

EXPANDING THE BORDERLANDS

Recent Studies on the U.S.-Mexico Border

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Corridors of Migration: The Odyssey of Mexican Laborers, 1600–1933.

By Rodolfo F. Acuña. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. Pp. 408. \$49.95 cloth, \$26.95 paper.

Impacts of Border Enforcement on Mexican Immigration: A View from the Sending Communities. Edited by Wayne A. Cornelius and Jessa M. Lewis. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006. Pp. 175. \$52.00 cloth, \$22.00 paper.

The Three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration, and Homeland Security. By Tony Payan. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006. Pp. 164. \$44.95 cloth.

Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. Edited by Denise A. Segura and Patricia Zavella. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Pp. 595. \$29.95 paper.

Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. By Samuel Truett. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. 259. \$40.00 cloth.

Borderlands histories can do much to illuminate current political debates about immigration to the United States. While most Americans, perhaps with the exception of those in the Southwest, conceptualize the United States as completely separate from Mexico, borderlands histories and studies illuminate the complex integration of the peoples and territories of the United States and Mexico through time. In my experience, Mexicans have a much deeper knowledge of this long-term integration and continue to view the Southwest, and often other parts of the United States, as a part of greater Mexico, at least symbolically. The more than 20.5 million people of Mexican origin who live in the United States have long-term experience living the integration of the United States and Mexico, and of the barriers and obstacles to this integration.¹ Recent U.S. scholarship in

1. According to the 2000 U.S. census, 20,640,711 people of Mexican origin live in the United States. More important, people of Mexican origin make up much more significant

the field of immigration studies has embraced the idea of foregrounding the large Mexican population in many parts of the United States as a part of greater Mexico, thereby extending the borderlands concept to include geographic parts of the United States far from the southern border, such as Chicago and New York.² Research on transborder and transnational communities and families,³ which operate simultaneously in multiple locations in the U.S. and Mexico, has also pushed the expansion of the borderlands concept.⁴ Although some may want to exert caution in following this approach, because it can feed the fires of anti-immigrant activists, this framework is in fact increasingly embraced—albeit indirectly—by people

percentages of state populations: 41 percent in California and 24 percent in Texas. These statistics are from a map prepared by the Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York based on the 2000 census (<http://web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies/Mexican%20Population%20by%20State,%20largest%20concentrations.pdf>). The U.S. population at the time was 280,421,906, making people of Mexican origin roughly 7.3 percent of the total U.S. population. See "Population by Race and Hispanic Origin for the United States: 2000," an online table provided by the U.S. Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/cenbr01-1.pdf>).

2. See Michael Kearney, "The Effects of Transnational Culture, Economy, and Migration on Mixtec Identity in Oaxacalifornia," in *The Bubbling Cauldron: Race, Ethnicity, and the Urban Crisis*, Michael Peter Smith and Joe R. Feagin, eds. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 226–243; "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 547–565; "Transnationalism in California and Mexico at the End of Empire," in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Thomas W. Wilson and Hastings Connan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 117–141; "Transnational Oaxaca Indigenous Identity: The Case of Mixtecs and Zapotecs," *Identities* 7, no. 2 (2000): 173–195. More recent examples building on the work of Kearney and others include Nicholas De Genova, *Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and "Illegality" in Mexican Chicago* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005) and Robert Smith, *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

3. I prefer the term *transborder* to *transnational*, as most processes of Mexican migration and immigration historically involve the crossing of ethnic, cultural, colonial, and state borders, as well as the U.S. and Mexican national borders. Migrants and immigrants also cross regional borders within the United States that are often different from those in Mexico but may overlap with those of Mexico—for example, by reproducing the racial-ethnic hierarchy of Mexico, which lives on in many Mexican communities in the United States, usually relegating people of indigenous and African descent to the bottom of the hierarchy. The transnational thus becomes a subset of the transborder, one of many borders that Mexican migrants and immigrants cross and recross.

4. See Lynn Stephen, *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Laura Velasco, *Mixtec Transnational Identity* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005); Jonathan Fox and Gaspar Rivers, eds., *Indigenous Mexican Migrants in the United States* (La Jolla: Center for U.S. Mexican Studies and the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2004); Jennifer Hirsch, *A Courtship after Marriage: Sexuality and Love in Mexican Transnational Families* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

involved in international trade and in underwriting U.S. economic policy.⁵ In this essay, my underlying thesis is that we need to take the concept of borderlands studies, which has traditionally focused on the geographic borderlands of the United States and Mexico, and extend it both geographically and metaphorically to include all of the United States and Mexico.⁶ By beginning with a historical understanding of U.S.-Mexico integration through time and tracing out its implications for a host of contemporary issues, we can arrive at a reasonable set of proposals for comprehensive immigration reform to overhaul our horribly broken immigration system. Within this larger project of extending the borderlands concept, the optic of gender is a particularly productive strategy for documenting how U.S.-Mexico integration works in daily life through kinship, work, parenting, sexuality, risk, and violence, and through cultural representations.

One wishes that the broader American public could have the opportunity to read this set of books about U.S.-Mexico borderlands. As a group, they outline the critical importance of interrelated local, regional, national, and global histories, and of political economies bubbling beneath current political discourses on the immigration problem, homeland security, the drug war, English only, immigrant women's fertility and use of social services, and other issues that are read onto the brown bodies of *mexicanos* in the United States. The studies reviewed here address the results of border law enforcement (Cornelius and Lewis), shifts in U.S. security and drug policy (Payan), the binational ways in which structural, physical, and symbolic violence is perpetrated against Mexican women, and the role of women's flexible labor in U.S. and Mexican economies (Segura and Zavella). All draw on the importance of regional historical studies, which

5. For example, John A. Adams Jr., *Bordering the Future: The Impact of Mexico on the United States* (London: Praeger, 2006), argues that Mexico's economic and industrial expansion, population growth, energy needs, political trajectories, and strategic location will continue to be of tremendous importance to the United States. He describes the border as "a window on the future of binational relations and interdependence" linked to issues such as agricultural production, infrastructure enhancements, air quality, and water rights (124). Using the border as a lens for broader issues of U.S.-Mexico integration, Adams argues as a businessman that the United States has much to value in its neighbor, Mexico.

6. The Chicana lesbian, feminist, poet, and intellectual Gloria Anzaldúa has had widespread influence on the way that the concept of borderlands is understood. Her concept, set forth in *Borderlands = La frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999), includes both the geographical space around the U.S.-Mexico border and a metaphorical space that accompanies subjects to any location. Borderlands are where people "cope with social inequalities based on racial, gender, class, and/or sexual differences, as well as with spiritual transformation and psychic processes of exclusion and identification—of feeling 'in between' cultures, languages, or places. And borderlands are spaces where the marginalized voice their identities and resistance. All of these social, political, spiritual, and emotional transitional transcend geopolitical space" (Segura and Zavella 4).

outline how the border was originally created and maintained and now is re-created as a national security boundary.

The long-view regional histories provided by Acuña and Truett enable us to understand how legal, physical, cultural, racial, and political borders were created in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the United States usurped and developed more than 40 percent of independent Mexico's territory. The parallel, integrated development of the U.S. and Mexican mining and ranching industries in this region (which some scholars have stretched to include the broader territories of the United States and Mexico) has, along with transportation corridors based on railroad lines, also served as a corridor for political, cultural, economic, and family transborder relationships that endure to this day. Putting the borderlands at the center gives us a crucial optic for understanding the long-term integration and transnational history of the nations now called Mexico and the United States. Acuña's methodical and detailed rendering of this regional history in the service of explaining the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike of 1933, the murder of Pedro Subia in Arvin, California, and the historical links that cotton workers had with labor activism provides a case study in the deep integration of the United States and Mexico. Truett's careful rendering of the copper borderlands as a "shifting mosaic of human spaces—some interwoven, others less so; some transnational, others national, some colonial, and others modern" (9)—permits the reader to see ordinary people and their relationships, and how these coexisted with state and corporate control to "reshape the borderlands on their own terms" (9).

Truett and Acuña both focus on the transnational development of the copper borderlands in the states of Chihuahua, Sonora, Arizona, and New Mexico in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This case study of the links between U.S. entrepreneurial capital, engineers, the U.S. and Mexican governments, local political officials on both sides of the border, displaced native peoples such as the Apache, and Mexican-origin laborers who worked the copper mines provides a map for future trends of capital investment, unofficial border control that has operated outside of official policing, heightened nationalism, and debates on the meanings of citizenship.

If anyone doubts whether the United States can be considered an empire builder, Truett's account of regional development provides a play-book for how this worked in the transborder copper lands. Starting with a meeting of the Democratic Club on New York City's Fifth Avenue in 1891, he describes how Walter S. Logan, a Wall Street lawyer pushing U.S. investment in Mexico, envisioned "a landscape of extraction that flowed across national borders" (2). Logan went on to help the entrepreneur William Cornell Greene create the Cananea Consolidated Copper Com-

pany in conjunction with the Mexican state and other partners. Nacozari, Cananea, and other northern Mexican mines were connected by railroad to Douglas, Bisbee, Tombstone, Nogales, and beyond. Greene's control in the town and mine of Cananea was absolute until the worker's strike of 1906.

In perhaps the most interesting part of his study of the same region, Acuña suggests how opposition politics worked on top of this empire-building economic integration. He documents in great detail how—beginning with beneficence or *mutualista* organizations for miners providing death insurance, and then through labor organizing in Tombstone, Clifton, Morenci, and Metcalf, Arizona—the United States and then the Mexican sides of the copper borderlands became centers of labor militancy. He discusses how the 1903 Clifton-Morenci miner's strike was “Mexican made” and “not as reported in many history books—supported by the Western Federation of Miners” (112). By clearly showing the links between leaders of the Clifton-Morenci strike, sympathizers of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM, founded by Ricardo Flores Magón) in Arizona and El Paso, Texas, and the mine at Cananea, Acuña documents how labor militancy and then revolutionary Mexican politics were knit together by the economic and transportation systems of the copper borderlands region.

Acuña and Truett also provide a historical and conceptual basis for understanding how contemporary drug cartels put their businesses together in the same region, but with expanded operations throughout Mexico and the United States. While Payan covers familiar ground in his discussion of U.S. immigration policy, his book is most innovative in relating how past U.S. immigration, trade, and drug policies have produced new patterns of immigration and drug smuggling. Payan makes a compelling case for how the 2002 reorganization of the Homeland Security Department conflated three different wars—the war on drugs, the war over the enforcement of immigration laws, and the war on terror—into one, and placed them all on the U.S.-Mexico border: “These three issues are in fact quite separate from each other. They have different origins, they have difference processes, and they require different strategies, etc. . . . Yet since September 11, the United States government has bundled them into a single ‘mother of all battles’ that has turned the border into a front line of national security” (xiv). The unified war, Payan demonstrates, has incorporated the strategy, tactics, personnel, resources, rhetoric, and hardware of militarization. The effects for those living in places such as the forty-three border counties of Texas, which are among the poorest in the United States, are infrastructural and socioeconomic deficiencies, enormous income inequality, and daily danger (138). Although Payan documents how the U.S. government is busy fighting its three wars on the border—suggesting a hostile relationship between Mexico and the United States—he argues for open rec-

ognition of U.S.-Mexico integration, building on the unprecedented economic, cultural, and political convergence of the two countries.

The renewed U.S. war on drugs in the southwestern United States and northern Mexico is attempting to stop a highly flexible, transnational drug business run, according to Payan, by four cartels: the Tijuana cartel, the Sinaloa-Sonora cartel, the Juárez cartel, and the Gulf cartel (29). Payan suggests that two of the chief facilitators of the current ways that drugs are smuggled into the United States are the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and past U.S. drug policies, which sought to stem drug trafficking through the Caribbean. With more than an estimated \$80 billion in profits from drug dealing (25) and probably billions of dollars to pay off border patrol officers, customs officials, police, and judiciary systems on both sides of the border, Mexican cartels rely primarily on trucks to move about 70 percent of the drugs that come into the United States over the southwestern border (27). Payan explains: "The large cartels now ride the formal NAFTA economy. There are nearly 5 million semi-trucks that cross the U.S.-Mexico border every year. . . . NAFTA is turning out to be a heaven-sent blessing to the drug cartel. . . . Tons of marijuana, cocaine, heroine, and now methamphetamines ride hidden in the millions of trucks that cross the border. These same millions of trucks also move the drugs on US. highways to the major metropolitan areas throughout the country" (34).

Payan's descriptions of corrupt U.S. border officials are a welcome addition to what is often a one-sided discussion of corruption in Mexico, in that it omits the obvious role of agents and police in the United States.⁷ The connections between (corrupt and noncorrupt) U.S. and Mexican officials, drug consumers, Mexican cartels as transnational businesses, binational U.S.-Mexico free trade policy, and the vast system of roads facilitating drug transport by truck are built on the existing transnational economic and political integration of the copper borderlands.

Echoing the theme of Payan's book, the collection of Cornelius and Lewis addresses the relationship between U.S. immigration, labor, and trade policies, and what are considered current immigration problems in the United States. Scholars of immigration widely agree that past policies—particularly the bracero program of 1942 to 1964, which resulted in 4.5 million Mexican nationals being legally contracted for work in the United States (some on multiple contracts), the 1986 Immigration Reform

7. For a detailed look at the case of a corrupt border official working in Tijuana with a smuggling ring, see Ken Ellingwood, *Hard Line: Life and Death on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (New York: Random House, 2004), 87–88. In May 2008, the *New York Times* and *Frontline* teamed up to produce the Web site, television show, and interview series *Mexico: Crimes at the Border*, which featured the cases of eight corrupt U.S. customs officers and border officials (<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/mexico704/history/gatekeepers.html>).

and Control Act (IRCA), and the Special Agricultural Worker's Program (SAW), which resulted in the legalization of nearly 3 million people—have had a large hand in setting up current patterns of immigration.⁸ Cornelius and Lewis have edited together the results of two research teams in a collaborative project involving extensive interviewing of 603 returned migrants and potential first-time migrants from Las Animas, Zacatecas, and from Tlacuitapa, Jalisco, to suggest how recent border enforcement policies have affected Mexican migrants to the United States. Based in two communities with long migration trajectories as well as long histories in working with researchers, the case studies show that past policies have encouraged immigration and settlement in the United States, as well as the ineffectiveness of tighter border enforcement since 1993 in deterring migrants. Although 37.1 percent of *animeños* were U.S. citizens by 1962—obtaining legal status with help from employers and moving into nonagricultural jobs in fields such as construction, hotels, and restaurants (28–29)—another wave followed the legalization program of the 1980s. Males from the second study community of Tlacuitapa took advantage of the 1986 legalization program for undocumented farmworkers to obtain green cards.⁹ There has not been comprehensive immigration reform in the United States since 1986. Recent policies consist of militarizing the border with tightened enforcement, a proposed seven-hundred-mile fence to complement extensive barriers already built in urban areas such as San Diego, El Paso, and elsewhere in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, the use of infrared sensors, unmanned aircraft, and the like.

The researchers in Cornelius and Lewis's book found that tightened border enforcement does not deter undocumented migrants from attempting to enter the United States. Cornelius reports in his introduction: "Even if migrants are caught, they keep trying until they succeed. Our interviews with returned migrants revealed that 92 percent of them eventually succeeded on the same trip to the border, without returning to their place of origin" (11). The most startling result of increased border enforcement

8. For a discussion of labor conditions, see Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story* (Santa Barbara, CA: McNally and Lofton, 1962). Douglas Massey, "March of Folly: U.S. Immigration Policy after NAFTA," *American Prospect* 37 (1997): 1–16, emphasizes the role of workers legalized through IRCA and SAW in attracting undocumented immigrants, who rely on the social networks of legal residents to facilitate their employment, housing, and other needs in the United States. See also Phillip Martin, *Promise Unfulfilled: Unions, Immigration, and the Farm Workers* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), and Wayne Cornelius, "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993–2004," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 4 (2005): 775–794.

9. Such trends resonate with findings from other parts of Mexico where participation in the bracero program and IRCA also brought significant numbers of people legal residency. For a discussion of Zapotec and Mixtec indigenous migration trends linked to these same two policies, see Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 94–132.

is death: "Between 1995 and 2006, there were over 3,700 *known* migrant fatalities due to unauthorized border crossings; dehydration and hypothermia were the most common causes of death" (3, original emphasis).¹⁰ The authors in this volume report that migration is principally driven by economic considerations. Their research in migrants' home communities in Mexico makes it amply clear that farming and small-scale manufacturing, such as an athletic shoe factory in Tlacuitapa that employs primarily women at between fifty and sixty pesos per day (roughly five to six U.S. dollars per day), are not sufficient to guarantee economic survival. It is no surprise, then, that increased border enforcement and even death do not stop emigration. Jezmin Fuentes, Henry L'Esperance, Raúl Pérez, and Caitlin White report in their chapter that "interviewees who knew someone who died while crossing the border are significantly more likely to risk a crossing themselves, indicating that even awareness of the risk of death does not deter entry" (59). This is a sobering finding that suggests not only the force of economic need but also the underlying importance of long-standing social networks that migrants have forged and continue to use in communities such as Las Animas and Tlacuitapa.

Another important trend documented by this study is that tighter border enforcement has "lengthened U.S. sojourns of unauthorized migrants and increased their probability of settling permanently in the United States. . . . In 1992, about 20 percent of Mexico to U.S. migrants returned home after six months . . . and by 2000, only 7 percent did so" (5). While increased border enforcement and militarization have not stopped undocumented migrants, the latter have become increasingly dependent on coyotes (human smugglers) to enter the United States. This increased demand has encouraged coyotes to raise their prices dramatically, from a median of \$613 in 1993 to a median of \$1,634 for migrants crossing between 2002 and 2004 (67). In an updated study of the failure of tighter border enforcement to discourage undocumented migrants, Cornelius and other researchers use extensive interviews with migrants from hometowns in the states of Oaxaca and Yucatán to reveal that between 92 and 98 percent of those who try to come to the United States get through, and that their success depends on coyotes, whom 80 percent of those surveyed used. The average cost of passage between 2005 and 2007 was \$2,124, with coyotes

10. My own research on the disappeared—those who cross the border and never appear dead or alive—suggests that these numbers are likely even higher. Every community with a migration history also has histories of the disappeared. See Lynn Stephen, "Los Nuevos Desaparecidos: Immigration, Militarization, Death, and Disappearance on Mexico's Borders," in *Security Disarmed: Critical Perspectives on Gender, Race, and Militarization*, ed. Barbara Sutton, Sandra Morgen, and Julie Novkov (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 122–158.

charging \$3,500 and up for passage through a legal port of entry concealed in a car or as a passenger using false or borrowed documents.¹¹

The higher cost of coming to the United States and longer stays, particularly by undocumented migrants, have had a significant effect on gendered and generational patterns of Mexican migration in recent years. Elisabeth Valdez-Suiter, Nancy Rosas López, and Nayeli Pagaza, in the Cornelius and Lewis volume, treat the motives that drive women to migrate, their modes of entry into the United States, and their experiences once there. A telling part of their discussion concerns gender bias in the broader study on which the book is based. Male heads of household were interviewed first, followed by children, whereas females were interviewed only if their husbands were not available and were first asked about their husbands' migration experience and not their own. The result was that 27 percent of interviewees were women. Only if a female head of household volunteered that she had a migration experience of her own was she interviewed (99). The mean year of first migration for women was 1993, compared to 1983 for men (101). As well, more than half of the women surveyed came with legal documents on their first trip, suggesting that most came to join husbands who were legalized. Sixty-one percent brought their children with them (108). The continued strong ties of women to their families are reflected by the fact that they send a higher percentage of their income home than men. A majority of them are engaged in factory and restaurant work, followed by construction and child care or elder care. This discussion suggests the structural outlines of migrant women's lives in Mexico and the United States.

Although the studies of Cornelius and Lewis and Acuña bring in the experience of women, those women remain minor actors. In the studies of Truett and Payan, women do not appear at all. They are simply invisible. An ongoing debate among those of us engaged in gender studies within the fields of Latino and Latin American studies is whether we should still be producing research and books centered on gender, or whether we should strive to mainstream the topic of gender in all research. Although more recent research has reframed gender to include feminist-informed studies of masculinity as well as femininity, women often still get lost.¹² In

11. The probability of returning from the United States among undocumented Oaxacan migrants went from a high of 20 percent in 1982 to a low of 5 percent in 2004, according to Wayne A. Cornelius, Scott Borger, Adam Sawyer, David Keyes, Claire Appleby, Kristen Parks, Gabriel Lozada, and Jonathan Hicken, "Controlling Unauthorized Immigration from Mexico: The Failure of 'Prevention through Deterrence' and the Need for Comprehensive Reform" (La Jolla: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2008), 8. For the cost of passage, see pages 5–6 at <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/images/File/misc/CCISbriefing061008.pdf>.

12. See, e.g., Matthew Gutmann, *Fixing Men: Sex, Birth Control and AIDS in Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

the project of extending the borderlands concept to include metaphorical and actual geographical spaces beyond the physical border, the optic of gender is a crucial tool in bringing U.S.-Mexico integration to light.

The rich and expansive volume edited by Segura and Zavella, *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, is crucial in connecting the studies of policy and political economy reviewed here. This collection is important not only because it sites gender front and center but also because it adds flesh and bone to the borderlands concept by bringing a series of issues into discussion: cultural representations; identity construction and reconstruction; structural, personal, and symbolic violence; sexuality; popular culture; transnational social networks; and marriage and motherhood. Of particular importance is the impact of race, class, sexuality, ethnic group, generation, and locale on the shifting identity formation of women through time and in the space of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Taking all of the U.S. and Mexico as potential parts of the borderlands, the collection of Segura and Zavella uses case studies from Mexico, the United States, and often multiple sites in both countries to paint a picture of the tremendous diversity found in immigrant and migrant women's lives.

Although large, edited volumes such as this one can often be unwieldy for readers, the depth and breadth of material that they include works greatly to the advantage of the approach that Segura and Zavella take. The volume emerged out of a binational seminar of scholars from the United States and Mexico. Committing themselves to an explicitly binational approach to women and migration, Segura, Zavella, and other participants worked to assemble a collection of chapters that they found central to issues of Mexican women in a transnational context. Rather than be bound by place or nationality, the chapters focus on "women's participation in processes that transcend the actual geopolitical boundary or are shaped by transnational migration" (2). For those who can read all twenty-three chapters, the result is a truly binational and interdisciplinary understanding of a multitude of factors that affect women's migration experiences and their portrayal.

Part 1 ("Borderlands as Sites of Struggle") looks at how globalization and nativist discourses in U.S. politics have influenced the treatment and representation of Mexican women. The climate of militarization, disposable life, and gendered violence in Ciudad Juárez captured in the brutal femicides of young women (Fregosos), Latina women's fertility as an "out of control" problem despite continuous declines and third-generation parity with Anglo women (Chavez), and homophobic surveillance on the U.S.-Mexico border that excludes women believed to be lesbians (Eithne Luidheid) are all among the topics addressed.

Among the most original contributions of the book are the essays of part 2 ("Topography of Violence"). Drawing together masculine aspects

of militarization on the border with narratives of maquiladora (foreign-owned factory) administrators who characterize women as uncommitted, nervous, untrainable, and losing value, the chapters by Leslie Salzinger and Melissa Wright draw a deeply gendered experiential map. Although many discussions of the Juárez murders and of life in maquiladoras draw on images of women as victims, Salzinger's richly textured account of work assembling television sets in a maquiladora in Ciudad Juárez builds a complex theoretical and ethnographic analysis of how sexual objectification of female (and male) workers has become part of the structure of production. She suggests that "rather than interfering with production, sexualized surveillance creates workers both willing and able to produce" (180). This makes a strong case for what Foucault calls *governmentality*, in which "productive subjectivities are evoked within daily shop-floor interaction" (181). Women workers compete for the attention of male supervisors through elaborate hairstyles, cosmetics, manicures, and participation in the company beauty contest. Wright's analysis of the expendability of Mexican women workers for both murderers and maquiladora administrators sites them in the flux between waste and value, which provides a cultural construction of women as inevitably headed for decline, a construction that has value for particular kinds of men: "Through descriptions of Mexican cultural violence, jealous machismo, and female sexuality, maquiladora exculpation finds its backing. . . . Others, too, can benefit from a widespread and believable representation of Mexican women as waste in the making. The perpetrators of serial murder, domestic violence, and random violence against women can count on a lack of public outrage and official insouciance with regard to their capture" (200). With her analysis, Wright connects the sexual objectification that Salzinger found in shop-floor production with broader questions of cultural representation that haunt all who have written about the Juárez femicides.

Gender, sexuality, and labor issues are also the focus of part 3 ("Flexible Accumulation and Resistance"), which examines recent shifts in the gendered and sexualized organization of agricultural, industrial, domestic, and janitorial work. The chapters in this section add important texture to political and economic treatments of Mexican migrant women by highlighting the multiple dimensions of how work intersects with gender and family relations at home, romantic relationships, gendered ideologies of honor, and appropriate behavior for women (see especially the chapters by Xóchitl Castañeda and Zavella, Faranik Mirafteb, and María de la Luz Ibarra).

A fourth section, "Families and Transnational Social Networks," focuses on the relationship between women's life cycles and transborder family formation (Norma Ojeda de la Peña), the household survival strategies of Mixtec women as internal migrants in Mexico (Laura Velasco Ortíz), how Chicanas and Mexicanas differ in their conceptualizations and

organization of motherhood and paid employment (Segura), and how the dominant narrative of motherhood is reconstituted transnationally, with new strategies across space and time (Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila). A final section, "Transculturation and Identity in Daily Life," focuses on women's cultural expressions and the development of social identities that span the borderlands. Important chapters on popular culture are included here: Olga Nájera-Ramírez writes on women's performances of the Mexican *ranchera*, which evokes nostalgia, regret, and wonder in longing for Mexico; Deborah Paredez suggests strategies for maintaining regional identities such as Tejana, while also claiming a Latina identity within the larger racializing and gendering of borderlands bodies; and Felicity Schaeffer-Gabriel explores the ways that middle-class women in Guadalajara fantasize about "the American way of life" when searching for U.S. husbands online. This final section injects women's agency into the representations of Mexicana, Tejana, Latina, and Chicana women, providing an important counterpoint to the representations of Latinas that Leo Chávez discusses in his essay in part 1. Overall, *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* provides an excellent roadmap to advance a borderlands perspective and for binational intellectual work and perspectives.

Collectively, these five books provide a historical, political, economic, gendered, and cultural map for using the borderlands as a concept to understand the complex integration of the United States and Mexico. From different angles, they provide a host of information and ideas that could move the United States forward in revamping formal immigration policy to match the reality of U.S.-Mexican life. We need a realistic and comprehensive approach, which should at a minimum include a path to earned citizenship; family unification; a safe, legal, and orderly avenue for migrant workers to enter and leave the United States; labor protections for all workers; and border-enforcement policies that protect the nation from those who truly endanger it while protecting the human rights of all. Such a policy would suggest that we can move beyond the border as an ideological weapon in an effort "to rally border 'citizens' behind corporate and state visions of power and control, by anchoring the policing of space to a timeless, naturalized defense of civilization" (Truett, 176). Instead, we can embrace the reality of extended borderlands and ensure that all the people within them are respected and included.