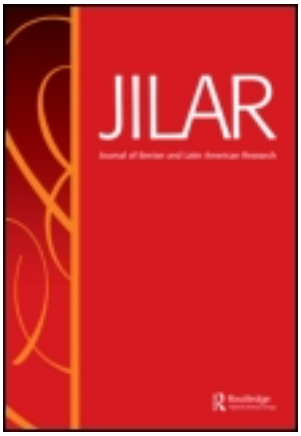

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Monopolies and *Maquiladoras*: The Resistant Re-encoding of Gaming in Coco Fusco and Ricardo Domínguez's *Turista Fronterizo*

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This article focuses on the collaborative game-art work, *Turista Fronterizo* (2005), by Coco Fusco and Ricardo Domínguez. It starts by analyzing how this game closely engages with the border as material locality and as representative of particular (corporate) practices. It focuses on the *maquiladora*, arguing that it functions as the central trope encoding the work, a synecdoche for post-Fordist late capitalism. The article examines how *Turista Fronterizo*'s playing with both digital and pre-digital conceptualizations of recombinatory praxis is undertaken as a form of questioning of the status quo, encouraging the user to establish and critique the interconnections between the various locations visited. It analyzes how socio-economic inequalities of the border are encoded in the structural inequalities of the ludology, and argues that *Turista Fronterizo* critiques the structural inequities of the border economy.

Keywords: *Turista Fronterizo*; maquiladoras; gaming; border inequalities; ludology

This article analyses Coco Fusco and Ricardo Domínguez's *Turista Fronterizo*,[1] exploring how this online multimedia work engages with the US–Mexico border as both material locality and as representative of particular (corporate) practices. Frequent references throughout the work to the border economy and the role that the *maquiladora* plays within it make the *maquiladora* the central trope encoding the work, and I argue in this article that it stands as a synecdoche for post-Fordist late capitalism. I explore how the creators of *Turista Fronterizo* incorporate into the game digital and pre-digital conceptualizations of recombinatory practice—in which content is recombined in new and productive ways—as a means to questioning the status quo. I also analyse how socio-economic inequalities of the border are encoded into the structural inequalities of the ludology of this work.

Coco Fusco is a Cuban-American performance and multimedia artist whose work is frequently characterized by the interrogation of racial stereotypes and the critique of (neo)colonial attitudes. One of her most outstanding works, *Two Undiscovered Americans Visit the West* (1992–1994), is a highly controversial collaborative performance with Guillermo Gómez-Peña which, in the words of Diana Taylor, critiques the 'colonialist gesture of producing the savage body' and confronts the viewer with the 'violent history of representation and exhibition of non-Western human beings'.[2] More recent works, such as the video *Operation Antropos*, and the performance *A Room of One's Own*, present spectacles of the subjection of individuals post-9/11, and have been described as 'counterperformances' that are 'responses to the Bush administration's performance of power'.[3] The shared focus in many of her performances, her print publications such as

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English is Broken Here (1995), and her collected essays in *The Bodies that Were not Ours* (2002), is on the representation of otherness, the classification of troubling bodies, and the treatment of (formerly) colonized peoples.[4]

Coco Fusco's collaborator on *Turista Fronterizo*, Ricardo Domínguez, is a well known media hactivist and co-founder of the cyberactivist group *Electronic Disturbance Theatre (EDT)*. Domínguez describes the work of the *EDT* as a 'type of performance that is similar to the agitprop theatre,' and highlights its tactics as using technology to negate the 'dominant ideologies that surround this technology's politics, distribution, and "commodification"'.[5] Earlier projects include virtual sit-ins in solidarity with the Zapatistas, flooding servers by using the FloodNet tool developed by the group, as well as promoting electronic civil disobedience more broadly. More recently, and controversially, Domínguez's tactical media project, the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* (2009), is a mobile telephone tool developed using GPS to aid illegal immigrants crossing the US–Mexico border in finding water supplies, a project which led to a substantial backlash against Domínguez, as well as counter-campaigns in support of him.[6] As can be seen from this brief summary, Domínguez's work is characterized by an overt concern for the structural inequalities facing Mexicans and undocumented immigrants, coupled with a tactics of using digital technologies against the grain. *Turista Fronterizo*, on which the two artists collaborated, draws together their concerns—the exploration of border crossings as a daily reality, the (cyber)typing of racial others, and the resistant use of digital technologies to counteract dominant ideologies—in an online game format specifically encoded with the socio-economic concerns of the border.

At the same time as being viewed within the two artists' *oeuvres*, *Turista Fronterizo* must be understood as part of a broader trajectory of creative interventionist work in the border region. Ranging from early collectives, such as the highly influential *Border Art Workshop/Taller de Arte Fronterizo* (BAW/TAF) founded in 1984, through to later collaborations that were more explicitly informed by notions of tactical digital media, such as the *Borderhack* festivals first initiated in 2000 by Fran Ilich, the US-Mexico borderlands have been the site of a rich and vibrant variety of cultural-activist interventions. Indeed, *Turista Fronterizo* itself was specifically conceived of as part of a wider collective project: the *Tijuana Calling* online exhibition, part of the *inSite_05* series of interventions of 2005, which aimed, according to curator Mark Tribe, to foster projects that transform the 'online equivalent [. . .] of the public sphere'.[7] In these works, as with many others taking place in the border region, artists make use of new media technologies to explore the concerns of the border, and to investigate the ways in which these technologies—often put to use to police these very borders—may be re-encoded in a resistant fashion. Within this wider context, *Turista Fronterizo* aims to make tactical use of online space and digital interactivity in order to force the viewer/player/user into an active, critical role, and to think through the socio-political concerns of the border.

In a short 'Proposal Text' describing the work, Fusco and Domínguez briefly acknowledge their debt to the surrealists and the situationists who envisioned group game-playing as a mode of exploration and creativity, making an explicit comparison with Guy Debord's *The Game of War*—which 'foregrounds the structural connections between games, welfare and art'—and their own game-art work.[8] This notion of foregrounding structural connections is, as will be seen below, central to the functioning of *Turista Fronterizo*. Moreover, I would argue, beyond this structural similarity, *Turista Fronterizo* shares a series of profound similarities with certain impetuses of the surrealists, particularly with regards to the juxtaposition and recombination of sources as a method to reveal hidden meanings. As scholars have noted, for the surrealists, game playing was one of their

favoured techniques for getting beyond the confines of the rational mind, with André Breton's *Le cadavre exquis*, in which collections of words or images are collectively assembled to create new and often shocking meanings, being the most famous and much-imitated example.[9] As Elza Adamowicz has put it, for the surrealists, games were of particular interest since they 'deliberately break with the normal flow of discourse which threatens to release clichés and automatisms of speech, by producing singular analogies and unprecedented associations'.[10] Here, in *Turista Fronterizo*, we see a similar bringing together of many and varied items—corporate logos, photographs of workers' protests, short texts, images of avatars, and so forth—which, as discussed below, function in a similar way, to shed light upon the hidden meanings, and to illuminate the profound connections between the various elements. This sense of the exploration of 'unprecedented associations' (or, as I would put it, '*disavowed* associations') is, moreover, constantly re-enacted in the multiple replayings in the hands of the user. That is, the quasi-aleatory[11] recombinations of locations, images and texts are determined by the roll of the dice, and differ each time the game is played. In so doing, they reveal the practices that corporate giants and multinationals disavow, namely, their reliance upon cheap labour south of the border, exploitative working conditions, the flouting of labour laws, and environmental hazards, to name but a few. In this sense, the variety of source materials, coupled with their constant and shifting recombinations during game play itself, bring to light the disavowed associations between corporate practices, material inequalities, and border-crossers.

Indeed, this sense of the aleatory re-combinations of texts and images can also be traced in many of the theoretical writings on hypertext and, more broadly, digital media. George P. Landow, for instance, whose seminal work, *Hypertext*, provided one of the earliest theorizations of hypertext as a medium, emphasized the potential it holds for creating 'combinatorial fiction'. He employed the image of the collage to describe the structure of the web. Similarly, Jay David Bolter's assertions regarding 'hypermediated styles,' which have their 'roots in collage and photomontage,' argued for an understanding of hypertext as a combinatory practice.[12] More contemporary theorists, such as Stefan Sonvilla-Weiss, have similarly signalled the recombinatory potential as central to contemporary digital practice, arguing for an understanding of 'mashup culture' as enabled by *Web 2.0* involving 'a logic that is additive or accumulative' and the combination and aggregation of materials into either 'manifested design objects or open-ended re-combinatory and interactive information sources'.[13] Each of these theorists in their different ways emphasizes how digital media offers the potential to recombine content—whether text, images, videos or sound files—in new and productive ways, a concept which proves illuminating when considering Fusco and Domínguez's practice in *Turista Fronterizo*.

In this way, I would argue, *Turista Fronterizo* draws on dual inspirations in its recombinatory praxis: the surrealists' proclamations regarding the radical potential of gaming, and the theorizations of scholars of hypertext and digital media which stress the notion of recombination as central to their praxis. In this sense, *Turista Fronterizo* actualizes, to an extent, some of the radical edge of the surrealists' proclamations via the potentialities offered by digital technologies. That is, some of the ludic possibilities foreseen by the surrealists, but which were of necessity hampered by the limitations of print technologies of the time, are now able to be actualized by algorithms and hyperlinking. At the same time, however, as my analysis of *Turista Fronterizo* shows, this does not mean that digital technologies *per se* are by definition emancipatory, nor that this work enacts a fully aleatory, radically utopian praxis. Rather, in the same way as many scholars have reminded us that there is nothing inherently oppositional in hyperlinking, cybertext, nor any other

digital media,[14] so too, *Turista Fronterizo* negotiates the possibilities offered by digital media, producing a resistant game which, at the same time, points to the limitations of the system.

In addition to the brief reference to the surrealists, Fusco and Domínguez also make explicit reference to the importance of the border zone as the material and conceptual space in which their game is located, invoking the notion of 'tak[ing] a trip' through this zone.[15] This notion of taking a trip, with all its connotations of the re-creation of physical place and the experience of travel is one which, as shall be discussed below, is central to the ludology of *Turista Fronterizo*. That is, the game names and reworks physical places in the San Diego–Tijuana border region, but also conjures up the lifestyles and practices that such places represent.

Indeed, the material place of the border is integral to the game in a very real sense. As Rita Raley, in her brief overview of *Turista Fronterizo* notes, as well as the online work, Domínguez also constructed a '1970s-style *Pac Man* gamebox' for the project and installed it at the Zapatista headquarters in Tijuana.[16] Here, two features come to the fore: firstly, Domínguez's deliberate use of out-of-date technologies in his employment of the *Pac Man* gamebox resonates with the resistant use of low-tech that dialogues with the work of many other Latin(o) American net.artists.[17] Secondly, the location of the gamebox in the EZLN headquarters links this game closely to the materialities of the border. As Raley notes, the computer that housed the game also formed part of the media lab, thus 'coordinating [...] the material and "virtual" aspects of *Turista fronterizo*'.[18] In this sense, *Turista Fronterizo* must be understood as invoking the border as both material place and conceptual space, and in which game play undertaken by players online of necessity dialogues with, and is informed by, the offline location of its housing in Tijuana. Moreover, the game's location on the Mexican side of the border, rather than on the US side, would seem to indicate an attempt to re-signify the border from the South, as well as linking the work materially and conceptually with digital Zapatismo.

In addition to its physical location in Tijuana, *Turista Fronterizo* is also accessible online, currently hosted at *The Thing.net*, a venue dedicated to developing online forms of activism and media art.[19] Before entering the game proper, the 'start page'[20] consists of a still image showing, in cartoon collage fashion, a long queue of cars and border patrol agents in the bottom half of the screen, and a myriad of CCTV cameras in the top half. Cutting across this screen horizontally in green font are the words 'Turista Fronterizo.' The only interactive element in this start screen is the 'enter/entrar' link, located in the largest and most visually prominent CCTV screen, which is situated centrally in the top half of the frame and coloured red. This paratextual information is crucial in positioning us in the gameworld. Immediately, the experiences and politics of border crossings are evoked, and, moreover, the embedding of the 'enter/entrar' link within the image of the CCTV screen means that, from the outset, we are being implicated in the policing of the border. In other words, our entry point to the game is through the very technology (the CCTV screen) used to police the border. The ambiguity of the term here, where 'enter/entrar' could refer to entering the US/Mexico (real life world) or entering the game (virtual world) makes this both a diegetic and an extra-diegetic command, and immediately locates us as players in the politics of the border.

Clicking on the 'enter/entrar' CCTV screen then leads us to the initial selection page where, prior to playing the game, we must select our avatar. Here we are presented with an opening screen with a black background, and the subtitle of the game in white font: 'Un viaje virtual por la frontera san diegueña y tijuanense.' The graphics making up the background are sparse; the majority of the screen space is black, with one single feature

cutting across it diagonally, from bottom left to upper right: a drawing of a fence with concrete posts, wires, brown panels, and weeds growing at its base. Superimposed on this background are the images of the four avatars we may select to play the game. It is significant to note that, as we scroll down to see the full selection of avatars, the background image remains static, that is, the border/fence remains central, cutting across the screen and splitting it into two, however far up or down we scroll. In this sense, the dynamics of this opening screen immediately convey to the player the sense of the border as all-pervasive, and highlight its permanent presence both as concrete entity and as lived experience. The avatars that appear upon this background are shown as grey-scale drawings, in passport-style format, with the head and shoulders framed within a small rectangular area. Clicking on a particular avatar assigns that avatar to the player and automatically loads the game.

Once entering the game proper, visually and structurally the game recalls the classic boardgame format established by *Monopoly*, and clearly dialogues with this. There are ten squares across each side, and players have to move in a clockwise fashion around them by clicking an image of a die and then moving their avatar the required number of spaces along the board. Landing on a particular square produces a particular outcome for each player, which is conveyed in the centre of the board via images and an accompanying text. The instructions given in each text result in the player gaining or losing money, which they then must do by clicking on the button which is pre-set and marked 'recibe' or 'pagar' depending on the particular circumstances. The locations on the board make an ironic nod to the original version of *Monopoly* in their reference to physical localities and properties, but are here specifically encoded in the socio-cultural concerns of the border, both in their reference to material localities and to conceptual concerns or practices. Many of the squares give real-life venues as their locations (much in the vein of the original *Monopoly*), but this time using venues on the San Diego–Tijuana border. Moreover, these locations are, quite literally, located in the border of the gameboard itself, since they run around the edges of the board, and in this way the ludological and narrative features of the game are tightly knit: here, the border/edges of the *Monopoly* game, which were a purely ludological feature in its original incarnation, are now imbued with narrative and semantic value, representing the geographical border of the US–Mexico frontier, as well as the border practices inhabiting it. In this sense, we can clearly see Fusco and Domínguez's stated aim of creating a board game that presents a 'refracted mirror of the sociocultural space of the US–Mexico border'.[21] The sociocultural space is clearly represented by the place names and real-life venues, but the notion of refraction—as a partially distorted but still recognizable image—is enacted in the critical way in which these places and venues are re-encoded. Moreover, this refraction is evident in the way in which the original *Monopoly* format is transposed onto a bilingual and bicultural space. As Fusco and Domínguez note in their 'Proposal Text' for *Turista Fronterizo*, this game dialogues not only with *Monopoly*, but also with the Mexican variant, which Fusco and Domínguez denominate 'Turismo', but is in fact called *Turista Nacional*. Published in Mexico from the 1960s onwards by Birján, *Turista Nacional* was a Mexican product, but one which clearly copied the gameboard format of *Monopoly,* having the same layout and following similar rules of game play. That said, *Turista Nacional* clearly positioned itself as different from *Monopoly* in its focus on a Mexican locale and its at least superficial resistance to the notions of monopoly capitalism encapsulated by the US game by refusing to use the term in its title.[22] In this sense, the *Monopoly* format is already hybridized by its infusion with its Mexican counterpart, and indeed the title of Fusco and Domínguez's game itself makes this clear, with the reference to 'turista' clearly recalling the Mexican game. What is new is that Fusco and Domínguez's work is encoded as *turismo fronterizo*. Whereas the

standard format and ideology of the Mexican boardgame was to reinforce national values and to promote national sites of interest, *Turista Fronterizo* is located specifically in the border zone, that is, on the problematic and permeable edges of the nation-state. In this way, both the original boardgame formats—that of *Monopoly* and that of *Turismo Nacional*—are 'othered,' as the game play of *Turista Fronterizo* engages with the practices of the US–Mexico border.

One further significant instance of refraction comes in *Turista Fronterizo*'s reworking of the original boardgame format, since the entities selected are not classified in terms of property valuation as in the original *Monopoly*. No actual numerical value is shown on each square; instead, it is the intrinsic corporate and legalistic practices which each entity represents that have an impact on the avatar and cause him/her to lose or gain money and thus affect his/her life chances. In this respect, *Turista Fronterizo*'s game play represents a shift in economic practices and global politics. If the property values of the original *Monopoly* stood for Fordist capitalism of the early twentieth century, in *Turista Fronterizo* the fact that the squares display the intrinsic and yet frequently disavowed practices of corporate giants indicates the shift to post-Fordist, corporatist late capitalism of the twenty-first century. As such, *Turista Fronterizo* represents what Christian Fuchs has denominated 'translational network capitalism' in which 'regimes of accumulation, regulation, and discipline [. . .] increasingly base the accumulation of economic, political, and cultural capital on transnational network organizations that make use of cyberspace and other new technologies for global coordination and communication'.[23] That the squares no longer represent numerical values (that is, commodity capitalism), indicates the shift to corporatist transnational network capitalism. At the same time, as Fuchs and others have reminded us, such 'global network capitalism' is by no means globally equal, but instead is based on 'structural inequalities' and is made up of 'segmented spaces'.[24] As I discuss below, *Turista Fronterizo* uncovers these segmented spaces, bringing to light the material conditions of production so frequently disavowed by corporatist transnational capitalism and, in so doing, establishing firm links between the material conditions of production on the US–Mexico border and the flows of transnational network capitalism.

Regarding the locations selected, some of the squares represent concrete entities with physical locations in San Diego or Tijuana, such as the Qualcomm Stadium, home to the San Diego Chargers football team, or the *Basurero de Tecate* in Tijuana, whilst others represent more broadly the agencies enforcing border policy and politics. In this sense, if the properties of the original *Monopoly* equate to the physical locations of *Turista Fronterizo*, then the utilities and stations of *Monopoly* equate to the series of enforcement agencies that police the border in *Turista Fronterizo*. These include the *Gobernación*,[25] the D.E.A. (US Drug Enforcement Agency), the San Ysidro Border Checkpoint,[26] the Border Patrol, the Mexican Consulate, the US Consulate, and the *Policía Judicial*,[27] as well as two generic agencies labelled 'La cárcel' and 'Campo Base Detention Center,' a fictitious name which represents the policing and politics of the US–Mexico border.

Of the real-life locations of companies, it is significant to note that the entities selected provide a commentary and a critique of the socio-political concerns of the border, as much as a map of the border zone. Significantly, many of company names which appear in these squares are those of large corporate giants who own or run *maquiladoras*—often in controversial circumstances—south of the border. Entities located on these squares include Mabamex, an acronym derived from *Mattel de Baja México*, the manufacturing facility of Mattel in Mexico; Medtronic, the large medical technology company which has a *maquiladora* in Tijuana; Hyundai, which runs its *Han Young de México maquiladora* in Tijuana; and technology giant Kyocera Wireless, which again has a *maquiladora* in

Tijuana. The *maquiladora* is, of course, one of the most iconic and yet most controversial images of border life. Famously responsible for hazardous industrial waste pollution in the region, serious breaches of health and safety procedures, and the flouting of labour laws.[28] *Maquiladoras* are, at the same time, touted by neoliberals as the answer to Mexico's economic woes in the wake of the 1994 peso crisis, and as providing much needed skills for the local population. Moreover, for many scholars, the *maquiladora* functions as a synecdoche for post-Fordist capitalism as a superstructure. In the words of Michael Stone and Gabriella Winkler, writing in their foreword to Norma Iglesias Prieto's now classic study, *Beautiful Flowers of the Maquiladora*, *maquiladoras* are the 'prototype for [...] the corporate shift from Fordism to a global regime of flexible accumulation'.[29] In a similar vein, Joe Bandy has argued that the US–Mexico border is the site of 'neoliberal experimentation.' He maintains that this has only been possible through the establishment of *maquiladoras* which function as a 'laboratory' for neoliberal development.[30] In this sense, the *maquiladora* as an icon functions to embed this game within the context of late-capitalist practices. Highly controversial and ambivalent entities, *maquiladoras* therefore represent not only the physicality of the US–Mexico borderlands, but also the neoliberal practices and inequalities which structure border life.

Indeed, it is worth noting that the companies included in *Turista Fronterizo* have been the subject of recent controversies over their production practices and compliance with the law with regard to their *maquiladoras* south of the border. The most prominent of these is the two-year dispute involving *Han Young de México*, Hyundai's *maquiladora*. One of the most high-profile and controversial labour disputes of the entire history of the *maquiladora* sector, this two-year conflict (1997–98) was based around the workers' struggle to establish an independent labour union, and the company's failure to comply with Mexican labour law and health and safety regulations.[31] This dispute has been seen by scholars such as Bacon as exemplifying the way in which 'neoliberal policies, designed to foster foreign investment, have undermined the laws that have historically protected workers, farmers, and the poor'.[32] It is, therefore, no surprise that Fusco and Domínguez have chosen Hyundai as one of their locations in *Turista Fronterizo*, and that this square, when activated in the game play, makes reference to industrial disputes (I return to this point below). Similarly, the other corporations mentioned have been the subject of controversy, such as Kyocera Wireless's sacking of a third of its San Diego workforce in 2005 in order to shift manufacturing to its Tijuana *maquiladora* with the aim of cutting costs. Meanwhile, Alco Pacific, the Californian waste transportation and disposal company, was the subject of prosecution by the Los Angeles District Attorney and by Mexican authorities in 1992 over the hazardous emissions of its processing plant in El Florido, and the dumping of toxic by-products in the neighbouring semi-rural community.[33] More than just physical locations, then, these squares represent corporate practices and the workings of transnational capitalism.

In contrast to the locations which make reference to *maquiladoras*, some of the squares, although fewer in number, represent (partial) pockets of resistance to the neoliberal model. One such square, 'Maclovio Rojas,' is named after a small *colonia* on the outskirts of Tijuana, itself named after a Mixtec leader fatally struck by a car in the San Quintín valley in 1987. One of the centres of *maquiladora* activism, land struggle, and protests against multinationals such as Hyundai and others, Maclovio Rojas is, in the words of Téllez, a 'powerful example of resistance to global capitalism',[34] and thus stands as an image of resistance to the powers of the transnational corporations named in other squares on the gameboard. Similarly, another square is named 'CITTAC,' the acronym of the *Centro de Información para Trabajadoras y Trabajadores, Asociación Civil*, a human

and labour rights organization based in Baja California which defends the rights of *maquiladora* workers and campaigns for improved working conditions. Another square, named the 'Kumiai Lands' refers to the Kumeyaay Native American peoples who reside in the greater San Diego and northern Baja California region, with the US–Mexico border cutting through their historical territories. This square thus arguably represents a form of resistance to the nation-state, given that their lands lie on both sides of the border, and offer a differing take on trans-border life, one which is not driven by the exigencies of neoliberal policy, but by an ancient connection to the land. Finally, the square *Colectivo Chipalcingo* refers to the *Colectivo Chilpancingo Pro Justicia Ambiental*, a community action team based in the *colonia* Chilpancingo in Tijuana that focuses on social justice, health and the environment. The *Colectivo Chipalcingo* has been a high-profile player in the resistance against the practices of some of the worst-performing *maquiladora* owners, with one of their most successful campaigns being that of the comprehensive clean-up of the contaminated *Metales y Derivados* site, a plant owned by the US–based New Frontier Trading Organization, in 2004.[35]

Still other sites represent the disavowed underside of the *maquiladora* economy, such as the square named *Basurero de Tecate*, the name of one of the main rubbish dumps in Tijuana. Highly controversial and subject to periodic closures due to contamination and a spate of illnesses afflicting nearby residents, it often housed waste from the nearby *maquiladoras*. In this sense, the *Basurero de Tecate*, located as it is on the gameboard only a few squares from Medronic and Sempra Chevrón, stands for those processes disavowed by corporate giants, and their effects on the local population. A further square, meanwhile, named 'AFO', stands for the Arellano Félix Organization, otherwise known as the Tijuana Cartel, and again represents the underside of the cross-border economy: the illegal trafficking of drugs. Here, flagging the AFO as a major player in this *turismo fronterizo* highlights the violence and illegal activities taking place on and across the border, and indicates that the AFO is a major force in the border economy in the same way that the other, legitimate corporations in the game are. In this sense, the inclusion of the AFO alongside other legitimate businesses—it appears on the board sandwiched between the SD Convention Center and the Castillo del Mar Hotel—implies equivalence, suggesting that we should also question the values of the other corporations in the same way we would do those of the AFO; namely, inviting us to question the actions of corporate giants, in their trafficking of goods, people and waste across the border.

In addition to the squares denoting location, *Turista Fronterizo* also has eight action squares. Where *Monopoly* had 'Community Chest' and 'Chance' cards, the eight squares in *Turista Fronterizo* are split between four which carry 'Dreams' cards and four which carry 'Nightmares'; landing on one of these squares brings up either a positive opportunity or a negative outcome for the player, respectively. Fusco and Domínguez's choice of terms to replace *Monopoly*'s original ones is highly loaded, given that the gameworld is that of the borderlands. If many poor Mexicans find themselves forced to cross the border (whether legally or illegally) in order to survive economically and provide for their families, then *Turista Fronterizo*'s terms engage with and critique the oft-cited notion of the American Dream.[36] It is particularly significant that Fusco and Domínguez present us with a stark polarization between Dreams and Nightmares: the Nightmare cards, which bring up negative consequences for the player, are the dark side of the 'American Dream.' In this sense, the dark side of the American Dream is the Mexican Nightmare, whereby the nightmarish outcomes thrown up by these cards inevitably point to the underside of the US economy, as well as highlighting the structural inequalities of border life.

The cartography of *Turista Fronterizo* thus presents us with various actors in the cross-border socio-political landscape, including legitimate and illegitimate businesses, official agencies and authorities, and grass-roots movements for resistance. *Turista Fronterizo*'s cartography thus speaks to the politics and complexities of the border economy: to the fact that the US neoliberal economy is dependent on the cheap sources of labour crossing its borders every year, and yet Washington commits vast sums of its budget to policing those very borders; to the fact that the *maquiladora* industry is central to United States and increasingly, global corporate giants, and yet has its disavowed dark side in the destruction it wreaks on the Mexican natural environment.

If this is the layout of the board and its sociocultural cartography, avatars within the game are crucial in locating the player within this cartography and positioning him/her in the gameworld. Tellingly, each avatar represents a stereotype of those working in and across the trans-border economy, with two coming from the Mexican side and two from the US side. A short gloss on each avatar in the selection page is provided, with a list of the key features: name, age, profession and mode of transport. Of those on the Mexican side who are attempting to cross to the United States, the first, 'La todóloga,' is 23 years of age, travels by *combi* and her profession is described as 'lo que encuentre'. *La todóloga* represents the typical working class Mexican undocumented immigrant, and her experiences when playing the game mirror the experiences of undocumented border-crossers to the United States. The other Mexican avatar, meanwhile, is 'El Junior,' 25 years of age, driving a Mercedes G500, and whose profession is described as 'huevón'. This avatar represents the Mexican upper classes, whose border crossing is for pleasure and tourism. He has a vastly different experience of border crossing from that of *La todóloga*. These two avatars thus represent the enormity of Mexico's uneven wealth distribution, inequalities which are borne out in the game play itself.[37]

Coming from the US side, the first border-crosser avatar is 'El gringo poderoso', aged 47, driving a Lexus sedan and whose occupation is described somewhat euphemistically as 'Binational Businessman'. This avatar represents the powerful business class in the United States, whose business is dependent precisely on the supply of cheap labour afforded by the border zone. Finally, the second avatar from the US side of the border is the 'Gringa activista', aged 30 and driving a VW 'bug', and whose occupation is 'Anthropology student'; this avatar is representative of the benevolent (although potentially self-deluding) US left-leaning middle class.

Once the avatar is selected and game play begins, the hidden and disavowed underside of corporate border practices is revealed as the avatar lands on particular squares. As the die is rolled, our avatar moves around the board, and the random combination of locations in this border cartography encourages the player to understand 'new metaphorical and narrative associations', to borrow Adamowicz's term.[38] Within these multiple recombinations, we may, for instance, first land on Mabamex, and then on the next roll of the die subsequently land on *El Basurero de Tecate*; here, this connection established in the moment of game play forces us to consider these two entities—a US corporate giant and one of the major locations of environmental pollution in northern Mexico—not as separate features but as intricately interconnected. Or we may, for instance, land on CITTAC, and subsequently land on Mabamex, and thus be encouraged to draw connections between the labour law abuses highlighted by CITTAC, and practices on the ground in the Mabamex *maquiladora*. In this way, in the practice of game play, the player is constantly brought up against new connections which force the hidden and disavowed practices of corporate giants to be brought to light.

Moreover, this strategy of bringing to light the hidden practices of corporatism and the inequalities of border life is further brought home by the multimedia features which are brought into play at the moment of landing on each location. As we move our avatar to a new square, a short animation, still image or video accompanied by a short text, appears in the centre of the board, informing us of the consequences of landing on that particular square. These short pieces comment on the socio-political realities associated with each particular location, and frequently make reference to real-life controversies, disputes and human rights abuses that have taken place within the border region. When playing as *La todóloga*, for instance, if we land on 'NSK Security', a black and white photograph of women protesting appears in the centre of the board, holding placards declaring 'cuidado con las reformas del artículo 123'. A short text then appears informing us: 'Te hecharon [sic] porque exigiste que se respetaran las leyes laborales mexicanas. Gasta $50 en una consulta con un abogado.' The reference here is to Article 123 of the Mexican Constitution, which sets forth a variety of stipulations, including length of working day, minimum working age, rest periods, and so forth. This outcome is thus a reference to the flouting of labour laws which has characterized the operations of some *maquiladoras* in the region. In a similar way, when playing as the *Gringa activista*, if we land on CITTAC, a photomontage of four colour photographs appears in the centre of the board, showing workers dressed in blue. The montage ends with the final photograph showing a Taco Bell doorway, with workers protesting outside carrying handwritten banners, in Spanish and English, which declare, 'yo no quiero Taco Bell', 'Taco Hell', 'one penny more', below an image of tomatoes, and 'Fair wage'. A text below in white font appears, instructing us: 'Attend workers' meeting in San Diego to plan a protest against Taco Bell. 'Spend $200 on sandwich signs'. Here, the reference is to the high-profile protests from 2002–2005, in which a boycott of Taco Bell, under the slogan, 'Yo No Quiero Taco Bell,' was organized to protest over the living and working conditions of the agricultural workers who pick tomatoes for that company.[39]

That said, the recombinatory processes of this resistant game are only quasi-aleatory. That is, although the rolls of the die and the subsequent combination of locations landed on are random, what is not randomized is the content, since the content does not appear independently and randomly across the range of the four avatars. Thus, almost paradoxically, we are in fact playing a game which is at once aleatory and yet pre-determined. The first of these pre-determinations comes in the form of the structural inequalities attached to each avatar from the outset of the game. Depending on the avatar selected, the 'starting account balance'— the available money we have for living on the border, and which, in effect, determines how long and how successfully we may play the game—differs. This ranges from a starting balance of $300,000 for *El gringo poderoso*, to a significantly lower figure of $1000 for *La todóloga*, meaning that from the very outset of the game, ludological possibilities are pre-determined by socio-economic factors. In this way, the structural inequalities of border life are made into structural inequalities in the ludology of *Turista Fronterizo* itself; again, there is a clear sense in which ludology and narratology are tightly knit in this work. Moreover, this structural inequality persists throughout the game, since each avatar has a different trajectory encoded within the game. Depending on the avatar we select at the start, we are given starkly different scenarios, even when landing on the same squares. In effect, four 'narratives' are embedded into one game and the dice are, both literally and metaphorically, loaded. When comparing, for instance, the two avatars from the Mexican side of the border, *El junior* and *La todóloga*, who represent opposite ends of the scale in Mexico's uneven wealth distribution, we can see stark differences in their experiences and narrative as they progress through the game. An example of this can be seen when landing on the *Basurero de Tecate*, on which the outcomes

for these two avatars are blatantly dissimilar, and representative of their socio-economic status. When *La todóloga* lands on this square, a still colour photograph of a hospital bed fills the centre of the board, and a short text in white font appears in the bottom third of the frame, informing us that 'Tu sobrino vive cerca del basurero y descubrió que tiene cancer de los pulmones. Gasta $100 para ayudarle con sus gastos médicos'. Here, the option at the bottom left of the board is already set to 'pagar', and in order to continue in the game we must press it, and so lose $100 from our total, before we can carry on to the next location. However, when *El junior* lands on this same square, a panoramic photograph of a seaside resort showing a small group of buildings around an idyllic bay appears. Over this photograph, images of grey plumes of smoke drift in from the left of the screen, and eventually obscure the view of the sea. A short text appears below this photograph, informing us that 'la pinche peste del basurero está llegando hasta la playa privada donde llevas a tus amantes. Ve a la gobernación y habla con un primo tuyo que trabaja allá para que investiguen a los dueños'. Here, the differing outcomes on the squares represent the marked inequalities of border life; the environmental pollution posed by the *basurero* is merely an inconvenience disturbing the holiday of the upper-middle classes, as represented by *El junior*; for *La todóloga*, meanwhile, the pollution is the cause of life-threatening disease and further poverty. Moreover, the brief narrative in *El junior*'s outcome contributes to his characterization, and provides a commentary on his *machismo* (implied by the plural, *amantes*), as well as a commentary on the corruption of Mexican political sphere, where deals are done through *palancas políticas* and *amiguismo*.

Even starker examples of these structural inequalities can be found when comparing avatars from opposing sides of the border. The differing experiences making up the narrative of *La todóloga* and *El gringo poderoso* are particularly revealing regarding the structural inequalities of border life and of the ludological structure of *Turista Fronterizo*. For example, notable differences in outcome appear when these avatars land on the 'Hyundai' square. When *La todóloga* lands here, a black and white photograph of striking workers, carrying placards stating 'No más corrupción de la autoridad laboral', appears in the centre of the board. Below this appears the text which denotes the outcome for the avatar: 'Tu novio fue golpeado durante la huelga. Gasta $50 en medicinas', after which the player must click on the 'pagar' icon, and lose that sum of money from his/her total. Here, the photographic image makes reference to the long-standing industrial dispute over Hyundai's working practices mentioned earlier. Crucially, for *La todóloga*, the result of this is negative: as a poor working class Mexican, she is on the losing side of the industrial dispute, and in the gameworld, as in real life, she is further forced into poverty. In this respect, *La todóloga*'s gameboard experiences are representative of the poor Mexican working class who are a particular target of exploitation by *maquiladora* giants, a fact which is further confirmed by the html encoding within the work since, when playing as *La todóloga*, the specific URL is http://www.thing.net/ ~ cocofusco/Maq/boardMaq.html. Here, the denomination of *La todóloga*'s game play as 'Maq' makes implicit reference to the *maquiladora* within its encoding (and as such is a nod to the likes of early browser art undertaken by JODI and others); reading between the lines/codes of the game, we are encouraged to see *La todóloga* as representative of *maquiladora* workers as a group.

For *El gringo poderoso*, meanwhile, the outcome is rather different. If we have selected him as our avatar, we are presented with a different image and a different outcome when landing on the very same square. In this instance, landing on 'Hyundai' brings up a colour photograph of two workers with hard hats, standing feet apart, with a sign stating 'no pasar. Policía' in the foreground of the photograph. Over the top third of this photograph, text in white font appears informing us: 'provide scabs during autoworker

strike. Receive $1000'. These evident differences make clear that the different avatars, with their different socio-economic backgrounds, are on opposing sides in the dispute, and also make overt reference to the flouting of labour laws common to the practice of many *maquiladoras*. More importantly, the different outcomes also reveal how the system of late capitalism as represented by the border space and the *maquiladora* economy is self-perpetuating; that is, the dispute reinforces the poverty in which *La todóloga* finds herself, whilst *El gringo poderoso* further profits. In this sense, the game play reveals not only the structural inequalities but also the way in which the system— the system of the game just as the late capitalist system—benefits those who are already in positions of (socio-economic) power.

Finally, a comparative analysis of the outcomes of all the avatars when landing on the 'US Consulate' square is particularly revealing, given this entity's status as one of the central agencies controlling border crossings, and arguably thus one of the central axes of the game. The *Gringa activista*, *El junior* and *La todóloga* all share the same background image which appears in the centre of the board when landing on this location, but the accompanying texts and superimposed images differ greatly, pointing out the differences in socio-economic circumstances of these avatars. When playing as *El junior*, a cartoon image spins into the frame from the upper right, showing a group of Mexicans walking up to the US Consulate in Mexico, with a thought bubble saying 'non-citizen entry'. The avatar of *El junior*, clearly cut and pasted, since the colours and visual style do not match the cartoon underneath, appears in the doorway, leaving the consulate, with a visa in his hand. Below this, a text informs us: 'Renova tu visa fronteriza. Gasta $100'. For the *Gringa activista*, meanwhile, landing on the US Consulate brings up the same cartoon of Mexicans approaching US Consulate, but with a different text underneath in white font: 'Report stolen passport and other ID's. Pay $250 for temporary documents'. Finally, for *La todóloga*, landing on this square again brings up the same cartoon, but with a different text, this time instructing us: 'intenta conseguir una visa fronteriza. Gasta $50'.

Due to the style of the cartoon—a 1950s line drawing using muted colours—and content, the cartoon recalls the leaflets advertising the *bracero* programme of 1942–1962, representing a previous generation of pre-NAFTA border relations. In these three cases, the original image of the *bracero*-era cartoon is inflected differently in this post-NAFTA, neoliberal form of transborder relations that *Turista Fronterizo* represents, whilst at the same time encouraging us to see links between the former programme and present-day socio-economic relations. The *bracero* programme has been harshly criticized by Chicano scholars, with Justin Ankers Chacón calling it 'a twentieth century caste system' that 'created a throw-away workforce' and was a 'throw-back to a bonded labor system', arguing that it represented a 'concerted effort by agribusiness to further restructure the social relations of agricultural capitalism'.[40] If this is the reality encoding the original *bracero*-style cartoon, here, the remixed version created by Fusco and Domínguez re-encodes the original, whereby what is now being explored is the restructuring of social relations under transnational post-Fordist capitalism. Moreover, if, as Valdes and others have argued, NAFTA resulted in the creation of 'a newly dispossessed class of agricultural workers, many of whom were compelled to migrate to the United States',[41] then the NAFTA-era border relations as enacted in *Turista Fronterizo* are directly connected to the issues of agribusiness which were represented by the previous *bracero* programme.

If such are the connotations underpinning the three different outcomes for these avatars, it is striking therefore that for the fourth avatar, *El gringo poderoso*, this specific image is notably absent. For *El gringo poderoso*, this same location brings up a short animated video in the centre of the board, showing a black and white block graphic of the

US flag in which a door opens, a figure of a man walks in, the door closes around him, and the door then disappears. The accompanying text instructs us: 'Attend reception for bi-national businessmen. Spend $500 on a new tuxedo'. The visual metaphor here is clear: namely, that the United States remains an open door for powerful businesses as represented by *El gringo poderoso*, but is firmly shut for others. Moreover, in the course of game play, we become aware of the contrast with the iconography of the other three avatars; here, we may extrapolate that regulations such as the *bracero* programme and NAFTA are disavowed structures which in actuality underpin his wealth and power as a businessman, and thus of the corporate practices he represents.

In these and many other instances of game play, *Turista Fronterizo* aims to interrogate the socio-economic inequalities structuring border life, and encourage the user to establish and critique the interconnections revealed between the various locations. Perhaps even more effective than the surrealists' entirely randomized games, the use of digital media in this work to randomize the outcomes, but to nevertheless ensure that outcomes are pre-programmed according to each particular avatar, means that the social, economic and political inequalities of border life are brought to the fore. In so doing, *Turista Fronterizo* shares impulses with the growing body of digital media art works by Latin(o/a) American artists, both on the US–Mexico border and beyond, which aim to interrogate existing conceptualizations of offline place, and to bring to the fore frequently disavowed socio-political tensions. In this regard, *Turista Fronterizo* provides a clear example of how new media technologies are changing the face of artistic production in the borderlands, and how they can be put to use to critique some of the central concerns of the region.

Notes

1. Coco Fusco and Ricardo Domínguez, *Turista Fronterizo*, 2005. http://www.thing.net/~cocofusco/StartPage.html.
2. Diana Taylor, 'A Savage Performance: Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Coco Fusco's "Couple in the Cage"', *The Drama Review*, 42:2, 1998, pp. 160–175 (pp. 163–64).
3. José Esteban Muñoz, 'Introduction. A Room of One's Own: Women and Power in the New America', *The Drama Review*, 52:1, 2008, pp. 137–39 (p. 137).
4. Coco Fusco, *English is Broken Here: Notes on Cultural Fusions in the Americas*, New York, The New Press, 1995, and *The Bodies That Were Not Ours, and Other Writings*, London, Routledge, 2002.
5. In interview with Coco Fusco, 'On-Line Simulations/ Real-Life Politics: A Discussion with Ricardo Domínguez on Staging Virtual Theatre', *The Drama Review*, 47:2, 2003, pp. 151–62. Domínguez is here referring to the fact that the EDT's contemporary tactics share impulses with agitprop practices of the twentieth century, a form of politicized theatre developed by Soviet activists in the 1920s and 1930s in which actors often played stock characters and which aimed to inform the audience of contemporary political realities.
6. The University of California at San Diego threatened to revoke Domínguez's tenure as a result of him developing this tool, and Domínguez was reviled on national television, particularly the Fox News Channel. For more on the response to *Transborder Immigrant Tool*, see Evan R. Goldstein, 'Digitally Incorrect', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 57: 7, 2010, pp. 6–9, and Linda Dittmar and Joseph Entin, 'Introduction: Jamming the Works. Art, Politics and Activism', *Radical Teacher*, 89, 2010, pp. 3–9.
7. Mark Tribe, '*Tijuana Calling*: Curatorial Statement', 2008. https://wiki.brown.edu/confluence/display/MarkTribe/Tijuana + Calling. A total of 5 works were included in *Tijuana Calling*, the other four being Anne-Marie Schleiner and Luis Hernandez's *Corridos*, Ricardo Miranda Zúñiga's *Dentimundo*, Angel Nevarez and Alex Rivera's *LowDrone*, and Fran Ilich's *Cybercholos*.
8. Coco Fusco and Ricardo Domínguez, '*Turista Fronterizo*: Proposal Text', 2006. https://wiki.brown.edu/confluence/display/MarkTribe/Turista + Fronterizo.
9. André Breton, *Le Cadavre exquis: son exaltation*, Milan, Galleria Schwarz, 1975.

10. Elza Adamowicz, *Surrealist Collage in Text and Image: Dissecting the Exquisite Corpse*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1998, p. 55.
11. I am here qualifying the term 'aleatory' since, as will be analyzed further in this article, the purportedly random experiences thrown up by the roll of the dice in fact turn out to be predetermined by socio-economic factors; hence the recombinatory process of *Turista Fronterizo* is only quasi- or partially aleatory.
12. David J. Bolter, *Writing Space: Computers, Hypertext and the Remediation of Print*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001, 2nd edition; first published 1991, p. 51.
13. Stefan Sonvilla-Weiss, 'Introduction: Mashups, Remix Practices and the Recombination of Existing Digital Content', in Stefan Sonvilla-Weiss, ed., *Mashup Cultures*, Vienna, Springer, 2010, pp. 8–23 (p. 9).
14. I am here referring to what Aarseth and others have warned against as 'technological determinism', in which an empty 'rhetoric of novelty, differentiation and freedom' is frequently employed to characterize new media. Espen J. Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 14.
15. Fusco and Domínguez '*Turista Fronterizo*: Proposal Text', n.p.
16. Rita Raley, *Tactical Media*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2009, p. 56.
17. There are resonances, for instance, with Guillermo Gómez Peña's notion of the 'low-rider Mac', an image of the ironic and tactical re-appropriation of dated technologies, following a *rasquache* aesthetic (Gómez-Peña, *The New World Border: Prophesies, Poems and Loqueras for the End of the Century*, San Francisco, City Lights 1996), as too, with the exhortations of Uruguayan net.artist Brian Mackern for a tactical employment of ASCII-art in a deliberate re-use of '"poor"' (low-tech) design resources' (Mackern, 'Netart Latino "database"/Interface Map', *Proceedings of the 16th International Symposium on Electronic Art*, Berlin, Revolver Publishing, 2010, pp. 434–36 (p. 435)).
18. Raley *Tactical Media*, p. 54.
19. The Thing.net, 'History', *The Thing*, http://the.thing.net/about/about.html.
20. http://www.thing.net/~cocofusco/StartPage.html.
21. Fusco and Domínguez '*Turista Fronterizo*: Proposal Text', n.p.
22. *Turista Nacional*, whilst on the surface refusing *Monopoly* as an ideology in its title, is nevertheless focused on capitalist accumulation, given that the game play is based upon investment in Mexico's principal tourist sites.
23. Christian Fuchs, *Internet and Society: Social Theory in the Information Age*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 87.
24. Fuchs, *Internet and Society*, p. 94.
25. This refers to the *Secretaría de Gobernación*, Mexico's interior ministry.
26. The San Ysidro border checkpoint is located in southern San Diego, and is the largest border crosspoint in the world, with an estimated 50 million people crossing it each year.
27. The Policía Judicial Federal was the official name of the Mexican federal police force, although its name was changed in 2002 to the Agencia Federal de Investigación.
28. On hazardous waste pollution, see Edward J. Williams, 'The Maquiladora Industry and Environmental Degradation in the United States–Mexico Borderlands', *St Mary's Law Journal*, 27:4, 1996, pp. 765–816; and Kathryn Kopinak, 'Environmental Implications of New Mexican Industrial Investment: The Rise of Asian Origin Maquiladoras as Generators of Hazardous Waste', *Asian Journal of Latin American Studies*, 15:1, 2002, pp. 91–120. On breaches of health and safety procedures, see David Bacon, 'Health, Safety, and Workers' Rights in the Maquiladoras', *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 22:3, 2001, pp. 338–48. On the flouting of labour laws, see Paul Cooney, 'The Mexican Crisis and the Maquiladora Boom: A Paradox of Development or the Logic of Neoliberalism?', *Latin American Perspectives*, 28:3, 2001, pp. 55–83; and Heather L. Williams, 'Of Labor Tragedy and Legal Farce: The Han Young Factory Struggle in Tijuana, Mexico', *Social Science History*, 27:4, 2003, pp. 525–50.
29. Michael Stone and Gabrielle Winkler, 'Translator's Foreword', in Norma Iglesias Prieto, *Beautiful Flowers of the Maquiladora: Life Histories of Women Workers in Tijuana*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1997, p. xiii.
30. Joe Bandy, 'Bordering the Future: Resisting Neoliberalism in the Borderlands', *Critical Sociology*, 26:3, 2000, pp. 232–67 (p. 236).
31. See Williams, 'Of Labor Tragedy' for more on this.

32. David Bacon, *The Children of NAFTA: Labor Wars on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004, p. 13.
33. For more on this and other similar instances of hazardous waste dumping in Mexico see Valerie Cass, 'Toxic Tragedy: Illegal Hazardous Waste Dumping in Mexico', in Sally M. Edwards, Terry D Edwards and Charles B. Fields, eds, *Environmental Crime and Criminality: Theoretical and Practical Issues*, New York, Garland, 1996, pp. 99–120.
34. Michelle Téllez, 'Generating Hope, Creating Change, Searching for Community: Stories of Resistance against Globalization at the U.S.-Mexico Border', in César Augusto Rossato, Ricky Lee Allen and Marc Pruyn, eds, *Reinventing Critical Pedagogy: Widening the Circle of Anti-Oppression Education*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 2006, pp. 225–34 (p. 225).
35. For a detailed analysis of the environmental justice campaign to clear up Metales y Derivados, and the role that the Colectivo Chilpancingo played in this, see David Carruthers, 'Where Local Meets Global: Environmental Justice on the US-Mexico Border', in David Carruthers, ed., *Environmental Justice in Latin America: Problems, Promise and Practices*, MIT Press, 2008, pp. 137–60.
36. It is worth noting the plethora of scholarly studies on Mexican immigration which invoke (and subsequently critique) the American Dream as one of the primary motivators in the flow of Mexicans from their own country to the US; see, as a representative sample, Gretchen Livingston and Joan R. Kahn, 'An American Dream Unfulfilled: The Limited Mobility of Mexican Americans', *Social Science Quarterly*, 83:4, 2002, pp. 1002–12; Richard Alba, 'Mexican Americans and the American Dream', *Perspectives on Politics*, 4:1, 2006, pp. 289–96; or Eileen Diaz McConnell and Enrico A. Marcelli, 'Buying into the American Dream? Mexican Immigrants, Legal Status, and Homeownership in Los Angeles County', *Social Science Quarterly*, 88:1, 2007, pp. 199–221.
37. For more on Mexico's wealth distribution, see He Li, who notes that Mexico has one of the most unequal distributions of wealth among developing countries, and in particular highlights rising inequality from the 1980s onwards as a result of the strong programme of neoliberal reforms. He Li, 'Political Economy of Income Distribution: A Comparative Study of Taiwan and Mexico', *Policy Studies Journal*, 28:2, 2000, pp. 275–91 (p. 277).
38. Adamowicz, *Surrealist Collage*, p. 57.
39. For more on the Taco Bell protests, André C. Drainville, 'Present in the World Economy: The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (1996–2007)', *Globalizations*, 5:3, 2008, pp. 357–77.
40. Mike Davis and Justin Akers Chacón, *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, Chicago, Haymarket Books, 2006, pp. 139–40. See also Ronald Mize and Alicia Swords, *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero Programme to NAFTA*, Ontario, U. of Toronto Press, 2011, for more on the treatment of Mexican immigrants under US policy, ranging from the *bracero* programme to NAFTA.
41. Dennis N. Valdes, 'Legal Status and the Struggles of Farmworkers in West Texas and New Mexico, 1942–1993', *Latin American Perspectives*, 22:1, 1995, pp. 117–137 (p. 128).