonald (2005), the San Diego-Tijuana based coalition we introduce grew out of a frustration with the lack of accountability, compliance, enforcement, and change on the part of government, corporations, unions, and other groups, as well as in response to changes in federal law and economic development policies. The coalition collaborates to pressure the federal government and multinational corporations to provide fair work conditions and pay, environmental protections, and respect. With this important regional project in mind, we will underscore the possibilities that can be produced through cross-border relationships and articulate the sentiment of hope generated by the belief that the *maquiladora* industry actually creates a space in which multiple identities and movements intersect, producing a macro vision for social change.

Methods

Through mixed methods of data collection, we document each organization's mission and history, organizing strategies, membership structure, and the effects of recent political and economic changes on their work. Data collection, which occurred between September 2004 and March 2009, included participant observation of the groups' meetings, actions, and celebrations, focus groups with *maquiladora* workers, semistructured interviews with center staff, and textual analysis of organizational documents such as meeting minutes, memos, reflections, and mission statements. The diverse data provided insight into how, on a day-to-day basis, these organizations validate workers and their experiences, magnify their voices and the impact of their actions, and build solidarity with each other and transnational allies in the context of the San Diego–Tijuana border region. Common characteristics shared among the three include autonomous organization, limited external funding, and a commitment to being community-based and worker-driven.

Organizations: La Colectiva, CITTAC, SDMWSN

La Colectiva Feminista Binacional

La Colectiva Feminista Binacional (Binational Feminist Collective, hereafter referred to as *la colectiva*) consists of activists, feminists, *maquiladora* workers, self-identified Zapatistas,[7] environmentalists, students, artists, and organizers from the United States and Mexico who identify mostly as Chicanas and Mexicanas. Born out of other feminist movements in the area, there are currently seven active members, ranging in age from twenty-five to fifty-five, who attend meetings, organize workshops, and contribute to the kitchen collective. Their primary home base is in the city of Tijuana, and they share office space with other organizations (such as CITTAC). According to their mission statement, the goal of *la colectiva* is to "construct a new movement that supports and highlights the spiritual and human components of the diverse struggles experienced by women in the border region" through workshops, festivals, and a binational *encuentro* (meeting) (Colectiva Feminista Binacional 2004). Through an analysis of NAFTA, they argue that there has been an increased pressure on women through lower salaries, the constant threat of unemployment, and exposure to chemical contamination and toxic waste from transnational companies. Members realized that after ten years of organizing at the local level their work needed to move beyond their own communities, because as Carmen, an organizer of the *encuentro*, points out, "the policies that inform transnational capital do not stay in the locality, neither should the collective responses be tied to particular locations" (personal interview 2009).

In this vein, *la colectiva* builds community for *Mexicana* workers who often have not only traveled from the interior of Mexico to the border region alone, but also face a range of oppressors due to their multiple "other" identities (i.e., poor, indigenous, and/or queer women). *La colectiva* is committed to serving and empowering women through the creation of a worker solidarity network with an intersectional focus: "The fight cannot only be for salary, or to have better working conditions, but [we must also fight against] capitalist exploitation and patriarchy in the factories" (personal interview 2009).

CITTAC

El Centro de Información para Trabajadores y Trabajadoras Acción Communitaria (referred to as CITTAC), a Workers' Information Center, was formed in 1991 by workers in the bank, telephone, and *maquiladora* industries who came together to collectively learn how to use federal labor laws as recourse in worker abuse cases. While its initial focus was supporting the unionized telephone workers with their publication and radio broadcasts, this focus changed in 1993 when workers in the telephone, social security, and banking sectors became part of the union's executive board, thus creating a divide in CITTAC between the unionized workers and the *maquiladora* and cooperative workers.

Though offered financial support from the union, the members of CITTAC decided against accepting funds that might limit or change its chosen activities and focus.

CITTAC, with a centrally located office in Tijuana,[8] now primarily serves the *maquiladora* workers so as to improve their living and working conditions and defend their labor and gender rights. *Maquiladora* workers are invited to go to the center to learn about their rights, determine the most appropriate method of recourse in their case, and pursue justice on their own behalf. Preparing workers to defend themselves in court is a fundamental component of the service provided by the group, although not one member has had any legal training outside of their hands-on experience. They also publish a monthly newsletter (*el Boletín Maquilero*) and they distribute a "know your rights" (*Primeros Auxilios*) pamphlet to *maquiladora* workers. There are currently two paid members who handle workers' cases, though the organization has over thirty active members who come to meetings, support actions, and contribute to the newsletter, allowing the organization to serve hundreds of workers.

San Diego Maquiladora Worker Solidarity Network

The San Diego Maquiladora Worker Solidarity Network (referred to as SDMWSN), a binational support system for *maquiladora* workers, was formed by San Diego-based activists in 2004[9] and grew out of a desire to bridge commonalities across the border and further strengthen the relationship between cross-border activists. One of its functions is to support CITTAC and *la colectiva* by complementing their work with binational actions. In their mission statement, they also make clear their position on US and multinational corporations in the border cities, who, as they state, "have no right to humiliate workers, subject them to dangerous working conditions, pay squalid wages, or repress worker organization." It is around this declaration that the group organizes, focusing on how to best address this global issue locally.

The network is committed to developing transnational organizing strategies that incorporate the voices and needs of Tijuana workers. Through the coordination of border tours, conferences, forums, and panels, the network focuses on outreaching to and educating US citizens about the conditions and wages in the factories. Through this work they create opportunities for dialogue about the role US citizens play as consumers and advocates.

Living and Working Conditions at the Border: Realities and Illusions

The San Diego-Tijuana border is a unique context in which to examine organizing and resistance efforts for its complex cultural, political, and economic dynamics. After the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and after the international boundary between Mexico and the United States was drawn, Tijuana and Baja California were very isolated from the center of Mexico where most of the country's resources, people, and political power were located (Lore, 1999). The arrival of large amounts of capital into southern California in the late 1800s had a spillover effect in Baja California, which was facilitated by Porfirio Diaz's government (1870–1910), which offered concessions to foreign capital to encourage investment—offers that US interests took up, especially in the mining and transportation sectors (Nevins 2002). The most far-reaching transformation of the border region in the late nineteenth century resulted from the construction of a railroad network that connected the Mexican north and the US southwest with the major commercial and population centers in each country. Railroads increased the value of the border region's natural resources by connecting them to distant processing plants, distribution centers, and markets (Lorey 1999).

By the turn of the century, US investments in Mexico had risen to over one-half billion dollars and more than one thousand US companies were engaged in Mexican operations. These investments marked the beginning of significant US economic influence in Mexico (Lorey 1999). Furthermore, during the Depression era, the United States deported hundreds of thousands of Mexicans, many whom settled in Tijuana, which contributed to its population boom.[10] In 1942, the US Bracero Program was established and attracted thousands of migrants to the northern boundary. Tijuana's population more than tripled during the decade, reaching almost 70,000 by the year 1950. The post-Depression era coincided with a US military buildup in San Diego during the 1940s and 1950s, providing a clientele for the entertainment and tourist economy that had been in decline since the Depression (and Prohibition) (Nevins 2002). Clearly, the interconnected yet asymmetrical relationship between the border cities was defined early on and Tijuana and its citizens were deemed second-class citizens, a designation that was reinscribed on the bodies of Mexican border women who were seen as tools of diversion and exploitation.

The unbalanced power dynamics became compounded in 1961, when the Mexican government launched the Programa Nacional Fronterizo (PRONAF), or National Border Program. The program aimed to beautify border towns, build up their tourist infrastructure, and create favorable conditions for industrialization in the border region. The Border Industrialization Program (BIP), an outgrowth of PRONAF, established the border zone corridor of export processing industries known as *maquiladoras* in 1965 (Herzog 1990; Lorey 1999; Nevins 2002). *Maquiladoras* were the only firms exempt from Mexican law, which required majority Mexican ownership (Lorey 1999). The BIP also helped to fuel significant migration to border cities from other parts of Mexico. In a forty-year period between 1950 and 1990, the population of Mexican border-states multiplied 3.6 times (Lorey 1999). And between 1990 and 2004, there was an increase of 24.1 million (29.7 percent) people in Mexico, 21.7 percent of which were absorbed by border-states and 10.6 percent of which were absorbed by border *municipios* (Institute for Policy and Economic Development 2006).

Tijuana continues to serve as a destination for migrants from across the Mexican nation, who travel to the border in the hopes of fulfilling the dream of economic security. For example, Mago, a former *maquiladora* worker from Oaxaca, who is now a lead organizer for CITTAC, was drawn to Tijuana where she heard workers "don't bother to pick up dropped dollars from the floor . . . [because] there's an abundance of well-paid work" (personal interview 2009). Manuel, a worker from Tlaxcala, added: "They tell us that here one can get a good car for almost nothing, that one will have work, a house, everything. It was the 'American dream,' only without the risks of crossing to the other side, the American dream in Mexico" (personal interview 2009).

Upon arrival, migrants are faced with a much starker reality in which their dreams of economic stability are truncated. This experience has only been compounded by the global economic downturn of the last few years. *El Mexicano* reported in January and February of 2010 that the unemployment rate had reached its highest in recent history, with 9 percent of Tijuana residents (approx. 61,000 people) unemployed at a time when the national unemployment average was only 6 percent (Gomez-Sanchez 2010; *El Mexicano* 2010). Members of CITTAC claim that job seekers fill the streets, easily identifiable by the folders they carry with the required documentation needed to obtain a job. In addition to the soaring unemployment rates, underemployment has had a significant impact on household income as factories are cutting workers' schedules by offering three days of work per week or only one-month contracts.

Needless to say, workers' buying power has been significantly compromised. During a focus group discussion, *maquiladora* workers claimed that the low wages affect "everything," commenting that prices for food, clothing, transportation, water, light, and education are all rising (personal interview 2009). With climbing unemployment rates and few alternatives, workers who currently are employed are encouraged to keep their jobs despite substandard pay and working conditions.

A staff member at CITTAC acknowledged the compromising situations in which workers often find themselves:

> You can imagine how difficult it is to work a week in the conditions in which they are working. They do not have a schedule. There is no eight-hour limit; you have to work the hours the company gives you. They do not have any protection in terms of health, in terms of nutrition, in terms of exposure to chemicals, in terms of help to take care of your family . . . It is exploitation in this way. It's absolutely brutal (personal interview 2009).

Interviewees from each of the three grassroots organizations related that the economic recession in Tijuana has greatly impacted workers' security and well-being, as well as their methods of resistance and recourse. In the face of bleak conditions border dwellers are reimagining new possibilities.

Strategies and Empowerment: *Maquiladora* Workers and Their Allies Incite Change at the Border

In analyzing the work of *la colectiva,* CITTAC, and SDMWSN, we have come to understand three strategies of creative responses to both the *maquiladora* industry and the conditions of their lives: 1) community-based, worker-led democratic organizing, 2) outreach and education, and 3) binational organizing. In describing these tactics, we are pointing to the ways in which the activists of these organizations have begun to make their everyday lives livable and how their work makes evident that democratic and autonomous organizing is instrumental to changing the lives of workers as is building solidarity.

Solidarity develops from a need. An organizer with *la colectiva* posits that among the *maquiladora* workers, this need derives from the fact that "migration has made it so that you don't have a familial or social network . . . to support you, so who is going to have your back? For that reason, you have to develop a solidarity network" (personal communication 2009). Solidarity among Mexican workers develops as they share their experiences with one another; solidarity with their US allies stems from a shared critique of neoliberalism and relationship building through meetings, cultural exchanges, actions, and conversations. Between the three organizations, the movement has become interracial and intergenerational, and activists describe a need for trust in order to deal with conflicts when they arise.

Community-Based, Worker-Led, Democratic Organization

Democratic, community-based organization is an essential component of the work by CITTAC, *la colectiva,* and SDMWSN, as it recognizes and provides an alternative to a history of marginalization and lack of access and representation. The deprivation of community control and bargaining power on the municipal, state, and federal levels of government often extends into the workplace, rendering workers vulnerable to the profit-maximizing efforts employers utilize without regard to the well-being of workers. Because worker power and control are challenged in many public settings, grassroots, community-based organizations must prioritize space and time for worker empowerment and leadership development and allow

the local community to drive the work and mission of the organizations so that the expressed needs of the community can be appropriately met.

The organizations have, in name, a formalized hierarchical leadership structure with a president, vice-president, and secretary as required by NGO regulations and external funders; however, in practice, each organization functions within a nonhierarchical structure for the purpose of incorporating workers' voices, prioritizing their needs, and giving them control over decisions that affect their everyday lives. In this way, they operate more like an *asamblea* (democratic forum) with the expectation that every person plays a role and contributes according to their time, skills, and ability. Organization meetings and forums allow space for the activists to meet, discuss and learn from each other. Because of the insider knowledge and familiarity necessary to assess and evaluate the current situation in the *maquiladoras,* CITTAC's members decided that it would be a requirement for all members of the organization to be workers as opposed to scholars or local activists. One member told us, "We have to know our enemy. We have to know our work. We ourselves will do the analysis of our places; we don't have to wait for someone else to do it" (personal interview 2009).

Members intimately know the challenges to worker participation and organization and are committed to addressing these obstacles in ways that account for limited resources and enhance community development. During a focus group, one organizer said, "We cannot only stay in protest but also explore mechanisms for how we will survive, by using [creative strategies such as] gardens [and] shopping collectives" (personal interview 2009).

For example, one such obstacle that women confront as leaders and which community-based organizations are committed to addressing is accessibility to childcare. A member of *la colectiva* spoke to a common situation in which women find themselves:

> I cannot leave because I bring my children with me and my son goes off running and they distract me and everyone else. They get bored. The woman is usually with her children. Where are they going to leave them? So, we decided that someone's daughter or one of us would take turns with the kids so that the women could take advantage of the workshops (personal interview 2009).

By recognizing and addressing the obstacles women organizers and leaders confront, the collective creates the conditions in which they can fully participate in the movement and focus on their educational and personal development.

Rising unemployment rates and women's lack of access to safely-earned income is another issue addressed by *la colectiva* and SDMWSN, which support a women's cooperative called the collective kitchen as a creative solution to these needs. In addition to providing an alternative source of income, women gain experience in small business management, and the space and opportunity to develop an intentional community in which everything from recipes to their experiences of domestic abuse can be shared.

Another collaborative, creative response to the rising unemployment and safety concerns is the small alternative marketplace of Cosme Damian (located in the offices of CITTAC/*La colectiva* in Tijuana) where local artisans and musicians, including *maquiladora* workers, can sell their art and where they have access to the "reality" tourists that SDMWSN brings in. A final response, which is still in the planning phase, is a community garden that will provide fresh food, a shared community safe space, and a team-building project for the women. These three programs represent creative direct responses to the needs of their members and the surrounding community, and also create an opportunity for community development and empowerment.

Outreach and Education

Education and outreach in the local community is a priority among the three grassroots organizations, each of which have designed strategies to bring *maquiladora* workers together in a safe space to learn about their rights, and the resources and recourse available to them. Part of the strategic outreach to workers is the distribution of the *Maquiladora* newsletter (*El Boletín Maquilero*) developed by CITTAC and the Red de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores de la Maquila (Maquiladora Workers Network, a subgroup of CITTAC based in Tijuana that serves as a support network for just *maquiladora* workers); the newsletter serves to "provide a space so that the workers know and defend [their] human and labor rights and share their workplace experiences and struggle" (Red de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores de la Maquila 2006). The newsletter also informs workers of the assistance provided by CITTAC.

Workers who solicit assistance from CITTAC attend workshops about empowerment, workers' rights, and gender issues, and both the legal and extra legal recourse available to them. As one organizer explained:

> Initially, we had not thought to take legal cases; we don't trust in the law, so why would we do this? But, we realized along the way that it was a way to teach people more quickly about their rights and they became more interested in the issue of organizing (personal interview 2009).

Learning the law and how to maneuver within the legal framework has proven to be an empowering experience for workers as they take control over their own lives and cases. Indeed, the Mexican constitution of 1917 guarantees workers the right of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, the right to strike, and the eight-hour day. The Federal Labor Law (FLL) of 1970 amplifies the constitutional protections with extended provisions protecting working conditions, health insurance, pensions, job descriptions, working schedules, and job security (Fuentes Mufiiz 1994/1995). Many have argued that Mexican federal labor laws are the best in the world, but only on paper. Yet the workers have found ways to not only have their cases heard but also have many rulings in their favor despite the unsettling contradictions found in the rules that bind manufacturing in Mexico. On the one hand the government obligates foreign firms to comply with Mexico's detailed labor regulations while at the same time increasing foreign investment requires that the Mexican government attempt to make these regulations flexible enough not to scare off foreign investors (Peters 1990). Yet by learning about federal law, the activists of CITTAC have tapped into a resource that is legally binding and educates and empowers workers, and, after a number of victories, CITTAC has developed a reputation such that when the Labor Board finds out that CITTAC will be defending a worker, "they know there will be a fight" (personal interview 2009).

La colectiva offers workshops to women that are relevant to their lives, challenge their ways of thinking, and demand intellectual growth and leadership development. Recognizing the need to involve "intellectual resistance with traditional protests" (*colectiva* member, personal interview 2009), the collective has offered workshops on patriarchy, gender rights in the workplace, women's health and safety, and reproductive rights. One such workshop, organized in collaboration with Centro de Investigación Laborales y Asesorías Sindical (CILA), allowed workers access to several doctors with specialties in labor health who spoke to the impact of chemicals on women's reproductive health and men's sexuality. The hope is that with an increased understanding of both labor rights and worker safety, workers will be better prepared to prevent future injury and exposure, and demand government mandated protections from employers.

In connecting workers and providing a space to hear each other's testimonies, workers learn about and analyze the context in which they live and work. By sharing stories, the struggle becomes less individualistic in focus, drawing attention instead to the intersectionality of social problems with sexism, classism, and racism. Through continued conversation and analysis, the workers learn that their experiences are not isolated, but rather are systematic and transnational in nature and that the response must be equally as complex and globalized. This realization led to the development of SDMWSN.

SDMWSN works to expose US citizens to the realities just on the other side of the border, realities they can influence as consumers and educated advocates. On the local level, the network hosts border tours during which participants see art projects on the border wall, learn about Metales y Derivados (the abandoned lead smelter site featured in the film *Maquilapolis*, explained below) and its impact on the local community, meet CITTAC's members and staff, and hear about the common complaints reported by *maquila* workers. Herb Shore, a cofounder of the network, clarified the utility of the tours and the network's work:

> For me what we can do is make Mexico a less mysterious place to progressive people on this side of the border. And part of what we're doing is helping to create a politically aware movement of young people in this country (Morlan 2006).

In addition to the border tours, the network and its leaders participate in conferences, forums, and panels in order to bring this border reality

to light and create opportunities for transformative dialogue. As Bickham Mendez and Wolf (2012, 648) summarize, "spaces that permit and foster solidarity and exchange and in which groups and individuals link local issues, grievances, and even identities to an understanding of global processes provide fertile ground for forging counterhegemonies and developing alternatives to the dominant neoliberal paradigm."

The design and implementation of SDMWSN's programs allow solidarity to develop organically between workers and allies such that, collectively, they come to recognize the common, transnational need for stable work, consistent pay, regularized environmental protections and working conditions, and protection from discrimination. Story-sharing allows workers and allies to connect with the others' humanity and daily lives.

Binational Organizing

Binational and transnational organizing have been an important component of the work of CITTAC, SDMWSN, and *la colectiva* for the purpose of raising awareness, creating leverage, and building coalitional solidarity around workers' rights and human dignity. In line with what Foster (2005, 218–219) outlines as the shared interest of groups within a transnational network, these three grassroots organizations collaborate to confront shared targets, create opportunities for broader dialogue and understanding, and facilitate the exploration of personal linkages.

The SDMWSN has led the efforts to construct bridges between community groups, students, unions, and local activists in Tijuana and San Diego in order to raise consciousness of shared labor struggles, environmental degradation caused by factories, and local and transnational organizing efforts. The SDMWSN developed two programs that facilitate this communication, information sharing, and worker solidarity. The first program is the organized border tour through which primarily California-based individuals and groups are transported to the industrial zone and communities of Tijuana and have the opportunity to meet the workers and activists involved in the labor struggle there. The SDMWSN and *la colectiva* collaborate on this project, providing the opportunity for the kitchen collective to prepare food for tour participants. The second program allows *maquiladora* workers from

Tijuana (members of CITTAC) the opportunity to travel to San Diego as "ambassadors" to visit the San Diego Labor Council, local unions, schools, and other sites, and raise awareness of about the labor experiences of *maquiladora* workers. As an activist with SDMWSN stated,

> The idea is that the unions and the groups in San Diego would be conscious that the struggles in the assembly plants of Tijuana exist. And also that the comrades, the workers of Tijuana would know also that there are labor struggles in San Diego. We have tried to put into contact the groups that are involved in this struggle from the two sides of the border (personal interview 2009).

In addition to the educational aspect of the binational organizing, the SDMWSN, *la colectiva*, and CITTAC coordinate actions between the activists and allies in San Diego and Tijuana in order to address problems within specifically identified companies and in the *maquiladora* industry broadly. Simultaneous protests and other mutually agreed-upon tactics such as letter-writing campaigns are common ways that workers support each other binationally, a strategy that has effectively allowed workers to confront multinational company owners living in San Diego. One activist from SDMWSN shared this example:

> There were cases in which the company owners were living in San Diego, specifically in Chula Vista. All that we could do was to organize a simultaneous protest in San Diego while the workers in Tijuana were marching in front of the factory. The factory was closed, but we were also protesting in front of the owners' other businesses and in front of the sports club that the owners belonged to (in Tijuana). We were here [in San Diego] protesting in front of the owners' house, and by their purely bad luck that day they [the owners] had invited over all of their friends and family for a barbeque or I don't know what. All of the people there were scared when groups of activists arrived. It was such a scandal! (personal interview 2009).

Furthermore, with the goal of building networks, in September of 2004 *la colectiva* decided to organize an *encuentro*, or meeting, with other activists working on issues affecting women in the border region.

This was the first grassroots, binational, women-centered meeting held at the women's center in the autonomous community of Maclovio Rojas (see Mancillas 2002; Téllez 2006, 2008) located between the cities of Tecate and Tijuana. The call for the *encuentro* stated the following:

> Knowing each other gives us the opportunity to extend our own struggles and working together we can come up with strategies for better communication locally, regionally and binationally. With this kind of gathering, we'll focus on the specific gendered problems that we face and, also, we will put forward a perspective from women and by women (CFB event flyer 2004).

The objectives of the *encuentro* were several: 1) look at ties that already exist between organizations in Baja California, Mexico and California, US; 2) share different organizing experiences and learn from each other; 3) come up with a solution to the problems that we have as women workers, community members and organizers in this region; 4) collective reflection of who we are and what are our struggles are; and 5) formulate strategies for support. The two-day meeting attracted over forty organizations from California and Baja California and a worker/organizer from Guatemala. Those present were migrants, academics, students, union organizers, *maquiladora* workers, community health workers, indigenous women, housewives, and media workers. The turnout was extremely successful, considering that the gathering was led by workers, students, and activists and was coordinated with no outside funding other than participant donations.

Being situated in the border region is advantageous for cross-border organizing due to the proximity to allies and the opportunities for sharing testimony and developing shared consciousness. Bandy and Bickham Mendez (2003) have similarly noted that the border is a place where activists have been focused since the passage of NAFTA, and opportunities for ongoing binational and bilingual collaboration are numerous. Binational organizing is an important tool as it helps shape a coordinated transnational response to a transnational issue. In particular, binational organizing allows women and others who disproportionately bear the brunt of economic restructuring due to NAFTA the opportunity to develop a shared oppositional identity, a starting ground for addressing the common implications they face (Gabriel and Macdonald 1994), such as tense binational relations, environmental degradation, and labor and human rights abuse. As one organizer from SDMWSN noted,

> It's a way to build interethnic relationships. The network in San Diego has many "gringos" (white US Americans) and it's an opportunity for Mexican workers to see them. Sometimes there are misunderstandings, but here we have begun to, slowly, very slowly, build trust (personal interview 2009).

Through creative tactics that utilize binational solidarity, the workers have drawn attention to their labor struggles and the undeniable international responsibility for the *maquiladora* workers' plight. Yet a discussion on cross-border organizing must speak to the difficulties that also arise when community-based, worker-driven organizations utilize binational organizing strategies. There are several common obstacles that the organizations must consider and address. One relates to financing and the conditions, priorities, and strategies imposed on organizations by their funders. The three organizations highlighted in this chapter have had difficulty securing external funds for operations and activities as they refuse to accept funds with strings attached. For example, a funder of *la colectiva* decided that it would rather invest in an organization whose focus is solely women's reproductive rights rather than an organization that also addresses human and labor rights. *La colectiva* preferred not to accept funds rather than change its work according to the funder's new requirements. By remaining true to their theoretical and value-based principals, these organizations are even more severely limited in external funding.

Another obstacle to binational organizing is the ability of Tijuana workers to cross the border to meet workers in San Diego and to participate in SDMWSN's program as ambassadors. Because traveling across the border is imperative to the success of the cross-border consciousness-raising efforts and the development of coalitional solidarity, and typically only a few workers have the appropriate papers with which to cross the border, if US citizens do not travel to Mexico with the SDMWSN's coordinated border tours, the cross-border outreach and education efforts are severely impaired. This, of course, speaks to the already asymetrical relationship that exists between US and Mexican citizens—in terms of access, sociopolitical positions, and resources—compounded by cultural and linguistic miscommunications that also emerge. For example, oftentimes in meetings, opinions and comments get lost in translation or not translated at all for those who are not bilingual. Addressing these issues requires a commitment to the cross-border relationship that we believe is there but sometimes gets lost under the amount of work that needs to be done. But this needs to be recognized as an important part of the work because other sociocultural differences such as different notions about punctuality, presumed levels of detachment, and having different foci can lead to implosions. This can happen both internally and externally as made visible in some of the breaks that have happened between the time of our research and the writing of this chapter. While the organizations as described here continue to exist and operate in these ways, there have been some splits among activists, and a new organization has emerged.[11] Christina Gabriel and Laura Macdonald (1994), whose work focuses on trinational organized responses to NAFTA, similarly point to differences in race, socioeconomic class, gender, resources, communication styles, organizing strategies, priorities, and analysis that complicate collaboration. Moreover, CITTAC has a long history with binational relationship building and has experienced several splits with some major unions in the United States precisely for these reasons; as a result, CITTAC has put emphasis on building a Mexico-based space of support for *maquiladora* workers. In other words, long-time activists in CITTAC recognize that the power inequalities that have occurred in the past can derail their movement, and by centering the needs and experiences of the *maquiladora* workers they instead remain steadfast in their commitment to improving the lives of *maquiladora* workers.

Discussion/Implications

By outlining the strategies that best represent the multilayered, cross-border efforts of the organizations in the San Diego–Tijuana border region, we are pointing to the ways in which these grassroots organizations have given hope and voice to the workers of the *maquiladora* industry. In identifying and putting into practice a community-led and democratically organized project, the workers and activists of the area are representing a dramatically different image of border dwellers as active and informed agents for social change. Their strategic efforts address long-term labor struggles through education, community, leadership development, and cooperative cross-border coalition building, and creatively respond to the specific needs of border dwellers. The education, outreach, and community development efforts are imperative to the sustainability of local grassroots organizing, and the community's capacity for demanding an international effort to protect and advance the state of labor in the face of global restructuring. As one member of SDSNMW said,

> Even the product that is created in the *maquiladoras* is multinational, so we cannot just target one company. Unlike any other part in the country we are completely tied to the international struggle of workers, to what happens to workers in other parts of the world and how we can build alliances between here and there (personal interview 2009).

While we recognize that some of these strategies are not new and have been outlined in other discussions around transnational/binational and worker-centered organizing (Bickham Mendez 2005; Fine 2006), below we trace the political significance of these particular coalitions and actions.

First, given the political climate of fear, alienation, and lack of mutual understanding that exists along this political demarcation, the ability to and importance of organizing across the US-Mexico border must be noted. Jonathan Fox (2002) argues that the binational relationship between the United States and Mexico is the broadest and deepest example of global integration, yet he points out that binational civil society coalitions have had limited impact on the national state. In fact, he argues that labor movements have had a consistent pattern of defeat and cites the 1999 Han Young case as a cautionary tale of the restrictions that US political pressure can have on federal labor law within Mexico.[12]

While we heed this critique, we believe that just as US political pressure has successfully pushed a neoliberal, corporate agenda, the same

power can be positively redirected to ensure that the state of labor and human rights on the US-Mexico border remain a high legal priority for international audiences to address. The work of these three grassroots groups allows citizens of the United States and Mexico to collaborate in order to enact change that holds both the Mexican government and the multinational companies accountable.[13] In fact, the use of federal labor laws becomes a rallying point for allies on both sides of the US-Mexico border because it becomes a tangible target. As one organizer from CITTAC said,

> Today we are fighting against the bosses, and then we have to fight against the authorities because the authorities are always on the bosses' side. And then we have to fight against the union because they are also on the bosses' side. In one case we wanted to involve the environmental institutions. We had to fight with them, denouncing the problem that they were allowing chemicals to cross the border, so then we had to fight with customs. So, then each time we took steps, we confronted someone new. We were always there. It was like a monster with a thousand heads that we faced. The result is that now the workers in the factories do not just confront their boss; now we confront the whole system (personal interview 2009).

Recognizing the layered structures of power, organizers have to create strategies that will produce a material outcome. In other words, organizers recall that in the early stages of the labor movement, the relationship between the worker and his or her boss was very different where a worker could grieve directly to the boss. However, direct contact does not exist in the same way as it once did. Given the global nature of capital, production, and labor, organizers have to respond to the state by using the tools provided to them—namely labor law—but also make visible the tiered system of ownership across nation-states and the unequal distribution of wealth (through direct actions, letter campaigns, and other strategies outlined in this chapter). The activists we interviewed do not believe that changing the entire system will happen overnight, but they do count as success the sense of personal empowerment and leadership that taking action and being involved has produced for workers.

We also take into consideration Bickham Mendez's (2002; 2005) argument, based on her work in Nicaragua, that information and accountability politics (according to Keck and Sikkink's [1998] typologies) have been the most effective and utilized strategies for grassroots organizations, and that leverage politics has been a greater challenge. Our work clearly reflects this reality. But we have also underscored the importance that this work has had on creating cross-border solidarity and the sentiment of hope. We argue that this has produced a vision for change that does not end here; in fact, organizers and workers argue that a movement based on the *maquiladora* industry is essential to promoting change along the US-Mexico border. Activists believe that the border economy depends on the industry, as do the education, social security, and health institutions, since the *maquiladora* industry is the largest employer. There are also those who are indirectly affected by the *maquiladora* industry including: street vendors, transportation, and other retail and service industries. Given these articulations we demonstrate the intersecting components in Figure 12.1, adapted from the conversations we had with the organizers of CITTAC.

One of the organizers posed the question: "If conditions are terrible for the workers and if everyone is dependent [on the *maquiladora* industry] isn't there a moral/ethical obligation to workers? We have to make people see what is going on in the *maquilas*" (personal communication 2009).

Returning to Millie Thayer's concept of relational organizing and the idea that organizations inhabit a counterpublic through linkages at multiple scales, we underscore the ways in which the activists point to the intersections of the *maquiladora* industry, both in terms of the movements it creates and the colonizations present there. A space where multiple movements converge produces a collective identity, and as Thayer (2010, 26) states, "among the relations most important for the survival of a social movement are the ties it maintains with those whose identities and interests overlap, at least partially, with its own." Because the collective identity—based on the recognition of shared human experiences and values, and their critiques of neoliberalism—is contingent in part on a physical space that transcends borders, activists offer a model and a sense of hope for other grassroots organizations located along the US-Mexico border for issue-based organizing. For its location, cross-border organizers can influence international relations as they intersect with human rights and dignity.

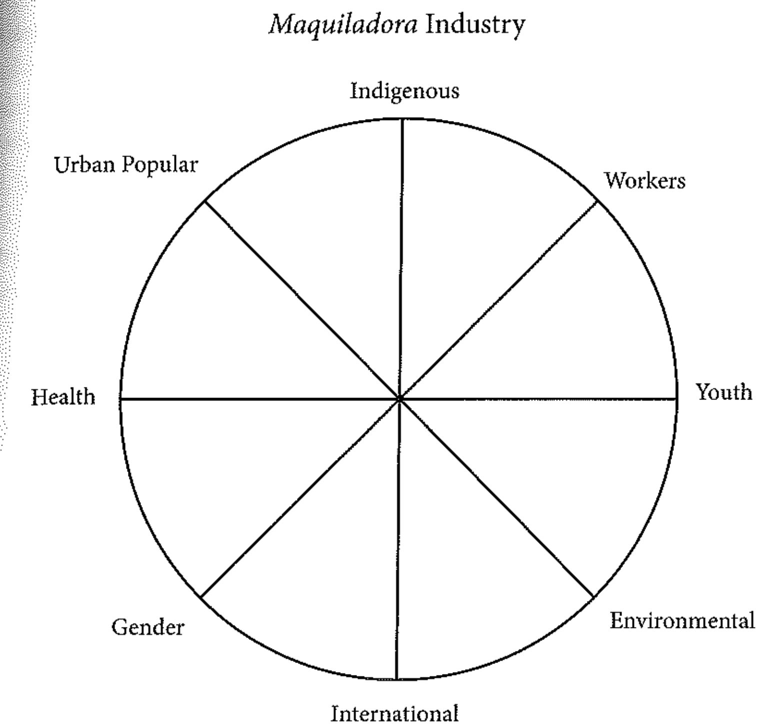

Figure 12.1.

Conclusion

Rather than be incorporated into a design of someone else's making, workers are centering their own voices in public discourse and allowing their experiences to inform the grassroots, community-based, local and binational strategies they use to resist globalization and victimization in the San Diego–Tijuana region. The successful labor organizing strategies outlined in this chapter focus simultaneously on individual and community development and empowerment and binational alliance-building, which are imperative to the organizations' work and the sustainability of the changes they initiate. Their strategies aim to address short-term, individual needs by empowering workers and developing their leadership capacity, networks, resources, skills, and rights so that they are able to advocate for themselves and tackle the larger transnational labor struggle. Worker solidarity drives the resistance as workers recognize they can no longer look narrowly at what directly and immediately impacts them as individuals, but rather how a larger oppressive system affects the collective. As a lead organizer from CITTAC says, "The Mexican constitution gives us the right to organize, to organize in the way that we need to. All we need to do is invent it, to give wings to our dreams" (personal interview 2009). Through their unwavering commitment, their dreams may very well take flight.

NOTES

1. This research was made possible through partial funding from the Ford Foundation and the Low Wage Work, Migration, and Gender project at the University of Illinois at Chicago; special thanks to Anna Guevarra for inviting us into the project. We would also like to thank photographer Oscar Michel for his help with the documentation of pivotal conversations and events and to the graduate students from ASU who helped with the transcription and translation of interviews: Courtney Andersen, Elizabeth Miller, and Katie Norberg. Finally, our heartfelt thanks to the workers who lent us their voices and to the activists that continue the fight for justice along the border.

2. Typically found in Mexico and Central America, *maquiladoras* are production sites where material and equipment are imported, processed, and reexported for foreign consumption. As Ching Louie and Burnham (2000, 11) note, the global economy refers to the "globalization of production, markets, finance, communications and the labor force"; the global economy is visible along the US-Mexico border in the form of Export Processing Zones (EPZs). An export-processing zone (EPZ) refers to a geographic area in which goods or equipment may be processed, manufactured, or reexported without the intervention of the customs authorities.

3. Tarrow (2001), Fox (2000), and Bandy and Bickham Mendez (2003) use the terms "transnational movements" and "transnational organizing" to refer to situations in which "groups from at least two different nations share information, organizational resources, strategy, and often but not always political interests and values" (Bickham Mendez 2003, 173).

4. The correct use of the word "collective" in the Spanish language is *colectivo*, but members of the group chose to change the word to a feminine ending to mark their women-centered framework.

5. For an examination of the living and working conditions in this region, please see Michelle Téllez (2008, 545–567); Oscar Martinez (1988); Rebecca Dolhinow (2006); Victor M Ortiz-Gonzalez (2004); and David Bacon (2004).

6. "Transnational activism" is defined as collective responses to globalization created through networks across borders that challenge inequalities in working conditions and environments produced by multinational corporations (Armbruster-Sandoval 2005; Bandy 2000; Bandy 2004; Bacon 2004; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Liebowitz 2002; Staudt and Coronado 2002).

7. The Zapatistas (also known as the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional or E.Z.L.N.) emerged in 1994, the same year the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was implemented. This group of indigenous communities from the state of Chiapas came together with a national cry for recognition, autonomy, and demand for dignified access to their lands and ways of life. They received international attention and support and as a result civil organizations in communities and cities across the world materialized.

8. The space is shared by all of the organizations, but is used primarily by CITTAC.

9. This organization also grew out of a previous *maquiladora* worker support group run by San Diego based activist Mary Tong. Please see http://enchantedwebsites.com/maquiladora/ for more information.

10. In the 1930s this was called the Great Repatriation, and later, in the 1950s, as a result of continued nativism and racialized scapegoating, the program returned under the name Operation Wetback (Mirandé 1987).

11. Please see "Transcending Borders: Testimonios of Resistance on the US-Mexico Border" by Sarina Sanchez, Antonia Arias Estrada, Margarita Avalos Salas, in Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies, edited by Maylei Blackwell, Vol. 38, Issue 1.

12. Han Young is a welding plant for Hyundai located on the US-Mexico border. The 1998 labor struggle at Han Young became famous as it came to symbolize the first—and last—legal strike by an independent union in a *maquiladora*. Despite wide range of support from US political actors, the strike has been deemed a failure as the union was not legalized and the workers lost their jobs after the prolonged battle.

13. The 2005 film by Sergio de la Torre and Vicki Funari, *Maquilapolis*, details several of the victories alluded to in this chapter.

REFERENCES

Andreas, Peter. 2000. *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Armbruster-Sandoval, Ralph. 2005. "Workers of the World Unite? The Contemporary Anti-Sweatshop Movement and the Struggle for Social Justice in the Americas." *Work & Occupations* 32 (40): 464–485.

Bacon, David. 2004. *The Children of NAFTA: Labor Wars on the U.S./Mexico Border*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2005. "Stories from the Borderlands. NACLA Report on the Americas." http://dbacon.igc.org/Mexico/2005borderlands.htmlsy.

Bandy, Joe. 2000. "Bordering the Future: Resisting Neoliberalism in the Borderlands." *Critical Sociology* 26 (3): 232–267.

———. 2004. "Paradoxes of Transnational Civil Societies Under Neoliberalism: The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras." *Social Problems* 51 (3): 410–431.

Bandy, Joe, and Jennifer Bickham Mendez. 2003. "A Place of their Own? Women Organizers in the Maquilas of Nicaragua and Mexico." *Mobilization* 8 (2): 173–188.

Bickham Mendez, Jennifer. 2002. "Creating Alternatives from a Gender Perspective: Central American Women's Transnational Organizing for Maquila Workers' Rights." In *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics*, edited by Nancy A Naples and Manisha Desai, 121–141. New York: Routledge.

Bickham Mendez, Jennifer. 2005. *From the Revolution to the Maquiladoras: Gender, Labor and Globalization in Nicaragua*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bickham Mendez, Jennifer, and Diane L. Wolf. 2012. "Feminizing Global Research/ Globalizing Feminist Research: Methods and Practice Under Globalization." In *The Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, 641–658. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Camacho, Alicia Schmidt. 1999. "On the Borders of Solidarity: Race and Gender Contradictions in the 'New Voice' Platform of the AFL-CIO." *Social Justice* 26 (3): 79–102.

Castells, Manuel. 1993. "The Informational Economy and the New International Division of Labor." In *The New Global Economy in the Information Age*, edited by Martin Carnoy, Manuel Castells, Stephen S. Cohen, and Fernando Henrique Carodoso, 15–43. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Ching Louie, Miriam, and Linda Burnham. 2000. "Women's Education in the Global Economy." Berkeley, CA: Women of Color Resource Center.

Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras. 2007. "CJM 2007 Highlights." http://coalitionforjustice.info/New_Sites/Highlights/Hightlights_2007.html.

Colectiva Feminista Binacional. 2004. "Memoria del 1er Encuentro Binacional de Mujeres: Trabajadoras, Pobladoras y Promotoras Comunitarias." Tijuana: Colective Feminista Binacional.

Coronado, Irasema. 2008. "Styles, Strategies, and Issues of Women Leaders at the Border." In *Women and Change at the U.S.-Mexico Border: Mobility, Labor, and Activism*, edited by Doreen Mattingly and Ellen Hansen, 142–158. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Cravey, Altha. 1998. *Women and Work in Mexico's Maquiladoras*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Davalos, Enrique. 2004. "A Diez Años que Empezó el Tratado de Libre Comercio (TLC)." *Boletín Maquilero* 1: 2-10.

Dolhinow, Rebecca. 2006. "Mexican Women's Activism in New Mexico's Colonias." In *Women and Change at the U.S./Mexico Border: Mobility, Labor, and Activism*, edited by Doreen J. Mattingly and Ellen R. Hansen, 125–141. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Domínguez, R. Edmé. 2002. "Continental Transnational Activism and Women Workers' Networks Within NAFTA." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 4 (2): 216–239.

Dunn, Timothy J. 1996. *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1978–1992: Low-Intensity Conflict Doctrine Comes Home*. Austin, TX: Center for Mexican American Studies Books.

Fernández-Kelly, Maria. 1983. *For We Are Sold, I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Fine, Janice. 2006. *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Foster, John W. 2005. "The Trinational Alliance Against NAFTA: Sinews of Solidarity." In *Coalition Across Borders: Transnational Protest and the Liberal Order*, edited by Joe Brandy and Jackie Smith, 209–230. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Fox, Jonathan. 2002. "Lessons from Mexico-U.S. Civil Society Coalitions." In *Cross Border Dialogues: U.S.-Mexico Social Networking*, edited by David Brooks and Jonathan Fox, 341–418. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.

———. 2000. "Assessing Binational Civil Society Coalitions: Lessons from the Mexico-U.S. Experience." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Miami.

Fuentes Mufiiz, Manuel. 1994/1995. "The NAFTA Labor Side Accord in Mexico and Its Repercussions for Workers." *Connecticut Journal of International Law*. 10(2): 379-402.

Gabriel, Christina, and Laura Macdonald. 1994. "NAFTA, Women and Organising in Canada and Mexico: Forging a 'Feminist Internationality.'" *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 23 (3): 535–562.

Gómez Sánchez, Lucía. 2010. "Aumenta el disempleo: CCE." *El Mexicano*, January 29. www.el-mexicano.com.mx/noticias/estatal/2010/01/29/390490/aumenta-el-desempleo-cce.aspx.

Herzog, Larry. 1990. *Where North Meets South: Cities, Space and Politics on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Iglesias Prieto, Norma.1997. *Beautiful Flowers of the Maquiladora: Life Histories of Women Workers in Tijuana*. Austin: University of Texas Press, Institute of Latin American Studies.

Institute for Policy and Economic Development, University of Texas. 2006. "At the Cross Roads: US / México Border Counties in Transition." www.bordercounties.org.

Jiménez, Haydeé, and Elke Zobl. 2009. "Ladyfest Tijuana: An Interview with Ines Castillo, Organizer from Ladyfest Tijuana." *Grassroots Feminism: Transnational Archives, Resources and Communities Blog*, December 16. www.grassrootsfeminism.net/cms/node/549.

Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Landau, Saul. 2005. "Globalization, Maquilas, NAFTA and the State: Mexican Labor and 'The New World Order.'" *Journal of Developing Societies* 21 (3–4): 357–368.
Liebowitz, Debra J. 2002. "Gendering (Trans)National Advocacy." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 4 (2): 173–196.
Lorey, David. 1999. *The U.S.-Méxican Border in the Twentieth Century: a History of Economic and Social Transformation.* Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources.
MacDonald, Laura. 2005. "Gendering Transnational Social Movement Analysis: Women's Groups Context Free Trade in the Americas." In *Coalitions Across Borders: Transnational Protest and the Neoliberal Order,* edited by Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith, 21–41. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
Mancillas, Manuel R. 2002. "Transborder Collaboration: The Dynamics of Grassroots Globalization." In *Globalization on the Line: Culture, Capital, and Citizenship at U.S. Borders,* edited by Claudia Sadowski-Smith, 201–220. New York: Palgrave.
Martinez, Oscar. 1988. *Troublesome Border.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
El Mexicano. 2010. "Atraviesa Tijuana la peor crisis en desempleo." February 1. www.el-mexicano.com/mx/noticias/estatal/2010/02/01/390836/atraviesa-tijuana-la-peor-crisis-en-desempleo.aspx.
Mirandé, Alfredo. 1987. *Gringo Justice.* South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
Miyoshi, Masao. 1996. "A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation State." In *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary,* edited by Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake, 78–102. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Morlan, Kinsee. 2006. "Products over People." *San Diego City Beat,* October 25. www.sdcitybeat.com/cms/story/detail/products_over_people/4949/.
Muñoz, Carolina B. 2004. "Mobile Capital, Immobile Labor: Inequality and Opportunity in the Tortilla Industry." *Social Justice* 31 (3): 21–39.
Naples, Nancy A. 2002. "The Challenges and Possibilities of Transnational Feminist Praxis." In *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics,* edited by Nancy A. Naples and Manisha Desai, 267–281. New York: Routledge.
Navarro, Sharon. 2002. "Las Voces de Esperanza/Voices of Hope: La Mujer Obrera Transnationalism, and NAFTA-Displaced Women Workers in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands." In *Globalization on the Line: Culture, Capital and Citizenship at U.S. Borders,* edited by Claudia Sadowski-Smith, 183–197. New York: Palgrave.
Nevins, Joseph. 2002. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary.* New York: Routledge.
Ortiz-Gonzalez, Victor M. 2004. *El Paso: Local Frontiers at a Global Crossroads.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Parenti, Christian. 1999. *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis.* London: Verso.
Peters, Susanna. 1990. "Labor Law for the Maquiladoras: Choosing Between Workers' Rights and Foreign Investment." *Comparative Labor Law Journal* 11 (Winter): 226–248.

Peña, Devon G. 1997. *Terror of the Machine: Technology, Work, Gender, and Ecology of the U.S.-Mexico Border.* Austin: University of Texas Press.
Red de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores de la Maquila. 2006. "Boletín Maquilero #11." http://sdmaquila.org/E%20Boletin%20Maquilero%2011.pdf.
Rentería, Pedraza, Víctor Hugo, and Andrea Spears Kirkland. 2008. "Migracion y trabajo en la frontera norte." Paper presented at the Third International Sociology Congress, "Imagining Sociology of the 21st Century," Universidad Autonoma de Baja California, Ensenada, México.
Rivera-Salgado, Gaspar. 1999. "Binational Organizations of Mexican Migrants to the United States." *Social Justice* 26(3): 27–38.
———. 1999. "Mixtec Activism in Oaxacalifornia: Transborder Grassroots Political Strategies." *American Behavioral Scientist* 42(9): 1439–1458.
Sadowski-Smith, Claudia. 2002. "Border Studies, Diaspora, and Theories of Globalization." In *Globalization on the Line: Culture, Capital, and Citizenship at U.S. Borders,* edited by Claudia Sadowski-Smith, 1–30. New York: Palgrave.
Safran, William, and Ramon Maiz, eds. 2000. *Identity and Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies.* London: Frank Cass.
Salzinger, Leslie. 1997. "From High Heels to Swathed Bodies: Gendered Meanings Under Production in Mexico's Export Processing Industry." *Feminist Studies* 23 (3): 549–574.
———. 2003. *Genders in Production: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Sassen, Saskia. 1998. *Globalization and its Discontents.* New York: The New Press.
Sklair, Leslie. 1989. *Assembling for Development: The Maquila Industry in Mexico and the United States.* Boston: Unwin Hyman.
Starr, Amory. 2000. *Naming the Enemy: Anti-Corporate Movements Confront Globalization.* London: Zed.
Staudt, Kathleen, and Irasema Coronado. 2002. *Fronteras No Más: Toward Social Justice at the U.S.-Mexico Border.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Tarrow, Sidney. 2001. "Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 1–20.
Téllez, Michelle. 2006. "Generating Hope, Creating Change, Searching for Community: Stories of Resistance Against Globalization at the U.S./Mexico Border." In *Re-Inventing Critical Pedagogy: Widening the Circle of Anti-Oppression Education,* edited by Cesar Rossatto, Ricky Lee Allen, and Marc Pruyn, 225–234. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
———. 2008. "Community of Struggle: Gender, Violence, and Resistance on the U.S./Mexico Border." *Gender & Society* 22 (5): 545—567.
Thayer, Millie. 2010. *Making Transnational Feminism: Rural Women, NGO Activists, and Northern Donors in Brazil.* New York: Routledge.
Tiano, Susan. 1987. "Women's Work and Unemployment in Northern Mexico." In *Women on the U.S.-Mexico Border: Responses to Change,* edited by Vicki Ruiz and Susan Tiano, 341-378. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

———. 1994. *Patriarchy on the Line: Labor, Gender, and Ideology in the Mexican Maquila Industry.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
———. 2006. "The Changing Gender Composition of the Maquiladora Workforce along the U.S.-Mexico Border." In *Women and Change at the U.S.-Mexico Border: Mobility, Labor and Activism*, edited by Doreen J Mattingly and Ellen Hansen, 73–90. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Conclusion