THE UNDOCUMENTED EVERYDAY

MIGRANT LIVES AND THE POLITICS OF VISIBILITY

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Acronyms

CAFTA-DR	Central America–Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement
COMO	Centro de Orientación de la Mujer Obrera
DACA	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
DAPA	Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOJ	Department of Justice
DOL	Department of Labor
DREAM Act	Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act
FAIR	Federation for American Immigration Reform
HRHCare	Hudson River HealthCare
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IIRIRA	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
IYJL	Immigrant Youth Justice League

MALDEF	Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NDLON	National Day Labor Organizing Network
NFOP	National Fugitive Operations Program
NIYA	National Immigrant Youth Alliance
1199SEIU	Local 1199 Service Employees International Union
PEP	Priority Enforcement Program
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
SB 1070	Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act)
S-COMM	Secure Communities Program
USA PATRIOT Act	Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act
USCCR	U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

PART ONE

Ordinary Identifications and Unseen America

CHAPTER TWO

The Border's Frame

Between Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega

In the summer of 2003, staff at Hudson River HealthCare (HRHCare), a network of ten community and migrant health centers based in the Hudson River Valley, traveled to La Ciénega, Oaxaca, to lead a photography workshop. The workshop was for the families of the Oaxacan migrants who had participated in an Unseen America project in Poughkeepsie. As part of an initiative called Communities without Borders: A Bridge for Health, HRHCare staff presented a PowerPoint of photographs taken by the Poughkeepsie workshop participants to their families and other residents of La Ciénega. The presentation provided audience members with an opportunity to view photographs of their family members in Poughkeepsie, including some grandparents who saw images of grandchildren that they had never met in person.[1] In an interview about the Communities without Borders project, HRHCare CEO Anne Nolon commented on the challenges faced by the workshop participants, noting that "people can't travel, but photographs do."[2]

At the same time that HRHCare staff framed the Communities without Borders project as providing a "photographic bridge" between Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega, the photographs themselves were symptomatic of the obstacles faced by members of this translocal community.[3] The Communities without Borders project highlighted the separations among members of these communities, as well as the difficulties faced by those who remained behind in Oaxaca. This photography project emphasized

the connections among these communities at a time when U.S. immigration laws limited the movement of undocumented Mexican and Central American migrants across the U.S.–Mexico boundary. The HRHCare staff's goal for Communities without Borders was to link members of a translocal community, but there were limits to this objective, not the least of which is the militarized border between them.

HRHCare viewed Communities without Borders as a way to reach out to Oaxacan migrants living in Poughkeepsie and to encourage them to serve as *promotores* and *promotoras de salud* (health advocates) for the organization.[4] Further, staff members added the photography workshop in La Ciénega to help to connect the two sectors of this translocal community. The HRHCare staff members believed that if family members in La Ciénega knew about their organization's services, they would encourage their migrant relatives in Poughkeepsie to use them. These extensive outreach efforts to Oaxacan migrants took place in the post-9/11 political context, during which laws such as the USA PATRIOT Act (2001) and the Homeland Security Act (2002) were enacted. In this political environment, undocumented migrants avoided health and social service organizations, fearing that their immigration status would be discovered and that they would be arrested, detained, or deported. In these difficult circumstances, HRHCare staff believed that promotores and promotoras de salud could help the organization reach out to, build trust with, and familiarize migrants with their services.

Similar to the Unseen America photographs that I analyze in chapter 1, the images produced by Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie can also be characterized by what I call the *undocumented everyday*. These images, which feature a mixed-genre aesthetic comprised of documentary, family, and snapshot photography, resulted from the collaboration between the documentary-style project of Unseen America and the goals of HRHCare to provide a "photographic bridge" between members of this translocal community. In Poughkeepsie, Oaxacan migrants photographed elements of their everyday lives specifically for their family members in La Ciénega. Their photographs portray community members engaged in daily activities—at home, at work, and at play. The participants took photographs

in public and private settings, attesting to the integration of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie.

Although there are some similarities between the images produced in the Unseen America workshop in Long Island and the one in Poughkeepsie, the participants in the latter workshop had goals that were distinct from those in the former. Consequently, they used a mixed-genre aesthetic for different purposes. While documentary approaches span all the Unseen America workshops, what differentiates the Communities without Borders photographs from those by the Workplace Project participants is the former group's address to family members in La Ciénega. In directing their work to relatives in La Ciénega, participants in Poughkeepsie drew upon the genres of family and snapshot photography and the documentary aesthetics they learned in Unseen America. The mixed-genre aesthetic that the Poughkeepsie participants employed related to their translocality as a mode of address. I contend that these images can be characterized by a *translocal aesthetic*, which relates the mixed-genre aesthetic form to the translocal address of the photographs. This translocal aesthetic distinguishes this project from Bread and Roses' framing the photographs produced in the Unseen America workshops as forms of national culture.[5] This, according to HRHCare social worker Barbara Hill, transformed "Unseen America into Unseen *Americas*."[6]

Through their translocal aesthetic, participants in Poughkeepsie's Communities without Borders project visualized what Lynn Stephen describes as "simultaneous belonging in multiple localities" or what Denise A. Segura and Patricia Zavella refer to as "subjective transnationalism," which they argue "reflects the experience of feeling 'at home' in more than one geographic location."[7] In addition to promoting HRHCare's goals, Communities without Borders narrates the workshop participants' local and translocal "ways of belonging," as well as highlighting the separations among members of this community.[8] The joint exhibitions of images by Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie and their family members in La Ciénega—which took place in Poughkeepsie, La Ciénega, and Oaxaca City in the fall of 2003—imagine community networks across national borders. By placing images of migrants in Poughkeepsie next to

photographs taken by family members in La Ciénega, these exhibitions envisioned an alternative reality in which daily life in these disparate locations existed side by side. However, the spaces between the photographs also represent the separation of the people within them. At that time neither the Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie nor their family members in La Ciénega could see each other—except in photographs.

The Communities without Borders project did provide a means of connecting members of this translocal community whose mobility was constrained by strict U.S. immigration laws limiting undocumented migrants' movements across the U.S.–Mexico boundary. However, there were other outcomes to the project. In the words of one participant, the Communities without Borders project and exhibitions "broke the boundary between public and private" for those who were involved.[9] Communities without Borders also strengthened the bonds with Oaxacan as well as with other Mexican migrants in Poughkeepsie and encouraged their engagement with HRHCare as promotores and promotoras de salud. The project prompted some Communities without Borders participants to organize around broader issues concerning undocumented Latina/o migrants in the United States by helping to plan political events, including the 2006 "A Day without an Immigrant" boycott, march, and rally in Poughkeepsie.[10]

Within the translocal frame of Communities without Borders, however, there were limits to addressing the effects of transnational capitalism and neoliberal trade policies that cause migration. In La Ciénega, participants in the Communities without Borders project created photographs that represented aspects of their daily lives that they hoped would encourage their family members to come home or that would inform outsiders about the conditions that forced their family members to migrate.[11] Participants in La Ciénega thus directed their work not only to their family members in Poughkeepsie, but also to a much broader audience. Although participants in La Ciénega portrayed the everyday lives of those left behind, only their families and friends would notice the *absence* of those who migrated in the photographs. So, although participants in La Ciénega were addressing a translocal audience comprised of community members in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega, and a broader

audience outside of those communities, only the former group would be able to "see" the effects of migration in these photographs.

I begin this chapter by contextualizing the history of Oaxacan migration to Poughkeepsie from the 1980s to the post-9/11 era in order to historically situate my analysis of the Unseen America project held at HRHCare in the summer of 2003. Due to the increased settlement of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie, HRHCare's role shifted from providing mobile medical services for migrant farmworkers to offering a broader range of services to all undocumented migrants residing in the Hudson River Valley. In addition to HRHCare, more social service organizations responded to the needs of the growing population of Oaxacan migrants residing in Poughkeepsie, fostering a very different environment than in Long Island, where the Workplace Project's Unseen America project took place. I relate the development of the translocal Communities without Borders project to HRHCare's efforts to reach out to undocumented Latina/o immigrants in Poughkeepsie and to fulfill the organization's mandate to cultivate leadership among clients of their community healthcare centers. The second half of the chapter focuses on the workshops in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega and analyzes some of the photographs produced within them. In the final section, I examine the photographic exhibitions in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega, as well as the impact of the exhibition in Poughkeepsie on participants.

The Formation of a Community of Oaxacan Migrants in Poughkeepsie

HRHCare's Communities without Borders project was rooted in the community of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie, which had been growing from the 1980s through the post-9/11 era. In the 1980s, Oaxacan migrants came to the Hudson River Valley as seasonal workers. Over time, some settled in Poughkeepsie and the surrounding area, creating a community base for later migrants. In transitioning between accommodating seasonal migrants to supporting longer-term residents, Hudson River HealthCare expanded from delivering medical services by mobile van in the fields to reaching out to new residents to familiarize them with the services provided by their community and migrant

health-care centers. Beyond HRHCare, other Poughkeepsie social service organizations worked to address the needs of Oaxacan migrants living in town. In contrast to the experiences of migrants in Farmingville and Hempstead, Long Island, as described in chapter 1, many Poughkeepsie residents viewed the settlement of Oaxacan migrants as contributing to the economic revitalization of this small city.[12] The context in Poughkeepsie was quite distinct from Long Island, and these differences affected the photographs that the participants in each of the Unseen America workshops produced.

This different context influenced the work of social service organizations—including HRHCare—in serving the needs of migrant farmworkers in the Hudson River Valley. HRHCare has a long history of providing health-care services to low-income residents of the Hudson River Valley, as well as to seasonal farmworkers, recent migrants, and day laborers. The organization has been involved with migrant health care since the 1970s, when the Peekskill Area Ambulatory Health Center began treating migrant farmworkers from the United States and Mexico in the Hudson River Valley.[13] Starting in the late 1970s, this precursor to Hudson River HealthCare delivered health-care services in a mobile van that went to the fields where migrant farmworkers worked. The workers were mainly African American; Mexican American; individuals who migrated from southern U.S. states, including Texas; and a smaller number of farm laborers from Mexico. All were seasonal migrants, arriving to work the harvest in the fall, going home for the holidays, and returning in the spring for the growing season.

During the early 1990s, an increasing number of migrants from Oaxaca and elsewhere in Mexico arrived in towns and small cities in the Hudson River Valley.[14] Starting in the early 1990s, outmigration from Oaxaca to the United States for work in agriculture, among other occupations, grew, spurred by the privatization of public lands in Mexico and neoliberal foreign policies such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).[15] In the early 1990s, the Mixteca-Sur region of Mexico was significantly affected by President Carlos Salinas's efforts to reform Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution (1917), which allowed peasants land rights for farming.[16] Wayne Cornelius and David Myhre

have related the changes to Article 27 to structural transformations within the Mexican economy. These changes promoted privatization and deregulation and were part of a wider set of neoliberal policy adjustments instituted prior to NAFTA.[17] The policies of NAFTA further exacerbated the financial crisis in Mexico.[18] NAFTA effectively lowered the price of corn in Mexico by increasing the importation of U.S. corn to Mexico, which put small farmers in Mexico out of business. Many agricultural workers lost their livelihood.[19]

By the early 1990s there were thousands of Mexican migrants living in Poughkeepsie, most of whom were from Oaxaca.[20] Poughkeepsie was one of many smaller cities and towns located far from the U.S.–Mexico border that saw a significant rise in Mexican migrants before the turn of the century.[21] According to Allison Mountz and Richard Wright, higher wages for labor in New York State attracted Mexican migrants.[22] Although most of the jobs Oaxacans found in Poughkeepsie paid only minimum wage, this amount was still a substantial increase over the 1990s wages in Oaxaca, where 80 percent of rural households brought home less than ten U.S. dollars a day.[23] Oaxacans who found work in Poughkeepsie relayed this information to residents in their hometowns, some of whom moved to join them.[24] As Lawrence Brown, Tamara Mott, and Edward Malecki argue, it is not push factors or jobs that dictate why Mexicans migrate to a specific U.S. location; rather, migrants choose places based on information they receive from family and friends. This sharing of information can lead to a "migration chain," whereby migrants follow those who have come before them.[25] In Poughkeepsie, Oaxacan migrants such as Honorio "Pie" Rodríguez, who opened El Bracero restaurant in 1991, played a significant role in the social networks on which La Ciénega residents depended.[26]

The long-term settlement of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie grew substantially between the 1980s and 2000s. In the 1980s and 1990s, most Oaxacan migrants working in the United States did not plan to stay there.[27] During this period, the majority of Oaxacans who migrated to New York State were male and traveled there to earn money, after which they planned to return to Oaxaca.[28] Oaxacan migrants in the 1980s and 1990s remained in the United States less than nine years on average,

with most migrants taking only two trips to the country. As a result, as Cohen and Rodríguez argue, migrants at this time were primarily connected to their sending households and communities.[29] From the early to late 1990s—a period in which there was more movement across the U.S.–Mexico boundary—Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie could be characterized as a transnational community, composed of migrants whose "daily lives, work, and social relationships extend across national borders."[30] By the 1990s, a quarter of the adult men from La Ciénega, Oaxaca (population three thousand), were working in Poughkeepsie.[31] According to the 2000 census, 85 percent of Mexicans living in Poughkeepsie had moved there between 1990 and 2000, with most arriving between 1995 and 2000, the years following NAFTA.[32] By 2000, 46 percent of Oaxaca's Central Valley households included one migrant.[33] Of this group, 76 percent were men.

As I mention in the introduction, the decade following the mid-1990s exemplified a major shift in migration patterns for Mexicans in the United States. Alicia Schmidt Camacho and other scholars have argued that this contributed to an increase in undocumented migrants, partly because of harsher security on both sides of the U.S.–Mexico boundary.[34] The rise in border enforcement discouraged some Mexicans from migrating to the United States, and it dissuaded others who had arrived in the United States from returning to Mexico if they later wanted to reenter the United States.[35] Due to the challenges of crossing the U.S.–Mexico boundary without immigration documents, many migrants from Oaxaca started to put down roots in Poughkeepsie. In their research on Mexican migrant communities in New York State, Pilar Parra and Max Pfeffer noted a decline in the number of short-term migrants in the area after the year 2000, which they argue mirrors the general increase in Mexican settlement in the United States.[36] Parra and Pfeffer contend that this increased settlement has also led to the need for services in health care, transportation, and housing, and with assistance obtaining work permits and visas, which HRHCare, among other local organizations, has helped provide.[37]

Comité Latino, a group that was established in the early 1990s, was one of the most direct ways that HRHCare drew in this relatively new

population of Latina/os and informed them of the organization's services.[38] In forming Comité Latino, HRHCare located potential community leaders to advise newer migrants about the health-care services that they offered and to get to know people's individual needs and problems. This model helped forge a bond between HRHCare and the community, so that newer migrants felt that they could trust the organization to help them.[39] Comité Latino provided an institutional context in which Latina/o community members could gather and talk about their concerns. Over time, the organization grew and interacted more with local politicians to update them about the community's needs. Comité Latino also organized events in Peekskill, New York, which made certain aspects of Latina/o lives—such as the celebration of holidays—public.[40]

The growth in Oaxacan settlement in Poughkeepsie partially resulted from the intensification of immigration enforcement along the U.S.–Mexico boundary, but other factors contributed to the influx of migrants. For example, more women, children, and other relatives of the male migrants started arriving in the mid-1990s, as many Oaxacans found steady employment in Poughkeepsie and sent for their family members.[41] By the early 2000s, some migrants in Poughkeepsie had purchased homes, and parents had enrolled children in school. In addition, some undocumented migrants began trying to change their immigration status so they could remain in the country.[42] As a result of these factors and others, many migrants living in Poughkeepsie had not returned to Oaxaca for years. Most did not want to risk a trip to Mexico, since they could be deported if they were caught crossing the U.S.–Mexico boundary without immigration documents and lose what they had worked so hard to attain in Poughkeepsie.

The settlement of Oaxacans had a significant impact on Poughkeepsie, especially on the growth of businesses on Main Street. The revitalization of the city that started in the 2000s is partially related to the influx of Mexican migrants.[43] Poughkeepsie had experienced economic challenges since the mid-1970s—especially between the late 1980s and the late 1990s—which was evident in the downtown area, much of which was filled with vacant buildings.[44] The rise of Oaxacan entrepreneurs began in the early 1990s, starting with Honorio "Pie" Rodríguez, who

established El Bracero restaurant. After El Bracero opened in 1991, at least twenty-five other Spanish-language businesses were launched before 2004.[45] These businesses included nine restaurants, eight variety stores, three groceries, two bakeries, two delis, and one hair salon, all primarily serving the Mexican population. Brian Godfrey characterizes Poughkeepsie's Main Street as an "incipient urban landscape of ethnic arrival" developed by "an aspiring Latino entrepreneurial class," which included Rodríguez and Francisco del Moral—the owner of Casa Latino grocery store and president of the Asociación Hispana de Benito Juárez (Benito Juárez Hispanic Association)—among others.[46]

The contribution of Mexican (and specifically Oaxacan) migrants to the revitalization of Poughkeepsie has been significant, and along with a number of other aspects of the city's population has led to the integration of this community within Poughkeepsie.[47] Mexican migrants have been part of what Jo Margaret Mano and Linda Greenow have described as the "bottom-up" growth in small Hispanic and Mexican businesses. Along with the "top-down" investment in government and private projects, "bottom-up" growth has brought commercial life back to the city.[48] Elizabeth Druback-Celaya has argued that because of this, the Mexican migrant population has not been viewed as "invading and thwarting Poughkeepsie's overall goals for itself, but rather presenting another way in which the city needs to expand and rejuvenate."[49] The inclusion of Mexican migrants in the community was aided by other social service organizations, such as those housed in the Family Partnership Center; governmental agencies; and other groups who supported migrants, including the Latino Roundtable and the Association for Hispanics to Obtain Resources and Assistance (AHORA).[50]

Unlike in Farmingville, Long Island, where some longtime residents viewed Mexican and Central American migrants' use of public space in their community as negatively affecting their "quality of life," Poughkeepsie residents overwhelmingly viewed Mexican migrants as improving this small city as they became the owners, workers, and consumers of new businesses that were sprouting up on Main Street.[51] The integration of Oaxacan migrants into the broader Poughkeepsie community significantly increased during the 2000s. The city established support

services for the Mexican community, and when the number of migrants increased, these service organizations grew to meet their needs.[52] These service organizations reached out to Mexican migrants to inform them about their rights and the services that existed for them.[53] Still, as Druback-Celaya contends, the integration of Mexican migrants "goes beyond simple structural integration, such as inclusion in systems of health care," to an "effort to foster linguistic and cultural understanding among all members of the community."[54] This context has made Poughkeepsie more welcoming to migrants than other towns in the Hudson River Valley, and migrants from Puebla and Veracruz, Mexico—and a smaller number of migrants from Central America—followed those from Oaxaca to Poughkeepsie.[55]

This context in Poughkeepsie created a different environment for Unseen America than that of Long Island, and this distinction affected the photographs that participants produced. Unlike the photographs created by participants in the Workplace Project's workshop, the images produced by Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie were not intended primarily for an outside audience. This was also an outcome of the Communities without Borders frame, which emphasized the building of a "photographic bridge" between Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega. As I will explain further in the coming sections, HRHCare focused on strengthening the connections between migrants in Poughkeepsie and their families in La Ciénega. However, I also contend that as a result of their involvement in the Communities without Borders project, participants worked beyond HRHCare's goals to address broader issues that concerned them, including the effects of restrictive and punitive U.S. immigration laws on members of their communities.

"The Photographic Bridge": Hudson River HealthCare and Unseen America

HRHCare's interest in Unseen America was related to the organization's desire to share information about the organization's services with the Latina/o community in Poughkeepsie. HRHCare staff's focus on recruiting promotores and promotoras de salud was partly a response to the health disparities experienced by undocumented Latina/o migrants

in the United States. Federal funding to cover health-care costs for seasonal migrants and farmworkers has existed since 1962, and in 1975, Congress allowed for the development of "community and migrant health centers."[56] In recent decades, neoliberal economic policies contributed to the increased privatization of health care, which limited the funding allocated for undocumented migrants. For example, the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) restricted migrants' eligibility for Medicaid, which had both direct and indirect effects on migrants' health care.[57] Gilbert Gee and Chandra Ford note that "legislation can harm immigrants, not only directly via eligibility standards but also indirectly via a climate of fear."[58] They also assert that, due to the political climate around immigration in recent years, undocumented Latina/o migrants have avoided accessing health and social services due to fear of arrest, detention, or deportation. In this context, community health-care organizations have viewed promotores and promotoras de salud as a means to reach migrant communities that have been marginalized within the U.S. health-care system, as well as U.S. society as a whole.[59]

Unseen America's focus on having working-class communities photograph their lives corresponded well with HRHCare's promotion of their clients' participation in the running of the organization. As a Federally Qualified Health Center (FQHC), HRHCare is mostly overseen by its clients. In fact, 51 percent of the boards of Federally Qualified Health Centers are required to be comprised of their clients. This mandate is based on the model developed by Dr. Jack Geiger and Dr. Count Gibson, leaders in the 1960s community health-care movement. In the first grant they submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), Geiger and Gibson indicated that community participation would be required in the health-care centers, primarily through board membership. When the OEO started promoting community health centers in 1970, it developed guidelines based on Geiger's proposal.[60] Thus, the "clients" of community health-care centers are not just patients, but also participants in the organization.[61]

Staff members at HRHCare were interested in Unseen America because of several emphases within the organization. First, HRHCare had

a history of using art as a means to connect with communities. Specifically, HRHCare staff member Wilfredo Morel, who worked on the Communities without Borders project, stated that the organization "uses art as a way to break barriers" with the members whom it serves.[62] Second, the staff at HRHCare believed that the photography workshop would help them to identify potential promotores and promotoras de salud who would tell Oaxacan migrants about the services offered at a two-year-old HRHCare site at the Family Partnership Center in Poughkeepsie.[63] Although there are many distinctive aspects of the community health-care model, one of the most important for a discussion of Communities without Borders is the central role that community members played in these health-care centers. In writing about the importance of "community" in community health, Jenna Loyd suggests that "the valence of community health hinges on specific articulations of geographically-based and group-based understandings of community." Further, she notes that "community-oriented primary care (COPC) practitioners argue that community health is not only the sum of individuals in a geographic space but also the capacity of a group to create community." Thus, the "role of the clinic should be to help mobilize people to *create* a place-based community through the collaborative identification of needs."[64] Creating community was central to the development of Communities without Borders.

The HRHCare staff's aim of recruiting Oaxacan migrants to use the community health-care center challenges the division between institutions that support *either* seasonal farmworkers *or* (to a limited extent) the health care of U.S. citizens but do not provide services for undocumented migrants.[65] Further, HRHCare's goals should be situated within the political context of the early 2000s, a period characterized by neoliberal economic policies as well as the privatization of health care in the United States. What is interesting is that politicians' support for community health centers—including those that provide services for migrants, such as HRHCare—has not been taken up in "politically predictable cycles," as Loyd notes, citing the example of President George W. Bush, who "championed community health centers as a mark of his 'compassionate conservatism.'"[66] Notwithstanding Bush's support for community

health centers, Loyd draws on the work of Michel Foucault to argue that community health can be a "political object . . . taken at face value and turned back against the system that was bent on controlling it."[67] Further, she contends, "Although practices under the banner of community health can entrench biopower, they can also serve to subvert state biopolitical practices."[68]

The decision of HRHCare to provide health care to undocumented migrants suggests a more expansive understanding of who deserves health-care services in the United States. This inclusive approach reflects what Loyd calls "the radical potential of community health," which also involves "exposing the contradictory reality of biopower and organizing in such a way that collective well-being is possible."[69] HRHCare's Communities without Borders project demonstrates how, as Loyd notes, "the state's inability to meet current needs is part and parcel of the biopolitical—that is, racialized—organization of scarcity that extends beyond the state to the structure of the economy."[70] Seen in this context, HRHCare's recruiting of undocumented migrants as clients challenges the limits of the U.S. health-care system to accommodate all U.S. residents, regardless of their citizenship status.

HRHCare staff's focus on developing the Communities without Borders project to reach out to the growing population of Oaxacans living in Poughkeepsie was a practical means of providing access to health-care services. Their emphasis on "building the bridge" to connect the translocal communities of Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega—so those in La Ciénega could encourage their family members in Poughkeepsie to use the community health-care center—was built on ties the organization had been cultivating with Mexican health-care agencies. Starting in the early 2000s, HRHCare began relationships with both the Secretaría de Salud (Ministry of Health) in Mexico and local and state departments of health—specifically in Oaxaca and Puebla—to support health care for Mexican migrants in the Hudson River Valley.[71] These connections were especially important after 2000, when Mexican migrants were joining their families in the Hudson River Valley in large numbers.[72]

The Communities without Borders project benefited from one of the lessons learned by the participants in Workplace Project's Unseen

America, which was to have clear goals from the beginning. In January 2003, Bread and Roses contacted HRHCare about becoming involved with Unseen America. After an initial meeting with representatives from Bread and Roses and the Workplace Project, HRHCare staff decided that the project would commence in mid-June.[73] The HRHCare staff then sought out migrants from La Ciénega for the photography workshop. This decision was based on HRHCare's contact with a state department of health employee in Oaxaca, who informed the staff that a significant number of residents from La Ciénega had migrated to Poughkeepsie. After HRHCare hired Juan Garcia-Nuñez, a bilingual artist who taught photography and videography at Dutchess County Community College, the organization started to promote the workshop to Mexican migrants in Poughkeepsie. Staff and volunteers at the health-care center in Poughkeepsie—including Hortensia from La Ciénega—recruited participants by circulating flyers in churches, laundromats, and other locations where the organization had previously advertised ESL classes. Volunteers gave presentations about the workshop around Poughkeepsie, and they also spread the word through the Family Partnership Center.[74] The organization's choice to focus on recruiting individuals from La Ciénega was one of the project's biggest draws.[75] Although HRHCare had originally intended to hold only one photography workshop in Poughkeepsie, the project staff had always planned to display the photographs in both Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega.[76]

According to Nathalis Guy Wamba and Carolyn Curran—authors of *Shadow Catchers: A Look at Unseen America*, a report on the Unseen America workshops held between 2000 and 2003—Workplace Project members suggested that Bread and Roses hold discussions at the beginning of each workshop to determine the most important political issues facing the group and how photography could further the group's political goals.[77] In 2003, the year of the HRHCare workshop, the majority of participants could not travel to Mexico for a visit and then return to the United States because of their undocumented status. They did not get to see their family members regularly, unlike the Workplace Project participants who visited family members in Central America during the winter of 2000–2001.[78] When the HRHCare staff conferred with the

participants about their objectives for the photography project, they agreed that their primary political aim was to use photography to connect with their family members in La Ciénega.

The vast majority of participants were recent migrants from La Ciénega, although at least one participant was from elsewhere in Mexico. The group of twenty-three individuals ranged from teenagers to senior citizens, with a mix of men and women. Some participants had come to the United States as early as the mid-1990s, but most had arrived more recently, including some younger workshop members who had moved with their parents in the months before 9/11. A few of the younger members planned to return to Mexico within a year or so, while others, including some of the older members of the workshop, had chosen to settle in the United States, since their family members lived in Poughkeepsie. Some of these participants were students, but most were adults who primarily worked in the service industry, including restaurants, hotels, landscaping, childcare, and housekeeping. A few participants had previously been employed as seasonal farmworkers.[79] Others included volunteers from the health-care center in Poughkeepsie, including Hortensia, and three members of the HRHCare staff from Peekskill, New York: Vilma Velez, Wilfredo Morel, and Nick Cannell. These staff members commuted from Peekskill to Poughkeepsie for the two-hour workshops, which were held for two nights a week for twelve weeks.[80]

From the very beginning, HRHCare staff members emphasized the goals of the workshop, which sustained participation levels.[81] According to participant Elizabeth Druback-Celaya, the staff frequently discussed the primary goal of the project: to support the connection between the communities of Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega. The organizers informed the workshop participants that their family members would see their images in La Ciénega. This would enable Poughkeepsie residents to share photographs representing their daily lives with their family and community members. As the HRHCare staff described, this project highlighted the "connection/migration pattern and dependence of two communities for economic and social reasons."[82] Because the participants had limited contact with their family members, the concept of "building the bridge" was attractive to them.[83] In this sense, the organization's framing of the

project as a "photographic bridge" appealed to the participants from La Ciénega and motivated them to attend the workshop regularly.[84]

Although photography teacher Juan Garcia-Nuñez did not follow the *Unseen America Teacher's Guide* (2003) particularly closely during the Family Partnership Center workshop, he did emphasize some project options suggested in the book. The choices included documenting one's own life or the life of another. In the early classes, Garcia-Nuñez taught participants how to use a camera, while also covering composition, framing, and lighting. Garcia-Nuñez focused on a documentary approach, familiarizing the attendees with the work of photographers Eugene Smith, Sebastião Salgado, and Josef Koudelka. As the participants started using the cameras, he encouraged them to use "the eye of the documentarian" and to see photographs as a means to interpret the world around them. In contrast to documentary photographers who portrayed the lives of individuals in different communities, Garcia-Nuñez followed Unseen America's emphasis on self-representation and encouraged the participants to use the camera to depict their own lives, concerns, interests, and experiences. Photographers were directed to "portray aspects of life that are integral, rather than distinct from daily life" and to avoid posed pictures or snapshots.[85] Most workshop participants took photographs of friends and family members at home, during special events, and working or waiting for work, and landscape shots of backyards and streetscapes.[86]

HRHCare's framing of the project as a link between migrants in Poughkeepsie and their families in La Ciénega, combined with Unseen America's emphasis on individuals representing their daily lives in documentary form, influenced the photographs that the participants produced in the workshop. In the HRHCare workshop in Poughkeepsie, most participants created personal photographs that were significant to themselves and their translocal communities in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega. Their photographs also represented the social integration of Oaxacan migrants, by picturing their settlement in Poughkeepsie. In addition, much like the photographs produced by Workplace Project participants in Unseen America, those involved in HRHCare's workshop also created images that mixed documentary aesthetics with family

and snapshot photography, although they did so for different reasons. In the HRHCare workshop, the mixed-genre aesthetic form narrated the participants' translocal mode of address as well as the primary goal of Communities without Borders, to connect two communities divided by national borders.

Similar to Workplace Project participants in Unseen America, those in HRHCare's workshop produced photographs of their family and community members that represent what I referred to as the *undocumented everyday*. The majority of their photographs focus on the "nonevents of daily life," and they depict adults in the private sphere—watching over children, eating, cooking dinner, or otherwise engaged in activities at home. In addition, there are photographs commemorating special events, as well as numerous images of young children that share some aspects of family and snapshot photography. Although using elements of these photographic genres enabled participants to create images that were meaningful to their families, these pictures also narrated the social integration of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie. Thus, while these photographs represent personal (and private) histories, they also relate to public narratives of community and the translocal identities of the participants. The mixed-genre aesthetic in the photographs by the workshop participants narrated their translocality as a mode of address.

As mentioned above, most of the images produced by workshop participants bear a resemblance to family and snapshot photographs, as they focus on symbolic points in family life, including celebrations, such as baptisms, as in *My Son, Grandson, and Angela* by Esther (Figure 7). They also portray children in everyday scenarios, including *Pichus Bathing* by Edith (Figure 8), and *Las Niñas* (The Girls) by Roberto (Figure 9). The aesthetic qualities of these photographs—such as *My Son, Grandson, and Angela*—also look like family snapshots, since there is "no attempt to conceal the process of picture taking," and as such, "participants present themselves directly to the camera."[87] As Tina Campt explains, "Family photography is . . . far more than a documentary reproduction of its subjects; it is instead a performative practice that enacts complicated and particular sets of social and cultural relationships."[88] Still, some elements of this photograph are more indicative of a documentary style, as

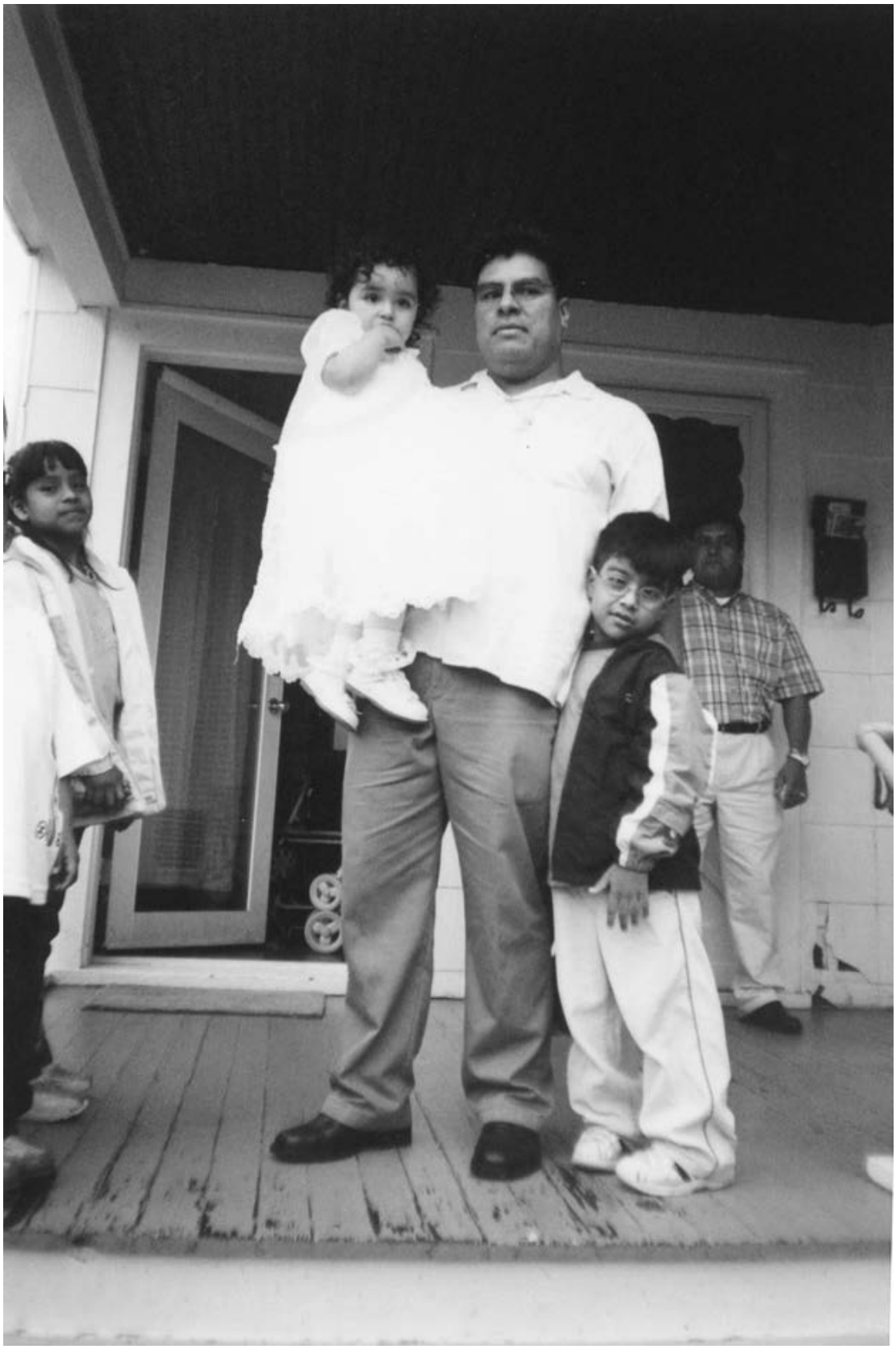

Figure 7. *My Son, Grandson, and Angela* by Esther was exhibited as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project, in collaboration with Unseen America. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

Figure 8. *Pichus Bathing* by Edith was exhibited as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project, in collaboration with Unseen America. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

Figure 9. *Las Niñas* (The Girls) by Roberto was exhibited as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project, in collaboration with Unseen America. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

the photographer did not crop the photograph and, thus, the image includes figures who appear marginal within the frame. *Pichus Bathing* portrays a baby in a bathtub, an iconic subject in the genres of family and snapshot photography. However, what differentiates this image from these genres is the angle from which it was taken. As opposed to the usual snapshot showing the baby's face, this photograph is taken from above, looking down at the back of the baby's head as he sits in the bathtub. *Las Niñas* portrays two young girls who appear to be posing for (but not looking at) the camera, resembling family or snapshot photography. However, this image also draws upon documentary or art photography, as the photographer Roberto composed the image using the rule of thirds, which is a basic rule of composition that Garcia-Nuñez taught in the workshop. In this photograph, Roberto positions the girls on one side, rather than centering them in the frame.[89]

By combining family and snapshot photography with documentary aesthetics, some participants produced images that countered the norms

associated with these genres. Scholars of photography have written about the ways in which family and snapshot photography can have both private and more public meanings. Catherine Zuromskis argues that snapshot photographs can be "a means of linking private symbols of domestic harmony to explicitly public ideas of social conformity and American nationalism."[90] Sonja Vivenne and Jean Burgess also note that "everyday practices of such forms of personal photography insistently invited us to construct and expect a normative family gaze."[91] Through their use of a mixed-genre aesthetic, some of the workshop participants in Poughkeepsie challenged normative conventions of these genres. For example, in Gloria's *The Children Enjoying the Lake* (Figure 10) a group of adults and children sit around on a picnic blanket, as the adults play cards. Most of the subjects appear to be enjoying themselves, yet the photographer focuses on a boy who is visibly upset, centering him in the frame. Although the genre of the family snapshot is "closely guided by rigorous cultural norms" that "preserves an ideal (and often idealized) facet of experience," as Zuromskis suggests, this photograph diverges from normative ideals by centering on the boy who appears upset in what is otherwise a cheerful depiction of a family picnic.[92] In the context of family and snapshot photography, this image might be discarded, yet the photographer decided both to print and to exhibit it, which speaks to its significance for the photographer as well as (possibly) for those to whom it was addressed. This image deviates from the "ideal" family photograph, and yet the image has other meanings as it effectively narrates the social integration of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie.

Many images are of personal subjects, yet some photographs from the Communities without Borders workshop in Poughkeepsie also depict Oaxacan migrants' connections to public life in that city, especially in the workplace. These photographs portray Oaxacan migrants working in restaurants, stores, garages, and in domestic settings, as well as traveling to and from work. Similar to the photographs mentioned above, these images resemble family and snapshot photographs. For example, Edith's *Restaurant Workers* (Figure 11) portrays two smiling coworkers (one Anglo and one Mexican) positioned side by side. The Anglo woman has her arm over the shoulder of the man as they pose for the photograph. Another

Figure 10. *The Children Enjoying the Lake* by Gloria was exhibited as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project, in collaboration with Unseen America. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

image, Roberto's *Ms. Rafa and Her Store* (Figure 12) features Ms. Rafa from La Ciénega in her Mexican products store in Poughkeepsie. A young boy in the center of the image smiles at the camera. He is dressed in what look like Spiderman pajamas and is sitting on top of a display case with a pillow. The other subjects of the photograph are portrayed in a more candid fashion, including Ms. Rafa, who is preoccupied with work, and a customer who is examining a catalog. The boy appears to be getting ready to take a nap, and his centrality to the photograph highlights the blending of the private life of the home with the public life of the store. Although the images of individuals at work represent the integration of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie—particularly as store owners and workers—they also resemble private photographs.

Some images provide counterexamples to the majority of photographs that link a translocal address with a mixed-genre aesthetic. As mentioned earlier, most of the workshop participants were from La Ciénega, and they established specific goals and employed a mixed-genre aesthetic within

Figure 11. *Restaurant Workers* by Edith was exhibited as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project, in collaboration with Unseen America. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

Figure 12. *Ms. Rafa and Her Store* by Roberto was exhibited as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project, in collaboration with Unseen America. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

their photographs. However, at least one participant—Roberto, who is from Mexico, but not La Ciénega—took photographs that primarily employed a documentary style. In part because his images were not addressed to a translocal audience, Roberto prioritized Garcia-Nuñez's suggestion to take up "the eye of the documentarian." He composed numerous photographs referencing the predicaments of Mexican migrants in the United States, including *The Man on the Wall Waiting to Complete His American Dream* (Figure 13). This photograph portrays a man, presumably a Mexican migrant, who is waiting—perhaps for work, for another person, or for a ride. This image is composed using the rule of thirds. The left side of the photograph portrays the subject—a man leaning against a building near the corner, his face directed toward the right. The building, which is shot at an angle, dominates the center and right side of the image, as does the sidewalk. The diagonal lines of the building and sidewalk direct our eyes to the end of the block, suggesting a possible path for this man. What is conveyed by the image is the waiting involved for migrants—for work, for immigration papers, and thus a "dream" delayed.

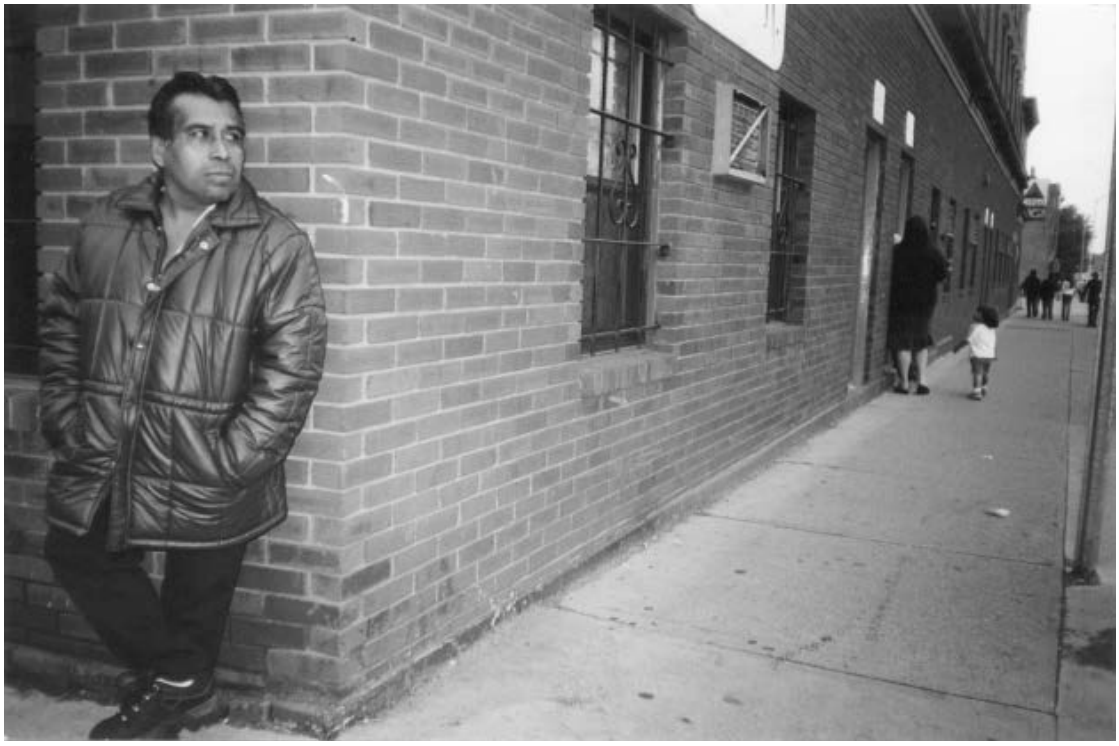

Figure 13. *The Man on the Wall Waiting to Complete His American Dream* by Roberto was exhibited as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project, in collaboration with Unseen America. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

Although many of these images represent the integration of Oaxaca migrants in Poughkeepsie, some photographers took a more critical stance toward the treatment of Latina/o—and specifically Mexican—migrants in the United States. These sentiments were largely conveyed in the captions of the images. In *The Man on the Wall Waiting to Complete His American Dream,* Roberto references the challenges that migrants face in the United States in his caption: "The quiet and silent wall supports us while we await a better future. Thousands of immigrants await an uncertain future. Similarly, this immigrant waits to realize his dreams." Roberto's photograph thus narrates how the lives of Mexican migrants are constrained due to restrictive U.S. immigration policies. Other participants explained that they took photographs to represent the difficulties faced by Mexican migrants, specifically as low-wage workers, in the United States. For example, Francisca took a photograph of a dishwasher because in her words, "it is representative of how many Mexican migrants

to this area find work in the restaurant industry and often in unskilled positions such as dishwashers, which barely pays minimum wage."[93]

HRHCare staff members' experiences working with the participants in Poughkeepsie prompted their extension of the photography workshop to Oaxaca. Before the end of the Poughkeepsie workshop, Anne Nolon, the CEO of HRHCare, decided that the organization would put together a one-week photography workshop in La Ciénega with its own funding. During the planning process, HRHCare staff contacted the state department of health in Oaxaca, explaining that they wanted to hold a workshop to increase awareness of HRHCare services in the community. HRHCare staff members felt that the project would enable them to inform relatives about the health-care services available to them in Poughkeepsie, building trust between the organization and the family members of their client base.[94] The Poughkeepsie participants greeted the plans for the workshop in La Ciénega with great enthusiasm.[95] HRHCare's goal was to locate potential participants in La Ciénega with family members in Poughkeepsie. Before they traveled to Oaxaca, they contacted Carmelo Ortiz Castellanos, the local municipal president of La Ciénega, to ask for his assistance. The office of the municipal president responded by distributing information about the workshop throughout the small town. Many residents were interested in the workshop, since almost everyone had at least one family member in the United States, the majority of whom lived in Poughkeepsie. On the day that HRHCare staff members Anne Nolon, Vilma Velez, Wilfredo Morel, and Nick Cannell arrived in La Ciénega, three hundred people showed up in the *zócolo* (central plaza) to take the workshop. Because of the limited number of cameras, not everyone could be involved, so the local municipal president selected a smaller number of people to participate.[96]

Rather than creating an Unseen America project in Oaxaca, HRHCare chose to familiarize those in La Ciénega with the organization, so it would become trusted in the community. The one-week photography workshop in La Ciénega was a way to introduce family and community members to HRHCare and the Communities without Borders project and to instruct participants on how to use cameras. In their presentation to participants in Oaxaca, HRHCare staff members spoke about their

organization and informed participants about the health-care services that they provided in Poughkeepsie. They also gave a PowerPoint presentation that explained the Communities without Borders project and included photographs taken by and of participants in the Poughkeepsie workshop. The staff then gave instructions about how to use the cameras, directing participants to personalize their photographs to convey what was meaningful to them to share with those in Poughkeepsie.[97] When they ran out of 35mm film cameras, staff members bought disposable color film cameras for the participants. The HRHCare staff recalled how taken the participants were with having a camera, indicating that many had never used one.[98]

Although the emphasis of the workshop in Oaxaca was quite different than the one in Poughkeepsie, the pictures that participants produced also drew on family, snapshot, and documentary photography. However, while Garcia-Nuñez focused on composition, framing, and lighting in the Poughkeepsie workshop, HRHCare staff placed less of an emphasis on aesthetics in La Ciénega. In La Ciénega HRHCare staff did not present a slideshow highlighting documentary photographers, other than the work of the Communities without Borders participants in Poughkeepsie. This was partially due to the time frame of the workshop, which was much shorter than the workshop in Poughkeepsie. HRHCare also chose not to limit the participants to 35mm cameras or black-and-white film. While the choice of black-and-white documentary-style photography enabled Bread and Roses to relate Unseen America with truth claims associated with the social documentary photography tradition, HRHCare valued photographs more for their content—that participants represent personal aspects of their daily lives, for family and friends.

The photographs produced by participants in Oaxaca portray the individuals left behind—women, children, and the elderly. These images represent the lives of community members without those who had migrated (mostly young and adult men). Many of the participants' images are of individuals performing everyday activities—women cooking, selling, buying, and socializing at the market and children playing with animals, toys, and in the streets. These images are untitled and include photographs of girls cooking by Maria Asunción Celaya Sosa, a woman at a market by

Francisca Cruz Arellanes, a woman working in a store by Margarita Castellanos Bautista, and a woman outside a house by Laura Ramírez Castellanos (Figure 14).[99] Here, women and girls are portrayed performing their everyday tasks in the absence of men. With these images, participants also drew upon documentary aesthetics as well as elements of family and snapshot photography.

The HRHCare staff's goal for expanding this project into La Ciénega was to gain the trust of workshop participants, so they would feel assured that their family members' health-care needs would be met at the Poughkeepsie community health-care center. During their week in La Ciénega, staff members listened to participants talk about family members in the United States, including many children who had migrated and whom they had not seen in years.[100] HRHCare staff member Wilfredo Morel remarked that the La Ciénega workshop participants "felt so separated from their family members that we became substitutes for their family

Figure 14. This photograph of a woman outside a house was taken by Laura Ramírez Castellanos as part of Hudson River HealthCare's Communities without Borders project in La Ciénega, Oaxaca. Courtesy Hudson River HealthCare.

members."[101] As a result, workshop participants in La Ciénega invited HRHCare staff not only into their homes, but also to a wedding.

Although HRHCare's emphasis was on creating a "photographic bridge" between individuals in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega, some participants in La Ciénega saw this translocal project as a way to respond to conditions caused by a global economic system, neoliberal trade policies, and militarized national borders. As such, there was a tension between the different audiences addressed by the participants in their work—members of their translocal community or a broader audience. HRHCare's intention was to join these two communities through photographs, yet some participants in La Ciénega wanted their images to reach audiences beyond their translocal communities. For these individuals, participation in the Communities without Borders project was not motivated only by their interest in sharing photographs with family members in the United States, as they saw the project as a way to communicate the impact of migration on their lives to a broader audience.

This tension is narrated in *Unseen America: Seeking Health through Art*, HRHCare's video about the Communities without Borders project. Some participants in La Ciénega who were interviewed for the film explained that their photographs were directed toward family members in the United States, while others spoke about how they wanted a broad audience beyond their translocal community to view their images. A teenager in the video explained that she wanted migrants from La Ciénega who now live in the United States to see her photographs. In the film she stated that she became involved in the workshop because of her interest in photography, but also to create images for community members who "no he vuelto desde hace tiempo" (have not been back in a while). She hoped these images would influence them to come back.[102]

Other Communities without Borders participants in La Ciénega addressed the difficulties faced both by those who stayed in La Ciénega and by those who migrated, exposing the effects that neoliberal trade policies, U.S. immigration policies, and increased enforcement along the U.S.–Mexico boundary have had on the town. In *Unseen America: Seeking Health through Art*, a middle-aged woman stated that the Communities without Borders project enabled them "para mostrar al mundo las costumbres de nuestra comunidad, la forma en que vivimos, como

somos capaces de salir adelante, el trabajo que hacemos para seguir adelante" (to show the whole world the customs of our community, the way that we live, how we're able to get ahead, the work we do to keep going forward). This woman situated her comments in relation to the effects of migration on her town. In the video, she spoke directly to the camera, explaining how migration led to the disintegration of families in her community, as fathers and sons migrated to the United States, leaving women, children, and the elderly behind. However, she also explained that, in 2003—the year of her interview—there were no other options. Since there were few jobs in La Ciénega, her town survived thanks to those who migrated and sent money back home. She stated, "Uno no puede avanzar, no se puede lograr una vida mejor, o al menos una vida donde los parientes de uno, los hermanos, los hijos, los esposos no tengan que salir de casa" (One can't move forward, one can't achieve a better life or at least a life where one's relatives, one's brothers, one's children, one's husbands didn't have to leave home). She acknowledged that members of her community had limited choices—either to remain in La Ciénega and be unemployed or to "leave and suffer."[103]

This woman addressed the main concerns of those in La Ciénega—that leaving home was inevitable for some in their community. Lynn Stephen, who conducted interviews in the town of San Augustín Atenango, Oaxaca, noted that the concerns of those left behind "are part of the emotional political-economy of migration linking transborder communities together in multiple sites."[104] The photographs produced by workshop participants in La Ciénega narrate the loss of their family members who moved to the United States. The loss of those left behind relates to what Alicia Schmidt Camacho describes as the "narration of migrant sorrows."[105] The absence of family members in the photographs intimately registered with viewers in La Ciénega and Poughkeepsie. In the video, this woman's critique of the effects of migration on her town—and address to a broader audience conceived of as viewers outside the translocal community—went beyond the parameters of the Communities without Borders project as established by HRHCare.[106]

Although the Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie and their family members in La Ciénega have been caught in a predicament produced by transnational capitalism, neoliberal policies, and economic restructuring,

HRHCare's emphasis for the Communities without Borders project was to connect a translocal community. The images produced by participants in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega, however, also narrate a critique of the global economic system that fosters the need for low-paid workers and for people to migrate across national borders in search of economic security.

"People Can't Travel, but Photographs Do": Communities Divided by Borders

The exhibitions of photographs displayed in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega portray the daily lives of this translocal community in two locations—one in Poughkeepsie and the other in La Ciénega—yet the positioning of these photographs next to one another in the context of these exhibitions speaks to both the translocal connections of these communities as well as to their physical separation from each other. While the photographs can be placed next to one another, those portrayed in the photographs cannot. The images from the Communities without Borders workshops became freighted with different meanings in their distinct contexts of reception in Poughkeepsie, La Ciénega, as well as in Oaxaca City where the images were also exhibited. These personal photographs could be understood and appreciated by many members of this translocal community, and yet the exhibitions had different effects on workshop participants in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega. These exhibitions also had outcomes that had not been anticipated by HRHCare staff, such as increasing connections among migrants from La Ciénega living in Poughkeepsie, which led to their involvement in political events outside HRHCare, such as the "A Day without an Immigrant" boycott, march, and rally held on May 1, 2006. Further, as noted above, participants used the Communities without Borders project not only as a means to share personal images with family members, but also as a critique of the circumstances that force Oaxacans and other Mexicans to migrate to the United States in order to help support their family members, and the difficulties they encounter as low-wage workers in the United States.

The exhibition of these photographs in Poughkeepsie and Oaxaca had different effects. In Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega, these images were viewed primarily by family and community members, while in Oaxaca

City they were seen by individuals who had no connection to those portrayed in the photographs. After the workshop in La Ciénega, participants in Poughkeepsie selected photographs from both workshops to include in the first exhibition of the project, which was held at Poughkeepsie's Family Partnership Center on October 19, 2003.[107] Workshop participants in Poughkeepsie also developed titles or captions for their photographs, all of which were identified by the names of the photographers. Although Poughkeepsie workshop participants were initially concerned about posting their names with the photographs because of their undocumented status, over time they became more comfortable with the idea. This first exhibition was attended by local politicians; staff from the Dutchess County Art Council, Bread and Roses, Hudson River HealthCare, and the Family Partnership Center; and workshop participants and their friends and family. According to HRHCare staff members Vilma Velez, Wilfredo Morel, and Nick Cannell, community members—especially those from La Ciénega living in Poughkeepsie—enjoyed the show tremendously, pointing out familiar places and faces in the photographs to one another.[108] The exhibition in Poughkeepsie affirmed Mexican—and specifically Oaxacan—migrants' senses of identity and belonging, bringing them together as a group.[109] The exhibition also contributed to the migrants' involvement in political events in Poughkeepsie.

After the show in Poughkeepsie, some HRHCare staff members returned to Mexico to set up exhibitions of these photographs at the Cultural House in La Ciénega and Los Danzantes Restaurante in Oaxaca City.[110] Similar to the Poughkeepsie exhibition, La Ciénega's *Un puente fotográfico: Conectando dos comunidades* (A photographic bridge: Connecting two communities) brought together images of the daily lives of family members in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega. The exhibition was attended by local politicians, such as Carmelo Ortiz Castellanos, as well as by the broader community. Since many family members in La Ciénega had not seen their relatives in the United States for years, viewing these photographs gave them some sense of their families' daily lives in Poughkeepsie.[111] As such, these exhibitions of photographs in Poughkeepsie and in La Ciénega functioned in ways that were similar to the viewing of family photographs.

In Oaxaca City, however, these pictures appeared before audience members with little or no connection to this community, and thus, the photographs had different resonances for these viewers. Patricia Holland has argued that insiders' experiences of personal or family images are quite distinct from those of outsiders.[112] Elizabeth Druback-Celaya attended the exhibition in Oaxaca City, noting that it was quite different from the Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega exhibitions. The photographs were displayed at Los Danzantes Restaurante, an upscale restaurant catering to tourists visiting Oaxaca. Druback-Celaya noted that in this context the exhibition "was appealing to people on an artistic level."[113] However, this was not a goal for the participants in La Ciénega, some of whom wanted to show the effects of migration on the town to those outside this community. What only migrants in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega residents could see was the absence of those who had migrated. Viewers outside of this translocal community could only see *what was photographed*, as opposed to what was *not present* in the image.

HRHCare organized exhibitions in Poughkeepsie and La Ciénega as a means to connect this translocal community, yet there were other outcomes of the exhibition, especially for individuals from La Ciénega living in Poughkeepsie. The photographs of life "back home" had an effect not only on the workshop participants, but also on attendees of the exhibition who were from La Ciénega. In 2003 almost 85 percent of the Mexican migrants living in Poughkeepsie were from La Ciénega, but they had not previously felt that they were part of a group.[114] As a result of the exhibition, the workshop participants and other migrants living in Poughkeepsie began envisioning themselves as part of a community of Oaxacans living in Poughkeepsie.[115] For those from La Ciénega, the photography project cemented their identity as the core of the Mexican community in Poughkeepsie.[116] Also, after the workshop some participants began to take up leadership roles at HRHCare. For example, Roberto became a board member of HRHCare's health-care facility in Poughkeepsie, and Hortensia, who began as a volunteer, became a community representative for the center.

The involvement of Oaxacan, as well as Mexican, migrants in the photography workshop contributed to their sense of connection as a community in Poughkeepsie, which encouraged some to take up leadership

roles within HRHCare and Comité Latino, and also to participate in political events related to migrant rights. After the workshops and exhibitions had ended, HRHCare staff members fulfilled their plan to create a Comité Latino in Poughkeepsie to support access to health care for Latinas/os. The group was comprised of the promotores and promotoras de salud who shared information about HRHCare's center with the Latina/o community in Poughkeepsie. While members of the Communities without Borders project began to take up leadership positions within HRHCare, some individuals also began organizing around broader issues that concerned Latina/o migrant communities throughout the United States.

In 2006, some participants became involved in planning "A Day without an Immigrant" boycott, march, and rally in Poughkeepsie. Following nationwide protests in March 2006, organizing began across the country for "A Day without an Immigrant"—a one-day boycott of businesses by Latina/o migrants and their allies—to show migrants' collective impact on the U.S. economy. "A Day without an Immigrant" boycott, march, and rally was part of a national response against HR 4437, the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Act (or the Sensenbrenner-King Act).[117] This bill would have made residing in the United States without immigration documents a felony, and it would have criminalized anyone who aided undocumented migrants. Communities without Borders participants worked with other local groups—including the Asociación Hispana de Benito Juárez, the Worker's Rights Law Center of New York, and Vassar College's May 1 Planning Coalition—to organize the "A Day without an Immigrant" events in Poughkeepsie.[118]

The involvement of some participants in the Communities without Borders project in planning events around "A Day without Immigrant" enabled them to connect with a broader network of individuals in Poughkeepsie in an effort to challenge a federal bill that would have particularly punitive effects on undocumented Latina/o migrants.[119] Their participation in this action was an example of what Jonathan X. Inda and Julie Dowling refer to as "migrant counter-conducts," which contest the criminalization of undocumented migrants in the United States.[120] Poughkeepsie's "A Day without an Immigrant" boycott on May 1, 2006, was

successful in demonstrating the impact that Latina/os and Latina/o businesses had on the city's economy. Many Latina/o-owned businesses shut down on the day of the boycott, including La Amistad bakery, the Pancho Villa grocery, Los Compadres restaurant, and Paco's barbershop.[121] Closing Latina/o-owned businesses in Poughkeepsie was significant, since they dominate a section of Main Street. During the march and rally, Latina/o migrants and their supporters articulated their concerns about HR 4437, particularly the way in which undocumented migrants would be treated as felons. However, these events were organized not only to protest HR 4437, but also to pressure politicians to reform immigration laws and to grant amnesty to undocumented migrants. Although the rally in Poughkeepsie was small compared to those in other U.S. cities, it was believed to be the largest in the city in over twenty years.[122] Further, the national protests and boycotts held in the spring of 2006 increased Latina/o participation in public political activity in Poughkeepsie and throughout the United States.[123]

The Communities without Borders project is an example of the ways in which Mexican migrants have been "locat[ing] political and cultural agency beyond the sanctioned boundaries of liberal nationalism" by claiming local and translocal forms of belonging.[124] The exhibition of these photographs led to conversations among workshop participants and other Oaxacan migrants regarding their positions as community leaders. As a result, some became involved in HRHCare—specifically Comité Latino—as well as in political events in Poughkeepsie, including the 2006 protests against HR 4437. Communities without Borders is thus an example of how, as Lynn Stephen describes, undocumented Oaxacan migrants in the United States are asserting their political presence "outside the framework of U.S. immigration law and within the framework of border-crossing transnational communities."[125] In this case, workshop participants used photography to connect with members of their translocal community. In going beyond the frame of Communities without Borders, some also challenged policies that contributed to the migration of their family members, including neoliberal trade policies, as well as the enactment of restrictive and punitive U.S. immigration laws that prevented them from returning home.

Conclusion

In recognizing the translocal ties of Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie, HRHCare went beyond the national frame of Unseen America to organize a photography workshop in La Ciénega. In Communities without Borders, HRHCare transformed their Unseen America project into a translocal Unseen *Americas* project—what the organizers described as a "photographic bridge" between these communities—to build connections between the organization and workshop participants. Although the initial goal of Communities without Borders was to identify individuals to serve as promotores and promotoras de salud, the staff also developed a translocal component to prompt those from La Ciénega to encourage their family members in Poughkeepsie to use HRHCare's services.[126] HRHCare's decision to set up another photography workshop in La Ciénega challenged the most basic framework of Unseen America—that the projects be situated within the United States. In expanding their Unseen America project, HRHCare emphasized the connections among members of a translocal community who were separated because of neoliberal economic and restrictive U.S. immigration policies.

What differentiated the Communities without Borders project from other Unseen America projects, including the one organized by the Workplace Project in Long Island, was its translocal focus. The photographs that the Poughkeepsie migrants produced represented their everyday lives—what I refer to as the *undocumented everyday*—while the mixed-genre aesthetic they developed related to the translocal address of their images, producing a *translocal aesthetic*. Participants in La Ciénega also developed a translocal lens, as they addressed their photographs to family members in Poughkeepsie, while knowing their images would also be viewed by those in La Ciénega. Even beyond the translocal mode of address that informed this photography, some participants in La Ciénega directed their photographs to a broader audience to call attention to the effects of migration on their town. However, while family members in Poughkeepsie would be able to envision their own absence in the photographs, an audience of outsiders could not view these images in the same way.

Communities without Borders was a translocal response to the conditions produced by transnational capitalism, neoliberal trade policies

(including NAFTA), and the militarization of the U.S.–Mexico border. Although the project fostered the translocal connections among Oaxacan migrants in Poughkeepsie and members of their communities of origin in La Ciénega, it also highlighted the separation between these communities. While it was not the intention of the organizers of the Communities without Borders project, the exhibitions of photographs by Oaxaca migrants in Poughkeepsie and their family members in La Ciénega visualized the impact of harsh U.S. immigration laws on translocal communities. These exhibitions were a response to the juridical limitations imposed upon undocumented Mexican migrants during the early 2000s, which made it difficult, if not impossible, for these individuals to visit their family members if they wanted to return to the United States.

The Communities without Borders project narrates how migrants imagine local and translocal "ways of belonging," as opposed to formalized national membership through citizenship or other "legal" statuses.[127] In this sense, this photography project was a response and a challenge to the U.S. state's construction of belonging and citizenship. In Poughkeepsie, this project contributed to the involvement of Communities without Borders participants in organizing against HR 4437, the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Act (or the Sensenbrenner-King Act). Although participants in the Communities without Borders project in Poughkeepsie believed that the photographic workshops brought them together as a community, La Ciénega participants were also reminded of their separation from their family members in Poughkeepsie. As a result, the participants in La Ciénega were interested in directing their photographs not only to family members in Poughkeepsie, but also to broader audiences in order to bring attention to the effects of policies that compel their family members to live across national borders. Although the photographs produced by the workshop participants in Poughkeepsie and in La Ciénega enabled them to connect across national boundaries, they were also symptomatic of the obstacles faced by these community members, who are divided by a global economic system, neoliberal trade policies, and militarized national borders.

PART TWO

Documentary, Self-Representation, and "Collaborations" in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands

CHAPTER THREE

Visible Frictions

The Border Film Project and the "Spectacle of Surveillance"

In April 2005, the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps Project, an offshoot of the Minuteman Project, a nativist, anti-immigrant group, planned an action in Tombstone, Arizona, with the goal of attracting media attention to "illegal" immigration in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. The self-proclaimed "Minutemen" were attempting to influence politicians considering reform of U.S. immigration policy during President George W. Bush's second term, when tensions had become increasingly fraught. Scholars including Leo Chavez have suggested that the Minutemen created a spectacle that "demarcate[d] power positions" in ways that "emphasiz[ed] the power and privileges of citizenship," while casting "illegal aliens" as "the subjects of this spectacle."[1] The Minutemen surveilled undocumented Mexican and Central American migrants using visual technologies—such as night vision cameras and unmanned aerial drones—and photographed them after they had been "caught."[2] The Minutemen's use of visual surveillance demonstrates one way in which, as Chavez argues, the Minutemen's "policing noncitizens is an act of symbolic power and violence that defined their own citizen-subject status."[3]

Also in 2005, three friends—Brett Huneycutt, Victoria Criado, and Rudy Adler—initiated the Border Film Project, which they described as a "collaborative art" project to address conflicts over U.S.–Mexico border policy.[4] The three organizers of this documentary photography project distributed disposable cameras to Mexican and Central American

migrants in northern Mexico, en route to the United States, and later to members of the Minuteman Project positioned at "observation sites" along the U.S. side of the U.S.–Mexico boundary.[5] In creating the Border Film Project, these organizers focused on the perspectives of undocumented migrants and Minutemen to represent what they considered "both sides" of the immigration debate.[6] Arguably, the Border Film Project participated in the spectacle of surveillance taken up by the Minutemen and U.S. state agents in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, perpetuating a form of social violence against undocumented Latina/o migrants.

The migrants' and Minutemen's photographs first circulated as part of an exhibition in galleries, and they were subsequently the basis for the book *Border Film Project: Photos by Migrants and Minutemen on the U.S.–Mexico Border* (2007), as well as a website. The *Border Film Project* contains photographs by undocumented migrants and by members of the Minuteman Project, and it also features excerpts from interviews with some of these individuals. The Border Film Project is one of many documentary photography projects produced over the last decade that has focused on representing migrants traveling from Mexico and Central America, but there are two qualities that differentiate it from other works.[7] The first is the project's emphasis on self-representation. The second is that the organizers featured not only migrants, but also members of the Minuteman Project, who were one of the most visible anti-immigrant groups in the United States at that time. How the organizers frame the photographs of migrants and Minutemen as self-representation—considering the mediation and curation of the exhibitions, the book, and the website—as well as their construction of a visual equivalence between these two groups is significant for understanding the inadequacies of visibility for early twenty-first-century politics of U.S. immigration.

The organizers of the Border Film Project privileged photographic self-representation as capable of transcending differences between migrants and Minutemen, as well as revealing other hidden truths. Despite the organizers' presumption that the perspectives of migrants and Minutemen needed to become more "visible" in U.S. society, undocumented Latina/o migrants were already quite perceptible in the eyes of U.S. state agents during the project's production. Indeed, the legal and political

consequences of this visibility speak to the differences between these two groups. The organizers viewed their act of giving cameras to migrants and Minutemen as humanitarian, because they believed that it enabled their subjects to visually portray elements of their lives. In doing so, however, the Border Film Project reproduced the Minutemen's "national" gaze, aligned with those of the state agents patrolling the U.S.–Mexico boundary.[8] These images also relate to a longer history of the U.S. state's production of photographs "for repressive and often racialized purposes of criminal identification," as Anna Pegler-Gordon describes.[9] This chapter explores the implications of using photography to *document* Mexican and Central American migrants' "*illegal*" passage into the United States within the context of the federal government's emphasis on national security in the post-9/11 era.

The images produced by migrants and Minutemen are informed by the technology of the disposable camera as well as by the photographers' positions as visitors to the areas they document. In addition to documentary, personal, and snapshot photography, the images by migrants and Minutemen also employ elements of landscape and portrait photography. Unlike the participants in Unseen America workshops, the photographers (migrants and Minutemen) who participated in the Border Film Project took photographs to record "significant" events, rather than aspects of their "everyday" life. These events include the Minutemen's "guarding" of the U.S. side of the U.S.–Mexico boundary and Mexican and Central American migrants' documenting their journey through remote areas in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands.

While the Minutemen's images mix documentary and snapshot aesthetics, they do not employ snapshot aesthetics in their photographs of migrants, which would have necessitated the migrants' acquiescence. Instead, their photographs of migrants relate to the U.S. state's history of using documentary photography for "managing populations" that perpetuates a state-aligned and surveillance-oriented gaze.[10] In the migrants' own photographs, they combine documentary and snapshot aesthetics to represent their journeys, which also narrate the effects of U.S. immigration law and U.S. border militarization. The migrants' images make visible the effects of these laws—specifically U.S. border policies as forms

of structural and institutional violence. In addition, they photograph themselves crossing the U.S.–Mexico border, which are visual forms of "migrant counter-conducts," in which they contest their exclusion and criminalization. In taking these photographs, they also counter the spectacle of surveillance that marks undocumented migrants as "illegal aliens."

Although the Minutemen's photographs of migrants relate to repressive purposes, Mexican and Central American migrants' images challenge representations of unauthorized migrants in the mainstream media, in which the cameras are aligned with the perspective of state agents. Jodie Lawston and Ruben Murillo note that two images of undocumented Latina/o migrants have been widely disseminated in the mainstream media in recent years: the first "portrays a group of dark, shadowy figures sneaking across the U.S.–Mexico border," while the second shows "undocumented immigrants in detention, handcuffed or shackled, being escorted into the back of the Border Patrol truck." In both of these images, migrants are viewed "through the lens of criminalization."[11] The images produced by migrants as part of the Border Film Project counter the spectacular coverage of migrant apprehension as portrayed in the mainstream media, as well as by state agencies policing the false specter of undocumented Latina/o migrants through inflated claims of danger. The conventions of mainstream news coverage and the lens of state power articulate two modes of representation—one sensationalized, the other a method of visual apprehension and capture. As opposed to these dominant forms of looking relations, the migrants' images center their points of view as forms of counter-knowledge and counter-representation.

This chapter studies how photographic representations of undocumented migrants and Minutemen are framed through exhibitions as well as in the *Border Film Project* and how they are shaped by unequal relations of power. For example, this chapter analyzes the efforts of the organizers to provide supposedly equal representation and to construct a pictorial equivalence between migrants and Minutemen in the *Border Film Project*. These visual arrangements appear to be intended to convey a parallel between these groups. The artifice of equality and equivalence

deployed visually relates to the liberal humanist perspective that informs the work of the *Border Film Project* in the construction of an ostensibly neutral "middle ground" between these two groups, as it disavows the curatorial logic of the project's organizers. In order to make an equivalence between images of migrants and Minutemen the organizers disappear the terms through which the images operate. However, the migrants' images unsettle this emphasis of the *Border Film Project* through an implicit critique of its normative terms. The cumulative effect of the migrants' photographs is to make visible their political and material circumstances as well as the structural violence produced as a result of U.S. border policy.

In analyzing the *Border Film Project*, I focus on the ways in which the organizers attempt to represent their position as the rational center in the U.S. border policy debate, at the same time that they also take up a particular perspective—one that resembles what Nicholas De Genova describes as "an effect of the nativist presuppositions of U.S. nationalism."[12] As opposed to John Higham, who characterized nativism as "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., 'un-American') connections," De Genova defines this perspective as a "preoccupation with the 'native-ness' of U.S. citizens, and the promotion of the priority of the latter—exclusively on the grounds of being 'native.'"[13] In the *Border Film Project,* the organizers take up a "nativist point of view" by glossing over power differentials between U.S. citizens and undocumented Latina/o migrants. This is also illustrated in the organizers' portrayal of the migration of Mexicans and Central Americans to the United States as related to "illegal" immigration, and in the organization of images in the exhibitions, in which migrants are represented as moving through space. This contrasts with the Minutemen's portrayal of themselves as "citizens" guarding the border and as "authentic" Americans through their association with the land.

I begin by historicizing the rise in U.S. border militarization in the 1990s, as well as by contextualizing the work of the Border Film Project during George W. Bush's second term, when groups like the Minuteman Project became increasingly influential. The organizers' decision to include migrants and Minutemen (and not others) speaks of their choice

to represent these groups as furthest out on the political spectrum on U.S. border policy, making absent the role of the U.S. state. In the remainder of the chapter I analyze the inclusion of photographs produced by migrants and Minutemen in an exhibition at the Scottsdale Museum of Contemporary Art (SMoCA) and the development of the Border Film Project as a book and website. Part of the larger issue in the production of the *Border Film Project* is that rather than pointing to the conditions that contribute to migration, the organizers reproduced the spectacle of the U.S. state's (and the Minutemen's) surveillance of migrants by representing them through the lens of criminality.[14] However, I also contend that the migrants' photographs confront the "border spectacle" deployed by the Minutemen as well as state agents by offering alternative "ways of seeing" that make visible the effects of U.S. border policy on undocumented migrants. As I argue in the conclusion of this chapter, unfortunately, in the context of the exhibition, the *Border Film Project* book, and website, the migrants' "ways of seeing" are circumscribed by the logic of the project.

The Rise of Militarized Policing in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands

The increased militarization of the U.S.–Mexico border and criminalization of undocumented migrants during the turn of the twenty-first century is a critical context for analyzing the self-representation of migrants and Minutemen in the Border Film Project. Starting in the 1990s, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) established a number of policies, including "Hold the Line," "Gatekeeper," "Lower Rio Grande," and "Safeguard," on the southern boundaries of the U.S. border states. According to Roxanne Lynn Doty, these operations—which placed Border Patrol agents in the places where Mexican and Central American migrants crossed most often—emerged as the "'immigration problem' was gaining consensus across the political spectrum."[15] Joseph Nevins relates the increase in militarized policing in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands that began in the 1990s to "new ways of seeing."[16] In his book *Operation Gatekeeper*, Nevins questions "why unauthorized immigration became a 'problem' of crisis proportions":

> This nation-state-building project, and its associated process of what we might call the "illegalization" of unauthorized entrance, required the conquest of territory and the pacification of populations on both sides of the U.S.–Mexico boundary. . . . In doing so, the state helped to create new ways of seeing among the populations affected by these developments, involving perceptions of territory and social identities as well as associated practices. These new ways of seeing were inextricably tied to evolving and hierarchical notions and practices regarding race, class, gender, and geographical origins—especially as they related to the American "nation."[17]

Numerous scholars have written about the militarization of the U.S.–Mexico boundary in the 1990s, which included what Gilberto Rosas has referred to as "spectacular displays of state power," including increases in surveillance cameras and in Border Patrol personnel, causing undocumented migrants to cross in more dangerous and remote areas.[18] Since the late 1990s, southern Arizona has been the center of unauthorized migration and border enforcement.[19] Migrants were forced to travel through isolated stretches of the desert in Cochise County, the Altar Valley in Arizona, and the Tohono O'odham Nation. Between 1994 and 2009, over five thousand migrants died en route to the United States, including many who journeyed through these remote desert areas.[20]

The post-9/11 context—and specifically the ways in which "migrant illegality" has been represented—is central to understanding the Border Film Project.[21] As De Genova notes, "With the advent of the antiterrorism state, the politics of immigration and border enforcement in the US have been profoundly reconfigured under the aegis of a remarkably parochial US nationalism and an unbridled nativism, above all manifest in the complete absorption of the INS into the new Department of Homeland Security."[22] Alicia Schmidt Camacho adds that the "security mandates" of the Department of Homeland Security "have made antiterrorism a new discourse for the surveillance of migrants and management of the southern boundary."[23] As I noted in the introduction to this book, the 2006 Secure Fence Act (HR 6061) was created during George W. Bush's second term in office in efforts to stop terrorism and

"illegal" immigration, and it led to the construction of 700 miles of fencing along sections of the U.S. border with Mexico.[24] The Bush administration also doubled the size of the Border Patrol in 2006, making it the largest U.S. law enforcement agency.

The Minuteman Project—and the group's influence on the U.S. government during Bush's second term in office—is also essential to understanding the Border Film Project. During this time, the Minutemen received support not only from the Department of Homeland Security and the Border Patrol, but also from members of Congress, most notably Republican Tom Tancredo of Colorado, the head of the congressional Immigration Reform Caucus.[25] Jane Juffer argues that the figure of the Minuteman became "mainstreamed" during these years, appearing as a helpful citizen "volunteering" to guard the border, rather than as a vigilante who would "take the law into his own hands and punish the 'illegal aliens' who can be easily lumped together with terrorists."[26] Roxanne Doty has related the success of the Minutemen's legitimating activities to their influence on federal governmental agencies.[27] In May 2005, when the U.S. House Committee on Government Reform held a hearing on border security, the national president of the Border Patrol Council lauded the work of the Minutemen along the border.[28] In addition, Doty suggests that the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps Project cofounder Chris Simcox's announcement that the group would build a border security fence unless the White House positioned military reserves or the National Guard there led to President Bush's plan to deploy six hundred National Guard troops to the border.[29] In 2005, both New Mexico governor Bill Richardson and Arizona governor Janet Napolitano adopted the anti-immigrant discourse of the Minutemen regarding the "crisis" on the border.[30]

The influence of nonstate actors on the state exemplifies what Doty terms "statecraft from below." Doty argues that this challenges our understanding of how "sovereign authority and power work, and where or in whom they are located."[31] In her analysis of anti-immigrant groups like the Minutemen, Doty focuses on the central theme of sovereignty, one element of which is the politics of exceptionalism. She argues, "*Exceptionalism* refers to those political situations in which individuals

and groups are turned into an *exception* by the exercise of sovereign power, resulting in their exclusion from basic rights guaranteed by the law or the constitution." In addition to being enacted at different levels of government—local, state, and federal—she contends that "citizens [such as the Minutemen] can engage in a politics of exceptionalism that feeds into official government action."[32] Doty suggests that the politics of exceptionalism are practiced by anti-immigrant groups in coordination with the U.S. state, in such a way that has "resulted in widespread and focused attention on distinctions between citizens and noncitizens, which in turn legitimates the exclusion and marginalization of some and quite often entails the demonization of noncitizens."[33] Further, Gilberto Rosas has argued that "the racism embedded in 'immigrant' exceptionality becomes increasingly transparent" in groups such as the Minuteman Project, Ranch Rescue, and American Border Patrol.[34] However, it should be noted that the practices of these anti-immigrant groups were in line with those of state agents, including Sheriff Joe Arpaio and his deputies in Maricopa County, Arizona.[35]

In 2005, when the Border Film Project was being produced, anti-immigrant vigilante groups were using a range of state surveillance technologies to track undocumented migrants whom they detained, placed under armed guard, and photographed while waiting for the Border Patrol.[36] The Minutemen and members of other anti-immigrant groups used photography both as a form of surveillance and—like hunters or fishermen—as a way to document their "catch" as trophies. Undocumented migrants had little recourse if the Minutemen or other groups photographed them. The migrants often believed that the Minutemen were agents of the U.S. state, since they typically dressed in uniforms that were similar to those of Border Patrol agents. The Minutemen's use of cameras was sometimes more directly abusive, such as when members of the group (including a man named Bryan Barton) forced the Mexican migrant they were detaining to hold a T-shirt that read, "Bryan Barton caught an illegal alien and all he got was this lousy T-shirt."[37] In this context, using cameras to surveil migrants functioned as an extreme form of objectification. However, the Minutemen's use of cameras both to track and to document migrants is more acceptable to the public than

their history of physically assaulting undocumented migrants, legal residents, and U.S. citizens of Latina/o descent.[38] Since this relationship of Minutemen and undocumented migrants existed previous to the development of the Border Film Project, it informs the way in which these images can be interpreted.

Marking Boundaries: Migrants, Minutemen, and the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands

The Border Film Project was conceived by three friends in their mid-twenties—Brett Huneycutt, Victoria Criado, and Rudy Adler—during the summer of 2005. Huneycutt and Adler had grown up together in Phoenix, and they envisioned creating a documentary film that would "shed light on the issue of 'illegal' immigration," primarily on the U.S.–Mexico boundary.[39] Both Huneycutt and Criado were recent graduates of Boston College. Huneycutt studied economics, and Criado majored in political science. Adler had recently graduated from University of Arizona, from which he received a finance and entrepreneurship degree. Previous to his involvement with the Border Film Project, Huneycutt had received a Fulbright to research migration from El Salvador. According to Huneycutt's biography on the Border Film Project website, he also "organized seminars on the U.S.–Mexico border, an immersion experience to a Zapatista refugee camp in Chiapas and dental clinics in two rural Salvadoran villages." Criado also led immersion trips to Tijuana, Mexico, that focused on immigration and the U.S.–Mexico border. Prior to her involvement in the Border Film Project, Criado worked as a Latin American market analyst for Deutsche Bank in New York. Meanwhile, Adler had been an intern at W+K 12, an ad agency within Wieden + Kennedy, where he worked on "ad campaigns, films and art shows for companies with a social conscience."[40] The Border Film Project—which cost around $10,000—was self-funded: the organizers drew from their savings accounts as well as credit cards.[41]

Huneycutt, Criado, and Adler began their work on the film by visiting border towns in Mexico and interviewing migrants and human rights workers. Over time, they also interviewed Border Patrol agents, members of the Minuteman Project, and politicians, such as Senator John

McCain, who were focused on immigration issues. Once they had compiled about sixty hours of footage, they were unsure what to do with it. Instead of editing this footage into a documentary film, they imagined a project modeled on one Adler had worked on at an advertising agency. This project entailed giving disposable cameras to people all over the world and instructing them to "take pictures of things you think are perfect."[42] Huneycutt, Criado, and Adler's project involved distributing disposable cameras to migrants in Mexico before they crossed the U.S.–Mexico boundary who could "document the border" through their own eyes.[43] Criado noted in an interview, "We realized that we were lacking the perspective of the people who are living this reality every day."[44] The organizers believed that the project would "simplify the complexities of immigration and the U.S.–Mexico border and show the reality on the ground."[45] The organizers stated in an interview that they developed the project because their "journey is something we can't document," and they believed that "migrants can best document [it] themselves."[46] They initially titled the project "Documenting the Undocumented," and their stated goal was "to show the journey without it being tainted by our own perspective and by just our presence there."[47]

To distribute the cameras, Huneycutt, Criado, and Adler visited migrant shelters and humanitarian organizations in Altar, Sonora, and other towns in northern border states in Mexico.[48] (Altar is one of the main locations to which migrants travel before heading to the United States.) Some of these individuals had previously been deported and they were attempting to make the trip again. The organizers taught migrants how to use disposable cameras and explained how to mail them back once they were in the United States. They told migrants to document anything that they found significant, the people with whom they traveled, and "the challenging parts of the trip, the obstacles and the victorious moments."[49] However, they also included instructions that informed them: "No saque fotos de la patrulla fronteriza ni ningún policía" (Do not take pictures of border patrol or any police). During their first attempt at this project, the organizers handed out one hundred cameras but received only one back. After the fact, they realized that asking migrants to provide their addresses in Mexico or the United States might

have deterred them from participating.[50] The next time the organizers handed out cameras, they did not ask for the migrants' addresses. Instead, in exchange for mailing back their disposable cameras, the organizers gave out $25 gift cards for Walmart. Criado noted that the migrants "seem[ed] really interested in the political ramifications this [the project] could have."[51] Some migrants could not participate, however, because their smugglers would not allow it, which speaks to the dangers of documenting their journey.

The organizers' initial purpose for the film and photography project was "to raise awareness about what migrants go through to come to this country," yet by including the Minutemen in what became known as the Border Film Project, the organizers transferred some of their ideas about "re-humanizing" migrants to members of the Minuteman Project.[52] Approximately six weeks after Huneycutt, Criado, and Adler distributed cameras to migrants, they spent a few weeks giving them to members of the Minuteman Project along the U.S. side of the border. In an interview that addressed the organizers' decision to include the Minutemen, Criado noted that both migrants and Minutemen "are the groups that are living this reality and who better to tell the history of the border but the people who are living it?"[53] The organizers distributed cameras at the Minutemen's "observation sites" near the U.S.–Mexico boundary in Arizona, New Mexico, and California. They told the Minutemen that if they mailed back their cameras, they would receive a $25 Shell gift card. The Minutemen were asked to fill out a card with the camera, which included their names, addresses, ages, phone numbers, e-mail addresses, hometowns, and observation sites. These individuals could also indicate if they wanted copies of the pictures and were asked whether the organizers could display their first name, age, and hometown when they exhibited the images.

Although including photographs by migrants and Minutemen seems to be an unlikely combination (and according to the organizers, was opposed by both groups), the organizers justified their decision by connecting the ways in which migrants and Minutemen were both portrayed in the media. Specifically, Huneycutt noted, "Both the Minutemen and migrants are often caricatured. . . . The Minutemen are caricatured as

gun-toting vigilantes. The migrants are caricatured as people who come to take advantage of welfare or steal American jobs."[54] Huneycutt stated in another interview, "The migrants are really just hard-working people who are coming to help out their families . . . and the Minutemen are concerned citizens who are worried about national security and saving American jobs."[55] Making connections between the experiences of migrants and those of the Minutemen informed the Border Film Project's exhibitions, book, and website.

By 2007 the organizers had received seventy-three cameras—thirty-eight from migrants and thirty-five from Minutemen—that held around two thousand photographs.[56] Both the migrants and the Minutemen were constrained by the technological limitations of the disposable camera, which produced a different aesthetic than that of professional documentary photographers. For example, the absence of an adjustable lens prevented the participants from taking close-ups or wide-angle shots. Also, since they returned the cameras to the organizers before processing, the participants could not further shape the images after they had taken the photographs. They could not crop or retouch the photographs, nor could they select particular images and dispose of others. As a result, some of the photographs appear much like informal snapshots. Catherine Zuromskis notes that the snapshot genre is generally viewed as "innocent or naïve," and this notion is "further reinforced by the understood documentary truth of the photographic image."[57] Both the form of self-representation and the presumably unselfconscious "snapshots" of migrants and Minutemen are intended to signify "reality" to the viewer.

Although the organizers were interested in presenting both the migrants' and Minutemen's views of "the border," these photographs do not represent the participants' "everyday" lives, but rather their engagement in *significant* events. These included the Minutemen's participation as "volunteers" guarding the U.S.–Mexico boundary and the migrants' journeys through the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. Individuals who live in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, in the towns, colonias, cities, and reservations—including those from the Tohono O'odham nation—were not included in this project. Unlike those who live in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, the migrants and Minutemen were transient. These migrants

moved through the borderlands, and the Minutemen were temporary visitors "stationed" on the U.S. side.[58] In other words, the Minutemen's photographs do not document their daily lives, but rather their involvement in surveilling migrants' movements.

The Minutemen's photographs of migrants are distinct from snapshots that require the subject's consent. These photographs feature a "national gaze," as the Minutemen aligned themselves with the point of view of state agents, documenting migrants' "crimes" of attempting to enter the United States without immigration papers.[59] For example, a sequence of photographs starts with what looks to be a landscape photograph, but by the second image, it is clear that the Minuteman is documenting and surveilling migrants (Figure 15). The first image in the sequence features a figure across the road in the distance. Because the figure is so far away, it appears to be a landscape shot. In the second photograph, however, the Minuteman has approached someone who faces away from the camera but is still identifiable as a young man waiting by the road. The third photograph includes a member of the Border Patrol (at a distance) who has pulled up to the young man in his vehicle and appears to be questioning him. The final photograph is a medium shot, taken from behind the Border Patrol agent who is arresting the young man. Also visible in the frame is part of the Border Patrol's vehicle, which reads "Call Us Toll-Free 24 hours / 1–877–USBP–HELP," which relates to the Minuteman's role in contacting the Border Patrol that led to the arrest of this migrant. Although the Minuteman's images of the migrant being arrested by the Border Patrol depict the unequal power relations between the migrants and the Minutemen, his role is made absent, partly because he is not included in the photographs. This relationship between migrants and Minutemen—in which the latter attempts to make the former's "illegality" visible—is also eclipsed in the organizers' statements about the Border Film Project, to which I will return later.

As opposed to the Minutemen, undocumented Mexican and Central American migrants had a lot at risk in photographing themselves, as their main goal in crossing the U.S.–Mexico boundary was to evade detection by state agents. Unlike tourist travel, which involves the elective movement of people with the intention to return home, Mexican and

Figure 15. This series of photographs of a man on the side of the road who is apprehended by a Border Patrol officer was taken by Rick, a Minuteman. (Camera 081, distributed in Boulevard, California.) According to Rick's description of the image in *Border Film Project: Photos by Migrants and Minutemen on the U.S.–Mexico Border* (2007), he "reported migrant on highway to the Border Patrol and photographed the encounter."

Central American migrants' journeys to the United States are often motivated by desperation. Further, due to border militarization and the risks of dying en route, this journey does not always include a return home.[60] The experiences of undocumented migrants can be related to groups with little control over their movements.[61] The journeys of Mexican and Central American migrants involved moving from the "familiar to the foreign," which Alicia Schmidt Camacho has described as "a process of conversion, effected *through* violence—the sanctioned interdiction of the state, which may seize and remove migrants by its use of force or by the extralegal, informal aggressions of nonstate actors like the Arizona Minutemen."[62] Although it is generally not emphasized within the Border Film Project, here Schmidt Camacho articulates the relation of migrants and Minutemen to one another.

Both the Minutemen and migrants take up the aesthetics of snapshot and documentary photography, although for very different purposes. Migrants and Minutemen use snapshot aesthetics to photograph the members of their groups. The snapshot form is associated with documentary, and thus photographic truth, but it also involves a performance, as its aesthetic conventions include frontal images in which subjects pose for the camera. These images are generally staged, but sometimes they portray candid or intimate moments. The Minutemen's photographs of one another resemble snapshots, including Minutemen posed together, looking at the camera (Cameras 035, 071), or one in which a man wears a T-shirt that reads "Innocent Bystander" (072) and smiles for the camera.[63] In creating these photographs for the Border Film Project, the Minutemen knew that people outside the group would see them. Considering that, they did not take images that would be unacceptable to a broad audience, especially during a time when the organization was attempting to "whitewash" its image. The migrants employ conventions of snapshot photography in representing other migrants, as in photographs where their travel companions wave and smile at the camera (170, 367). However, the Minutemen did not take "snapshots" of migrants or vice versa, as one of the form's criteria involves the subject acquiescing to being photographed.

The Minutemen mix aesthetics of documentary and snapshot photography when they portray themselves performing the work of state agents. They frequently photograph one another in military garb, which suggests that they view themselves as fighting a war (072). This perspective is supported by the many photographs of Minutemen carrying weapons—especially guns—engaging in target practice, looking through binoculars, communicating with one another on walkie-talkies or CB radios, surveilling from portable towers, and "tracking" migrants (035, 051, 052, 072). Examples of the latter photographs include Minutemen surveilling migrant movement (074), reporting migrants to the Border Patrol (081, 097), or tracking migrants by their footprints or objects they left behind (051, 097).

The Minutemen's photographs of both themselves and migrants relate to how nonstate actors have assumed the state's role in an age of

neoliberalism.[64] Jane Juffer argues that "the vigilante in neoliberal times functions not as a complete renegade but rather in conjunction with, or at least alongside, the government, both entities acting outside the law, in the name of the law, in order to enforce the law."[65] The Minutemen are well aware of this role. For example, the back of the commemorative T-shirt for the April 2005 Minutemen action read: "Americans doing the job government won't do."[66] Juffer views the Minuteman as a "neoliberal vigilante" who "perceives himself to be a solid citizen," as opposed to someone who operates outside the law.[67]

By relating the mainstreaming of the Minutemen to neoliberalism—as well as to President Bush's post-9/11 call on Americans to become volunteers—Juffer argues, "Volunteers operate in the territory between the state and the free and amoral exchange of the market, supplying the 'compassion' in conservatism."[68] She relates the notion of compassionate conservatism, which was dominant during the George W. Bush administration, to the Minutemen's "code of ethics," including their belief that they are performing a civic duty. The Minutemen represent themselves as patriotic "solid citizens" by volunteering on the border, where they "supply the 'compassion' in conservatism."[69]

The documentary photographs that the Minutemen take of migrants are aligned with more repressive uses, as a tool of surveillance, relating to the work of state agents. Thus, their images of migrants can be situated in a broader political context, in which members of anti-immigrant groups use imaging and surveillance technologies to harass unauthorized migrants and to make them visible to the state. The Minutemen portray the migrants as committing the crime of "illegally" crossing the U.S.–Mexico boundary, photographing migrants either being detained by a Minuteman or being apprehended by the Border Patrol (081, 097). The Minutemen do not include themselves in the photographs in which they are detaining migrants. Thus, there is no opportunity to visualize the relationship between the two groups. Instead, the Minutemen use their cameras as weapons to intimidate, and visually apprehend migrants waiting for the Border Patrol. The Minutemen's use of cameras is a form of what Justin Akers Chacón describes as "low intensity terrorism," which is similar to the ways that anti-immigrant activists use cameras

to harass Latina/o migrants in public places by threatening to show the photographs to state agents.[70]

The Minutemen's photographs of themselves and undocumented migrants in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands attest to the way in which they participate in creating what De Genova refers to as the "border spectacle."[71] The Minutemen's surveillance of migrants relates to the state's role in the "legal production of Mexican/migrant illegality," which, De Genova contends, "requires the spectacle of enforcement at the U.S.–Mexico border in order for the spatialized difference between the nation-states of the U.S. and Mexico to be enduringly inscribed upon Mexican [and Central American] migrants in their spatialized (and racialized) status as 'illegal aliens.'"[72] During the early 2000s, the Minutemen, Sheriff Joseph Arpaio of Arizona, and others created a spectacle around border enforcement that was disseminated by the mainstream media.[73] This spectacle—which involved the media's taking up a "law and order" frame—emphasized "discourses of legality to target racialized immigrants," which criminalized undocumented migrants.[74] Thus, undocumented migrants have been represented as lawbreakers entering the United States illegally.[75] These perspectives, which influenced Republican politicians, led to more Border Patrol agents being stationed on the U.S.–Mexico border.[76]

The migrants and Minutemen who participated in the Border Film Project portray the landscape of the borderlands in distinct ways.[77] The Minutemen's photographs participate in the "spectacle of enforcement," which, as noted by De Genova above, emphasizes the "spatialized difference between the nation-states of the United States and Mexico."[78] Further, Joseph Nevins suggests that "frontiers, borders, and boundaries are not merely social phenomena, in a material sense they are also 'ways of seeing': metaphors for and manifestations of how we perceive the world and act within it."[79] The Minutemen shot the majority of their photographs in U.S. Southwest desert landscapes, which are characterized by open spaces. The Minutemen position themselves in these landscapes, but they exclude elements representing human presence, other than trash, which they associate with the movements of migrants. Considering Leo Chavez's point that the Minutemen's "dramatics were an

attempt to reaffirm the contours of the nation-state," it is interesting that they infrequently portray border barriers in their photographs, except for the Minutemen's border fence (065, 069, 079).[80] Instead, most of their photographs focus on the U.S. border regions that they patrol.

The Minutemen's landscape photographs of the U.S. Southwest narrate anti-immigrant sentiments, referencing a longer history of the ways in which nativist movements have used images of the natural environment to gain support for their cause. Although these photographs represent Minutemen "tracking" migrants by the trash they leave behind, they also link migration and trash in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, a trope that was common in mainstream media representations in the 1990s.[81] Sarah Hill argues the media portrayal of the U.S.–Mexico borderlands during this time was "an extreme portrait of 'matter out of place,' implicitly borne by the movement of people out of place: Mexican immigrants."[82] This emphasis on the borderlands environment was not as prominent in 2005 as it was during the 1990s, yet Hill argues that "the border and its presumed porosity and Mexican immigration have become even more exploited by nativists; in recent years 'pollution' continues to appear in the litany of offenses committed by immigrants who breach the border with their 'assaults.'"[83] This association between "trash" and migration informs the Minutemen's photographs of the borderlands.

The Minutemen associate migrants with the trash they leave behind as "matter out of place."[84] These photographs focus on the garbage left by migrants as they moved through the desert, highlighting items of refuse—such as water bottles (081, 247) or discarded deodorant (051)—in an otherwise "natural" environment. In the latter photograph, a man wearing a cowboy hat, moccasins (with a knife stuck in them), and a handstitched buckskin jacket smiles at the camera, while squatting and pointing to the deodorant left in the desert scrub. The image draws upon conventions of documentary photography, particularly the use of the camera to surveil migrants and provide evidence of their presence where they are not "allowed." The picture also contains elements of snapshot photography, as this man's smile (or smirk) indicates that he knows the photographer. Specifically, his facial expression suggests an intimate exchange between two people with a similar understanding of this piece

of "trash" as providing "evidence" of the unwanted presence of migrants in the landscape.

In the migrants' photographs, they portray objects such as water bottles not as refuse but as necessities that they need in order for them to survive. Due to the increase in border militarization in the ten years prior to the Border Film Project, migrants had to travel by increasingly dangerous routes to evade detection, and they frequently lacked water and food. One major problem was staying hydrated, and a leading cause of death during the migrants' journey was dehydration. Some of the migrants' images include their travel companions drinking from water stations left for them by humanitarian groups (189) or from water troughs intended for animals (238). In the latter case, their drinking from a trough attests to their desperation and the extreme conditions they faced on their journey. They also document other migrants carrying gallons of water through the desert, as well as children holding water bottles (606) and a Pedialyte bottle on the ground (247), attesting to the young age of some who make this perilous journey.

While Nicholas De Genova argues that "the elusiveness of the law, and its relative invisibility in producing 'illegality,' requires this spectacle of 'enforcement' at the border," in their photographs, migrants represent alternative "ways of seeing" the effects of U.S. immigration law on undocumented migrants, and as such make the violence of the law visible.[85] In documenting their journey through the desert, migrants provide evidence of the effects of border policing and militarization, which led to their traveling dangerous routes, risking injury and death.[86] Migrants portray themselves in landscapes that are both open and "littered" with obstacles through which they must move. Many of the migrants' photographs depict their movement around these obstacles, including fences or walls, over which they have to climb (170, 363, 601, 602, 121). Migrants photograph signs indicating that trespassers will be prosecuted (361), and they portray their walking for miles through remote areas (238), climbing over barbed-wire fences, scaling walls (601), and sustaining injuries while doing so (152). Some migrants also photograph official government signs indicating their entry into the United States, including one that reads "Bienvenidos a Douglas, AZ" (367), as

well as a banner outside a post office that advertises the availability of passport applications (379).

The migrants' photographs make visible the effects of U.S. border policy and policing and represent visual forms of migrant counterconducts. Their images exemplify what Catherine Zuromskis refers to as "alternative snapshot practices," in which migrants document their "surreptitious" travels through the U.S.–Mexico borderlands.[87] Along with representing migrants' movement, their images document more sedentary moments, as well as instances when their journeys were interrupted. These photographs portray migrants with serious injuries (121) or who encounter state agents, including one image of a Border Patrol helicopter descending near the migrant who documented it overhead (202) (Figure 16). The image of the helicopter—which, according to the organizers, was the last one on the roll—represents "something that cannot be seen," specifically migrant apprehension near the U.S.–Mexico boundary from

Figure 16. This photograph of a Border Patrol helicopter in close range was taken by a migrant in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. (Camera 202, anonymous, distributed in Agua Prieta, Sonora.) From *Border Film Project: Photos by Migrants and Minutemen on the U.S.–Mexico Border* (2007).

the point of view of an undocumented migrant. This image shows a migrant returning the gaze of the state, rather than being surveilled from the state agents' point of view. Portraying the experience of migrant apprehension from the perspective of an undocumented migrant—rather than from the state agent's point of view—is a visual form of a migrant counter-conduct, as it contests the exclusion of undocumented migrants from the United States, as well as the ways in which they are criminalized. Although this photograph documenting the surveillance of state agents was returned to the Border Film Project organizers, it raises questions about the limits of undocumented migrants' using cameras against the "state's gatekeepers and surveillance systems."[88]

Further, the migrants' photographs narrate what Alicia Schmidt Camacho calls the "melancholic aspect of the journey north," which she argues has "put the tale of the enterprising migrant 'seeking a better life' in crisis."[89] For example, their images portray other migrants waiting at shelters (189), anxiously waiting for rides (207, 210), or in a Border Patrol bus after being apprehended (145). One migrant's photograph focuses on an impediment, a barbed-wire fence, which has a carcass of a small animal entangled in it (377). The photograph was taken at an angle, so the fence and image are not parallel, making the photograph appear askew. Beyond the fence is the United States, represented by an American flag waving in front of some buildings. The bottom of the flagpole touches the very top of the barbed-wire fence that connects them to one another. What is distinctive about this photograph is that the migrant took it standing behind the wire fence, which separated this individual from the United States. The mangled carcass relates to the risks that migrants take to get to the United States, but also fears regarding what they might encounter in the United States.

The migrants' photographs make the effects of U.S. border policies visible by representing those who perished while attempting to reach the United States. Although "photography is the medium of appearance," as Peter Osborne has noted, migrants depict the U.S.–Mexico borderlands as a site of *disappearance* for undocumented migrants.[90] In fact, the term *desaparecido* (disappeared) is what is used to describe "those who set up to cross the border but are never heard from again."[91] Migrants

portray other migrants' deaths through images of crosses. Many took photographs of handmade crosses at border towns including one of a cross on the border fence (120). These images included statements—like "Van más de 2,500. ¿Cuántos Más?" (There are more than 2,500. How many more?)—that challenge the conditions that lead to migrant death. Although many migrants photographed crosses marking where other migrants perished, the majority of these images were not exhibited or included in the book.[92] These images of crosses represent an alternative "way of seeing" the effects of border militarization and the policing of migrants by the Border Patrol and the Minutemen, which led to more migrant deaths.[93] These photographs, in which migrants represent the disappearances of other migrants and bear witness to their deaths also "constitute a political act" that confronts the border spectacle produced by the Minutemen as well as U.S. state agents by exposing its effects on undocumented migrants.[94]

Curating the "Border Film Project: El Proyecto Fronterizo Fotográfico" at SMoCA

While Huneycutt, Criado, and Adler were waiting to receive the cameras back from the migrants, they began to contact galleries and museums about exhibiting these photographs in a show they titled *Documenting the Undocumented*. Although it was not intentional, the title implicitly references the organizers' involvement in mediating these photographs. The title does not indicate that the undocumented are "documenting" themselves, but instead that the organizers "document the undocumented" through their distribution of the cameras and their collection of the images. The title also aligns the organizers with state agents who document the undocumented. This project appealed to galleries and museums because of its emphasis on the self-representation of migrants. In speaking about the interest shown in the photography project, Adler stated that "it's been an easy sell. . . . It's amazing how just the simple idea of passing out cameras to migrants seems to capture everyone's imagination."[95] Further, the project acquired another appealing dimension in its representation of "both sides," when the organizers began to distribute cameras to Minutemen.

The emphasis on representing "both sides" was important to the curators at SMoCA, which held the first major exhibition of this work. As Huneycutt, Criado, and Adler were developing the images by migrants and Minutemen, they imagined their audience as comprised of those on the "left" and the "right," as well as individuals who had no opinion about undocumented migrants or anti-immigrant organizations.[96] SMoCA curator Marilu Knode commented that "being more open, allowing conflicting opinions to exist is important for all of us in this complex world."[97] This viewpoint informed many aspects of the project, including how the photographs were framed in exhibitions, in the *Border Film Project* book, and on the Border Film Project's website.[98] Over time, however, the organizers began to focus more on emphasizing the similarities between migrants and Minutemen.

After Huneycutt, Criado, and Adler received a substantial number of cameras back from the migrants and the Minutemen, they selected which photographs would be exhibited. The Border Film Project held numerous exhibitions in galleries, bookstores, museums, and universities across the United States. The first major exhibition of the Border Film Project was held at SMoCA, which was titled *Border Film Project: El Proyecto Fronterizo Fotográfico*. The exhibition traveled to other sites, including DiverseWorks in Houston, Texas.[99] Although it was unusual for SMoCA to create an exhibition based on an unsolicited proposal, museum staff members were interested in the Border Film Project, due to its relevance for Arizona residents.[100] As curator Cassandra Coblentz explained, "More undocumented migrants cross the border into Arizona than any other state in the country, and it's an issue that's a priority for many people."[101] The installation was designed by Ibarra Rosano Design architects in Tucson, in consultation with the museum staff, and it was "inspired by the border shadows—both literal and metaphoric."[102] The photographs and the video—which the organizers compiled based on interviews they conducted—were positioned within the inner spaces, while the outer walls served as a divider, similar to a border fence. Toward the exit, the curators included an interactive element to the exhibition, posing questions to viewers on a wall, including: "What commonalities did you notice in viewing the photographs taken by Minutemen and the migrants?" "If

the border is broken, how can it be fixed?" "How might you answer this question differently if you were born on the other side?"[103] In addition, the curators indicated that viewers could share their own immigration stories and write their comments on notecards that were posted on a magnet board.[104] The curators positioned quotations from migrants and Minutemen on the outer wall of the exhibition. All of the quotations were paired (one migrant, one Minuteman) and were presented in both English and Spanish.

Although the organizers selected the photographs that would be shown in the exhibition, it was the curators who arranged them in the installation. Of the 2,000 color photographs that the organizers received from migrants and Minutemen, they chose around 250 to include in the exhibition. These images were mounted as four-by-six-inch prints, without accompanying names or descriptions, and were displayed in the middle circle of the room. Coblentz explained that they did not enlarge the majority of the photographs because the scale reminded the audience about the source of the images—as snapshot photographs taken from disposable cameras.[105] The curators did enlarge a few of the photographs, including one portrait of a Minuteman's face against the blue sky and one of a migrant climbing over a fence, which they positioned around the walls of the installation space. These curatorial decisions—including the lack of text accompanying the images—relate to the organizers' perspective that the project "allows the migrants and the Minutemen to speak for themselves."[106] However, the exhibit narrates the organizers' view that, as Huneycutt stated, "there is truth on both sides of the immigration issue, and the solution undoubtedly lies somewhere in the middle."[107] In addition to the photographs, the video that was included in the exhibition featured interviews with migrants and Minutemen, but unlike a conventional documentary, it had neither a voice-over narrating the film, nor any interviews with "experts."

What gets obfuscated in displaying these photographic forms of self-representation is the role of the Border Film Project organizers and the SMoCA curators in shaping the exhibition. Although the Border Film Project highlighted the perspectives of migrants and Minutemen because they took the photographs, these individuals did not select, nor did they

arrange, the images. The organizers developed the Border Film Project from an archive of two thousand photographs taken by migrants and Minutemen, which reflects Allan Sekula's statement that "archives . . . constitute a *territory of images*; the unity of an archive is first and foremost that imposed by ownership."[108] By exchanging their disposable cameras for Shell or Walmart cards, the migrants and Minutemen relinquished their ownership of the photographs and their control over the organization and circulation of those images.

Further, in their acquisition of these images, the Border Film Project organizers made invisible the specific uses and meanings of these images for these groups. As Sekula argues, "In an archive, the possibility of meaning is 'liberated' from the actual contingencies of use," and this "abstraction from the complexity and richness of use, a loss of context," certainly applies in the case of the Border Film Project.[109] The "uses" of the Minutemen's photographs—which are related to their surveillance and policing of undocumented migrants—are made absent in the Border Film Project, as are the meanings associated with the migrants' images of crosses documenting migrant death.

The organizers chose which of the two thousand images from the Border Film Project archive would be included in the exhibition, but the curators arranged the images, directing audience members through the exhibition by grouping photographs of migrants and Minutemen, while mostly separating them from one another. The curators' decision to set the images of migrants apart from those of the Minutemen relates to the organizers' emphasis on representing "both sides," while failing to make a connection between these two groups or to address the broader issues that contribute to migration. Some reviewers of the exhibition criticized the arrangement of images, specifically the photographs' isolation from one another. Chris Kraus related this decision to the ways in which the "work's creators cautiously cast their endeavor in the pseudo-neutrality of humanism," which prevented the organizers and curators of the exhibition from presenting an analysis of the causes of migration.[110] Although neither migrants nor Minutemen inhabited the areas that they photographed, the curators represent Mexican and Central American migrants' images in such a way that these individuals are portrayed as *moving through* the borderlands, while they envision the

Minutemen as "*settled*" on the U.S. side of the border. Even though these characteristics emerge from the photographs, the curators also *emphasize* these elements through their display.

The curators' arrangement of photographs by migrants relates to what Alicia Schmidt Camacho has described as "the tale of the enterprising migrant 'seeking a better life,'" by focusing on migrants' successful travels to the United States.[111] Some of the migrants' images were displayed as a photo collage, so viewers could see the specific journeys of the photographers. These collages were comprised of images that document migrants' trips, which started where they received their cameras in northern Mexico border towns, through the desert landscapes of the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, with some ending up at the U.S.–Mexico boundary or in towns in the U.S. Southwest. For example, the curators reconstructed the journey of two migrants walking through the desert and ending up in a border town, presumably in the United States (Figure 17). Re-created in this way, this grouping of photographs visualizes the journey in a way that individual photographs could not. However, while elements of the migrants' journeys were assembled in the form of photo collages, both the organizers and the curators deemphasized other possible outcomes of migrants' journeys, specifically migrant death. Although migrants sent back many photographs of crosses marking the places where migrants had died, few of them were included in the exhibitions or in the book or website.[112] The decision not to include these images may be related to curatorial preferences, but it also speaks to the Border Film Project's emphasis on making absent the role of the U.S. state in causing migrant deaths, as well as the actual relationships of migrants and Minutemen.

The issues concerning the display of photographs in the Border Film Project are similar to those of the Unseen America workshops that I analyzed in the first two chapters. However, in every exhibition of the Border Film Project, these images were addressed to an audience beyond the communities of those who took the pictures.[113] These photographs were taken with disposable cameras, which are associated with forms of photography that normally would dictate inclusion in a personal album, to be viewed by an "intimate public." By being exhibited, included in a book and on a website, these images became available to a broader

Figure 17. Installation view of "The Border Film Project: El Proyecto Fronterizo Fotográfico" on view at the Scottsdale Museum of Contemporary Art (SMoCA), September 16, 2006–January 28, 2007. Copyright SMoCA.

audience. As Patricia Holland has argued, "insiders'" experiences of personal images can be distinguished from those of "outsiders."[114] These differences become apparent in these photographs that are characterized by the amateur quality of snapshots, which associates them with personal use, when they appear in a museum context where they are on display for aesthetic purposes.[115] In this in-stitutional context both the Minutemen and migrants fall within the category of "naïve" artists, which also exposes the differences between the social class and cultural capital of the photographers as opposed to those of the Border Film Project organizers.

Although the exhibition of the Border Film Project at SMoCA was directed toward a general audience, in interviews the organizers stated that they would like members of both groups to see these images on display. The organizers believed that bringing the migrants and Minutemen together would allow the members of these groups to "be in the same room together" and to "come together to see each other's perspectives."[116] Since the organizers had not asked for the addresses of the migrants—

only those of the Minutemen—it was not possible for them to reach out to the migrants. It does not appear as if the organizers recognized the accessibility issues for migrants in attending the exhibition. Of the two groups, only Minutemen were reported as seeing the exhibition.

The organizers' statements imply that if migrants and Minutemen attended the exhibition, they would understand each other's views.[117] In envisioning viewership in this way, the Border Film Project organizers failed to account for the antagonistic gazes of migrants and Minutemen. Just as the Minutemen could look at migrants' photographs and see "illegal" immigrants entering "their" country, migrants could see the Minutemen's photographs and feel threatened by their performance of "native-ness"—as U.S. citizens acting in the name of the state. Thus, in their display of images from the Border Film Project archive the organizers do not account for what Allan Sekula has referred to as the "radical antagonisms" between gazes, in this case of migrants and Minutemen.[118]

Although there were critical reviews of the Border Film Project exhibitions, the theme—to represent "both sides" of the debate on U.S. border policy—was positively referenced in numerous reviews.[119] In the show at SMoCA, this element was frequently related to attendees' comments. For example, one review included a statement made by a visitor to the museum who noted that "the images—which range from blistered migrant feet to people standing in the desert to Minuteman volunteers on patrol—make it an important exhibit that represents both sides of the issue."[120] In interviews, both the organizers of the Border Film Project and curators at SMoCA highlighted commonalities between the images of the migrants and those of the Minutemen.[121] Some reviews of the exhibition noted that the photographs of migrants and Minutemen had similar characteristics.[122] This theme—to emphasize the shared characteristics of the migrants and Minutemen—was further developed in the *Border Film Project* book and website.

Truth-Claims of the Visible and the Artifice of Equality

During the exhibition at SMoCA, the organizers were at work on a book, the *Border Film Project*, which was published in 2007. There are numerous similarities between the book and the exhibition, including the

organizers' emphasis on the transparent meanings of photographic self-representation and their downplaying of their curatorial imprint on the book's production. Similar to the SMoCA exhibition, of the two thousand photographs from migrants and Minutemen, they used less than 10 percent in the *Border Film Project*. However, unlike the exhibition, which had no names attached to the images, the book's images are numbered and correspond to a table in the center of the book that contains information about the people who took the photographs, including names and the locations where they picked up their cameras. The organizers also paired some photographs with short quotations from interviews they conducted with migrants and Minutemen.[123] In addition to the quotations from interviews, the organizers included two statements—one on the "Project Background" of the Border Film Project and the other on the topic of "The U.S.–Mexico Border"—both of which are positioned in the center of the book.

The *Border Film Project*, published only in English, is an art photography book composed of the work of migrants and Minutemen. The book was sold at museum gift shops, at retail stores including Urban Outfitters, American Apparel, and elsewhere, and directed toward a U.S. middle-class audience. The address to a U.S. audience is evident in the organizers' statement that the book represents the "human face of immigration," in order to "challenge *us* to question *our* stereotypes" (emphasis added), which in turn will enable the viewer of these images "to see through new and personal lenses."[124] The organizers' goals for the *Border Film Project* rested on the belief that representing the embodied perspectives of undocumented migrants and Minutemen to a broader audience would contribute to a reasoned and balanced approach to reforming U.S. border policy.

The cover of the *Border Film Project*, which includes an image of a Minuteman and one of a migrant, narrates the address of the book to an outside audience as well as the relation between the viewer and these "naïve" artists (Figure 18). Both of these photographs are framed by circular holes cut into the cover, which are divided by a line symbolizing the boundary between the United States and Mexico. The cover deemphasizes the Minutemen's role as surveilling migrants, instead positioning

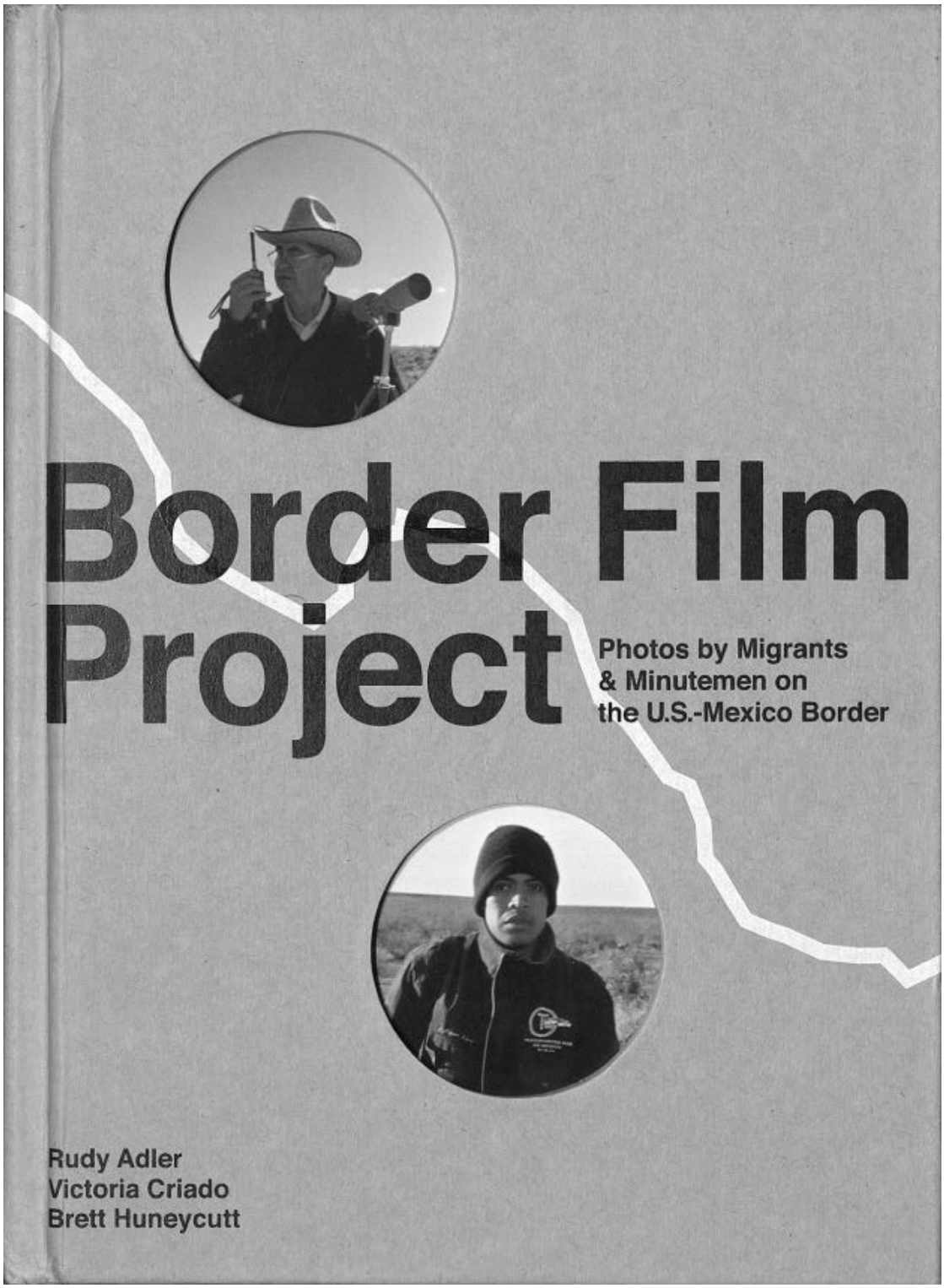

Figure 18. Cover Image of *Border Film Project*. The cover of the *Border Film Project* juxtaposes photographs of a Minuteman and a migrant. [Camera 010 (top) Wayne, Minuteman, 55, distributed in Hachita, New Mexico; and Camera 238 (bottom), Armando, 38, and Javier, 24, migrants, distributed in Agua Prieta, Sonora.] According to the "notes" in the *Border Film Project*, Armando and Javier traveled "from Mexico City and Hermosillo. Crossed New Mexico desert on Christmas. Camera mailed from Deming, New Mexico."

us (the viewers) as surveilling both migrants and Minutemen. We (the viewers) look through the lens-shaped holes in the cover to view photographs of the main subjects of the *Border Film Project*—an undocumented migrant and a Minuteman. The intended audience for the book is similar to that of many social documentary photography projects—individuals who are sympathetic to the plight of the less fortunate and who are positioned higher up the social ladder than those whose representations are on display. In framing their subjects through the lens of self-representation, the organizers present the project as unconstrained by policing and coercion, which are themselves the conditions of possibility for its visual economy of images. Thus, the book is complicit with both the Minutemen's and the U.S. state's surveillance of undocumented migrants in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands.

By taking images of migrants and Minutemen and arranging them without consultation with either group, the *Border Film Project* organizers ideologically subjugated both groups. As Allan Sekula contends, the meaning of photographs "is always directed by layout, captions, text, and site and mode of presentation."[125] In the *Border Film Project*, the organizers' choice of images, the ordering of images, the positioning of quotes from interviews, and the insertion of a description of the project in the center of the book all work to construct a visual equivalence between migrants and Minutemen. At the same time, the organizers take up a nationalist or "nativist point of view" in their statements framing the images by migrants and Minutemen.

The organizers' arrangement of images in the book is similar to a form of ordering frequently found in photographic archives.[126] Sekula argues that photographic archives prioritize an "empiricist model of truth," in which "pictures are atomized, isolated in one way and homogenized in another."[127] The *Border Film Project* organizers replicate this type of ordering by choosing to arrange the images in two ways. Their first approach was to separate the photographs by migrants from those of the Minutemen, similar to the curators' decision at the SMoCA exhibition. Although there were exceptions, the organizers generally positioned images of or by migrants across from one another on full-page spreads, isolating them from images of or by Minutemen, which were

also placed across from one another on full-page spreads. The captions—which are quotes from interviews with migrants and Minutemen—are situated next to many, although not all, of the images. The ordering of the captions is similar to that of the images. Quotations from migrants are generally placed next to their pictures, and those from Minutemen are positioned next to their images. Arranged in this way, the captions appear to correspond to the specific image with which they are paired. The organizers' second approach was to pair images of migrants and Minutemen with similar visual elements on full-page spreads. Although I have examined the effects of isolating the images by migrants and Minutemen from one another in my analysis of the SMoCA exhibition, I now turn to the effects of emphasizing the similarities between the images of migrants and Minutemen in the book.

The Border Film Project's focus on self-representation is related to the organizers' attempt to present the "truth" of the migrants' and Minutemen's experiences, yet in constructing a parallel between these two groups in their ordering of the images in the book, they decontextualize the relationship between migrants and Minutemen. Further, by placing visually similar images by migrants and Minutemen together on full-page spreads, they relegate these photographs "to 'purely visual' concerns," establishing what Sekula has described as a "relation of *abstract visual equivalence* between pictures."[128] This homogenizing of the images of migrants and Minutemen appears related to the organizers' linking of these two groups by their supposed class position and their marginality in relation to the U.S. state. The organizers share the views of "sectors of the progressive left," which Lisa Duggan argues "reproduce within their own debates Liberalism's rhetorical separation of economic/class politics from identity/cultural politics."[129] In doing this, the *Border Film Project* organizers align themselves with a liberal nativist position that Nicholas De Genova argues "deracialize[s] the figure of immigration in a manner that abdicates any responsibility for analyzing the racial oppression of migrants of color."[130] The organizers thus deemphasize issues of race or racism within the Minuteman Project, which parallels the statements of leaders who, as Robin Dale Jacobson contends, "while adamantly denying the role of race . . . [in their organization] focus on the schemas of

invasion."[131] In the book the organizers did nothing to expose the way in which the Minuteman Project attempted to conceal their organization's role as an extension of white supremacist national formation.[132]

Although the organizers position most of Minutemen's and migrants' images on separate pages, in some cases, they place visually similar images of migrants and Minutemen on full-page spreads, to gesture toward a more substantial comparison between the two groups. One of these spreads contains a photograph of a migrant couple on one side with a photograph of an Anglo man and woman (members of the Minuteman Project) on the other (103/006). The organizers placed one interior shot taken by a migrant next to another by a member of the Minuteman Project to emphasize the comparable living conditions of these two groups (134/016). The pairing of these two sets of images appears to be related to an emphasis on the similar class positions of those portrayed as well as to heteronormativity and domesticity, as represented by the images of the two heterosexual couples and of domestic space. As Zuromskis notes, snapshots are "a means of linking private symbols of domestic harmony to explicitly public ideas of social conformity and American nationalism."[133] The Minutemen's use of snapshot aesthetics relates to their attempt to make themselves (and their ideas) more palatable to a mainstream audience.

Similar photographic juxtapositions appear in the book and on the website, where the images are organized under three categories—"Migrants," "Minutemen," and "Similarities"—referring to photographs by migrants and Minutemen that share elements of composition or subject matter. The categories "Migrants," "Minutemen," and "Similarities" speak to the ways in which the organizers both isolate the two groups from one another, while they also lump images by Minutemen and migrants that resemble one another into a third category by making absent the different contexts in which these photographs were taken.

The photographs organized under the "Similarities" category on the website are supposed to represent the shared visual elements of these images, yet they appear to emphasize the migrants' and Minutemen's different "ways of seeing" both their environments and themselves. The photographs paired under the "Similarities" category include portraits of

a migrant and a Minuteman taken from low camera angles, looking up at a blue sky. Other images feature shadows of a migrant and a Minuteman, a migrant and Minuteman sleeping, and areas where migrants have camped, both of which focus on a Coke bottle.[134] Although these images share some visual elements, they are actually quite distinct. In the first set of images, a migrant's photograph appears to be a self-portrait, one in which the migrant is looking down at the camera, whereas the portrait of the Minutemen has been taken by someone else, and the eyes of the Minuteman do not engage the viewer. The low camera angle monumentalizes the image of the Minuteman, whereas the migrant's eye contact with the camera forges a relation between himself and the viewer. In the photographs of shadows of a migrant and a Minuteman, again the former looks as if it is a self-portrait, while the latter appears to be shot by someone else. These images are also quite different visually—the shadow of the Minutemen is sharply outlined and has an iconic cowboy quality, whereas the shadow of the migrant is blurry, cast in desert grasses. Further, the Minuteman's shadow connects him with iconic images of cowboys in the "natural" setting of the U.S. West. As Lisa Cartwright and Marita Sturken argue, images of cowboys are "part of the ideology of U.S. expansionism and frontier," in which they represent ideologies of "rugged individualism," as well as the "romantic ideal of freedom," which contrasts with the "confined lives of everyday working people."[135] This cowboy image also associates the Minutemen with the vigilantes of the "Wild West" who handed out "cowboy justice" in towns like Tombstone, Arizona, where the Minutemen were based.[136]

What is apparent with these and other photographs in the "Similarities" category is the way that the Border Film Project organizers' pairing of certain images conceals the differences between them. The organizers' ideas about self-representation are similar to those of traditional social documentary photography, in which images "transmit immutable truths," yet as Sekula argues, "Photographic meaning depends on context."[137] In one pairing, a Minuteman sleeps on a cot, presumably resting for a day of surveilling migrants, whereas the image of a migrant woman sleeping accentuates her feet, blistered and bleeding from walking through the desert. This contextual difference also applies to two

images—one taken by a migrant, the other by a Minuteman—of a desert area where migrants have chosen to stop. In one image, a migrant photographs others as they all rest. In the other, a Minuteman portrays a campsite used by migrants that he found while "tracking" them. In these photographs, the locations look similar, yet the migrant and the Minuteman have a different relationship to the places they photograph. The migrant represents this space as an area that migrants move through, while the Minuteman portrays this area as a space that must be surveilled and guarded. The deliberate pairing of these images speaks to the "depoliticization of photographic meaning" in archives described by Sekula, which is an inherent feature of the Border Film Project.[138]

The organizers' use of quotations as captions places the project in a "law and order" frame, as they chose quotes that situate the Minutemen as upholding the law by guarding the border. They contrast this with undocumented migrants, who speak about crossing the border through what the organizers represent as "illegal" means. The "law and order" frame taken up in the *Border Film Project* presents undocumented migrants through a lens of criminalization.[139] In the "Project Background" section of the book, the organizers refer to the Minutemen as "volunteers" rather than vigilantes, thus employing the same terms that the Minutemen use to describe themselves.[140] As "volunteers" who "are by and large concerned Americans," the organizers construct the Minutemen as *ethical* subjects.[141] By inversion, the organizers represent undocumented migrants as *unethical* subjects, and as "bad" immigrants, who undermine "the democratic sovereignty of 'the nation' through their circumventions of 'the rule of law.'"[142] While the organizers represent the Minuteman as a U.S. citizen who "volunteers" to enforce the law, the undocumented migrant is understood to be what Bonnie Honig refers to as the "bad immigrant, the illegal alien who undermines consent in two ways: he or she never consents to American laws and 'we' never consent to his presence on 'our' territory."[143] By constructing the *Border Film Project* through a "law and order" frame, the organizers present the Minutemen as ethical subjects. This supports the mainstreaming of the group, which involved Republican politicians in Washington, the leadership of the Minuteman Project, and the mainstream media.[144]

The decisions made by the organizers in constructing the *Border Film Project* make them complicit in the mainstreaming of the Minutemen, which included an effort to contain elements of vigilante behavior and racism by members of the group, a number of whom were active in the right-wing militia movement.[145] For example, the organizers never reference the Minutemen's "extralegal enforcement techniques," in which their actions go beyond the law.[146] The quotations from the Minuteman Project members in the *Border Film Project* are selective, in that they represent the views of those who supported the group's move toward gaining broader acceptance nationally. None of the quotations in the *Border Film Project* includes statements from the leadership prior to their efforts to mainstream the organization, or from rank-and-file members of the group whose views countered those of the current leadership.[147]

Although the *Border Film Project* organizers present their perspective as the moderate center between two "extreme" viewpoints, they adopt a form of liberal nativism in their book that shares qualities with a racially inflected conservative nativism, aligning them with the Minutemen, rather than with the migrants. The organizers espouse a point of view, by which, De Genova argues, both liberals and conservatives articulate "what a native *we* should do with a foreign *them*." As De Genova explains, "The answers are defined around a variety of contending interpretations of what might be best for 'the nation' (*our* nation) and its citizens (*us*)."[148] In their statement on the subject of the "U.S.–Mexico Border," the organizers assert, "A large immigrant population has both benefits and costs. Cheap labor means lower prices for goods and services, a benefit for all Americans."[149] As indicated in the second sentence, their focus is on benefitting "Americans," referring to U.S. citizens. These are examples of what Linda Bosniak refers to as "cost arguments," which focus on the economic impact of immigration for U.S. citizens and "the nation" and "are rarely treated as normatively suspect—or 'nativist.'"[150] Bosniak argues that the "national priority thesis" inherent in cost arguments clearly privileges the interests of U.S. citizens in immigration policies.[151] However, by focusing on the "benefits" of an undocumented workforce as well as the "costs" of so-called illegal immigration for working-class "Americans," the organizers presume the logic of U.S. national "interest."

The Border Film Project organizers invoke cost arguments because they are viewed as an acceptable means to restrict immigration. They also avoid what are (generally) considered unacceptable race-based arguments. However, there is frequently a racial subtext in cost arguments. Although the organizers may not have intended their comments to be a cover for race-based arguments, by taking up the Minutemen's position, they make absent the racist motivations behind the organization, which include preventing (what they believe will be) an "invasion" of Mexicans in the United States. (The Minutemen camouflage their race-based agenda by aligning themselves with the state against the "illegal" migration of people from Mexico.) David Michael Smith notes in a review of the *Border Film Project*, "The Minutemen are never able to explain why they view illegal immigrants as a grave danger to the United States. Moreover, the authors may be too quick to dismiss a description of Minutemen as vigilantes," as "immigrant rights advocates would dispute the authors' contention that many Minutemen are simply continuing the public service they began in the military service or law enforcement."[152] In the *Border Film Project* the organizers do not contextualize these photographs in relation to the history of U.S. immigration law or U.S.–Mexico border enforcement. Instead, they situate the project within the more limited sphere of mainstream immigration politics. An alternative approach would have acknowledged the significance of the colonization of the U.S. nation-state or globalization in determining U.S. border and immigration policy.

Conclusion

The idea behind the Border Film Project was to use photography—and specifically the conventions of self-representation—to convey the experiences of undocumented Mexican and Central American migrants and the Minutemen, yet the mediation and curation of these photographs significantly influenced how these images were viewed within exhibitions, in the *Border Film Project* book, and on the website. Although the organizers state that the project allowed the migrants to represent their own experiences, they construct the migrants' journeys through the U.S.–Mexico borderlands as "illegal." This perspective is evident in

the organizers' adopting what De Genova refers to as a "nationalist conceptual framework premised on the coherence of a self-contained national economy," in which they present migration to the United States as if it "had no relation whatsoever, either historically or in the present, with U.S. imperialism and U.S. global hegemony."[153] The organizers do not contextualize the ways in which U.S. border policies have led to the increased militarization of the border, which has contributed to the growth of vigilante groups, while also simultaneously producing the "illegality" and increased vulnerability of Mexican and Central American migrants.[154]

Although the organizers of the Border Film Project and the curators of the exhibitions downplay their role in creating the meaning of these images, they made crucial decisions regarding the selection and organization of these amateur photographs in exhibitions, in the book, and on the website. In the *Border Film Project*, the organizers construct a visual and textual parallel between migrants and Minutemen, which erases the power differentials between U.S. citizens and undocumented migrants. In doing this, the organizers evade the specific ways in which the Minutemen have taken part in the government's policing of undocumented migrants' movement from Mexico into the United States, and they do not address the question of vigilante violence conducted by groups and individuals against undocumented migrants in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. As Nicholas De Genova argues, during a "historical period of heightened nativism and anti-immigrant racism," if one is not "taking stock of these constitutive inequalities [between U.S. citizens and undocumented migrants] and also critically destabilizing the conceptual presuppositions that accompany them," this work could potentially become what Janice Radway has referred to as "just another technology of nationalism."[155] In the *Border Film Project*, the organizers align themselves with the Minutemen's "national gaze," which is further supported by a "nativist point of view."

The organizers foreground a "national gaze" in the construction of the Border Film Project, and yet the migrants' images disrupt the ways in which migrant "illegality" is produced by making visible the effects of border militarization and border policing (by both state agents and

the Minutemen) on undocumented migrants. The migrants who participated in the Border Film Project center their experiences traveling through the U.S.–Mexico borderlands as counter to the contrived spectacle of the threat of undocumented migrants and the state gaze as a means to apprehend, capture, and immobilize them. The photographs taken by migrants, which combine documentary and snapshot aesthetics, thus represent alternative "ways of seeing" the effects of U.S. immigration law and U.S. border militarization. In this way their images resemble visual forms of "migrant counter-conducts," in that they counter how undocumented migrants are viewed through the lens of criminalization by state agents, the Minutemen, and the mainstream media. Instead, they present an alternative perspective from which to view how state and nonstate actors mobilize their power. Their photographs also narrate the disappearance of other migrants, implicating the role of the U.S. state in producing migrant death. Even as the migrants' images potentially unsettle the curatorial logic of the Border Film Project, they are not simply disruptive or counter to the reasoning behind this photography project. When taken out of this context, the images gesture toward other horizons. Their alternative ways of envisioning are conscripted and partially subsumed by the logic of the project. The Border Film Project demonstrates the limitations of self-representation, which is always mediated through the context of presentation. In the next chapter I further examine issues of mediation within artistic and filmic works produced in collaboration with women maquiladora workers in Tijuana, Mexico.

CHAPTER SIX

Reconfiguring Documentation

Mobility, Counter-Visibility, and (Un)Documented Activism

In 2012 the National Day Labor Organizing Network (NDLON) and the Puente Movement of Arizona organized the No Papers, No Fear Ride for Justice, which included a group of forty undocumented youth and migrant activists who rode on the "undocubus" from Phoenix, Arizona, to Charlotte, North Carolina. As part of the Ride for Justice, these activists stopped in locations where undocumented migrants were most surveilled and policed—specifically those that had 287(g) agreements or states with Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070) copycat laws in place—in order to organize against these laws. As noted in the introduction, 287(g) agreements "allow a state and local law enforcement entity to enter into a partnership with ICE, under a joint Memorandum of Agreement (MOA)," and thus, "the state or local entity receives delegated authority for immigration enforcement within their jurisdictions."[1] Arizona SB 1070, the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, which was proposed in 2010, required police to determine the immigration status of anyone arrested or detained, whenever law enforcement officials had a "reasonable suspicion" that they were not in the United States legally.[2] In addition to organizing workshops during the Ride for Justice, activists planned and recorded their actions and later circulated the videos on activist websites and on YouTube. The activists' documentation of these actions exhibited how undocumented youth and migrant activists have forged a politics based on reconfiguring self-representation and visibility.[3]

At one stop on the Ride for Justice, in Birmingham, Alabama, four activists participated in an action at a U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) field briefing that focused on the effects of state immigration laws after the *Arizona v. U.S.* decision. Gerardo from the Puente Movement in Arizona was the first activist to speak, which he did during SB 1070 coauthor Kris Kobach's presentation. Gerardo declared that he was "undocumented and unafraid," as he held up a sign that read "UNDOCUMENTED." This action resonated with the statement "indocumentada y sin miedo" (undocumented and without papers) chanted by migrants during the spring 2006 marches against HR 4437, the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, when, as Nicholas De Genova notes, "there was an enthusiastic and recalcitrant affirmation of migrant mobility and a veritable embrace of de facto 'illegality.'"[4] Through his physical presence at the USCCR briefing, Gerardo directly challenged Kobach's legislative efforts of "attrition through enforcement" to create fear in undocumented migrants so that they would "self deport."[5] In a blog post Gerardo described his experience listening to Kobach's testimony and wrote about how it differed from his own perception of how SB 1070 had affected undocumented migrants in Arizona, where he lived. In the context of anti-immigrant state laws, Gerardo commented that "people [are] without freedom to move around freely in their own neighborhoods."[6] As Gerardo explained, the overall effect of these laws is a limit placed on the physical presence of undocumented migrants and the freedom that comes with their mobility. In arguing that the No Papers, No Fear campaign utilized mobility as a political strategy, I refer to Dimitris Papadopoulos and Vassilis Tsianos's understanding that mobility is "not just about movement, but is about the appropriation and remaking of space."[7] Although the Ride for Justice challenged the ways in which the U.S. state attempted to limit the movement of undocumented migrants, it also served as a means for activists to appropriate spaces and places where immigration laws were most punitive and restrictive by training other undocumented migrants in those locations to challenge these laws.

In this chapter I analyze documentary videos created by activists in NDLON and the Puente Movement, as well as those in the National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA). These videos were produced before,

during, and after acts of civil disobedience, at which time the activists risked being arrested, detained, and deported.[8] These political actions arose from an approach to organizing taken up by migrant activists who, as Amalia Pallares and Gabriela Marquez-Benitez argue, "disrupt the normalization and naturalization of disciplining and criminalizing" undocumented migrants.[9] These activists developed more confrontational tactics to respond to the Obama administration's immigration policies, which intentionally concealed or minimized publicity around its policing, detention, and deportation of undocumented migrants.[10] Undocumented youth and migrant activists made their actions public to counter this concealment. Further, activists use everyday technologies—such as cell phone cameras and social media—to engage in the counter-surveillance of state agents. Although state agents use surveillance to monitor Latina/o migrants, the activists' counter-surveillance exemplifies how, as Kevin Haggerty argues, "traditional hierarchies of visibility are being undermined and reconfigured."[11]

In examining these videos, I focus on the connections between political and cultural forms of self-representation. Specifically, I analyze how undocumented youth and migrant activists use and revise documentary forms to represent their performances of unauthorized acts, which defy the machinations of the U.S. state. Through strategies of *counter-visibility*, these activists publicize their political actions to shield themselves from detention and deportation. Through the production of *counter-documents*, these activists draw upon modes of documentary practice to challenge the state's ability to determine the parameters of political inclusion and to mobilize other undocumented migrants. The video excerpts that activists circulate through social media have analogous functions to elements of traditional documentary film, such as testimony or vérité-style sequences. The politics of visibility for these activists is at once similar to the traditional reformist ethos of documentary making public, but put in the service of more far-reaching agendas, which challenge the meaning of political inclusion. Counter-documents strategically protect, confront, and mobilize.

These videos serve as a means for these activists to frame their depictions, to elaborate forms of counter-documentation, and to make public political claims. These activists' emphasis on the production and

circulation of visual media is specific to the context of state and federal immigration policies that can render visibility a form of surveillance linked to detention and deportation. It is part of a strategy to publicize the actions of these activists who engage in direct action and is not geared toward reaffirming the norms of inclusion.[12] These tactics respond to how U.S. governmental agencies, including Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), an arm of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), threatened or deported undocumented migrants. At the same time, these activists invert the visual terms of surveillance to shield themselves from possible detention and deportation.

In producing counter-documents these activists employ documentary aesthetics, but also include performative elements in which they demand social justice for undocumented migrants. These actions are performances, which activists—like "artivists" (artist-activists)—use "to intervene in political contexts, struggles and debates," as Diana Taylor contends.[13] In addition, Taylor argues that while performance "is usually perceived as the antithesis of the 'real,'" in her understanding of the term she notes that it "does not suggest artificiality; it is not 'put on' or antithetical to 'reality.'"[14] In the videos that they produce before their direct actions, activists perform to "appear natural" and to create a "real" aesthetic. In some of their videos they record performances in which they are engaged in acts of counter-surveillance. In these and other contexts, activists present themselves as being oppositional to the state and challenge normative notions about "deserving" versus "undeserving" migrants.

Although their actions involve performance, these undocumented activists largely distanced themselves from the performances of exceptionalism that emerged from what Amalia Pallares refers to as the "neoliberal frame that has shaped the advocacy for the DREAM Act and the representations of DREAM Act eligible youth."[15] Further, undocumented migrant activists represent themselves in ways that are distinct from portrayals that surface in the "migrant melodrama," which Ana Elena Puga argues is a growing subgenre in a variety of media, including documentary film.[16] Although the counter-documents produced by undocumented youth and migrant activists are influenced by these performances,

they largely reject these representations, since they are counter to the goals of their political activism. For example, prior to a civil disobedience action in North Carolina in 2011, Martin, an undocumented youth activist, was quoted in a press release stating that he chose neither "to present another emotional testimony," nor to "ask for sympathy," instead asserting, "We ask for justice. Mere justice!"[17] Martin's declaration functions as a disruption, since he refuses to take part in a performance of exceptionalism that was central to the strategies of DREAM activists. Further, Martin does not participate in what Puga calls "the political economy of suffering," which involves an "exchange of affect—migrant suffering for spectator empathy."[18] Martin's focus on demanding social justice can also be found in videos produced by activists in NIYA and NDLON, which recorded how these activists "stand up to power" against anti-immigrant laws.

These activists' circulation of videos of their actions through digital and social media is linked to their emphasis on the political mobilization of undocumented migrants. These actions were performances that, Taylor suggests, offer "a way to transmit knowledge by means of the body."[19] However, in the case of the activists' videos, knowledge is transmitted through virtual space, as opposed to "real" space. Migrant activists used the videos to frame their own depictions and to make public political claims.[20] I consider how these videos are distributed through digital media as counter-documents, and thus, they are meant to reach other undocumented migrants to be engaged by these politics and further mobilized. The circulation of these videos exemplifies how activists use digital and social media to publicize their political actions and to connect with other undocumented migrants.

In this chapter, I examine how undocumented youth and migrant activists use documentary media to disrupt how U.S. immigration laws and policies create disorder in their everyday lives. Similar to antideportation activists in Australia and Europe—as described by Peter Nyers—migrant activists in the United States also "burrow into the apparatuses and technologies of exclusion to disrupt the administrative routines, the day-to-day perceptions and constructions of normality," including the "normality" of deportation.[21] My arguments focus on the relationship

between the activists' production and circulation of counter-documents and their organizing against localized forms of policing, such as Arizona SB 1070 and copycat laws, as well as the localization of federal immigration policies and programs, including 287(g) and Secure Communities (S-COMM). As noted in the introduction, S-COMM involved local law enforcement in policing and reporting on migrants' immigration status, leading to huge increases in the detentions and deportations of undocumented migrants.[22] This activism combines social media counter-documents and place-based political actions across regional networks, in which undocumented youth and migrant activists adopt mobility both as a political strategy and a means of mobilization. Their assertion of migrant mobility thus counters detention—of being punitively fixed in place—which is narrated in their actions and given further capacity to circulate by the distribution of these actions in documentary form through digital and social media that radiate outward to audiences, including other undocumented migrants.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the political strategies of undocumented youth and migrant activists in the 2000s, leading up to when some broke their affiliations with mainstream immigrant rights groups and instead began to form their own organizations. Next, I examine the ways in which undocumented youth activists have used counter-documents as part of their broader political strategies. First, I analyze the work of NIYA activists who produced documentary videos of their protesting and participating in acts of civil disobedience, during which they risked arrest, detention, and deportation. The following section focuses on the video *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos: No Papers, No Fear Protest in Alabama*, filmed at a USCCR field briefing in Birmingham, Alabama. This video was produced as part of the No Papers, No Fear campaign, which was organized by NDLON and the Puente Movement. In addition to migrant activists' disruption of a USCCR field briefing and its representation in the form of a video, these activists distributed the video by embedding it within various online media platforms.[23] The tactics deployed by undocumented migrant activists include utilizing documentary media to record performances of their unauthorized acts, which they circulate as a means to mobilize other undocumented migrants. As

such I contend that these activists deliberately countered policing and attempts at state surveillance of undocumented migrants in the United States through strategies of circulation, mobility, and mobilization.

Undocumented Youth Activism in the Early Twenty-First Century

The political strategies regarding undocumented youth changed significantly from 2001, when the image of the "DREAMer" was developed by mainstream immigrant rights associations that attempted to get the DREAM Act passed. In creating the DREAMer, these organizations, Walter Nicholls argues, specified that "these youths were exceptionally good immigrants and particularly deserving of legalization."[24] By the end of the decade, some undocumented youth activists challenged the normative ways in which the DREAMer was initially conceptualized by mainstream immigrant rights organizations. Instead, they worked to create their own organizations and develop their own political strategies, which they believed could better represent their priorities. These strategies included "coming out" as undocumented, which prompted young, undocumented migrants to declare their immigration status and to speak on behalf of the issues that concern them.

Undocumented youth activists who founded the Immigrant Youth Justice League (IYJL) in Chicago organized the first National Coming Out of the Shadows Day, held on March 10, 2010, four years after the 2006 Immigrant Rights March.[25] (The campaign slogan of the event was "Undocumented and Unafraid.")[26] A number of undocumented youth leaders within the IYJL identified as queer, and they modeled their coming-out strategies on those of LGBT activists.[27] In Chicago, these actions included a march and press conference at Federal Plaza, during which seven young people announced their first names, stated that they were undocumented, and voiced their support for the DREAM Act. By coming out as undocumented, these young people signaled that they were not afraid of letting the public know about their immigration status.[28] Coming out as undocumented became an important strategy, as increasing numbers of undocumented youth activists participated in actions and protests, publicizing their activities through digital and social media.

In the years following 2010, when this strategy first emerged, announcing one's immigration status became central to the self-representation and visibility of undocumented youth activists. Undocumented youth also began to create videos in which they stated their names and shared their stories of how they found out that they were undocumented on activist websites and on YouTube. Producing videos allowed these youth activists to reach out to a broader audience.[29]

Undocumented youth also started to participate in acts of civil disobedience in 2010, which Amalia Pallares and Gabriela Marquez-Benitez note was a way that they put themselves "at the center of their own struggle."[30] In preparation for incorporating civil disobedience into their actions, undocumented youth activists spoke with immigration attorneys about possible risks—such as arrest, detention, and deportation—that could occur if they participated. In planning these actions activists developed response teams to support their participation in civil disobedience and to oversee campaigns and petition drives.[31] The first civil disobedience action involving undocumented youth took place on May 1, 2010, in Washington, D.C. One hundred people—including members of Congress—were arrested. Following that event, activists organized a civil disobedience action on May 17, 2010, the fifty-sixth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*. A group known as the DREAM Act 5 held a sit-in at the Arizona office of Senator John McCain, during which they called on him to support the DREAM Act. Four of the activists were arrested and sent to the Pima County jail. The next day, three of these activists were transferred to an ICE processing facility. After eight hours in the facility, they were released with no explanation. At the time *New York Times* reporter Maggie Jones noted that "while the Obama administration is deporting a record number of immigrants convicted of crimes, the Department of Homeland Security has so far spared undocumented youth who have been arrested during DREAM Act protests."[32] By publicizing their actions, these undocumented youth activists found that they could evade detention or deportation. Mohammad, an activist, explained at the time that "the more public we are with our stories, the safer we are."[33] Thus, coming out as undocumented could serve as a form of protection for undocumented youth who wanted to participate in direct actions.

Walter Nicholls argues that the DREAMer concept led to tensions within the immigrant rights movement by creating a category ("DREAM eligible") with "restrictive eligibility criteria," which contributed to the division between who is a "deserving" or an "undeserving" migrant. Nicholls also suggests that the concept of the "DREAMer" led to divisions over who should be developing strategies for the immigrant rights movement, and thus undocumented youth activists began "to question not only the strategy but also the representational hierarchies within the 'movement.'"[34] Undocumented youth activists formed organizations such as NIYA that focused on direct action and were also critical of "traditional DREAMer discourse."[35]

Further, some undocumented youth activists began to shift their focus from efforts toward legalization to the decriminalization of undocumented migrants, and to work with migrant-led organizations to protest state and federal immigration laws and policies. In 2010 undocumented youth collaborated with local and national migrant-led organizations to protest SB 1070, both before and after Governor Jan Brewer signed it into law. In 2010 NDLON helped coordinate the ¡Alto Arizona! (Stop Arizona!) campaign against SB 1070, with the assistance of NIYA and the Puente Movement, among other groups. This organizing involved more undocumented migrants in the struggle—specifically those who would be directly affected by SB 1070. The Puente Movement created community defense courses, so undocumented migrants could learn to defend themselves against ICE and the local police who collaborated to arrest, detain, and deport them.[36]

After the DREAM Act failed to pass the Senate in December 2010, more youth activists redirected their focus to broader issues that concerned all undocumented migrants. As activist Tania Unzueta Carrasco has argued, "This legislative failure forced us to more publicly challenge the nation-state and its definitions of citizenship and deportability."[37] In 2010 there was a significant increase in the number of undocumented migrants who had been arrested, detained, and deported due to the effects of federal immigration policies, such as 287(g) and S-COMM.[38] In making the shift, undocumented youth activists rejected the hierarchies within mainstream immigrant rights organizations that supported the

DREAM Act and represented undocumented young people as "innocent," while U.S. immigration law viewed their parents as criminals. In 2011 undocumented youth activists planned actions that drew attention to the effects of federal immigration programs—including S-COMM—and they collaborated with NDLON and other organizations to challenge anti-immigrant state laws—including SB 1070—as well as copycat laws in Alabama, Georgia, and elsewhere.

The undocumented youth and migrant activists' desire to organize against anti-immigrant state laws, as well as federal policies such as 287(g) and S-COMM, was a response to the localization of federal immigration policy. Monica Varsanyi and other scholars of immigration policy have written about the devolution of federal immigration powers to states, counties, and municipalities, which began with the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) in 1996.[39] Although some states, counties, and municipalities have developed policies that are inclusive of migrants, including sanctuary laws, allowing undocumented migrants to obtain drivers licenses or municipal ID cards, others have passed anti-immigrant laws that emphasize "attrition through enforcement," in addition to enforcing federal immigration laws by participating in the 287(g) program and S-COMM. In response, undocumented youth and migrant activists challenged both local immigration policies and local law's enforcement of federal immigration programs.

Walter Nicholls has pointed out that the localization of federal immigration policy contributed to the decentralized structure of the undocumented youth movement and some parts of the migrant rights movement. Unlike mainstream immigration rights organizations, which function through a centralized "top-down" structure, these undocumented youth and migrant activists developed a decentralized infrastructure. As Nicholls argues, the migrants' rights movement "has drawn resources up and out from the grassroots . . . and circulated these resources horizontally to other DREAMers operating at local, statewide, and national scales."[40] This strategy involves networks in which undocumented youth activists located in states with more support for migrant rights organize with activists in states with anti-immigrant laws—including Arizona, Alabama, and Georgia—as well as in counties with 287(g) agreements. In the spring

of 2011, for example, activists involved in IYJL traveled from Chicago to Georgia to join local activists to protest against SB 1070 copycat law HB 87: the Illegal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Act. On June 28, 2011, these activists collaborated with local groups to stage a civil disobedience action at the state capitol.[41] The action was streamed on-line, and supporters watched from across the country. Although undocumented youth involved in civil disobedience risked being arrested, detained, and deported, they still chose to participate.[42] These activists believed that making their political action visible would inspire other undocumented migrants to act.

This action at the Georgia state capitol reflects some major shifts in the undocumented youth movement. Although the DREAM Act was developed by politicians and nonprofit organizations and sometimes used in efforts to get comprehensive immigration reform passed, more undocumented youth activists began to organize with other undocumented migrants in order to challenge federal and state anti-immigration policies.[43] The "targeted audiences" for the activists' campaigns shifted as well, from politicians who could put through comprehensive immigration reform to other undocumented migrants with whom the youth could organize.

Undocumented Activists, Documentary Media, and the Politics of Visibility

Even before youth activists were leading their own organizations, they included digital media technologies as part of their political mobilizing. Specifically, Hinda Seif contends that "digital media allows [undocumented students] to network nationally and internationally and express themselves with less peril."[44] Undocumented youth activists also trained each other in media and communication skills. Sasha Costanza-Chock explains that undocumented youth activists "engage in their own forms of 'transmedia mobilization,' by providing multiple entry points to a larger narrative that extends across platforms into face-to-face space and encourages participation."[45] "Transmedia mobilization" thus involves undocumented youth activists communicating through digital and social media, so they can organize and strategize.[46]

In this section, I examine the counter-documents that undocumented youth activists produced as part of their broader political strategies. These counter-documents were created by activists affiliated with NIYA, which was formed in 2011 by undocumented youth activists interested in deploying more confrontational tactics. NIYA members filmed themselves prior to their protests, partly because by participating in civil disobedience they risked not only arrest, but also detention and deportation. Their videos, which included personal narratives, could be used as part of antideportation campaigns. The first examples that I analyze include undocumented youth videotaping themselves before they were arrested for participation in a civil disobedience action in North Carolina. These activists produced the videos as a means of protection, and to contest the limits of the Obama administration's policy of prosecutorial discretion.[47] The second example is a video recorded on a cell phone by an undocumented youth activist as he was being arrested by Border Patrol agents in Alabama during his attempt to infiltrate an immigration detention center. His video, which was streamed live on the Internet, documented how state agents were failing to exercise prosecutorial discretion when they encountered undocumented youth. These videos were uploaded onto activist websites—in addition to appearing on YouTube and blogs—to publicize these actions and arrests in order to mobilize other undocumented youth and as part of campaigns to release these activists. In these videos activists used documentary media as a form of protection to counter policing and attempts at the state's surveillance of undocumented migrants. As counter-documents, these videos portray activists and actions in ways that are deliberately oppositional.

In September 2011, to prepare for a protest of the discriminatory policies toward undocumented students at Central Piedmont Community College, NIYA activists Marco and Mohammad traveled to Charlotte, North Carolina, to coordinate the action with Viridiana, the cofounder of the North Carolina Dream Team. The event took place in Charlotte because the Democratic National Convention would meet there in 2012, and the protest was directed toward the Obama administration and the Democratic leadership in Congress. Although North Carolina did not have an SB 1070 copycat law in place, since Charlotte was located in a

287(g) county, undocumented youth risked arrest, detention, and deportation. Assuming that they would be arrested, undocumented activists in North Carolina made video recordings of themselves before the civil disobedience action, which took place on September 6, 2011.[48]

By this time, undocumented youth activists had learned that they could lessen their chances of being detained or deported by publicly declaring their immigration status and publicizing their actions. During the protest in North Carolina, a group of activists declared that they were undocumented; they spoke about discriminatory policies toward undocumented students at Central Piedmont Community College; and they explained the effects of the federal government's programs—such as S-COMM and 287(g)—on undocumented migrants. Following the rally, activists staged a civil disobedience action at an intersection near the college. Ten activists were arrested.[49] While these activists were in jail, ICE put holds on them, thus initiating their transfer to an immigration detention center in Georgia. In the end, however, not one of the undocumented youth was detained. The activists attributed this decision to the "bad publicity" it would generate for the Obama administration if their detention was reported in the media.[50]

This action by undocumented youth activists tested the Obama administration's announcement on August 18, 2011, that ICE was ignoring "low priority" cases to focus on deporting undocumented migrants convicted of serious crimes.[51] Young, undocumented migrants, many of whom came to the United States as children, appeared to be among those who would benefit from this change. Some politicians and immigrant rights activists applauded this announcement, but these were not the changes that many undocumented youth and migrant activists had been advocating for—such as stopping any action against undocumented migrants, including those *not* currently facing deportation. Nor did President Barack Obama's announcement have any effect on federal policies and programs, such as 287(g) or S-COMM, by which ICE agents continued to arrest, detain, and deport undocumented migrants. Instead of changing immigration laws, the Obama administration attempted to make the current laws less harsh through prosecutorial discretion, which delays the deportations of undocumented migrants but does not grant

them permanent residency status.[52] The administration was trying to deflect criticism by attempting to make immigration laws more palatable.

Discretion is a historically fraught concept, which is based on interpretation and has allowed for decisions rooted in institutional racism.[53] The Obama administration's announcement about prosecutorial discretion needs to be situated within the historical context of U.S. immigration law. In her book *Impossible Subjects,* Mae Ngai writes about the use of administrative discretion in the 1930s, which was defined as "discretionary relief from deportation in meritorious cases." She argues that discretion "gave rise to an oppositional political and legal discourse, which imagined 'deserving' and 'undeserving' illegal migrants and, 'just' and 'unjust' deportations."[54] She notes that "unjust" deportations were mostly applied to European migrants and only occasionally to Mexican ones. In the current context, discretion was held up as a positive change, one that was given to those who truly "deserve" it. For undocumented migrants in removal proceedings, discretion also reinscribed the authority of the state to evaluate migrants on an individual basis. Discretion is thus an administrative technology of individuated subjection, which is also based on the exclusion of those who are deemed to be "undeserving."

NIYA activists wrote a press release in advance of their action in North Carolina, in which they critiqued the limits of prosecutorial discretion, arguing that the Obama administration was using it to pacify undocumented youth. As mentioned earlier, Martin, one of the activists involved in the action, issued a statement as part of the press release in which he defied the authority of the state to evaluate individuals on a case-by-case basis by saying that he would not "present another emotional testimony" nor "ask for sympathy."[55] In this context Martin's statement functions as a form of disruption as he resists abiding by these same limits set forth by the Obama administration in cases of discretion. In their press release, NIYA activists contest how discretion involves working within the constraints of the current political context, to restrict or partially undo current immigration laws. Prosecutorial discretion does not account for the shifting ground of immigration policies, which can change with a new administration. These activists questioned the force of discretion within the broader context of punitive U.S. immigration policies.

The press release emerged out of what Tania Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif describe as the "context of shifting deportation and 'prosecutorial discretion' policies and enforcement measures affecting categories of who is deemed deportable and who is not."[56] It was also influenced by changes in strategies put forward by NIYA and undocumented youth activists. Undocumented youth whom ICE had placed in deportation proceedings had been advised by activists involved in the Education Not Deportation (END) campaign to create videos to both draw in and mobilize a broader public to pressure ICE to stop their deportation.[57] Information about the production of videos was included in *Education Not Deportation: A Guide for Undocumented Youth in Removal Proceedings*, a publication developed by NIYA, the Asian Law Caucus, Educators for Fair Consideration, and DreamActivist.org. Because the governmental joint task force overseeing potential removal cases considered the migrant's pursuit of education in the United States, circumstances of arrival in the country, and length of stay, an undocumented youth's story was important to his or her case. Consequently, the *END Guide* encouraged undocumented youth to tell their personal stories, which included their names, ages, places of residence, educational histories, involvement in community activities, and immigration statuses.[58]

In addition to helping undocumented youth create narratives that would "inspire others to act," the *END Guide* also directed these young people to represent themselves in specific ways. The authors of the *END Guide* advised those in removal proceedings to mobilize feelings of identification to appeal to a broad audience. Undocumented youth were told to speak about their personal lives and to include photographs of themselves within the videos, which would encourage viewers to empathize with them. As the *END Guide* notes, "By using pictures you intend to show the public that you are just like them."[59] In addition to "making . . . personal connection[s]," the authors of the *END Guide* also suggested that these individuals *perform* their stories.[60] Although the instructions for the video component appear simple—including the writing and recording of a public narrative—-the guide's authors advise that their stories should appear "natural," and thus, individuals should avoid reading their narratives to the camera. This approach was intended to produce a

"real" aesthetic, although the appearance of "naturalness" involves a carefully rehearsed performance.

The approaches recommended by the *END Guide* have their limitations. For example, in order to convince ICE to use discretion, the *END Guide* suggests that undocumented youth make their narratives "compelling" and "worthy of discretion." There were repercussions to this strategy, as noted by activist Tania Unzueta Carrasco, who argues that while activists attempted to "challenge the label of 'criminality' as a qualifier for deportability, we were doing so by emphasizing other hegemonic characteristics."[61] Directing undocumented youth to highlight their "worthiness" implicitly diminishes that of others who have not attained this "success." Thus, the END videos involve crafting a kind of performance of exceptionalism. This performance reaffirms the state's prerogative to determine worthiness, and it supports the presumption that most undocumented migrants are unworthy of discretion. This public narrative is quite different from the counter-documents produced by undocumented youth, which serve as a form of disruption.

The END campaign's focus on the videos created by undocumented youth to prevent their deportation appealed for inclusion within the nation, which differed from the counter-documents produced by activists in North Carolina. These activists drew upon the aesthetic elements of these videos, while also challenging their approach.[62] Similar to the videos produced for the END campaign, the activists in North Carolina included first-person narratives in their videos, during which undocumented youth speak directly to the camera. Each video features a single person, closely cropped, and shot in a simple, straightforward way. Although the aesthetics of these videos are similar, the activists in North Carolina aimed to repurpose these first-person, conventional forms to challenge the terms of discretion.

Some of these distinctions in the approach to these videos are related to their different purposes and the specific audiences to whom they were addressed. Undocumented youth were in deportation proceedings when they created their videos based on the *END Guide*, whereas the activists in North Carolina produced their videos ahead of their direct action. Although the *END Guide* suggested that videos be directed to John Morton, director of DHS/ICE—as well as to the politicians from

the individual's state and district—those produced by the activists in North Carolina were addressed to at least three different audiences: government agents reviewing cases for discretion, their family members, and other undocumented youth.

The distinction between using a personal narrative as a case for inclusion in the nation-state and as a means of more fundamentally challenging the terms of political inclusion is evident in the videos produced by undocumented youth activists in North Carolina. Some activists recorded these videos as a precaution, in case they were put in deportation proceedings.[63] These videos included information such as the activist's name, age, educational history, and how he or she came to the United States. Although these undocumented youth activists included information about themselves in their videos that was conventionally deployed as support for discretion, they often represented themselves in ways that failed to conform to normative characteristics, such as how the DREAMer had been scripted by mainstream immigrant rights organizations.[64]

The videos made by activists prior to their arrests, however, served other purposes, too. These videos were produced in order to mobilize other undocumented youth to become involved in the struggle against restrictive anti-immigrant laws. As opposed to gaining the support of politicians and leaving the repressive structure of immigration laws in place, in their videos these activists directly challenged these laws by referring to the effects of racism and discrimination against people of color in the United States, which led to racial profiling of Latina/o migrants, while referencing their own privilege, especially in relation to their parents. The aesthetics of the videos produced by the END campaign and those created by activists in North Carolina are similar, conveying direct address and emphasizing a lack of televisual mediation. However, the former is an appeal to the state on its own terms, while the latter challenges these terms as a counter-document.

In their videos, undocumented youth challenge how U.S. immigration law criminalizes undocumented migrants—including their parents—while also critiquing the limits of prosecutorial discretion. The videos produced by the activists in North Carolina presented a counter-narrative to how the U.S. state deemed their parents—as undocumented migrants—

to be deportable. By getting arrested, these activists were testing the Obama administration's policies, as well as contesting how these policies made some groups eligible for discretion, but not others. Unlike the videos featured in the *END Guide*, these activists did not create "compelling" personal narratives to represent themselves as "worthy of discretion." Instead, their videos challenged how politicians and state agents treated undocumented migrants. For example, Angelica stated in her video that she was tired of all the politicians' lies and the ways that local officials treated undocumented migrants as criminals.[65] Other activists' videos portrayed how undocumented youth challenged U.S. immigration policy on behalf of their parents. In Santiago's video, he noted that he was "standing up to power," with the hope that his parents could also do so someday, without the risk of deportation.[66] As opposed to referring to their parents' actions as "illegal" (due to the way in which they crossed the U.S.–Mexico boundary), they stated that their parents were brave to travel to the United States to improve their family's lives. Instead of criminalizing their parents, these activists chided politicians for failing to act on behalf of undocumented migrants.[67]

Rather than appealing to the U.S. nation-state for inclusion, the videos produced by undocumented youth were a means to motivate other young migrants to join their cause. In their videos, the activists represented themselves as models for other undocumented youth to effect real political change. For example, Santiago stated that undocumented youth should not "assimilate to a system that oppresses us and try to belong to that system," declaring that "we need to challenge that system and create a real movement, a movement where we are fighting for human rights for all."[68] Martin also spoke directly to undocumented youth, encouraging them to mobilize on their own behalf. Specifically he stated that, "It's time to step up and do something—we will no longer be placed on hold." He also asserted, "Doing nothing—waiting to get deported is a horrible idea. You have to do something about what's going on. No one is going to take care of our issues—we have to take responsibility now to do something about this injustice. So get involved—do something now—there's no time to wait."[69] In creating these counter-documents, undocumented youth activists challenge how some migrants were not

considered to be "deserving" of discretion. They also encourage undocumented youth to become active in protesting anti-immigrant laws.

Moreover, these videos convey a specific, strategic visibility. After the videos were produced, they were uploaded onto activist websites, as well as onto social networking sites such as Facebook, YouTube, and blogs.[70] Numerous scholars have argued that digital and social media have shaped how social movements have publicized their campaigns in recent years. Similar to the human rights activists whom Meg McLagan writes about, undocumented youth activists have also produced "a new kind of media activism," which "not only makes sophisticated and innovative use of techniques of celebrity and publicity through a wide range of forms . . . but that also involves the creation of new organizational structures that provide a kind of scaffolding for the production and distribution of these media."[71] Activists' distribution of these counter-documents does a certain kind of political work. In addition to challenging hierarchies established by the U.S. state and reaffirmed by mainstream immigrant rights groups, the activists' circulation of their videos through social media are also a means to protect and mobilize other undocumented migrants.

In the context of undocumented youth activists' online presence, their websites, such as one developed by the undocumented-led online organization DreamActivist.org, function as "portals into activism."[72] Following the arrest of these undocumented youth activists in North Carolina, DreamActivist.org circulated a petition to President Obama and Janet Napolitano, the secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, to end 287(g) and S-COMM. The authors of this petition note the contradiction between Obama's August 2011 announcement on discretion and the fact that the activists arrested were "put on the fast track to immigration detention."[73] The actions of these undocumented activists highlighted federal laws and policies that continue to place undocumented migrants in detention and deportation proceedings. Their videos also addressed a core constituency of supporters and claimed a digital space for challenging U.S. immigration policy.

The protest by the North Carolina Dream Team was a direct challenge to the Obama administration's announcement about prosecutorial discretion, since their arrests and near placement in deportation proceedings

exposed the inconsistencies in state agents' use of discretion. That ICE started the process of placing activists into detention centers following the White House's announcement demonstrates the weakness of the concept of "discretion." The activists were arrested for "civil" disobedience, but ICE agents attempted to place them into deportation proceedings, which contradicted the Obama administration's announcement that DHS/ICE would prioritize penalizing those who had committed criminal—rather than civil—violations. Although a joint task force between the DHS and the Department of Justice (DOJ) was gearing up to review all three hundred thousand cases in deportation proceedings, ICE agents continued to arrest, detain, and deport undocumented migrants for civil violations.

In their videos, youth activists in North Carolina represented themselves as disruptive, and refused to abide by the constraints of discretion. While undocumented youth had focused on lobbying politicians to support the DREAM Act from the early 2000s through 2010, in these videos activists also direct themselves toward other undocumented youth in order to enlist them to act on behalf of all undocumented migrants. Although the END campaign advised activists to represent themselves within the terms of discretion, many in these videos refused to abide by those limitations. Through their public actions and their videos, these activists mobilized other undocumented migrants to challenge punitive U.S. immigration laws and policies—such as 287(g) and S-COMM—that have contributed to the increased number of migrants who have been detained in or deported from the United States.

Soon after the action in North Carolina, NIYA activists escalated their political strategies beyond acts of civil disobedience. The activists arrested in North Carolina were not transferred to an immigrant detention center, but most undocumented migrants with ICE holds who were in the jail at that time were brought to the Stewart Detention Center in Georgia. By conversing with "low priority" undocumented migrants in the jail, NIYA activists developed a new strategy to infiltrate immigration detention centers to inform undocumented migrants of their rights, as well as to gather information to help release those detained.[74] The production of counter-documents was central to this strategy. These activists wanted

to demonstrate that when the media was not there, "low priority" undocumented migrants were being arrested, put in detention centers, and then in deportation proceedings. The activists focused on the inconsistencies in the implementation of the guidelines for discretion. This type of action could only be performed by undocumented migrants. As Marco wrote, "We the undocumented . . . have become in effect perfect soldiers to tackle the architects and structures of our detention."[75] Marco was noting that undocumented migrants could get into detention centers in efforts to release those who were detained, and beyond that, Mohammad stated that NIYA members should also use their undocumented status to "flip the power of those who think they are in charge."[76] Thus, although government agents believed they had the upper hand, Mohammad's comment demonstrated that the activists could use their undocumented status to infiltrate detention centers in order to illustrate the inconsistencies between who was being detained and deported and how this information was being "officially" reported by the Obama administration.[77]

The first activists to document the inconsistencies in the enforcement of the guidelines for discretion were Jonathan and Isaac, two NIYA-affiliated activists from Southern California. Jonathan and Isaac were arrested in November 2011 at a Border Patrol office in Mobile, Alabama, and were detained at the South Louisiana Correctional Center in Basile, Louisiana. At the time, Jonathan and Isaac were members of the San Gabriel Dream Team who traveled from Southern California to Alabama to join activists to protest HB 56: the Beason-Hammon Alabama Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act. Activists organized rallies and actions in Montgomery, Alabama, to protest HB 56, an SB 1070 copycat law based on "attrition through enforcement," which criminalizes undocumented migrants, prompting many to leave the state. What differentiated the actions in Alabama from those previously organized by undocumented youth activists was that it was the first time that they engaged in civil disobedience along with their parents or with activists of their parents' generation.[78] All the undocumented migrant activists who were involved in civil disobedience in Alabama were arrested. Due to the publicity surrounding these actions, everyone—including the adults—was released, avoiding detention centers or deportation proceedings.

The activists' strategy to infiltrate immigration detention centers was part of a broader campaign to highlight how federal and state agents were not consistently abiding by the terms of discretion as they continued to arrest, detain, and deport undocumented migrants who were considered "low priority." The jail-to-detention-center pipeline was enabled by ICE's S-COMM program, which connected local police to federal immigration authorities through the use of integrated databases that used biometric technologies—including fingerprinting—to determine the immigration status of the individuals who were arrested.[79] The S-COMM program provided the infrastructure for taking an undocumented migrant who had committed a minor crime—such as a traffic violation—to a detention center or to be put in deportation proceedings. As part of the campaign against the S-COMM program, undocumented youth activists held civil disobedience actions at ICE offices nationwide. For example, Jonathan and Isaac participated in a civil disobedience action against ICE in Los Angeles in October 2011, during which young activists blocked a van full of undocumented migrants who were about to get deported.[80] These undocumented youth activists also took part in an act of civil disobedience at one of the ICE offices, located next to the immigration detention center. These actions were recorded by undocumented youth activists, including the sit-in at the ICE office, which was filmed on the camera of a cell phone and circulated on activist websites, YouTube, and blogs.[81] By holding a civil disobedience action in front of a van of undocumented migrants who were about to be deported and in the middle of an ICE office, undocumented youth activists attempted to disrupt the "processing" of undocumented migrants by the ICE "machine."[82] These actions included recording the activities of government agents, which were largely unseen by the broader public, specifically the ways in which ICE detains undocumented migrants and then systematically deports them. The activists' use of documentary media functioned as a tactical weapon.

Jonathan and Isaac engaged in counter-surveillance, as they attempted to infiltrate an immigration detention center. To document what federal agencies were doing behind closed doors—making visible what the state wanted to keep invisible—Jonathan and Isaac performed as "ordinary"

undocumented migrants, so that their actions did not receive the attention of the news media. Jonathan and Isaac described this infiltration as a "silent action," in which they declared their immigration status before federal immigration agents without the presence of the media.[83] The strategies of these activists—including the "silent action"—developed in response to the Obama administration's predilection for "silent raids" and its more veiled approach to detention and deportation, which stands in contrast to the spectacle associated with ICE workplace raids during the Bush administration.

During their action, Jonathan was the first to enter the office, and he used the video camera on his cell phone to live stream his interaction with the Border Patrol.[84] He put his cell phone in a jacket pocket with the camera lens directed at the Border Patrol personnel. In watching the video on a live stream, the viewers see the Border Patrol staff, but they only hear Jonathan. After entering the Border Patrol office, Jonathan speaks to a receptionist, acting as if he is lost. The camera is shaky, and the aesthetics resemble that of cinema verité, making it appear similar to a journalistic exposé. Later, when Jonathan interacts with the Border Patrol agents, he breaks character and starts to question what they are doing. When the agents explain they are "enforcing immigration law," Jonathan accuses them of deporting people, noting as well that he is "undocumented," a term they do not understand. (Jonathan then translates the term, stating that he is "illegal.") Jonathan continues to film the Border Patrol agents as they ask him questions regarding his entry into the United States. Within a short time after his arrival at the Border Patrol office, the agents decided that Jonathan—considered "low priority" by the terms of prosecutorial discretion—would be moved to an immigration detention center. The documentary video serves as evidence that exposes how state agents failed to follow the guidelines for discretion.

Jonathan's cell phone camera documented what happens when there is not publicity around the case of a "low priority" undocumented migrant. Consequently, he provided evidence that undocumented migrants—like himself—who met the terms of discretion were being detained. Jonathan used his cell phone camera as part of a strategy of counter-surveillance, as, in his words, "we knew people like us were being deported and we

wanted to create a scenario where that could be seen in the public sphere."[85] The video exposes that state agents were not abiding by ICE's policy regarding prosecutorial discretion in their "processing" of undocumented migrants, and it documents this *not-so-silent-action*, as Jonathan's words were heard during the live stream. His interaction with Border Patrol agents was posted on YouTube, under the title *Undocumented Youth vs. Border Patrol Round 1—Mobile, Alabama*, while Jonathan and Isaac were still being held at the South Louisiana Correctional Center (Figure 26).[86] This action involved counter-surveillance and also created a counter-narrative to the story provided by the Obama administration: that state agents were exercising prosecutorial discretion.[87] The video served as a counter-document, as a means to circulate Jonathan's interaction with state agents, revealing the limits of the Obama administration's policies around discretion, and to demonstrate the ways in which he and Isaac directly challenged the work of the Border Patrol, DHS, ICE, and the Obama administration.

One of the main strategies of undocumented youth activists at this time was to publicize their actions through digital and social media, to bring attention to how U.S. immigration policies affect undocumented

Figure 26. This still is from the video *Undocumented Youth vs. Border Patrol Round 1—Mobile, Alabama,* which was shot by Jonathan while he was being questioned in a Border Patrol office in Mobile, Alabama, in November 2011.

migrants, which also serves as a form of protection against their detention and deportation. These strategies, which I refer to as a form of counter-visibility, are a response to the Obama administration's emphasis on minimizing publicity around its policing of undocumented youth migrants. However, Jonathan's video also reveals the limitations in representing state agents from the perspective of undocumented migrants. After a few minutes of filming the Border Patrol with a cell phone camera, the Border Patrol agents arrested Jonathan, limiting his ability to document what they were doing after their initial interaction.

While detained in the South Louisiana Correctional Center, Jonathan and Isaac collected information from migrants who should have been "low priority," yet had been placed into deportation proceedings.[88] They also heard stories about the personal risks that migrants—including some who should have qualified for asylum—confronted on their journey to the United States.[89] After ten days in the South Louisiana Correctional Center, ICE agents discovered that Jonathan and Barrera were activists, and they were released.[90] On the day they left the detention center, Mohammad circulated a press release about the activists' infiltration, which he related to the work of undocumented youth activists who wanted to challenge anti-immigrant state laws.[91] NIYA activists engaged in this work by participating in the No Papers, No Fear Ride for Justice.

I now turn to the collaboration between undocumented youth and migrant rights activists on the No Papers, No Fear Ride for Justice, organized by NDLON. The tour took place in the summer of 2012, to mobilize undocumented migrants, particularly in states with anti-immigrant laws and in counties with 287(g) agreements. This campaign built on NDLON's previous efforts working with migrant rights activists in states with anti-immigrant laws, such as Arizona, Georgia, and Alabama.[92] One goal of the No Papers, No Fear campaign was to draw on the strategies of undocumented youth activists, including their organization of direct actions against ICE, which they publicized through digital and social media. Undocumented youth activists coordinated the No Papers, No Fear media campaign, which involved publicizing these direct actions.[93] Migrant rights activists involved in NDLON and the Puente Movement

viewed these tactics as successful, and consequently, they employed some of the same strategies as part of the No Papers, No Fear tour.

Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos: No Papers, No Fear Protest in Alabama

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, activists in NDLON, the Puente Movement, and other migrant-led organizations coordinated the No Papers, No Fear Ride for Justice in the summer of 2012. This tour included a multigenerational group of almost forty activists, ranging from nineteen to sixty-five years old, traveling on a bus (called the "undocubus"), through eleven states from Arizona to North Carolina.[94] The participants were protesting the spread of SB 1070 copycat laws, U.S. immigration laws and policies, and the presence of the Obama administration at the Democratic National Convention, held in Charlotte, North Carolina, in September 2012. The campaign was named No Papers, No Fear to challenge state laws like SB 1070, Alabama's HB 56, and Georgia's HB 87, which allowed police to ask for the immigration papers of anyone whom they believe is undocumented. According to the organizers, the campaign was intended to "bring national attention to the consequences of this country's immigration policy through carefully planned acts of civil disobedience, publicized through social media."[95] This campaign drew upon initiatives from the Turning the Tide summit, held in New Orleans in 2010, which emphasized what activists call a "trans-local" approach to organizing.[96] Activists focused on counties with 287(g) agreements and states with SB 1070 copycat laws. This trans-local approach challenged mainstream immigrant organizations that focused on national organizing in support of the DREAM Act and comprehensive immigration reform.

The No Papers, No Fear campaign continued the work of undocumented migrant activists in Arizona, Alabama, and Georgia, all of whom planned protests involving civil disobedience. Some of these activists had created *comités populares* (people's committees) to organize against anti-immigrant state laws, while emphasizing the cooperation between local law enforcement and federal immigration officials in detaining and deporting undocumented migrants.[97] They also highlighted the

consequences of anti-immigrant state laws by organizing protests and workshops to address issues faced by undocumented migrants, such as how to defend themselves in deportation proceedings.[98] In protesting the effects of state and federal immigration policies on their communities, these activists were disruptive and represented themselves in ways that were oppositional.

The No Papers, No Fear campaign emphasized mobility and mobilization through the Ride for Justice, as well as by the circulation of videos of their actions, which were also forms of publicity and visibility. The campaign had its own volunteer media crew comprised of individuals who documented these actions through photography and video.[99] While these media makers filmed many actions, in the remainder of the chapter I will concentrate on two videos that contain highlights of an action at a U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) field briefing in Birmingham, Alabama, that focused on the effects of anti-immigration state laws after the *Arizona v. U.S.* decision.[100] These videos are titled *Ganando el derecho de hablar por nosotros mismos: Winning the Right to Speak for Ourselves* and *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos: No Papers, No Fear Protest in Alabama*. Both were produced by media makers and migrant activists—including Jorge and filmmaker Barni Axmed Qaasim—on the "undocubus."[101]

When this action at the USCCR field briefing took place in August 2012, Alabama's anti-immigrant law (HB 56) was considered to be the "toughest in the nation."[102] As mentioned earlier, HB 56 was based on Arizona's SB 1070, which promotes "attrition through enforcement." Prior to the briefing, the members of the USCCR, described as an "independent, bipartisan agency charged with monitoring federal civil rights enforcement," determined who would speak.[103] Consequently, individuals who were not on the agenda were not allowed to share their perspectives with members of the commission.[104] Those who *were* on the agenda included politicians, educators, and directors of organizations, including the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and the Center for Immigration Studies. Although the USCCR invited speakers from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), not a single individual directly affected by these laws was included on

the agenda. This absence reflects how undocumented migrants are treated as permanently criminalized people in the United States and, as Lisa Marie Cacho argues, as members of groups who are "subjected to laws but refused the legal means to contest those laws . . . [and] denied both the political legitimacy and moral credibility necessary to question them."[105] Although undocumented migrants were not invited to speak, a group of activists from the No Papers, No Fear tour interrupted the briefing, sharing how they had been negatively affected by anti-immigrant laws.

Previous to their interruption of the USCCR briefing, activists with the No Papers, No Fear campaign held a protest outside the building that included a performance by a group of migrant activists. In the tradition of political street theater, these activists drove up in a white van and parked in front of the building. About ten activists stepped out of the van wearing prisoners' uniforms that were made of black garbage bags with white stripes spray-painted on them. As they shouted "¿Quién tiene el poder? ¡Hacemos! Sin papeles, sin miedo" (Who has the power? We do! No papers, no fear), they ripped off their prison garb to reveal campaign T-shirts underneath that featured an image of a butterfly. They also threw handcuffs onto the ground and draped a banner for the No Papers, No Fear campaign over the van. The activists then opened a cardboard box filled with live butterflies, which they set free. Following this part of the action these activists marched into the building where the USCCR briefing was taking place while shouting "No papers, no fear. Dignity is standing here."

Once inside the building, four of the activists challenged the dictates of whom the USCCR considered acceptable speakers. This action involved what artist and activist Rozalinda Borcilă refers to as "interventionist tactics," which are used as a means to "disrupt . . . spaces where social conflict was rendered invisible."[106] As noncitizens who were essentially barred from speaking, each activist had "to interrupt the dominant political (speaking) order not just to be heard but to be recognized as a speaking being as such."[107] This group chose to address the effects of these anti-immigrant laws on undocumented migrants during the testimony of Kris Kobach, the Kansas secretary of state, and the

so-called legal mind behind SB 1070.[108] Through their testimonies and presence at the field briefings, these activists contributed to a discussion that initially depended on their absence. Their action and the video they produced are examples of the activists' strategies of disruption, counter-visibility, and counter-documentation.

The activists who interrupted the briefing include Gerardo and Mari Cruz from the Puente Movement in Arizona, Juan José from Teatro Jornalero sin Fronteras (Day Laborer Theater without Borders) in Los Angeles, and María H. from Mujeres Unidas y Activas in San Francisco. All of them stood up to speak individually, holding signs indicating that they were "undocumented."[109] As part of this action, the activists emphasized their undocumented status—by both their signs and their statements. This information brought added significance to their physical presence at the briefing, drawing attention to the risks they faced to speak out against these laws.

Although the USCCR tried to make the perspectives of undocumented migrants absent in the briefing, these activists emphasized their presence in many ways, including speaking out against these anti-immigrant state laws. Jackson Miller notes that within the context of protests, including those by undocumented migrants, "presence is created through embodied practices," including the "capacity to establish control of some space and maintain the attention of some audience."[110] The activists established their presence not only by physically being there, but also by what they said and how they said it, and by their signs and the organized actions of the group. Following Gerardo who spoke first, Mari Cruz (who identified herself as María) stood up and started shouting in Spanish:

> My name is María [last name] y vengo de Phoenix, Arizona. Han violado nuestros derechos como seres humanos. Aquí estoy! Aquí estoy levantando la voz por mi comunidad, por mis hijos, por todas las familias que han sido separadas. Aquí estoy!! Y quiero . . . presentar esto para que lo vea! Para que vea que soy una madre! Una madre responsable! No soy una . . . no soy una criminal! No soy! No soy criminal! Aquí estoy! Estoy defendiendo mis derechos!

> [My name is María {last name} and I am from Phoenix. They have violated my human rights. Here I am! I am here to lift up my voice on behalf of my community, my children, and all those families that have been separated. I am here! And I would like . . . to present this so that you can see it! To see that I am a mother, a responsible mother! I am not . . . I am not a criminal! I'm not! I am not a criminal! I am here to defend my rights!]

María H. also stood up, moved toward the aisle, and shouted angrily in Spanish (Figure 27):

> Ya basta! Bola de corruptos! Mi nombre es María [last name]. Soy madre de familia. He recibido mucha discriminación. Soy María [last name]. Indocumentada y sin miedo! No tengo miedo! Aquí estoy! Deben respetar nuestros derechos! Son derechos civiles! Esto es una basura! Allí se la dejo, quédense con ella. No saben respetar el dolor humano. A mis hijos le han quitado la troca dos veces! Tienen que pagar dos mil dólares . . . para sacar aquel vehículo! Hace un año, perdimos nuestra casa. No hay derechos humanos!
>
> [Enough! You are all corrupt. My name is María {last name}. I am the mother of the family. I am facing powerful discrimination. I am María {last name}. I am undocumented and unafraid. I do not have fear. Here I am! You are supposed to respect my civil rights! They are civil rights! This paper (commission briefing) is trash. I will leave it here! You can keep it. You don't know how to respect human suffering. They have taken the truck from my sons, twice. They have to pay $2,000 . . . to get this vehicle out. One year ago, we lost our house. There are no human rights.][111]

By declaring "Aquí estoy" (Here I am), these women claimed their presence during the hearings, at which anti-immigrant state laws were discussed without the input from people affected by them. The statement "Aquí estoy" is reminiscent of "Aquí estamos" (Here we are), part of the migrants' chants during the marches in spring 2006. Nicholas De

Figure 27. Still from a video *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos*, which was filmed by Barni Axmed Qaasim during a U.S. Commission on Civil Rights briefing in Birmingham, Alabama. This action was part of the No Papers, No Fear: Ride for Justice Tour in August 2012.

Genova suggests that this statement "affirmed the theme of presence—the profound and extricable presence of migrants, and especially that of the undocumented, within the U.S. social formation and within the space of the state."[112] In enacting what Anne McNevin characterizes as a "politics of presence—an embodied taking-up of public space,"[113] these activists could "constitute themselves as political agents under new terms, taking different positions in the social space than those in which they were previously positioned," as Engin Isin suggests.[114]

In testifying that immigration laws and policies—such as SB 1070 and the ICE raids—had violated their civil and human rights, these women emphasized their roles in their families and communities. Both Mari Cruz's and María H.'s affect could be characterized primarily by anger, as they shouted loudly at Kobach and at the USCCR staff in Spanish. Their statements—in which they spoke on behalf of family and community members—exemplify how, as Amalia Pallares argues, narratives of family "serve as a site of collective identity" within migrant activism.[115] As Lisa Marie Cacho notes, however, migrant activists "unintentionally reify other legally vulnerable, legally constructed categories," such as

when they counter-pose their familial roles—that is, mothers—against criminality, as if these two identities were incompatible.[116] Further, Ana Elena Puga analyzes the figure of the undocumented migrant as "embedded in a network of roles or 'cast' in the language of theater," which can be "recast" when roles become contested.[117] She notes that, while "characterizations, plot, and spectacle can sometimes win rights," they can also "lead to artificial resolutions about who belongs and who does not belong in the borders of the nation-state."[118]

In addition to their disruptions, these activists performed unauthorized acts that challenged the format of the USCCR briefing. Since there was no space made for undocumented migrants to speak at the briefing, security guards escorted these activists out of the room following their action. As Peter Nyers suggests, "Not surprisingly, representatives of the sovereign order display a striking anxiety whenever the abject foreigner takes on the status of a political activist engaged in acts of self-determination (e.g., stopping their deportation)" as "the dominant order of speaking beings cannot tolerate the sights or sounds of noncitizens acting as political agents."[119] As such, the very structure of the briefing—specifically the USCCR's terms of exclusion—preempted any immediate policy impact of the action.

However, members of the USCCR were not the only audience for this action. The undocumented migrant activists used documentary media to capture their performances of unauthorized acts, which they distributed as counter-documents on activist websites. The action was a form of disruption within the briefing, but the video *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solo* also had an afterlife, as it circulated through activists' websites. Although activists were addressing Kobach and members of the USCCR during the briefing, the video documentary was directed toward those who were absent—specifically, other undocumented migrants—as a means of political mobilization.[120] The activists' decision to upload the video on the No Papers, No Fear website and on YouTube publicized the action to other undocumented migrants.

This video was more than the recording of the disruption of a briefing; rather, it was purposely shaped for circulation through the staging of the protest, the location of the cameras, and the process of editing.

The video also has its own formal elements, as well as what McKee and McLagan refer to as "its own capacities for circulation and remediation, its own affectual address to a spectator"—in this case, other undocumented migrants.[121] The circulation of these counter-documents is thus part of the way in which undocumented migrant activists create what Alicia Schmidt Camacho refers to as "alternate subnational or transnational spheres of communication and politics."[122] Although very few people could witness the action live during the USCCR hearings, many people could watch it after the video was uploaded onto various websites.

This action was also a form of protection for the activists in case of legal action by the state. The strategy for publicizing the Alabama protest was modeled on one that was used after an earlier civil disobedience action as part of the No Papers, No Fear Ride for Justice in Knoxville, Tennessee. As a result of that action, undocumented migrant activists had been arrested and faced deportation. However, activists from the No Papers, No Fear campaign posted videos of the undocumented migrants' arrests, along with a message for viewers to call ICE to release them.[123] Organizers of the campaign built an e-mail list, a Facebook page, and a Twitter following, and they were thus able to mobilize migrants and allies on behalf of those arrested. As a result of this organizing, all of those arrested were eventually released.[124] This approach was seen as a model for actions that followed—including the one in Alabama—since organizers believed that if these actions were publicized, the activists could avoid arrest or deportation.

The use of media in the No Papers, No Fear campaign—including forms of social media—was a significant aspect of undocumented migrant activists' political organizing. The recording and circulation of *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos* on a range of media platforms brought attention to the ways that these anti-immigrant laws affect undocumented migrants as well as the deliberate exclusion of migrant activists from the briefing. Strategies employed by undocumented youth activists—and by previous campaigns organized by NDLON, such as ¡Alto Arizona! (Stop Arizona!)—were incorporated into the No Papers, No Fear campaign.[125] No Papers, No Fear developed its own website, which described the organization and provided information for activists about how to

"engage," "endorse," and "converge" with the campaign. The website became an archive of counter-documents, providing visibility for the campaign and enabling activists to contribute to counter-networks composed of undocumented migrant activists and their supporters.[126]

Thus, in the context of the action in Alabama, the No Papers, No Fear website was a platform for political action. Similarly, *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos* served as a counter-document that represented the ways in which activists were performing unauthorized acts as well as challenging anti-immigrant state and federal laws. The activists also mobilized in support of the No Papers, No Fear campaign and protected the undocumented migrants who took part in the action from being detained or deported. These undocumented activists disrupted the goings-on of the state and represented themselves in ways that were oppositional. Further, by being present at the briefing and sharing representations of this action through digital media, undocumented migrant activists defied state agents' attempts to limit their physical movement, both within and across national boundaries.

In large part due to the organizing work of undocumented youth and migrant activists, President Barack Obama enacted two executive orders between 2012 and 2014—DACA and Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA). On August 15, 2012, during the No Papers, No Fear tour, DACA was instituted nationally. DACA allows undocumented youth to apply for "deferred action," which enables them to remain in the United States for two years and to apply for work permits.[127] DACA builds on policies developed during the Obama administration such as "prosecutorial discretion," which was put in place to eliminate "low priority" cases, so ICE could focus on deporting undocumented migrants convicted of crimes. Some undocumented youth activists—such as Tania Unzueta Carrasco—have critiqued DACA, noting the ways in which "it further bolsters the categorization of immigrants as 'worthy' or 'unworthy.'"[128] Following DACA, undocumented youth and migrant activists involved in NDLON and NIYA continued to organize against policies that led to the deportation of undocumented migrants through the #Not1More campaign.[129] In November 2014, President Obama announced that by executive action he would expand the

terms of DACA in order to provide relief to a broader group of undocumented migrants through DAPA.[130] Similar to DACA, DAPA did not create a path to citizenship for undocumented migrants; rather, it provided a stay of deportation for three years. Further, as indicated by its title, this executive action was limited to parents of U.S. citizens and lawful residents who had lived in the United States for at least five years and did not have a criminal record.[131]

Those who had advocated for administrative relief—including activists, lawyers, and scholars—supported this executive action but some were also critical of how Obama—through his rhetoric of felons and families, children and criminals—continued to maintain a hierarchy between "deserving" and "undeserving" migrants.[132] Activists challenged this by interrupting the president's speeches, including one that he gave in Chicago in December 2014 in which he said that federal agencies would focus on deporting "felons, not families."[133] B. Loewe, the former communications director for NDLON, who worked on the #Not1More campaign, noted that these activists were involved in "disrupting the President's rhetoric and inserting reality into his publicity events."[134] In performing these unauthorized acts, Unzueta Carrasco and Seif contend that "these activists disrupt the power of the nation-state to make these determinations and expand the debate about and boundaries of citizenship."[135] These disruptions, as well as the direct actions mentioned earlier, are examples of the "impossible" activism of undocumented migrants.[136]

Conclusion

Through the production of counter-documents, undocumented youth and migrant activists have created alternatives to liberal tropes of "visibility" and the state's differentiation between "deserving" and "undeserving" migrants. These activists reworked visibility from an *abstract* form of empowerment to a more *specific* political strategy, which involved publicizing actions that challenged U.S. immigration laws and policies. Further, the videos produced by activists in NIYA, NDLON, and the Puente Movement are examples of how undocumented migrants are asserting their political presence in ways that transcend liberal nationalism.[137]

In *Migrant Imaginaries*, Alicia Schmidt Camacho argues that undocumented migrants' "demand for a different framework of governance doubles as a search for political and aesthetic forms that can perform the work of representation in all its senses."[138] From the statements provided by activists involved in NIYA, NDLON, Puente, and other groups, this "different frame of governance" would be one in which undocumented migrants were free to move around within the United States and between the United States and other countries without the fear of deportation. Through emphasizing undocumented migrants' mobility and mobilization, the No Papers, No Fear campaign challenged what scholars have referred to as the "dominant politics of mobility."[139] Vicki Squire suggests that it is important to consider how "mobilizing politics means to render politics mobile through exploring how the 'irregular' movement of people entails a shift in what it means to be political."[140] Further, Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel argue that this accent on "mobility as an analytic disrupts the dichotomy of noncitizen/citizen."[141] The No Papers, No Fear campaign brought attention to the limits placed on the physical presence of undocumented migrants, as well as the ways in which they were able to push past those boundaries.

In the early 2010s, undocumented youth and migrant activists developed innovative political strategies and aesthetic forms with which to represent themselves. These activists reconfigured their self-representation through their political activism and their production of counter-documents that challenged the state's ability to determine the parameters of political inclusion. Further, activists' recording of their actions—in which they test the terms of prosecutorial discretion as well as contest anti-immigrant laws—relates to their strategies to mobilize other undocumented migrants. Circulating videos that represent their performing unauthorized acts through digital and social media enabled activists to provide a model of organizing. The documentation and circulation of activist interventions allows undocumented migrants to view what is possible and for scholars and writers to integrate these ephemeral actions into a broader history of migrant activism.

In this chapter, I have examined how Mexican and Central American migrants are revising forms of documentary media for political purposes.

Specifically, I have argued that these activists mix elements of performance with documentary realism to represent their actions, which they circulate through social media to other undocumented migrants. The role of counter-documents is central to the organizing work of undocumented youth and migrant activists, yet the distribution of these forms of media changes not just the context of documentary, but also what this genre of media production can do. Meg McLagan argues that "new media refashions previous media forms . . . and this process of 'remediation' upends old ideas about subjects and participants, producers and texts that underpin theories of how media work."[142] Similar to other kinds of media that are distributed through digital and social media, counter-documents have the ability to "define the terms of political possibility and create terrain for political acts," as McKee and McLagan suggest.[143] As such, counter-documents strategically assemble evidence, disrupt, and mobilize.

Notes

Preface

1. I follow the terminology developed by other scholars who have written about undocumented Mexican and Central American migrants in the United States during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. My use of the word *migrant* draws from the work of Mae Ngai, who argues that the term does not "privilege permanent settlement before other kinds of migration." See Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), xix. Further, Nicholas De Genova uses the term *migrant* "to serve as a category of analysis that disrupts the implicit teleology of the more conventional term 'immigrant,' which is posited always from the standpoint of the 'immigrant-receiving' nation-state." De Genova, "The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant 'Illegality,'" *Latino Studies* 2 (2004): 160n1. Alicia Schmidt Camacho notes that migrant "also references a subordinate position with respect to that of the 'citizen.'" Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 5.

2. The USA PATRIOT Act is the acronym for "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism." For the text of the act, see http://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/highlights.htm. As María Cristina García notes, the USA PATRIOT Act "expanded the powers of law enforcement agencies to search, monitor, and detain suspected criminals and terrorists; allowed the indefinite detention of noncitizens suspected of a crime and facilitated their deportation for a number of activities." García, *Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico, the United States, and Canada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 161–62; see also David Cole, *Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism* (New York: New Press, 2003).

3. Nicolas De Genova, "Conflicts of Mobility and the Mobility of Conflict: Rightlessness, Presence, Subjectivity, Freedom," *Subjectivity* 29 (2009): 450. Emphasis in original.

4. Ibid., 451. Emphasis in original.

5. In this book, I use the term *undocumented* to refer to migrants without legal status as permanent residents or naturalized citizens.

6. Quito Ziegler, telephone conversation with author, March 5, 2010.

7. As Lisa Marie Cacho contends, "Anxieties over undocumented immigration following September 11 generated a new kind of crisis over 'illegal' immigration." Cacho, *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 101.

8. Specifically, Stuart Hall suggests that participants in a culture give meanings to things based on how we "integrate them into our everyday practices." Hall, "Introduction," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), 3.

9. Wendy Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics: Human Rights Visions, Recognitions, Feminisms* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), 57–58.

10. Ibid, 58; Patricia Pace, "Staging Childhood: Lewis Hine's Photographs of Child Labor," *Lion and the Unicorn* 26 (2002): 326, as quoted in ibid.

11. Hall, "Introduction," 9–10.

12. Ibid., 8.

13. Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, "Introduction," in *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998), 7. Further, as Pablo Alvarado, the executive director of the National Day Labor Organizing Network, explains, "There is no movement without culture." See http://leadershipforchange.org/awardees. As quoted by Cecilia Menjívar, "Immigrant Art as Liminal Expression: The Case of Central Americans," in *Art in the Lives of Immigrant Communities in the United States*, ed. Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 186.

14. Lynn Stephen, *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007), 65.

15. I am drawing the idea of the "gift" of citizenship from Mimi Thi Nguyen's notion of "the gift of freedom," which she defines "as the workings of liberalism in its imperial form and as a metaphor and a medium for grasping continuities and innovations between operations of power and violence." Nguyen, *The Gift of Freedom: War, Debt, and Other Refugee Passages* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012), 6.

16. For more information, see http://altotrump.com/.

17. Liz Robbins, "Immigrants Head to Washington to Rally While Obama Is Still There," *New York Times*, January 11, 2017, A28.

18. Due to the current political context, I have chosen to include only the first names of individuals who may be undocumented in this book. "Immigrant Leaders from across New Mexico Head to Washington D.C. to Join Rally

ahead of Inauguration, Showcase Local Sanctuary Policies That Defend Immigrants from Looming Trump Administration," January 12, 2017, http://www.somosunpueblounido.org/january-12%2c-2017.html.

19. See https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/25/executive-order-border-security-and-immigration-enforcement-improvements.

20. As I explain in the introduction, 287(g) agreements were established as part of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), which allows Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to develop partnerships with local and state law enforcement.

21. See section 5d of "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States," https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/25/presidential-executive-order-enhancing-public-safety-interior-united; Brian Bennett, "Not Just 'Bad Hombres': Trump Is Targeting up to 8 Million People for Deportation," *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 2017.

22. There were approximately 2.5 million deportations during President Obama's two terms in office.

23. See https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/25/presidential-executive-order-enhancing-public-safety-interior-united.

24. Quoted in Matthew Reichbach, "Immigrants, Supporters Vow to Fight Trump's Immigration Order," *New Mexico Political Report*, January 25, 2017, http://nmpoliticalreport.com/147060/immigrants-supporters-vow-to-fight-trumps-immigration-order/.

25. During the legislative session, Javier Martínez introduced a bill to prohibit the "use, transfer, or selling of state land to aid in the construction of a border wall." Somos un Pueblo Unido press release, "Hundreds Rally at State Capital against Trump's Immigration Executive Orders; Push for Joint Memorial Urging Legislature and Congress to do the Same," February 6, 2017.

26. See quote from Natalia in Robbins, "Immigrants Head to Washington."

27. Amalia Pallares defines "impossible activism" as referring to the way that undocumented migrants' "political rights are not recognized as legitimate." Amalia Pallares, *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 1–2.

Introduction

1. This day marked the "National Day of Action to Shut Down ICE," in which activists attempted to both bring attention to and stop the deportations of undocumented migrants held in immigration detention facilities. These actions were part of the #Not1More campaign, which, as noted on the website, "builds collaboration between individuals, organizations, artists, and allies to expose, confront, and overcome unjust immigration laws." See http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/about/. Day laborers involved in worker centers founded NDLON in 2001 to advocate for migrant rights. Janice Fine, *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream* (Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR

Press and Cornell University Press, 2006). While NDLON formed in response to the problems of day laborers, allowing them to organize as workers, it also collaborates with undocumented migrants when they are being denied basic rights and risk being arrested, detained, and deported due to their immigration status. The Puente Movement is a grassroots migrant justice organization based in Phoenix, Arizona. According to their website, they "develop, educate, and empower migrant communities to protect and defend our families and ourselves in order to enhance the quality of life of our community members." See http://puenteaz.org/about-us.

2. The week previous activists chained themselves to the wheels of a bus that held migrant detainees who were facing convictions as part of Operation Streamline.

3. See http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/2013/10/14/protest-closes-phoenix-ice-office-prevents-deportations/.

4. These signs and posters are also archived online as part of galleries on activist websites, such as one for the #Not1More campaign. See http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/.

5. Specifically, these images have been used as a means to encourage individuals to empathize with undocumented migrants in deportation proceedings. For example, the authors of *Education Not Deportation* note that "by using pictures you intend to show the public that you are just like them." *Education Not Deportation: A Guide for Undocumented Youth in Removal Proceedings*, http://www.e4fc.org/images/E4FC_DeportationGuide.pdf, 35.

6. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 131. According to the National Immigration Law Center, "A 'mixed-status family' is a family whose members include people with different citizenship or immigration statuses." See https://www.nilc.org/issues/health-care/aca_mixedstatusfams/.

7. While the majority of these documentary projects have been produced by undocumented Mexican and Central American migrants, in chapter 4 I examine the work of Mexican migrants in northern Mexico. Further, in the final chapter I include the work of undocumented youth activists, some of whom are either not Latina/o or who are Latina/o, but not Mexican or Central American.

8. Keith Beattie, *Documentary Screens: Non-fiction Film and Television* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 107.

9. Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 3–64; and John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

10. Anna Pegler-Gordon, *In Sight of America: Photography and the Development of U.S. Immigration Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 10.

11. Coco Fusco, "Racial Time, Racial Marks, Racial Metaphors," in *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, ed. Coco Fusco and Brian

Wallis (New York: International Center of Photography and Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 39. At the time that the Real ID Bill was being developed, the federal government started to gather biometric data, such as digital fingerprints and photographs, from all visitors to the United States through the US-VISIT program. See http://www.immihelp.com/visas/usvisit.html. As Sekula has argued, "Bertillion survives in the operations of the national security state, in the conditions of intensive and extensive surveillance that characterizes both everyday life and the geopolitical sphere." Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 62.

12. Dimitris Papadopulos and Vassilis Tsianos, "The Autonomy of Migration: The Animals of Undocumented Mobility," in *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues*, ed. Anna Hickey-Moody and Peta Malins (New York: Palgrave, 2008), as quoted in Katarzyna Marciniak and Imogen Tyler, "Introduction: Immigrant Protest; Noborder Scholarship," in *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, ed. Katarzyna Marciniak and Imogen Tyler (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014), 13.

13. Cacho, *Social Death*, 8.

14. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 12.

15. Ibid. Pallares notes that while undocumented migrants are denied formal citizenship, "they have access to certain social and labor protections on the basis of their territorial presence and personhood, as conveyed in the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment." Ibid., 4.

16. Marciniak and Tyler, "Introduction," 9.

17. Cacho, *Social Death*, 144.

18. For example, Claire F. Fox argues that "Lynn Stephen's study of undocumented Mexican workers in the United States deemphasizes the objective of claiming liberal citizenship rights by exploring the ways in which undocumented Mexican people in the United States assert political presence, even without access to the rights conferred by U.S. citizenship." Fox, *Making Art Pan-American: Cultural Policy and the Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 313n107. See also Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 241.

19. For example, in writing about contemporary migrant activism, Anne McNevin suggests that while activists "disrupt citizenship norms," their approach is "not aimed at gaining legal or conventional citizenship status," and thus it "leaves open the possibility of opting out of citizenship as a mode of resistance." McNevin, "Undocumented Citizens? Shifting Grounds of Citizenship in Los Angeles," in *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*, ed. Peter Nyers and Kym Rygiel (New York: Routledge, 2012), 178–79. Further, Schmidt Camacho suggests that "migrant social movements define justice in terms that surpass the sovereignty of nations or the logic of capital accumulation." Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 5.

20. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 5.

21. Ibid., 12. Schmidt Camacho is drawing upon Charles Taylor's *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004).

22. As Cacho contends, "Anxieties over undocumented immigration following September 11 generated a new kind of crisis over 'illegal' immigration." Cacho, *Social Death*, 101.

23. See TRAC, "Secure Communities and ICD Deportation: A Failed Program?" April 8, 2014, http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/reports/349/.

24. Monica W. Varsanyi and other scholars have written about the engagement of municipal and city governments in immigration enforcement. See Varsanyi, *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010); and Doris Marie Provine, Monica W. Varsanyi, Paul G. Lewis, and Scott H. Decker, *Policing Immigrants: Local Law Enforcement on the Front Lines* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

25. Jonathan X. Inda and Julie A. Dowling, "Introduction: Governing Migrant Illegality," in *Governing Immigration through Crime: A Reader*, ed. Jonathan X. Inda and Julie A. Dowling (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013), 23.

26. According to ICE's website, S-COMM was a "comprehensive plan to identify and remove criminal aliens," which involved the use of "biometric identification technologies." S-COMM also provided state and local law enforcement agencies with the equipment to perform record checks of both the criminal history and immigration status for people in their custody. The results of these screenings were then disseminated to ICE and state and local law enforcement agencies. See ICE's website for S-COMM: www.ice.gov/pi/news/factsheets/ secure_communities.htm.

27. U.S. citizens who are Latina/o face discrimination for "looking like" undocumented Latina/o migrants. McNevin, "Undocumented Citizens?" 165. Marta María Maldonado, Adela C. Licona, and Sarah Hendricks note that "U.S.-born Latin@s are also affected by the rhetorics and practices of the regime of deportability, because . . . being 'read' as Latin@ immediately renders one 'suspect' of illegality." Maldonado, Licona, and Hendricks, "Latin@ Immobilities and Altermobilities within the U.S. Deportability Regime," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106, no. 2 (2016): 323.

28. Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 18.

29. Jodie M. Lawston and Ruben R. Murillo, "Policing Our Border, Policing Our Nation: An Examination of the Ideological Connections between Border Vigilantism and U.S. National Ideology," in *Beyond Walls and Cages: Prisons, Borders, and Global Crisis*, ed. Jenna Loyd, Matt Mitchelson, and Andrew Burridge (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 182.

30. Susan Jeffords, *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 6.

31. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1994), 4; and Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 13.

32. Diana Taylor, *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's "Dirty War"* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 119.

33. Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), 282.

34. Although the vast majority of participants in these projects were migrants, a couple of the promotoras were longtime residents of Tijuana.

35. Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco describes the "1.5 generation" as "immigrants, born abroad yet raised and educated in the United States." She contends that the "1.5 generation lives and organizes by navigating a complex relationship with the nation-state, which places us as both as criminal and legitimate subjects." Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12, no. 2 (2014): 287.

36. Michael Cooper, "Laborers Wanted, but Not Living Next Door," *New York Times*, November 28, 1999.

37. According to the website for the Southern Poverty Law Center, while FAIR "maintains a veneer of legitimacy," some of the individuals who run the organization "have ties to white supremacist groups." The organization was founded by John Tanton, who advocated for the United States to have a "majority white" population and to limit the number of nonwhites allowed into the country. See the Southern Poverty Law Center's website, www.splcenter.org.

38. Jennifer Ridgley, "Cities of Refuge: Immigration Enforcement, Police, and the Insurgent Genealogies of Citizenship in U.S. Sanctuary Cities," *Urban Geography* 29, no. 1 (2008): 55.

39. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 199. Other scholars, such as Rinku Sen, have also written about the act's effects on migrants. See Rinku Sen with Fekkak Mamdouh, *Accidental American: Immigration and Citizenship in the Age of Globalization* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2008), 59.

40. Nicholas De Genova, *Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and "Illegality" in Mexican Chicago* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 206. According to De Genova, these acts "were truly unprecedented in the severity with which they broadened the qualitative purview and intensified the ramifications of migrant 'illegality.'" Ibid., 242. De Genova also notes that the IIRIRA's language was "replete with references to 'the' border, a tell-tale sign that could only portend a future disciplining of Mexican migration." Ibid.

41. Jonathan X. Inda, *Targeting Immigrants: Government, Technology, and Ethics* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), 176–77.

42. Rebecca J. Hester, "Bodies in Translation/Health Promotion in Indigenous Mexican Migrant Communities in California," in *Translocalities/Translocalidades: Feminist Politics of Translation in the Latin/a Américas,* ed. Sonia E. Alvarez, Claudia de Lima Costa, Verónica Feliu, Rebecca J. Hester, and Norma Millie Thayer (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014), 173.

43. Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (New York: Beacon Press, 2004).

44. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 6. She is referencing Leo Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008), among the work of other scholars.

45. Cacho, *Social Death*, 22.

46. Muneer Ahmad, "Developing Citizenship," *Issues in Legal Scholarship* 9, no. 1 (October 2011): 6. The approach was also used by mainstream immigrant rights organizations to advocate for the DREAM Act in the early 2000s. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 100.

47. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 102–3.

48. I use the term *undocumented youth* to distinguish them from migrant activists who are not eligible for the DREAM Act or Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) due to their age. However, I am aware that it is problematic to use the term *youth* to describe individuals whose ages span from teenagers to young adults.

49. Inda and Dowling, "Introduction," 3. Inda and Dowling's concept of "migrant counter-conducts" draws on Michel Foucault's notion of "counter-conduct," which he describes as "the sense of struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others." Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–1978*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 201. Expanding on Foucault's definition of "counter-conduct," Inda and Dowling explain that this concept indicates that there is a "strategic reversibility to power relations such that any governmental effort to shape the conduct of individuals and populations is interwoven with dissenting counter-conducts." Inda and Dowling, "Introduction," 24. These counter-conducts can be contrasted with "citizenship scripts," which are related to the state's regulation of conduct. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 4–5; and Engin F. Isin, *Citizens without Frontiers* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 148.

50. Inda and Dowling, "Introduction," 24n32.

51. Nicholas De Genova et al., "Migrant Struggles," in special section, "New Keywords: Migration and Borders," special issue, "Marking Time: Cultural Studies and Communication," *Cultural Studies* 29, no. 1 (2015): 26. Emphasis in original.

52. NIYA was "an undocumented youth-LED network of grassroots organizations, campus-based student groups and individuals committed to achieving equality for all immigrant youth, regardless of their legal status." See NIYA's Facebook page.

53. De Genova et al., "Migrant Struggles," 26.

54. Rozalina Borcilă with Katarzyna Marciniak and Imogen Tyler, "The Political Aesthetics of Immigrant Protest," in *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, ed. Katarzyna Marciniak and Imogen Tyler (Albany:

SUNY Press, 2014), 56; Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), 262.

55. Yates McKee, "'Eyes and Ears': Aesthetics, Visual Culture and the Claims of Nongovernmental Politics," in *Nongovernmental Politics*, ed. Michel Feher, Gaëlle Kirkorian, and Yates McKee (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 339.

56. Ibid., 334.

57. Martha Rosler, "Post-Documentary, Post-Photography?" in *Decoys and Disruptions: Selected Writings, 1975–2001* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006), 228.

58. Stephen defines translocal as "the movement of place-specific culture, institutions, people, knowledge, and resources within several local sites and across borders—national and otherwise." Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 65.

59. See Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 57–58; and Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 178–79.

60. Ramón Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young, "Introduction: Border Moves," in *Performance in the Borderlands*, ed. Ramón Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young (New York: Palgrave, 2011), 3.

61. Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 18.

62. Their representation of the *undocumented everyday* challenges what Rosas refers to as "policeability," which Maldonado, Licona, and Hendricks describe as "a state of constant surveillance predicated on the hyperregulation of routine activity, evident in displays of state power, vigilantism, and the informal management of everyday life." Maldonado, Licona, and Hendricks, "Latin@ Immobilities and Altermobilities," 323; and Gilberto Rosas, "The Managed Violences of the Borderlands: Treacherous Geographies, Policeability, and the Politics of Race," *Latino Studies* 4, no. 4 (2006): 401–18.

63. Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 65.

64. McKee, "Eyes and Ears," 332.

65. While *Maquilápolis* could be considered what Bill Nichols calls a "performative documentary," it does not neatly fit within this genre. Nichols, *Blurred Boundaries: Questions of Meaning in Contemporary Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

66. McKee, "Eyes and Ears"; Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), 146, as quoted in McKee, "Eyes and Ears," 339. Emphasis in original.

67. Chon Noriega refers to the "cine-testimonio" as a form of "counterdocument," which is "intimately tied to the need to legitimize the postrevolutionary nation or struggles against state terror." Chon Noriega, "Talking Heads, Body Politic: The Plural Self of Chicano Experimental Video," in *Resolutions: Contemporary Video Practices*, ed. Michael Renov and Erica Suderberg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 211.

68. De Genova et al., "Migrant Struggles," 26.

69. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 290; and Douglas Massey and Jorge Durand, eds., *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006).

70. In 2013 there were an estimated 11.3 million undocumented migrants, which was an increase from 8.4 million in 2000, but down from a high of 12 million in 2007, before the recession. Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "Unauthorized Immigrant Population Stable for Half a Decade," Pew Research Center Report, July 22, 2015, http://www.pewresearch.org.

71. See Jie Zong, and Jeanne Batalova, "Central American Immigrants in the United States," Migration Policy Institute, September 2, 2015, http://www.migrationpolicy.org; and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "More Mexicans Leaving Than Coming to the U.S.," Pew Research Center Report, November 19, 2015, http://www.pewhispanic.org.

72. Wil S. Hylton, "The Shame of America's Family Detention Camps," *New York Times Magazine*, February 8, 2015, 26. After CAFTA-DR was enacted, fifty thousand jobs in the textile industry were lost, since 122 textile companies left the nations that were part of the agreement. Stop CAFTA Coalition, "Monitoring Report: DR-CAFTA in Year One," September 12, 2006, 30–32, as referenced in Cacho, *Social Death,* 122.

73. See Arturo Arias, "Central American–Americans: Invisibility, Power, and Representation in the U.S. Latino World," *Latino Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003).

74. García, *Seeking Refuge*, 162.

75. Arias argues that the experiences of Guatemalans and Salvadorans—who comprise the largest groups of Central Americans in the United States—were distinct, due to the civil wars in their countries. Arias, "Central American–Americans," 172.

76. While NAFTA contributed to the free movement of corporations, militarized policing in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands starting in the 1990s influenced what De Genova refers to as migrant "illegality." See De Genova, "Legal Production," 160–85.

77. David Bacon, *The Right to Stay Home: How US Policy Drives Mexican Migration* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2013). In a report by Public Citizen, the authors suggested that NAFTA displaced 15 million farmers who were forced to migrate to seek employment. Public Citizen, "Down on the Farm: NAFTA's Seven-Years War on Farmers and Ranchers in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico," http://www.citizen.org, iv.

78. See Denise A. Segura and Patricia Zavella, "Introduction," in *Women and Migration in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands*, ed. Denise A. Segura and Patricia Zavella (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007).

79. This book does not include documentary photography projects involving farm laborers in the 2000s because so few of them have been exhibited. Saundra Sturdevant's Migrant Photography Project, based in Tulare Country,

Central Valley, California, and HRHCare's project with farmworkers from Puebla, Mexico, are exceptions.

80. Monica W. Varsanyi, "Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States: Interdisciplinary Perspectives," in *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States,* ed. Monica W. Varsanyi (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010), 10.

81. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries,* 291. Emphasis in original.

82. She suggests that the day laborers provide "evidence of how the current regime of border surveillance serves as a form of labor discipline." Ibid.

83. Schmidt Camacho contends that the IIRIRA "racialized migrants as a threat to national security and economic health." Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries,* 200. See also Massey and Durand, *Crossing the Border*. According to the chief counsel of the House Subcommittee on Immigration, one of IIRIRA's aims was to "mak[e] it more difficult for illegal aliens to have jobs in this country." George Fishmond, as quoted in Mary Reinholz, "Immigrants Find the Island a Mixed Blessing; A Life Looking over Shoulders in a Land of Freedom," *New York Times,* December 27, 1998.

84. See http://www.ice.gov/287g/.

85. Varsanyi, "Immigration Policy Activism," 11.

86. De Genova, "Conflicts of Mobility," 446.

87. Ibid., 447–48.

88. Monica W. Varsanyi, "Rescaling the 'Alien,' Rescaling Personhood: Neoliberalism, Immigration, and the State," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 4 (2008): 877–96.

89. Varsanyi, "Immigration Policy Activism," 11.

90. See Varsanyi, *Taking Local Control*.

91. Roxanne Lynn Doty, *The Law into Their Own Hands* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 86.

92. See the preface for more information on the USA PATRIOT Act.

93. The Department of Homeland Security absorbed the Immigration and Nationalization Service and U.S. Customs Service and created three agencies in 2003: the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection, and the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

94. See ICE's website, http://www.ice.gov/history. Michael Wishnie, Margo Mendelson, and Shayna Strom, "Collateral Damage: An Examination of ICE's Fugitive Operations Program," Migration Policy Institute (MPI) report, February 2009, www.migrationpolicy.org.

95. Wishnie, Mendelson, and Strom, "Collateral Damage," 2. See also Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz, "Introduction," in *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement,* ed. Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010), 4.

96. In the case of workplace raids, De Genova argues, "Migrants came to be easy stand-ins for the figure of terrorism." Nicholas De Genova, "Spectacle of Terror, Spectacle of Security," in *Accumulating Insecurity: Violence and Dispossession in the Making of Everyday Life*, ed. Shelley Feldman, Charles Geisler, and Gayatri A. Menon (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 151.

97. See https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/hr4437.

98. See https://www.congress.gov/bill/109th-congress/senate-bill/2611.

99. For the text of the REAL ID Act, see http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/real-id-act-text.pdf. The Secure Fence Act also led to the Bush administration's doubling the size of the Border Patrol, making it the largest law enforcement agency in the United States.

100. Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 36.

101. S-COMM started in fourteen U.S. communities, and it was extended to many more. Provine, Lewis, and Decker, *Policing Immigrants,* 31.

102. Ibid., 5.

103. See Julia Preston, "Illegal Workers Swept from Jobs in 'Silent Raids,'" *New York Times*, July 9, 2010, www.nytimes.com; see also Anna Sampaio, *Terrorizing Latina/o Immigrants: Race, Gender, and Immigration Politics in the Age of Security* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 141.

104. ICE developed NFOP in 2003 to "improve national security by dispatching Fugitive Operations Teams to locate and apprehend dangerous individuals with existing removal orders." Wishnie, Mendelson, and Strom, "Collateral Damage." According to ICE, Operation Community Shield is "a nationwide initiative that targets violent transnational street gangs, by partnering with U.S. and foreign law enforcement agencies at all levels, and making use of its authority to deport criminal aliens." See https://www.ice.gov/national-gang-unit.

105. Sampaio, *Terrorizing Latina/o Immigrants*, 136–37.

106. Ibid., 137.

107. "Editorial: Confusion over Secure Communities," *New York Times,* October 5, 2010, A26.

108. See http://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/prosecutorial-discretion-memo.pdf.

109. Ibid.

110. See Cecilia Muñoz, "Immigration Update: Maximizing Public Safety and Better Focusing Resources," August 18, 2011, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/08/18/immigration-update-maximizing-public-safety-and-better-focusing-resources.

111. For details on DACA, see the DHS website: http://www.dhs.gov.

112. Some scholars have noted that the 2006 Immigrant Rights March inspired political activism of undocumented youth in the years that followed. See Roberto G. Gonzales, "Left Out but Not Shut Down: Political Activism and

the Undocumented Student Movement," in *Governing Immigration through Crime: A Reader*, ed. Jonathan X. Inda and Julie A. Dowling (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013), 269–84.

113. De Genova, "Conflicts of Mobility," 453. Emphasis in original.

114. See Pallares, *Family Activism*, 17; and Gabriela Marquez-Benitez and Amalia Pallares, "Not One More: Linking Civil Disobediences and Public Anti-Deportation Campaigns," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 14–15.

115. The DREAM Act proposed that migrant youth of "good moral character" who had lived in the United States for at least five years and graduated from a U.S. high school or the equivalent could apply for a six-year conditional resident status. "Bill Text—112th Congress (2011–2012)—THOMAS (Library of Congress)—S.952.IS," Library of Congress, https://www.congress.gov. DREAM activists not only include undocumented youth from Mexico and Central America, but also those from Asia, the Caribbean, the Middle East, and Africa.

116. Marquez-Benitez and Pallares, "Not One More," 22.

117. For more information on IYJL and DreamActivist.org, see chapter 6.

118. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 100.

119. Ibid., 123.

120. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 287.

121. Karma R. Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 81.

122. As cofounder Marisa Franco has stated, "We need Latinx leaders who are not simply pro-Latino, but also pro-woman, pro-queer, pro-poor, pro-Black, pro-indigenous, pro-climate because OUR community is all of those things and WE care about all of them. We need to learn how to lead better with each other across these lines." Franco, "An Introduction to Mijente," December 10, 2015, http://mijente.net/2015/12/10/an-introduction-to-mijente/.

123. Discourses around "deserving" versus "undeserving" migrants have circulated in the United States for over one hundred years and have disproportionally affected people of color, including Mexican and Central American migrants. As De Genova contends, "U.S. immigration law has generated the juridical categories of differentiation among various migrations, defined the parameters of 'legality,' and continually revised the possibilities for 'legal' migration in ways that have been disproportionately restrictive for Mexicans in particular." De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*, 8.

124. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 289.

125. This campaign built on NDLON's previous work with migrant rights activists in states with anti-immigrant laws, such as Arizona, Georgia, and Alabama. Walter Nicholls, *The DREAMers: How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), 161.

126. As mentioned earlier, the #Not1More campaign is an initiative to stop the deportation of undocumented migrants.

127. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 1–2.

128. Amalia Pallares and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, "Politics of Motion: Ethnography with Undocumented Activists and of Undocumented Activism," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 7.

129. Carlos, "5 Years since SB1070: Aquí Estamos, y No Nos Vamos," #Not1More's Virtual Conference, National Day Labor Organizing Network, April 23, 2015, http://www.ndlon.org/en/.

130. Marjorie Garber, "Compassion," in *Compassion: The Culture and Politics of an Emotion*, ed. Lauren Berlant (London: Routledge, 2004), 24; Juliet Koss contends that empathy draws on the German concept of *Einfühlung* (feeling into) "to describe an embodied response to an image, object or spatial environment." Koss, "On the Limits of Empathy," *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 1 (March 2006): 139.

131. Marquez-Benitez and Pallares, "Not One More," 17.

132. Beattie, *Documentary Screens*, 107. Some of this work developed out of social activism, when photography, film, and video were also used to "document social problems." Ibid., 118.

133. Ibid., 112.

134. Patricia Aufderheide, *The Daily Planet: A Critic on the Capitalist Culture Beat* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 219.

135. See Roger Larson and Ellen Meade, *Young Filmmakers* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1969). In the 1970s and 1980s public access cable television developed in the United States, allowing more people access to video equipment. See Dee Dee Halleck, *Hand-Held Visions: The Impossible Possibilities of Community Media* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002).

136. In 1979 Ann Marie Rousseau taught homeless women living in New York City shelters how to use cameras. She curated an exhibition, *Because of an Emergency: Work from the New York City Women's Shelter*, that was shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Jim Hubbard, *Shooting Back: A Photographic View of Life by Homeless Children* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1992); Jim Hubbard, *Shooting Back from the Reservation: A Photographic View of Life by Native American Youth* (New York: New Press, 1994); Wendy Ewald, *Portraits and Dreams: Photographs and Stories by Children of the Appalachians* (New York: Writers & Readers, 1985); and Wendy Ewald, *Portraits and Dreams: Photographs by Mexican Children* (Rochester, N.Y.: George Eastman House, 1993).

137. Julia Ballerini, "Photography as a Charitable Weapon: Poor Kids and Self-Representation," *Radical History Review* 69 (1997): 175.

138. Don Slater, "Marketing Mass Photography," in *Language, Image, Media*, ed. H. Davis and P. Walton (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 246. Emphasis in original.

139. Ballerini, "Photography as a Charitable Weapon," 175.

140. See Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977); and Martha Rosler, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (on Documentary Photography)," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Robert Bolton (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

141. See Sekula, "The Body and the Archive." Tagg examined the use of this form in surveillance by state agents. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*.

142. John Tagg, "A Means of Surveillance: The Photograph as Evidence in Law," in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 102. Certain documentary forms fall within Mirzoeff's definition of visuality, including photography that "develop[s] new means of disciplining, normalizing, and ordering vision." Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*, 23.

143. Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock*, 179; see also John Tagg, "The Currency of the Photograph: New Deal Reformism and Documentary Rhetoric," in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 153–83; and William Stott, *Documentary Realism and Thirties America*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

144. Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock*, 171.

145. See for example Stuart Hall's essays in *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), as well as the essays in the edited collection *Only Skin Deep*, including Nicholas Mirzoeff, "The Shadow and the Substance: Race, Photography and the Index," in *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, ed. Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis (New York: International Center of Photography and Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 111–27.

146. Fusco, "Racial Time," 16. Emphasis in original.

147. Leigh Raiford, *Imprisoned in a Luminous Glare: Photography and the African-American Freedom Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 13; see also Erica Duganne, *The Self in Black and White: Race and Subjectivity in Postwar America Photography* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2010).

148. Raiford, *Imprisoned in a Luminous Glare*, 15.

149. Stuart Hall, "Introduction to Media Studies at the Centre," in *Culture, Media, Language*, ed. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Wills (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 117–18. See also Hall, *Representation*.

150. Jay Ruby, "Speaking For, Speaking About, Speaking With, or Speaking Alongside: An Anthropological and Documentary Dilemma," *Journal of Film and Video* 1/2 (1992): 47.

151. Patricia Aufderheide, "Public Intimacy: The Development of First-Person Documentary," *Afterimage* 25, no. 1 (July–August 1997). Aufderheide argues that, while this genre is frequently socially engaged, "it typically does not make a direct argument, but an implicit request for the viewer to recognize the reality of the speaker, and to incorporate that reality into his or her view of the world."

152. See also Paul Ward, *Documentary: The Margins of Reality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 27. At the time of the film's production, Ziv stated, "The idea is to give the camera to people who are creating reality and then see how this reality takes shape through their eyes." Quoted in Aufderheide, "Public Intimacy."

153. John T. Caldwell, "Representation and Complicity in Suburban Mining Camps: Reflections of a Documentary Filmmaker," *Aztlán* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 216.

154. Yet similar to all visual artifacts, photographs, films, and videos can be read in different ways, depending not just on the context of exhibition and distribution but also on the viewer. See Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin (London: Macmillan Education, 1982), 84–109; Mary Price, *The Photograph: A Strange, Confined Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); and Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*, ed. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Willis (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–38.

155. As Thomas Austin and Wilma de Jong note, "The early years of the 21st century have witnessed significant and ongoing changes in the technological, commercial, aesthetic, political and social dimensions of documentaries produced for, and viewed on, a range of differently configured screens." Austin and de Jong, "Introduction," in *Rethinking Documentary: New Perspectives, New Practices*, ed. Thomas Austin and Wilma de Jong (Maidenhead: Open University Press and McGraw Hill Education, 2008), 1.

156. Yates McKee and Meg McLagan, "Introduction," in *Sensible Politics: The Visual Culture of Nongovernmental Activism*, ed. Meg McLagan and Yates McKee (New York: Zone Books, 2013), 17–18. They also suggest that "Each [platform] demands its own mode of address and techniques of soliciting attention, its own supporting discourses whereby it claims truth, authority and legitimacy." Ibid.

157. One book that focuses on undocumented youth activists' use of digital media in the post-9/11 era is Sasha Costanza-Chock's *Out of the Shadows, Into the Streets! Transmedia Organizing and the Immigrant Rights Movement* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2014).

1. "We See What We Know"

1. In her book *At the Edge of Sight*, Shawn Michelle Smith writes about the significance of the literal and metaphorical edges of photographs, as well as what is just outside the frame. Smith, *At the Edge of Sight: Photography and the Unseen* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2013).

2. Carlos Canales, telephone conversation with author, June 23, 2004.

3. Anonymous Workplace Project participant. The materials from the Unseen America exhibition at SUNY–Stony Brook were available at the office of the now-defunct Bread and Roses Cultural Project in New York City.

4. However, Nathalis Guy Wamba and Carolyn Curran remark in their 2003 report on Unseen America, *Shadow Catchers: A Look at Unseen America*, that "it is not accurate to say that they are unseen within their own groups." Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers: A Look at Unseen America* (New York: Bread and Roses Cultural Project Inc., New York Health and Human Service Employees International Union 1199SEIU, 2003), 21.

5. Quoted in ibid., 52.

6. De Genova et al., "Migrant Struggles," 26.

7. Kathleen Woodward, "Calculating Compassion," in *Compassion: The Culture and Politics of an Emotion*, ed. Lauren Berlant (London: Routledge, 2004), 80.

8. As journalist Michael A. Fletcher notes, the Bush administration's DOL was "philosophically hostile to the mission of the agency." Fletcher, "Labor Department Accused of Straying from Enforcement," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2008.

9. Esther Cohen, telephone interview with author, December 23, 2003.

10. Esther Cohen, "Why Roses with Our Bread?" *New Labor Forum* (Fall/Winter 2001): 140.

11. Leon Fink and Brian Greenberg, *Upheaval in the Quiet Zone: A History of Hospital Workers' Union Local 1199* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 191.

12. See http://www.bread-and-roses.com/aboutindex.html. Accessed July 1, 2004.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Karin Becker Ohrn, *Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 36.

16. Rosler has argued, "Documentary, as we know it, carries (old) information about a group of powerless people to another group addressed as socially powerful." Rosler, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts," 306.

17. See Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," 84–109.

18. Tagg, "The Currency of the Photograph," 110–41; Maren Stange, Sally Stein, et al., *Official Images: New Deal Photography* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987); and Maren Stange, *Symbols of Idea Life: Social Documentary Photography in America, 1890–1950* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

19. William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 14.

20. Duganne, *The Self in Black and White*, 79.

21. Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," 452–73; and Price, *The Photograph*.

22. Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning"; and Price, *The Photograph*.

23. Materials from the Unseen America exhibition at SUNY–Stony Brook were available at Bread and Roses Cultural Project, New York.

24. Sara J. Mahler, *American Dreaming: Immigrant Life on the Margins* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 17.

25. According to Jennifer Gordon, the Workplace Project originally served as a "bare-bones legal clinic," which also offered a "Worker's Course," instructing members in U.S. labor and immigration history, labor law, and organizing techniques. See the documentary film *So Goes a Nation: Lawyers and Communities*, produced by New York Lawyers for the Public Interest, the Louis Stein Center for Ethics, and Public Interest Law at Fordham University School of Law, with the *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 1997.

26. Members—especially those working as day laborers—were also plagued by harassment as they waited for work on street corners.

27. The Unpaid Wages Prohibition Act increased the minimum penalty for underpayment or nonpayment of wages to $500 and the maximum fine to $20,000. "Pataki Signs Unpaid Wages Bill," *Buffalo News*, September 19, 1997.

28. Jennifer Gordon, *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2005), 143.

29. Ibid., 132.

30. Ibid., 180.

31. See Fine, *Worker Centers*, 79–85.

32. Ibid., 85.

33. U.S. federal law on wages and hours was established by the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), which applies to businesses engaged in interstate commerce or with annual sales over $500,000. Smaller businesses—such as those in landscaping or contracting or restaurants—are not subject to this law. The Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act covers only farmworkers.

34. George Fishmond, as quoted in Reinholz, "Immigrants Find the Island." Further, as Alicia Schmidt Camacho argues, the IIRIRA "racialized migrants as a threat to national security and economic health." Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 200. See also Massey and Durand, *Crossing the Border*.

35. Inda, *Targeting Immigrants*, 176–77.

36. Their approach was analogous to the ways that Duggan describes civil rights lobbies during the 1980s, which "engaged the politics of the possible, often with the hope of using liberalism's own languages and rules to force change beyond the boundaries of liberal equality." Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality?* xviii.

37. Gordon, *Suburban Sweatshops*, 251.

38. Ibid., 252. In a *New York Times* article, Steven Greenhouse notes that the Long Island chapter of the New York State Restaurant Association supported the bill, "even though immigrant advocates say restaurants are among the employers who most often failed to pay wages properly." Greenhouse also

notes that the New York Farm Bureau's members most fervently objected to the bill. Greenhouse, "Bill Seeks to Make Sure Immigrants Get Paid," *New York Times*, June 30, 1997, 4.

39. Gordon, *Suburban Sweatshops*, 105.

40. Ibid., 257.

41. Gordon has described this as "very different than traditional advocacy efforts on behalf of poor people." Ibid., 271.

42. Ibid., 272.

43. Ibid.

44. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 301.

45. In a March 1997 meeting between the Workplace Project and a Republican senator, the senator asked Luz—who had given the opening presentation on the Unpaid Wages Prohibition Act—why "this bill isn't going to flood the state with illegals?" His question was translated to Luz, who responded in Spanish "Esta ley no da a inmigrantes indocumentados ningún derecho que no tenían antes" (This law doesn't give undocumented immigrants any rights they didn't already have). The translator continued, "New York already requires that undocumented workers be paid minimum wage, so that employers don't take jobs away from citizens. This bill only raises the penalties to deter repeat violators." Gordon, *Suburban Sweatshops*, 256.

46. Ibid., 276.

47. Robert D. McFadden, "At Rally, Suffolk Residents Protest Illegal Immigration," *New York Times*, October 15, 2000. The name change borrows from former New York City mayor Rudolph Guiliani's concept of "quality of life."

48. Jackson B. Miller, "'Legal or Illegal? Documented or Undocumented?' The Struggle over Brookhaven's Neighborhood Preservation Act," *Communication Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (2003): 80.

49. In 1999 SQL began to work with anti-immigrant organizations, including the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and Glenn Spencer's American Patrol. Southern Poverty Law Center, *Climate of Fear: Latino Immigrants in Suffolk County, New York* (Montgomery, Ala.: SPLC, 2009), 13, http://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/downloads/splc_suffolk_report_0.pdf.

50. According to Elizabeth Druback-Celaya, who interviewed members of the Farmingville community in 2001 and 2002, many longtime residents viewed Mexican and Central American migrants as not living according to the "basic 'rules' that defined being a member of the Farmingville community," because they believed that these individuals were neither paying taxes nor buying homes in the area. Furthermore, many longtime residents felt that the migrant population was putting a "strain on physical and financial community resources" and that "valuable space in the community [was] being overtaken by migrants" (e.g., "'open air' hiring halls"). Elizabeth Druback-Celaya, "Making Space: The Integration of Mexican Immigrants into New York State

Communities; Farmingville and Poughkeepsie" (Bachelor's thesis, Vassar College, 2002), 25, 28.

51. Ibid., 28.

52. Miller notes, "Competition over space . . . is a theme which, in many respects, dominates Long Island culture." Miller, "Legal or Illegal?" 74.

53. Ken Greenberg, "The Would-Be Science and Art of Making Public Spaces," *Architecture et Comportment/Architecture and Behavior* 6, no. 4 (1990): 324.

54. Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no. 1 (1995): 115.

55. Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality?* 17–18.

56. See Neil Smith, "Giuliani Time: The Revanchist 1990s," *Social Text 57* 16, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 1–20.

57. Druback-Celaya, "Making Space," 28.

58. Migrants' renting—rather than owning—their homes contributed to the Farmingville residents' belief that migrants were "lacking the investment in place that is needed to ensure the care and maintenance of its [their neighborhood's] quality." Ibid., 31. Druback-Celaya obtained this information from her interviews with Farmingville residents.

59. Farmingville is a very small town (population sixteen thousand), which at the time of the workshop was 93.5 percent white, according to the 2000 census. See 2000 Census for Farmingville, New York, http://factfinder.census.gov.

60. In the late 1990s, reporters covering Suffolk County related migrants' housing issues to a lack of affordable housing on Long Island. See, for example, Cooper, "Laborers Wanted"; and Michelle Salcedo, "Left Homeless: Mexican Workers Evicted in Raids at Crowded Rentals," *Newsday*, Suffolk County ed., July 24, 1998.

61. Cooper, "Laborers Wanted."

62. Southern Poverty Law Center, *Climate of Fear*.

63. Cooper, "Laborers Wanted."

64. McFadden, "At Rally, Suffolk Residents Protest."

65. Southern Poverty Law Center, *Climate of Fear*, 13.

66. Charlie LeDuff, "Immigrant Workers Tell of Being Lured and Beaten," *New York Times*, September 20, 2000. For more on the experiences of Long Island day laborers, see the documentary film *Farmingville*, DVD/VHS, dir. Carlos Sandoval and Catherine Tambini (New York: Camino Bluff, 2004).

67. This was clearly hypocritical, since one of SQL's main complaints was that day laborers on street corners created traffic hazards. See Fine, *Worker Centers*, 18. In 2001 the county legislature approved the bill to give $80,000 to create a hiring hall in Farmingville. The center was later vetoed by Republican county executive Robert Gaffney. Al Baker, "In Suffolk, Bill for Day Laborer

Center Is Vetoed," *New York Times*, April 6, 2001, B-5; Elissa Gootman, "Temperature Rise over Immigrants," *New York Times*, April 22, 2001; Cooper, "Laborers Wanted"; LeDuff, "Immigrant Workers Tell."

68. Canales, telephone conversation.

69. Ibid.

70. Cohen, "Why Roses with Our Bread?" 142.

71. Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers*, 13.

72. Ibid., 50.

73. Arias has argued that migrants from Central America—including those from El Salvador, from which many of the Unseen America workshop participants migrated—"keep themselves on the margins of social visibility." Arias, "Central American–Americans," 168. See also Mahler, *American Dreaming*.

74. Cohen, telephone conversation.

75. By 2003, Linda Markstein and Naomi Woronov had developed the *Unseen America Teacher's Guide*. Markstein and Woronov, *Unseen America Teacher's Guide* (New York: Bread and Roses Cultural Project, New York Health and Human Service Employees International Union 1199/SEIU, 2003).

76. Matthew Septimus, interview with author, December 26, 2003.

77. Ibid.

78. Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers*, 15.

79. It should be noted that the photographer who took this picture was unidentified in both local and national exhibitions of this work. In the context of the local exhibition, the day laborers were identified collectively, whereas at the DOL, a few were identified by name, which is how I know who took some of the pictures.

80. Shandray Gabbay, "Latino Laborers Turned a Camera on Themselves," *New York Times*, October 28, 2001. Although these images did not have titles when displayed at SUNY–Stony Brook, they were given titles by the Bread and Roses staff for the DOL exhibition.

81. Liz Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2001), 121.

82. Catherine Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2013), 33.

83. See Wendy Hesford and Wendy Kozol, "Introduction," in *Just Advocacy? Women's Human Rights, Transnational Feminisms, and the Politics of Representation*, ed. Wendy Hesford and Wendy Kozol (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

84. Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 33.

85. Of all the photographs that they took during the workshop, Workplace Project staff member Carlos Canales indicated that the day laborers viewed the pictures of waiting for work as the most political. Canales, telephone conversation.

86. Materials from the Unseen America exhibition at SUNY–Stony Brook were available at Bread and Roses Cultural Project in New York City.

87. Matthew Septimus, telephone conversation with author, December 26, 2003.

88. Ibid.

89. English translations of the captions were also available at the exhibition. Materials from the Unseen America exhibition at SUNY–Stony Brook were available at Bread and Roses Cultural Project in New York City.

90. Septimus, telephone conversation.

91. There was at least one exception: a photograph of day laborers standing by an inflatable giant rat during a demonstration against a contractor who owed them back wages. For information on these protests against Kevin Dutton, the owner of the Wildflower Landscaping Design and Construction Firm, which started in June 2000, see Valerie Burgher, "Laborers Protest Disputed Back Wages," *Newsday*, November 12, 2000, A-29.

92. See Esther Cohen, ed., *Unseen America: Photos and Stories by Workers* (New York: Reagan Books, 2006), 158.

93. For the DOL exhibition, this image was titled *A Dream Come True* by the staff of Bread and Roses (photograph by Nelson).

94. The other show took place at the Union Gallery, and it also featured the work of Local 32B-J of SEIU and Local 23–25 of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. See also Gabbay, "Latino Laborers."

95. The exhibits took place during a campus celebration of Hispanic Heritage Month in October 2001.

96. The exhibition was organized by Betty Angolia after she read an article about the show at SUNY–Stony Brook in *Newsday*. Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers*, 86.

97. All of these captions were from the Unseen America exhibition at SUNY–Stony Brook, and were available at Bread and Roses Cultural Project, New York. I made a few grammatical changes to the text, based on suggestions from Diego Bustos, who helped copyedit the Spanish text.

98. Luis was one of the few Mexicans in the group. Some—but not all—day laborers preferred to remain anonymous, and they did not include their names with the captions. In one caption, an anonymous day laborer wrote: "Los inmigrantes no pretenden hacer ningún daño. Quizás los cuadros ayudarán a otros a entendernos major—basados en algo que es verdadero—no lo que ellos piensan que somos" (Immigrants intend no harm. The pictures will help others to understand us better—based on something that is real—not what they think we are).

99. As mentioned earlier, members of the Workplace Project had not even considered bringing their Unpaid Wages Prohibition Act to President Bill Clinton's DOL in the mid- to late 1990s, due to their concerns that the DOL would pass on information about the complainants' residency to the INS.

100. A July 2008 report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office found that the Wage and Hour Division's (WHD) response to complaints was inadequate, citing numerous "instances where WHD inappropriately rejected complaints, failed to adequately investigate complaints or neglected to investigate until it was too late." U.S. Government Accountability Office, "Department of Labor: Case Studies from Ongoing Work Show Examples in Which Wage and Hour Division Did Not Adequately Pursued Labor Violations" (testimony before the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, July 15, 2008).

101. "Vision," http://www.dol.gov/_sec/media/reports/annual2003/message-mission.htm. According to labor journalist David Moberg, the Bush administration "eliminated many of former President Clinton's initiatives, including rules to prevent cumulative trauma disorders, and the federal government labor-management cooperation programs." Furthermore, the Bush administration also "slashed enforcement of workplace safety and work standards and withdrew two-dozen planned safety regulations." David Moberg, "Forge a Coalition with Labor," *In These Times*, July 15, 2004, 22.

102. Esther Cohen, e-mail to author, June 23, 2004.

103. Rosler, "Post-Documentary," 228.

104. After appearing at the DOL, the exhibition was brought to the Take Back America Conference, the Jobs with Justice Conference, and SEIU Local 150 in Milwaukee in 2003. In 2004 the exhibit traveled to the AFL-CIO Conference, the Social Responsibility Network Conference, the Labor Religion Coalition's annual meeting, and the Society for Photographic Education's annual conference.

105. Esther Cohen, as quoted in Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers*, 14.

106. This show at the DOL was based on an exhibition at Gallery 1199, Bread and Roses' exhibition space in New York City. The show included photographs by workers associated with unions 1199SEIU, DC 37 Social Service Employees Union Local 371, the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 23–25, and SEIU Local 32B-J, as well as non-unionized migrants affiliated with workers' centers, such as the Damayan Filipino workers' center in New York City.

107. Esther Cohen, conversation with author, New York, July 9, 2004.

108. The SEIU added 150,000 new members between 2000 and 2002. Catherine Haughney, "Through Workers' Eyes, a Different City," *Washington Post*, November 25, 2002.

109. Esther Cohen, as quoted in Sarah Marcisz, "A Picture's Worth," *Washington Times*, May 21, 2003.

110. Ibid.

111. Elaine Chao, as quoted in Marcisz, "A Picture's Worth."

112. Lauren Berlant, "Introduction: Compassion (and Withholding)," in *Compassion: The Culture and Politics of an Emotion*, ed. Lauren Berlant (London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

113. Woodward, "Calculating Compassion," 60–61.

114. Berlant, "Introduction," 9.

115. Fletcher, "Labor Department Accused."

116. Berlant, "Introduction," 2.

117. Although many newspapers across the country reviewed local exhibitions of Unseen America, the exhibition at the DOL was reviewed in national magazines, notably *Newsweek*, which displayed a slideshow of Unseen America images on its website, and network television news programs, such as *ABC World News Tonight* (May 10, 2003).

118. See the DOL's "vision" in their annual report of 2006: http://www.dol.gov/_sec/media/reports/annual2006/MDA.htm.

119. Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 16.

120. Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers*, 27.

2. The Border's Frame

1. Vilma Velez, Wilfredo Morel, and Nick Cannell, conversation with the author, HRHCare, Peekskill, New York, January 5, 2010.

2. Anne Nolon, telephone conversation with the author, February 8, 2010.

3. David Fitzgerald asserts that what are frequently referred to as transnational relationships are actually translocal ones, and he notes that "migrants' strongest cross-border links are often highly *localistic* ties between particular sending areas and their satellites in the receiving country." Fitzgerald, "Beyond 'Transnationalism': Mexican Hometown Politics at an American Labor Union," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004): 231.

4. According to Silvia Esqueda, promotores and promotoras are "community members who serve as liaisons between their community and health, human and social service organizations." In the 1950s, promotores and promotoras were developed in parts of Latin America to bring health care to people who had no previous access to it. By the late 1980s, promotores and promotoras were working in migrant and farmworker communities in the United States. Esqueda, "Implementing a Promotoras Comunitarias Model," http://www.cabhp.asu.edu/about/News/images/BUSTING_Myths/pdfs/9janextended/Session16%20Esqueda%20Slides.pdf.

5. In the introduction to the book *Unseen America: Photos and Stories by Workers*, Esther Cohen describes Unseen America as a form of national culture similar to the Federal Writers' Project, noting that "a strong national culture holds countless different visions—voices of all pitches from the myriads of jobs, experiences, and perspectives that make up our society." Cohen, "Introduction," in *Unseen America: Photos and Stories by Workers* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), xix.

6. Barbara Hill, telephone conversation with the author, January 16, 2009.

7. Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 26, 317; Segura and Zavella, "Introduction," 3.

8. Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 65.

9. Elizabeth Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation with the author, March 8, 2010.

10. Ibid.

11. Participants in La Ciénega spoke about the Communities without Borders project in *Unseen America: Seeking Health through Art*, a short video about the project directed by HRHCare staff member Nick Cannell.

12. Jo Margaret Mano and Linda Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street: Mexican Immigration and Urban Revitalization in Poughkeepsie, New York," *Middle States Geographer* 39 (2006): 76–83.

13. HRHCare's precursor, the Peekskill Area Ambulatory Health Center, was founded in the early 1970s by four African American women from Peekskill, New York: Mary Woods, Pearl Woods, Willie Mae Jackson, and the Reverend Jeanette Phillips. *The Peekskill Founding Mothers*, dir. Nick Cannell, Hudson River HealthCare Inc. Available on Hudson River HealthCare's Facebook page.

14. Mano and Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street." According to Jeffrey H. Cohen and Leila Rodríguez, since the mid-twentieth century, migration from Oaxaca has followed that of Mexico more generally. Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes in Rural Oaxaca, Mexico: Challenges, Options, and Opportunities for Migrant Households" (Working Papers, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, August 1, 2004), 5.

15. Allison Mountz and Richard Wright, "Daily Life in the Transnational Migrant Community of San Agustín, Oaxaca, and Poughkeepsie, New York," *Diaspora* 5, no. 3 (1996): 404; and Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes," 6.

16. Oaxaca is part of the Mixteca-Sur (south-central Mexico), which includes the states of Puebla and Guerrero. Between November 1991 and January 1992, President Salinas revised aspects of Article 27, which as Jones and Ward argue, allowed "*ejidos* (communal lands) to convert 'use' rights into individual rights to sell, rent, or mortgage land to non-*ejido* members, and to set up joint venture contracts with domestic or foreign private companies." Gareth A. Jones and Peter M. Ward, "Privatizing the Commons: Reforming the *Ejido* and Urban Development in Mexico," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22, no. 1 (March 1998): 77–78.

17. Wayne Cornelius and David Myhre, "Introduction," in *The Transformation of Rural Mexico: Reforming the Ejido Sector*, ed. Wayne Cornelius and David Myhre (La Jolla, Calif.: Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1998), 5.

18. Liliana Rivera-Sánchez, "Expressions of Identity and Belonging: Mexican Immigrants in New York," in *Indigenous Mexican Immigrants in the United*

States, ed. Jonathan Fox and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado (La Jolla, Calif.: Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2004), 419.

19. Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 125.

20. Mountz and Wright, "Daily Life," 404.

21. As Lawrence A. Brown, Tamara E. Mott, and Edward J. Malecki have argued, Mexican migration since 1990 has significantly increased in small cities and towns across the United States. Brown, Mott, and Malecki, "Immigrant Profiles of U.S. Urban Areas and Agents of Resettlement," *Professional Geographer* 59, no. 1 (2007): 56–73.

22. Mountz and Wright, "Daily Life," 407.

23. Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes." These statistics were drawn from Anuario Estadístico Oaxaca, vol. 2, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), Aguascalientes, México, 2001.

24. Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes." See also Brian J. Godfrey, "New Urban Ethnic Landscapes," in *Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America*, ed. Inés M. Miyares and Christopher A. Airriess (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).

25. Brown, Mott, and Malecki, "Immigrant Profiles," 57.

26. Godfrey, "New Urban Ethnic Landscapes," 334; and Mano and Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street," 78, 81.

27. Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes," 23.

28. Mountz and Wright, "Daily Life," 409.

29. Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes," 23.

30. In this chapter, I use the term *translocal community* to describe La Ciénega and Poughkeepsie, but Jonathan Fox and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado refer to a "transnational community" in this specific context. Fox and Rivera-Salgado, "Introduction," in *Indigenous Mexican Immigrants in the United States*, ed. Jonathan Fox and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado (La Jolla, Calif.: Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies and Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2004), 26.

31. Godfrey, "New Urban Ethnic Landscapes," 334. Between 1990 and 2000, the Latina/o population of Poughkeepsie tripled. This is probably an underestimate, since the census tends not to include undocumented residents in its statistics, and 91 percent of Mexicans in Poughkeepsie who were born in Mexico were undocumented in 2000. Mano and Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street," 77–78.

32. Mano and Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street," 77. See also E. Lynch, "Hispanic Numbers Rise: Mexicans Are Flocking to the City," *Poughkeepsie Journal*, June 27, 2001.

33. Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes," 6.

34. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 290. See also Massey and Durand, *Crossing the Border*.

35. The rise in enforcement has meant additional risks for border crossers, as routes have become more difficult and more dangerous, and the fees paid to "coyotes" (smugglers) have also risen. Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes," 26.

36. Pilar Parra and Max Pfeffer, "New Immigrants and Rural Communities: The Challenges of Integration," in "The Border Next Door: New York Migraciónes," ed. Margaret Gray and Carlos Decena, special issue, *Social Text* (Fall 2006): 85. See also Douglas Massey and Jorge Durand, "What We Learned from the Mexican Migration Project," in *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project*, ed. Douglas Massey and Jorge Durand (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004); Fernando Riosmena, "Return versus Settlement among Undocumented Mexican Immigrants," in *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project*, ed. Douglas Massey and Jorge Durand (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004); and Cohen and Rodríguez, "Remittance Outcomes."

37. Parra and Pfeffer, "New Immigrants," 95.

38. Comité Latino was based on a model of grassroots organizing that HRHCare had developed by identifying leaders in the African American community. *The Peekskill Founding Mothers.*

39. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

40. Ibid.

41. As Schmidt Camacho notes, this was also the case for Mexican migrants in the United States. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 304. See also Jeffrey Passell, "Unauthorized Immigrants: Numbers and Characteristics," in *Pew Hispanic Center Project Report* (Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, 2005).

42. Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation.

43. Mano and Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street," 76–83.

44. Harvey Flad, "Digital Tour of Poughkeepsie," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n2ndeiaI2WM.

45. Godfrey, "New Urban Ethnic Landscapes," 336.

46. Ibid., 336, 348; Mano and Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street," 80.

47. Articles published in the *Poughkeepsie Journal* helped foster an understanding of the Oaxacan migrants living in Poughkeepsie.

48. Mano and Greenow, "Mexico Comes to Main Street," 81. As Parra and Pfeffer have described, the events in Poughkeepsie have also taken place in other small cities and towns in New York State. They argue that the "rejuvenation of some downtown business districts with stores that cater to immigrants provides an indication that the integration of farm workers into community life can prove to be an important resource in revitalizing local economies." Parra and Pfeffer, "New Immigrants," 95.

49. Druback-Celaya, "Making Space." The attitude of long-term Poughkeepsie residents toward Mexican migrants has developed over decades.

50. Ibid., 40. The Family Partnership Center houses twenty different health and human service agencies. The center includes food and emergency services, health care, job training, adult and youth education opportunities, youth development and recreation programs, mediation and legal services, mental health services and emotional support, crime victims and battered women's services, and theater and arts programs. See http://www.familypartnership center.org.

51. As Druback-Celaya contends, the presence of the Mexican population in Poughkeepsie is "not in contradiction to the overall community." Druback-Celaya, "Making Space," 16.

52. Ibid., 40. See also Elizabeth Lynch, "Programs Break Down Barriers for Newcomers," *Poughkeepsie Journal*, July 16, 1998; and Shawn Cohen, "Agencies, Schools Reach Out to Spanish-Speaking People," *Poughkeepsie Journal*, December 27, 1998.

53. Druback-Celaya, "Making Space," 42.

54. Ibid., 41. See also Lynch, "Programs Break Down Barriers"; and Cohen, "Agencies."

55. Godfrey, "New Urban Ethnic Landscapes," 334.

56. Helen J. Johnston, "An Overview of the Growth and Development of the U.S. Migrant Health Program," *Migration Today* 12, nos. 4–5 (1984): 13. Much of the funding for these services came from the Migrant Health Act, which was signed by John F. Kennedy in 1962 and enabled the Public Health Service to disburse grants to organizations to provide health clinics for seasonal migrants and farm workers. In 1964, when the Bracero Program ended, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's (HEW) general counsel ruled that Migrant Health Program Services should include "foreign" as well as "domestic" workers. In 1975 Congress permitted neighborhood health centers to serve as "community and migrant health centers." Ibid.

57. More recent federal policies include the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005, which requires that Medicaid applicants provide documentation of citizenship, and the 2010 Affordable Care Act, which excludes undocumented migrants. Gilbert Gee and Chandra Ford, "Structural Racism and Health Inequities: Old Issues, New Directions," *W.E.B. Du Bois Review* 8, no. 1 (2011).

58. Ibid., 123.

59. For a more critical perspective on health promotion, see Hester, "Bodies in Translation," 168–88. Hester notes that while there were good intentions behind the Ottawa Charter of Health Promotion (1986), scholars have critiqued the ways in which it was taken up in the United States and elsewhere, due in large part to neoliberal policies.

60. Bonnie Lefkowitz, *Community Health Centers: A Movement and the People Who Made It Happen* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 8–9.

61. This vision of the role of community health workers was also part of the Alma Ata Declaration of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1978. In 1989 the WHO defined community health workers as "members of the communities where they work," who "should be selected by the communities, should be answerable to the communities for their activities, should be supported by the healthcare system but not necessarily a part of its organization." World Health Organization, "Strengthening the Performance of Community Health Workers in Primary Health Care," *World Health Organization Technical Report*, Series 780 (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1989), 6.

62. Morel also helped organize the "Open Doors" art project for children. Wilfredo Morel, conversation with the author, January 5, 2010.

63. Bread and Roses originally contacted Barbara Hill, a social worker at HRHCare, who suggested that the workshop be held in Poughkeepsie so the organization could reach out to the "new immigrant and Mexican day laborer population" in that town. Barbara Hill, e-mail to Hudson River HealthCare staff, Peekskill, New York, February 6, 2003.

64. Jenna Loyd, "Where Is Community Health? Racism, the Clinic, and the Biopolitical State," in *Rebirth of the Clinic: Place and Agents in Contemporary Healthcare*, ed. Cindy Patton (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 40–41.

65. According to Seth Holmes, most undocumented migrants do not qualify for Medicare or Medicaid. Holmes, *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 129; Holmes, "An Ethnographic Study of the Social Context of Migrant Health in the United States," *PLOS Medicine* (2006).

66. Loyd, "Where Is Community Health?" 39.

67. Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 144–45, as quoted in Loyd, "Where Is Community Health?" 42–43.

68. Loyd, "Where Is Community Health?" 40.

69. Ibid., 43.

70. Ibid.

71. Vilma Velez, telephone conversation with the author, January 16, 2009. See also the HRHCare press release about the show in Poughkeepsie, October 9, 2003, Hudson River HealthCare, Peekskill, New York.

72. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation. For the workshop at the Family Partnership Center in the summer of 2003, the organization was ultimately successful in recruiting individuals from La Ciénega; close to 95 percent of the participants were from that town. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

76. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation

77. Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers*, 63–64.

78. It should also be noted that Unseen America project participants could not share images digitally, since their family members in Oaxaca did have access to the Internet. Elizabeth Druback-Celaya, e-mail communication with the author, April 2, 2010.

79. As part of Unseen America, many of the participants filled out forms that included questions about their background. Hudson River HealthCare, Peekskill, New York.

80. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

81. As mentioned previously, this emphasis developed from HRHCare staff's early discussions with the director of the Workplace Project and the Bread and Roses staff. Wamba and Curran, *Shadow Catchers*, 63–64.

82. Hudson River HealthCare, PowerPoint presentation for Communities without Borders workshop.

83. Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation. Also in 2003, there was no Internet access in La Ciénega, so family members could not use technologies such as Skype that would let them see each other. Vilma Velez, conversation with the author, January 5, 2010.

84. Communities without Borders participants, conversation with the author, Hudson River HealthCare, Poughkeepsie, New York, January 5, 2010. Druback-Celaya explained that over the course of the workshop, many participants began to believe that the staff was doing what they could to help their community. Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation

85. Hudson River HealthCare, PowerPoint presentation.

86. Juan Garcia-Nuñez, telephone conversation with the author, February 17, 2010.

87. Patricia Holland, "Introduction," in *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, ed. Patricia Holland and Jo Spence (London: Virago, 1991), 4. Photographs like these are records of family life. Esther noted in the caption to *My Son, Grandson, and Angela* that this image was "a recollection for the little girl . . . on her baptism."

88. Tina Campt, "Family Matters: Diaspora, Difference, and the Visual Archive," *Social Text 98* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 92.

89. One of the main rules of photographic composition is the rule of thirds. "In the rule of thirds, photos are divided into thirds with two imaginary lines vertically and two lines horizontally making three columns, three rows, and nine sections in the images. Important compositional elements and leading lines are placed on or near the imaginary lines and where the lines intersect." See http://learnprophotography.com/rule-of-thirds/.

90. Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 10.

91. Sonja Vivienne and Jean Burgess, "The Remediation of the Personal Photograph and the Politics of Self-Representation in Digital Storytelling," *Journal of Material Culture* 18, no. 3 (September 2013): 280.

92. Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 34, 35.

93. This comment was on the form Francisca filled out as part of the Unseen America project. Hudson River HealthCare, Peekskill, New York.

94. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

95. Ibid.; Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation

96. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

97. HRHCare's PowerPoint.

98. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

99. There were very few images of men produced during the workshop, although there was one photograph of an elderly man on a donkey in front of a field by Edith Morales Gutiérrez, and another of a man sitting near a field by Elena Celaya Cruz.

100. Nick Cannell, dir., *Unseen America: Seeking Health through Art* (Community Health Productions, 2003), http://vimeo.com/9718725; Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

101. Wilfredo Morel, conversation with the author, January 5, 2010.

102. Cannell, *Unseen America*.

103. Ibid.

104. Lynn Stephen, "Los Nuevos Desaparecidos y Muertos: 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, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 95.

105. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 287. Schmidt Camacho draws on the concept of migrant sorrows from Matthew Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

106. These images also relate to organizing that has taken place in recent years in Oaxaca that has focused on the right *not* to migrate. See Bacon, *The Right to Stay Home*; and Cacho, *Social Death*, 123–24.

107. Another exhibition of this work, *Picturing New Destinies: Nuevos Destinos*, took place at the Dutchess County Community College from February 19 to March 19, 2004.

108. Velez, Morel, and Cannell, conversation.

109. Communities without Borders participants, conversation.

110. The exhibition at Oaxaca City's Los Danzantes restaurant took place from October 31 to November 16, 2003.

111. Francisco Ramírez, "La Ciénega, lazo migrante con Estados Unidos," *Noticias: Voz e Imagen de Oaxaca*, October 29, 2003, 20A.

112. She also writes, "The intensity of one's own family photographs and memories can never be matched by someone else's. . . . We bring an emotional involvement as well as a practical knowledge to the people and events we find between its [family album's] covers. Family photography does not seek

to be understood by all. It is a private medium, its simple imagery enriched by the meanings we bring to it." Holland, "Introduction," 2–3.

113. Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation.

114. Communities without Borders participants, conversation.

115. Ibid.

116. Druback-Celaya, conversation.

117. See https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/hr4437.

118. The Asociación Hispana de Benito Juárez, a hometown association that was established in 2004, was the most powerful Latina/o group in Poughkeepsie at the time. The Asociación Hispana de Benito Juárez sponsors soccer leagues and raises money for projects to help the Poughkeepsie migrant community. The group also contributes to public events organized by Saint Mary's Church, the only Catholic church in Poughkeepsie that offered Mass in Spanish, celebrated religious holidays like Guadalupe Day and the feast day of the Virgen de Juquila (the patron saint of Oaxaca), and organized smaller events, like a Cinco de Mayo festival. Druback-Celaya, telephone conversation. Most members of the organization were permanent residents or immigrants and helped plan some of the events related to "A Day without an Immigrant."

119. While members of HRHCare's Comité Latino helped organize "A Day without an Immigrant" boycott, march, and rally held in Poughkeepsie in 2006 they could not do so through their affiliation with HRHCare. The organization's status as a Federally Qualified Health Center (FQHC) affected the ability of promotores and promotoras to carry their association with HRHCare into another political context. This was related to the HRHCare's conflict of interest policy, which was required for FQHCs by federal law. See "Health Center Program Requirements," U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, updated in October 2012.

120. Inda and Dowling, "Introduction," 3.

121. Cara Anna, "Immigrants across the State Prepare to Demonstrate," *Buffalo News*, April 30, 2006.

122. According to reports in local newspapers, two thousand people participated in the march. See Michael Valkys, "Latinos March in City," *Poughkeepsie Journal*, May 2, 2006, A1; and Patricia Doxsey, "Dutchess Rally Draws Thousands," *Daily Freemen*, May 2, 2006.

123. Chavez notes that these individuals involved themselves in the 2006 immigration rights marches as a "spectacular display of belonging." Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 155.

124. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 232.

125. Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 41.

126. As Anne Nolon, the CEO of HRHCare, stated in *Unseen America: Seeking Health through Art* about the photography project: "It is our hope that through the Unseen America project family members in Mexico and Poughkeepsie, New York, will understand the importance of primary and preventative health

care and will encourage those who can to access healthcare through community health-care centers." Cannell, *Unseen America*.

127. Stephen, *Transborder Lives*, 65.

3. Visible Frictions

1. Chavez, *The Latino Threat,* 144. The title of this chapter references the title of chapter 6 from Chavez's book: "The Minuteman Project's Spectacle of Surveillance on the Arizona–Mexico Border."

2. Wayne Cornelius, "Controlling 'Unwanted Immigration': Lessons from the United States, 1993–2004," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 4 (July 2005): 784. See also Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, "Report N° 78/08, Petition 478–05, Admissibility Undocumented Migrant, Legal Resident, and US Citizen Victims of Anti-Immigrant Vigilantes, United States," August 5, 2009, 4.

3. Chavez, *The Latino Threat,* 151.

4. See Border Film Project's website: http://www.borderfilmproject.com/.

5. For more information on the Minuteman Project, see Chavez, *The Latino Threat*; and Doty, *The Law*.

6. Rudy Adler and Brett Huneycutt, interview on NPR, *Weekend Edition*, September 2006, http://www.borderfilmproject.com/en/press/.

7. I am referring to the photography of David Bacon, Julián Cardona, and Rick Nahmias, as well as the more recent "I Have a Name" project by Tom Feher and Robert Adler.

8. My analysis of the Minutemen's photographs is a response to Laura Wexler's proposal for "scholars of American nationalism to attempt to identify a photographic history of the national gaze." Wexler, "Techniques of the Imaginary Nation," in *Race and the Production of Modern American Nationalism*, ed. Reynolds J. Scott-Childress (New York: Garland, 1999), 379.

9. Pegler-Gordon, *In Sight of America*, 42.

10. Lisa Cartwright and Marita Sturken, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 24.

11. Lawston and Murillo, "Policing Our Border," 186.

12. De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*, 62.

13. Ibid., 60. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 4.

14. Lawston and Murillo, "Policing Our Border," 186.

15. Roxanne Lynn Doty, "The Double Writing of Statecraft: Exploring State Responses to Illegal Immigration," *Alternatives* 21 (1996): 185.

16. Drawing from John Berger, Nevins describes "ways of seeing" as "metaphors for and manifestations of how we perceive the world and act within it." Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the* U.S.*–Mexico Boundary* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 8. See also Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990).

17. Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper*, 10.

18. Gilberto Rosas, "The Thickening Borderlands: Diffused Exceptionality and 'Immigrant' Social Struggles during the 'War on Terror,'" *Cultural Dynamics* 18, no. 3 (2006): 338.

19. Borderlands Autonomist Collective, "Resisting the Security-Industrial Complex: Operation Streamline and the Militarization of the Arizona-Mexico Borderlands," in *Beyond Walls and Cages: Prisons, Borders, and Global Crisis*, ed. Jenna M. Loyd, Matt Mitchelson, and Andrew Burridge (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 191.

20. Alicia Schmidt Camacho, "Migrant Melancholia," in "The Last Frontier? The Contemporary Configuration of the U.S.–Mexico Border," ed. Jane Juffer, special issue, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 105, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 835. A 2009 report from the ACLU and Mexico's National Commission on Human Rights (CNDH) stated that since 1994, more than five thousand migrants had died attempting to reach the United States: "U.S.-Mexico Border Crossing Deaths Are Humanitarian Crisis, According to a Report from the ACLU and the CNDH." See American Civil Liberties Union website, https://www.aclu.org. See also Aviva Chomsky, *Undocumented: How Immigration Became Illegal* (Boston: Beacon Books, 2014), 83.

21. De Genova has written about the construction of "migrant illegality," arguing that the "effective equation of 'illegal immigration' with unauthorized border-crossing has served to continuously restage the U.S.–Mexico border in particular as the theater of the enforcement 'crisis' and thus constantly re-renders 'Mexican' as the distinctive national name for migrant 'illegality.'" De Genova, "The Legal Production," 171.

22. Ibid., 179–80.

23. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 295.

24. See text of the law: https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/hr6061.

25. Jane Juffer, "Introduction," in "The Last Frontier? The Contemporary Configuration of the U.S.–Mexico Border," ed. Jane Juffer, special issue, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 105, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 671; see also Justin Akers Chacón, *No One Is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the US–Mexico Border* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006), 241.

26. Juffer, "Introduction," 666.

27. Doty, *The Law*, 41. Robin Dale Jacobson argues that "the Minuteman Project in the 1990s would have been a fringe group from which the mainstream restrictionist forces would have attempted to distance themselves. In 2006 the line between mainstream and extreme restrictionist forces is not so clear." Jacobson, *The New Nativism: Proposition 187 and the Debate over Immigration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 143.

28. During these hearings, Chris Simcox was also asked to testify. Doty, *The Law*, 41.

29. Ibid., 97.

30. In September 2005, Governor Napolitano gave $1.5 million in emergency aid for law enforcement, repairing fences, and handling "costs related to illegal immigrants deaths" along the U.S.–Mexico boundary. Jimmy Magahern, "Postcards from the Edge," *Phoenix New Times*, October 20, 2005, 1.

31. Doty, *The Law*, 101.

32. Ibid., 10. Emphasis in original.

33. Ibid., 11.

34. Here Gilberto Rosas cites Gary Spencer, the leader of the American Border Patrol, who stated, "Mexican 'immigrants' dilute American culture." Rosas, "The Thickening Borderlands," 342.

35. In May 2012, the Justice Department sued Sheriff Joseph Arpaio of Maricopa County, Arizona. See *United States of America v. Maricopa County Sheriff's Office and Joseph M. Arpaio, Sheriff of Maricopa County, Arizona*. And in July 2012, the federal civil rights lawsuit *Melendres v. Arpaio* was brought to trial in a class-action suit, representing Latinos/as who had been stopped by Sheriff Arpaio's deputies since 2007.

36. Cornelius, "Controlling 'Unwanted Immigration,'" 784. See Inter-American Commission, "Report Nº 78/08," 4.

37. Juffer, "Introduction," 674.

38. Akers Chacón, *No One Is Illegal*, 247. Numerous immigrant rights organizations have documented instances in which vigilantes assaulted undocumented migrants while they rounded them up, detained them at gunpoint, and waited for the Border Patrol to arrive. The federal government ignored the members of vigilante groups who assaulted undocumented migrants. In 2005, Tucson's Border Action Network submitted a petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) of the Organization of American States (OAS), citing the U.S. government for failing to prosecute vigilante violence. See Border Action Network's website section on "No Vigilante Violence": http://www.border action.org. In 2009 the commission ruled that the complaint was admissible and published a report. See Inter-American Commission, "Report Nº 78/08."

39. Rudy Adler, Victoria Criado, and Brett Huneycutt, "Project Background," in *Border Film Project: Photos by Migrants and Minutemen on the U.S.–Mexico Border* (New York: Abrams, 2007). According to an article in the *Phoenix New Times*—published when they were developing the project and Rudy Adler was interested in making a documentary film—Huneycutt stated that he wanted to investigate Arizona's border situation with Mexico. As Huneycutt noted, "The natural intersection for us was a film about immigration." See Magahern, "Postcards from the Edge."

40. The organizers' biographies are available on the Border Film Project's website.

41. Daniel González, "Border Exposures," *Arizona Republic*, March 18, 2008, A1, A17.

42. Magahern, "Postcards from the Edge."

43. Ibid.; and Adler, Criado, and Huneycutt, "Project Background."

44. "La frontera, de ambos lados," November 10, 2006, BBC Mundo, http://news.bbc.co.uk.

45. González, "Border Exposures"; see also Border Film Project website, http://www.borderfilmproject.com/.

46. Sara Inés Calderón, "Filmmakers Look at Immigration from Different Angle," *Brownsville Herald*, September 4, 2005.

47. González, "Border Exposures."

48. According to the book's map, the organizers gave cameras to migrants primarily in the northern border states of Sonora and Chihuahua. Adler, Criado, and Huneycutt, *Border Film Project*.

49. Magahern, "Postcards from the Edge."

50. Wendy Grossman, "Exhibit Offers Snapshots from the Border Crisis," *Houston Chronicle*, November 19, 2006.

51. Calderón, "Filmmakers Look at Immigration."

52. Ibid.; Andrew Junker, "Photographs Capture Life on the Border," *Catholic Sun* online, November 2, 2006, http://www.borderfilmproject.com/press/061102_catholicsun.pdf.

53. "La frontera, de ambos lados."

54. Quoted in Junker, "Photographs Capture Life."

55. Adler and Huneycutt, interview.

56. Adler, Criado, and Huneycutt, "Project Background."

57. Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 63–64.

58. Although some of the Minutemen who surveilled migrants resided in border states, most came from other parts of the country. In many ways, the images produced by Minutemen are informed by what John Urry refers to as the "tourist gaze," which is counter to their "everyday" lives that include work and home. The tourist gaze "is directed to features of the landscape and townscape that separate them off from everyday experience," as well as "certain aspects of the place to be visited which distinguish it from what is conventionally encountered in everyday life." Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), 3, 10.

59. Wexler, "Techniques of the Imaginary Nation," 379.

60. See Stephen, "Los Nuevos Desaparecidos," 91.

61. bell hooks contends: "Travel is not a word that can be easily evoked to talk about the Middle Passage, the Trail of Tears, the landings of Chinese immigrants at Ellis [or Angel] Island, the forced relocation of Japanese-Americans, the plight of the homeless." hooks, *Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1992), 176.

62. Schmidt Camacho, "Migrant Melancholia," 846. Emphasis in original.

63. Camera numbers from *Border Film Project* (2007).

64. Rosas, "The Thickening Borderlands," 32.

65. Juffer, "Introduction," 675.
66. Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 137.
67. Juffer, "Introduction," 665.
68. Ibid., 672.
69. Ibid., 674.
70. Akers Chacón, *No One Is Illegal*, 251.
71. De Genova, "The Legal Production," 176–77.
72. Ibid., 178.
73. Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 132.
74. Lawston and Murillo, "Policing Our Border," 182.
75. De Genova, "The Legal Production," 161. Frank Luntz, the head of a public opinion company, sent a document to Republican politicians entitled "Respect for the Law and Economic Fairness: Illegal Immigration Prevention" emphasizing a law-and-order frame, in which a undocumented migrant crossing the border is deemed to have committed an "illegal" act.
76. Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 137.
77. Some of the images include elements of landscape photography and keep within its aesthetic conventions. The width of the photograph is greater than the height, and the composition is of one-third/two-third horizontal proportions. Wells, *Photography*, 296.
78. De Genova, "The Legal Production," 178.
79. Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper*, 8.
80. Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 150.
81. Sarah Hill has noted that in the years leading up to NAFTA, the mainstream media linked "'dirty' immigrant Mexicans to a 'dirty' border environment," which "not only reinforced existing stereotypes but also provided nativists with another seemingly natural reason to disparage and denigrate Mexicans." Sarah Hill, "Purity and Danger on the U.S.–Mexico Border," in "The Last Frontier? The Contemporary Configuration of the U.S.–Mexico Border," ed. Jane Juffer, special issue, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 105, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 779.
82. Ibid. See also Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Praeger, 1966). Hill also argues, "We can know that an environment is degraded by iconic images of human things inappropriately mingled with nature: tires clogging a waterway, plastic flotsam and jetsam strewn across a patch of desert, or factory smokestacks staining the sky black with billowing emissions. The images indexes deteriorated nature, implicitly narrating human imprints on nature: *People* litter, *industries* pollute." Hill, "Purity and Danger," 781.
83. Hill, "Purity and Danger," 793. Here she mentions the websites of the Minuteman Project and other organizations.
84. Ibid., 781.
85. De Genova, "The Legal Production," 176–77.

86. Almost all of the migrants' images document what De Genova describes as the "perilous and sometimes deadly circumstances required to evade detection" while attempting to cross the border. Ibid., 177.

87. Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 61.

88. James Walsh, "From Border Control to Border Care: The Political and Ethical Potential of Surveillance," in *Governing Immigration through Crime: A Reader*, ed. Jonathan X. Inda and Julie A. Dowling (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013), 285.

89. Schmidt Camacho, "Migrant Melancholia," 832.

90. Peter Osborne, *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel, and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 147.

91. Stephen, "Los Nuevos Desaparecidos," 94.

92. Magahern, "Postcards from the Edge."

93. Stephen, "Los Nuevos Desaparecidos," 92.

94. I am drawing on Schmidt Camacho's argument that "the narration of migrant sorrows constitutes a political act." Schmidt Camacho, "Migrant Melancholia," 833.

95. Magahern, "Postcards from the Edge."

96. Ibid.

97. Quoted in Junker, "Photographs Capture Life."

98. See http://www.borderfilmproject.com.

99. Photographs from the Border Film Project were exhibited at Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska; the Scottsdale Museum of Contemporary Art, Scottsdale, Arizona; New York University, New York City; DiverseWorks, Houston, Texas; Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Seattle University, Seattle, Washington; Gage Gallery, Chicago, Illinois; University of Texas, El Paso; and Buffalo Arts Studio, New York. The organizers also showed the images at the Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos in Mexico City during the International Migration Conference in October 2006. For exhibition dates, see the Border Film Project's website: http://www.borderfilmproject.com.

100. Cassandra Coblentz, telephone conversation with author, October 20, 2015.

101. Quoted in Rena Rapuano, "Bridging the Divide," *Museum News* 5, no. 6 (November/December 2006): 12. Further, senior curator Marilu Knode noted that the show presented immigration in a different way by "giving the cameras to the actual people involved," which "gives us a personal face to a very, very complicated situation." Quoted in Brady McCombs, "Minutemen, Crossers Picture the Border," *Arizona Daily Star*, October 19, 2006.

102. Ljiljana Ciric, "Bridging the Border: Film Project Illustrates Both Sides of Border Debate," October 5, 2006, Arizona State University, WebDevil.com.

103. Wall labels copyright SMoCA.

104. One museum attendee (Lila, from Tucson) commented on the space at the exhibit, noting that it "mimics the feel of a border—inclusion and exclusion." Copyright SMoCA.

105. Coblentz, telephone conversation.

106. Junker, "Photographs Capture Life."

107. Quoted in Ciric, "Bridging the Border."

108. Allan Sekula, "Photography between Labor and Capital," in *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures, 1948–1968: A Selection from the Negative Archives of Shedden Studio, Glatt Buy, Cape Breton*, ed. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh and Robert Wilkie (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983), 194.

109. Ibid.

110. Chris Kraus also noted that "nowhere in the exhibition does the project suggest a causal relation between first-world wealth and Third-World poverty." Kraus, "The Border Film Project: Scottsdale Museum of Contemporary Art," *Art Forum* (January 2007): 257–58. Art historian Claudia Mesch argued that the exhibition of Border Film Project at SMoCA "echoes the state of current discourse in US border policy, since it too presents localized migration problems as a stalemate that pits one population against the other rather than revealing it as a stage where global markets intertwine and mutate." Mesch, *Art and Politics: A Small History of Art for Social Change since 1945* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 185.

111. Schmidt Camacho, "Migrant Melancholia," 832.

112. Magahern, "Postcards from the Edge."

113. In both Unseen America projects that I describe, the photographers addressed their images primarily to members of their local and translocal communities. It was only the exhibitions at the Department of Labor and at the Danzantes restaurant that were addressed to "outside" audiences.

114. Holland, "Introduction," 2–3.

115. Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 6.

116. Junker, "Photographs Capture Life"; and Adler and Huneycutt, interview.

117. Junker, "Photographs Capture Life."

118. Sekula, "Photography between Labor and Capital," 195.

119. Some of the critical reviews mentioned the organizers' lack of awareness of the Minutemen's performance for the camera. In a local newspaper article following an exhibition at DiverseWorks in Houston, reviewer Kelly Klaasmeyer noted that when watching the video that was shown as part of the exhibition, "you get the sense that the Minutemen . . . aren't exactly putting all their cards on the table for the filmmakers." Klaasmeyer, "Migrants and Minutemen," *Houston Press*, November 30, 2006, http://www.houstonpress.com.

120. McCombs, "Minutemen, Crossers."

121. Junker, "Photographs Capture Life," 12–13.

122. In a review entitled "Bridging the Divide," Rapuano commented: "Both the project collaborators and the museum curators were struck by how similar themes emerged from the photos of the migrants and the Minutemen." Rapuano, "Bridging the Divide," 12.

123. The organizers interviewed Mexicans and Central Americans who planned to cross the U.S.–Mexico border, those already living in the United States, and their relatives in El Salvador and Mexico. They also interviewed members of the Minuteman Project at "observation sites" along the border and leaders of the Minuteman Project in Washington, D.C. Adler, Criado, and Huneycutt, "Project Background."

124. Ibid.

125. Sekula, "Photography between Labor and Capital," 195–96.

126. The ordering of the images can be determined by consulting with the section on "Camera Photographer's Information" at the center of the book. Some of the notes include information about where the migrants came from—including Mexico and countries in Central America, such as Honduras and Guatemala—as well as where the cameras were mailed from in the United States.

127. Sekula, "Photography between Labor and Capital," 197.

128. Ibid. Emphasis in original.

129. Duggan, *Twilight of Equality?*, xxi.

130. De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*, 72.

131. For example, Jacobson notes, "In August 2006, their Web site featured articles on the Reconquista movement, 'Hezbollah Invading U.S. from Mexico,' undocumented immigrants' claims about political takeover, and a recent MMP demonstration at Ground Zero." Jacobson, *The New Nativism*, 143. Arturo J. Aldama argues that in groups like the Minutemen, "vigilantism is tied to [the] ideas of racial xenophobia and to fears of how they perceive the reconquest of the Southwest by Mexico and Mexican immigrants." Aldama, "Fears of Aztlán/Fears of the Reconquista: White Men as New (Old) Nativ(ist)e Americans," in *Comparative Indigeneities of the Americas: Towards a Hemispheric Approach*, ed. M. Bianet Castellanos, Lourdes Gutiérrez Nájera, and Arturo J. Aldama (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 156.

132. Lawston and Murillo, "Policing Our Border," 182.

133. Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 10.

134. See http://www.borderfilmproject.com/en/photo-gallery/.

135. Cartwright and Sturken, *Practices of Looking*, 29.

136. Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 135.

137. Sekula, "Photography between Labor and Capital," 195.

138. Ibid., 194.

139. Lawston and Murillo, "Policing Our Border," 186.

140. In the organizers' statement, they note, "When they [Minutemen] spot migrants and smugglers, they avoid direct confrontation and instead call the

Border Patrol. Our time with the Minutemen gave us a view of the so-called 'vigilantes' that was much more nuanced than the caricatures painted by the media. We realized that these *volunteers* are by and large concerned Americans, trying to do their part to make the United States a safer place and to protect American jobs" (my emphasis). Adler, Criado, and Huneycutt, "Project Background."

141. They also emphasize that many of the Minutemen are retired veterans or law enforcement officers, and thus, their work allows them to "continue their lives of public service by volunteering to do what they believe the U.S. government should be doing—regaining control of the U.S. border with Mexico." Ibid.

142. De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*, 91.

143. Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 96.

144. Akers Chacón describes the Minutemen's media strategy during their monthlong action and publicity event in April 2005, as well as the media's uncritical reception of the group. He contends that the Minutemen "were able to present themselves as a unified, national movement, acting on behalf of U.S. public opinion." In response, he notes that the media "devour[ed] it [their message] whole" by representing the Minutemen as "concerned citizens." Akers Chacón, *No One Is Illegal*, 261.

145. Ibid.

146. For example, Simcox was arrested on a weapons charge. See Doty, *The Law*, 33; and Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 136.

147. The organizers include a quote from a Minuteman leader in Washington, in which he said that he "works tirelessly to help people focus their anger and frustration on Washington, not on the people who come across the border." However, previous to the mainstreaming of the Minutemen in 2005, one of the group's founders, Chris Simcox, spoke differently about the possible ways that members could interact with unauthorized migrants, noting that "so far we have been restrained, but I'm afraid that our restraint is wearing thin. Take heed of our weapons because we're going to defend our borders by any means necessary." Juffer, "Introduction," 666. This quotation from Simcox was originally published in Amanda Susskind and Joanna Mendelson's "Extremists at the Border: Minuteman Project about More Than Enforcing Policy," *L.A. Daily News*, May 15, 2005.

148. De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*, 62. Emphasis in original.

149. Adler, Criado, and Huneycutt, "Project Background." These statements relate to Lisa Marie Cacho's argument that "the human value of undocumented laborers is measured only in terms of their economic value for the American middle-class." Cacho, *Social Death*, 19.

150. See Linda Bosniak, "'Nativism' the Concept: Some Reflections," in *Immigrants Out: The New Nativism and Anti-immigrant Impulse in the United States*, ed. Juan Perea (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 288.

151. Ibid., 289.

152. David Michael Smith, "Photo Book Looks at Illegal Immigration from Both Sides of the Fence," *Daily News* (Galveston, Texas), May 27, 2007, D6.

153. De Genova, *Working the Boundaries*, 74. Specifically, he argues, "The refusal to recognize the history of colonization in U.S. nation-state formation has a rather direct relevance for any consideration of Mexican migration." Ibid., 75.

154. Ibid., 74–75.

155. Ibid., and Janice Radway, "What's in a Name: Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, 20 November 1998," *American Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1999): 12.

4. Refusing Disposability

1. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, a maquiladora is "a foreign-owned factory in Mexico at which imported parts are assembled by lower-paid workers into products for export," http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/maquiladora.

2. In Mexico, an *asociación civil* is a nonprofit organization.

3. Rosa-Linda Fregoso, "*Maquilápolis*: An Interview with Vicky Funari and Sergio De La Torre," *Camera Obscura* 25, no. 274 (2010): 177.

4. Ibid. The first quote in the sentence was from De La Torre and the second from Funari.

5. Beattie, *Documentary Screens*, 118.

6. Aufderheide, *The Daily Planet*, 215.

7. Ibid., 216. Beattie notes that "first-person video developed in the United States from a basis in social activism and investigation in which video was used as a tool to document social problems." Beattie, *Documentary Screens*, 118.

8. Although not all women maquila workers are migrants, most of those who participated in the making of the film migrated to Tijuana from elsewhere in Mexico. In an e-mail, Vicki Funari wrote, "The majority of the women in our group (12 in the first video workshop, and then a fluctuating group of about 10 over the next four years, as some women left and new women came into the project during subsequent workshops) were migrants, though they had been in Tijuana for much of their lives." Vicky Funari, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015.

9. I would like to thank Rosa-Linda Fregoso for her comments on a paper that I gave about *Maquilápolis* at the American Studies Association's Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, October 10–14, 2007.

10. Sergio De La Torre, conversation with the author, San Francisco, California, July 31, 2012.

11. Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-four-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), 106. During the Bracero Program (1942–1964), the populations of Mexican border cities, such as Tijuana

and Ciudad Juárez, grew, since these were the locations where U.S. companies hired Mexican workers. Kathryn Kopinak, "Globalization in Tijuana Maquiladoras: Using Historical Antecedents and Migration to Test Globalization Models," in *Tijuana Dreaming: Life and Art at the Global Border*, ed. Josh Kun and Fiamma Montezemolo (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012), 79. Even after the Bracero Program ended, Mexicans migrated to northern border cities, as they believed there might be work there. The end of the Bracero Program led to the repatriation of 178,000 workers from the United States to Mexico, which contributed to the 250,000 unemployed workers living in Mexican border cities in the mid-1960s. Cowie, *Capital Moves*, 110.

12. Devon G. Peña, *The Terror of the Machine: Technology, Work, Gender, and Ecology on the U.S.–Mexico Border* (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas, 1997), 50; and Milagros Peña, *Latina Activists across Borders: Women's Grassroots Organizing in Mexico and Texas* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007), 78. For information on maquiladoras in Juárez, see Alejandro Lugo, *Fragmented Lives, Assembled Parts: Culture, Capitalism, and Conquest at the U.S.–Mexico Border* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 72. Donald Baerresen wrote a guide to the BIP in 1971, which also describes the multinational corporate interest in hiring women to work in the maquilas. See Baerresen, *Border Industrialization Program of Mexico* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath—Lexington Books, 1971), 34–35.

13. Cowie, *Capital Moves*, 119.

14. Kopinak, "Globalization in Tijuana Maquiladoras," 80. Here, Kopinak draws on research conducted for her book *Desert Capitalism: Maquiladoras in North America's Western Industrial Corridor* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 105.

15. Peña, *The Terror of the Machine*, 50, 259; and Susan Tiano, *Patriarchy on the Line: Labor, Gender, and Ideology in the Mexican Maquila Industry* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 164.

16. Kopinak, "Globalization in Tijuana Maquiladoras," 76.

17. Peña, *Latina Activists across Borders,* 76.

18. Joshua Kagan, "Workers' Rights in the Mexican Maquiladora Sector: Collective Bargaining, Women's Rights, and General Human Rights; Laws, Norms, and Practices," *Journal of Transnational Literature and Policy* (2005–2006): 174.

19. Ibid., 153.

20. Such as George Kourous, "Workers' Health Is on the Line: Occupational Health and Safety in the Maquiladoras," in *The Maquiladora Reader: Cross-Border Organizing since NAFTA*, ed. Rachel Kamel and Anya Hoffman (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1999), 36.

21. Kagan, "Workers' Rights in the Mexican Maquiladora Sector," 159–60.

22. Ibid., 163–64.

23. This is from the Ley Federal del Trabajo (Mexican Federal Labor Law).

24. Tiano, *Patriarchy on the Line*, 221.

25. Peña, *The Terror of the Machine*, 106. Labor historians have written about the collusion between the PRI and U.S.-based multinational corporations to prevent workers from forming unions outside of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM). See, for example, Dan La Botz, *Mask of Democracy: Labor Suppression in Mexico Today* (Boston: South End Press, 1999).

26. COMO was founded by María Elena Villegas, a nurse employed at the RCA plant in Juárez, and Dr. María Guillermina Valdés-Villalva. See Peña, *The Terror of the Machine*.

27. Joe Bandy and Jennifer Bickham Mendez, "A Place of Their Own? Women Organizers in the Maquilas of Nicaragua and Mexico," in *Latin American Social Movements: Globalization, Democratization, and Transnational Networks*, ed. Hank Johnston and Paul Almeida (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 133.

28. The concept of promotores (community activists) developed in the health-care field, in which both founders of COMO had previously worked. For more information on health promotion, see Hester, "Bodies in Translation," 168–88.

29. Peña, *The Terror of the Machine*, 145.

30. Ibid., 144.

31. Ibid., 171.

32. Ibid., 171–72.

33. Luz Aida Ruiz Martinez, "The Primer Taller Fotodocumental—Tijuana," http://www.f8.com/FP/TIJUANA/English/PROJECTS/Luz12.htm.

34. Sylvia López Estrada, "Border Women's NGOs and Political Participation in Baja California," in *Women and Change at the U.S.–Mexico Border: Mobility, Labor, and Activism*, ed. Doreen J. Mattingly and Ellen R. Hansen (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006).

35. Doreen J. Mattingly and Ellen R. Hansen, "Women at the Border: Foundations and Frameworks," in *Women and Change at the U.S.–Mexico Border: Mobility, Labor, and Activism*, ed. Doreen J. Mattingly and Ellen R. Hansen (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 13.

36. Bandy and Mendez, "A Place of Their Own?" 133.

37. For more information on these organizations see Michelle Téllez and Cristina Sanidad, "'Giving Wings to Our Dreams': Binational Activism and Workers' Rights Struggles in the San Diego–Tijuana Border Region," in *Border Politics: Social Movements, Collective Identities, and Globalization*, ed. Nancy A. Naples and Jennifer Bickham Mendez (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 323–56.

38. Numerous organizations aid maquiladora workers in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. By the time that this book is published, some of these organizations may no longer exist, and some new organizations may also have been formed.

39. Claire F. Fox notes that inSite played up the "'sister cities' trope prevalent during the NAFTA negotiations." Fox, *The Fence and the River: Culture and Politics at the U.S.–Mexico Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 45.

40. Grant H. Kester, *The One and the Many: Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), 7, 5.

41. George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 288.

42. Ibid., 289.

43. "Historical Background," Register of inSite Archives, 1992–2006, MSS 707, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego (UCSD).

44. Fiamma Montezemolo, "Tijuana: Hybridity and Beyond; A Conversation with Néstor García Canclini," *Third Text* 23, no. 6 (November 2009): 738. Yúdice relates inSite to other public art programs established in the 1990s, in which artists developed installations using performance, film, and video in local sites and with "local publics, communities, institutions, and corporations." Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 296.

45. Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 289, 296; Grant Kester, *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 128–29.

46. Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 300.

47. Kester does not criticize all community-based art projects. For example, see his analysis of Fred Lonidier's work, including *N.A.F.T.A.* (Not a Fair Trade for All, 1997). Kester, *Conversation Pieces*, 176–80.

48. Ibid., 173.

49. Ibid., 173–74.

50. Ibid., 174.

51. Michael Krichman and Carmen Cuenca to Krzysztof Wodiczko, May 13, 1999, inSite Archives, MSS 707, Box 173, Mandeville Special Collections Library, UCSD.

52. Patricia Phillips, "Creating Democracy: A Dialogue with Krzysztof Wodiczko," *Art Journal* (Winter 2003): 34.

53. Cecilia Garza Bolio, e-mail to Krzysztof Wodiczko, February 1, 2000, inSite Archives, MSS 707, Box 173, Mandeville Special Collections Library, UCSD.

54. Krzysztof Wodiczko, Proposal for inSite 2000, inSite Archives, MSS 707, Box 173, Mandeville Special Collections Library, UCSD.

55. *Yeuani* is a Nahuatl word meaning "furious." (I'd like to thank Rafael Martinez for his translation of this word.) Elsa Jiménez founded the organization to provide women working at the maquiladoras with information about their rights. See http://clon.uam.mx.cyberzine/6/yeuani/htm.

56. inSite poster for "Tijuana Projection," inSite Archives, MSS 707, Box 173, Mandeville Special Collections Library, UCSD.

57. This issue was raised by Yúdice in *The Expediency of Culture*.

58. George Yúdice, "Public and Violence," in *Artistic Citizenship: A Public Voice for the Arts*, ed. Mary Schmidt Campbell and Randy Martin (London: Routledge, 2006), 158.

59. See handwritten transcripts of recordings of promotoras from Factor X, including Esperanza, Norma [Moreno], Adela [Rivera], Delfina, Paola, Leticia [Meza], and Diana, n.d., inSite Archives, "Tijuana Projection," MSS 707, Box 223, Folder 11, Mandeville Special Collections Library, UCSD.

60. See, for example, Adela's testimony included with the transcripts from the recordings of promotoras from Factor X, n.d., ibid. Kopinak notes, "The Tijuana area is known to attract migrants from farther away than other maquiladora cities." Kopinak, "Globalization in Tijuana Maquiladoras," 80.

61. See Diana's and Delfina's testimony, inSite Archives, "Tijuana Projection," MSS 707, Box 223, Folder 11, Mandeville Special Collections Library, UCSD.

62. See Delfina's testimony, ibid.

63. See Delfina's and Esperanza's testimony, ibid.

64. According to a report on *Tijuana Projection* in the inSite archives, the testimonies focused on issues like "work-related abuse, sexual abuse, family disintegration, alcoholism, and domestic violence." "Tijuana Projection."

65. Its militarized aesthetics are similar to those of the Homeless Vehicle Project. For a drawing of one of the images, see http://www.pbs.org/art21/files/images/wodiczko-draw-002.jpg.

66. Wendy Kozol and Wendy Hesford, "Introduction," in *Just Advocacy? Women's Human Rights, Transnational Feminisms, and the Politics of Representation*, ed. Wendy Hesford and Wendy Kozol (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 13.

67. Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture,* 324. Further, he stated that "the claim to be doing art, however, does not do away with the interrogations about what, exactly, the artist is doing by engaging communities." Ibid., 320.

68. Ibid., 288. During a summer residency in July 1999 to prepare for inSite 2000–2001, Yúdice noted that some artists scrutinized inSite's mission of supporting "interaction" between artists and "communities" to consider the benefits for community members. For example, according to Yúdice, artist Armando Rascón "suggested that an art project should have lasting effects in the community in which it is sited, that is, should leave something that goes beyond instigating awareness of the contradictions attaching to a particular place or situation." Ibid., 318.

69. Montezemolo notes, "I have doubts about relational art in situ. I feel the ethical remains outside of it." Montezemolo, "Tijuana," 749.

70. This quote was from a transcript of a panel, "Image Power: Cultural Interventions as Public Memory in Postmodern Spaces," held on February 25, 2001, at the Centro Cultural Tijuana. The participants included Néstor García Canclini, George Yúdice, and Krzysztof Wodiczko; the moderator was Susan Buck-Morss. Transcript, "Image Power," 18, inSite Archives, MSS 707, Box 142, Mandeville Special Collections Library, UCSD.

71. Ibid.

72. Krzysztof Wodiczko, interview with Maria Hinojosa, *One-on-One*, WGBH, February 2, 2010.

73. See transcript for the panel "Image Power: Cultural Interventions as Public Memory in Postmodern Spaces."

74. This point was articulated in an e-mail written by Diana Arias, a promotora who was involved in the *Tijuana Projection*. Diana Arias, e-mail to author, May 21, 2013. Also, see the transcripts of the recordings of promotoras from Factor X, n.d., "Tijuana Projection."

75. Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 149.

76. Leah Ollman, "Losing Ground: Public Art at the Border," *Art in America* 89, no. 5 (May 2001). The reviews include Karla Gerado, "Vivencias Monumentales," *Frontera*, February 27, 2001; Robert L. Pincus, "Sphere Hosts Big Images at inSite 2000," *San Diego Union Tribune*, February 23, 2001; Katrina Paredes, "Bolas de Imagines," *Frontera*, February 22, 2001; Berlin Golonu, "Viewpoint," *Artweek*, February 2001; Karla Gerado, "Mayor de Edad," *Frontera*, October 20, 2000; and Jeannette Sanchez, "Convivencia Artistica el la Frontera," *La Crónica*, October 12, 2000.

77. Arias, e-mail.

78. Kester, *Conversation Pieces*, 171.

79. Ibid., 172.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., 174.

82. Krzysztof Wodiczko, "Tijuana Projection," in *inSITE 2000–2001: Parajes Fugitivos/Fugitive Sites*, ed. Osvaldo Sánchez and Cecilia Garza (San Diego, Calif.: Installation Gallery, 2002), 77.

83. Krzysztof Wodiczko, interview with Maria Hinojosa.

84. Kester, *The One and the Many*, 1–2. Kester drew these definitions from the *Complete Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (1987).

85. This film is similar to Funari's film *Paulina*, which Rosa-Linda Fregoso argues "call[s] into question the claim of nonfiction film to represent reality." Fregoso, *meXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities in the Borderlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 42.

86. *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*, 11, http://www.newsreel.org/guides/Maquilapolis/MAQ_DiscussionGuide_English.pdf. In *The Fence and the River*, Fox writes about how conventional documentary films produced about the U.S.–Mexico border have a tendency to "replicat[e] the observer/

observed dynamics of much traditional documentary cinema in which testimony of local witnesses is mediated through 'expert' talking heads, and both of these in turn are subsumed by a voiceover narrator's authoritative commentary." Fox, *The Fence and the River*, 60.

87. See the interview with Vicky Funari and Sergio De La Torre, the production journal, and the filmmakers' statement, all on the *POV* website: http://www.pbs.org/pov/maquilapolis.

88. Vicky Funari is a documentary filmmaker who also directed *Live Nude Girls Unite!* (2000). For more information on Funari, see https://www.haverford.edu/users/vfunari.

89. Sergio De La Torre's biography can be found on his website: http://delatorreguerrero.com/bio.html.

90. Members of Grupo Factor X founded Colectivo Chilpancingo. When Grupo Factor X stopped operating in 2004, some members formed Promotoras por los Derechos de las Mujeres (Women's Rights Advocates). The film's credits state that the collaboration included promotoras from Factor X, Colectivo Chilpancingo Pro Justicia Ambiental (Chilpancingo Collective), and Promotoras por los Derechos de las Mujeres.

91. Funari and De La Torre, production journal.

92. *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*, 2. The coordinating promotoras included Lupita Castañeda, Diana Arias, and Teresa Loyola. The others were collaborating promotoras: Lourdes Luján, Carmen Durán, Eva Balión, Lucia Blanco, Natividad Guizar, Vianey Mijangos, Yesenia Palomares, Delfina Rodríguez, Francis Rodríguez, Adela Rivera, Rocio Salas, Blancha Sánchez, and Cody Valadéz. *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*, 11.

93. Funari and De La Torre, interview. Funari also commented on making the film: "We talked a lot to the women over the years of making it, we did a lot of discussions and exercises and we consulted with them the whole way along. . . . Through long-term engagement with the workers we came up with a way for them to have a voice and have control."

94. Funari and De La Torre, production journal.

95. Fregoso, "*Maquilápolis*," 175.

96. Kathryn Kopinak and Ma. Del Rocío Barajas contend that by 2002, the fourteen-week course grew to include women from other parts of Mexico who wanted training to become promotoras as well. Kopinak and Del Rocío Barajas, "Too Close for Comfort? The Proximity of Industrial Hazardous Waste to Local Populations in Tijuana, Baja California," *Journal of Environment and Development* 11, no. 3 (September 2002): 238. Edmé Domínguez notes that Factor X was "an initiator and inspirer of regional networks of maquiladora women workers organizing schools of methodology." Domínguez, "Resistance to Global Capital at the Local Level: Search for Solidarity and Transnational Organizing among Women Workers in Mexico: Final Report of Results" (Preliminary Version), 13.

97. De La Torre also describes Factor X's process of training women maquila workers, noting that "Factor X brought 14 factory workers a year to their office, which had a cafeteria, a childcare center, a classroom [and] provided therapy for some of the workers. Every weekend for a whole year, the organization would train these workers on issues like human rights, labor rights, and domestic violence." Funari and De La Torre, interview.

98. "Taller de Video/Video workshop," *Maquilápolis* website, http://www.maquilapolis.com/taller_MAQ_english.pdf.

99. Funari and De La Torre, interview.

100. Ginger Thompson, "Fallout of US Recession Drifts South into Mexico: Jobs Are Scarce and the Outlook Becomes Dismal," *New York Times*, December 26, 2001. According to the "scoreboard," a monthly report in *Twin Plant News*, which bills itself as "The Magazine of the Maquiladora Industry," the number of maquiladoras in Tijuana decreased by 60 from 2001 to 2002 and by 150 from 2002 to 2003. See *Twin Plant News*, January 2000–December 2005. I would like to thank Rafael Martínez for compiling this data.

101. Funari and De La Torre, production journal.

102. See *Maquilápolis*.

103. The original BIP agreement involved importing materials to factories, where they would be assembled by Mexican workers and exported internationally.

104. In *Maquilápolis,* the promotoras note which states they are originally from—Jalisco, Oaxaca, Mazatlán, and Sinaloa, among others.

105. See *Maquilápolis*.

106. Lisa Lowe, "The Gender of Sovereignty," *The Scholar and Feminist Online* 6, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 10.

107. I am referring to the "myth of the disposable Third World woman," as described by Melissa Wright, *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 2006).

108. In *Capital Moves,* Cowie describes how the BIP "created an enclave in which U.S. industry could use low-wage Mexican labor to produce goods for the U.S. market free of Mexican tariff restrictions." Cowie, *Capital Moves*, 113.

109. Cota speaks about the concessions that the Mexican government made with the IMF in the 1970s, so salaries in Mexico would not increase. He argues that the IMF forced the Mexican government to break its own laws. See *Maquilápolis*.

110. Kopinak, "Globalization in Tijuana Maquiladoras," 82.

111. See Kopinak and Barajas, "Too Close for Comfort?"

112. As Kopinak describes, more migrants to Tijuana took up residency in areas around Chilpancingo—which is downstream from Metales y Derivados—because they could not afford to purchase their own land. Although the

groundwater was contaminated, they nevertheless built wells, which enabled them to live on the land. Kopinak, "Globalization in Tijuana Maquiladoras," 85.

113. Ibid.

114. *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*, 9.

115. Beattie, *Documentary Screens*, 121.

116. Ibid., 123.

117. Wright, *Disposable Women*, 2.

118. *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*, 3.

119. Funari and De La Torre, filmmakers' statement.

120. Since *Maquilápolis* was a coproduction of the ITVS, it was broadcast on October 10, 2006, as part of *POV*, which shows independent nonfiction films on public television. In addition to funding from ITVS, the filmmakers also received support from Creative Capital, the Sundance Institute Documentary Fund, and other foundations.

121. *Maquilápolis* was well received, and it won awards at film festivals in Denmark, Spain, South Korea, Mexico, and the United States. These included an Outstanding Achievement Award at the Tribeca Film Festival in New York and the CINE Golden Eagle.

122. See "Outreach," *Maquilápolis* website.

123. *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*, 3.

124. See "Outreach," *Maquilápolis* website.

125. Lowe, "The Gender of Sovereignty," 10.

126. *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*, 3.

127. Carmen Durán and Lourdes Luján traveled with the film to New York, parts of Europe, and Asia. See *Maquilápolis: City of Factories Discussion Guide*.

128. "Taller de Video/Video Workshop," *Maquilápolis* website. Edmé Dominguez, who conducted research on Factor X and other nonprofit organizations in Mexico, notes that the success of *Maquilápolis* "inspired these women workers to activate their own agency and continue with other projects of their own." Dominguez, "Resistance to Global Capital," 13.

129. "Taller de Video/Video Workshop," *Maquilápolis* website.

130. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 256. Schmidt Camacho characterizes the book as a "collaborative exposition of the labor struggle within the plants." Ibid., 255. See also Sandra Arenal, *Sangre joven: Las maquiladoras por dentro* (Mexico City: Editorial Nuestra Tiempo, 1986).

131. I would like to thank Claire Fox for suggesting that I highlight this point in the Conclusion.

132. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 253. Schmidt Camacho further argues that *Sangre joven* "presented an alternative view of Mexico's political economy, theorized through the laboring bodies of the *obreras* [women workers]." Ibid., 254.

133. Ibid., 256.

134. Tarek Elhaik, "Borderland Ghosts: From *Touch of Evil* to *Maquilápolis*: *City of Factories*," in *Tijuana Dreaming: Life and Art at the Global Border*, ed. Josh Kun and Fiamma Montezemolo (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012), 345.

5. Disappearance and Counter-Spectacle in *Sanctuary City/Ciudad Santuario, 1989–2009*

1. HR 4437—which was sponsored by Jim Sensenbrenner—passed the House of Representatives in December 2005 but not the Senate. For more information about HR 4437, see http://www.ncsl.org/research/immigration/summary-of-the-sensenbrenner-immigration-bill.aspx.

2. Tomás Summers Sandoval Jr., *Latinos at the Golden Gate: Creating Community and Identity in San Francisco* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 1. Summers Sandoval quoted this individual from Pia Starker's "Humanizing the Debate, Day Laborers More Concerned with Work Than Politics," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 19, 2006.

3. The 1989 ordinance bans employees from "requesting information about or disseminating information regarding" an individual's immigration status, unless they are required to do so by state or federal law. San Francisco, California, Administrative Code § 12H.2 (c).

4. Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 155.

5. See for example, Nicholas De Genova, "Production of Culprits: From Deportability to Detainability in the Aftermath of 'Homeland Security,'" *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 5 (2007): 427; and De Genova and Peutz, "Introduction," 4, 35.

6. As mentioned in chapter 4, Sergio De La Torre is from the Tijuana/San Diego border region, and he now teaches at the University of San Francisco. His biography can be found at http://delatorreguerrero.com/.

7. Chapter 12 of the city's municipal code states, "No department, agency, commission, officer or employee of the City and County of San Francisco shall use any city funds or resources to assist in the enforcement of Federal immigration law." San Francisco, California, Administrative Code §12H.2 (1989).

8. Sergio De La Torre, telephone conversation with author, June 14, 2011.

9. De Genova, "Spectacle of Terror," 153. Emphasis in original.

10. Chavez, *The Latino Threat*, 155.

11. Claude Lomnitz, "2006 Immigration Mobilizations," in *Nongovernmental Politics*, ed. Michel Feher, Gaëlle Kirkorian, and Yates McKee (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 437.

12. McKee, "'Eyes and Ears,'" 339.

13. Further, Judith Butler relates her call for a critical image to post-9/11 "cultural criticism" that would "interrogate the emergence and vanishing of the human at the limits of what we can know, what we can hear, what we can see and what we can sense." Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and*

Violence (London: Verso, 2004), 146, as quoted in McKee "'Eyes and Ears,'" 339. Emphasis in original.

14. Meg McLagan, "Human Rights, Testimony, and Transnational Publicity," in *Nongovernmental Politics*, ed. Michel Feher, Gaëlle Kirkorian, and Yates McKee (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 310.

15. Ibid., 306.

16. In using this term I relate *Sanctuary City/Ciudad Santuario* to the work of ALARMA (Artists in Los Angeles Reconceptualizing Media Arts), who stated in their "Manifest(o)" that they "appropriate the phantom spectacles of the city and provide counter-spectacles," as well as Krzysztof Wodiczko's projections, which Peter Boswell describes as "counter-spectacles." See Rita González, Ramón Garcia, and C. Ondine Chavoya, "A.L.A.R.M.A.'s Manifest(o) Destiny," *Wide Angle* 20, no. 3 (1998); and Peter Boswell, "Krzysztof Wodiczko: Art and the Public Domain," in *Public Address: Krzysztof Wodiczko* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Walker Art Center, 1992), 21.

17. In 1992 city politicians amended the ordinance, so any noncitizen convicted of crimes was exempt from protection. Thus, police officers could report the immigration status of noncitizens arrested for or convicted of felony crimes to the INS. San Francisco, California, Administrative Code §12H.2 (1992).

18. As Ridgely notes, "From 1984–1987, more than 20 cities and two states (New York and New Mexico), adopted resolutions declaring themselves as sanctuaries for Central American refugees, many issuing statements about cooperation with the INS." Ridgley, "Cities of Refuge," 66–67. Also on the sanctuary movement is Susan Bibler Coutin's *The Culture of Protest: Religious Activism and the U.S. Sanctuary Movement* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993).

19. García, *Seeking Refuge*, 88.

20. Ibid., 86–108. However, the federal government attempted to use section 274(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 to prosecute those "harboring migrants." Ibid., 104. Garcia notes that members of the sanctuary moment were surveilled, and some were prosecuted as part of Operation Sojourner. Ibid., 105.

21. Ridgley, "Cities of Refuge," 55.

22. Varsanyi, "Immigration Policy Activism," 11. Philip Kretsedemas also argues that the federal executive branch "opened the door" for different immigration regimes by affirming "local governments have the authority to enact their own immigration laws." Kretsedemas, "Immigration Enforcement and the Complication of National Sovereignty: Understanding Local Enforcement as an Exercise in Neoliberal Governance," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (September 2008): 554.

23. Provine et al., *Policing Immigrants*, 9.

24. Wishnie, Mendelson, and Strom, "Collateral Damage."

25. Ibid., 2; De Genova and Peutz, "Introduction," 4.

26. Julie Myers, assistant secretary of ICE and DHS, at a hearing on "Immigration Enforcement of the Workplace" before the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Immigration, Border Security and Citizenship, June 19, 2006. See www.ice.gov/doclib/news/library/speeches/060619MyersSenateJudiciary.pdf.

27. Myers, "Immigration Enforcement of the Workplace."

28. De Genova, "Spectacle of Terror," 151.

29. Michael Dwyer, "U.S. Officials Nab 2,100 Illegal Immigrants in 3 Weeks," *USA Today*, June 14, 2006, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com. By March 2007, thirteen hundred undocumented immigrants had been arrested. Laura Carlsen, "Return to Sender," *Counterpunch*, March 1, 2007.

30. ICE's website describes the NFOP as one that "identifies, locates, and arrests fugitive aliens, aliens that have been previously removed from the United States, removable aliens who have been convicted of crimes." For more on fugitive operations, see http://www.ice.gov/fugitive-operations/.

31. Carlsen, "Return to Sender." The Migration Policy Institute published a 2009 report that noted the drop in criminal aliens arrested by ICE between 2003 and 2007. See Wishnie, Mendelson, and Strom, "Collateral Damage"; see also Malia Politzer, "Most Immigrants Arrested in 'Operation Return to Sender' Had No Criminal Record," *Phoenix New Times*, November 5, 2009, http://blogs.phoenixnewtimes.com.

32. Jennifer Bennett, "Operation Return to Sender," *Slate*, May 30, 2008, http://www.slate.com.

33. Michael Manekin and Kelly Pakula, "Return to Sender Sweeps Begin," www.InsideBayArea.com.

34. Wishnie, Mendelson, and Strom, "Collateral Damage."

35. De Genova, "Spectacle of Terror," 155.

36. David Bacon, interview with Amy Goodman, *Democracy Now*, April 27, 2007, http://www.democracynow.org/.

37. ACLU of Northern California, "Lawsuit Seeks Documents Regarding ICE Raids. Federal Immigration Agency Has Failed to Comply with FOIA Requests from March 2007," June 2, 2008, www.aclunc.org.

38. Margot Pepper, "Deconstructing 'Return to Sender,'" *Counterpunch*, June 2007.

39. Jesse McKinley, "San Francisco Bay Area Reacts Angrily to Series of Immigration Raids," *New York Times*, April 27, 2007.

40. Quoted in Leslie Fulbright, Patrick Hoge, and Vanessa Hua, "Hundreds Rally in Oakland, San Francisco for Immigrant Rights," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 2007.

41. Quoted in Manekin and Pakula, "Return to Sender Sweeps Begin."

42. Rose Arrieta, "ICE Raids Bay Area Taquería Chain," *El Tecolote*, May 2, 2008, http://eltecolote.org.

43. Michelle Schudel, "ICE Stages Illegal Raids on Bay Area Restaurant Chain," *Liberation News*, May 21, 2008.

44. Matt O'Brien and Jeanine Benca, "Protest in SF Follows ICE Raids," *San Jose Mercury News*, May 5, 2008, http://www.mercurynews.com.

45. City and County of San Francisco, Resolution 003–2008, "Denouncing the Raids Conducted by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement in San Francisco," May 12, 2008, http://sfgov.org.

46. Lori Haley is quoted in Elena Shore, "Immigration Raid Undermines San Francisco's Sanctuary Status," *New American Media*, September 17, 2008, www.alternet.org.

47. Susan Bibler Coutin, "Exiled by Law," in *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement*, ed. Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010), 353.

48. The amendment was approved in October 2009 by the Board of Supervisors.

49. Rose Cuison Villazor, "'Sanctuary Cities' and Local Citizenship," *Fordham Urban Law Review* 37 (2010): 585–87. See also Jesse McKinley, "San Francisco at Crossroads over Immigration," *New York Times*, June 12, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com.

50. Villazor, "'Sanctuary Cities,'" 589. In fact, Ridgley notes that the IIRIRA was a direct attack on local sanctuary policies. Ridgley, "Cities of Refuge," 62.

51. Villazor, "'Sanctuary Cities,'" 589.

52. Ibid., 590.

53. Ibid., 574. Villazor is drawing on Yishai Blank, "Spheres of Citizenship," *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 8 (2007): 412–21; Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 315; and Cristina Rodriguez, "The Significance of the Local in Immigration Regulation," *Michigan Law Review* 106 (2008): 577–78.

54. Monica W. Varsanyi, "Interrogating 'Urban Citizenship' vis-à-vis Undocumented Migration," *Citizenship Studies* 10, no. 2 (2006): 239.

55. Miriam Wells, "The Grass-Roots Reconfiguration of US Immigration Policy," *International Migration Review* 38, no. 4 (2004): 1314.

56. De La Torre's grant application to the Creative Work Fund is available on its website: www.creativeworkfund.org.

57. Ibid. The idea for the "Agit-Van" appears to have been drawn from Dziga Vertov's "Agit-train," as well as cinema trucks that travel in rural Mexico.

58. Sergio De La Torre, telephone conversation with author, June 14, 2011.

59. De La Torre also noted, "We have created a positive dialogue with the nonprofits we have partnered with, but have found it hard to translate with undocumented immigrants." Sergio De La Torre, e-mail correspondence with author, June 13, 2011.

60. De La Torre, telephone conversation.

61. De La Torre, e-mail correspondence.

62. During the HRC/IRC Joint Hearing on "The Impacts of Federal Immigration Enforcement Policy on San Francisco Communities," held on April 13, 2009, Mission District residents spoke about the effects of ICE raids on their communities, as well as the "reported alleged vehicle checkpoints targeting undocumented residents."

63. As a result of their house arrest, individuals were required to wear electronic monitoring devices on their ankles. From reports on the ICE raids by the Fugitive Operations unit, migrants under house arrest were required to stay at home between 11:30 P.M. and 6:30 A.M. They also could not leave San Francisco. Although they lacked criminal records, people under house arrest would eventually appear before an immigration judge, who would decide whether to deport them or let them stay. Shore, "Immigration Raid Undermines."

64. Brian J. Godfrey, "Barrio under Siege: Latino Sense of Place in San Francisco, California," in *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places: Community and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary America*, ed. Daniel Arreola (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

65. This information was provided on the Queen's Nails Project website on July 11, 2011. However, the website is no longer accessible since the Queen's Nails Project closed in 2013.

66. De La Torre, telephone conversation.

67. Jennifer González, *Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008), 5–6.

68. Catherine M. Cole, "Mediating Testimony: Broadcasting South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission," in *Documentary Testimonies: Global Archives of Suffering*, ed. Janet Walker and Bhaskar Sarkar (London: Routledge, 2010), 202.

69. Roland Barthes, "The Grain of the Voice," in *Image—Music—Text* (New York: Noonday Press, 1977), 188.

70. In reviewing the minutes from the joint hearings, many people spoke, including politicians, academics, LGBT and other activists, lawyers, doctors, and non-Latina/o undocumented migrants. See http://www.sfgov2.org/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=562.

71. This audio excerpt was included in the exhibition's sound room. Thanks to Naomi Ambriz for providing the translation.

72. See the minutes from San Francisco's HRC/IRC "Joint Hearing" on April 13, 2009, http://www.sfgov2.org/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=562.

73. According to Philip Kretsedemas, the USA PATRIOT Act "gave federal enforcement agencies an ability to search the premises of all U.S. residents without a warrant." Kretsedemas, "Immigration Enforcement," 563.

74. This audio excerpt was included in the exhibition's sound room. Thanks to Naomi Ambriz for providing the translation.

75. Janet Walker and Bhaskar Sarkar, "Introduction," *Documentary Testimonies: Global Archives of Suffering*, ed. Janet Walker and Bhaskar Sarkar (London: Routledge, 2010), 10, 17.

76. Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics,* 103.

77. McLagan notes that although it has been challenged, "the underlying assumption [with human rights work] is that the circulation of [specific forms of realism] generates political action." McLagan, "Human Rights," 306, 307.

78. Ibid., 304. Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*, 38.

79. Walker and Sarkar nevertheless contend that "audiovisual testimonial utterances are always already mediated at the level of the speaking subject whose personal narrative is a product of selection, ordering, interpretation, partisanship, prohibition, character, reflection, and the vicissitudes of memory; and at the level of the media text." Walker and Sarkar, "Introduction," 7.

80. John Beverley, *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 24.

81. McKee, "'Eyes and Ears,'" 334.

82. Some undocumented Latina/o migrants caught up in ICE raids in the Bay Area were sent to detention centers in Arizona and elsewhere, and were eventually deported. Shore, "Immigration Raid Undermines."

83. McKee, "'Eyes and Ears,'" 334.

84. This piece is similar to the installation work described by Jennifer González, as the electronic ankle bracelet attests to the presence of a body, functioning "as [an] indexical link[s] to a larger social history of people and things" that is shown to "'situate' human subjects, to contribute to the processes of their subject formation and/or subjection." González, *Subject to Display*, 10.

85. De La Torre, telephone conversation.

86. Geographers like Godfrey have explained how the Mission had largely remained a Latina/o neighborhood into the early 2000s, largely due to rent control laws. Godfrey, "Barrio under Siege."

87. Karl Beitel, *Local Protests, Global Movements*: *Capital, Community, and State in San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 68–69. Nancy Raquel Mirabal argues that more than one thousand Latina/o families were displaced from the neighborhood in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Mirabal, "Geographies of Displacement: Latina/os, Oral History, and the Politics of Gentrification in San Francisco's Mission District," *Public Historian* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 13.

88. Describing the MAC protests in 2000, Mirabal contends, "Long-term residents, including a number of Latina/os, held signs describing the number of years they had lived in the Mission." Mirabal, "Geographies of Displacement," 28.

89. Beitel, *Local Protests*, 68.

90. Summers Sandoval, *Latinos at the Golden Gate*, 9.

91. Municipal identification cards were approved in 2007, and the program was launched in January 2009. See www.sfgov2.org/index.aspx?page=110. The first city to have municipal ID cards was New Haven, Connecticut.

92. See San Francisco's General Services Agency website: www.sfgsa.org/index.aspx?page=1072.

93. See the minutes from San Francisco's HRC/IRC's "Joint Hearings," held on April 13, 2009, http://www.sfgov2.org/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=562.

94. Sergio De La Torre, telephone conversation with author, September 10, 2010.

95. See video on Sergio De La Torre's Vimeo site: http://vimeo.com/user7146025.

96. Kretsedemas notes, "The current discourse on the 'immigration problem' also blurs the lines between legal status, 'race,' and culture, where concerns about illegal immigration are conflated with the cultural and demographic changes resulting from immigration in general." Kretsedemas, "Immigration Enforcement," 554.

97. De La Torre, telephone conversation with author, June 14, 2011.

98. Maldonado, Licona, and Hendricks, "Latin@ Immobilities," 323; see also Rosas, "The Managed Violences," 401–18.

99. Maldonado, Licona, and Hendricks, "Latin@ Immobilities," 327.

100. Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 104.

101. Cari Tuna and Stu Woo, "Tech Influx Transforms Mission Neighborhood," *Wall Street Journal*, May 27, 2010; see also James Christopher, "Locals Protest Tech Bus Invasion of Public Bus Stops," *El Tecolote*, January 16–29, 2014, http://eltecolote.org.

102. Summers Sandoval, *Latinos at the Golden Gate*, 183.

103. De La Torre, e-mail correspondence.

104. De La Torre, telephone conversation with author, June 14, 2011.

105. De La Torre's approach is also similar to that of the Pocho Research Society of Erased and Invisible History (PRS), a collective of anonymous activists, artists, and historians in Los Angeles, who are "dedicated to the systematic investigation of space, memory, and displacement." *Journal of Aesthetics and Protest* 3 (June 2004), http://www.joaap.org/.

106. González, *Subject to Display*, 9. González draws on Butler's summary of Michel Foucault's concept of subjection, "literally, the making of the subject, the principles of regulation according to which a subject is formulated or produced. This notion of subjection is a kind of power that not only unilaterally *acts on* a given individual as a form of domination, but also *activates* or forms the subject." Judith Butler, "Subjection, Resistance, Resignification: Between Freud and Foucault," in *The Identity in Question*, ed. John Rajchman (New York: Routledge, 1995), 230. Emphasis in original.

107. Krzysztof Wodiczko, "Projections," *Perspecta* 26: Theater, Theatricality, and Architecture (1990): 273.

108. Guy Debord, "Towards a Situationist International" (June 1957), in *Situationist International Anthology*, trans. and ed. Ken Knabb (Berkeley, Calif.: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1989), 22.

109. Ibid., 25; Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*. As Jonathan Crary argues about *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, Debord understood the spectacle as "the annihilation of historical knowledge—in particular the destruction of the recent past." Crary, "Spectacle, Attention, Counter-Memory," *October* 50 (Fall 1989): 106.

110. De La Torre, e-mail correspondence.

111. Walker and Sarkar, "Introduction," 11.

112. McKee, "'Eyes and Ears,'" 330.

113. González, *Subject to Display*, 9.

114. De La Torre, e-mail correspondence.

115. Tuna and Woo, "Tech Influx."

116. Mirabal, "Geographies of Displacement," 17.

117. Quoted in Steve Rogers, "Territories 2: Superimposing the City," *Performance Magazine*, August 9, 1985, 38.

118. Howard N. Fox, "Theater of the Inauthentic," in *Phantom Sightings: Art after the Chicano Movement*, ed. Rita González, Howard N. Fox, and Chon A. Noriega (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 81.

119. De Genova, "Spectacle of Terror," 151.

120. Ibid., 159–60.

121. Mirabal, "Geographies of Displacement," 19.

122. Summers Sandoval, *Latinos at the Golden Gate*, 184.

123. As Mirabal describes, there has been "a correlation between urban renewal and race, specifically the exclusion of populations of color for whites." Mirabal, "Geographies of Displacement," 16.

124. *No Vacancies* was displayed between April 2010 and December 2011 at West Wall Gallery.

125. See De La Torre's artist statement about *No Vacancies* on the website for the Walter and Elise Haas Fund: http://www.haassr.org/blog/display/no-vacancies/.

126. Varsanyi, "Immigration Policy Activism," 19. Provine et al. also refer to this as a "multi-jurisdictional patchwork." See Provine et al., *Policing Immigrants*, 3.

127. In reference to the effects of federal immigration policies on undocumented migrants, De Genova and Peutz argue that the "grim spectacle of the deportation of even just a few . . . produces and maintains migrant 'illegality' as not merely an anomalous juridical status but also a practical, materially consequential, and deeply interiorized mode of being—and of being put in place." De Genova and Peutz, "Introduction," 14.

128. McNevin, "Undocumented Citizens?" 177.
129. Ibid., 178.
130. Marquez-Benitez and Pallares, "Not One More," 22.

6. Reconfiguring Documentation

1. See http://www.ice.gov/287g/.

2. See http://www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/summary/s.1070pshs.doc.htm.

3. I describe these individuals as "undocumented youth activists," to distinguish them from DREAM and migrant activists who are not eligible for the DREAM Act or Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) due to their age. However, I am aware that it is problematic to use the term *youth* to describe activists whose ages span from teenagers to young adults. Activist and scholar Unzueta Carrasco describes this group as "undocumented 1.5 generation activists," who are "immigrants, born abroad yet raised and educated in the United States." Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 287.

4. Nicholas De Genova, "The Queer Politics of Migration: Reflections on 'Illegality' and Incorrigibility," *Studies in Social Justice* 4, no. 2 (2010): 115.

5. Jonathan X. Inda and Julie Dowling describe policies that advocate "attrition through enforcement"—such as SB 1070 and the SB 1070 copycat laws—as "tactic[s] that seeks to incapacitate immigrants, Latinos in particular, in order to wear down their will to work and live in the United States." Further they note that "attrition through enforcement is not an official government policy, but it does appear to be the de facto way that undocumented immigration is being governed." Inda and Dowling, "Introduction," 23.

6. Gerardo, "Fearless and Speaking for Ourselves," *No Papers No Fears* (blog), August 18, 2012, http://nopapersnofear.org.

7. Papadopoulos and Tsianos, "The Autonomy of Migration," 224.

8. NIYA was "an undocumented youth-LED network of grassroots organizations, campus-based student groups and individuals committed to achieving equality for all immigrant youth, regardless of their legal status." See NIYA's Facebook page. For more information on NDLON and the Puente Movement, see the Introduction.

9. Marquez-Benitez and Pallares, "Not One More," 22.

10. One example is the E-Verify Program, https://www.uscis.gov.

11. Kevin Haggerty, "Tear Down the Walls: On Demolishing the Panopticon," in *Theorizing Surveillance*, ed. David Lyon (London: Willan, 2006), 29.

12. The activists that I write about have something in common with the queer immigrants of color that Monisha Das Gupta describes in her book *Unruly Immigrants*, who do not "uncritically embrac[e] visibility as a mode of political empowerment." Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants: Rights, Activism, and*

Transnational South Asian Politics in the United States (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 165.

13. Diana Taylor, *Performance* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2016), 147.

14. Rather, drawing on Richard Schechner's concept of performance, Taylor understands it as "'restored' or 'twice-behaved behavior.'" Taylor, *Disappearing Acts*, 184–85.

15. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 98.

16. Ana Elena Puga explains that the migrant melodramas, "while sympathetic to migrants, stage suffering so as to create the illusion that the undocumented must naturally, inevitably, necessarily endure physical and psychological pain." Puga, "Poor Enrique and Poor María, or, The Political Economy of Suffering in Two Migrant Melodramas," in *Performance in the Borderlands*, ed. Ramón Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 228.

17. The press release is available on YouTube, under the activists' videos, including one by Martin: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TCRiyhUitok.

18. Puga, "Poor Enrique and Poor María," 228.

19. Taylor, *Performance*, 36.

20. McKee and McLagan, "Introduction," 17–18.

21. Peter Nyers, "Abject Cosmopolitanism: The Politics of Protection in the Anti-Deportation Movement," in *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement*, ed. Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 429, 431.

22. See ICE's website for "Secure Communities": www.ice.gov/pi/news/factsheets/ secure_communities.htm.

23. *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos: No Papers, No Fear Protest in Alabama* was filmed by Barni Axmed Qaasim (Puente Movement) and can be viewed on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iaj95A8ac8U.

24. Nicholls, *The DREAMers,* 13.

25. Undocumented youth participated in these marches in 2006 with other youth as well as family members to protest the passing of HR 4437, the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act. These marches had a lasting effect on undocumented youth activists for a variety of reasons, including the fact that they saw so many other undocumented youth willing to publically participate in an event to support migrant rights. See Gonzales, "Left Out but Not Shut Down," 269–84.

26. They added "Unapologetic" in 2011.

27. Karma Chávez argues that within the context of the LGBT movement, radical activists come out "to declare their presence, demand systemic changes, and resist and disrupt the assumptions of normative culture." Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics*, 84. For more on this strategy, see "Coming Out as Coalitional Gesture?" in *Queer Migration Politics*.

28. According to Aswini Anbuaja, both public rallies and social media have allowed undocumented migrant activists "to take away the stigma associated with being paperless." Anbuaja, "Immigrant Youth 'Come Out' as Undocumented, Push for DREAM Act," http://news.feetintwoworlds.org/2011/03/21/immigrant-youth-come-out-as-undocumented.

29. Nadia Sol Ireri Unzueta Carrasco made this point during her presentation at the "Everyday Forms of Popular Power: Art, Media, and Immigration" symposium at the University of New Mexico on November 9, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zm_OJ9PZLEk.

30. Marquez-Benitez and Pallares, "Not One More," 15.

31. Nicholls, *The DREAMers*, 81.

32. Maggie Jones, "Coming Out Illegal," *New York Times Magazine*, October 21, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com.

33. Quoted in Alan Gomez, "DREAMers Personalize Cases to Stall Deportation," *USA Today*, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com.

34. Nicholls, *The DREAMers*, 15, 98.

35. Ibid., 200.

36. See http://puenteaz.org/programs/community-defense-course/.

37. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 288.

38. In 2010, almost four hundred thousand undocumented migrants were deported, the highest recorded number in U.S. history. Peter Slevin, "Deportation of Illegal Immigrants Increases under Obama Administration," *Washington Post*, July 26, 2010, http://www.washingtonpost.com.

39. Varsanyi, "Immigration Policy Activism."

40. Nicholls, *The DREAMers*, 116–17.

41. Hinda Seif, "Unapologetic and Unafraid: Immigrant Youth Come Out from the Shadows," *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 134 (Winter 2011): 72.

42. For example, see Nataly's statements in Kiri Walton, "Undocumented Pebblebrook Student Speaks Out after Arrest," *South Cobb Patch*, June 29, 2011, http://patch.com/georgia/southcobb/undocumented-pebblebrook-student-speaks-out-after-arrest.

43. This change also affected the migrant rights movement. See Roque Planas, "The Law Kicked Off Immigration Crackdowns across the Country: Five Years Later, Lots of People Still Hate It," *Huffington Post*, April 24, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com.

44. Seif, "Unapologetic and Unafraid," 71.

45. Sasha Costanza-Chock, "Se Ve, Se Siente: Transmedia Mobilization in the Los Angeles Immigrant Rights Movement" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2010), 190. Costanza-Chock defines "transmedia mobilization" as media production that is "dispersed systematically across multiple media platforms, creating a distributed and participatory social movement 'world.'" Ibid., 115. See also Costanza-Chock, *Out of the Shadows*.

46. In addition, undocumented Latina/o migrants in Los Angeles have used their cell phones to record aspects of their lives at home and work, which they then upload onto the *VozMob* blog as part of *Mobile Voices* (*VozMob*). *VozMob* was developed by the Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism at the University of Southern California and the Institute of Popular Education of Southern California in 2010. This blog has also been a means for migrants to share their views on political issues, as well as their involvement in immigrant rights marches. They have also used their cell phones to take photographs and videos of their employers' homes and licenses of their cars in case they were not paid. See https://vozmob.net/en/main.

47. See http://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/prosecutorial-discretion-memo.pdf.

48. Most of these videos can be viewed on YouTube, under the activists' first name and last initial, the location (North Carolina), and "We Will No Longer Remain in the Shadows." The heading for the press release is "Seven Undocumented Youth Speak Out against Federal Inaction and the Lack of Educational Access."

49. Michael May, "Los Infiltradores," *American Prospect*, June 21, 2013, http://prospect.org/authors/michael-may.

50. Ibid.

51. As noted in the Introduction, this announcement publicized a June 17, 2011, memo by John Morton, the director of the DHS, who gave the directive for ICE agents to exercise "prosecutorial discretion." The memo stated that ICE should focus its work on undocumented migrants convicted of crimes, but this was largely ignored by federal immigration officials, who continued to arrest, detain, and deport those who had committed only civil violations. See http://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/prosecutorial-discretion-memo.pdf.

52. Prosecutorial discretion is issued by a joint task force—composed of staff members from the DHS and the Department of Justice (DOJ)—which reviews pending removals and can grant deferred action on an individual's deportation. Alexa Alonzo and Mary Kenney, "Practice Advisory," September 1, 2011, www.legalactioncenter.org.

53. After 1924, Mexicans who crossed the U.S.–Mexico boundary without documentation were considered to have entered "illegally," perceived as criminals, and treated as being "undeserving" of relief. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 89.

54. Ibid., 57.

55. The press release is available on YouTube, underneath the activists' videos, including one by Martin: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TCRiyhUitok.

56. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 285.

57. The END campaign was initiated in 2010 "to prevent the deportations of young people, thereby allowing immigrant youths to continue their lives in

the United States, pursue higher education, and achieve their dreams." See http://unitedwedream.org/about/projects/end/.

58. The main targets of these public campaigns included John Morton, director of DHS/ICE, as well as politicians from the individual's state or district. *Education Not Deportation: A Guide for Undocumented Youth in Removal Proceedings*, 34, http://www.e4fc.org/images/E4FC_DeportationGuide.pdf. UnitedWe Dream also made a video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_rDmBQf3qAo.

59. *Education Not Deportation*, 35.

60. Ibid.

61. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 288.

62. I compare the videos produced in North Carolina to the example included in the *END Guide*. See Herta's video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kMU_DZofuWQ.

63. Cristina Beltrán refers to these videos as "cyber-testimonies." Beltrán, "Undocumented, Unafraid, and Unapologetic: DREAM Activists, Cyber-Testimonio, and the Queering of Democracy," in *Transforming Citizens: Youth, New Media, and Political Participation*, ed. Danielle Allen and Jennifer Light (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 20.

64. Nicholls, *The DREAMers*, 13.

65. See Angelica's video, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HuqoGX8hP20.

66. See Santiago's video, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XEvokpyUysY.

67. Martin explains that he participated in the action because politicians representing his state—such as Senator Kay Hagan (D-NC)—were doing nothing to help undocumented youth. See Martin's video, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TCRiyhUitok.

68. Santiago also noted that undocumented youth should "'embrace' the struggles of LGBTQ communities, African American communities, communities of color, and immigrant communities of all backgrounds" in order to "create a real movement." See Santiago's video, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XEvokpyUysY.

69. See Martin's video, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TCRiyhUitok.

70. These approaches to publicity have been addressed in essays, including Jennie Choi's "A Web of Power: How Online Tools Are Transforming the Way Social Change Happens," *Sojourner Magazine*, July 2011, http://sojo.net/magazine/2011/07/web-power.

71. McLagan, "Human Rights," 311.

72. Ibid., 312. At this time DreamActivist.org's Facebook page describes the organization as "the largest social media hub for undocumented immigrants to aid organizations, communities, and individuals to come together and find new ways to provide help for immigrant communities."

73. The petition blamed President Obama and the Democratic Party, explaining, "Your recent announcement only acts as a mask to the devastation and injustice that programs like 287(g) and Secure Communities will continue

to have in our communities. Your announcements are a symptom of the problem that is the vicious cycle of immigrant criminalization, not a potential cure to the realities of a broken immigration system. We will not tolerate lies designed to court the votes of our community. We will hold you and other Democratic leaders accountable as we demand to be treated with nothing less than dignity and justice." "Support Undocumented Youth Arrested in North Carolina," September 8, 2011, www.dreamactivist.org.

74. May, "Los Infiltradores." Marco wrote that undocumented migrants began "applying counter-intuitive measures to counter-hegemonic ends." Steve Pavey and Marco Saavedra, *Shadows Then Light* (Lexington, Ky.: One Horizon Institute, 2012).

75. Pavey and Saavedra, *Shadows Then Light*.

76. Mohammad, as quoted in ibid.

77. Inda and Dowling note that "ICE's law enforcement partners are supposed to target dangerous 'criminal aliens,' but most immigrants who get caught are actually low-level offenders or people who simply crossed paths with local police." Inda and Dowling, "Introduction," 22; and Michelle Waslin, *The Secure Communities Program: Unanswered Questions and Continuing Concerns* (Washington, D.C.: Immigration Policy Center, 2010).

78. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 124–25. See also "People of Alabama vs. HB 56," November 16, 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wfHQA-zr9-I.

79. Inda and Dowling note, "In some locations . . . police officers are engaging in heavy racial profiling of Latinos, making pretextual stops and arrests of people believed to be immigrants so that their information (such as fingerprints) can be checked against the DHS databases." Inda and Dowling, "Introduction," 22; see also Mary Romero, "Keeping Citizenship Rights White: Arizona's Racial Profiling Practices in Immigration Law Enforcement," *Law Journal for Social Justice* 1, no. 1 (2011): 97–113.

80. See presentation by Jonathan and Isaac at the "Everyday Forms of Popular Power: Art, Media and Immigration" symposium, University of New Mexico, November 9, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ct6lMyFWfM.

81. See, for example, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PkxnPixjTts.

82. These actions involved tactics that, as Peter Nyers notes, "have been proven to be important for how they disrupt the administration, the routines, and, above all, the 'normality' of deportations." Nyers, "Abject Cosmopolitanism," 431.

83. See presentation by Jonathan and Isaac at "Everyday Forms of Popular Power."

84. Jonathan and Isaac, "Interview with Irene Vásquez" (University of New Mexico, December 3, 2011); "Going Undercover at the Border Patrol," *Arts of Aztlán*, https://vimeo.com/33189634.

85. See presentation by Jonathan and Isaac at "Everyday Forms of Popular Power."

86. *Undocumented Youth vs. Border Patrol Round 1—Mobile, Alabama*, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iA54ErBfZ8E.

87. Scholars like Mark Andrejevic refer to counter-surveillance as "inverse surveillance," which "relies on the ability to offer a convincing counternarrative to that promulgated by authorities, who may have better access to mainstream media or public relations strategies." Further, he comments that "the success of inverse surveillance depends on the efficacy of such counternarratives—or, similarly, on the availability to subvert a particular dominant narrative." Andrejevic, "Watching Back, Surveillance as Activism," in *Media and Social Justice*, ed. Sue Curry Jansen, Jefferson Pooley, and Lora Taub-Pervizpour (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 180.

88. For example, they spoke with one undocumented migrant who was put into deportation proceedings after he walked into a women's bathroom by mistake. Jonathan and Isaac, "Everyday Forms of Popular Power."

89. Ibid.

90. Brenda Medina and Lacey Johnson, "Coming Out as Undocumented, and Gay," *Say Something*, episode 34, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 25, 2012, http://chronicle.com. This episode features Jonathan talking about his involvement in undocumented youth activism.

91. Mohammad, "Press Release, November 24, 2011," as quoted in Pavey and Saavedra, *Shadows Then Light*.

92. In Arizona, NDLON worked with organizations like the Puente Movement to strengthen the local migrant rights movement. Similarly, in Georgia, NDLON worked to "reinforce the local social movement infrastructure," to "enhance its mobilization capacities," and to help local activists lead their own campaigns. Nicholls, *The DREAMers*, 161, 163.

93. Mike Ludwig, "Don't Call Me Illegal: An Interview with Youth Immigrant Activist Tania Unzueta," June 17, 2013, http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/16986-dont-call-me-illegal-an-interview-with-youth-immigrant-activist-tania-unzueta.

94. The "undocubus" left Phoenix on July 29, 2012, the first anniversary of Arizona's implementation of SB 1070.

95. Sarah Lai Stirland, "Website Yes, Legal Status, No: 'No Papers, No Fear' Hopes to Build a Movement for Undocumented Immigrations," August 31, 2012, www.TechPresident.com.

96. B. Loewe, telephone interview with author, September 26, 2012. According to its website, "The Turning the Tide Campaign is a collective effort of communities and organizations across the country unified to confront the growing wave of criminalization and separation of immigrant families. The campaign is rooted in local organizing that seeks to resist and move away from bigotry, hatred, and attrition in order to advance human rights, tolerance, and inclusion." See http://altopolimigra.com/. As opposed to how I

defined *translocal* in chapter 2, here I use *trans-local* to refer to organizing across localities that are facing similar restrictive immigration laws within the United States.

97. For more about the Barrio Defense Committees in Arizona, see Nicholls, *The DREAMers*, 162.

98. Interview with Carlos, executive director, Puente Movement, by members of Generation Justice, KUNM, Albuquerque, New Mexico, broadcast September 16, 2012.

99. These individuals included Barni Axmed Qaasim, Jorge, and Perla, all of whom worked on videos, and Fernando, who documented the actions through photography. For biographies, see http://nopapersnofear.org/; and Barni Axmed Qaasim, telephone conversation with author, September 8, 2015.

100. See the press release, http://www.usccr.gov/press/2012/PR_07–26–12_Immigration.pdf.

101. *Ganando el derecho de hablar por nosotros mismos: Winning the Right to Speak for Ourselves* and *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos: No Papers, No Fear Protest in Alabama* were filmed on August 20, 2012.

102. Diane McWhorter, "The Strange Career of Juan Crow," *New York Times*, June 16, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com. In Alabama, this law includes "requiring schools to verify the immigration status of newly enrolled K–12 students; criminalizing the solicitation of work by unauthorized immigrants; a provision that made it a crime to provide a ride to undocumented immigrants or to rent to them; a provision that infringed on the ability of individuals to contract with someone who was undocumented and a provision that criminalized failing to register one's immigration status." Southern Poverty Law Center, http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/civil-rights-coalition-victorious-in-suit-against-alabama-s-anti-immigrant-law. See also Julia Preston, "Alabama: Deal Reached over Immigration Crackdown," *New York Times,* October 30, 2013, A17.

103. See their mission statement: http://www.usccr.gov/about/index.php.

104. The press release indicates, "Members of the public and interested organizations are invited to submit written statements for the record on the specific topic of the briefing by sending them to immigration2012@USCCR.gov." See http://www.usccr.gov/press/2012/PR_07–26–12_Immigration.pdf.

105. Cacho, *Social Death*, 6.

106. Borcilă with Marciniak and Tyler, "The Political Aesthetics," 48.

107. Nyers, "Abject Cosmopolitanism," 425.

108. Kobach helped author SB 1070 with Arizona state senator Russell Pearce, so it is not surprising that activists planned an action to coincide with Kobach's testimony.

109. Since those who presented at the briefing spoke in English, the activists brought a translator so they could hear a Spanish translation of the testimony.

110. Miller, "'Legal or Illegal?'" 83.

111. This transcript is from the video of an action, *Si No Nos Invitan, Nos Invitamos Solos*, by NDLON. See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iaj95A8ac8U.

112. De Genova, "The Queer Politics of Migration," 101, 103. De Genova also contends that the chant reflected "the migrants' exuberant and outspoken proclamations of their existence—their presence, their 'here'-ness . . . and the incorrigibility they celebrated in their defiant refusal to be silenced, suppressed, or expelled." Ibid., 110.

113. McNevin, "Undocumented Citizens?" 177.

114. Engin F. Isin, *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 275–76, as quoted in Nyers, "Abject Cosmopolitanism," 424.

115. Pallares, *Family Activism*, 2. As Pallares notes, however, "the immigrant rights movement does not share one collective identity stemming from a singular process of identification among movement participants." Ibid.

116. Cacho, *Social Death*, 131.

117. This is what Ana Elena Puga calls a "casting competition." Puga, "Migrant Melodrama and Elvira Arellano," *Latino Studies* 10, no. 3 (2012): 356.

118. Ibid.

119. Nyers, "Abject Cosmopolitanism," 427, 432.

120. Qaasim, telephone conversation.

121. McKee and McLagan, "Introduction," 15.

122. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 215.

123. See http://nopapersnofear.org/blog/post.php?s=2012–08–29-all-four-immigrant-rights-advocates-arrested-on-gay-street-released-no-papers-no-fear-bus-tour-heads-towards-democratic-national-convention-local-groups-continue-fight.

124. Stirland, "Website Yes, Legal Status, No."

125. This website was based on one that NDLON created for the ¡Alto Arizona! Campaign—www.AltoArizona.com—which included an action center, press releases, photographs, videos of protests, and forms of "creative resistance," including posters, videos, music, and poetry that activists uploaded onto the website.

126. See http://nopapersnofear.org/.

127. For details on DACA, see the DHS website: http://www.dhs.gov/deferred-action-childhood-arrivals.

128. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 286.

129. For more information about the #Not1More campaign, see http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/.

130. Adrian Carrasquillo, "How the Immigrant Rights Movement Got Obama to Save Millions from Deportations," November 22, 2014, Buzz Feed, http://www.buzzfeed.com.

131. More for information on DAPA, see https://www.ice.gov/daca#wcm-survey-target-id. It is noted on the website that "on February, 2015, a federal district court temporarily enjoined the government from proceeding forward on the Secretary's policy of DAPA and expanded DACA."

132. See, for example, Marisa Franco, "A Movement That's Committed, Experienced, and Ready," November 22, 2014, http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/2014/11/22/marisa-franco-committed-experienced-and-ready/; and Alicia Schmidt Camacho, "Obama's Executive Order on Immigration: Two Faculty Experts Weigh In on the Subject," *Yale News*, November 24, 2014, http://news.yale.edu/2014/11/24/president-obama-s-executive-order-immigration-two-faculty-experts-weigh-subject.

133. During the speech, an activist in the audience called him out, stating: "Mr. President, that has been a lie. You have been deporting every . . ." when he was cut off. Lawrence Downes, "Smooth Pivot on Immigration by the Deporter-in-Chief," *New York Times*, December 1, 2014.

134. B. Loewe, "Before You Pull Down That Protest Sign, Think Again" (or "For Those Who Celebrate the Victory but Condemn the Tactics"), http://www.notonemoredeportation.com.

135. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 279.

136. Pallares, *Family Activism,* 1–2; see also Nyers, "Abject Cosmopolitanism," 427.

137. This relates to Schmidt Camacho's notion of "nomadic counterpublics—for locating political and cultural agency beyond the sanctioned boundaries of liberal nationalism." Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 232.

138. Ibid., 12.

139. De Genova et al., "Migrant Struggles," 26.

140. Vicki Squire, *The Contested Politics of Mobility, Borderzones, and Irregularity* (London: Routledge, 2011), 5.

141. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel, "Introduction," in *Citizenship, Migrant Activism, and the Politics of Movement*, ed. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel (London: Routledge, 2012), 6.

142. McLagan, "Human Rights," 315.

143. McKee and McLagan, "Introduction," 9.

Conclusion

1. Marquez-Benitez and Pallares, "Not One More," 17.

2. See, for example, http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/2013/10/14/protest-closes-phoenix-ice-office-prevents-deportations/.

3. See http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/tag/2million2many/. In addition to these actions, migrant detainees have also organized hunger strikes in detention centers.

4. It should be noted that the MODC action resembles Francis Alÿs's performance walking with a block of ice through Mexico City, entitled "Paradise

of Praxis 1: Sometimes Making Something Leads to Nothing," http://francisalys.com/sometimes-making-something-leads-to-nothing/.

5. Borcilă with Marciniak and Tyler, "The Political Aesthetics," 54.

6. Ibid., 52.

7. Artivists also uploaded photographs, videos, performance art, poetry, 3-D art, music, and posters onto #Not1More's website, creating an online gallery of artwork. The website also has information about open deportation cases, photographs of individuals in deportation proceedings, and how supporters can help stop these individuals' deportations using online petitions. See http://www.notonemoredeportation.com/portfolio-type/open-cases/. The #Not1More campaign has also influenced youth media collectives, such as Puente Vision in Arizona, which was created by young people whose family members were released from detention centers, due to the success of media campaigns. See http://puenteaz.org/programs/art-and-culture/puente-vision/.

8. Borcilă with Marciniak and Tyler, "The Political Aesthetics," 56. Emphasis in original.

9. Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, "Disrupting the Dream," 296. Similarly, as Cacho describes, these activists "search beyond U.S. law and U.S. borders for alternatives to racialized rights-based and U.S. centric struggles." Cacho, *Social Death*, 142–43.

10. As Cacho notes, presenting some undocumented migrants as "deserving" and others as "undeserving" involves "rendering the violences of the law invisible," while also "concealing the forces of transnational capital." Cacho, *Social Death*, 130–31.

11. As mentioned earlier, this includes "border control, detention, and deportation." De Genova et al., "Migrant Struggles," 26.

12. Borcilă with Marciniak and Tyler, "The Political Aesthetics," 55–56. Emphasis in original.

13. Marciniak and Tyler, "Introduction," 18; and Imogen Tyler, *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain* (London: Zed Books, 2013).

14. McKee and McLagan, "Introduction," 22.

15. Borcilă with Marciniak and Tyler, "The Political Aesthetics," 53.

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