

Transnational Activism: Intersectional Identities and Peacebuilding in
the Border Justice Movement

By

Jodi Dueck-Read

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Copyright © 2016 Jodi Dueck-Read

Abstract

The transnational border justice movement in Arizona, U.S. and Sonora, MX is responding to violence and death. The U.S.-Mexico borderlands have become burial grounds; the remains of 2,908 persons have been found in Arizona since 2000 (Derechos Humanos, 2015). The border justice movement engages in many different activities to prevent this loss of life. Activists on both sides of the border offer humanitarian aid, protest border and policing policies, and develop advocacy efforts on the militarized U.S.-Mexico border.

This ethnographic research in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands is born from the peacebuilding experiences of the researcher and explores identities and peacebuilding in a transnational social movement and considers alternative narratives of the border justice movement from the perspectives of women, people of color, and members of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) community. Drawing from diverse voices, this analysis fills in current gaps in social movement literature on transnational social activism in the Sonoran-Arizona border context. Furthermore, this scholarly endeavor illustrates how agency is shared among movement actors to build a more sustainable peace.

This study creates new connections in the fields of Peace and Conflict Studies and social movements and draws attention to what is currently under-theorized in peacebuilding—how racialized and gendered power imbalances manifest and operate on multiple levels in peacebuilding activities. This research illustrates the constraints of racialized and gendered peacebuilding in transnational social activism at the U.S.-Mexico border while also highlighting the potential of using ritual and cross-border actors to strengthen peacebuilding efforts.

Contents

Abstract	i
Dedication	vii
Acknowledgement	viii
List of Tables	xi
Chapter 1	1
Introduction	1
Purpose	6
Significance of the Study	8
Language	9
Overview of Chapters	11
Chapter 2	14
The Sonoran Borderlands	14
Borderlands Context	16
Militaryization	19
Neoliberal globalization	21
Migrant deaths.	23
Arizona State and Local Policies	27
Media and the Border	29
Participant Descriptions of the Borderlands	30
Borderlands History	33
Policing Mexicans	39
Summary	42
Chapter 3	44
The Border Justice Movement	44
Historical Roots	45
Church and Community Connections	49
Contemporary Border Justice Movement	52
Humanitarian organizations.	55

Human rights organizations	57
Indigenous organizations	58
Educational organizations	59
Environmental groups	59
Coalitions	60
Others/related movements.	61
Summary	65
Chapter 4	66
Ethnography for Border Justice	66
Ethnographic Research Approaches	68
Multi-sited ethnography	69
Feminist ethnographies	72
Engaged ethnography	76
Auto-ethnography	77
Researcher Identity	78
Sources of privilege	79
Field Research and Research Activities	80
Recruitment Process	81
Research Participants	81
Participant profiles	82
Interview Questions	84
Confidentiality	85
Process of Analysis	88
Methodological Limitations	90
Summary	90
Chapter 5	91
A Review of Peacebuilding and Social Movement Literature	91
Whiteness	93
White privilege	94
White supremacy	94

Racialization	95
Social Movements.....	97
Culture.....	98
Gender.....	100
Standpoint theory	101
Intersectionality.....	101
Power	102
Leadership.....	104
Knowledge production.....	104
Transnational Social Activism.....	106
Peacebuilding.....	109
Critiques of peacebuilding	111
Intersections: Social Movement and Peacebuilding Literature	116
Identity	119
Allies	119
Summary	121
Chapter 6.....	122
Affected Identities.....	122
Affected and Racialized Participants	124
White and Peace-And-Justice Activists	131
Identity Complexities.....	133
Collective Identity.....	137
Summary	139
Chapter 7.....	141
Racialized Peacebuilding	141
Complicated Visibility.....	142
Exclusion from movement narratives	143
Inadequate representation	144
Questioned legitimacy	145
Social Norms.....	147

Timeliness, politeness, and civility	147
Adjustment and dislocation.....	149
Fear of dissent	151
Silencing	152
Gradual reform.....	153
Tokenism.....	155
Dominant groups in charge of inclusion.....	156
Limited discussions about privilege and power.....	157
Rudimentary knowledge of racism	159
Lack of welcome and invitation to communities of color	159
Suspicion.....	160
Indigenous voices excluded	161
White knowledge is more credible	164
Informal leadership culture	165
Helping Discourses	167
Summary	171
Chapter 8.....	174
Gender and Transnational Peacebuilding	174
Negotiating Gender	176
Colonial gender systems	181
Heterosexual norms	182
Transnational Peacebuilding.....	184
Challenges and conflicts	185
Transnational Actors Crossing Borders	188
Locally-bounded doers.....	190
Global catalysts	190
Transboundary entrepreneurs.....	191
Summary	194
Chapter 9.....	195
Ritualistic Peacebuilding on the Migrant Trail	195
Overview of the Walk.....	197

The Migrant Trail Tends Souls	200
The Migrant Trail as Disrupter	201
Ritualistic Peacebuilding	204
Summary	206
Chapter 10.....	207
Recommendations and Conclusions	207
Peacebuilding Model for the Border.....	208
Implications for Peace and Conflict Studies	211
Future Research	213
Bibliography	214
Appendix.....	239

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my son, Felix. I hope that as you grow, you are aware of your power to make change in the world.

Acknowledgement

This dissertation was a collaborative effort. I am indebted to many persons who made this dissertation a reality. I would like to thank my graduate committee members who have met with me throughout the research process. I am particularly appreciative to Patti Harms whose commitment to the borderlands brought her to participate in the Migrant Trail for several years and whose intimate knowledge of the borderlands is integral to this study. I am thankful for many conversations and considerations from my advisor, Jessica Senehi. She has prodded me to find appropriate ways to communicate my passion for change within the scope of this dissertation. Thanks also to Zana Lutfiyya.

This research would not have been possible without the assistance and support of many individuals and organizations in Arizona and Sonora.

- Thanks to my parents who provided me with a car so that I would not have to take the bus or trollies around southern Arizona in the heat of a Tucson summer.
- Thanks to Jon and Mary Beth Landis Jantzen who supported my research by asking questions and transporting me on a short research trip.
- Thanks to Katie Sharar whose willingness to help me connect with the right people was much appreciated.
- Many thanks to Peg Bowden who introduced me to many Samaritans and facilitated several trips to KBI and the comedor.
- Thanks to Tucson Samaritans and Green Valley Samaritans for allowing me to participate in their work on the border
- Gracias a la gente de HEPAC por recibirme con manos extendidas.

- Thanks to Derechos Humanos and the Coalition to Resist and Repeal SB 1070 for allowing me to participate in many meetings.
- I am indebted to my companer@s on the Migrant Trail. I revel in our conversations and the random questions about life that emerge through walking. I am thankful for your knowledge, commitment, and embrace.
- I appreciate Abby Wheatley's support and our ongoing conversations about the complexities of writing about the border.

My Winnipeg-based support group has also been vital.

- Many thanks to my learning group (Robin Neustaeter, Sandra Krahn, and Alka Kumar) who provided inspiration and momentum to continue writing.
- Many thanks and much appreciation to Alicia Dueck-Read whose ongoing support and encouragement allowed me to finish this dissertation. I will not forget her continual encouragement to just write something. I am also grateful for her willingness to discuss borderlands politics and read many versions of this dissertation.

Many people that I met during field research are not mentioned in my work because they did not meet my participation requirements for length of years working in the movement.

Nonetheless, this large group of individuals affected my borderlands field research and some of their faces appear to me as I write. In particular, I recall participants of the SB 1070 protests standing in Tucson's afternoon heat, to declare their disagreement with the U.S. Supreme Court decision. Scenes from this event have made an indelible image in my memory. At a conference in El Paso, I met authorities from the federal government, local Texas sheriffs, religious leadership and a strong, passionate indigenous elder working in Arizona. I did not interview

these people but our brief personal interactions made a difference in my thinking and I have been buoyed by their energy and enthusiasm.

List of Tables

Figure 1: Recovered Human Remains in Arizona since 2000	25
Figure 2: Migrant death map provided courtesy of Humane Borders	27
Figure 3: Nongovernmental organizations and coalitions working to end migrant deaths in Arizona and Sonora.	63
Figure 4: Research Participants	84

Chapter 1

Introduction

Getting across the Mexican border was easy. I would drive 60 miles to Nogales from Tucson, pay US\$4.00 for 24 hours of parking at the Nogales, Arizona, Burger King, and then walk across the border. In 2004, when I first started crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, as a U.S. citizen, I only needed a driver's license and birth certificate to enter Nogales, Sonora. I would pass through the gate into Mexico, scan the empty table looking for Mexican border officials who might want to inspect me, and I was in the country.

Once I was in, I would wind my way around a few busy, people-lined streets constantly murmuring "No, gracias" to the men who offered their pharmaceutical wares or taxi service and after a few blocks, I would arrive to the Nogales Cathedral where I stood waiting in the shade of the monumental building for my co-worker to pick me up. Most days I would wait 10-15 minutes at the cathedral and wonder at the elaborate genuflecting of individuals as they walked by the church. There were so many people around. I savoured the time to people-watch and feel the bustle of this Mexican city. Usually not the only one waiting for something or someone in this space by the cathedral, vendors prepared to sell their wares from carts, people moved hurriedly toward the line,¹ and others simply stood around. Few passed the Cathedral without a momentous glance or a genuflection.

When I met with Mexican colleagues, I would learn about their work, try to assist in planning processes, or we would design a conflict resolution workshop. Usually I would be given a delicious homemade lunch before getting a return ride to the border where I would line-up

¹ In Nogales, people refer to the international border as *La Linea* or the line.

with hundreds of others before Customs and Border Protection scanned my U.S. documents and I popped across the line to drive back to Tucson.

While visiting was relatively easy, in retrospect, I never fully immersed myself into life in Mexico. I did not carry Mexican pesos or learn the bus system in Nogales, Sonora; occasionally, I took a taxi into the neighborhood where we would meet as I could pay in U.S. dollars. Mostly I depended on co-workers for transportation and orientation. I crossed the border, met with co-workers, accomplished a few specific tasks, ate something delicious, and crossed the line again. I was constantly delighted by the ease of crossing the border to spend a day in Latin America. Nonetheless, it seems I came in as a gringa and left just as unaware.

During this time, I was also adjusting to work in the United States. After six and a half years working in development and peacebuilding with Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) in Bolivia and Chile, I was working half time as Program Coordinator at the Zuni Avenue Peace Center (Tucson, AZ) and half time with MCC as Associate for Migration and Peacebuilding; three-fourths of this work in the United States. In these roles, I re-learned ways of working in the U.S. context—how to maintain relationships with distant co-workers and receive input from a far-off supervisor, and I remembered not to interrupt people. I learned to run meetings and to organize or facilitate trainings in the United States. I also traveled regularly to California, Washington, D.C., and parts of the West Coast to raise awareness about border and immigration issues. I became accustomed to working primarily in the United States.

While traveling to Mexico was fairly easy, working in a different relational environment and on the specifics of my MCC work with the Centro de Paz de Ambos Nogales or the Peace Center for Both Nogales (CEPAN) was challenging. CEPAN work required lots of time, relational energy, and oodles of patience. At first, CEPAN work was about relationships and

understanding. As time progressed, I came to realize that when we met as a small group of CEPAN collaborators, we would talk but we did not seem to achieve tangible goals. I felt obliged to change my strategy and approach to work in Mexico, so that I could accomplish goals. I started coming to meetings with agenda items, things to check off my to-do list. And yet, often times the agenda was thwarted and made unimportant. I received gentle reminders from a Mexican colleague—my agenda was not the most important aspect of work or our meetings. She wisely shared that I was not acclimating to the relational ways that work was conducted in Mexico. I tried to adjust and yet in retrospect, it is likely that my adjustment was only half-hearted. I felt compelled to conduct work as is required in the cultural environment of the United States.

As time progressed, my sixty minute return drives to Tucson were filled with vision and enthusiasm for affecting U.S. border policies. My energy became focused toward policy change rather than the specifics of how CEPAN could better function. Working in the cultural environment of the north side of the border seemed easier and my other peacebuilding roles seemed appreciated; I was energized by different aspects of work.

Gradually, I came to regard that we had accomplished little in CEPAN and that my skills, energy, and time were not well-utilized in this project. When a fiscal crisis spelled danger and consultations with co-workers became lethargic, we decided to end CEPAN's work. CEPAN ended with an inaudible bang and various personal repercussions. My California-based supervisor was disappointed while my Mexican colleagues moved on. CEPAN, the Peace Center for Both Nogales, a promising peacebuilding initiative flopped.

CEPAN was not the only bi-national initiative that was encountering problems. Friends and colleagues were involved in other bi-national, cross-border organizations that were also

faltering. There were differences of vision, style, culture, and priorities leading to significant conflicts that made bi-national organizations a challenge to run. It seemed that bi-national partnerships in the context of the U.S.-Mexico border failed. Why was this? What were the causes? Were such projects doomed to contentiousness and/or failure from the beginning?

This research on the U.S.-Mexico border is born from my own borderland experiences, personal on-the-ground peacebuilding involvement, and organizational failure as well as my observations and queries about sexual identities. For five years, I worked in the borderlands with nongovernmental organizations. In my official capacity, as Associate for Migration and Peacebuilding with Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), I learned and taught about border issues and in particular the complicity of U.S. policies causing the crisis of death and destruction in the borderlands. I related with MCC partner organizations on both sides of the border, supporting their work with training and capacity-building and joined in coalition efforts to stop migrant deaths.

An important aspect of my MCC work was supporting a local organization, the *Centro de Paz de Ambos Nogales* (CEPAN) or the Peace Center for the twin cities of Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora. CEPAN, birthed as a U.S. and Mexican peacebuilding initiative was in its infancy stage when I became involved. My role was to strengthen the peacebuilding work and partnership capacity of this organization in creating cross border venues to dialogue about violence and peace on the border. This aspect of my MCC work required me to spend a day or two each week in Nogales, Sonora. In CEPAN, we facilitated workshops, attended trainings, built relationships with women in low-income neighborhoods, conducted dialogues with university students from the Technical School in Nogales, and organized a fundraiser with Dr. John Paul Lederach. This collaborative work with CEPAN lasted for three years before it

succumbed to the long-list of failed or expired peacebuilding initiatives. Understanding why CEPAN failed is an undercurrent of this project.

This study of the transnational border justice movement seeks to disturb dominant perspectives of white male narratives and provide new viewpoints. While academic, journalistic, and popular histories explore the border justice movement, this ethnographic and auto-ethnographic research is narrated through the lens of different persons—people of color; women; members of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Two-Spirit, and Queer community (LGBTQ); and Mexicans—people who have been active in developing border justice but not the privileged storytellers. More than simply telling a different story, this dissertation illustrates the complexity of border justice movement narratives.

Participants in the transnational border justice movement in southern Arizona and northern Sonora have created a powerful enterprise to respond to an atrocious situation of death and militarization in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Neoliberal globalization has caused an increase in border crossers while the securitization and militarization processes resulting from the events of 9/11 have increased resources to stop the flow of migrants. The increasingly militarized borderlands are sites of death and trauma for migrants. Between 2000 and 2015, a fifteen year span, 2,908 persons perished in Arizona (Derechos Humanos, 2015). In order to reduce the prevalence of death and provide the possibility of safe crossing for migrant peoples, borderland inhabitants leave water in the desert, provide food to deported migrants, protest U.S. immigration and border policies, educate themselves and others about human rights, strategize campaigns for policy change, and contribute to a social movement geared toward ending migrant deaths in the Sonoran borderlands. The border justice movement works toward systemic change, the implementation of human rights, and the provision of humanitarian aid.

In the words of Mexican poet and peace activist Javier Sicilia (2012), the war on drugs in Mexico degrades democracy, human beings, and the whole of humanity. The same could be said of the situation of migrant deaths in the borderlands of Arizona, United States and Sonora, Mexico. The increasing militarization and the steady, yet preventable, death of migrants in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands frustrate and humiliate prospects for peace in the region. Citizens and concerned humanitarians are responding to the unnerving tragedy with initiatives for sustaining life, long-term vision, and accompanying actions for systemic social change.

Purpose

This academic exploration of participants in the border justice movement is informed by my peacebuilding experiences of disorientation, failure, and recognition of different cultural ways of working. After watching powerful bi-national organizations work hard to achieve laudable goals and become mired in situations where different cultural, political, and social systems complicated possibilities, I aim to comprehend experiences of less visible actors as they work for social change in the transnational border justice movement.

My experiences on the Migrant Trail also shape this dissertation. While working for MCC, I committed to organizing and participating in the *Migrant Trail: We Walk for Life*, a 75-mile, 7-day journey in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands to raise awareness about migrant deaths. It was only after my third Migrant Trail, when my MCC work terminated, that I realized I had both inadvertently and willingly made a lifelong commitment to walk until the deaths stopped. My experiences on the Migrant Trail shape my orientation to border justice.

The Migrant Trail is an activity of stimulating encounters, intense physicality, and profound relationships, many of which are difficult to convey. On the Trail, discomfort emanates from my feet and throughout my body. In my heart, I acclimate to pain for the families whose

dreams and lives have ended so violently in the borderlands. I also feel the satisfaction of connecting with social justice activists, some of whom are friends with whom I have walked 750 miles in ten years. My intellect is also challenged on this journey as I converse with other students, researchers, and practitioners about the crisis in the borderlands. I am often buoyed by the work I learn about and the ways that people are active making change in their communities.

Participating in the Migrant Trail has strengthened my relationships with local and national actors, grounded me in realities of violence, and helped me to become more aware of the beauty of the desert and of the dangers caused by weaponizing the Sonoran Desert (Wheatley, 2015). The Migrant Trail has also allowed me to intimately observe social movement dynamics and ask questions. I have offered my talents to organize, facilitate meetings, and assist in conflict resolution processes on the Trail. I feel connected to this group of people and the annual journey is significant in my life.

This dissertation also originates from observations about sexual identities and my own developing sense of non-heterosexual desires. As a worker with MCC, being or acting gay was *verboten*. For twelve years, I worked under the guise and instruction of this Christian nongovernmental organization (NGO). MCC's Human Resources manual indicates that gay people are permitted to work for the organization as long as they do not engage in sexual relationships with persons of the same sex nor advocate for inclusion (Mennonite Central Committee, 2013). People can be gay and work for MCC, but acting on one's gayness and/or advocating for oneself or their rights is cause for dismissal. I did not come out while working for MCC.

In contrast, on the Migrant Trail, participants were open about sexuality and queer or LGBTQ community participated. In 2010, when I came out as queer to a few other participants, I

discovered that out of a group of 55 walkers, there were 10 of us who were queer, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. I have been intrigued by this high ratio and desire to learn more about why so many LGBTQ folks participate in border justice. I also want to hear their experiences, understand their approaches, and gather stories about how LGBTQ people came to get involved. The space of the Migrant Trail as the place where I had initial exposure to the activity of queer peacebuilders is significant in my journey.

The sum of my years of experience in the borderlands, both with MCC as a salaried worker and as a volunteer organizer with Migrant Trail has helped me to become intimate with my research area and participants. These contradicting experiences, in MCC and on the Migrant Trail increased my interest in learning more about how LGBTQ persons negotiate their sexuality in peacebuilding endeavors.

Significance of the Study

This qualitative research explores identities and peacebuilding in a U.S. and Mexican-based social movement. I undertake an ethnographic study of persons in a cross-border movement to recognize the importance of peacebuilder identity. I name **racialized peacebuilding** as the current reality of the transnational border justice movement. This research also sheds light on other contemporary movements and experiences of identity, gender, and race. Stories from the Migrant Trail and from field research introduce each chapter. These stories intend to help readers understand my connection and appreciation for the borderlands justice movement as well as situate the material in a suitable narrative.

Drawing from diverse voices, this analysis fills in current gaps in social movement literature on transnational social activism in the Sonoran-Arizona border context. Furthermore, this scholarly endeavor illustrates how agency is shared among movement actors to build a more

sustainable peace. In a practical sense, this research provides a forum for individuals and organizations on the margins of border justice, allowing their stories to shape the larger movement. My hope is that the academic and border justice community will come to a greater understanding of intersectional identities in the transnational justice movement of the U.S./Mexico borderlands.

Consequently, this study creates new connections in the fields of Peace and Conflict Studies and social movements and draws attention to what is currently under-theorized—how racialized power imbalances manifest and operate on multiple levels in peacebuilding activities. Such a peacebuilding study offers distinctive contributions to construct a more cosmopolitan and hybrid Peace and Conflict Studies. This research also provides a unique feminist peacebuilding voice, develops a grassroots perspective, and considers peacebuilding in a militarized and globalized area where violent structures mean a continual loss of life.

I deliberate on identity and marginalization processes in a larger peacebuilding movement and analyze how social movement actors negotiate borders, some who do so seamlessly and others with more difficulty. I show how social movement actors navigate boundaries to consolidate group actions and work toward social change. Lastly, I demonstrate ritualistic peacebuilding in an annual nonviolent event, the Migrant Trail.

Language

In this dissertation, I refer to research participants as participants. Most participants are people with whom I conducted a semi-structured interview. On a few occasions I will refer to someone with whom I interacted in border justice activities as a participant but one whom I did not interview. Such participants were aware that I was a researcher, conducting a study of activism on the U.S.-Mexico border.

I use the word activist broadly to refer to individuals involved in border justice movement activities. While I know that not all people involved in border justice activities consider themselves activists, I have chosen to use that word as a broad concept to refer to people active in providing humanitarian aid or working toward social change.

In this dissertation, naming the racial category of the person who is speaking or about whom I am writing is important as race is significant. Differential experience is based on society's expectation and treatment of racial identity. Historically, people with non-white skin colors were treated pejoratively (Cabrera, 2014) and today, racial bias and systemic racism continue to affect people. Racial bias, a system which favors white people over people of color is characteristic of U.S. society and systemic racism is "a material, social, and ideological reality that is well-imbedded in major U.S. institutions" (Feagin, 2013, p. 2). U.S. society privileges the experiences and perspectives of white people without naming such people as white. I have chosen to name whiteness or refer to Caucasians as white people so as to recognize the invisibility of whiteness. The time has come to unravel the complexities and conceptions of whiteness.

As racial identities are complex, not all white people nor all Latinos or Brown people claim the same ethnicity. Other identity markers used in this dissertation include Latino(a), Hispanic, Mexican, and Mexican-American. These markers do not identify citizenship; rather they are markers of racial and/or ethnic identity. Participants were not asked to self-identify; however, several did identify with a particular group in the course of the interview. When I refer to a participant as a person of color or white person, this is not necessarily the term that they use. However, when I use the term Brown person or Brown organization this identity was provided by the research participant.

In accordance with my commitment to anonymity as outlined in my ethics proposal, I do not refer to individual participants by their accorded name. Either the participant or I have created a pseudonym. In some cases I have changed identifying characteristics in order that participants remain anonymous. Maintaining anonymity is important to my research protocol while not necessarily of the same importance to research participants.

Overview of Chapters

Each chapter begins with a vignette grounding this dissertation in ethnographic descriptions. The second chapter situates the U.S.-Mexico border in contemporary dynamics of neoliberal globalization, militarization, migrant deaths, and current state policies. Exploring research participants' varied conceptions of the border localizes this study. Next, I introduce ethno-racial divides and militarization in the historical development of the border. Chapter 2 provides a context to comprehend the historical and contemporary forces at work on the U.S.-Mexico border and in particular, why social movement groups are responding to the phenomena of globalization and militarization.

Chapter 3 examines the transnational border justice movement on the U.S.-Mexico border. Differentiating among humanitarian, education, environmental, and human rights organizations, this chapter describes organizing in the borderlands, a brief history of the preceding Sanctuary Movement, and current church connections with border justice. I also describe community-based organizations and argue for the importance of recognizing alternative histories.

Chapter 4 scrutinizes the qualitative research methodology. As a politically committed ethnographer, I draw on engaged and feminist research practices to ground this study of social movement actors and processes of peacebuilding in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. I also

introduce auto-ethnography, a form of research which connects personal narratives to social and cultural phenomena. In this chapter, composites and descriptions of the 22 research participants is also provided.

Chapter 5 examines literature on social movements, peacebuilding, and critical whiteness studies that undergird this research. I draw on theories of identity, culture, gender, and intersectionality, to make power visible among social movement actors. I also consider intersections between social movements and peacebuilding, suggesting that both fields could learn from each other.

In chapter 6, participants discuss identity and the influence of identities on border justice commitments. In particular, I describe two overlapping groups of border justice movement participants: affected and racialized participants and white peace-and-justice participants. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the importance of identity in forging peacebuilding movements.

In chapter 7, I name the complexities of racialized peacebuilding and its ongoing impact on the border justice movement. I explore social norms of interaction, responses from affected and racialized participants, helping discourses and notions of exclusion, silencing, dominance and suspicion. In doing so, it becomes clear that the dynamics of racialized peacebuilding make full integration difficult in a border justice system shrouded in white supremacy.

Chapter 8 illustrates the complications of gender and the heterosexual framing of the border justice movement. Societal gender norms negatively impact the border justice movement. I assess horizontal relationship-building among participants and contend that bicultural and cross-border activists or transboundary entrepreneurs create peacebuilding potential for the border justice movement.

Chapter 9 considers ritualistic peacebuilding on the Migrant Trail. I illustrate the many ways that participants transform their worldview while engaging in rituals and also care for one another, thereby showing an alternative peacebuilding endeavor.

In the conclusion, I recommend possible avenues for continued peacebuilding work in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Based on my findings that racialized and gendered peacebuilding is at work in the borderlands, I suggest learning alternative histories, forging relationships of solidarity, and changing the current structures. Also, I propose future studies of identity in the field of peacebuilding, in particular examining the identity of peacebuilders. Lastly, I advocate conducting more ethnographic studies from the gaze of south to north (Sonora to Arizona) to provide additional layers of data to analyze the ways that social movements operate.

Chapter 2

The Sonoran Borderlands

June 24, 2012. Mariposa Port of Entry, Nogales. I can see the fence for miles. It is eerily erect, a robust barrier that stretches as far as I can see. Vendors approach selling newspapers, salty snacks, and trinkets. Cars, trucks, and semi-trailers form a mile-long line-up as we walk in the hot morning sun to show our passports at the border crossing.

We are a group of U.S. humanitarian workers concluding our morning of work at a Mexican shelter and returning to the United States. As we do not want to inadvertently irritate the U.S. Customs and Border agent, we approach carefully and one at a time. The open-air customs area is relatively cool with powerful ceiling fans moving hastily; outside, the temperature reaches 111 °F that day.

We walk past a newly constructed building decorated with U.S. flags and footprints, traverse the customs area, and emerge from the shade to cross a bustling, pedestrian un-friendly road. I look back and observe this bustling place: a massive concrete barrier, a complex of stadium lights, cameras, buildings, and equipment for border enforcement and beyond the wall an enormously long line of people, trucks, and vehicles waiting to cross. It is an immense human-made construction to observe, control, and overpower people at the border – with a harsh natural environment as a seeming ally.

Armed U.S. government agents and military equipment, along with *maquilas*², cross-border workers, and goods represent much of the movement and activity at the U.S.-Mexico border. Militarization and neoliberal economic globalization are two defining characteristics of

² Foreign-owned assembly plants

the borderlands. Militarized border enforcement and the regular flow of tariff-free goods across the international border is evident in walled ports of entry from the U.S.-Mexico border in California, U.S., and Baja California, MX, to Texas, U.S., and Tamaulipas, MX. At ports of entry, Customs and Border agents inspect incoming goods and persons while outside of ports of entry and within 100-miles of the border, U.S. Border Patrol police rural and urban landscapes, hospitals, bus stations, and airports and utilize military technology and the U.S. border wall to stop the flow of people and/or illicit goods.

Neoliberal globalization, a process of privatization and hands-off economic growth not contained by national borders (Scholte, 2005), is evident in the high concentration of maquilas along the border, the mile-long queue of semi-trailers at ports of entry hauling Mexican produce to warehouses in Nogales, Arizona, and by the traffic-halting train in Nogales, Sonora, that carries Ford cars manufactured in Hermosillo, Sonora, to markets in the United States. Economic globalization meets rampant militarization across the length of the border as sensors, cameras, drones, and walls force crossers into desolate areas of the desert, creating a deadly policy combination for migrants. Between 2000 and 2015, the Tucson-based organization Human Rights Coalition known by its Spanish name, *Coalición de Derechos Humanos* or simply *Derechos Humanos*, tracked migrant deaths in Arizona for a total of 2,908 recovered human remains (Derechos Humanos, 2015). A majority of migrants died from exposure to the elements, dehydration, and hyperthermia, as well as motor vehicle accidents, blunt force injury, and diabetes (Humane Borders, 2015). Migrant deaths have become a characteristic of life in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

Today's crisis of migrant deaths is a result of historical policies to colonize, police, and militarize the U.S.-Mexico border. Populations have been challenging state control at the border

since the division between the United States and Mexico was concretized in the late 1800s. Indigenous groups used the border for economic gain, escaping across either side to evade capture (St. John, 2011). Chinese workers also sought economic stability on both sides of the border and were policed by U.S. government officials (Ngai, 2004). Today, Mexicans seeking to reunite with family or find economic survival in the United States are policed in the borderlands (Hernandez, 2010). To guard against residents challenging the legitimacy of the border, government policies and infrastructure have expanded dramatically. Furthermore, as infrastructure and policies of global neoliberal economics have also materialized, the contemporary crisis of migrant deaths in the borderlands has become an increasingly regular phenomenon.

In this chapter, I show how historical and contemporary government initiatives have created the current situation of migrant deaths. First, a description of the borderlands between Arizona, U.S., and Sonora, MX, is provided, and the strong historic, economic, and cultural ties between the two sides are discussed. Second, an overview of militarization and globalization in the borderlands over the past 150 years is reviewed. Thirdly, research participants' diverse descriptions of the borderlands are provided to connect my research to participant conceptions of the borderlands. Lastly, I present an overview of important historical events shaping the context of the borderlands.

Borderlands Context

The U.S.-Mexico borderlands comprise a vast swath of land from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico—1,969 miles of border landscape dotted with rural and urban communities. The international border runs between the U.S. states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, and the Mexican states of Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon,

and Tamaulipas. The arid Sonoran Desert, my area of study, covers 361 miles of border and is contained within two states, Arizona, U.S., and Sonora, Mexico. Much of the southern Sonoran borderlands in the United States are rural and desolate areas, with small towns, ranches, military ranges, and government-operated wildlife refuges covering large parcels of land. The sparsely-populated land of an indigenous people, the Tohono O'odham Nation, also covers 75 miles of the Arizona-Sonora border. In Arizona, three sets of twin cities are separated by long stretches of rural areas. In these cities, population density is greater in Sonora.

In the largest set of Arizona and Sonora borderlands cities, the twin cities of Nogales, Arizona, and Nogales, Sonora, affectionately called *Ambos Nogales* (Both Nogales) are connected through strong social and economic ties. Historically, the twin cities of Ambos Nogales have shared resources and depended on one another; for several years, fire-fighting was a joint venture (Eppinga, 2002). Both cities are also known for commerce and cross-border shopping. U.S. residents head to Sonora to purchase pharmaceuticals while Mexicans travel to the United States for cheaper gas prices and consumer goods. Families and friends live and visit on either side of the border and U.S. and Mexican workers cross the border daily. The local economies are intertwined as Nogales, Arizona, depends on Mexican consumers to purchase commercial goods while maquilas on the Mexican side provide employment for residents, internal migrants, and persons deported from the United States. Goods travel across the border to reach consumers in the United States and Mexico.

In this shared geographic context there are stark contrasts between the two sides, notably in population and the availability of resources. Nogales, Sonora, struggles to provide basic services to a rapidly growing population of more than 400,000. The smaller and more rural U.S. city has a population of 20,000 and a larger city budget than its Mexican counterpart (United

States Mexico Border Health Commission, 2010). The population of Nogales, Sonora, is also growing due to internal and repatriated migrants. The population in Nogales, Arizona, remains small and constant. The stark contrasts between Mexico and the United States are also evident in the markings of militarization.

While the first separation markers between the two countries were posts or small concrete monuments and chain link fences, today the original posts are overshadowed by vehicle barricades, many varieties of fences, and forty-seven ports of entry. Cities and rural landscapes throughout Arizona and Sonora are surrounded by formidable separation barriers, 21-foot steel barriers of corrugated metal strips with concrete foundations. Lower to the ground vehicle barriers cover many miles of border in the desolate Tohono O’odham Reservation. Border roads created in the last decade along the U.S. side of the border also provide additional access for policing as border enforcement vehicles, all-terrain vehicles (ATVs), and pick-up trucks appraise the area. Tall technology towers containing sensitive electronic equipment attempt to serve as virtual barriers and survey movement along the border. Although located in the United States, stadium lights and sensors are visible to residents on either side of the line. Green and white Border Patrol sedans, pick-up trucks, ATVs, and agents on mounted patrol police the area north of the line and within 100 miles of the border.

The Tohono O’odham Nation is an integral part of the Sonoran borderlands, covering 75 miles of border between Arizona and Sonora. The Nation’s land mass in the United States is extensive, approximately the size of the state of Connecticut, and largely rural with a population of approximately 10,787 persons in 2010 (Arizona Rural Policy Institute Center for Business Outreach, 2010). The Nation stretches across the border into Mexico, as the Tohono O’odham are a people whose land was dissected when the U.S.-Mexico border was created in the mid-

1800s. Historically, O’odham people have traveled on both sides of the border for social, religious, and economic purposes. Poverty rates on the nation are high with 70% of the population earning an income below US\$ 40,000 per year (Arizona Rural Policy Institute Center for Business Outreach, 2010) and with 41% of Tohono O’odham living below the federal poverty line (Norton School of Family and Consumer Sciences, 2012). Given these statistics, it is not surprising that drug smuggling operations have emerged on the nation (McCombs, 2009).

On the Nation, U.S. government agents and tribal councils work tensely in the same land. The Tohono O’odham Nation’s Tribal Council is responsible for creating laws and operates a police department. Border Patrol has checkpoints on the Nation and runs a forward operating base or outpost near an historic O’odham crossing (Miller, 2014). While there is cooperation between the tribal and U.S. governments, the O’odham tribal council has often complained that they are not consulted about U.S. government initiatives (Pyclik & Leibig, 2006; Tavares, 2007). O’odham peoples are also racially targeted and harassed on their land and have filed complaints with the Department of Homeland Security (No More Deaths, 2011). Hundreds of migrants have died on the Tohono O’odham reservation (Humane Borders, 2015).

Militarization. Multi-disciplinary border scholars have long recognized the U.S.-Mexico border as militarized. The increasing use and complexity of military technologies at the U.S.-Mexico border was recognized by Timothy Dunn (1996) whose early work on militarization at the U.S.-Mexico border has influenced many scholars. He describes militarization as an environment where police act like military and military and surveillance equipment are utilized (Dunn, 1996). Today, the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border is widely studied by a diverse array of scholars (Cunningham, 2004; Eastman, 2008; Green, 2011; McGuire, 2013; Meierotto, 2009; Reineke, 2010; Stuesse, 2010; Sundberg, 2007; Williams, 2011; Nevins, 2010).

Border scholars explore different conceptualizations of border militarization. Randall McGuire (2013) considers the separation barrier or wall built between the United States and Mexico as one of the greatest materializations of border militarization. Scholars Maria Cristina Morales and Cynthia Bejarano (2009) describe border militarization as a “pseudo war zone” where trained agents provoke and antagonize regularly. Jessica Piekielek (2009) considers border militarization a manifestation of the post-9/11 security state where security is sought from within and plays out in the wars on drugs, terror, and immigrants that the United States is currently fighting in the Sonoran Desert. All of these descriptions illustrate the multi-faceted manifestations of a militarized U.S.-Mexico border.

Over the last twenty years, significant events have created an increase in funding for border militarization and forced more people to cross through the Arizona-Sonora borderlands. When Canada, Mexico, and the United States signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, liberalizing trade without regularizing migration within North America, workers were uprooted. In order to stem international migration resulting from this new economic policy, border militarization increased. In 1994, Operation Gatekeeper mandated the construction of triple layer fencing between California, U.S., and Baja California, MX, while Operation Hold the Line placed more Border Patrol agents and vehicles throughout urban crossing areas in Texas. As a result of increased agents, fencing, and resources in Texas and California, migrants were encouraged and compelled to cross in more isolated areas of Arizona. This created what is known as the funnel effect; migrants were forced to cross through the desolate Sonoran Desert. U.S. policy intended to slow crossing rates permitting death in the desert as a possible outcome (Rubio-Goldsmith, McCormick, Martinez, & Duarte, 2006).

The events of September 11, 2001 increased resources for border security and amplified rhetoric about the need for more security in the borderlands (Jimenez, 2009; Rubio-Goldsmith, McCormick, Martinez, & Duarte, 2006; Nevins, 2010). The Department of Homeland Security (DHS), newly created as a result of 9/11 to safeguard the nation against terror attacks and secure the U.S.-Mexico border, carried out several regional security initiatives to stop or control the flow of undocumented migrants. DHS is a mammoth agency with budgets equaling the GDP of several developing nations. In 2015, the proposed budget for Customs and Border Protection (CBP) was \$13 billion (Department of Homeland Security, 2015). In 2010, the budget of 10.13 billion was allocated for a variety of military personnel and equipment including paying for military contractors, Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) agents, and a sundry of military equipment including sensors, radars, and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs or drones) (Haddal, 2010). The exponential growth of DHS results in what Abby Wheatley (2015) describes as a weaponized desert. It is not the desert itself that is dangerous or that which causes migrant deaths, rather it is the way that the U.S. government has made a weapon out of remote areas that is causing people to die. The ever-expanding DHS is the government agency responsible for ongoing militarization of the borderlands.

Neoliberal globalization. The border is a space governed by notions of global capitalism enshrouded in neoliberal economic policies which prioritize free and open trade among nation-states and the dismantling of government control of state economies. While neoliberal policies provide pathways for the production and sale of goods in many markets, they do not prioritize a free flow of laborers, thereby isolating laborers in their respective countries. As journalist and social activist Harsha Walia (2013) concludes, global capitalism facilitates the flow of products out while containing and limiting the flow of labor. When global capitalism constrains laborers,

workers are forced to negotiate migration on their own. This transnational capitalist dynamic is visible in the economic landscape of the U.S.-Mexico border.

NAFTA implemented over stages aggregated the economies of Canada, the United States, and Mexico into a shared trade zone with the intention that each economy would gain a comparative advantage. U.S. companies operate manufacturing plants or maquilas in Mexico to take advantage of a lower base pay for workers and then ship consumer goods across the border. Many of these maquilas are based in Mexican border cities from Baja California to Tamaulipas. On the U.S. side, warehouses receive loads of Mexican goods.

The economic and social impacts of NAFTA are felt keenly along the border. NAFTA has only benefitted a small sector of Mexican society—rich capitalists—and left deleterious consequences for Mexico's poor and small farmers. The result is an increased out-migration from Mexican communities and an increased population in border towns. Patricia Fernández Kelly and Douglas Massey (2007) argue that NAFTA has made non-industrial, labor-intensive Mexican farming a less sustainable enterprise. As NAFTA mandated free trade and less government control over industries, small Mexican farmers were bereft of guaranteed prices for commodities. Without this guaranteed price, farmers were not able to cover their costs and thus unable to compete on the world market. Meanwhile, U.S.-subsidized corn came to dominate the Mexican market, forcing millions of rural workers to depart their lands to seek work in urban areas or in the United States (Nevins, 2007). Furthermore, while NAFTA eliminated barriers for goods and capital, it made no provisions to liberalize the flow of labor (Fernández-Kelly & Massey, 2007; Walia, 2013). Thus, unemployed and struggling Mexican farmers left their farms to seek new fortunes in the United States and in Mexican border towns.

Other neoliberal economic policies have also affected the U.S.-Mexico border. The Border Industrialization Program (BIP), which commenced in 1965 as the United States ended the popular Bracero Program, is a Mexican government initiative that expanded tax incentives for foreign-owned factories in the borderlands and created jobs for a growing workforce. Although BIP was intended to absorb unemployed men, the program increased the number of maquilas in cities such as Nogales, Sonora, drawing on a new labor force of women (Fernández-Kelly M. P., 1983). At the same time, neoliberal economic policies wiped out social assistance programs (Weissman, 2010). Neoliberal policies without social supports have created a border zone where services such as sanitation and electricity have expanded at a slower pace than the population, resulting in many shanty towns. The situation is also compounded by processes of repatriation and deportation maintaining a large unemployed workforce in Mexican border cities.

The forces of global capitalism are evident at ports of entry as I described in my brief vignette at the start of the chapter. At ports of entry there are not only long lines of semi-trailers and underemployed workers selling trinkets but documented workers crossing into the United States, U.S.-based *maquila* managers returning home, and a fortified inspection process for goods and persons hoping to cross. Outside of ports of entry, border crossings are more dangerous as migrants attempt to traverse rural areas to find their way to jobs and family members in the interior of the United States.

Migrant deaths. Militarization and neoliberal economic globalization are a deadly policy combination as the desert is used to deter migrants, and the result is a large number of fatalities. Without access to documentation, would-be migrants must cross outside of ports of entry and in rural, isolated areas of the Sonoran Desert where water sources are limited and people are scarce. Migrants pay a human smuggler or coyote, ostensibly for safe passage although minimally this

fees pays for the right of passage through the desert. The mechanisms of militarization that obstruct, slow down, and ultimately kills some migrants include separation barriers, Border Patrol agents, sensors, and drones. These mechanisms of militarization are particularly hazardous when combined with the commonplace dangers of traveling through the desert—formidable desolate terrain, snakes, and spiny cactus.

Scholars and activist organizations indicate that the prevalence of death as a result of crossing is increasing even as the number of migrants crossing decreases. As such, death has become an even more ubiquitous danger of border crossing (Derechos Humanos, 2015; Martínez, et al., 2013).

Statistics paint a dismal picture of migrant deaths in the Arizona borderlands. Since 2000, the remains of 2,908 migrants have been found in Arizona alone (Derechos Humanos, 2015). While Derechos Humanos and the Pima County Medical Examiner produce exact numbers of recovered human remains, it is likely that more remains have simply not been found or have been destroyed by the elements. It is thus accurate to suggest that perhaps there are 3,000 or more humans that have perished while crossing the desert in Arizona. In the most recent fiscal year (2014-2015), the remains of 137 people were found in southern Arizona.

The Pima County Medical Examiner's Office records the cause of death for people presumed to be migrants. In a collaborative report written by members of the Pima County Medical Examiner's Office and leading scholars tracking migrant deaths in the Sonoran region, migrant deaths have been categorized by phases. The leading cause of death in what is called the "late funnel effect" phase occurring between 2006 and 2012 is exposure (Martínez, et al., 2013). Exposure includes hyperthermia and hypothermia, conditions exacerbated by insufficient intake of water. The second highest leading cause of death is undetermined largely due to the state of

disrepair in which the remains are found (Martínez, et al., 2013). Such migrants may die when they are scattered in Border Patrol raids and get disconnected from their group or if a group member is slow or twists their ankle, they may be left behind, and get lost or disoriented and ultimately die in the desert. Remains may not be found for months or even years.

Figure 1

Recovered Human Remains in Arizona since 2000

Fiscal Year October 1st–	Total
2000-2001	136
2001-2002	163
2002-2003	205
2003-2004	234
2004-2005	282
2005-2006	205
2006-2007	237
2007-2008	183
2008-2009	206
2009-2010	253
2010-2011	183
2011-2012	179
2012-2013	183
2013-2014	122
2014-2015	137
2000-2015	2,908

Used with permission of the Coalición de Derechos Humanos

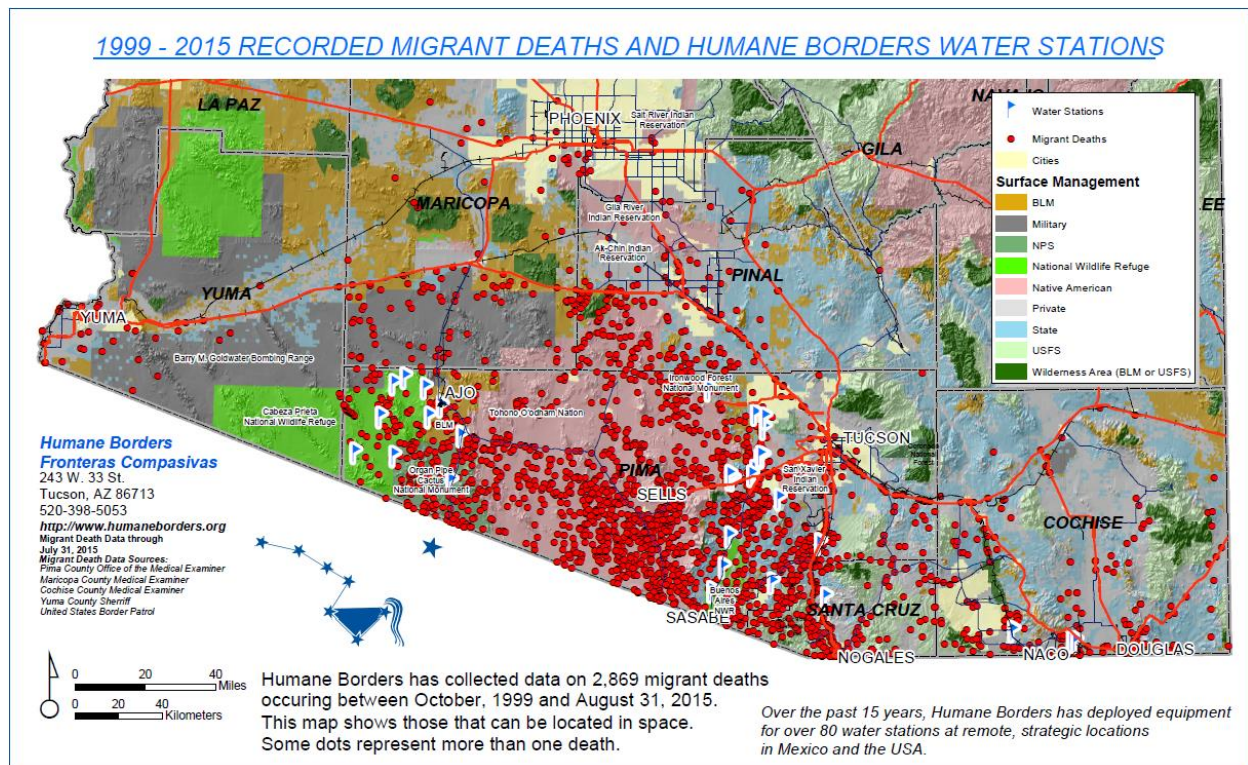
Human remains of unauthorized border crossers (or UBCs) have been found in all border counties including Cochise County in the east; Santa Cruz and Pima Counties in central Arizona; and Yuma County, which borders California on the west. Many of the remains have been found on managed federal lands and private property, some of which is accessible to humanitarians. An increasing number of human remains have been found on the Tohono O’odham Nation, which is less accessible to humanitarians. In 2007, the *Arizona Daily Star* called the Nation the “deadliest

migrant trail” (McCombs & Volante, 2007), and Humane Borders recorded hundreds of recovered human remains on the Nation between 2000 and 2013 (see map below).

While the Nation has cooperated with Border Patrol safety initiatives to place rescue beacons on the Nation, the Tohono O’odham tribal government does not allow non-tribal members to place water on Nation land. The tribal government fears that the presence of humanitarian groups will bring more non-indigenous people and migrants to their land (Burridge, 2009). Nonetheless, the Tohono O’odham are still forced to deal with many aspects of migrants crossing on their land, including migrant deaths. The O’odham police reported that they spent 3.4 million dollars to deal with border-related criminal activity in 2003 (Pyclik & Leibig, 2006).

The detailed Humane Borders map titled, “1999-2015 Recorded Migrant Deaths and Humane Borders Water Stations” shows the small towns dotting the landscape of the border and the abundance of groups that manage land along the border including federal groups such as the Bureau of Land Management, the U.S. military, United States Fire Service (USFS), national wildlife refuges, as well as private entities, the Tohono O’odham Nation, and the state of Arizona. Most strikingly, this map visually illustrates blood spilled in the borderlands through the representation of red dots to denote lives lost throughout the territory of southern Arizona.

Figure 2



Migrant death map provided courtesy of Humane Borders, Inc.

Used with permission

Arizona State and Local Policies

Arizona is a contentious socio-political environment. There are several reasons why the state of Arizona is a difficult place to live for Mexicans or non-white individuals: the growth of agencies and equipment to police the border for drugs, suspected terrorists, and persons deemed aliens (Haddal, 2010); Border Patrol checkpoints miles from the border; and state policies which criminalize and de-legitimize Mexican people and their histories (Cammarota & Aguilera, 2012). The growth of global capitalism has also brought material resources to the border and increased internal and repatriated migrants.

State laws have increasingly sought to crack down on undocumented laborers and social movement activists assisting undocumented individuals. The Arizona State Senate invited Glenn

Spencer, an individual labeled as a vigilante by the Southern Poverty Law Center, to present proposed technology for securing the border (ADL condemns AZ Senate invitation to "Anti-Semitic Bigot", 2012). The state is also collecting donations to build more miles of a separation barrier, filling in the perceived cracks of border security. Activists leaving water bottles in the wildlife refuges also face the possibility of being arrested. A few activists have been arrested and prosecuted for "knowingly littering" (No More Deaths, 2012). In an environment of increasing militarization, humanitarians and human rights actors attempt to preserve life and demilitarize the borderlands.

In 2012, the year in which I conducted field research, several anti-Mexican and/or anti-immigrant state initiatives were proposed, making life difficult for Latinos or Mexicans in Arizona. The array of state sponsored bills strongly reprimanded youth and people of color within Arizona. Firstly, the Arizona Superintendent of Schools disbanded the Mexican heritage ethnic studies program, Mexican American Studies (MAS) in the Tucson Unified School District saying that the program was anti-American and promoted racial hatred (Feldman, 2013). Supporters contended that this program helped individuals understand their Mexican roots and find culturally relevant teaching leading to higher retention and graduation rates among Mexican-Americans (Palos, 2012). Furthermore, bills introduced in the state legislature sought to disallow U.S. citizenship to children born to parents without U.S. status. Additionally, SB 1070³, the controversial Arizona state law allowing police officers to request proof of identification of persons stopped or questioned by police came into full force under a Supreme Court ruling. This ruling gave racial profiling a legal apparatus. While undocumented youth were given the opportunity to be recognized by President Obama's executive order of Deferred Action for

³ Arizona Senate Bill 1070 is more formally known as the Support our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act and was passed in 2010.

Childhood Arrivals (DACA), in the state of Arizona, then Arizona Governor Jan Brewer hastily replied that undocumented youth would not receive that same recognition in Arizona.⁴ She disavowed undocumented youth eligibility for an Arizona driver's license. Thus, Latinos in Arizona were pushed on many sides—their heritage was deemed anti-American and their access to culturally relevant education was blocked. Additional police powers provided a threat of deportation for undocumented persons while youth arrivals⁵ were not afforded legitimacy in Arizona. All of these initiatives made being a person of color a source of contention in Arizona.

Media and the Border

The U.S.-Mexico border is depicted in the media as a site of criminal violence involving migrants who are either violent or need to be saved. These representations of the border have led to increased militarization and dehumanization. Margaret Dorsey and Miguel Diaz-Barriga (2010) contend that media sources paint the border as isolated and bleak leading to demands for increased militarization. Joseph Nevins (2010) found that increased funding of border militarization is directly related to how immigrants are portrayed in the media as aliens causing crime, unemployment, and poverty.

Jill Williams (2011) discusses how the media interacts with Border Patrol discourse and particularly how the need to save migrants arises from discourse about the violence of unscrupulous Mexican men as coyotes.⁶ She contends that Border Patrol blames and names migrant smugglers as the reason that migrant women need to be rescued. The media uses racialized and gendered notions of Mexican peoples to justify how Border Patrol, represented by

⁴ President Obama's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) was announced in June 2012 and provides a work permit and exemption from deportation for children who arrived in the United States prior to their 16th birthday. For more, see <http://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/consideration-deferred-action-childhood-arrivals-daca>.

⁵ Children who arrived in the United States prior to their 16th birthday are also known as youth arrivals.

⁶ Human smugglers are often referred to as coyotes.

white men, can save brown women from brown men. Scholars have long indicated that the media inflames ideas about the border as criminal, violent, and in need of taming or rescue.

Participant Descriptions of the Borderlands

While this project considers the border as militarized, globalized, and violent for migrants, research participants show different conceptions of the place and space of the border. It is important to consider the perspective of people who live in the borderlands and are creating discourses about the borderlands. Gloria Anzaldua (1997) espouses such an approach as she describes the borderlands as hybrid spaces, her home, and a place where two very different worlds meet. In this section, I draw from many of the 22 research participants that I interviewed. Each research participant is an adult that has been involved in work to end migrant deaths for at least two years. Such participants describe the borderlands as home and an evolving place of activism and social change. They describe the border as a physical place and attach emotions and/or symbolic meaning to it. The layered ways that participants see the border helps to reimagine the space. Furthermore, how participants conceive of the borderlands resonates with how they talk about their borderlands work and identities, a key aspect of this project.

Participants have varied conceptions of what land constitutes the borderlands. For some, the borderlands begin in Tucson, which is sixty miles north of the international boundary. For others, Green Valley, a town twenty miles south of Tucson and forty miles north of the international border, is the beginning of the borderlands. Yet for others, the Arizona-Sonora borderlands are a narrow strip of land between the two countries focused around bordering twin cities in places like Nogales, Arizona and Sonora; Naco, Arizona and Sonora; and Douglas, Arizona, and Agua Prieta, Sonora. One participant contends that the international border extends

into the interior of the country as racialized policing and immigration prosecution enforce immigration laws throughout the United States.

Participants attach complex meanings to the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. While I describe the border as globalized and militarized, I was reminded by one participant that for many the borderlands is simply home. Margaret describes the borderlands as economically, socially, and politically vibrant communities and as home for millions of people. This idea of the borderlands as home is accompanied by an implicit political declaration—that the borderlands need not be stigmatized or envisioned primarily through globalized politics.

Among those who were raised in the borderlands, there is a definite sentiment that the border has undergone significant change. Josefina comments, “Nogales, it was a wonderful place where I grew up and it’s totally different.” Josefina describes Nogales prior to militarization as a fun place where children could play, people shopped on both sides of the border, and those who did not have access to official ports of entry simply went through holes in the wall, did their shopping in U.S. big box stores, and returned to their Mexican neighborhood in the evening. Alejandra describes her love for growing up in the positive chaos of the borderlands where people cared for each other and neighbors interacted intimately. There was a sense that the border was a pleasant place to live.

While now less pleasant, one participant argues that the borderlands are still accessible. Many people dwell in the borderlands, cross regularly, and the two sides share strong economic ties. Border trade continues to flourish as big box stores in the United States offer deals for Mexican shoppers and Mexican pharmacies sell drugs at discounted rates to U.S. retirees. The Sonora-based maquila industry also creates jobs for workers based in Nogales, Arizona, and the

flourishing produce industry keeps the twin cities economically dependent on each other (Pavlovich-Kochi & Thompson, 2013).

While twin cities are economically and socially intertwined, the desert borderlands also represent grief and agony. In her current conceptualization of the border, Josefina argues that the desert is becoming a purgatory. She illustrated this point as she related a story about a woman who carried her dying child for miles and miles in the desert until, in order to survive, she was forced to abandon her lifeless child. This vignette and accompanying description is a far cry from Josefina's recollection of the borderlands as fun.

The physical landscape of the borderlands is also memorable. Some participants are unable to forget the colossal physical separation barrier between the two countries. Participants describe the fence as it currently stands between Nogales, Arizona, and Nogales, Sonora, as an "ugly barrier" while noting that historically it was a chain link fence between cities. It remains to be considered if the chain link fence was a more aesthetic component of city life or if it was simply less intrusive and less of a blockade.

On the other hand, some participants state that they try not to see the fence when they conjure the image of the borderlands or cross the line. Milagros, a participant who has family on both sides of the border and resides in Mexico, considers the politics of the separation barrier. She tries not to see the barrier in order to envision that the two sides remain connected and interdependent. She explains that she wants to remain positive about her home in the borderlands and not become resigned to overwhelming U.S. power. Another participant, Sol, indicates that if she is cognizant of the border wall, she becomes disoriented. For Sol, the fence symbolizes a flawed system that is ultimately harmful to human relationships and she desires to focus her energy on pursuing joint community-building without the obscuring view of the fence.

A few participants depict the borderlands as a place of contrasting danger and beauty. Dita describes the desert as striking and recognizes the dangers of crossing: “The desert I think is beautiful but to try to cross it...how do you cross it?” In other descriptions, she describes the desert as both sacred and inhospitable. The desert is described as sacred in the sense that although difficult, people eke out life upon the land. Dita also communicates that the desert is inhospitable with “awful bugs [and] rattle snakes [and] some of those things, they get you and they itch. And there’s no water. There’s no cover. It’s just dust.” This bleak description of the borderlands evokes potent images of danger.

Several participants also describe the borderlands as militarized and teeming with Border Patrol agents, vehicles, and control mechanisms. Mike describes militarization where he lives: “Border Patrol agents run down the street with AK 47s” and helicopters swarm overhead; there are also Border Patrol agents in hospitals, airports, and at various checkpoints around the community. This view of militarized borderlands conjures images of uniforms, guns, and armed agents on street corners and in local businesses.

In this research, these varied participant conceptualizations of the border as home, a place of family and local connections, and void of material or symbolic barriers, humanize the political descriptions of the borderlands. Trade, militarization, danger, and migrant deaths also characterize significant aspects of the borderlands. This project is situated amidst these contrasting conceptualizations.

Borderlands History

Borderlands history is a dynamic interplay of forces vying for control. The U.S. government has shaped and shifted border policies to reinforce national identity and achieve ambitious development goals since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase

forcefully created the current border in the mid-1800s. While Mexico and the United States have regulated the border through some efforts of bi-national cooperation, many efforts to control the border were established violently through ethno-racial and class-based divisions (Nevins, 2010) and the ever-present, ever-growing powers of transnational capitalism (St. John, 2011). This review of borderland history aims to illustrate how the militarization and fortification of the borderlands has been accomplished through state policies.

U.S.-based borderland scholars have described the history of the borderlands as histories of violent institutionalization. Frederick Jackson Turner, an early 1900s scholar of U.S. history, indicated that border history is the colonizing process of Americanization (Turner, 1962). Joe Nevins (2010) contends that the history of the border is replete with violence in a process of Americanization. Rachel St. John (2011) describes border history as the process by which the state sought to control territory and regulate border spaces according to government priorities. Each scholar describes long-term, violent, and institutionalizing processes that have changed little since the border was finalized in 1854. On the U.S. side of the border, the U.S. government has utilized exclusionary and purposeful policies to instill and consolidate American ideals and control border traffic, people, and goods.

For almost 200 years, the U.S. government has been trying to gain territory and operational control of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. In the 1800s U.S. borders expanded westward, following the mandate of Manifest Destiny to settle new territories. In 1836, the U.S. annexed the territory of Texas, a blatant land-grab which angered Mexico and a few years later provoked the Mexican-American War. This war, known in Mexico as the “First U.S. Invasion,” is evidence of the Mexican perspective that the United States was the provocateur and aggressor. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) temporarily satiated U.S. hunger for land. However,

desire for economic bounty continued and six years later, after paying Mexico \$15 million dollars for approximately 40% of Mexico's total territory, the United States bought more land to accommodate a southern railway system. In 1854, the Gadsden Purchase, also known as the La Mesilla Treaty, provided the United States with additional territory in what is known today as southern Arizona and western New Mexico. This transaction produced current-day borders.

While the end of the war and the purchase of additional territory were negotiated by official government bodies, the bloody war and its aftermath affected residents of the borderlands. As a result of the treaties, Mexicans living in what was northern Mexico now lived in the U.S. territories and were offered naturalized U.S. citizenship. Some people separated by distances of 10 miles became part of the United States while other geographically proximate communities remained in Mexico. This messy process of making borders, separating communities and offering new citizenship to some, was a significant transition for borderlands people (Dear, 2013).

In this transition, ethno-racial conflicts emerged in borderland communities. Residents of communities formerly in Mexico became U.S. citizens by government decree. However, as historians illustrate, such citizens were not fully accepted as American since they were not white (Benton-Cohen K. , 2009; Mora, 2011; Nevins, 2010). Whiteness was a symbol of U.S. identity. Non-white Mexicans were not offered the same level of respect as white Americans (Mora, 2011) and were often not treated like citizens by local, state, or federal authorities (Nevins, 2010). In employment, Mexicans were offered a Mexican wage, which was considerably less than the family wage afforded to white men (Benton-Cohen, 2009). While officially U.S. government policy made citizens of U.S. territorial residents, the results were different. Numerous racial and ethnic conflicts divided the territories after the finalization of borders in

1854. People of Mexican descent faced a host of difficulties not unlike the treatment of ethnically Chinese people.

Policing Chinese people along the border helped to set a tradition of policing along ethnic lines (Hernandez, 2010). In fact, Chinese peoples' movement became highly regulated by U.S. government policies. Thousands of Chinese workers, who had migrated to the western part of the United States and Mexico to assist in constructing railways, were at first, considered good workers. Their presence became suspect as anti-Chinese fervour permeated the United States resulting in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1875. This act barred Chinese workers from immigrating and initiated a series of U.S. immigration controls using ethnic criteria. As a result, in the early 1900s the U.S. government created Mounted Guards, a group of inspectors on horseback policing Chinese immigrants along the border. While this armed group did not last long, it was a precursor agency to the Border Patrol.

The Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) was a significant event in the development of borderlands policing. The U.S. government authorized U.S. troops to patrol the border and establish a military base. Until 1910, there was minimal concern about Mexicans crossing into the United States. However, during the Mexican Revolution, the U.S. government sought to stop the flow of the rebellion and barred revolutionary actors from crossing the border. The U.S. government operationalized 18,000 National Guard troops on the border and a military base was established in San Diego, CA, across the border from Tijuana, Baja California, MX (Nevins 2010). These actions were intended to combat the perceived lawlessness of revolutionary Mexicans and yet today leave important vestiges of border militarization.

Another precursor to current militarization efforts derives from joint Mexican and U.S. efforts to deter cross-border raiding by indigenous groups. Throughout early borderlands history,

indigenous groups were described derogatorily as raiding Indians or savages that did not adhere to a standard of law and who understood only violence (Delay, 2008). While indigenous people were considered savages seeking personal gain, more recent borderland histories have portrayed these groups as engaging in raiding to protect their homeland (Benton-Cohen, 2009). Some historians have documented the contributions of indigenous people to the borderlands as cowboys, farmers, and originators of cities and towns (Dear, 2013). However, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the presence of indigenous people crisscrossing the line to survive was the bane of both the Mexican and U.S. governments that sought to control them (St. John, 2011). In fact, in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the U.S. government promised Mexico that it would end Indian raiding. This was not solely a venture of the U.S. government as local governments in Sonora, Mexico organized groups to decimate the Indian population and generously paid individuals who brought the remnants of Apache people they had killed (Dear, 2013).

In order to deter raiding and protect settlers, the United States also established a militarized presence through army frontier posts and local law enforcement agencies. The Texas Rangers were established in 1835 with the purpose of subduing and consequently terrorizing indigenous communities. In 1901, Arizona followed suit creating a group of rangers, “to bring law and order to the border and to stamp out cattle rustling” (Eppinga, 2002, p. 96). The Arizona Rangers survived until 1909 when they were disbanded. In those years, it was not only indigenous people who burglarized communities but Anglo-American cowboys who roamed the vast territories, running into Mexico to escape capture. While U.S. military groups sought control of cattle raiding, they were largely stymied in their efforts.

In Mexico, southern residents of the border also underwent significant transitions and trauma. The tumultuous violence and change brought on by the end of the First U.S. War led to

the creation of new borders and collective trauma regarding the injustices of the invasive war. Mexicans experienced U.S. aggression and became fearful of more aggression or land grabs that could further alter Mexico's borders and change its composition (Hernández, 2012).

In the late 1800s, the Mexican government sought to reinforce national identity in hopes of producing citizenry capable of halting U.S. expansion. Thus, the Mexican government provided land to colonists so that they would populate and develop border areas. However, the Mexican government was choosy about what kind of colonists it would accept. As historian José Angel Hernández (2012) explains, suitable colonists were dutiful Mexican citizens and sometimes Chinese workers. They were definitively not indigenous peoples derogatorily known as "Indios." The indigenous were not considered proper residents; rather, they were considered sources of chaos. The underlying assumption of Mexican policy was that suitable colonists would civilize indigenous peoples and create a barrier to halt U.S. expansion (Hernández, 2012). Similar to processes in the United States, Mexico fostered an ethno-racial divide between Mexican and indigenous people to create citizenship ideals and used these divisions to consolidate citizenship at the border. Such divisions helped to contain the major threats to Mexican sovereignty and nationhood: raiding indigenous groups and overzealous, land-grabbing Anglo-Americans (Dear, 2013; Hernández, 2012).

While the United States and Mexico used ethno-racial divides to consolidate nationhood and created separate institutions and laws to settle people and manage the flow of people and goods across the border, jointly they also founded collective institutions to manage the boundary and share responsibility of water resources and the watershed. The International Boundary and Water Commission was created to protect and create dams, reservoirs, and land along river, sanitation, and boundaries. These commissions and their associated treaties allow people on both

sides to share resources when emergencies impact the region (Eppinga, 2002). These commissions continue to function, allowing for considerate collaboration on water and environmental issues on both sides of the border.

The establishment of the U.S.-Mexico border from 1836 through the mid-1900s resulted in remnants of militarization and a history of racial-ethnic divisions. Relatively simple rules guided the violent institutionalization of the U.S. side of the border. By diminishing the chaos and lawlessness of raiding by indigenous peoples, denying entry to Chinese people, and making U.S. citizens of formerly Mexican persons, the U.S. government used racial-ethnic criteria to fortify the state. As Rachel St. John (2011) indicates, “the border had become not an absolute barrier but a complicated system of relational space in which spatial controls corresponded flexibly to a variety of government directives” (p. 196). These complicated spaces were governed by problematical ideals of racial citizenship. In Mexico, institutions also sought to colonize the border and halt U.S. expansion. While seemingly diplomatic activities, government forces implemented these policies in a strong-handed manner leaving significant remnants of militarization at the border.

Policing Mexicans. The goal of military power at the border has not always been to police Mexicans (Hernandez, 2010). When U.S. immigration laws began to apply ethnic criteria more broadly and the Border Patrol was created, Mexican immigration became something to be controlled. Prior to that, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1875 and the Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924 had limited entry to the United States based on national origin. The comprehensive Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 required persons to demonstrate legal travel documents and basic literacy, while also making the crossing between the United States and Mexico a legal act. These

changes of law made race, literacy, and economics decisive factors in the ability of Mexicans to cross the line legally.

The Johnson-Reed Act was followed two days later by the creation of the Border Patrol, yet another development to keep guard against Mexicans. In the early years, the work of the Border Patrol was to watch the international boundary, apprehend individuals, and track goods (Hernandez, 2010). Kelly Lytle Hernandez (2010) argues that Border Patrol officers used their position to enact violence against Mexican workers and punish Anglo landholding elites by withholding agricultural workers. Border historians also indicate that early Border Patrol officers were influenced by racialized imagery and categorized both Mexicans and indigenous persons as “others” (Truett & Young, 2004; Stern, 2004; Hernandez, 2010).

Systems of economic inequality kept Mexicans in the United States subservient to Anglo-Americans. In Arizona, a dual-wage system emerged in mining where Mexicans doing the same job as Anglos earned considerably less. Anglos saw this difference as part of a normal pecking order and believed that Mexicans did not need more money (Benton-Cohen, 2009). The deplorable wage that Mexicans earned led to stereotypes of “dirty Mexicans” and to denote the places where they lived as places of vice. This in turn allowed whites and people in power to consider Mexicans as dirty or immoral persons, which was enough to disregard the rights of Mexican workers. The Bisbee Deportation of 1917, when hundreds of striking mine workers, many of whom were Mexican, were shipped out of the state by train under the leadership of the Bisbee sheriff, is a prime example of how Mexicans in Arizona were treated and policed in the borderlands.

Prohibition in the United States did not necessarily bring more boots or guns to the border; however, a morality divide between the two nations was exacerbated in those years (St.

John, 2011). In Mexico, where alcohol was legal during Prohibition (1920-1933), U.S. customs enforced a divide. Mexico allowed consumption and production of alcohol and became known in the United States as a place of vice (Nevins, 2011). The United States, a country of consumers, that had officially outlawed alcohol production and consumption, was a place of virtue. U.S. peoples traveled to Mexico to consume alcohol and they also constructed hotels and infrastructure in Mexico for U.S. tourists and alcohol consumers. However, it was Mexicans who received the moniker of depravity for permitting consumption.

The watershed labor and development program designed by the United States and Mexico was the Bracero Program. Beginning in 1942, this program brought Mexican workers to the United States to work in agriculture and institutionalized Mexican migration to the United States like no other government program (Andreas, 2012). The Bracero Program, which was successful in bringing approximately 4 million workers to fill labor shortages, also created resentment or backlash against Mexicans in border areas. Nevins (2010) explains the interconnected process by which whites began to conceive of Mexicans as deprived and stupid. Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) reports and the media depicted immigrants as causing crime, unemployment, and poverty. As a result of these perceptions of Mexicans and the return of labor from the war, the U.S. government enacted Operation Wetback in 1953-1954 deporting millions of workers from the interior of the United States. At the official end of the Bracero Program in 1964, Mexican workers returned to border towns. Operation Wetback worked on another level to support Border Patrol operations, revitalizing its service in the area (Andreas, 2010).

As the U.S. government adopted policies in the early 1900s with dissimilar rules for distinct racial and ethnic groups, policing of Mexicans became more entrenched. While Mexican

peoples could cross the border easily prior to 1924, crossing became a legal act, which required documents. The emergence of the Border Patrol also gave policing authority to a group of men willing to use their power to enforce rules (Hernandez, 2010). At the same time Mexicans were disparaged, not paid comparable wages as white persons, and seen as subordinate due to their characterization as depraved and immoral people. During the Second World War, the United States invited Mexican workers to fill labor shortages; however, when soldiers returned from war and the economy re-stabilized, the United States ended the program and deported thousands of workers. In white communities, Mexicans were spurned and characterized as causing crime and poverty. The dynamic interaction of government policy, racial-ethnic characterization, and official government policy were essential elements that led to the increase in policing of Mexicans along the U.S.-Mexican border.

Summary

The U.S.-Mexico border in Sonora and Arizona is a vast region with populated cities and sparse deserts. In the borderlands, border policing has grown consistently since the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Just as forces vied for control of border crossers, trade, and illegal smuggling in the late 1800s, the forces of militarization and globalization compete today. Militarization and securitization have made the U.S.-Mexico border a violent place for migrants. In order to cross into the United States, migrants walk longer and in more desolate areas without access to water; they pay into a system of human smuggling in order to access a chance to survive and attempt to bypass organized rings of drug trafficking and thievery. Regardless of the money they pay, they are not guaranteed safe passage as crossing in the spiny, waterless desert has natural and militarized obstacles. The U.S. securitization apparatus forces crossers into more dangerous areas and the outcome is a staggering two hundred deaths per year in Arizona alone.

Increasing migrant deaths has energized a movement of people to respond to this horrendous reality.

Chapter 3

The Border Justice Movement

Today as our group of 50 activists was walking single-file on the narrow shoulder of Route 286, dozens of Border Patrol vehicles passed us, some with friendly waves and others with watchful stares. We were three miles south of the rural intersection of Route 86 and the community of Three Points when a familiar green-striped Border Patrol helicopter came into view approximately ½ mile ahead and across the single lane highway. The helicopter was hovering low, when all of a sudden—Swoosh!—the helicopter buzzed us and flew on our side of the road only feet above the electric poles. I ducked and stepped quickly off the road as my body became awakened with fear. In a flash the helicopter zoomed to a comfortable distance from our group. With my heart thundering, I resumed my place in line.

I can only imagine that the pilot intended to scare us. Maybe he thought that we wanted to experience what migrants' suffer—fear, peril, scarcity, treachery, or death. We do not desire nor do we intend to experience what migrants face. Whatever the pilot's intention, my fear was quickly followed by a burst of anger not just at that calculated act of malice but at the many acts of brutality that migrants face on their journey. Migrant Trail Journal 2014.

Humanitarian and human rights activists on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border form the transnational border justice movement. In a broad sense, the transnational border justice movement is an amalgamation of loosely affiliated individuals and organizations on both sides of the border who are working together, connecting and communicating about efforts to end migrant deaths. In actuality, there is not one streamlined group of activists who identify under the banner of border justice; there are several groups and organizations with different foci, some of whom identify informally with other social movements in southern Arizona and northern

Sonora. I label those groups whose organizational mission involves ending migrant deaths as part of the border justice movement. Additionally, I categorize as border justice organizations, those groups that are represented in political advocacy networks, coalition efforts, and humanitarian activism. Individuals not connected to organizations but committed to assisting migrants also form part of the transnational border justice movement.

Social activism is carried out by a diverse group of participants and organizations from humanitarians to human rights, indigenous, environmental, and alternative education institutions. I begin my description of the movement with a brief exploration of the historical roots of the contemporary movement and note the influential role of the Sanctuary Movement, community-based organizations, and Christian churches. Secondly, I describe movement participants and organizational efforts.

Historical Roots

The current border justice movement has emerged from traditions of hospitality and resistance. On both sides of the border, everyday people have engaged in hospitality to migrants. In Mexico, organized responses to migrants developed from historical resistance to U.S. hegemony in the region (Benton-Cohen, 2009; Romo, 2005) and cultural traditions of hospitality toward migrants and refugees (Van Ham, 2006, 2011). In Arizona, border justice activism derives from the historical hospitality of Mexican Americans, the justice work of community organizations, and the hospitality work of faith-based groups (Van Ham, 2011). Lane Van Ham (2011) argues that Mexican-American and faith-based groups have also been inspired by Chicano solidarity, agricultural workers' activism, and activities of immigrant-related groups in Tucson neighborhoods; church-based refugee support programs; and political advocacy ideals. U.S.-based social movement actors also offered hospitality to immigrants and acted in resistance

to U.S. ideals. Prior to the border justice movement some of this action coalesced in the publicized work of the Sanctuary Movement.

The public Sanctuary Movement⁷ in southern Arizona and northern Mexico provided refuge for individuals fleeing U.S.-backed civil wars in Central America from the early 1980s to the early 1990s (Davidson, 1988; Coutin, 1993) while also awakening the political consciousness of white Americans (Crittenden, 1988). The Sanctuary Movement worked through close connections with churches, used the space of churches to provide sanctuary, and had many faith-based participants (Coutin, 1993; Cunningham 1995). This movement was guided by nonviolent principles under a strategy of civil initiative (Van Ham, 2006). While the public Sanctuary Movement was widely known as church-based with significant church leaders who eventually went to trial for their activities, many secular, Latino, Mexican or local community-based organizations were instrumental in offering assistance to refugees and advocating for changes to U.S. policy in regards to wars in Central America. Sometimes, this less-known and less institutional means of providing refuge to Central Americans in the 1980s is not recognized as important. Becky Thompson (2001) argues that this hidden movement is vital as communities were responsible for the re-integration of thousands of Central American refugees in large urban centers. While this chapter provides little analysis of this concealed movement of hospitality, the thousands of unnamed persons, many of whom are persons of color were responsible for assisting Central Americans re-integrate. There were, however, some institutional means with which organized groups of color or community-based organizations participated in the public Sanctuary Movement. To understand this history requires an appreciation of the racialized development of social justice initiatives in southern Arizona.

⁷ Becky Thompson (2001) differentiates between the public Sanctuary Movement and a more private movement involving the actions of local communities that acted to embrace and assist Central American migrants.

Social justice initiatives in southern Arizona have historically been divided between churches and community-based organizations. Community-based organizations are groups largely comprised of people and communities of color. These communities of color may be individuals who identify as Mexican, Mexican-American, indigenous, and/or Latino. While white people participate in these groups, they are not the majority and this work has emerged from within a particular geographic, ethnic, or racial context. Community-based organizations are predominantly secular; however, religious persons and practices are often found within such community-based organizations. Research participants also refer to such organizations as Mexican or brown organizations. In order to be consistent, in this analysis, I use the term community-based or community organizations to refer to such organizations except when quoting the words of research participants.

The connection between the public Sanctuary Movement and community-based organizations gets lost in different accounts of history. In Amanda Rose's (2012) analysis of social movement organizations in the borderlands, her historical account of the Sanctuary Movement omits the participation of community-based organizations such as the Manzo Area Council. In Reverend John Fife's recent re-counting of Sanctuary in the *National Catholic Reporter*, he also omits the work of community-based organizations (Fife, 2012). While this article was written for a religious press and challenges churches and church-based organizations to continue interfering in the injustices of the U.S.-Mexico border, it subtly obfuscates the roles of other actors in the Sanctuary Movement, especially community-based organizations. In Haines & Rosenblum's (1999) book documenting organizations working with illegal immigrants, their account of the Sanctuary Movement also overlooks the organizing work of people of color; regular references are made to church workers and the Tucson Ecumenical Task

Force, which was created soon after the initiation of Sanctuary. In all of these accounts, the Manzo Area Council, a key Tucson organization providing the momentum for the involvement of church organizations to assist refugees is not visible. Instead, Sanctuary workers are assumed to be religious or church-based and white.

Much literature on the Sanctuary Movement follows the work of significant white male leaders of the Sanctuary Movement while affording a minimal role to community-based organizations. Hilary Cunningham's (1995) ethnographic account of the Sanctuary Movement narrates the incredible work of white male leaders John Fife and Jim Corbett who are considered founders of the Sanctuary Movement. She also discusses some relational conflicts between movement men and women, and reviews some racial conflicts. Davidson's (1988) account, focused on the pivotal role of Jim Corbett, barely notes the Manzo Area Council save for problematic issues with Margo Cowan, an organizer of the Manzo Area Council. Another account concerned with the Central America Peace Movement notes that without an invite from the Manzo Area Council, Corbett might not have become involved (Thompson, 2001). It is in this account and from participant Rebeca that I learned that the impetus for the public Sanctuary Movement came from community organizations, which requested the economic assistance of white churches to help finance bonds for Central Americans being held in detention.

The history of this Tucson-based community organization, the Manzo Area Council is vital to comprehending the public Sanctuary Movement. While community-based organizations of color were responding to the needs of individuals fleeing Central America, the organization faced limited economic capacities. Bonds to keep Central Americans from deportation were expensive. Thus, the Manzo Area Council asked white churches to step-up and become involved. The Manzo Area Council played a fundamental role in setting the stage for the more media-

renowned role that white churches acquired in helping Central American refugees. In fact, considerable Sanctuary Movement hospitality and organizing was accomplished through women and people of color (Cunningham, 1995; Otter & Pine, 2004; Lorentzen, 1991; Thompson, 2001).

Church and Community Connections

As Central American wars smoldered and the public Sanctuary Movement ended, economic globalization and border militarization became the momentum for a new and contemporary border justice movement. In 1994, NAFTA was passed and began its incremental implementation, expanding factories into Mexico and opening North American markets. At the same time border militarization increased with Operation Hold the Line (1993) in El Paso, Texas; Operation Gatekeeper (1994) along the southern California border with Mexico; and Operation Safeguard (1994) in southern Arizona. These events signaled the beginning of the current border justice movement (Cunningham, 2001).

The public Sanctuary Movement that ended in the late 1980s and the contemporary border justice movement share commonalities. They both started with diverse groups of disjointed individuals and organizational initiatives that grew to include many coordinated organizations (Cunningham, 1995). Many individuals and organizations involved in the Sanctuary Movement found new ways to become involved in organizational initiatives in the 2000s. Some of these organizations such as No More Deaths are also based on civil initiative or the principle of responsibly and communally responding non-violently to persecuted persons (No More Deaths, 2016). Community-based organizations active in the contemporary border justice movement also continue to receive less attention or visibility.

Many Christian churches formerly active in the Sanctuary Movement birthed and/or supported the development of border justice organizations. BorderLinks, a faith-based organization, based in southern Arizona was founded to provide alternative means of education about the larger context of migration (Gill, 1999). Some Sanctuary participants became the leaders and founders of this organization. Southside Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of former Sanctuary Leader Reverend John Fife, became the meeting place of a humanitarian organization, the Tucson Samaritans that began working in 2002. Southside Presbyterian continues as an active supporter of border justice activities, supporting many organizational initiatives and coalitions including the Southside Workers Center. Humane Borders, founded in 2000 with the mission of providing humanitarian assistance to migrants in the borderlands, was housed for a decade in a Disciples of Christ congregation, the First Christian Church of Tucson. First Christian Church provided the physical space for offices and water trucks, and the pastor of the church was a prominent leader of Humane Borders. Initially housed at Derechos Humanos, No More Deaths (NMD) was then accommodated at the site of its fiscal sponsor, St. Mark's Presbyterian Church. Currently NMD offices and fiscal sponsorship are supplied through Tucson's First Unitarian Universalist Church where NMD is a ministry of the church. Green Valley/Sahuarita Samaritans which emerged in 2005 meets at The Good Shepherd United Church of Christ. The church also provides the organization's insurance, fiscal sponsorship, and other tangible and nontangible resources. The pastor of this church has played a significant role in the development of Green Valley/Sahuarita Samaritans and also sits on the board of several other border justice organizations including humanitarian and educational institutions. While not all Green Valley/Sahuarita Samaritans participate in church activities, one assessment indicates that approximately a third of the participants are active in the church (Mayer 2012).

The Kino Border Initiative (KBI), the youngest of the religiously-affiliated humanitarian organizations based in Ambos Nogales was created in 2009. KBI is funded by the California Province of the Society of Jesus, Jesuit Refugee Service/USA, the Missionary Sisters of the Eucharist, the Mexican Province of the Society of Jesus, the Diocese of Tucson, and the Archdiocese of Hermosillo. KBI's Executive Director is a Jesuit priest and other staff members are members of other religious orders. KBI like many border justice organizations was born from a church initiative. Humanitarian organizations and churches have historically shared office space, developed fiscal relationships, and made significant social connections.

While these historical connections are materially evident, a few white participants see the role of the church as foundational to the border justice movement. Two white participants perceive the church as essential to border justice—not just as meeting spaces, but also as places that help to jumpstart relationships of trust with immigrant communities. Kelly who is clergy, notes that migrants and immigrants conceive of churches as trusted institutions.⁸ She comments that she wears her clerical collar to communicate ecclesiastical connections and trustworthiness when engaging in such work,

Yeh, I usually wear my collar when I go [to do social justice work with immigrants] because it says something. I think it is important for people to see the church standing in those places.

Wearing a clerical collar gives immigrants the opportunity to connect her to a trusted institution increasing the possibilities of developing a trustworthy relationship.

Mark, another white clergy participant, views churches as foundational to the border justice movement as “these groups would not exist if it wasn't for the church.” He contends that

⁸ Pablo Vila's (2005) work on the trustworthiness of the church as an institution in Mexico confirms Kelly's observation.

religious communities have supported and livened the movement in a variety of ways, “Faith communities have taken the risk, given it space, [and] found 501c3.⁹ Everything is done through the faith communities.” Churches have spawned a variety of humanitarian initiatives, opening spaces to connect the movement and movement actors to Christian theologies and discourse.

While churches have been solid supporters and conveners of border justice, the notion of faith-based organizations has expanded in recent years. The tag-line, “people of faith or conscience” has been added to organizational mission statements to show that joining a humanitarian group does not require a particular faith. This tag-line is used in press conferences, press releases, and other official media to communicate a firm connection with people of conscience who abhor the death of migrants.

This brief exploration of the ecclesial connections in the borderlands illustrates the importance of church-based organizations in border justice efforts. It is also important to remember that community-based organizations and people with less institutional means of assisting refugees and migrants have also been active in the development of initiatives to respond to migrant deaths as will become more apparent.

Contemporary Border Justice Movement

The transnational border justice movement is composed of individuals and groups on both sides of the Arizona-Sonora border working to reduce migrant deaths. While in the public Sanctuary Movement, many participants were religious, in today’s movement, participants espouse a variety of religious beliefs, are of many genders, and range in age from high school-aged youth to retired individuals in their 70s, 80s, and 90s. They are from the United States, the Tohono O’odham Nation, Mexico, Canada, France, and Guatemala among many others. The

⁹ 501c3 status is official status as a non-profit organization registered with the government for tax purposes.

majority of participants are from the United States and Mexico. Participants are volunteers or paid workers and work anywhere from full-time paid labor to a few hours each month. Actors in the borderlands justice movement engage in a variety of creative acts of protest, provide humanitarian aid, and lessen deaths in the borderlands.

The border justice movement is not a single, unified movement of participants under the leadership of a charismatic leader. The movement emerged from organizational initiatives in Sonora and Arizona to respond to increasing numbers of migrant deaths as a result of U.S. government policies. In the mid-1990s, the Coalición de Derechos Humanos conducted research on the impact of NAFTA and border policies, and found increased militarization and migrant deaths (Van Ham, 2011). As migrant deaths skyrocketed in the late 1990s, diverse coalition efforts and humanitarian organizations began. The movement has continued to grow and now includes humanitarian, human rights, indigenous, environmental, and education institutions, protection networks, and coalitions based in Sonora and Arizona. Organizations have related missions of ending migrant deaths.

Groups conduct many activities in their quest to end migrant deaths. They feed and house migrants, leave water and fill water stations in the desert, provide emergency care to migrants in distress, advocate for improved U.S. border and immigration policies, protest U.S. policies, and train for enhanced human rights protections (Allen, Hammer, & Kil, 2011; Cook, 2009; Burrige, 2009; Van Ham, 2006; Whitaker, 2009). Such groups engage in many different kinds of humanitarian and political action, including civil initiative and advocacy campaigns.

Arizona's political environment has greatly affected the growth and death of social movement organizing along the Arizona-Sonora border.¹⁰ Over the last twenty-five years, some organizations have expanded while others have perished. As more migrants have died and faced

¹⁰ I am indebted to Abby Wheatley for this conceptualization.

increasingly dangerous situations in the desert, organizations have responded with life-saving initiatives. Some organizations have spawned new programs that have become separate organizations and/or coalitions. Since SB 1070, immigrants with or without status have faced an increased threat of deportation; affected people have responded by organizing in protection networks and coalitions to reduce the negative consequences and defend themselves.

The ebb and flow of organizations working to end migrant deaths in the borderlands makes linear categorization difficult. There are organizations that began as faith-based, others that are secular in orientation and founding; there are community-based organizations, groups based in the United States and others in Mexico; and organizations with a multitude of different programs including work that might be considered human rights, political advocacy, humanitarian, legal, and educational. Some organizations are more focused on advocacy and political change while others focus on humanitarian aid. Some organizations receive grant money from the state while others receive foundation funding and yet others are membership-based and/or solicit individual donations.

Although not a perfect way to capture the nuances of organizations and their scope of activities, I introduce groups by a particular defining characteristic such as humanitarian, educational, human rights, indigenous, environmental, and movement-related others. I also introduce coalitions, composed of various individuals and groups. Not all groups fit neatly into one category as they have initiatives that respond to a variety of different issues. For example, I categorize No More Deaths as a humanitarian organization although they also work in collaboration with local organizations on campaigns to end racism and provide immigration counsel to youth arrivals. Additionally, as organizations revive and perish, I may have inadvertently missed some organizations.

Humanitarian organizations. Humanitarian organizations are well-known actors in the border justice movement—committed not only to raising awareness about migrant deaths, but also to stopping deaths in the Sonoran Desert. They conduct work in variety of ways: filling water tanks; dropping gallon water jugs and food packs in the desert; collecting clothes for repatriated migrants; educating migrants on the dangers of crossing; conducting patrols to look for migrants in distress; providing basic emergency medical care—bandaging feet, providing food and shelter for deported or repatriated migrants; talking with city, county, state, and national authorities about the conditions under which people migrate and die in the desert; and generally aiming to keep migrating peoples alive (Burridge, 2009). They can also be considered direct-aid organizations as they provide materially for migrants. Such organizations provide access to water in the desert, medical aid, and communication devices such as international and Mexican cell phones so that migrants can call their families. Some organizations provide migrants with bus tickets to return to their families, after thwarted attempt(s) to reach the United States. Humanitarian groups and individuals care for the physical, spiritual, and emotional health of migrants by providing meals, shelter, and medical care.

The humanitarian organizations of southern Arizona based in Tucson include Humane Borders, No More Deaths–Tucson, and Tucson Samaritans. Green Valley Sahuarita Samaritans is based in Green Valley, AZ. The Kino Border Initiative (KBI), a faith-based, bi-national organization based in Nogales, Arizona has a shelter for women migrants, provides first aid to returned migrants, and offers daily meals for thousands of migrants each year. KBI also provides education to groups who want to learn more about the border.

In Mexico, government supported agencies interact with non-governmental agencies to provide care and support for migrants. In particular, some Mexican municipalities support

migrant resource centers on the border and are generally helpful to national and international organizations working to end migrant deaths in the desert (Slessarev-Jamir, 2011). *Grupos Beta* (Beta Group) is Mexico's governmental agency dedicated to protecting the human rights of migrants. The organization provides first aid and information to migrants in Mexico while also connecting migrants to local resources of food and shelter. In Nogales, Grupos Beta works in collaboration with No More Deaths to provide cellular service for migrants to call their loved ones in the United States or the interior of Mexico.

A separate, non-profit organization in existence for thirty years is the San Juan Bosco shelter which provides lodging for male migrants in Nogales. Another Nogales, Sonora based humanitarian organization is *Transportes Fronterizos*. Transportes Fronterizos is a for-profit company that assists deported or repatriated migrants to return to their homes across Mexico. In partnership with U.S.-based humanitarian organizations, they offer discounted return rides, shelter, and meals for migrants prior to their departure.

The focus of humanitarian work is on migrants who are in an emergency state, some of whom are on the verge of dying due to heat stroke, dehydration, or exposure to the elements. Humanitarians also assist recently deported, traumatized migrants who need food, money for a meal, and orientation to the border city in which they have been released. To respond to these emergency situations, humanitarians provide for the migrants' immediate needs—water, first aid, food, shoes, shoelaces, clothes, and shelter. They provide for migrant's immediate needs while also organizing to respond to more migrants in distress.

Humanitarian organizations are a strong center of social movement activity in the border justice movement focusing on emergency care for migrants. They also join coalitions and

support political change work in the borderlands. Lastly, they work to educate others on the contemporary situation of migrant deaths in collaboration with educational organizations.

Human rights organizations. In southern Arizona, several organizations seek to protect human rights. The Coalición de Derechos Humanos, a community-based organization begun in the early 1990s, works to end border militarization and support affected local communities. In order to end border militarization, they educate about migrant deaths, investigate missing persons, and advocate for a change to U.S. policies (Derechos Humanos, 2016). They also provide workshops to local communities about human rights and support a group of rights promoters. Derechos Humanos hosts a human rights clinic where many kinds of human rights violation are investigated.

Border Action Network (BAN), a community and membership-based organization, seeks to empower local communities to protect human rights across Arizona border communities. They organize educational and constituency campaigns to eliminate anti-immigrant proposals in the Arizona state government (Border Action Network, 2016). They have also created groups of human rights promoters to protect immigrant communities in southern Arizona. Both BAN and Derechos Humanos are active collaborators and instigators of efforts to end migrant deaths, stop anti-immigrant legislation, and advocate for changes to the sociopolitical environment in southern Arizona and along the U.S.-Mexico border.

The Colibrí Center for Human Rights is a relatively new organization begun in 2013 that works directly with families of missing migrants. In addition to trying to locate missing family members, this organization engages in social change efforts and advocates for policy change. They work in partnership with academic institutions and the Pima County Medical Examiner to accomplish their mission.

The Southside Worker Center, a community-based organization working out of Southside Presbyterian Church seeks to protect the rights of day laborers in Tucson, Arizona. The Worker Center's initiatives expanded as a result of SB 1070 as day laborers faced more difficulty in gaining employment. In addition to promoting the rights of workers to attain a just wage, they also participate in local coalitions to stem the arrest and deportation of immigrant laborers.

In Sonora, some human rights protections are offered through Grupos Beta¹¹, previously described as a Mexican government organization providing some humanitarian aid. The rights of child migrants are protected through the government agency, the Family Service Center (DIF) in Nogales, Sonora. Other Sonora based human rights organizations are located in Hermosillo, some four hours distance from the border.

Indigenous organizations. Several indigenous solidarity groups or community-based organizations work creatively for change. One group, Tohono Solidarity Across the Border Collective composed of O'odham tribal members creates songs to raise awareness and fight against the intrusion of Border Patrol. Another group that pursues the fall of the separation barrier between the United States and Mexico is O'odham Solidarity Project. Under the leadership of Tohono O'odham elder Ofelia Rivas, the O'odham Solidarity Project has organized protests against the wall (Norrell, 2013). The *Alianza Indígena sin Fronteras* (Indigenous Alliance without Borders) is an indigenous rights organization active in promoting the rights of indigenous peoples in communities affected by the U.S.-Mexico border. This organization also facilitates "Know your Rights" workshops (Alliance without Borders, 2016). The Alianza Indígena sin Fronteras has collaborated with Derechos Humanos and other local organizations to end punitive border militarization.

¹¹ While Grupos Beta is the official government institution to support the human rights of migrants, Cunningham (2001) indicates they resemble a paramilitary organization while others point to unscrupulous behavior of this organization's employees.

Educational organizations. On both sides of the border, there are initiatives to educate citizens about the border, root causes of migration, current government policy initiatives, and neoliberal globalization. Some of these organizations attempt to educate people from across the globe while also strengthening local communities. BorderLinks based in Tucson provides experiential education for individuals interested in learning about the social, economic, and material consequences of the border. The Home for Peace and Hope known in Spanish as the *Hogar de Esperanza y Paz* or HEPAC is based in Nogales, Sonora and has a variety of initiatives to increase the health of the local community through education and advocacy. HEPAC seeks to reduce migration and end migrant deaths by supporting local initiatives so people do not need to migrate.

Scholarships A-Z is a different type of education institution on the border. A community-based initiative, Scholarship A-Z emerged from immigrant students seeking information about college educational opportunities. From its inception as a web-based platform on scholarships, the work of this organization has expanded in recent years. Currently Scholarships A-Z educates immigrant students about formal learning opportunities while also training colleges and universities about the needs of immigrant students, and educating students on deferred action (Scholarships A-Z, 2016). Immigrant students who are able to access a university education are less likely to face the gauntlet of death of a border crossing.

Educational organizations in the borderlands actively support alternative education about the border and formal education efforts for immigrants. They also work in collaboration with humanitarian and human rights organizations and support coalition efforts to end migrant deaths.

Environmental groups. Borderlands Sierra Club is a membership-based organization that educates its members about migrant deaths and the environmental consequences of the

border wall and militarization. They accomplish these goals through educating small groups about ongoing ecological impacts, producing reports to affect U.S. policy and lobbying the government for changes (Sierra Club, 2016). They also support coalition efforts to end migrant deaths.

Coalitions. As a result of multiplying effects of insecurity, policing, and harsh anti-immigrant state laws, coalitions have emerged which strengthen the protective capacities of individual organizations. Individuals participate in a variety of coalitions intended to prevent migrant deaths. These include the Protection Network Action Fund or PRONET, the Coalition to Repeal and Resist SB1070, the Migrant Trail, and End Operation Streamline.

The work of detention networks has grown rapidly in light of increased efforts to arrest undocumented people in southern Arizona. Detention networks attempt to stop deportation; stopping deportation impedes migrant death through prevention. PRONET is a protection network or coalition composed of six community-based organizations: Southside Workers Center, *Tierra y Libertad* Organization (Land and Liberty Organization), Derechos Humanos, *Comité Fortín de las Flores* (The Fort of Flowers Committee), *Corazón de Tucson* (Heart of Tucson), and *Mariposas sin Fronteras* (Butterflies without Borders). Increasing their capacity to prevent deportation, organizations educate members about human and civil rights.

Prior to PRONET, many people organized under a previous coalition, *Fuerza* (Force). *Fuerza* was active in building political action campaigns to illustrate the connections between politicians, corporations, and institutions, all of whom are benefiting from what has been called the industrial immigration complex. The collusion between state and privately-run detention centers, punitive state and national anti-immigrant laws, sheriff's offices, and private companies that detain immigrants has created a massive enforcement complex with a financial boon to some

private companies. This coalition sought to raise the profile of such connections while helping individuals to protect their civil rights.

The Coalition to Repeal and Resist SB 1070 began in the aftermath of SB 1070's full implementation in 2012 and works to empower individuals in Arizona to understand the law's enforcement components, actively resist its negative consequences, and build a political movement of abolition. This coalition is composed of individuals affiliated with humanitarian, human rights, educational, and other social justice related organizations as well as some people from the larger Tucson community concerned about immigrant rights.

The Migrant Trail is a collaborative venture of individuals and organizations located in the borderlands and in the greater United States, Mexico, and Canada that raises awareness of migrant deaths through an annual 75 mile journey from Sásabe, Sonora, Mexico to Tucson, Arizona. The Migrant Trail began in 2004, as an initiative of borderland activists who wanted to walk and bear witness to the tragedy of death in the borderlands. More information about the Migrant Trail is found throughout this dissertation and in chapter 9.

The coalition, End Operation Streamline is composed of individuals and organizations who seek to end the government initiative called Operation Streamline which criminalizes migrants who enter the United States outside of ports of entry. Operation Streamline has been in effect since 2005 and this coalition of humanitarians and human rights activists is actively bearing witness to this tragedy and producing nonviolent action to oppose and close this program.

Others/related movements. Many affiliated organizations in the borderlands work in conjunction with other groups to eradicate deaths. Such groups may be considered cultural interventions while others also form part of a broader immigrant rights movement. These groups

also ebb and flow as the precarious situation facing immigrants and migrants in southern Arizona sharpens.

One cultural group with a long history in southern Arizona is Pan Left. Pan Left is an organization of artists and activists which produces alternative films to promote social justice. They produced the first documentary of the Migrant Trail. In collaboration with other border justice groups, they have sought to reduce human rights violations by filming police actions and arrests.

The *Tierra y Libertad* organization based in Tucson seeks to respect the people, land, and cultures of southern Arizona and organizes and participates in a variety of social change initiatives. Most notably this community-based organization has been involved in campaigns to end racism and is currently a member of PRONET.

Figure 3 Nongovernmental organizations and coalitions working to end migrant deaths in Arizona and Sonora

List organized by year founded.

Name	Year Founded	Type of organization	Programs/activities
San Juan Bosco Shelter	1982	Humanitarian	Provides shelter for crossing migrants
BorderLinks	1987	Education	Organizes experiential education trips and workshops about borderlands, migration, and economic globalization
Coalición de Derechos Humanos	1993	Human Rights	Educates about migrant deaths, investigates missing persons, and advocates for a change to U.S. policies; hosts Human Rights clinic; member of PRONET
Pan Left	1994	Other	Creates cultural productions about social justice issues. Active in stopping racial profiling; created first documentary on Migrant Trail.
Alianza Indígena sin Fronteras	1997	Indigenous	Promotes rights of indigenous peoples in communities affected by the U.S.-Mexico border; facilitates “Know your Rights” workshops
Border Action Network	1999	Human Rights	Organizes educational and advocacy campaigns to eliminate anti-immigrant proposals in the Arizona state government
Humane Borders	2000	Humanitarian	Manages initiative to locate deceased migrants, fills water stations, produces warning posters
Tierra y Libertad	2001	Other	Community-based organization promoting grassroots change; member of PRONET
Tucson Samaritans	2002	Humanitarian	Organizes desert trips to care for migrants; provides humanitarian aid
No More Deaths	2004	Humanitarian	Builds social and political momentum to end deaths in the desert; provides humanitarian aid
Migrant Trail	2004	Coalition	Yearly journey to raise awareness about migrant deaths
Green Valley/Sahuarita Samaritans	2005	Humanitarian	Organizes desert searches, humanitarian visits to Mexico and desert clean-ups; leaves water in the desert
Transportes Fronterizos	2006	Humanitarian	Provides discounted return tickets, food, and shelter for migrants
O’odham Solidarity Project	2006	Indigenous	Protests the wall and other militarized intrusions to the Tohono O’odham nation

Southside Worker Center	2006	Human Rights	Protects rights of day laborers; stems the arrest and deportation of immigrant laborers
Sierra Club Borderlands Program, Grand Canyon Chapter	2008	Environmental	Educates members about migrant deaths and the environmental consequences of the border wall and militarization; lobbies government for changes
Kino Border Initiative	2009	Humanitarian	Runs aid center for deported migrants and shelter for migrant women and children; provides first aid station; educates groups about the U.S.-Mexico border and immigration; engages in advocacy on migrant issues
Scholarships A-Z	2009	Education	Provides resources and scholarship information for students regardless of immigration status; advocates for university education for students regardless of status.
Tohono Solidarity Across Border Collective	2009	Indigenous	Raises awareness about intrusion of Border Patrol and militarization through cultural projects
Corazon de Tucson	2010	Protection network	Provides support and education to stem immigration detention in south Tucson; member of PRONET
HEPAC	2011	Education	Runs lunch program; facilitates Culture of Peace workshops; organizes kids camps; hosts women's cooperative; provides adult education
Resist and Repeal SB 1070	2012	Coalition	Works to repeal SB 1070 through education and advocacy
PRONET	2012	Protection network	Provides emergency legal and economic support for immigrant detainees from south Tucson community organizations
Colibrí Center for Human Rights	2013	Human Rights	Provides family advocacy for missing and dead migrants; seeks policy reform; engages in social change through storytelling and creative arts.
End Operation Streamline	2013	Coalition	Bears witness to ongoing human rights dismissal in Operation Streamline; advocates end of Operation Streamline; organizes nonviolent action

Summary

The border justice movement is an array of individuals and organizations committed to ending migrant deaths. Transnational activists leave water in the desert, provide medical aid, shelter and feed returned or repatriated migrants, and engage in political protest among many social and political actions geared toward stopping the tragedy of migrant deaths. Some of this action has developed from community-based organizations of color responding to the needs of their neighbours while other work has emerged from secular and church-based institutions offering emergency assistance to people in need. In both the United States and Mexico, humanitarian, human rights, indigenous and environmental activists are trying to stem the flow of deaths.

Chapter 4

Ethnography for Border Justice

The immensity of the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge—117,500 acres of unmarked walking trails, intersecting dirt roads, scrub brush, mesquite trees, canyons, pronghorns, javelinas, and other endangered animals—often overwhelms navigators. A week in advance of the annual Migrant Trail, organizers scout the trail to check the state of the roads, inform Border and Customs Enforcement about our upcoming walk, and prepare other walk logistics. On year 3 of the walk, our lead organizer and the vehicle train had successfully navigated dozens of unmarked refuge paths and roads for the first few days. But at 10 am on Wednesday, the support train went one way and the walkers went another.

Taking a wrong turn, our large group of 70 walkers lost radio contact with support vehicles. This temporary lack of contact and disorientation indicated to some walkers that we were lost and a few moments of mild panic descended upon the group. Some activists anxiously checked their water bottles and bladders while others removed cell phones from daypacks to see if they had service. A few faces communicated a sense of betrayal; they had trusted the navigational skills of one person at the front of the line and something had gone wrong.

Our disorientation lasted a total of two hours. We reconnected with support vehicles and to the precious resource of water before we ran out. Lessons from the experience were immediately implemented. The next day the vehicle train made determined efforts to leave signposts to guide walkers and maintained a relatively close distance for regular radio contact. These changes enabled us to continue our walk to Tucson without further frenzy and realize that while we were fully supported with plentiful food, snacks, and supplies, it was easy to go astray.

One wrong turn in the desert could lead to confusion, panic, dehydration, and—in this militarized landscape—to death.

In the summer of 2012, I began this qualitative research project and conducted ethnographic field research in Arizona and Sonora. Ethnography, a form of qualitative inquiry is appropriate for an intimate study of people and their interactions in a particular place or culture (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and well-suited for this analysis which delves into meanings created by individual actors. This U.S.-Mexico borderlands research investigates the experiences of educational, humanitarian, and human rights activists trying to end migrant deaths. I consider how participants' gender, race, and sexuality affect peacebuilding in the borderlands and reveal the voices, activism, and peacebuilding work of women; people of color; and LGBTQ people in this movement. As an ethnographer, I learn from and with participants in the border justice movement in southern Arizona and northern Sonora.

Since 2004, I have been involved with the border justice movement at the U.S.-Mexico border in both southern Arizona and northern Mexico; these experiences have assisted in the process of developing reciprocal relationships with research participants and have profoundly shaped my research questions. I query the contemporary role of participants of color and their historical involvement due to personal observations of a male, white-led movement. As a member of the LGBTQ community, I am interested in gaining perspectives from LGBTQ-identified activists. I query LGBTQ activists to appreciate a broader perspective of LGBTQ experiences and identity. Lastly, I am drawn to learning more about how women view, approach, and narrate border justice experiences as I have worked with many daring women leaders in the border justice movement. I have been involved in border justice for several years so doing research as an uninvolved observer is not possible.

In this study I rely on a combination of multi-sided, engaged, feminist, and auto-ethnographic approaches. Multi-sited ethnography seeks to understand the connections and flows between different sites of study (Marcus, 1995; Pleyers, 2013). Multi-sited ethnography is vital for this study of activists living in and crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. Feminist ethnography, which begins with women's experiences and reduces barriers between the researcher and researched (Sutton, 2011), is a critical starting point for this research that investigates the perspectives and viewpoints of women engaged in border justice. Engaged ethnography is an activist method of co-producing knowledge where the researcher is involved in actions for change with research participants (Sletto & Nygre, 2015). Practicing engaged ethnography allowed me to be active, interacting, and learning from people in the field as well as finding ways to be involved practically and politically. Finally, I also utilize auto-ethnography, which incorporates personal narratives and connects the personal to social and cultural realms (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011), to examine personal experiences and gain from my previous border justice involvements.

In this chapter, I contextualize this study in the aforementioned combination of ethnographic methods. I also reflect on my ethnographic researcher identities and involvements, narrate ethnographic research and recruitment processes, provide an overview of research participants, identify interview questions, address issues of confidentiality, detail the process of analysis, and note methodological limitations.

Ethnographic Research Approaches

Historically, ethnography has been employed by anthropologists eager to study the nuances of a host culture. In ethnographic studies researchers do not approach people as detached subjects or isolated individuals. Rather, researchers engage in a community as

participant observers (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As participant observers, ethnographers witness interactions, participate in group activities, and engage in conversations with group members after which they write about what they have experienced, creating rich and contextualized descriptions of processes and relationships. Ethnographic data is created in the many activities in which a researcher participates. In this way, ethnography is not about one objective truth to be reproduced multiple times given the same recipe of people and events. Instead, ethnography reveals a subjective truth interpreted by the researcher (Juris & Khasnabish, 2013). For this reason, ethnography depends on regular reflexivity or recognition of the researcher's own biases and how these biases may be playing into the study. Ethnographic studies are a subjective form of investigation, representing a researcher's experience in which events and relationships occur in processes of relational negotiations (Pink, 2006).

As a researcher, how I observe and derivate meaning from events is based to a large degree on my experience and perspectives. Anthony Cohen (1992) advises that knowing oneself in the public and private spheres and as a researcher and participant is an important component of ethnographic study. Such awareness contributes to research and findings (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002) and is the reason I delve into much self-reflexivity. Reflexivity, a process of introspection in which the researcher articulates their approaches and bias (Madison, 2011), is required in ethnographic studies and helps to reveal my lens of analysis

Multi-sited ethnography. This study considers the transnational activism of a movement on both sides of a divide, expanding from a nationalist research paradigm (O'Leary, Deeds, & Whiteford, 2013). The U.S.-Mexico borderlands are conceived of as spaces that are different yet similar. The phrase, "U.S.-Mexico borderlands" implies that there is a physical area that is both different (United States versus Mexico) and similar. The borderlands are spaces connected in a

globalized world of trade and social connections. George Marcus (1995) proposes that understanding processes and people in a globalized world system calls for a new kind of ethnography. Multi-sited ethnography crosses borders and pursues a recognition of links and flows between sites of encounter (Marcus, 1995; Pleyers, 2013). According to Marcus (1995), there are several different kinds of situations in which multi-sited ethnography is useful. For example, multi-sited ethnography may be useful for following influential persons from one space to another, or tracking commodities from production to consumption. Studying people or things in multiple milieus deepens our understanding and also helps to elucidate possible connections and linkages between contexts.

In this multi-sited study, I demonstrate how transnational movement actors conceive of the connectedness of the border. Does the border act as a third space (Anzaldúa, 1987), a space inhabited by all or more for one group or another? How does the border facilitate or debilitate relationships between actors on either side of the border?

Scholars have documented struggles in implementing multi-sited ethnography as researchers figure out how to present themselves in different arenas and juggle multiple commitments; they learn to negotiate their identity and learn what is acceptable and desired in each place (Marcus, 1998). These tensions and challenges create work and require decisions by the researcher; they also create spaces for negotiation. Multi-sited ethnography is not necessarily an easier way to conduct research but one that requires an ability to move easily from one space to another and concentrate on the connections and differences between the spaces. This study of social movement actors on both sides of the border requires multi-sited ethnography to learn about border crossings, the differences between national and cultural contexts, and how some actors seek to make change in multiple contexts.

While I visited both contexts and sought to use multi-sited ethnography successfully, my study was hampered by over-commitment in southern Arizona and challenges conducting research in Mexico. I was profoundly connected in Tucson. Tucson was my home and primary place of friends, family, and enmeshed work relationships. With limited time in the region for conducting fieldwork, I made decisions to stay close to home.

While I wanted to give ample time to staying and relating in Mexico, I was also committed to ideals of reciprocity and engaged ethnography. In my second month of fieldwork, I became involved in a southern Arizona-based coalition working to repeal SB 1070. I wanted to participate through observation; however, my previous experiences as a meeting facilitator and relationships with border actors meant that I was connected and known as having particular skills. Facilitating these meetings became a way that I could give back to the community I was studying. This commitment to reciprocity and engagement constrained my availability to stay multiple days in Mexico.

I also encountered many challenges to conducting research in Mexico. Being fully present with Mexican activists in northern Mexico was difficult; I had limited resources and encountered different relational expectations. One Mexican partner seemed to have more tacit expectations regarding the resources that I could provide. I attempted to schedule several meetings to do more in-depth observation and interviewing in Sonora; however, when participants did not respond to emails or phone calls in a timely manner, I found it difficult to secure a date with sufficient travel time. My social capital on the U.S. side was far greater as were my commitments which were a barrier in carrying-out the more equal, multi-sited ethnography that I had envisioned. Nonetheless, this research has a multi-sited character as I did

interview several Mexican participants living in Mexico and I query connections between two distinct socio-cultural environments or different sides of the border.

Feminist ethnographies. Barbara Sutton (2011) describes a feminist approach to ethnography as that which begins with women's experiences, reduces the social distance between researcher and researched, and considers the power imbalances between the researcher and the researched. I chose to utilize feminist ethnography because the violence and power inequities of the borderlands require a recognition of power differentials and because I am committed to breaking down power imbalances implicit in traditional research paradigms. Furthermore, I am dedicated to understanding an array of women's experiences.

In commencing with women's experiences, I recognize "situated knowledge," which Donna Haraway (1988) describes as a type of feminist objectivity that acknowledges complexity and partiality. I accept that what participants tell me is part of a larger, possibly more complicated reality and understand that our interactions do not yield one objective truth. Rather, researcher and participants create knowledge together that is shaped by a certain context and is altered by how we see ourselves and others in a particular time and place (Blackwood, 2005). For this reason, I acknowledge that my identity and social locations have an impact on the production of data and further that my ability to engage in reflexivity in terms of my social location(s) and standpoints is paramount to the research process (Taylor, 1998). Additionally, feminist ethnography requires awareness of social locations and involves research participants. By engaging in reflexivity and empowering participants, I am ultimately shortening the gaps between researcher and participant.

While feminist research methods seem to encourage relationships of reciprocity through recognition of power, I found that indigenous research philosophies explain reciprocity in more

helpful ways. I draw on Indigenous scholar Shawn Wilson's (2008) work on reciprocity and relationship-building in this research. Reciprocity may be conceived of as exchanging information or gifts, intending to honor the talents of both the giver and receiver and implies recognizing power while not using power over others. Wilson fleshes out components of research relationships based on reciprocity and accountability and suggests that researchers develop a relationship with the ideas they are studying in addition to the people and land in which the research is conducted. By developing a respectful or accountable relationship with the ideas, people, and land of study, researchers recognize they do not own nor should they exploit these ideas, people, or land. Taking ideas from one group of people without recognizing that this idea is born from their experience could be exploitative and is something I have tried to avoid in my research. Another Indigenous scholar, Weber Pillwax (2001) (as cited in Wilson, 2008) asks researchers to think through a lens of responsible and respectful relationships where people are cognizant of sharing power. Reciprocity, as described by these indigenous scholars, is a dynamic process of recognizing power disparities in relationships and attempting to develop accountability.

In my borderlands research, I developed relationships of reciprocity by honoring the gifts and talents of research participants. I found ways to offer my talents to involved people. In particular, I facilitated meetings of a newly-created Coalition to Repeal SB 1070 with movement participants in the United States. I did not find such tangible ways to honor the time, relationships, and gifts offered by participants on the Mexican side of the border. However, developing relationships with participants was integral to this research process. I interviewed participants with whom I had built a relationship. As I also received feedback on the thoughts

and analysis that I shared with research participants, I am hopeful that this dissertation honors the voices of those I interviewed.

Feminist researcher Sara Ahmed (2006) notes that the social locations of gender and sexuality shape our orientation towards people. In field research, I recognized that I was fascinated by certain perspectives and ideas and bored by others. As a queer, white woman in my late thirties, I was not particularly struck by the narratives of straight white women in their thirties and forties. To a degree, I wanted to engage in sideways research (Plesner, 2011) to confirm that aspects of my perspective were shared by women similar to me and yet, I was more interested in orientating myself toward women of color and other LGBTQ persons to learn their stories. In considering interview participants, who I interviewed was dependent on my experiences with them and my admiration of them as social movement actors.

I was also constantly aware of and interested in tracking power disparities and observing how people wielded interpersonal power in a variety of interactions. Perhaps it was the jarring lunch encounter when I experienced feeling less than others that I realized again how interested I was in examining power and in particular, how border justice participants use power. One afternoon a humanitarian volunteer paid for my lunch and for the lunch of an immigrant worker. Accustomed as I am to paying my own way, I felt uncomfortable when she paid for my lunch. I realized that she had disposable means to pay for my lunch and when she used those resources for me, I felt awkward.

Upon reflection, I fathom that she paid for my lunch because she was a medical doctor earning a salary and she knew that I was a student with little income. I was also the age of her children who were also students. She also paid for Juan's lunch, perhaps because he was using his own resources to look for his disappeared son in Arizona and she knew that he was spending

a lot of money during the search. Perhaps she paid for our lunches because she was feeling grateful for the opportunity to be with us. Nonetheless, this simple event in which another person paid for my lunch left an impression on me. I began to think about how it feels to be considered one who needs to be taken care of or as one without adequate resources. This was probably not her intention, yet I went away with the feeling that I needed to be taken care of and that I had less power. This emotional orientation to power, which I describe as feeling less powerful than other persons, shapes aspects of my analysis.

Feminist scholars also note problematic aspects of feminist research in regards to an overemphasis on an ethics of care. Victoria Lavis (2010) is concerned that too much attention on an ethics of care in an interview or ethnographic encounter might take away from the production of knowledge. She advocates for recognizing the tension that feminist researchers face in accessing different research identities to address some of these issues. Judith Stacey (1988) explores a different danger of feminist ethnography—going too deeply into people’s lives and becoming too intimate to the point of exploitation. As a way to combat such an intrusion, she suggests opening up more possibilities for reflexivity and action by utilizing a critical feminist approach. Dynamics of feminist research methods are important to consider in the ethnographic encounter.

Seeing and recognizing power as wielded by participants in the research encounter is paramount to engaging in feminist ethnography. Two non-white, Western researchers note that feminist research paradigms may replicate a dichotomous power dynamic in research relationships if such recognition is not given. Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert and Marsha Henry (2004) explain that white North American feminist researchers may continue to see themselves as the oppressor and their research participants, especially women of color or non-Western women, as

oppressed. In such research, feminist researchers acknowledge their power while denying the same agency to non-western women (Thapar-Björkert & Henry, 2004). Thapar-Björkert and Henry (2004) argue that feminist researchers need a wider conception of the dispersive nature of power to consider the agency of their non-white or non-dominant research participants. This call to see how women of color, women of the LGBTQ community, and other women with different identities use power and are agents of their own change is important in my study.

Engaged ethnography. In this research, engaged ethnography complements other approaches. D. Soyini Madison (2005) describes critical or engaged ethnography as questioning objectivity and subjectivity, understanding the social location of the researcher and research subject, and studying the interaction between the two. When utilizing engaged ethnography, I create spaces to increase my involvement, be reflexive, and recognize my positions. As I used engaged or critical ethnography I became further aware of power imbalances and social and economic inequalities. Like Scheper-Hughes (1995), I realized I was not neutral; a witness rather than a bystander and invited into action. Such critical ethnography also questions the political subjectivity and representation of the subaltern (Spivak in Chari & Donner, 2010). Routledge (2013) argues that the possibilities for transformation and solidarity in engaged ethnography practice are manifold:

The practice of activist ethnography opens up potentials and problems for the forging of solidarities: it can facilitate social transformation; it can nurture a politics of affinity; it must negotiate power relations; it engages with emotions; and it can contribute to the development of relational ethics (p. 253).

The challenge of engaged ethnography is to close the gaps of difference and create spaces of solidarity and mutual renovation.

In engaged ethnography, as researchers are activists and participant observers, they are concerned “with action, reflection and empowerment (of oneself and others) in order to challenge oppressive power relations” (Routledge, 2013, p. 251). Engaged ethnographers are involved in activities as co-producers of social movement knowledge and social movement activists make other power relations visible (Casas-Cortés, Osterweil, & Powell, 2008). Engaged researchers may also become intimately involved in movement activities facilitating meetings and organizing actions (Juris & Khasnabish, 2013, p. 26).

In my research, practicing engaged ethnography opened up additional spaces for social movement analysis. For several years, while walking on the Migrant Trail I have conversed and theorized about the border justice movement and movement dynamics both on and after the trail. In my field research, holding signs at protests, going out for drinks, or meeting up at parties were other spaces where I theorized with movement participants. On drives to the desert, I connected with research participants and had conversations about movement dynamics. The knowledge produced in the spaces of involvement, on desert walks, in protests, and in organizing spaces is vital to this study.

Auto-ethnography. Auto-ethnography relies on self-reflexivity and provides an inside examination of cultural practices (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). Auto-ethnography as conceived by social scientists is “process and product” and an exploration of naming subjectivities (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011, p. 273). In this research, I utilize auto-ethnography to produce personal narratives implicating the cultures of the border justice movement.

Education scholar and auto-ethnographer Nancy Taber (2005) highlights the possibilities provided by auto-ethnography to consider how everyday experiences in systems and in her case,

the military, link to larger questions of injustice. In this research, I use auto-ethnography to consider how everyday experiences in the system of the border justice movement link to other types of justice concerns. I also follow Roxanne Doty's (2010) purpose with auto-ethnography which is to connect to the human beings at the center of social movements. In particular, I utilize auto-ethnography to query my own experiences on the Migrant Trail, an annual collaborative event of border justice actors.

Multi-sited, feminist, and engaged ethnography as well as auto-ethnography create the combination of methods most applicable and personally desirable for my study of cross border activists. While developing greater depth of knowledge in the United States, I utilized multi-sited ethnography to study numerous borderland spaces in the United States and Mexico. I employed feminist ethnography to build relationships of reciprocity with a wide range of actors—women, people of color, and the LGBTQ community. Engaged ethnography gave me the incentive to stay involved and remain politically committed to systems change in the borderlands. Auto-ethnography imbues my findings with new vibrancy as I provide an inside exploration of the border justice movement and connect personal and social narratives.

Researcher Identity

Ethnographic research requires self-reflexivity. Such self-disclosure is important for trustful research relationships (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and building relationships. Ruth Behar (in Guerra, 2011) reminds researchers that reflecting on identity is most important if one is able to elucidate connective meaning and shared experiences to the ethnographic endeavor. I engage in reflexivity on various identities as I seek to understand how these privileged identities have affected my research experience.

Sources of privilege. Several aspects of my identity were important axes of reflexivity during my study. For one, I am white and Anglo, identities which afford me with a great deal of privilege in the borderlands. I can easily cross social borders in southern Arizona and northern Mexico, mixing with people of many racial backgrounds. Secondly, I was not harassed when I crossed the international divide into the United States. In many social movement events, my white skin and lack of Border Patrol uniform meant that I was trustworthy. The social privilege of white skin meant that I could observe events, meetings, and protests without cause of suspicion. Additionally, I am bilingual and can communicate easily in both Spanish and English. Being bilingual and white meant that I could understand and communicate in a variety of English or Spanish-only settings. Being white and bilingual is also a symbol of educational status and again affords me with a host of privileges— entrée, trust, and communication. My status and resources as a person of means, in the middle class, was also very evident in my research. I was able to rent an apartment in Tucson for fieldwork and arrange private transportation in the city and into several different places in Mexico. I am still discovering how many other aspects of my middle class status inform my perspective.

Sexual orientation. My field research gave me opportunities to be more fully out as a queer woman and to negotiate my identity in different research contexts. On a few occasions, research in the borderlands required me to reveal my sexual orientation. As I had only recently disclosed my sexual orientation to myself and others, not everyone with whom I interacted knew I was part of the LGBTQ community. In a few long-standing relationships, such a coming-out was obligatory. On one occasion revealing my sexual identity was important to create trust in the interview process as one couple wanted to understand why I was intent on interviewing LGBTQ individuals.

Field Research and Research Activities

During initial fieldwork, I helped to organize the Migrant Trail, attended organizational and social movement strategy meetings, and met with social movement actors to learn about current movement issues, dynamics, and personalities. I also devised questions for semi-structured interviews based on initial conversations. I took field notes during events, protests, and meetings and after such encounters I wrote field memos. During the Migrant Trail, I walked in the desert and talked with other researchers and social activists about my research. Through all of these activities, I cultivated relationships with research participants.

During a second phase of research, I observed protests, traveled across the border, and facilitated a weekly coalition meeting for individuals and organizations in southern Arizona to repeal SB 1070. In this endeavor, I co-facilitated with a local, experienced facilitator. During several trips across the border to observe the work of U.S. and Mexican actors relating with migrants and providing them with food and medical care, I continued to assemble a list of borderlands' contacts and increased my exposure to different people and actions. I also interacted with movement participants and activists in their work spaces including organizational offices, resource centers, shelters, and soup kitchens.

During a third phase of research, I scheduled and conducted interviews with individuals in offices, coffee shops, homes, and restaurants. I took field notes and wrote revealing notes on my feelings and biases while interviewing. I also attended a conference of multi-level government and nongovernmental border actors in Texas and travelled to different parts of the U.S.-Mexico border in Arizona and Sonora. For the last phase of research, I was primarily concerned with conducting interviews and attending border-wide events. I attended the presentation of a Mexican social group, *Caravana por la Paz* (Peace Caravan) that advocated the

end of the U.S. Drug War. Each of these phases of research roughly corresponded to a month of fieldwork.

Recruitment Process

Communicating my research identity was important. I regularly introduced myself in border justice environments as a researcher from the University of Manitoba. I complied with research protocols of the organizations with which I related. For many of the organizations this was a simple request to inform the individuals with whom I would be working on that particular day that I was doing research in the borderlands. When I went on water drops with humanitarians, I informed the individual with whom I was working that I was a researcher.

When I participated in large-scale marches or protests, I did not consistently clarify my identity as a researcher as opportunities to do so were limited and my status as a participant observer was salient. During the week-long Migrant Trail, I did not introduce myself as a researcher as my primary roles were as organizer and team leader. While I draw on my experience on the Migrant Trail in this study, I did not interview on the trail nor did I ask other Migrant Trail walkers about their experiences for this research.

As noted, I had a relationship with almost all research participants. We had met or related on previous occasions. I did interact and learn from three individuals that I had not met previously and interviewed them. I gained access to these individuals by asking a research participant to contact these individuals and provide them with my contact information, after which they responded via email that they would be open to an interview.

Research Participants

Research participants were involved in one or several facets of borderlands social movement activities to end migrant deaths. Ending migrant deaths is an umbrella term that

encompasses individuals working in an array of activities to change U.S. or Mexican border policy, educate individuals in the United States or Mexico about the situation of migrants dying in the desert or those aiding migrant survival by providing direct services of food, water, clothing, footwear, shelter or basic medical care to migrants who are crossing or have crossed. I interviewed women, men, people of color, white people, individuals residing in or originating from the United States or Mexico, persons being paid for or volunteering their time in a broad range of organized and ad-hoc activities, and individuals of varying sexual identities. All research participants or social movement actors with whom I interacted and interviewed were at least 18 years of age and had resided or worked in the borderlands for a minimum of two years. While most were connected to a social movement organization, I also sought out individuals not connected to the mainstream of organizational activity. Some participants would consider themselves humanitarians while others self-identify as activists or concerned individuals. All participants had experiences and stories to share.

Participant profiles. The data below provides identifying characteristics of all 22 research participants including their presumed gender, race/ethnicity, and nation of residence. I interviewed 15 women and seven men. As none of the participants explicitly identified as transgender and I did not ask for gender identification, these labels are based on observation of socially-constructed norms. I interviewed two individuals who identified as Indigenous, eight white individuals, and twelve Latinos. In this case, Latino signifies that they or their parent(s) were born in Mexico, or a different Latin American nation. I interviewed ten Latina women, five white women, two indigenous men, two Latino men, and three white men. In terms of current place of residence, four participants currently reside in Mexico and eighteen individuals live in the United States. Some participants have lived in both Arizona and Sonora. All Sonoran-based

residents hold a valid passport and visa to enter into the United States through an official port of entry; this information was available to me as I interviewed all Mexican participants in the United States. I did not obtain information on passports for U.S. residents. Fifteen participants are currently earning wages for working in a variety of jobs and seven are retired.

While I do not list information regarding sexual orientation, I presume that 18 people are heterosexual as they did not disclose being LGBTQ or being in a same sex partnership. Four participants identify in the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) community or were in same sex partnerships at the time of the interview. While I did not request age, I would surmise that the age range for participants was late 20s to mid-70s. Some movement participants had been working and living in southern Arizona or northern Sonora for decades while one had moved to Arizona and become involved in the last three years. Four participants had ties with the Sanctuary Movement.

Figure 4

Research Participants

No.	Gender	Race/Ethnicity	Country of residence	Retired or working
1	Female	White	U.S.	Retired
2	Male	White	U.S.	Working
3	Female	Latino	U.S.	Working
4	Female	Latino	U.S.	Working
5	Female	Latino	U.S.	Working
6	Female	Latino	Mexico	Retired
7	Male	White	U.S.	Retired
8	Male	White	U.S.	Retired
9	Female	White	U.S.	Retired
10	Female	White	U.S.	Working
11	Female	White	U.S.	Working
12	Male	Latino	Mexico	Retired
13	Female	Latino	U.S.	Working
14	Female	Latino	Mexico	Working
15	Female	White	U.S.	Working
16	Female	Latino	U.S.	Working
17	Female	Latino	U.S.	Working
18	Male	Latino	U.S.	Retired
19	Male	Indigenous	U.S.	Working
20	Male	Indigenous	U.S.	Working
21	Female	Latino	U.S.	Working
22	Female	Latino	Mexico	Working
	15 female	12 Latino	18 U.S.	7 Retired
	7 male	2 Indigenous	4 Mexico	15 Working
		8 white		

Interview Questions

I used interviews to collect data from a range of participants in the border justice movement and met with individuals in their homes, restaurants, or coffee shops. Since I had an

existing relationship as a friend or co-participant with many of the people that I interviewed, I began interviews by asking how participants became involved in border justice work. Next I proceeded with questions about the types of activities in which they participate. I was also interested in finding out what they knew about activism on the other side of the border from where they lived and how the particular work in which they were involved crossed the border.

I also asked about movement experiences in terms of gender and race/ethnicity. I directed a set of questions depending on their race/ethnicity and gender and on a few occasions my previous knowledge of their sexual orientation. I asked, “What are some of your experiences as a woman, Mexican or Latino or part of the LGBTQ community in this movement?” In addition, I requested input on how they perceived leadership and decision-making in the particular educational, humanitarian, or human rights group in which they were involved if they were involved.

I also asked individuals to describe the border. To conclude the interview, I asked participants to provide advice for someone like them that might want to participate in border justice activities. In each interview and depending on answers, I asked follow-up questions. Each interview lasted approximately 45 to 90 minutes and was conducted in the language of preference for each participant. I conducted four interviews in Spanish while the majority of the remaining interviews were conducted in English.

Confidentiality

Ethical research requires informed consent by participants as well as ample understanding of risks. As noted, I informed individuals and organizations of my role as a researcher when attending organizational or coalition meetings and engaging with smaller groups in movement activities. I did not introduce myself as a researcher when attending larger scale

protests nor in the Migrant Trail. For each interview, participants chose a private interview location to ensure confidentiality. In the actual interview, I outlined a process of consent and invited people to sign a consent form as they agreed. In particular, I spoke of the possible risks of participation including emotional fatigue and inconvenience and reminded them that I would hold information confidentially. I brought a small digital device to record the interview and let participants know when I was recording. I also let them know that we could end the research process at any time.

In my writing, I do not disclose personally identifiable information of research participants nor do I consult any confidential records of interviewed individuals thus keeping with another aspect of consent. I have ensured confidentiality by keeping interview notes, recordings, and observations on a password-protected computer in my residence. I prepared personal information in a format so that no individual is distinguishable by any personal characteristics or social identity. Participants either chose a pseudonym or I chose one for them. In some cases I have changed personally identifiable information so that no one is discernible.

As a participant in the borderlands social movement for approximately ten years, I am familiar with many risks of participation—the possibility of arrest by Border Patrol or the police, being fined by the Arizona Game and Fish Department, harassment by border officials, physical discomfort, emotional fatigue, and burnout. Conducting this research did not pose additional risks for me as researcher. While borderlands research, which takes place in a militarized landscape, can pose risks to vulnerable participants (Magaña, 2013), this research studies a public transnational social movement whose members are not vulnerable subjects and whose activities are not secretive. A different risk for participants is emotional fatigue in the interview process. There is also a risk that newspapers or other media sources could use the research

inaccurately as experienced by ethnographers in other conflict settings (Greenberg, 2007; Scheper-Hughes, 2007). In order to minimize this risk and the possible harm of further movement fracturing that could result upon inaccurate interpretations of this research, I minimized this risk by ensuring the confidentiality of participants and allowing a considerable time lapse between fieldwork and publication.

In order to gain research approval from the University of Manitoba Joint Ethics Review Board, I had to specify how I was approaching issues of sexuality and particularly what kind of information about sexuality that I was seeking to gather. At the time of writing the ethics proposal, I was not clear what kind of analysis of sexuality that I wanted to pursue. I wanted to gain more perspectives and experiences of LGBTQ movement participants and was hoping that my research would become clearer as I observed and asked questions in the field. The ethics committee warned me about making people feel uncomfortable or insecure in the research interview, advice that in retrospect had a profound impact on my research.

I was challenged in my quest for queer knowledges as I heeded the advice of the university ethics procedure to approach cautiously on issues of sexuality. I felt uncomfortable and awkward when asking questions around identity and sexuality. In several interviews, I fumbled to find the right question and ask such questions with confidence. I was awkward when it came to questions about sexuality because ironically I did not want to make people feel uncomfortable by my questions or cause someone to feel insecure about their sexuality or make them reveal something that they preferred not to. In retrospect, this lack of confidence seems surprising. Going into most interviews, I knew the gender of participants' partners.

I have come to realize that two factors were significant in this process. First, I was contending with issues of internalized homophobia. I was learning to navigate sexuality in a

movement that I perceived as welcoming but that was also tinged with memories of working in an organization where I could be dismissed for living out my gayness. Secondly, I believe that sexuality was regulated by the university ethics review board. The underlying assumption of the review board is that alternative sexualities or non-heteronormative sexualities are inherently vulnerable. While social stigma for sexual identity still exists, vulnerability must be re-examined from a variety of standpoints so that non heterosexual sexuality is not regulated. As I felt constrained by the assumptions of the review board, in conjunction with internalized homophobia, this regulation constrained my research and informs further conversations on vulnerability.

Process of Analysis

After completing field research, I transcribed interviews, took notes, and recorded preliminary ideas. I transcribed 18 interviews in English prior to transcribing and translating four Spanish language interviews. I listened to all interviews after completing a rough draft to ensure correct translation and transcription. After completing the transcription and translation of all 22 interviews, I printed off each interview and additional pages of accompanying field notes.

My research data includes field notes, meeting notes, research memos, interview transcripts from semi-structured interviews, and other organizational information provided to me by research participants, or on public websites. Primary sources of data include research memos from a variety of borderlands-related activities in which I participated, interview transcriptions, and interview field notes, and meeting minutes from a humanitarian group. After each day of fieldwork, I recorded my impressions of the day. Often the re-counting of the day would take hours, remembering the details of conversations, my feelings, and thoughts as well as the setting of the interview.

After collecting data and entering information into the computer, I printed off these documents and read them over several times, looking for the emergence of themes. I employed an inductive method to analyze this data, coding based on common themes. During my first set of data coding, I focused on six key interviews with women of color and coded these interviews first. In the process of coding, I was guided by the work of scholar Pat Rubio Goldsmith (2013) who encourages scholars to recognize that people with less power may have more to say about helping to free the powerful, decentering knowledge from the powerful to those on the margins. In choosing these six key interviews and considering their voices as powerful, I also made the assumption that women of color were more vulnerable. As a result of such re-reading and decentering, I developed my initial set of codes. During the second set of coding, I used all interviews to learn more about key themes. I created a three page document of particular themes, notes, and quotes for each interview.

Informed consent requires that participants trust that they will not be exploited in research or writing (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Member validation also helps to ensure that interpretations of data are correct and in line with what participants expressed. I engaged in a process of member checking with participants via email. I emailed all participants with a general outline of my analysis in plain language and then included sentences from the analysis, which included their pseudonym. I explained the general ways that I was using their interview and invited conversations and feedback. Several participants responded positively, affirmed my interpretation, and noted their willingness to continue conversing. When several participants did not respond to this email, I used Facebook and text message to be in touch and request that they review the material. Some participants then responded affirmatively to this communication. No participants requested a change to the analysis.

Methodological Limitations

The ethnographic methods employed in this study have furthered prospects for understanding cross-border connections and revealing the perspectives of women, people of color, and some LGBTQ individuals involved in the borderlands social movement(s). However, two methodical issues were not overcome in this research. I was unable to offer equal time to observing the movement from Sonora, limiting research experiences in Mexico. Also, I was awkward around questions of sexuality and did not gather considerable data on sexuality.

Summary

My ethnographic borderlands research provided similar lessons to those gained on the Migrant Trail in 2006 and detailed in the vignette at the beginning of this chapter. In this research journey, I have navigated new research experiences, worked through moments of disorientation, and emerged with new learning. In fieldwork, I utilized a helpful combination of multi-sited, feminist, and engaged ethnography to study identity and peacebuilding experiences of borderland actors. The data produced during fieldwork and subsequently analyzed using an inductive approach, intersects with auto-ethnographic accounts of the Migrant Trail. These research methods and my previous work experiences allowed me to be involved as a participant observer with a political commitment to peacebuilding in the borderlands. Having plentiful access to border justice actors who I observed and interviewed, helped me to amass intimate data from a diverse range of participants from the United States and Mexico. Regular reflexivity about my role as a white, queer woman researcher adds depth to the data I collected. Challenges on the research journey in terms of a sustained and reciprocal connection with participants in Mexico are a limitation that may be overcome with future research.

Chapter 5

A Review of Peacebuilding and Social Movement Literature

It was group reflection time, the one large group conversation we facilitate on the Migrant Trail and everyone was gathering under the shade in what has become known as Hell Camp. Hell Camp is the nickname we gave to this Bureau of Land Management campground on the edge of Tucson. The ground is filled with raggedy stones smattered with bits of green and white glass. The stones radiate heat and we are forced to spend the afternoon in a heat-enclosed physical space. The only shade in this campground is made by fashioning all our canopies into one. Shots ring out from the shooting range not far away, putting us on edge.

There are some good things about Hell Camp. It is our last full day together, we are close enough to Tucson that a visitor usually brings us frozen treats, and the Sunday morning ceremony clarifies our commitment to walking.

In 2013, the large group reflection at Hell Camp became a site of tension as an ethnically and racially diverse group shared critical questions and reflections. Why were there so many white people on the Trail? Why did white people mandate behavior on the Trail? Did people realize that by smiling and waving to Border Patrol that they were normalizing the mistreatment and abuse of Mexicans? Ashamedly, I was too emotionally exhausted and exited early from the conversation.

Later I learned about how the conversation had morphed into exploring white privilege and how privilege was a central component of this walk. Several weeks and months later, I heard from other participants about this conversation. For one friend and fellow organizer, this conversation was central to understanding the trail and she was forthright in sharing her dismay about my absence from many parts of this conversation. Another organizer commented on how

white people had to defend themselves during this conversation, which was very challenging and uncomfortable. I missed a critical opportunity to engage in an open-space conversation about the ways that whiteness impedes social movement activity.

In order to conduct this ethnographic study, I concentrated on important scholarly literature in whiteness studies, peacebuilding, and social movements. These three scholarly fields undergird my research. In particular, this chapter explicates various theories of power found in each of the three fields and also attempts to draw connections between peacebuilding and social movement literature.

In the first part of this chapter, I describe the multidisciplinary field of whiteness studies which helps to show how the social construct of whiteness wields power in U.S. society. I define important terms of white superiority and note that white supremacy is a system where white people are in control of economic, political, and social milieus. In my review of social movement literature, I outline important social movement concepts that illustrate how power operates in social movements. In particular, I look at culture, gender, standpoint theory, intersectionality, collective identity, leadership, and knowledge production. Describing transnationality and its relationship with transnational social activism reveals a field of study equipped to consider the ways that borders work. Next, I describe grassroots peacebuilding and plant my study within the growing edges of peacebuilding. I also present several critiques of peacebuilding including an overemphasis on civil society, the neoliberal framing of peace, and missing components of a queer approach to peacebuilding. Ultimately, I link the fields of social movements and peacebuilding as there are many connections where scholars of both disciplines can interact.

Whiteness

Race is a powerful determinant of treatment in the United States. People's skin color may determine how they are considered by the shop clerk, their teacher, or even their fellow comrade in a social movement. While race is a powerful construct and well-understood in academia and social movements, it has also become very easy to dissociate from racism as no person wants to be considered racist. Labeling or naming the dynamics of racism weakens momentum. Also, since white people are prone to considering themselves as "raceless" in a society where they have much power, whiteness is an important site of study. Whiteness is further complicated by the related terms of white superiority/hegemony, white privilege, and white supremacy. While in popular culture white supremacy is associated with hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, in this research, white supremacy refers to a system which self-perpetuates power in the purview of white people. This section explicates some important theories from the field of Critical Whiteness Studies including white privilege, white supremacy, and white superiority/hegemony while also providing contemporary definitions of racism, tokenism, and color-blindness which are manifestations of white supremacy.

Understanding the power of whiteness to shape society is crucial to this study. Steve Garner (2007) tackles a description of whiteness recognizing the problematic aspects of creating a category of study which is dependent on racialized categories. He defines whiteness as a continuously changing social construct which refers to the power, privilege, and operational forms of being white in a particular context and time period (Garner, 2007). Whiteness is based on the actuality of social power and as a contemporary concept it is in flux and relationship with others. Other related terms such as white privilege and white superiority flush out further conceptions of whiteness and what whiteness means in contemporary North American society.

White privilege. Scholar Peggy McIntosh (1990) popularized understanding of white privilege through her germinal piece, “White privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack,” which describes the many unearned advantages provided to white-skinned people. White privilege renders white people raceless and unaware of the ways that race, even their own skin color, functions in society. In subtle ways white privilege convinces white people that race does not exist and that their race is not a factor in the way that they are treated in society. White privilege is also described as the freedom to not experience racism (Boatright-Horowitz, Marraccini, & Harps-Logan, 2012). Some anti-racism scholars in the field of education contend that a focus on white privilege may be detrimental to structural changes in society as recognizing white privilege does not give people tools to recognize or change systemic whiteness and calls for confession rather than change (Lensmire, et al., 2013)

White supremacy. Critical race theorists have refashioned some of McIntosh’s conceptualizations of white privilege in a bid to help white persons understand the entrenched system of white power and dominance in North America (Boatright-Horowitz et al., 2012; Lensmire, et al., 2013). These scholars advocate understanding whiteness as a system that functions in political, social, and economic realms to create white supremacy. White supremacy is a system of exploitation and institutional racism created by white people in order to keep their material and social wealth. In this understanding, white supremacy is not extremist hate-based activism. Rather white supremacy is a system by which white people set the laws and standards in society to remain in power. White supremacy describes how white people remain in control of social, economic, and political systems. For example, white supremacy is at work in the myth that the United States is a meritocracy and that all people can achieve equally, given drive and determination (Boatright-Horowitz, et al. 2012).

A system of white supremacy is characterized by racism. Racism is not simply holding or using prejudice against a person or groups of persons, rather racism is prejudice infused with social power. Social power is provided by institutions and norms or structures that privilege one group over another. Racism occurs when people or institutions with social power act on this prejudice (DiAngelo & Sensoy, 2014). Furthermore, racism is upheld by the structures of white superiority which inhibit racialized people from reaching their full human potential. Thus, racism is a prominent form of structural violence (Galtung, 1969).

Contemporary racial discrimination manifests in less overt ways such as in tokenism and color-blindness. Tokenism and color-blindness are discrete forms of racial discrimination reproducing white supremacy. Tokenism transpires when white people in institutions seek to reduce overt racial discrimination and invite people of color to participate and do so in a way in which the voices, perspectives, or numbers of such people of color are limited and not substantial. Color-blindness, what some white people are inclined to see as advancement in racial relationships, is not seeing or refusing to see the racial identity of a person whether white, Latino, or African-American. Color-blindness, while possibly appealing to white people who do not want to act racist, is actually detrimental. Color-blindness translates into a lack of awareness of the ways that whiteness functions to privilege white people over people of color. In that way, white people do not understand that people of color face a system that is shaped by and privileges whiteness (Gallagher, 2003). In such an entrenched system of racial advantage, tokenism and color-blindness serve to uphold the rights of the dominant white population.

Racialization. Racialization is a product of systemic racism and not a fixed or static category of identity. One white research participant helped to frame the distinction between static and mutable processes of racialization, “People really don’t know until it [border laws, racial

profiling, discrimination] affects their life. . . and when people's lives are impacted they start to care.” Racialization processes affect identity which in turn mold participants' social, economic, and political experiences (Gallagher, 2003). While ethnic identity may shape how and why people adhere to certain norms of interaction (Adler, Rosenfeld, Proctor, & Winder, 2012), racialization affects participants' self-concept.

Beth Roy, John Burdick, and Louis Kriesberg (2010) describe leadership dynamics in a racialized system. While people of color are used to being led by white people, white people are unfamiliar with being guided by leaders of color. “Ceding leadership to people whose interactional assumptions and styles differ from one's own is a familiar experience for most people of color, but an uncomfortably new one for members of a dominant social group” (Roy, Burdick, & Kriesberg, 2010, p. 352). They go on to explain that it is difficult to create new processes for accomplishing tasks when socially dominant actors see themselves as doing the right thing. This makes it difficult to realize how whiteness is constructing norms while also impeding the potential of people of color.

In southern Arizona, the potentiality of people of color is impeded by everyday injustices. While “everyday” is a term utilized in peacebuilding (Mac Ginty R. , 2013) to talk about commonplace indicators of social improvements, in this case, I draw from various studies regarding the everydayness of heterosexism (Hyers, 2010) and the importance of studying the everyday experiences of women (Taylor & Rupp, 1999) to discuss everyday injustices. Many everyday experiences of discrimination have been well-documented by human rights organizations and scholars and include ongoing racial profiling and stereotyping (Chavez, 2011; Green, 2011; No More Deaths, 2011; The Border Network for Human Rights, 2013), fear of arrest and deportation (Chavez, 2011; Reineke, 2010; Seif, 2011), and denigration of Mexican-

American and Latino cultural heritage via local, state, and federal policies (Davila, 2012; Green, 2011). A study using data from the Tucson-based Coalición de Derechos Humanos documented microaggressions or everyday discrimination, occurring in workplaces across southern Arizona (O'Leary, 2006). Such examples of daily, re-occurring racialized injustices further contextualize the environment for people of color in southern Arizona.

Social Movements

Social movements are not simply successful because they have participants willing to take advantage of political momentum and opportunities to make change. Instead, to understand why social movements are successful and how they operate, it is important to study gender, social movement communication, identity intersections, power, collective identity, processes of reflection, and leadership structures. All of these elements of study are important ways to consider social movement culture and begin to decipher how power operates in a transnational setting.

Social movement scholars have defined, described, and analyzed social movements from a variety of macro and micro perspectives. Social movement definitions are characterized by differing descriptions of movement actors, types of social change actions, and the intended targets of social action. Drawing from James Jasper (2010) whose work on the cultural aspects of social movements is integral to this study, I define social movements as composed of individuals and groups who are united in common purposes and engaged in joint protest or actions for social change over a prolonged period. As Jasper (2014) also identifies, the object of change for such social movement actors is not only political structures or policies but cultural and social changes more broadly. The political opportunity structure identified and studied by many social movement scholars (Tarrow, 1994; Tilly, 1978; McAdam, 1982) classifies the state as the sole or

primary object of social action. While it is important to consider the impact of social movements on the state and the propensity for such action to result in concrete political change, I envision change processes and objects of change more extensively. Jackie Smith and Ernesto Verdeja (2013) define social movements in terms of a “collective, sustained, popularly based engagements with authorities” (p. 13). The key difference in this definition is that authorities may denote the state, cultural regimes, or a host of other objects. Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (2004) provide an inclusive description of those objects of change, “. . . in sum, a social movement is a collective, organized, sustained, and non-institutional challenge to authorities, power-holders, or cultural beliefs and practices” (p. 3). This description takes into consideration that social movements attempt to make change on numerous levels and with or against multiple powers, peoples, ideas, beliefs, and systems.

Jasper (2010) argues that the period for mass-based theories to study all of the aspects of social movement analysis has ceased. Thus, applying overarching theories to understand movement participants is not necessarily helpful (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). Jasper (2010) advocates the use of theories of emotion and culture to study social movements. In this case, I investigate theories of low and high-context cultures, gender, standpoint theory, intersectionality, power, collective identity, leadership, and knowledge production to provide a unique lens with which to study movements.

Culture. Communication and conflict resolution scholars have utilized cultural theories of low-context and high-context cultures to consider how actors in different cultures communicate. Low-context cultural norms promote civility and adherence to schedules where high-context norms encourage group cohesiveness, expressiveness, and symbolic interactions. While social movement scholars do not necessarily employ this type of cultural analysis

consistently, considering how actors communicate in high or low-context ways and how they think about power distance is an important concern for this transnational study.

In the United States, the dominant culture exemplifies many elements of low-context and/or individualistic cultural norms (Jandt, 2004). In low-context cultures the individual is an important actor who is expected to engage in direct, logical, and rational conversation (Hocker & Wilmot, 2014). Individuals are also expected to offer abundant information to communicate ideas and not rely on symbols or interpretation as the main forms of communication. When information is exchanged in low-context cultures, the exchange is often informal and based on direct communication rather than ceremonies or relationships. Additionally, in low-context cultures there is a strong adherence to monochronic time which translates into a devotion to schedules and punctuality (Kakabadse, Kouzmin, Kakabadse, & Savery, 2006).

High-context and collectivist cultures value group harmony and relationships in a defined social system (Kakabadse, Kouzmin, Kakabadse, & Savery, 2006). The group, family, or tribe is more important than the individual. In terms of communication, in high-context cultures individuals engage in more symbolic and ceremonial forms of communication and people interpret indirect signs and symbols. Displays of emotions may speak for themselves and words have secondary value. In high-context culture, time is more polychronic and directed toward completing a task rather than adhering strictly to a schedule (Kakabadse, Kouzmin, Kakabadse, & Savery, 2006).

An additional dimension to understand cultural differences is Hofstede's dimension of power distance (Jandt, 2004). Power distance is how individuals conceive or relate to those with more power and wealth. In low-power distance cultures, there is an emphasis on collegiality and

less acceptance of large gaps between the wealthy and the poor (Rinne, Steel, & Fairweather, 2011). In high-power distance cultures, people are more accepting of such inequalities.

Gender. Gender is the study of socially constructed norms regulating how people act. Like Joan Wallach Scott (1985), I study gender to comprehend power and how differently sexed bodies utilize power. Gender also intersects with other aspects of identity. Social movement and peacebuilding scholars have studied gender and power.

Hurwitz and Taylor (2012) study women's culture and in particular look at how women use power to affect change within movements. Susan Coutin (1993) discusses the importance of recognizing that protest movements have particular cultures with rituals, ways of doing things, jokes, language, stories, etc. and that this culture "invokes and reinterprets systems of power" (p. 153). Studying gender and culture assists in deciphering how power is utilized within movements.

A few contemporary studies of border movement actors in southern Arizona also employ gender analysis. Harel Shapira's (2013) investigation of the Minuteman movement operating in southern Arizona reveals that men and women conduct activism in different locations. In particular, he indicates that "the campground functions as a feminine home front and the patrol line constitutes the masculine battlefield" (Shapira, 2013, p.59). In another account about Minutemen actors, Jennifer Johnson (2011) explores the location that women use to work for change. She found that women Minutemen actors use online forums or the internet and notes that men are active in different forums utilizing their power. Studying gender and how different bodies employ power in social movements and more particularly in the borderlands may reveal new insight about the ways that the border justice movement is structured.

Standpoint theory. In conjunction with studying gender, another way to consider how various identities intersect and create differential experience, is to utilize standpoint theory. Standpoint theory posits that we experience the world based on our acquired knowledge and positions of relative power (Hekman, 1997). Our perspectives on the world or standpoints may emerge from our race, class, sexual orientation, gender, or religion. In a sense we are all experts of our reality based on our relative standpoints. Standpoint theory is important as it provides a vehicle for understanding differences based on people's positioning or experience with oppression (Allen B. , 1998). This idea is prominent in my research as I begin to look at how power is shaped in intersecting identities and the ways that particular approaches are shaped by identities.

Intersectionality. Systemically-embedded discrimination and bias, what Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) scholars refer to as structural violence (Galtung, 1969), work in concert with other systems of oppression including colonialism, class, race, and sexuality. Patricia Hill Collins (1998) describes intersectionality as a process in which social identities intersect or mutually construct each other. Intersectionality studies how various social systems interrelate affecting individuals in assorted ways. Intersectional analysis allow for more in-depth studies of how power and oppression work together.

Intersectional analysis illustrate the ways that power works in regards to national, racial, and sexual identities. Several social movement scholars use intersectional analysis to show how power works with different identities. For example, Clare M. Weber (2006) in her institutional ethnography of women's activism in Nicaragua and the United States, espouses intersectional analysis as a way to help U.S.-based social movement participants to consider the multiple identities of Nicaraguan-based activists instead of only seeing them as poor. Joe Bandy and

Jennifer Bickham Mendez's (2006) work on cross-border organizing in maquilas recognize that "gender along with power relations of race, ethnicity and nation compose persistent hegemonies that fracture the space of transnational civil society and constrain opposition" (p. 132).

Intersectional analysis helps illustrate how powers in social systems and social identities interact and affect individuals.

Power. Studying gender and employing standpoint theory and intersectionality help to consider how power operates on bodies with diverse identities. Social movement theorists provide more ways to consider the location and nature of power. In particular, multi-institutional modes of social movement analysis and social network theory help illustrate the dispersive nature of power.

Elizabeth Armstrong and Mary Bernstein (2008) utilize a particular study of power in social movements, calling it a multi-institutional mode. They contend that power is made visible by investigating institutions that affect the state and also considering the ways that powerful cultural regimes shape social movements. One multi-institutional study of social movements which looks at the transformation of the U.S. healthcare system, understands power as something which spreads over a wide area and is not contained but found in many different elements of a system (Banaszak-Holl, Levitsky, & Zald, 2010). Social network theory also looks at power and considers nodes as forms of interaction where power operates (Hansen, 2009). In network theory, one can visualize various components building and sustaining a structure which is a helpful consideration for widely dispersed networks of border justice.

Collective identity. Collective identity is a component of social movement theory that has been used to study a multitude of movements, especially efforts to gauge mobilization and the sense of the joint "we" that frames, initiates, and executes action. Scholars study collective

identity in movements to describe dynamics of belonging and to grasp the importance of shared grievances among peoples and levels of group consciousness, solidarity, and organizational motivation (Kilgore, 1999).

Scholars have differing ideas of what collective identity is, how it works, and why it is important. Italian scholar Alberto Melucci (1995) renowned for his work on collective identity, looks at collective identity as a process in motion that is continually reinventing itself. U.S. scholar David Snow (2001) says there are three identities which sometimes overlap: personal, social, and collective. In Snow's (2001) conceptualizations, identity within movements is not just about the collective joint frame but about a combination of personal, social, and collective identities. William Gamson (1991) explores how collective identity creates a "we" from many individual "I's". Camilla Orjuela (2008) studies collective identity to understand "a shared identity [that] helps to motivate participation, perceive agency and name adversaries" (p. 63). Orjuela (2008) notes how collective identity also creates in and out groups.

In a similar vein, Cristina Flesher Fominaya (2010) indicates that collective identity is about "boundary work" and defining who is in and who is out. These processes happen in and outside a defined network and are part of a consolidation process. Fominaya (2010) draws on Jasper (1997) to say that collective identity can be built around tactics and strategies and that collective identity can be used to reinforce connections across boundaries. Collective identity can help participants build relationships across levels of difference.

Another important description of collective identity provided by social movement scholars Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier (1992) is the existence of three characteristics for a group to have a collective identity: "(a) a subculture that directly opposes hegemonic culture, (b) a shared sense of solidarity, and (c) a collective consciousness that shares similar interpretive

frameworks” (found in Sandlin & Walther, 2009, p. 312). This explanation supposes that groups approach a particular event or idea differently than the majority, share in a common cause, and are willing to construe of actions similarly. Defining collective identity is not about participants having the same understanding of a shared sense of “we” but rather the creation of practical groups that are working toward or against a particular policy and engage in actions to make that a reality.

While collective identity is studied for many different reasons, and social movement scholars define collective identity differently, there is an underlying notion that identity and understanding the group (participants) is important to understand how change is created. Furthermore as Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) point out in their multi-institutional study of social movements, studying collective identity as axes of power or places of authority helps to pinpoint more spaces of power.

Leadership. Social movement scholars have also studied leadership to understand decision-making processes and learn more about how power is disseminated and shared. As Rafeef Ziadeh and Adam Hanieh (2010) discuss, when leadership and decision making structures are not clarified, invisible hierarchies of race, class, and gender are rendered more meaningful in terms of understanding leadership. Studying leadership is not just about recognizing movement leaders and how they are leading but also helping to make power structures visible.

Knowledge production. Knowledge and theories of social movement organizing may be created and dissected in academic settings or alternatively developed in movement-related spaces. Access to this knowledge depends on who develops the theories and how these theories are disseminated. In terms of academic settings, Jasper (2010) argues that male social movement

scholars have prioritized the conceptual over lived and practical experiences, leading to knowledge about social movements that has been more theoretical in nature.

Aziz Choudry and Dip Kapoor (2010) argue that knowledge production within movements is often created by the elite and leaves out the perspectives of the grassroots. “Too often, knowledge production within North American solidarity movements tends to ignore the voices of those with whom we are supposed to be acting in solidarity” (Ziadeh & Hanieh, 2010, p. 91). As one way of making knowledge production more accessible to those implementing change, several scholars including Harsha Walia (2013) and Maria Isabel Casas-Cortés, Michael Osterweil, and Dana Powell (2008) note the importance of scholarship and theory-making within movements and not just in academic circles. The idea that participants create their own theory and knowledge is known as grassroots or movement theory. Walia (2013) describes “movement theory, which stems from the praxis of organizing, and experiential theory [. . .] based in lived realities and resistances” (Walia, 2013, p. 16). Theory is grounded in praxis and also accessible when it is created in the struggle for change.

Local grassroots knowledge can be kept accessible to activists (Bevington & Dixon, 2005). Scholars David Bevington and Chris Dixon (2005) indicate that academic knowledge can be relevant to activists in a feedback loop in which potential scholars speak with activists about their reading, discover activists’ questions about organizing efforts, and then engage in a dialogue process as the scholar disseminates findings. This is a three-pronged approach, which centers on activist knowledge and the importance of scholars in communication and relationship with activists. Studying processes of knowledge production within movements and in dialogue with other academic knowledges can lead to new understandings about movement(s) and honor the voices and leadership of local and involved persons.

Transnational Social Activism

Transnational social activism is a field of transnational studies. Since the emergence of transnationalism as a concept, use of the concept has manifested in many different fields, notably migration studies (Kearney, 1995; Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Scanton, 1992; Mahler & Pessar, 2001); education (McKinley, 2012), queer liberationist studies (Collins & Talcott, 2011), feminist studies (Kim-Puri, 2005; Morales & Bejarano, 2009) and human rights (Merry, 2005). As a result, Olesen (2005) contends that transnationalism has become both too broad and used in too many different disciplines to provide a clear understanding across disciplines. Thus, I will contextualize transnationalism in my study.

Simplistically the word transnational can be thought of as crossing borders or moving beyond borders. Consequently, a transnational framework undertakes an examination of a physically or emotionally conjoined environment or space. In a transnational framework, the objects of consideration are physical and emotional spaces of similarity and borders with an emphasis on the ways that borders regulate or enforce rules. Michael Kearney, a scholar of transnational migration studies, understands that national borders and their various mechanisms play a significant role in defining social, economic, and political relationships (Rivera-Salgado, 2014). As Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt (2007) explain, transnationalism seeks to query the role that borders play and at the same time re-conceptualize such roles. Thus, borders are a significant component of transnational study.

Social movement scholars have articulated the importance of studying spaces and processes of transnationalism to understand transnational social activism (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Tarrow, 2005; Cunningham, 1999). The work and ideas of Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) are vital to studies of transnational social activism as their early and innovative work on Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) influenced several other social movement scholars.

In essence, Keck and Sikkink (1998) illuminated transnational social activism as a key involvement of NGOs and civil society.

Social movement scholars describe transnational social activism as “social movements, other civil society organizations and individuals operating across national borders” (Piper & Uhlin (2004) cited in Dufour, Masson, & Caouette, 2010). Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow (2005) instead define transnational collective action as a series of network campaigns directed toward other state actors or international institutions. Jeffrey Ayres and Sidney Tarrow (2002) draw a line between transnational social movements that use contentious politics and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that use more conventional means (Dufour, Masson, & Caouette, 2010). Joe Bandy (2006) also draws on Tarrow’s (2001) idea to explain that transnational movements occur when groups from at least two different nations share information, organizational resources, strategy and often, but not always, political interests and values. In this way, scholars place a different emphasis on the type of working relationships evident in transnational social activism by describing collective action as networks, campaigns, or joint strategies. Megan Threlkeld (2014) discusses the difference between internationalism and transnationalism. Transnational groups focus on topics that affect borders and bordered communities while internationalists consider bonds across borders with little regard for different contexts.

Further clarification of the organizations involved in transnational social activism is important. Transnational action can be categorized into a continuum of activity from informal cooperation in transnational networks to more formalized transnational coalitions and Transnational Social Movement Organizations (TSMOs). Louis Kriesberg (1997) differentiates between organizations that are seeking change to the status quo, such as TSMOs and social

movement organizations (SMOs), in contrast to international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) that may work to reinforce the status quo. While TSMOs work for profound structural change, there are also difficulties with their actualization on the world stage. They lack accountability to local constituencies, represent more than one state, and have a somewhat marginalized status in international platforms (Kriesberg, 1997).

Institutions are not the only transnational organism of study, as transnational identity is also important. Previous transnational studies are important groundings for my study as they bring together ideas around identity, white privilege, and reoccurring conflicts. During the Sanctuary movement, transnational identities were created as Sanctuary Movement workers criticized their U.S. identity and began to consider themselves as “beyond American” (Cunningham, 1999, p. 589). Weber’s (2009) transnational study of organizations working in Nicaragua and in the United States found evidence of white privilege among transnational activists operating in the United States. Other important studies of transnational social activism on the U.S.-Mexico border include Kathleen Staudt and Irasema Coronado’s *Fronteras No Mas: Social Justice at the Border* (2002) and Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith’s *Coalitions Across Borders: Transnational Protest and the Neoliberal Order* (2004). Both studies highlight recurring issues in the transnational setting of the U.S.-Mexican border including conflicts regarding identities, resources, power dynamics, and organizational cultures.

Transnationalism is used in multiple disciplines to understand the ways that people and organizations occupy multiple spaces and/or transcend boundaries. Transnational social activism is an area of study encompassing people and organizations in connected places or territories interrupted by borders. A transnational focus allows scholars to see beyond national boundaries

and consider the ways that territories and people are connected despite boundaries and/or divided by barriers as well as the many ways that barriers function.

Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is a complex process that works on many different levels to eliminate structural violence and create structural peace (Galtung, 1996). In order to create structural peace, grassroots peacebuilding espouses the presence and involvement of local people and institutions to design, implement, and assess peacebuilding efforts. Contemporary economic, political, and social systems can hamper peacebuilding efforts. In particular, the dominant capitalist system creates unequal systems of race and power. Capitalist states may assert their agenda through mechanisms of civil society including NGOs. In order to respond to these inequalities, peacebuilding practitioners may need to re-consider the coveted role of civil society in peacebuilding efforts. Creating new platforms for peace is a necessary agenda for peacebuilding (Lederach, 2012).

Peacebuilding is a complex and maturing discipline that has grown due to the theory-building and practice of many key practitioners and scholars including John Paul Lederach and Lisa Schirch. Peacebuilding practice and literature is increasingly describing complex peacebuilding models and the importance of local participation in peacebuilding design, execution, and evaluation. While peacebuilding offers considerable possibilities for local and international peace, the field is also highly influenced by the liberal peace paradigm, Eurocentric domination, and controversial roles for civil society.

Scholars from the multi-disciplinary field of peacebuilding have described the many-sided means and goals of peacebuilding. The work of Lederach is instrumental in characterizing peacebuilding as a set of processes by which multi-leveled societal actors seek to change the

structures and cultures of violence and build relationships among conflict parties (Lederach et al., 2007). Peacebuilding is also described as an active process of lessening violence and building the structures for just relationships among peoples. Lisa Schirch describes strategic, system-wide, and holistic peacebuilding which “empowers people to foster relationships that sustain people and their environment” (Schirch, 2014, p. 9). Peacebuilding seeks to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from violence in all forms, even structural violence that has not yet led to massive civil unrest (Richmond, 2014). Peacebuilding is about spreading power to people affected by conflict to develop life-giving relationships while also nourishing the environment.

Scholars differentiate between peacebuilding from above and peacebuilding from below. Peacebuilding from below, also known as grassroots peacebuilding, is rooted in local, contextualized processes, and decision-making groups. Peacebuilding from above depends on institutionalized professional peacebuilders to function (Pearce, 2005) and has a formulaic quality to it that Roger Mac Ginty (2008) likens to a product from Ikea. This type of peacebuilding is highly dependent on international NGOs and akin to statebuilding.

Peacebuilding has varied intermediary goals including relationship-building and strengthening bonds between actors on all levels of society. Relationship building is crucial for indigenous peacebuilding practitioner and scholar Marlon Sherman who advocates re-positioning processes of conflict resolution by placing importance on relationships (Sherman in Trujillo, 2008). Schirch (2004), Lederach (2007), and Loreleigh Keashly and Sean Byrne (2007) describe peacebuilding as requiring coordination on several levels of engagement. Specifically, Keashly and Byrne (2007) see a role for organizations internal and external to the conflict.

The work of Lederach and Schirch provide multiple levels of analysis and analytical tools for consideration by local peacebuilders. Lederach has designed several peacebuilding tools to assist grassroots peacebuilders' decision-making with situations of conflict and violence (1997, 2007). Of Lederach's many tools, the peacebuilding pyramid (1997) highlights the importance of situating multi-tiered actors in one of three large groups or tiers and furthermore reminds peacebuilders of the importance of assessing horizontal and vertical relationships to affect a particular conflict. Lederach et al. (2007) also highlight the need for individuals and organizations working within sites of conflict to develop their own theories of change. When local people participate in peacebuilding processes by developing theories of change they utilize power and keep solutions rooted in local possibilities. Lederach's elicitive model of conflict transformation, which encourages peacebuilders to look within the host culture or their own culture to see how peace or conflict resolution is already being nurtured, is also a helpful idea for building locally-rooted and culturally-appropriate change processes (Lederach, 1995).

Schirch's (2004) cycle of peacebuilding or Justpeace map categorizes different types of action, orientations, or goals needed to build peace. Each category requires a different set of actions and actors to advocate for change, decrease direct violence, strengthen capacities, and transform relationships. Actors are assumed to be civil society representatives who work to increase democratic participation and build the foundations for peace. By categorizing peacebuilding actions within Schirch's (2004) JustPeace map and using resources for peace in the areas affected by conflict, peacebuilding can build on the power of local traditions and the grassroots work of social movements.

Critiques of peacebuilding. While peacebuilding provides many tools of analysis, peacebuilding literature makes certain assumptions about the type of situations where

peacebuilding is needed or will function, the actors involved in change processes, and the actions needed to make that change occur. More specifically scholars assume meddling by international, mostly western actors in post-conflict situations with weak or nonexistent civil society and where such actors are assumed to possess some of the knowledge to move countries from post-conflict chaos to a path for development and peacebuilding (Chandler, 2010; Hillhorst & van Leeuwen, 2005; Orjuela, 2003). These actors are also assumed to connect the local work of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with the larger frames of international donor agencies or advocacy organizations in order to ensure funding (Chandler, 2010; Pearce, 2005).

Although peacebuilding has been studied in situations of structural violence, much of the literature on peacebuilding makes assumptions about the types of conflict and the time period when peacebuilding is helpful. Peacebuilding literature demonstrates the importance of peacebuilding in inter-state and intra-state wars as well as in post-conflict, that time when fighting has ended and peace accords are moving forward (Chandler, 2010; Hilhorst & van Leeuwen, 2005; Orjuela, 2003).

Francis (2010) critiques peacebuilding within a war system and notes that “the notion of peacebuilding has been further co-opted into the pacification agenda by being focused on the mopping-up operations and ‘nation-building’ that are meant to complete the business of hegemonic wars” (p.72). Peacebuilding is conceived as happening in democratizing societies, places that are war-torn, post-conflict, and developing. In essence, peacebuilding is theorized to work in places where the state has to be built. In these cases, peacebuilding is undergirded with a liberal approach to change, concerned about state building to strengthen emerging democracies.

Increasing local participation in top down peacebuilding efforts is a current concern and repercussion of the overuse of the influential liberal peace theory (Richmond, 2014). Local

participants and inclusion of local cultures are consistently absent in peacebuilding endeavors from design to evaluation. The liberal peace paradigm is undergirded by the notion that capitalist democracies will not go to war with one another; this paradigm depends on outsiders to come into a given situation with peacebuilding expertise and very little knowledge of the cultural traditions and context of violence (J. P. Lederach et al., 2007). The push for local participation in peacebuilding design, execution, and review is a response to the lack of local conceptualizations and participation in peacebuilding. Denskus (2007) writes about the negative impacts of the lack of local contextualization in peacebuilding initiatives.

Denskus (2007) also critiques industrial, de-contextualized peacebuilding initiatives where professional peacebuilders are called into respond and develop plans based on superficial information and understanding. In these situations, de-contextualized peacebuilding has become an enterprise of flitting around the world to provide the latest fix for ongoing problems of society's inabilities to come into modernity.

Alex deWaal also critiques the work of outside professionals who can do more harm than good. The work of outsiders does not necessarily help to build political accountability nor does their work get to the root of the issues. The professional outsider termed "humanitarian international" by Alex de Waal (as found in Lynch, 2013) is undergirded by neoliberal frames, discourse, and ideologies.

Peacebuilding has been informed and dominated by Eurocentric thinking and there are many aspects of peacebuilding that have not been adequately examined by those experiencing peacebuilding interventions. Latin American postcolonial scholar, Anibal Quijano (2000) decries ongoing colonization in all aspects of life. Quijano (2000) names the multi-level impacts of colonialism in an ongoing pattern of power domination as the colonality of power. He describes

how this colonial way of thinking is evident in the strict racial breakdown of labor in a capitalist system that permeates the globe. He explains that racial categories created during colonization, came to be seen as natural or uncontested ways of organizing society and as a result he contends that race is scarcely understood or conceptualized. He also explains how colonial enterprises decided what knowledge was important or worthy and simplified or denigrated the knowledge and wisdom of indigenous communities throughout the Americas. Quijano's (2000) concept of a coloniality of power helps to illustrate some of the larger forces at work in the global system, including economic and social systems stratified by race. While Quijano is not a scholar or practitioner of peacebuilding, he provides great insights for the growing edges of a field which seeks re-direction and movement away from neoliberalism.

Even peacebuilding which seeks to work in democracies with high levels of structural violence is undergirded with liberal assumptions that an active civil society will work toward curing the ills of such violence (Chandler, 2010; Pearce, 2005). Civil society is understood to work for the "good" of society and to create structures that will provide a strong infrastructure for peace systems (Orjuela, 2003). David Chandler (2010) problematizes civil society in the peacebuilding apparatus. He indicates that western theories of peacebuilding assess the possibilities of peace based on the strength of civil society where strong civil society represents a high degree of modernization (Chandler, 2010). Furthermore, Chandler and Pearce argue that civil society is an attempt by western powers to make people more rational and attuned to western way of development. Jantzi and Jantzi (2009) also correlate peacebuilding schemes to development theories and notice a similar trajectory.

In addition to querying the role of civil society in pushing a development or modernization approach, civil society is also contested as it may, at times, represent the state.

Nation states provide some funding for NGOs and NGOs are often integral components of civil society. Thus, the state may be present through civil society and in some cases an important actor in community life through NGOs (Dolhinow, 2007).

Due to these substantial considerations for clarity and transparency in the role of peacebuilding actors, Lederach proposes moving from an understanding of civil society as the implicit infrastructure for peace to creating or honoring a more ambiguous platform for peace (Lederach, 2012). This more ambiguous platform for peace is not necessarily created through institutions; yet the platform represents an undefined opening for change.

My study is informed by these substantial critiques of peacebuilding as processes led by outsiders to conform to neoliberal systems. In this research, I do not conceive of myself as an outsider as I utilize engaged ethnography and develop relationships with research participants. My years of on-the-ground experience and relationship-building with movement actors is another way that I seek to act as an insider rather than an outsider. I also conceive of peacebuilding as a grassroots process aided by the occasional talent of outsiders. I chose to interview participants who had worked in the movement for a minimum of two years, one way in which participants attain informal insider status. I also chose to interview some participants not involved in civil society or social movement organizations to gain perspectives from outside of the mainstream. My focus on interviewing participants of color, Mexicans, other indigenous groups, members of the LGBTQ community, and more women than men is an attempt to move from a Eurocentric male lens to consider voices from the margins. I also utilized reflective ethnographic processes which contribute to a different analytical lens.

While I apply a framework or theoretical lens of peacebuilding to the transnational border justice movement, it is important to note that transnational social movement actors in the

borderlands do not necessarily theorize about building peace. Many organizations in the borderlands are oriented toward political and social change, largely nonviolent social change, rather than guided by notions of wanting to build peace. I utilize peacebuilding frameworks as I find them helpful to consider the long-term work of people and organizations working to end migrant deaths in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

Intersections: Social Movement and Peacebuilding Literature

Up until this point, I have considered social movement and peacebuilding literature separately. There are many connections between sources of literature and in practice many places where scholars of both disciplines could gain from more consistent interaction. In fact, influential compilations and studies, one by Smith and Verdeja (2013) and another by Burdick, Roy, and Kriesberg (2010) outline some commonalities between the fields and open spaces for systematic connections. While providing some input on these influential studies, I will also explore the ways that these two fields see civil society and social movement actors differently and consider the importance of activist or peacebuilder identity in transnational social activism.

Smith and Verdeja (2013) explain why scholars of social movements and peacebuilding need to intersect more consistently. In particular, they recognize that economic globalization as a worldwide structure of power, affects peacebuilding efforts and they argue that social movements are the organism that has made this inequality more apparent (Smith & Verdeja, 2013). Peacebuilders need to work with the masses attempting change and widen the lens to study a larger array of actors working for change. Secondly, they support investigating how different change agents or social movement actors use power within the larger relationships between the state and civil society (Smith & Verdeja, 2013). Peacebuilding can be a collective activity engaged in by civil society and grassroots peoples.

Burdick, Roy, and Kriesberg (2010) spark a dialogue between scholars of peacebuilding¹² and social movements and suggest that each field may be amplified by learning from the other. The authors suggest that peacebuilders consider hegemonic power issues, studying how structural power affects many spaces where people interact. The underlying idea is to recognize that power asymmetries complicate trust (Roy, Burdick, & Kriesberg, 2010). Ultimately, the authors make a strong case that more research is needed in both peacebuilding and social movements to identify how power works in identities, cultures, and organizations.

Social movement theories and peacebuilding concepts have historically studied two different but sometimes overlapping sets of actors. Different theories put different kind of actors in the forefront. Social movement theories study the actions of social movement organizations, coalitions, and grassroots individuals while transnational social action brings in additional foci on borders and connections cross borders. Peacebuilding has traditionally focused on important civil society actors with an emphasis on nongovernmental organizations and their representatives instead of studying loosely bound or more grassroots social movement organizations.

In social movement literature, civil society is considered a questionable and mammoth force. Harsha Walia (2013), who studies autonomous grassroots movements for human liberation, contends that there are major differences between actions of solidarity intended to provoke social change and social service which are in the purview of civil society and NGOs. Walia, like other social movement scholars, groups civil society with NGOs as service providers instead of change agents. Social movement scholar Aziz Choudry (2010) reasons that governments use civil society to build stability, making civil society less radical and less of an alternative for those that are seeking significant structural change. Choudry (2010) contends that

¹² While the authors talk about conflict resolution, I have changed the wording to peacebuilding as the fields are closely related.

civil society encourages self-interest over collective rights and seeks to survive, thrive, and grow in conflict to become more significant while social movement organizations seek to accomplish, change, and reduce their role or disappear. When NGOs focus on gaining power to influence those above them, distance grows between them and their organizing base (Incite, 2016). NGOs have also led to the proliferation of organizations and to, what some scholars call, the non-profit industrial complex. The non-profit industrial complex creates professional NGO workers who also interact in social movement spaces leading to “spaces of alienation” for non-professional activists (Hudig & Dowling, 2013).

Esteves, Motta, and Cox (2009) also advocate for the study of social movement organizations as opposed to civil society. Similar to Choudry’s ideas that civil society actors are not radical, Esteves, et al. (2009) argue that civil society is composed of elite members of society that are not working to break social injustices but rather function as enforcement mechanisms of the status quo. Further, they argue that civil society has a cozy financial relationship with the state and even draws participants and frames from elite civil society leaders (Esteves et al., 2009). In this conceptualization, social movements and not civil society are the mechanisms for momentum toward structural change while peacebuilding is considered an activity of an elite group rather than the grassroots (Esteves et al., 2009).

Peacebuilding assigns a significant role to organizations of civil society as peacebuilding agents while social movement theorists question the legitimacy of civil society to work for structural change. Due to the close connection between civil society and the state, social movement theories focus on social movement organizations and other loosely coalesced groups working for systemic change.

Identity. Identity is an integral component of both peacebuilding (Orjuela, 2008) and social movement research (Jasper, 2014; Reger, Myers, & Einwohner, 2008; Polleta & Jasper, 2001; Taylor & Whittier, 1992; Melucci, 1995). Often the identity of people in conflict is studied by peacebuilding researchers while the identity of the peacebuilder(s) is less queried. In social movement research and as noted earlier in the chapter, collective identity is integral to understanding the ways that participants organize and work for change.

Identity can be looked at through an individual lens and particular components of identity, consciousness, or sense of agency used to understand motivation and dynamics (Kilgore, 1999). In addition to studying collective identity, a study of personal identity assists to examine other aspects of movement dynamics and to focus on relationships and power-sharing. As social movements have freedom to reshape relationships among actors and work outside systems undergirded with neoliberal ideas (Lynch, 2013), marginalized persons may become visible. Social movements can thus study how marginalized persons use power and investigate ways that people with more societal power wield that resource.

Allies. Social movement scholars study identity to comprehend the different roles played by allies, people with social power in the context of a particular movement (Koopman, 2008; Kraemer, 2007). Daniel Myers (2008) describes those not directly affected by the outcome of a particular movement as allies as they are neither expecting nor need to benefit directly. Allies or people with ally identities are involved in social movements and have the ability to remove their political identification at will and without fear of repercussions. To counteract this use of power, Sara Koopman (2008) suggests that allies use creative tools to transform tiered power structures so as not to reproduce societal hierarchies based on race, gender, sexual orientation, and other identity characteristics. Kelly Kraemer (2007) and Sara Koopman (2008) recommend that allies

understand the dynamics of power and privilege through an assessment of the tools used to make change. Exploring ally identities elucidates further dynamics of power.

In peacebuilding literature, the identity of peacebuilders is often presumed and yet identities fluctuate (Orjuela, 2007). While some people may have stable identities or conceptions of identity categories like race, gender, or sexual orientation, individual understanding of identities change which impacts peacebuilding and social movements. Personal conceptions of identity change as do collective identities. Collective identities may be geared around a particular idea at one time and may change over time.

One way to frame a connection between the study of identity in peacebuilding and social movements is to study power and identity in a social emancipation framework put forth by Smith and Verdeja (2013). They propose a model which “emphasizes the structural analysis of power relations and examines possibilities for excluded groups to exercise agency, in contrast to less politicized forms of peacebuilding empowerment” (Smith & Verdeja, 2013, p. 16).

Peacebuilding activists and scholars must understand social power and their own role within power structures to mediate compounding effects. This frame is an important consideration for my work as I study the ways that various social movement actors use power.

Peacebuilding and social movement theorists study similar processes of change from different vantage points. Social movements focus on social movement organizations and unaffiliated individuals working for structural change while peacebuilding has historically studied the privileged role of civil society working toward change. In conversation, peacebuilders and social activists can learn from each other, gaining awareness of how different foci lead to different solutions. Furthermore, analysis of power in terms of identity and structures can lead towards further realizations of barriers to change.

Summary

The literature of critical whiteness studies, peacebuilding, and social movements unlocks doors of analysis regarding the border justice movement. Peacebuilding models help to locate different ways that grassroots and civil society actors are working on multiple levels for change as well as the ways that structural violence limits human potential. Social movement literature explores the ways that SMOs organize for and enact change. Within each of these bodies of literature are theories that help to make power more visible. Within social movement literature, cultural theories of gender, intersectionality, standpoint theory, collective identity, and knowledge production help to illustrate ways that power works. The multi-institutional mode of analysis also widens the lens to see how various cultural regimes or authorities wield power. In peacebuilding, different models of analysis provide for an awareness of the ways that organizations operate and focus on different tasks in a peacebuilding agenda. Specific models or ways of studying the power of the peacebuilder or how power is managed by other actors, is needed.

When approached together, peacebuilding and transnational social movement literature intersect and can learn from one another, especially in regards to identifying borders and placing importance on identity. Critical whiteness studies provides additional lens to understand the ways that power and whiteness work together to create white superiority. Using these analytical lenses is important in this study of identity and peacebuilding in the transnational border justice movement at the U.S.-Mexico border.

Chapter 6

Affected Identities

¡Desconocido! ¡Desconocida! ¡Deconocido/a! I stood midway up on a 10-foot ladder and received each lovingly-painted, white cross from a storage area overflowing with remembrances of the dead. I grasped each cross, breathed the carefully-painted name, and laid these mementos in a transportable green crate. I counted as we gathered—45 crosses for our upcoming journey on the Migrant Trail. As I handled copious crosses labeled “Desconocido,” “Desconocida,” or “Desconocido/a” I was overwhelmed—so many lives lost in the desert. The “desconocido” crosses represent the unknown, people whose recovered remains are too scant to identify neither by name nor some by sex. I struggled with these crosses. As we walk to remember the dead, we cannot call out names because their names are not known. We cannot even call out a sex for that is also unknown. Who are these people and who and what have they left behind?

In this chapter, I explore identity as articulated by research participants. I draw from participants’ explanation of initial connections to border justice activities and from other conversations regarding identity that emerged in interviews. In particular, I reveal participants’ personal conceptions of identity and begin to correlate such ideas with participants’ approach to border justice activities; with this focus, I aim to uncover connections between personal and collective identity processes. This section lays the groundwork to consider how border justice participants understand their individual and collective identities and the impact of such identities and corresponding approaches on operations and functions of the border justice movement. Furthermore, I begin to query how movement identities and operations influence peacebuilding strategies in the region.

Participants in the border justice movement come from several parts of the United States, Mexico, and Canada as well as a few other countries. Activists rally under the call to end migrant deaths while others also call for a restoration of human rights and an end to the humanitarian crisis in the borderlands. While many interview participants are involved in humanitarian work such as delivering water to migrant trails and providing first aid to migrants in distress, others focus on political activities—planning protest actions and engaging in advocacy against laws which criminalize undocumented persons and racially police people of color. Individuals pursue an array of activities under the banner of border justice and approach their work in unique ways. In this section, I identify the different approaches that participants employ and, in particular, study how personal conceptions of identity influence such approaches.

Most participants of color note the detrimental impacts of border policies on their lives and communities. While participants of color do not use the term “racialized” to explain or describe this aspect of identity, participants spoke about recognizing that they are regularly affected by ongoing racial profiling, stereotyping, and denigration of their Mexican-American and/or Latino cultural heritage and furthermore that their daily experiences contrast with the experiences of white participants. I name these participants of Latino, Mexican, or indigenous origin whose personal experiences and connection to injustices in the borderlands create fervent grievance for justice as affected individuals. I use the words affected and racialized to describe such participants of color.¹³

The label I affix to another set of participants, primarily white individuals, is based on the input of white participants and their particular approach to border justice. Many white activists

¹³ I use the terms affected, racialized, and persons of color interchangeably. While each term has different meanings and connotations, I am referring to research participants who are affected by racialized state policies. In some cases, I utilize the term ‘persons of color’ as a group identity as that is a term that some participants used when talking about aspects of their identity and group identification.

narrate their entry into border justice through a lens of humanitarianism and peace and justice activism. Thus, I label another set of participants as white and peace-and-justice activists.

These two groups 1) affected and racialized participants and 2) white and peace-and-justice activist sometimes overlap and not all participants fit neatly into these groups. Individuals have characteristics and perspectives that challenge assigned categories. Nonetheless, I employ this categorization because participants of color self-identified as people who are affected by state and federal policies that criminalize race. I also employ this categorization to become more attentive to those who are most susceptible to detrimental racialized policies and to inquire about the ways that racialized and non-racialized individuals approach their work uniquely.

In this chapter, I examine the perspectives of affected and racialized participants and white and peace-and-justice activists. I show how participants approach identity in diverse ways. Each individual shares a story about how their identity speaks to the work they are doing. In concluding this section, I propose that identities within the border justice movement are complex processes compounded by multiple and collective identities.

Affected and Racialized Participants

Participants shared personal stories about how they came to work in border justice and for many of them, some aspect of identity was integral to their entry to the movement. For some affected and racialized participants, working for border justice is a way of life. For others, their involvement stems from the personal impact of border policies and an obligation to respond to the injustices they have experienced. For others, it is their identity as immigrants that shape their approach and yet others found their way to border justice through the church and profound personal and socio-political transformations. Affected and racialized persons understand and

describe their identity in border justice movement activities in many different ways and with a variety of emotions.

Two affected and racialized persons, Sol and Marco, share a conviction that they are not activists. Sol is not an activist because activists are white people. Sol is adamant that she is not an activist and does not want to be seen as an activist. Sol's work in border justice is not something that she sees as a choice, but rather something that she is and does. She explains that being an activist is a preference for white people and not for people of color. "For white people, activism is a choice. For people of color, it is not. This is a way of life." In this explanation, Sol identifies as a person of color who participates in border justice as an integral part of her life. Sol's dedication to border justice is evident through her voiced commitment to participate actively throughout her lifetime:

If I am really willing to walk along with people, if I am really walking with integrity and compassion and love, it's gonna be a way of life for me. It's not something that I choose.

Where do I get involved? Or how long do I get involved? It is a way of life.

Sol emphasizes that she dislikes the activist label to define the work that she does since being involved is a way of life. Sol sees herself as personally affected by issues of border justice and thus by virtue of being affected, she is also an actor for change. While not all people of color who dwell on the border conceive of themselves in the same way, another participant also loathes the activist label.

Marco dislikes the activist label and also names his borderlands justice work as a way of life. In fact, he sees himself as a person affected by current border and immigration policies and he actively minimizes the distinction between migrants and humanitarians. He is proud to identify as the sole Mexican person working in two border humanitarian organizations, "*De*

México, soy el único.”¹⁴ He also notes that he sees the face of his ancestors in the young people who are currently applying for DACA and identifies as a migrant since his father and grandfather were agricultural migrant workers. Marco also insists that his work building relationships in the border region is real and not abstract as it is for others. He goes on to say that as a person familiar with dynamics in Mexico, it is easier for him to understand current realities.

Josefina stresses her identity as an affected Latina living in Tucson as a compelling reason for involvement in border justice activities. As a volunteer human rights promoter, Josefina’s rapid ascent into activism has been fuelled by frustration about happenings in her community and growing awareness of grassroots movement to fight destructive policies. She notes that she cannot minimize or disregard the enormous cost that state and federal policies are having on her life as she is directly affected. “I can’t look the other way or feel like *pobrecita*”¹⁵ because I am feeling it.” By noting that she is personally affected, Josefina connects the sociopolitical realities of the border to her daily life. Additionally, she not only wants to do something about the border situation because she is angry but she must do something because she is harmed by the laws and xenophobia governing the border.

Luz also sees herself as an affected activist. She explains that her mom was a farm worker, her dad was an immigrant who arrived from Mexico in his youth, and her daughter’s father was undocumented. Personally, Luz identifies as multiply marginalized, “in this triple minority box.” She clarifies those minority characteristics as being brown, being a woman, and forming part of the LGBTQ community. She also identifies as an activist, having been introduced into activism through personal experiences where she helped friends get released from Border Patrol custody. Unlike others, Luz also sees herself and the work she is doing as part of a movement.

¹⁴ I am the only one from Mexico.

¹⁵ Literally translated as poor thing; someone who deserves pity.

Furthermore, Luz recognizes her responsibilities to be involved in making change since she was born in the United States and has a commitment to relationships across international borders:

I was born in the United States but really feeling this intrinsic connection to people across the border and not just in Mexico, in Latin America, and with immigrants, feeling that sense of responsibility for their safety, for their life, for their well-being, and why they are coming here.

Luz also discusses the current denigration of racialized peoples under Arizona policies as that which is happening to “us.” She clearly identifies as one that is affected:

I remember being in high school and prop 201 in Arizona came into effect where it was limiting bilingual education, and beginning to identify root causes of what was happening here to us, to Brown people.

Luz also comments that she feels a profound sense of injustice for her family and friends. Workplace raids disturbed her social group in high school as some of her friends were placed into deportation proceedings. Luz is both activist and an affected person.

Alejandra is the only respondent who described her status and entrance to border justice activities in southern Arizona as a migrant person who was at one time “undocumented in a way.” Originally from northern Sonora, for years she lived and worked out of southern Arizona and traveled frequently between the United States and Mexico. While she worked in both countries, she lacked legal work authorization for U.S. employment and lived in fear that her undocumented status would be discovered. She shared the truth of her undocumented status with a mentor who helped her find volunteer, study, and leadership opportunities. After volunteering with a community organization and regularizing her employment status, Alejandra eventually moved into a leadership position with a nongovernmental organization on the U.S. side of the

border. As a person from Mexico who lived in fear of others learning her status, she knows the fear and apprehension of affected individuals.

While Milagros' entry into community activism in Nogales, Sonora, in the 1980s was not because she was touched by immigration policies or racialized policing, over the years she has come to understand the macro context of migration and identify with migrants. Milagros was seeking advice for her marriage problems when her parish priest told her that she should become involved in social justice. As she became involved with migrants and social justice activities, she began a personal transformation, gaining a new attitude and appreciation for her family with less focus on consumerism. "When I began to see the kinds of problems they had, I began to value my family." She notes that she was no longer interested in procuring brand name jeans for her children. Instead she saw what she terms "real issues" of people experiencing poverty and violence.

During her initial years of work with migrants, Milagros housed several individuals and families in her home for a few days to several months. She engaged in conversations with migrants about the reasons they were migrating and today tries to put herself in the metaphoric shoes of people who are crossing. She says that she contemplates what it would be like to be the woman left behind by a husband or the woman who feels that she has to give herself to men sexually in order to survive the crossing. By trying to put herself in the shoes of affected individuals, she conveys a deep identification with the pain and the tortuous decisions that migrants make. Milagros' work among migrants in northern Sonora has transformed her to identify politically with vulnerable and dispossessed individuals.

Similar to Milagros, Nica's entrance into issues of justice and ultimately to border justice activities was through the Catholic Church. Nica talks about the political transformation she

underwent when she became aware of the injustices facing migrant workers in the United States and subsequently worked with migrants on a variety of nonviolent action campaigns. In this solidarity work, Nica identifies as an ally and understands that as an economically and educationally privileged individual of color she is not directly affected. In her work in the borderlands, Nica sees herself as an organizer and program coordinator of initiatives for border justice. Nica also explains how her entrance into border justice organizing has been shaped by strong women mentors who allowed her to appreciate different types of organizing efforts like woman- or queer-led spaces and spaces created specifically for people of color.

Whereas Nica underwent a personal social justice transformation as an adult, Rebeca was nurtured as an activist from an early age. Rebeca's father, originally from Sonora, Mexico, organized for better labor conditions in Arizona's mines. Rebeca indicates that his immigrant experiences influence her identity and she sees herself as part of a current-day immigrant family. Repudiating a prominent societal norm that those who are currently without documents are decidedly different from those documented immigrants or U.S. citizens, Rebeca metaphorically includes current immigrants into her family saying, "Our family is coming back." She also uses "we" to refer to herself and Mexicans and does not distinguish between documented and undocumented immigrants. Rebeca sees herself as part of a community or family of immigrants and thus clearly identifies as an affected individual.

While Ralph does not identify as an affected individual, his identity as an indigenous person whose people preceded Mexican dominance in the region is important. Ralph does not want to be seen as a politicized person of Mexican descent nor part of a group of indigenous Mexican peoples; he considers such identifications insulting. He speaks passionately about his

identity as an indigenous person, “Do not insult me and call me Chicano.”¹⁶ Do not insult me and say that indigenous people are part of the nation of Aztlán.¹⁷ We are not.” Ralph also identifies as part of Tucson’s social justice community; he attends meetings of a variety of humanitarian and human rights organization and is active in putting out water for migrants and recruiting individuals to become involved as humanitarians. Ultimately, Ralph recognizes both his specific indigenous and humanitarian identities.

Affected and racialized individuals participating in border justice activities approach their work and identities from diverse angles. Sol and Marco speak of their work on the border as part of a lifelong commitment to justice. Josefina cites her personal experiences of injustice and motivating emotions of fear and anger in regards to the socio-political situation in the borderlands as obliging her involvement. Luz approaches border justice with recognition of her privilege and responsibility due to U.S. citizenship, as a person concerned about peace and justice and as one whose life has been intimately affected by racialized policies. For Rebeca, involvement is a result of her family life and a personal identification with immigrants. The involvement of Nica and Milagros can be seen as the result of personal, political, and social transformations, and identification with people whose lives have been shaped by injustices in the borderlands. Lastly, Ralph calls on his indigenous identity as different from Latinos and his identity as a humanitarian to frame his approach. While each of these individuals has a unique approach to border justice work, their identity as ones that have been affected in one way or another is salient.

¹⁶ Chicanos are Mexican-American peoples or people of Mexican descent who affirm a politicized identity as a person working for the empowerment of Mexican-Americans.

¹⁷ Chicano activists popularized this notion that southwest U.S. land (Aztlán) that was previously under Mexican rule would revert to Mexico or Mexican peoples. Historically, Aztlán was considered the birthplace of the Aztec or Mexican people.

White and Peace-And-Justice Activists

While participants of color spoke at length about the ways they were affected by border policies and noted their racial identity as integral, white activists explain their approach to border justice in broad terms of humanitarianism and peace and justice. Several white participants note their identity as activists drawing from a concern for making the world a better place and helping. A few white activists emphasize their white identity and acknowledge privilege as integral to their border justice experience. Overall, white participants seem to speak less about racial identity as motivating factors for their involvement in border justice.

A group of three white participants identify as peace-and-justice activists and use that label to talk about their initial involvement. Mike explains how becoming involved in border justice issues was a natural extension of his life's work, "I have been involved in social issues, peace and justice issues, probably all my life." Jim comments that he is a humanitarian and approaches his work through that identity. Susana, on the other hand, indicates that she has been involved in social work for justice and has been helping people for many years of her life. Her identity as a 'helper' frames her connection to work. While Dita identifies as a peace-and-justice activist, she also clarifies her racial identity as a person of privilege, "I'm Anglo. I'm privileged." While Dita notes her privilege as a sidebar, Jenna goes into more detail about the ways that privilege operates and defines her approach to border justice.

Jenna discusses the power of privileged social locations as informing her involvement. As a white university student, she spent time becoming acquainted with individuals along the border:

And the very interesting perspectives talking with people who lived within the U.S.-
Mexico border region and how remarkably different that was based not only on class,

position, but what side of the line they lived on. And kind of what their relationship to the border and specifically border enforcement was.

Jenna noticed that people had different experiences with border enforcement based on who they were and where they lived in relation to the border.

She goes on to explain how she desires a local and appropriate role in movement activities. She wants a role where she is accountable to others for the work that she is doing. In her current role working in collaboration with community organizations in southern Arizona, she is finding ways to be accountable. She also notes that shifts in her work have occurred as a result of her increasing awareness of race and its impact on social, political, and economic systems. From several years of humanitarian work in the desert, to community organizing work on political campaigns, and ultimately to awareness-raising about racism embedded in state policies, she notes that her work has changed as a result of recognizing identity and the impact of racialized policies on many residents of southern Arizona.

Kelly, another white participant, concedes that she does not worry about her family getting stopped or arrested by local police or Border Patrol because of her white skin color. She knows that she is not personally at risk to be affected by racialized policies. However, she does identify as part of LGBTQ and religious communities. Her initial involvement as a leader in a religious community brought her to border justice work while another momentous event, her partner's role as an expert witness in the case of an LGBTQ refugee claimant, was also significant in her entry into border activism. While Kelly's LGBTQ identity may be considered a marginalized location from which to participate in border justice activities, ultimately, she recognizes that her involvement in border justice is different because her white skin is socially privileged.

White participants did not speak as emotively or extensively about their identities and corresponding approach to border justice. Perhaps this is because U.S. society has privileged white people to think that they do not have a racial identity or because white people do not recognize the influence of whiteness on their everyday lives. In fact, privilege operates to make a particular identity the norm, not questioned, nor a point of contention (Cabrera, 2014). White participants do not need to explain who they are in as much detail or with as much fervency as participants of color. White experiences are less questioned or questionable. Jenna, Kelly, and Dita are three white participants cognizant and expressive of their racial identity. Other white participants did not speak so pointedly about their race. Whether that is, as Josefina pointed out, because white people do not often like to be confronted with their racial identity or because they do not think about themselves as people with a race or for many other social or political reasons, white racial identity does not seem to be an identity with which white participants readily recognize.

White participants, some of whom identify as activists, have different stories to share about their involvement. They often frame their approach to border justice as something they do because they are peace-and-justice activists, helpers, and humanitarians. A few white participants acknowledge white privilege as a salient factor in their involvement as they accept that they are not directly affected by racialized policies or policing and come to movement activities with white-skinned privilege. Other white participants did not speak about their involvement in terms of race or racial identity.

Identity Complexities

Participants vary in the ways that they talk about who they are and why they are involved in the border justice movement. Participants of color note that they are affected by policies and

the current situation in the borderlands. Sol and Marco see their work as part of who they are and their ongoing responsibility to build justice. Josefina is angry about the current situation in the borderlands and wants to make change for herself and her community. Luz knows intimately the ways that her family and community have been affected by racialized policies and senses her responsibility as a U.S. citizen to make change. Rebeca deeply identifies with immigrants and Nica and Milagros experienced intense political and social transformations to identify with people facing injustices in the borderlands. Ralph, as an indigenous activist, frames his approach through a peace and justice lens. White participants Jim, Mike, and Susana frame their approach to border justice as something they do because they are peace-and-justice activists, helpers, and humanitarians. Dita, Jenna, and Kelly acknowledge white privilege as a salient factor differentiating their involvement. Ultimately, participants cannot be identified solely by their skin or gender. As all humans are complex so is the way that we name and identify ourselves. Peoples' identities are multi-faceted, complex and indivisible, and there are many motivating factors for their involvement.

The narratives on identity that Luz, Mike, and Jim share illustrate this complexity. Luz, the daughter of a Mexican immigrant and a migrant worker, recognizes different aspects of her identity which make up the whole of who she is. She asserts her wholeness as a Brown woman and that she is not separately a woman and separately a person of Mexican descent. She also identifies as part of the LGBTQ community, as a U.S. citizen, and as a mother. Each of these identities appear important to Luz. She discusses how such identities allow her to connect across lines of difference.

In fact, Luz insists that she is a stronger person as a result of recognizing her multiple identities as these different identities allow her to connect and create relationships of solidarity.

She explains that as individuals begin to identify on different levels with different aspects of their identity, they begin to feel more responsible:

You start to really look into those things more, you start to feel more that responsibility, so much more compounded and so much more profoundly.

For Luz, recognizing multiple identities implies feeling responsible to connect with people, some of whom she may connect with because of similar racial or gender experiences or because they both identify within a particular community. She has seen this dynamic at play among youth, those who identify as LBGTQ, those who are undocumented, and those who are both LBGTQ and undocumented. Such youth connect across boundaries of similarity and difference dependent on multiple forms of identity. Thus, Luz highlights how leveraging intersecting identities can assist in connecting people across gulfs of difference.

In contrast, one white male participant appears uncomfortable with recognizing multiple identities. Jim adamantly affirms that his humanitarian work is because he is a humanitarian. He is hesitant to indicate other aspects of his identity and their influence on his humanitarian work. In particular, when discussing the influence of his sexual identity on border justice activities, he is resolute that being gay has nothing to do with his involvement. He emphatically states, “I don’t do my humanitarian work as a gay man.” Jim clarifies that if he is working on a gay or lesbian issue then he does that justice work from his identity as a gay man.

But I never saw it as terms of being a gay man doing this. I never experienced that there was any connection. Ah, and I guess I never felt a need to be a gay man if I’m involved in an issue.

Border justice then is not a gay or lesbian issue for him.

Jim explains further that his participation on the fringes of Sanctuary Movement activities in the 1980s did not elicit a connection between his sexual identity and the work that he was doing. Jim's partner, Mike clarifies that they live their sexual identities in a subdued fashion.

We are not, in-your-face gay men, anywhere, which is why I think we have never had trouble with the hospital or social groups.

Jim and Mike profess that they keep their sexual identity separate from their border activism, likely a necessity in years past.

While Mike and Jim do not contemplate identity connections like Luz, they may be hesitant to explore such connections due to the impact and complications with what Rich (1980) terms compulsory heterosexuality. Arizona state policies outlawed marriage for same sex couples¹⁸; non-heterosexual persons face stigma (Herek, 2004). Regardless, it is interesting to note this difference in stark contrast to Luz who self-reflectively declares her multiple marginalities and contemplates the connections among her many identities. Perhaps Luz is influenced by liberatory identity conceptualizations of the *New Mestiza* as described by Gloria Anzaldúa (1997). Mike and Jim are more comfortable with a single identifier as humanitarians engaged in helping migrants.

This discussion on single and multiple identifiers examining the perspectives of Luz, Mike, and Jim who have varying degrees of comfort with multiply identity factors illustrates the complexity of identity and how identity may shape participant approaches to border justice work. Luz as an affected and racialized individual calls on multiple identities to connect across lines of difference while white participants and peace-and-justice activists, Mike and Jim, rely on their humanitarian commitments to approach border justice action.

¹⁸ Arizona Proposition 102 outlawing same-sex marriage was passed in 2008 and only overturned after the completion of this research in 2014.

Collective Identity

There are also initiatives to create a more inclusive collective identity among border dwellers and border justice participants. Such a collective identity would amplify a united voice to speak against harmful policies. In the summer of 2012, the Border Network for Human Rights hosted a two-day conference, *We the Border: Envisioning a New Narrative*, in El Paso, Texas, where participants from both sides of the border and multiple Mexican and U.S. states were encouraged to see and name themselves as part of the border. As a collective identity, “we the border” attempts to put a human face to people living and working in the borderlands. One of the conference promoters contemplates that a collective naming may help lessen an “us-versus-them” divide within border communities. Sol suggests the need to see beyond personal identities to a collective and questions, “When are we going to stop seeing them and us and start seeing us as a community of people that need each other?” A collective identity is a way to bridge the divide and consider how we are all impacted by what occurs in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

While this collective identity is intriguing, there are difficulties in persuading border justice participants to re-frame their identity in terms of the border. The “we the border” classification is made difficult by disagreements about who or what constitutes the border and the degree of militarization experienced by border dwellers. Mark, a white participant in southern Arizona, indicates that people living and working in Tucson are not really close enough to the border to consider themselves ‘the border.’ He indicates that Tucsonans have to drive many miles to provide water to people walking in the desert and he implies that Tucson is disconnected from the daily realities of border militarization because Border Patrol has a significant presence in southern Arizona.¹⁹ Mark infers that physical distance is a socio-political

¹⁹ For more about the militarization of the borderlands and the state of Arizona, see Chapter 2: The Sonoran Borderlands.

rift disqualifying some from an identity as part of the border. Some participants may be willing to see themselves as part of the border community; however, this collective identity is not widespread.

While “we the border” is not an identity embraced by all and many participants are more likely to identify as humanitarians and human rights activists, this may also be the result of the proliferation of work for social change in the borderlands. There is not one cohesive movement in the borderlands but people fighting for many causes and from many identity intersections, including immigrant rights, human rights, and humanitarian aid. With both the diversity and commonality of causes, an overlap of participants and some people who are plugged into several issues at once, there is not one identity that connects participants.

On one hand, studying multiple and collective identities and in particular how participants negotiate various identity factors, may be helpful for considering ways for participants to connect across lines of difference. Luz utilizes her multiple identities as a woman, an LGBTQ-identified individual, and as a U.S. citizen to see how she is similar to others and to identify sources of responsibility and power. She then uses these identities and sources of power to approach various aspects of border justice. Luz understands how her experience is shaped by many identities, what scholars call intersectionality. Applying intersectionality more broadly to see how individuals meet at multiple points of connection may be helpful to bridge identity divides. Finding and connecting at various intersections may help increase understanding about the ways that participants, both affected and racialized, white and peace-and-justice, participants approach border justice.

Summary

At the beginning of this chapter, I included a short excerpt from my experience preparing for the Migrant Trail. I included this excerpt not only to verify to the substance of activities in which participants are involved and to place myself in the movement, but because the story serves as a reminder that while not all deceased migrants are identified, all are worthy of dignity. The same is true for those who comprise the social movements in southern Arizona and northern Sonora. It is also important to examine the identities and perspectives of border justice activists, to move beyond a general knowledge into the textured realities of affected people working in the borderlands.

Participants in border justice come from distinctive communities in different countries. Many participants heed the call to end migrant deaths. For many affected and racialized participants, the call to end migrant deaths stems from a personal conviction to live and create possibilities for survival and to humanize people like themselves. As affected persons, they are intimately familiar with the impact of racialized state policies which criminalize existence and weaken possibilities to create a welcoming, inclusive community. Affected and racialized persons approach border justice with a personal acknowledgement that federal and state policies affect them and their community negatively. For white participants, the approach is to create a more peaceful, just, and welcoming world—a place where migrants do not die in the desert and are welcomed into community. White participants approach border justice with a mentality as helpers, humanitarians, and peace-and-justice activists. Some racialized participants also see themselves as humanitarians and peace-and-justice activists while some white activists also acknowledge differential experience as non-affected participants. This in-depth introduction to participants and multiple and collective identities establishes that a diverse array of movement participants work in border justice.

It is also important to note that scarce discussions of whiteness among white, peace-and-justice participants inform approaches to border justice activities. Opportunities abound for continued analysis and conversations on identities using an intersectional approach. This description and analysis of identities sets the stage for an examination of participant perspectives of and experiences in the border justice movement.

Chapter 7

Racialized Peacebuilding

It was day six on the Trail and we were walking single-file on a dirt path parallel to the busy two-lane highway that leads into Tucson, when we were visited by early morning guests bearing gifts. The first visitor was a solitary indigenous man who approached the long line of walkers early in our walking day, around 7 in the morning. During a stretch of silent walking, he drew near to us and offered food and drink. With an attitude of appreciation he shared his brown bag-filled lunch—two sandwiches, a bag of chips, and two cans of coke. In accepting this gift, we received an offering and a compelling message of support. He would go without lunch so that we could find sustenance for our walk. I recall the next set of visitors, a Tohono O’odham family of four on their way to Tucson, as solemnly dignified. They entrusted us with an offering of remembrance, a prayer stick with one carefully-crafted red tobacco bundle to honor the life of a young man whose remains they had found on their ancestral land. The family invited us to prayerfully carry this tribute into Tucson. We were honored to carry this remembrance on our journey.

In this chapter, I draw from participant interviews to depict racialized peacebuilding. In racialized peacebuilding, there is an unequal representation, visibility, and power between sets of actors. White supremacy, racism, and tokenism are prominent. Important voices are silenced, excluded, and minimized. Dominant groups persist in command of leadership and white credibility is unquestioned. There are suppositions of distrust and suspicion. There is also lack of a shared knowledge about the ways that racism functions and the detrimental aspects of white supremacy. In this environment and among white participants, discourse is about saving

individual lives. Among affected and racialized participants, discourse is more interested in helping to move toward structural change.

Racialized peacebuilding is structurally detrimental, limiting the potential of transnational actors to make significant change. Social standards keep racialized actors from expressing their views and from full participation in border justice. The participation of affected and racialized participants is also minimized through silencing, tokenism, and ongoing white supremacy. In such an environment, affected and racialized persons continually adjust to social norms while experiencing dislocation and white leadership remains intact. Racialized peacebuilding hampers organizational sensibilities and limits movement capacity.

Complicated Visibility

Since the days of the Sanctuary Movement²⁰ in the 1980s, media and scholars have scarcely noted organizations and participants of color, questioning at times whether people of color are even participating in movement activities. Scholars of the public Sanctuary Movement have highlighted the media savvy role of white churches and the inspiring personalities of several white leaders at the forefront including Reverend John Fife, Jim Corbett, and Jim Dudley (Cunningham, 1995; Coutin, 1993; Davidson, 1988). The aforementioned white male leaders of Sanctuary Movement activities in southern Arizona worked arduously and in collaboration with many individuals and churches to protect individuals fleeing war in Central America. Their leadership has been documented and is a significant aspect of history. It is the visibility of these men and their churches, in sharp contrast with the lower visibility of organizations of color, that I wish to question. In particular, I am interested in studying ways that stories about border justice are racialized.

²⁰ For a complete overview of the Sanctuary Movement, consult chapter 3 on historical roots of the Border Justice Movement.

Exclusion from movement narratives. As discussed in chapter 3 on the historical roots of the contemporary border justice movement, the perspectives of racialized individuals and female leaders of the Sanctuary Movement have received scant scholarly attention. Popular histories also minimize the role of participants and organizations of color. Border justice narratives often exclude participants of color and community-based organizations.

Rebeca explains that when white individuals tell stories of border justice work, they fail to provide accurate or contextualized stories about the presence and work of affected participants. For example, Rebeca indicates that a white humanitarian organization recently launched a report which was touted by white, peace-and-justice activists as the first of its kind. Rebeca was compelled to inform this humanitarian organization that such research and similar reports were conducted in the early days of border militarization in the 1990s. Earlier research, conducted by community-based organizations, was not remembered nor seen as an important part of history.

Rebeca also informed me of other examples of erasure, times when community-based organizations were not mentioned or included in stories about the past.

I read the history in their last newsletter²¹ and they don't mention our community at all.

They don't mention [us]. It is not accurate, not to say that it was the Brown community itself that brought this work.

Rebeca is dismayed that those historical accounts are inaccurate and that the Brown community is not recognized as integral to movement activities.

Some work was done to right these inaccuracies. Rebeca reveals that on a few occasions, key white leaders have apologized for their failure to recognize the initial work and invitation

²¹ A particular border justice group was named. In order to maintain confidentiality, I have chosen not to reveal the name of this organization.

that was made by organizations of color in border justice work. However, these apologies have not greatly affected contemporary understandings of the movement as a primarily white undertaking nor have these apologies or renewed understandings of history appeared in many scholarly accounts.

Such exclusion results in an unequal power balance. When organizations fail to incorporate stories about community-based organizations, narratives remain oriented toward the agency and initiatives of white people. When white people are given prominence in stories about border justice, they appear as leaders and political actors of change. Exclusion from movement narratives means that white people and organizations gain more power.

Inadequate representation. Another factor that negatively affects visibility for racialized participants is the prevalent dynamic of white leadership. Many humanitarian organizations in southern Arizona are led by white men with a scattering of women of color in a few community-based organizations. Humane Borders, Tucson-Samaritans, and the Kino Border Initiative are organizations with a history of white, male leadership. This contingent of white male spokespeople does not necessarily hold formal organizational titles as board chairs or Executive Directors, yet men from these organizations are held in high esteem, undertake leadership responsibilities, and their perspectives are often made visible in media sources. They are not official leaders with titles, simply respected organizational leaders with power.

In participant interviews, one white male leader is repeatedly recognized as a key person in the movement. The words and ideas of Marlon are influential enough for half of the interview participants to note his leadership in their interviews. A common sentiment among participants is that Marlon is a leader: “Marlon is kind of the head even though we know we don’t have a head.” On another occasion a participant notes that when Marlon speaks people listen. One

participant railed against his ideas and communicated that Marlon's words carry a lot of weight among border justice organizations. This dynamic of mentioning, name-dropping, and applauding a white male leader was unique and unparalleled with the mention of men of color, white women, or women leaders of color. Thus, Marlon is considered a leader even though he does not have a formal leadership role in any border justice organization or coalition.

Leadership in border justice activities is not solely composed of white males. Five interview participants noted the leadership and mentorship of one woman of color. Rebeca is praised as a leader and mentor and discussed by several people who work with her directly. Although one participant did not overtly praise Rebeca's work, she recognized her as an elder and one whose ideas should be respected. Others describe Rebeca as a fearless leader who continues to relate well to others and impart her knowledge even when disagreements occur. Additionally, they recognize that Rebeca has nurtured many participants in the movement. While white male leadership is still a visible majority that fosters a continued legacy, organizers of color are also exerting leadership, gaining respect, and nurturing activists.

White male leadership is an issue for the border justice movement as these leaders do not represent the diversity of participants and approach border justice differently than affected and racialized participants. With an absence of adequate representation, it is also difficult to honor a variety of perspectives. Furthermore, a prevalence of white male leadership may also be problematic in the legitimacy of racialized actors.

Questioned legitimacy. Considerable humanitarian and advocacy work on the border occurs outside of the realm of organizations and is not well-known. U.S.-based ranchers and Mexicans and/or Mexican-Americans living in urban areas do humanitarian work not affiliated with any particular group. While I did not interview ranchers for this study, in my previous work

with MCC, I visited peace-and-justice motivated ranchers in eastern Arizona who shared stories about humanitarian encounters with migrants. Some of these ranchers leave beans and tortillas for migrants and have affixed water faucets on water tanks so that migrants have access to fresh water. Individuals in urban areas or near crossing points in Mexico also offer sandwiches and meals to migrants who are traveling or have been repatriated (Nazario, 2007). This volunteer work outside of organizational configurations could be considered everyday advocacy, common to feminist engagement (Gouin, 2009). This kind of work is neither well known nor well-publicized which helps illustrate another movement characteristic: people outside of organizations assist migrants and do humanitarian work.

Unaffiliated racialized actors engage in humanitarian work. In this research, I interviewed two such individuals. These individuals are connecting returned migrants to resources in Nogales, Sonora and providing a link between family members on both sides of the divide. These two research participants also informed me about others who are active in assisting migrants but prefer not to affiliate with an organization. It seems that the media and other border justice groups are largely unfamiliar with the outreach and humanitarian work of unaffiliated racialized activists. Furthermore, activists who are not affiliated with an organization are not necessarily given credibility or afforded legitimacy as social movement actors because they are unknown or not visible. It is important to recognize and legitimate racialized, affected, and unaffiliated social movement actors.

Visibility is a core issue in racialized peacebuilding as affected and racialized participants are not always considered legitimate actors. The visibility of affected and racialized participants is complicated by the ways that the border justice movement is narrated, ongoing issues of leadership, representation, and mentorship, and the questioned legitimacy of unaffiliated actors.

Complications of visibility are not the only challenges that affected and racialized individuals face in working for border justice.

Social Norms

In this transnational justice movement which includes people from the United States, Mexico, and indigenous communities, affected and racialized participants describe norms of interaction. Although these norms are not stated as explicit rules in movement activities, participants describe expectations of timeliness; direct, succinct, and logical communication; and the exclusion of emotional reactions from meeting spaces. Participants note how they have encountered and been affected by these rules. Nica and Miguel Angel speak of being tokenized and distrusted. Other participants demonstrate how social status, identity, and power are taboo topics within the larger movement. Ralph communicates that indigenous participation and responsibility is not on the movement's agenda and that the border justice movement dehumanizes indigenous persons. All of these described interactions show the complex power of whiteness to exclude and contravene the power of affected and racialized persons, resulting in racialized peacebuilding.

Timeliness, politeness, and civility. Alejandra and Josefina's narratives illustrate expected rules of interaction in organizational efforts. Alejandra directs an organization composed of employees and board members whose age, socio-economic status, racial, and cultural backgrounds are mostly different from hers. She explains that she works with white women of privilege and white senior activists while personally identifying as racially and culturally Mexican. In her work, Alejandra has grappled with unstated rules regarding her communicative behavior. One issue is an expectation of timeliness. She realizes that not arriving on time to meetings has dire consequences for other workers' perception of her ability. She

explains, “. . . there’s no wiggle room for you to be [seen as] a serious and responsible person [if you arrive late].” Further, she suggests that people do not deem her professional if she is late to a meeting or gathering. Secondly, Alejandra notes that in meetings and interactions, individuals are required to act politely and play nicely. She worries that a civil environment will limit participants to speaking kindly instead of allowing them to communicate truthful convictions. Alejandra values truthfulness above other qualities and feels that civility and kindness can obstruct truthfulness. At the same time, she may also be suggesting that people be allowed to express their emotions.

Josefina, who is also Mexican, talks about the importance of politeness among social movement actors committed to social change. She indicates that politeness is not only required in meeting communication, but explains how movement tactics and strategies are placed under rules of civility. According to Josefina, movement tactics and strategies are intended to communicate courteousness and not to aggravate, mock, anger, provoke, nor annoy any one group or individual. To exemplify the politeness of movement tactics she describes a nice but ultimately ineffective strategy proposed by a group of mostly white clergy in response to the implementation of SB 1070.

The white clergy group initially proposed guidelines to ensure that the Tucson Police Department (TPD) would not arrest racialized people en route to places of worship on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays. For Josefina this proposed arrangement served the needs of clergy and churches rather than stopping racial profiling and the deportation of individuals arrested by TPD. Stopping racial profiling two days a week was not a satisfactory change. Furthermore, Josefina contends that this proposal sought to reform the policy of racial profiling instead of altering the structure of this unjust law. In contrast, she would have preferred systemic change and in

particular, a type of change based on the lived experiences of affected people. However, during the moments of large group discussion on this initiative, Josefina chose to keep quiet. She contained her emotion and did not speak of her dislike or disapproval of the proposal.

In our interview, Josefina did not say explicitly why she did not speak, but likely she did not think she could respond in a non-emotional way that would be understood and accepted by white participants. In our conversation, she proposed responses to SB 1070 which she labeled as ‘radical’ acknowledging that they intended to provoke. She commented that she is willing to “put her blood in the streets,” an action that works outside a framework of civility and utilizes bodily sacrifice to work toward change. Perhaps Josefina’s comments are best understood in the context of a racialized group that has been dehumanized and devalued. In order to work against this ongoing societal devaluation, she is preparing, as Kenneth Hardy and Tracey Laszloffy (2005) indicate, to fight a battle with new tactics.

Adjustment and dislocation. Required norms of interaction not only cause people to act differently in pointed interactions but may also alter the way participants think of themselves. Alejandra considers the pervasiveness of what she calls “white culture” and explains that white ways of being are so pervasive that she has changed to “become whiter” in order to fit in better. In this sense, “becoming whiter” has required a shift in her perceptions to observe and comprehend ideas, events, and strategies, like a white person. As she adopts cultural expectations, she is also able to act as the go-between and culturally translate for others. Alejandra’s words express her struggles more aptly.

Being in a leadership position for an organization where the majority are white people, white privilege[d] women mostly and then another group that is part of this organization that is an older generation of activists, it’s pretty hard. It’s pretty hard

because I feel that I don't have internally a community of Hispanic people where I can reflect about what is really my perspective, or our perspective or our vision or our perception. It is almost impossible so I think that in the latest years I have become a whiter woman. I learned to think like white people would see or perceive and I have to do that a lot because not everyone can take a hold of cultures and misunderstandings and conflict, so then I try to put myself in their shoes . . . [I have] good friends that I have learned a lot [from] . . . and how to be respectful to my brothers and sisters of the white culture.

Alejandra states that she has the ability to adjust to white cultural norms, and in fact has adjusted to perceive events and ideas as a white person might. At the same time she wants a culturally-grounded group of Hispanics with whom to reflect.

Alejandra also critiques the ways that relationships and interactions are structured in the United States. While not naming timeliness or politeness explicitly, she seems to suggest that the very strict nature of how persons are expected to arrive on time regardless of other issues or events and the politeness expected in interactions are difficult for her as a Latina in U.S. society. She critiques the pervasiveness of this social structure; she does not feel that she fits within these oppressive structures. Alejandra illustrates this tension by alluding to the experiences of Mexican friends who have attended school in the United States and found themselves struggling with cultural expectations. Again, her words best illuminate these tensions.

And I have to say inside me, "Ay, these gringos, how complicated their structure and how oppressive in many ways." I know friends of mine, Mexicans that say, "I cannot be in the United States. I went there to school—three months and I was just like asphyxiating and

how?” I don’t know if I want to say militarized but it is a problem. It’s the structure you know for us, for us Latinos.”

Racialized peoples learn to adapt to dominant cultural norms to survive. In this case, Alejandra has learned these norms, critiques these ways of interaction, and seeks openness to accepting other cultural values. She knows that her Mexican ways of interacting are different from the dominant culture and she wants a place where she can be herself. She concludes that governing structures in U.S. society and the border justice movement seem to devalue other ways of being resulting in social dislocation.

Fear of dissent. Another component of racialized peacebuilding is an expressed fear that affected and racialized participants will be dismissed or disciplined if they disrupt social norms of interaction. For Josefina, that means using self-discipline to follow rules and keep quiet. During collaborative meetings with other organizations she does not say much. She explains that on many occasions she would like to express her dissent about a particular idea or perspective. However, she fears that she will be either disciplined or dismissed if she speaks with the anger and emotion she feels. She describes this type of emotional reaction as evidence of “hot Hispanic blood.” In this conceptualization, Josefina equates being emotional with being Hispanic. Emotionality is also equated with women’s ways of being (Jawhary, 2014). Keeping quiet then is her response to dominant rules which seem to value logic over emotionality.

Josefina contends that affected and racialized people who do not play by the unstated rules get disciplined. She shares stories about some leaders of color who have challenged the rules by speaking out with fervor and showing their dissatisfaction with proposed initiatives. For example, an affected and racialized leader in a coalition meeting may criticize a proposed idea and as a result be labeled and/or dismissed as angry as Josefina has experienced on several

occasions.²² Speaking out emotionally or naming an unfair system also makes white people uncomfortable. According to Josefina,

White folks don't like it when she [leader of color] speaks up. They don't like to be called out or see how they are benefiting from the system.

This example helps to illustrate an unstated rule in the border justice movement: Racialized people should not vociferously express dissatisfaction. They should not necessarily name dynamics of race as such persons may be verbally disciplined, branded as angry, and/or be uninvited to further meetings.

When affected and racialized participants are dismissed or outcast for expressing dissatisfaction, naming an unequal system of race, or making white people feel uncomfortable, this dynamic not only disturbs social movement relationships, it also makes collaborative endeavors difficult. If border justice participants want to avoid unpleasant interactions or incivilities as noted above, this situation could lead to including such participants only at the last moment, a dynamic of tokenism. White participants may choose to work with racialized or affected persons as a project nears completion so as to minimize unpleasant tasks.

Silencing. When affected and racialized participants do find acceptable ways to communicate ideas, they may also be silenced. Josefina contends that people of color are silenced in border justice activities as illustrated in the following account. A young woman of color intern with whom Josefina was working was asked to prepare a statement for an important press conference on border violence hosted by a coalition of border groups. The intern prepared what Josefina characterized as a beautifully-written account denouncing violent border policies responsible for the death of a U.S. citizen at the border. However, the intern's passionate account was not permitted without major revisions. Whether this was because she was young and

²² African-American women, a demographic of women of color, are often stereotyped as angry (Childs, 2005).

passionate, an impassioned woman, a person of color, or any and all combinations of the aforementioned characteristics, the account was re-written by one of the participating organizations in order to make it more palatable for the audience. The intern's passionate voice was silenced and sidelined.

Gradual reform. Affected and racialized participants spoke strongly about the need for system change in the borderlands. For example, Josefina wants groups to focus more broadly on the reasons that many people are dying in the borderlands and enact structural change instead of focusing on saving individual lives. White humanitarians focus on saving individual lives is exasperating for Josefina. "I really get frustrated because it is not only going to give water or save a life. We need to save more than that and stop this craziness." Josefina like other racialized and affected participants wants to focus on the root causes of the current border situation—governmental policies of border militarization, immigration laws, racialized policing, and global neoliberalism which are causing migrants to die in the borderlands.

Josefina's orientation to change can be understood in light of Van Ham's (2011) historical analysis of immigrant advocacy groups. He contends that community-based organizations from the Manzo Area Council onward have sought to connect the issues of economic globalization, militarization, and immigration reform, as a tripartite system affecting people at the U.S.-Mexico border. This is a different approach than some white social movement organizations.

Many social movement actors focus on saving individual lives by providing water, food, and medical care in the U.S. desert and in soup kitchens and shelters in Mexico. Activists provide emergency supplies and care to save lives. Additionally, some movement initiatives strive for building relationships focusing on the actors for change rather than the systems. For

example, some humanitarian groups intentionally build relationships with Border Patrol officers. Organizations may choose to construct civil relationships with state actors so that humanitarian aid may be delivered more rapidly or to recognize that the actors carrying out state policies, destructive as they may be, are not the authors of such policy. For example, Mark explains that in order to provide food for migrants under Border Patrol guard, it is important to have a civil relationship with the Border Patrol. Relationships aside, some joint political initiatives are also oriented toward gradual reforms as illustrated in the story about the clergy group's initiative to limit policing on weekends.

One white participant spoke of her growing awareness of the importance of structural violence and the need for structural change. Jenna recognizes that race or racial issues are at the core of the current borderlands situation. She contends that racism operates systematically to demean and police Latino people in southern Arizona and across the United States. She notes how the discontinuation of Ethnic Studies and, in particular, the Mexican American Studies (MAS) program is part and parcel of the process to demean Latino or Hispanic cultures in southern Arizona.²³ Jenna speaks of racism which she finds embedded in a variety of state government policies.

We understood race specifically and privilege as being remarkably integral in, not only the ability to push through policies like SB 1070, but for the continuation of policies like police discretion which have existed in Tucson for a long time.

Due to her awareness that racialized peoples are harmed by state policies and affected by racialized policing, Jenna shifted her focus to work on a campaign against racism. This campaign, a collaboration with a local community organization sought to work toward repealing

²³ For more background on MAS and the current struggle for justice please see information on related movements in chapter 3.

SB 1070 and building a movement of people to support neighbors under the threat of deportation. Jenna's action and awareness of the important role of racial politics in defining the current context of militarization in southern Arizona, exemplifies that some white peace-and-justice participants are working toward systemic change.

Tokenism. Tokenism plays out in the border justice movement as racialized persons receive differential treatment. They are treated as special or as outsiders and are consulted at the last moment. Nica talks about how she is treated differently in white border justice spaces and how her voice and the voices of racialized people are not listened to until the last moment, naming these experiences as tokenism.

As a woman of color who attends meetings of white humanitarian groups, Nica is called out and thanked profusely for attending meetings and adding to the discussion. In addition to being annoyed at this unrequited differential treatment, Nica discerns that such spaces are not welcoming.

It makes me stay away from some of those spaces because I don't go there to be like [or to receive the following comments], "That was so powerful what you said. Can I just thank you for coming?" You know some days, I really say some badass shit and I deserve credit for some badass shit I have said but I don't say that much badass stuff that I deserve. That is just a bit much and I don't feel comfortable with it [. . .] I have been to meetings when I went to leave and [the facilitator said] "Can we just thank Nica for coming here?" It felt so gross. I did not appreciate that. I did not feel honored. I felt tokenized. And maybe they thought that would make me like them more and come back more but all it did was make me feel really alienated.

Being called out especially to be thanked and recognized is one form of tokenism that has a negative impact on Nica's continued participation. While tokenism has different effects on different individuals, these experiences make Nica feel inhibited in certain border justice spaces.

Tokenism also plays out in social movement organizing in the form of last moment consultations. Participants and/or organizations of color are often brought in or consulted at the last minute to provide what Nica calls "brown icing on the cake." In this dynamic, participants of color are not involved in the decision-making process to create a new strategy or organize a press conference but are invited in at the last moment to participate and provide approval.

Tokenism of affected and racialized participants may occur as a result of labeling such persons as temperamental, difficult, or emotional. When participants are tokenized they are constrained from full participation. This lack of full participation leads to inadequate representation and a lack of equity in social movement organizing.

Dominant groups in charge of inclusion. The dynamics of tokenism and last minute inclusion also unfold in larger scale social movement organizing as Mexican groups (in Mexico) are invited to participate once the agenda has been set by groups in the United States. Margaret, a racialized participant, shared about an ongoing transnational initiative. When explaining who comprised the initial member group, she indicated that all member organizations were based in southern Arizona and that no Mexico-based organization was an initial member. Further, her work consulting with organizations in Mexico was a secondary step; Mexican organizations would not become members until U.S.-based member organizations made the decision to invite them. Consulting with Mexican organizations occurs but without the possibilities of full inclusion.

The metaphor that Nica gives of the icing on the cake provides a powerful image. The substantial part of the cake, the batter, is mixed and baked, and the frosting, while pretty, does not alter the cake's composition. Dominant groups based in the United States are in charge of deciding who comes in and when.

Limited discussions about privilege and power. Another dynamic of racialized peacebuilding occurs with the exclusion of conversations about white privilege, social status, identity, and power. While racialized and affected participants discuss these issues in group settings, they seem to happen with less frequency among white peace-and-justice participants. This lack of awareness and discussion of such privilege among white people has direct results for the border justice community.

McIntosh (1988) suggests that white privilege is like an invisible backpack carried by people with white skin. In the backpack that white people carry wherever they go, are items that function like a Monopoly card, to get out of jail for free. The invisible backpack is constantly redeemed as privileges and does not cost the one who uses it. In essence, the invisible backpack contains privileges that allow white people to be treated as individuals with power and worth, not judged for the color of their skin. Another manifestation of white privilege occurs when white people respond emotionally and defensively to the suggestion that race is an issue in a particular situation (Boatright-Horowitz, Marraccini, & Harps-Logan, 2012). As white people are not accustomed to recognizing that they are being treated because of the color of their skin, it is sometimes hard to imagine that racialized peoples are judged on such merits.

Luz shares the emotional and blaming response she has received when she has discussed white privilege among social movement actors. She describes conversations about privilege as

complicated, messy, and hurtful. White people question and blame persons of color for casting the “race card.” Luz explains in more detail:

I still have a hard time saying “white people” and white privilege. I have a hard time with that because it is still taboo because now it has been like the paradigm has shifted. “Oh, you are being sensitive!” “You are being overly dramatic.” “Oh, you guys just throw out the race card all the time.” There is almost like backlash against you so you start to feel like, “oh maybe I am” and it is like, “no, you are not the problem. This is really happening. You are not imagining this.” This is an issue.

Luz’ experience illustrates the mental and emotional gymnastics involved in bringing up issues of white privilege and furthermore suggests that such experiences may cause people of color to question their perspective.

Like Luz, Nica shares that she was the recipient of white anger and defensiveness from white individuals learning about white privilege. Nica sees white privilege influencing many aspects of movement organizing and expresses her anger that white people are not taking responsibility for the ways that oppression functions among white people. She suggests that white people should be aware and willing to discuss these issues as she works on other axes of oppression within communities of color.

In racialized peacebuilding, social status, identity, and power are discussed in individual spaces and/or conversations are begun by people of color to the apparent dismay of white participants. This leads to ongoing relational issues as again racialized and affected participants may be characterized as angry, emotional, or using race for their own advantage. Such characterizations of race threaten relationships and limit potentialities in border justice organizing.

Rudimentary knowledge of racism. White participants also seem less knowledgeable about the ways that racism operates. Jenna notes that racism operates among social movement actors. She describes an incident that occurred on Facebook where white people used a charge of reverse racism to chastise an activist of color.

White folks, humanitarians were kind of trying to call her [border activist of color] a racist or [call out] reverse racism.

While Jenna did not explain this example in detail, it seems that some white people were trying to name reverse racism. Cabrera (2014) describes reverse racism as a dynamic in which “whites ... confuse an erosion of privilege for racial oppression” (p. 47). While Jenna sees such accusations of reverse racism as “completely and utterly ridiculous,” the example illustrates different understandings of racism in the border justice movement. This anecdote also illustrates the previous dynamic of white privilege. When people of color talk about race, they may get the “race card” thrown back at them.

Lack of welcome and invitation to communities of color. Another dynamic hampering the full inclusion of communities of color in the border justice movement is an admission that white organizations do not know how to best invite and welcome affected and racialized participants. Jane contends that humanitarian organizations with which she works have trouble attracting and/or retaining people of color, “It’s always been sort of a challenge for us and we haven’t really been good at it.” She explains that various organizations lack skills to reach out to racialized communities. It is undetermined whether this lack of skills is because organizations recognize that racialized communities face more risk in their involvement and feel compelled to mitigate risk for participants or because organizations lack the dedicated personnel for explicit

outreach. There may be a number of reasons for which organizations sense a lack of skills to reach out to racialized and affected communities.

Suspicion. Another angle of racialized peacebuilding is encapsulated in the way that suspicion operates among movement participants. Miguel Angel, a Mexican participant, hesitates to tell his experience with a white humanitarian organization. He prefaces his remarks with a condition, “I am going to tell you but this is between us.” He does not want others to know the details of this account, a request I honor. I share only my interpretation—that on occasion, white participants have accused Mexicans of engaging in objectionable or illicit activities. Miguel Angel explains that white individuals accuse Mexicans of such unsavory doings for the mere fact that they are Mexican. While Miguel Angel does not name this behavior as racial discrimination, the impact of this lack of trust is that he feels that he is treated as a second-class citizen. He goes on to provide additional stories that highlight his distrust of white organizations.

Miguel Angel dreads talking about misunderstandings and other conflicts with U.S.-based organizations. In the past, voicing disagreement brought further rifts into individual and organizational relationships. When he brought up conflict, “they [white humanitarian organization] were not happy with me.” Miguel Angel’s experiences and perceptions illustrate one way that suspicion operates.

Suspicion of national or racial groups is not one-sided. One white participant shared her suspicions of Mexicans, an assessment that she tempered with expressions of love for all people. Susana seemed both unaware of her overt racial suspicion directed toward Mexicans and at the same time aware and struggling with how to handle this wariness. In our conversation, she overflowed with compassion for humanity and an eagerness to change the hearts and minds of U.S.-based policy makers to create a more humane situation at the border. She also mentioned

her suspicion of Mexicans upon engagement, "...when I meet the people from Mexico, there is a part of me that, that is slightly suspicious." She explained that suspicion as a wariness of the connections that Mexicans have to criminal elements. While she tries to alleviate this skepticism by a commitment to treating everyone equally, in one soliloquy she talked about treating everybody the same even though Mexicans were "connected." Being connected connotes having a relationship with cartels or with individuals engaging in criminal behavior. Susana did not communicate that some Mexicans were connected but simply that Mexicans, as an ethnic or racial group or community were connected to criminal elements.

Susana also talked about suspending judgement about different persons and ways of doing things, as she crossed the border into Mexico. It seems she tries to release judgement. In some cases she is successful as the respondent spoke highly of Mexican people who were involved in U.S.-based religious institutions operating in Mexico. Nonetheless this example clearly shows that suspicion is a concern in transnational relationships.

In interpersonal and organizational relationships, suspicion erodes trust. In both cases, participants were suspicious of the other's intentions; these suspicions lead to distrustful relating. Successful transnational relationships and collaborative efforts are characterized by a level of trust; one that is difficult to maintain when suspicion abounds. Furthermore, distrust damages efforts to communicate in transnational social movements.

Indigenous voices excluded. This chapter began with a vignette about two sets of indigenous visitors that we received while walking the Migrant Trail. Both of these encounters were personally important and likely affected the wider group of Migrant Trail walkers. However, while such personal encounters among indigenous and non-indigenous persons may be significant for individual activists, the views and perspectives of indigenous persons are not

given much consideration in the border justice movement. Human rights or humanitarian groups have few indigenous participants. Several Arizona-based indigenous groups advocate for changes to U.S. border policy, however, they do so from the margins and are generally not formal members of centrally-organized coalitions. In this research, I interviewed two individuals from an indigenous band in southern Arizona who participate in humanitarian activities and organizations. These persons from the Tohono O’odham Nation narrate stories of exclusion.

For several years, Ralph and Peter have placed gallon water jugs on migrant trails scattered throughout the 4,453 square miles of the Tohono O’odham Nation. They are part of a select group of tribal members providing humanitarian aid on the Nation. As approximately 50% of documented recovered human remains in Arizona are discovered on the Nation each year, the need for water and lifesaving humanitarian aid is great.²⁴ However, non-tribal members including non-tribal nongovernmental organizations are not permitted to place water on Tohono O’odham land.

Ralph and Peter have been in conversation and conflict with tribal leadership on the Nation advocating for such assistance so that more people are allowed to offer aid on the nation’s land. Thus far, they have not been successful as the Tohono O’odham tribal government maintains a semblance of sovereignty and currently outlaws non-indigenous from placing water on the land. This semblance of sovereignty is a contentious issue as the Border Patrol traverses the nation and remains outside of tribal governance. Peter and Ralph’s advocacy, while appearing to be in conflict with indigenous notions of self-governance, could also be considered an act of localized self-governance in which local indigenous actors make practical decisions over concerning issues (Cornell, 2015). Ralph and Peter have received some support for water

²⁴ See chapters 2 and 3 for more background information on the Tohono O’odham Nation.

placement work from an Arizona-based humanitarian organization. However, Ralph argues that other border justice organizations do little, if anything, to stop deaths on the Nation and do not hold the Nation's tribal leadership accountable. In this case, Ralph invites the participation of white and non-indigenous persons in his quest to provide humanitarian aid to end migrant deaths and calls the lack of attention to the horrendous reality on the Nation as evidence of racism and dehumanization.

Ralph complicates a white/brown divide by aggregating white and community-based organizations as one in Arizona's social justice community. He does not segregate white from Latino and instead notes that Latino, white, humanitarian, and human rights organizations are part of the same category. Ralph sees all of these groups as part of one entity that is hypocritical in calling some people to accountability while denying that accountability to the Tohono O'odham Nation.

He asserts that border organizations know that migrants are dying on Tohono land and yet with the exception of one humanitarian organization, no organization is working to keep the Nation accountable. Ralph surmises that the nation is not held morally responsible, not because non-indigenous are respecting indigenous sovereignty, but because white and Latino organizations do not see O'odham as fully human.

There is more of the same self-righteous moral silence that the Tohono O'odham people and government are the moral untouchables because maybe we are not fully human [...] If we were moral equals we would be held accountable to the same moral standard that we hold the Border Patrol against.

Ralph is sarcastic and indignant as he mimics the voice of a white border justice leader, who keeps border activists from responding to the nation,

Well, white humanitarian²⁵ says, “Don’t say anything bad against Indians. You know they don’t need more white people telling them what to do,” and so that sort of excludes, or excuses migrant deaths on the Tohono O’odham Nation and they are beyond the pale of moral accountability. “Those poor, pathetic, little Indians. Look what we have done to them.”

Ralph does not contend that white people are infringing on indigenous sovereignty or using violence to hinder the well-being of indigenous persons, although such a long and tenuous history of settler governments infringing upon indigenous nations is well-known (Cornell, 2015). Instead, Ralph goes on to say that this kind of attitude, which emanates from the higher echelons of border movement leadership belittles indigenous peoples, seeing them as less than capable and furthermore demonstrates a “paternalistic racist attitude.” While Ralph fumes about the dehumanization of O’odham people, it is clear that he demands his nation be recognized.

Ralph’s discontent with the border justice community stems from his complaint that the Nation is not considered in movement activities and that Tohono O’odham people are not seen as fully human. He does not just consider himself excluded from the mainstream but rather part of a community of people whose existence has been demeaned and dehumanized. Ralph’s strong voice of discontent is not the only sign of indigenous exclusion. The scarcity of indigenous participants in mainstream organizing is noticeable as is the dearth of conversation among participants about responding to deaths on the Nation. In the transnational border justice movement, indigenous voices are marginalized.

White knowledge is more credible. The media has long promoted acceptable racial norms for any particular time period and reported directly from institutions exercising power

²⁵ Name excluded

within society (Jiwani, 2016). In the United States, corporate and/or mainstream media frame stories, and racialized groups are featured less often on the news (Heider, 2000). Haines & Rosenblum (1999) contend that mainstream media covers border activism when white people are acting as heroes and not when the poor or racialized are caring for each other. This allows the perspectives of white people and white people as heroes to be shared often through legitimated media sources. As white knowledge is proffered through the media, it is considered more credible than racialized knowledge.

This phenomenon of white credibility and ongoing exclusion of marginalized voices also occurs within the context of border justice organizing. Jenna shared about an anti-racism campaign, a collaborative venture between a primarily white organization and a community-based organization. In this campaign, when white people labeled the ongoing dynamics of race as racism, they were taken seriously and their work was legitimated through press coverage. The organization received media coverage from the Arizona Daily Star to spread awareness about upcoming actions and workshops. Racialized groups involved in the campaign were unable to garner the same amount of press coverage. Additionally community-based organizations were not afforded legitimacy to denounce racism; this type of power is afforded to white groups. This example speaks to the prevalent capacity of white organizations to be seen as credible and to the difficulties that community organizations face in being visible and credible to the wider community. The example also illustrates a considerable power imbalance between white and community organizations, a consideration for peacebuilding.

Informal leadership culture. As noted earlier, the border justice movement has many white leaders. The way that leaders acquire leadership is a factor in this process. Jane describes

the informal process by which leaders secure leadership roles and concludes that participants simply must be ready to become more involved.

Part of it is stepping up to do the work, stepping up to say, “Okay, I can be a part of this working group and I am willing to do this and this.” I think it is in part just stepping up to do the work and then stepping up to be at the meetings and be willing to participate.

From this description, leadership requires a willingness to be involved and then follow-through.

This idea of leadership, occurring through a process of stepping-up, is also Kelly’s experience in religious contexts. When Kelly attended a newly-forming group of clergy leaders, she realized that she was part of a leadership group.

When I got invited to that meeting, I thought it was going to be like 75 people with 20-30 clergy from all over the place and I would just sit and listen and it wasn’t so. Then I was like, “oh, I am part of the leadership group of this movement.”

Leadership is acquired by people who show up and are willing to do work even if they do not necessarily join under the pretense of attaining leadership. As clergy are often considered community leaders, this may also be an ongoing characteristic of clergy involvement. Such leadership appears informal and unstructured.

However, informal and unstructured leadership does not necessarily mean it is accessible. In a racialized environment, leadership roles are regulated by the unstated rules and norms previously discussed. Leaders are expected to meet rules of timeliness, politeness, and civility to be considered apt for leadership. Racialized leaders also face the possibility of cultural and identity dislocation, situations when they feel silenced and/or repercussions for advocating for structural change. They may be considered a special representative of their race and tokenized or

they may feel excluded from movement agenda. In sum, the dynamics of racialized peacebuilding hinder opportunities for affected and racialized persons to acquire leadership.

Helping Discourses

The described norms of interaction are a considerable component of racialized peacebuilding. Racialized peacebuilding is also evident in the ways that participants talk about their work. White peace-and-justice and faith-based participants employ language illustrating the need to act responsibly, sacrifice, and save others while racialized participants talk less about saving individual lives and instead advocate structural change.

Several white participants communicate that they feel compelled to engage in sacrifice to save others. In particular, white participants talk about saving lives by providing life-saving humanitarian aid or calling Border Patrol when a migrant is in dire medical emergency, and/or wants to return to Mexico. Jim speaks about the work of rescuing others as different from saving lives in the desert, “It’s not that kind of work rescuing people that the people [who work in the soup kitchen] do.” While Jim differentiates between rescuing and saving as variations of work in the borderlands, which is more important or worthy is undefined. What is crucial from this discourse is his description that the work of saving and rescuing are key elements of border work.

Other white humanitarians talk about saving and sacrifice as bringing about emotional highs or being a responsible desert dweller. Susana talks about the momentous feeling of saving a migrant’s life, “I think there is nothing like finding an individual on that desert knowing that when you found that person you’ve saved that person’s life.” For this white humanitarian, saving lives seems to be a highpoint of involvement. A white male participant considers his humanitarian work as a responsibility of living in the desert. For Mark, it is important to “take

care of suffering in the desert,” alleviating harm and being responsible in the environment where he lives. The reasons why participants feel compelled to sacrifice, “save others,” or alleviate distress in the desert are varied.

White participants who sacrifice and save lives also seem motivated by a notion of ‘doing good.’ For Susana, helping feels good “I felt so good about that and just the effort which is no effort for me.” For humanitarians Mike and Jim, offering aid in the desert is a way of putting positive energy into the universe. They are motivated to “do good” by being present in the desert.

For some “doing good” constitutes reciprocation—they should receive something as a result of their work or reward themselves for being involved. Some participants seek the acknowledgement of a job well done, while in other cases, participants reward themselves with a special meal or a trip after engaging in border justice activities. For Mike and Jim, words of thanks from Border Patrol or appreciation from friends far away serve to help them feel acknowledged.

I also encountered humanitarians who appeared to seek self-affirmation and confirmation that their work contributed to change. After interacting with repatriated migrants in a Mexican shelter for a few hours and walking under the hot noon day sun to return to the international border, a white humanitarian reflected on her experience saying, “I think we touched people today.” This phrase may simply be one way that participants have found to affirm and appreciate their work of “doing good.”

Alejandra suggests that people use the language of sacrifice, saving, and “doing good” because of western Christian frameworks. She contends that border justice activists see themselves as fighting injustices and sacrificing to do so. Sacrifice may be physical depletion

due to exposure to the elements or the sacrifice of working for little or inadequate salary in a border justice organization. Further, she indicates that people who sacrifice in these ways and put themselves at risk may also want to act or be seen as saviors. She asserts that this concept of sacrifice along with a vision of saving people is part of an overall faith-based paradigm carried out through religiously-affiliated individuals and organizations in the borderlands.

All the activists [want] to be saviors of the injustices and some of them are more hard-core, putting their life, their bodies out there and putting water and walking long distances, putting their skin [out there], putting you in a position of savior and sacrifice. I think we all are, [we] sacrifice in many ways either by salary or body or culture or exposure to the sun when the walks happen and aid in the desert happens. She goes on to explain that Christians who have been influenced by a “European colonizing mentality” are obsessed with saving others. Notions of saving and sacrifice illustrate how this western mentality is communicated.

Alejandra’s contention that “all the activists [want] to be saviors of the injustices” and her explanation that western attitudes derived from colonization and Christian faith undergird this attitude, present a framework for understanding the language of sacrifice and saving employed by white participants. White participants are eager to be of service helping migrants in distress, degrading their physical body if required. Some are motivated to sacrifice their body in making long walks to deliver water or participate in memorial marches while others sacrifice monetarily in order to work for border justice organizations. Many participants are eager to “do good” with the hope of saving a life. Others “do good” for the immediate possibility of reward and because people feel affirmed when they can positively affect the lives of others.

Participants of color repudiate discourses of saving and theologies of sacrifice while providing alternative viewpoints. Milagros, Josefina, and Nica, three women of color try to steer clear of talking about their work as saving, sacrifice, and “doing good.” Instead, they offer alternative discourses to talk about the work they do.

Milagros suggests a different metaphor to talk about the important tasks and expected outcomes of working for border justice. She tells a story about hosting a woman ill with tuberculosis over a few months. As she recounts that this women’s health improved while living with her family, Milagros said, “and this [staying at my house] helped her to heal.” For Milagros, the key aspect of this assistance was to help this woman heal. Milagros does not talk about “saving” this woman but that by staying at her house, a woman with tuberculosis became well.

Nica is forthright in her dislike of the idea and discourse of saving others. As she describes her work educating communities about their rights, she underscores that her job is “*not to save them* {emphasis added} but to empower them [vulnerable communities] and to arm them with the information that they need to defend themselves.” Nica is clear to point out that she does not conceive of her work as saving other people. She sees that immigrants, once empowered with information, have the power to stand up for themselves.

Josefina is also effusive in her dislike of talk about saving lives. She is angered that white people seem overly focused on saving individual lives instead of making structural change. Furthermore, she contends that an underlying dynamic of saving removes agency from people who have the power to be involved in their own transformation. To illustrate these perspectives about saving, I draw on a story that Josefina recounted about a woman that approached her several years after attending an educational workshop on human rights that Josefina had facilitated. The woman approached Josefina to thank her and told her that what Josefina had

taught her had saved her life. Josefina re-worded the phrase to capture her theology and indicate that she did not “save her.”

So those are the kind of things that I think are our pay when we save somebody and I don't want to say, “save” because I am not God, kind of made a better life for somebody, I think that is my pay.

Josefina moves away from saying that she is capable of saving.

In these examples, it is clear that affected and racialized participants use different language to talk about the work they are doing. Perhaps it is because they experience racialized policing or border policies and must constantly protect themselves that they use such different language. Nonetheless, Milagros speaks about “helping to heal,” while Nica’s perspective is to provide information so immigrants can defend their rights. Lastly, Josefina emphasises that she is responsible for helping to make life better for others. These phrases show a stark contrast to other participant notions of saving and sacrifice. It is language that seems geared toward helping or empowering others to work toward change.

Summary

Under a regime of racialized peacebuilding, affected and racialized participants face a host of challenges in the border justice movement. First, affected and racialized participants are not well-known as actors of border justice and their achievements are not remembered nor included in movement narratives. Additionally, as many organizations are led unofficially by white male leaders, affected and racialized participants are not adequately represented nor mentored. Furthermore, unaffiliated and racialized border justice actors, scarcely visible to other border justice movement participants, are not afforded legitimacy as social movement actors. Of considerable concern is the border justice environment, which favors dominant social norms and

enforces these rules of politeness and timeliness to the detriment of other ways of being. As a result, affected and racialized participants face ongoing dislocation, and may feel silenced or tokenized.

As dominant groups continue to take charge, others feel excluded. Indigenous voices actively present their humanity in the face of demeaning messages from mainstream organizing groups. Participants also have significant differences in goals and strategies with a reformist approach advocated by white peace-and-justice participants and a structural change approach advocated by affected and racialized individuals. Sparse discussions of privilege and power, suspicion of different racial groups, lack of awareness about how to reach out to racialized and affected groups, and a leadership structure which favors those in power, all help to enforce a system of racialized peacebuilding.

All of these unintentional and intentional ways of structuring and carrying out a social movement have negative consequences for movement cohesion and peacebuilding potential. These elements of racialized peacebuilding build on one another and create a circular pattern. With less visibility of racialized participants, there is less appreciation of their unique contributions and ongoing potential. When white men are seen as the leaders without formal titles and there is less mentorship of new leaders, the same structures supporting white leadership remain in place. As there is fear of dissent in conjunction with an appreciation of civility, people without normalized communication skills are left out. When people are tokenized and consulted at the last moment, they remain on the margins. As indigenous participants are few, their voices are dismissed. When racism is mentioned by racialized participants and blamed on participants of color, the conversation remains localized so as not to offend others. When white knowledge continues to be seen as credible in comparison to racialized knowledges, white knowledge

remains at the core. Racialized peacebuilding is a structural problem that fractures communities, makes it difficult to listen, and devalues the contributions of diverse peoples. Racialized peacebuilding weakens relationships and potential for social change.

Chapter 8

Gender and Transnational Peacebuilding

Today I learned that I should not refuse help. I was performing my environmental team duties on the Migrant Trail when Jennifer offered to help me fold the potty tent. Since I had managed on my own the day before, I said, “no.” This desire for self-efficacy in prickly cactus land is simply not smart. I leaned over the dusty scrub brush to grab and fold the tent and a jumping cholla, one of many spiny cacti found in the Sonoran Desert, quickly fastened to my hand. I stood up with lightning speed, noted an overabundance of stickers in my hand, and instantly voiced my displeasure with many “ows” and a four-letter word. Jon responded to my cry immediately and with a pair of tweezers; he began removing the stickers one-by-one. I was not quietly patient with this painful and slow process. Then Dr. Marlo, an 80-year old retired physician, arrived with his handy blue plastic pick to remove the stickers all at once. I experienced immediate relief and within fifteen minutes, I could barely tell that I had given a hearty handshake to a thorny cactus.

In the previous chapter, the multi-layers of racialized peacebuilding became visible. Also, described were the ways that affected and racialized participants respond, adopting new norms of relating and acting judiciously while also calling participants to a larger awareness about white privilege. Affected and racialized participants also interrupt dominant notions in the movement as they renounce the idea that saving others is the primary goal of border justice, and instead change their discourse to helping and working toward structural change.

In this section, I consider socially constructed expectations, roles, and experiences of gendered participants. I study gender to understand the ways that power operates among sexed

bodies and to consider how gender and sexuality are regulated by social norms. I also study sexuality to illustrate the correlation between bodies culturally assumed to act as male or female and the false expectations of assumed differences. The border justice movement, like society, is organized by a binary gender system. The binary system attempts to regulate gender into only two categories and keep men and women separated by biology, roles, and social expectations. Gender is presumed to flow from binary sex.

Like many spaces of civil society, the border justice movement is also regulated through heterosexual norms. Heterosexual norms include the assumption that people engage in opposite-sex attraction unless proven otherwise. Heterosexuality is presumed and conversations about sexual practice, desires, and sexual orientation happen infrequently. In the border justice movement, heterosexism is evident in the norms of leadership, lack of queer visibility, and silence around sexual orientation and gender identity.

Drawing from the notion that gender informs social movement practices (Yulia, 2010), I reveal the ways that gender influences leadership structures, meeting dynamics, and a variety of humanitarian efforts and show how these norms are experienced differently depending on intersectional identities of age, race, and sexual orientation. Further, I indicate how the movement adheres to notions of cisgenderism, binary gender, and heterosexual norms. In the second part of this chapter, I explore transnational conflicts and the boundary-traversing role of movement actors who transcend divides to build a stronger peacebuilding movement.

Negotiating Gender

The border justice movement is comprised primarily of cisgender²⁶ men and women, and some individuals who identify in the Lesbian, Gay or Bisexual (LGB) community. While none of the research participants in this study identified as transgender, transgender individuals work in border justice. Individuals who identify in the LGBTQ spectrum often blur gender boundaries and resist gender norms (Stryker, Currah, & Moore, 2008).

This section, however, looks at how cisgender women, a few of whom identify in the LGBTQ community, negotiate their work or activism in patriarchal societies. Women in the border justice movement do not tell one story about gender in border justice activities but several; many stories illuminate underlying dynamics of inequality, bias, and discrimination especially in narratives of work in the desert and communication in organizational meetings. Some women claim that sexism is dead while others discuss power inequities resulting from internalized sexism and sexism embedded in institutions. Women participants talk about how they negotiate relationships and learn to speak for themselves. Some women claim that patriarchy, machismo, and male domination, characterize aspects of border justice and some women of color talk about the challenges of organizing in an environment where they hold multiple target or subordinate identities (Harro, 2000). For others, being a woman is an integral and positive influence in their border justice commitments.

Gender norms create a complex power system that women navigate in a variety of ways. A few women participants seem reticent to name their experiences as evidence of bias or discrimination since they consider sexism a relic of the past. In particular, two white, middle-age women personalize their gender experiences. Susana states that sexism happened in the past and

²⁶ Cisgender is a term created in Transgender Studies that signifies coherence between gender identity and biological sex for men and women (Johnson J. R., 2013).

that since she has learned to speak up for herself, sexist incidences do not occur. Jane explained that discrimination does not exist since there is not a division of labor in organizing efforts nor are there are separate tasks for men and women. Additionally, as Jane explained, men do not pull rank or use their authority as men to direct or control conversations, activities, or meetings. Contradicting this perspective, at a later point in the interview, Jane explained that she was aware that some younger white women decided to end their border justice involvement because of white male dominance in organizational settings. She also willingly concedes that white men are often the leaders of border justice organizing. However, from her perspective, white male leadership dominance is not evidence of discrimination or bias.

Younger white women were more likely to name discrimination and bias as a reality in border justice and, in particular, allege white male domination in a variety of organizational spaces. Jenna shared that gender bias was a frequent, frustrating experience in organizational meetings. She felt silenced in some organizational spaces. When she spoke her ideas were glossed over until a man re-phrased a particular idea and only then did such ideas became influential in discussions.

I would find myself in meetings where a close friend who would be identified as a male could basically re-phrase the same thing I said five minutes earlier that no one heard.

They could say it 10 minutes later and it's a brilliant idea or whatever and that happened a lot. That was really frustrating.

Silencing, bias, and listening more attentively to male voices, is thus one part of the gender story in border justice.

Discrimination and bias are also embedded in institutions. Juana, a middle-age woman of color, claims that philanthropic models operate in border justice movement organizations and

that sexism is a central organizing principle in such models. She explains that sexism replicates gender patterns where women do work and men report on and lead such work. To illustrate her point, she provided the example of a current border justice organization that was initiated and staffed by Mexican women that was subsequently taken over by an organization with white, male leadership. In this organizational transition, the leadership of women of color was made less visible.

Juana shares another story which illustrates how women in a patriarchal society may replicate patterns of power and control from the larger society. On several occasions, Juana visited a pregnant migrant women staying at a women's shelter as she was asked to advocate on her behalf. Juana found that advocating on behalf of this women and connecting her with resources was actually quite difficult due to the emotional environment in the shelter. Juana describes how the women running the shelter seek to control minutia, manage the relationships that women have with other migrants, and direct how advocates should relate to occupants.

Everything is under their control and they are controlling in a gender way. This is only for women and women can't talk to other men and these women are frail; they are victims and we are here to help them recover... "Please don't do any more than just to talk to her about how she is and how she is going to take care of the baby." They would actually tell me what to say. Then I said, "okay," I know enough of that gender control. Juana's words suggest that the women running this shelter see occupants as weak and as victims of a system. This understanding of women as weak and victims of powerful offenders reproduces societal gender norms. In the context of border militarization, women are conceived as victims of men (Williams, 2011). Furthermore her story reveals that the leaders of the border shelter coached Juana on how to speak to the women for whom she was asked to advocate. Juana

expresses discomfort with these patterns of what she terms gender control. She seeks to work for border justice where gender discrimination is not entrenched in organizing efforts.

Other movement participants analyze their struggle with gender relationships and gendered tasks by considering how people negotiate responsibilities. In particular, Luz underscores that gender relationships are the responsibility of all peoples—cisgender men and women as well as transgender people. As an example, Luz explained that women often back away from a central role in organizing and speaking, leaving more room for men.

We completely back away from that [speaking at the front] and so the greater community gets this narrative that there's these men that are really kind of dominating things and ... are really like the stars of the show.

She goes on to explain that women are more comfortable in the background, setting up press conferences rather than speaking and deciding how to accomplish goals. Luz recognizes that this reticence to speak, even though pursued for strategic purposes, compromises women's perspectives and knowledge. Luz clarifies that while women create the agenda and are in charge, they let men speak.

Luz' perspective illuminates various realities about gender and power in border justice activities—the existence of power-sharing and negotiation among women and men as well as women's reticence to speak publicly. She also notes that sometimes a general audience or the public receives messages better through the voice of men, especially religious men. While she does not indicate that the public hears better through the perspective of cisgender heterosexual males, this is assumed in her discourse. Inviting cisgender, heterosexual religious men to speak to the public may, at times, be a strategic choice based on societal gender norms.

Gender also plays a role in the kinds of experiences that women encounter in desert humanitarian work. The following anecdote was told by a retired white woman to explain how immigrants are vilified and dehumanized. This story also illustrates the differential gendered experience that women encounter in the borderlands. As two female humanitarians were returning to their car after leaving gallons of water on migrant trails, a white man, not affiliated with the border justice movement, approached in a vehicle. At the end of his malicious rant directed toward the women and their assistance offered to migrants, he stated vociferously, “You won’t be happy until both of you are raped by the aliens.” In this overtly sexist comment, the angry man seems to suggest that rape may be a possible outcome that will deter the women from giving assistance to what he considers a less than human form—migrants. Likely, male humanitarians are also chastised for providing assistance to migrants but the reprimand is not based on gender norms of the weak and sexualized woman. Additionally, this anti-immigrant rant stereotypes migrant men as sexualized outsiders that want to harm U.S. society.

Other desert encounters are also challenging for women. A young, white woman indicated that she stopped working with humanitarian aid in the desert as her perspective was often disregarded and she felt silenced. While she had been active in desert work, her perspective was often not considered in meetings and she felt stifled. “I was one of a handful of other relatively young females who basically just stopped participating in desert work.” Mike and Jim also reported that some women humanitarians were questioned and harassed by anti-immigrant vigilantes, Minutemen. The Minutemen organize camps in southern Arizona and other U.S. border communities for several months a year.

While women participants have violent experiences in the desert and respond to the effects of socially-constructed norms that favour men’s voices, some women focus on the

positive aspects of being female. While drawing on some common stereotypes that women are nurturers, caring, and kind, Josefina contends that being a woman is an integral part of who she is and how she approaches her work. She talks about bringing her gender to work and that she does her work as a woman listening to and relating with people whose family members have gone missing in the desert. She also indicates that she has learned a lot about being a strong, assertive woman from the other women in the organization where she works. Luz notes that passionate women at the forefront of organizing efforts are part of what drew her into movement organizing.

Colonial gender systems. The modern/colonial gender system is a construct applicable in this research. Described by Maria Lugones (2008) as integrating historical and modern concepts of race, gender, and power, a modern/colonial gender system enforces racialized and gendered expectations. Lugones (2008) contends that this framework, which earnestly draws on Quijano's coloniality of power, shows the complexity of racialized and enforced heterosexuality. Participant experience in the borderlands can be seen through Lugones' framework.

Discussing her experience in the border justice movement, Luz mentions that the ideals of white, middle class women monopolize movement activity. Moreover, for Luz, it is not only being a woman that is difficult but being a *Mexican* woman means that she is subject to discrimination. As a Mexican woman, there is another set of expectations inherited through systems of colonization which enforce racialized and gendered norms. Alejandra also considers the complications of her border justice experience owing to her identity as a Mexican woman, factors which she contends undercut her involvement. She indicates that as a relatively new social movement actor, a woman for whom many expectations exist, and a Mexican woman with

expectations from a colonial system, she has found it difficult to fully participate in organizing efforts.

A compounding dynamic of an enforced modern/colonial gender system can also be seen in power dynamics between white males and racialized migrants. Nica describes how deplorable it is that powerful white males attempt to speak for others, especially “voiceless” migrants. When white men speak for people whose experiences, as racialized men or women, are radically different, they can only partially know the experience of which they are speaking and fail to capture nuances. At the same time, white men are neglecting the agency of migrants to speak for themselves. Colonial gender ideals are at play when white men attempt to speak for others.

Heterosexual norms. Heterosexual norms are visible in many aspects of organizing. Margaret explains that she did not seriously consider the impact of male leadership and, by extension, heterosexual norms until she recognized that men had supports to allow them to continue their border justice involvement while raising a family. She speaks of the recognition that male border justice leaders have wives and partners to act as primary caregivers for their children and, as a woman, she did not have such supports:

There is no way that I could have been Executive Director with a new child and be able to operate at the level that I expect of myself and also at the level of my peers who are mostly all men who have spouses that take care of their children.

As male leaders receive social supports to raise a family and work in border justice, male leaders also receive power from other socially-constructed norms. Men are often afforded expert and legitimate power and given opportunities to speak because of their presumed capacities (Carli, 1999). Furthermore, male leadership is so commonplace that it is not questioned. As Margaret indicates, “It [male leadership] is one of those things that is accepted the way that it is.”

White heterosexual men are also given credit for the array of work with which they are involved. They are praised for their involvement in humanitarian work and they are also admired by adherents and society for engaging and leading this work. Nica describes how this white male leadership phenomena functions to raise male leaders to the status of idols. As idols, they are considered leaders worthy of emulation and praise and have latitude in what they do and how their work is seen. White men as active leaders in border justice have many power currencies. This is in stark contrast to women who accrue less power currencies and accolades for their work.

While men are praised for their work, there is some room for more diverse voices to gain power and influence. Participants in the border justice movement want more diverse voices represented. Luz speaks about creating more spaces for such diversity which seems to require men to be quieter.

It's not about silencing men but about allowing spaces for women's voices to come in and other voices, LGBTQ, and migrant women, women of color, woman of non-color just starting to build that.

She wants more participation and active leadership for women, LGBTQ folks, and people of color.

One participant has experienced some affirmation as an LGBTQ person in the movement. Kelly, a young white clergy woman, who is also part of the LGBTQ community, indicates that she is respected and her voice is considered important. She considers being a woman an asset in her work. She also notes that being young and gay has given her opportunities to speak. She explains that white heterosexual border justice activists like young gay people.

So like if they [social movement organization] are organizing a rally and they can get the young, queer woman up there, then they will feel better about themselves in certain populations of people.

Gay people are invited to speak in rallies not just because they are gay and may have an interesting perspective, but Kelly suggests they are invited so that heterosexual activists feel better about themselves for inviting diverse participation. While this has felt acceptable for Kelly, such invitations to young gay people are also acts of tokenism. Utilizing gay speakers is a subtle yet tokenizing attempt to recognize the diversity of participants in border justice and their varied identities.

While the border justice movement is composed of people with a variety of identities, there are many barriers to successful participation due to dominant social norms. Silencing occurs about topics of gender identity. While there is some conversation about varying degrees of visibility and power between cisgender females, cisgender males, and transgender people, topics of gender identity are silenced. Young, gay people are invited to speak to show a public face not to fully integrate into movement leadership.

Transnational Peacebuilding

In the borderlands, transnational actors and organizations respond to injustice and violence and face many different types of transnational challenges. Organizational and individual actors stumble and, at times, traverse such boundaries, building horizontal relationships with grassroots actors on both sides. In this section, transnational conflicts are explored in order to consider the work of actors able to transcend borders.

In order to consider how actors traverse boundaries, I assess the divisions and barriers affecting relationship and peacebuilding efforts in the borderlands. I suggest that participants'

cross-border knowledge, language skills, cultural competency, and particular border justice role affect the ability of actors to navigate boundaries and work through transnational conflicts.

Ultimately, I contend that transboundary entrepreneurs fortify transnational border justice work and their roles need to be enhanced for developing the potentiality of peacebuilding in the border justice movement.

Challenges and conflicts

Transnational participants encounter conflicts and challenges that are unique to transnational settings. In an innovative publication documenting the challenges of cross-border collaborations among nongovernmental organizations in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, Staudt and Coronado (2002) noted institutional, economic, linguistic, cultural, and political barriers. Bandy and Smith (2004) also identify differences which make transnational organizations difficult to manage including: power differentials, wealth, ideology, culture, strategy, and organizational arrangements. In this study, participants noted similar challenges including contrasting cultural values and different understandings of bi-national work and strategies.

Cultural values and perceptions about work differ across borders. There are different ways of organizing and convening work. In Mexico, relationships are paramount to getting work done and building relationships through conversation, meals, and chit-chat are vital tasks that require time. In the United States, while relationships are important, organizations operate through agendas, meetings, and group decision-making processes.

As Alejandra notes, there are different understandings of partnership, autonomy, and empowerment in the United States and Mexico. Several participants noted that it is difficult, slow work to build relationships with local people and to integrate them into ongoing work. As

Juana notes, locals are not always interested in work when the people involved are from out-of-town or they are only working temporarily.

One set of complications arises from cross-border partnerships in which mostly white U.S. volunteers are placed in Mexico to partner with Mexican organizations. Marco elaborates on the difficulties of high turnover and short-term culture shock for these U.S. volunteers in Mexico. He notes that workers often have difficulty understanding Mexican customs and struggle to acclimatize. On several occasions, Marcos has had to intervene in emergency situations caused by these tense dynamics.

Another compounding dynamic in borderlands work is the lack of local participants in Nogales-based work. Both Marco and Juana find this situation troubling. Marco contends that a large group of outsiders conceive of problems differently when they are not familiar with the context.

In Nogales, there are very few people that are working with us. They are all outsiders. I think this is a foundational problem. There are groups that exist already and they are not growing.

Marcos seems to indicate that groups could have more of an impact if they had more people from the local area. Instead of constantly re-generating with new volunteers, he would like to stabilize work with a dependable base of workers and volunteers.

History also plays an important role in defining how organizations relate and operate. Alejandra notes that some bi-national, cross-border organizations have paternalistic histories. Some organizations have learned to relate to their partners in ways that make it difficult to create parity. While she remarks that her organization and their partner organization in Mexico have similar goals, they are separated by different ways of interacting.

We do have a goal in common which is to build healthier communities, build bridges of understanding but very different perceptions and ways of acting so there has to be some knowledge, presentation of ourselves that I don't think is being done properly over the 25 years of this work on the border.

Alejandra surmises that history has replicated damaging patterns for a quarter of a century. In addition to different conceptions, damaging patterns make it difficult to create healthy relationships.

While some organizations or coalitions are entrenched in bi-national relationships, other U.S.-based actors fear collaboration with Mexican agencies. Margaret remarks that she worries that strong cross-border relationships could have a negative impact on building U.S. political leverage. Should her organization be seen to work too much with Mexican partners, their goal of increasing political power among U.S. constituents could be weakened. Margaret is also skeptical about "genuine" bi-national work, doubting the possibility of equal partnerships or shared analysis. Other participants note the challenge of bi-national partnerships where each institution has diverse goals and the structures in which the institutions are embedded are different. In this case, bi-national work is considered too challenging due to different constituencies, goals, sources of funding, and institutional structures.

One U.S.-based organization is convinced of the need to find ways to work with many different groups, even groups based in Mexico. Yet the organization struggles with such work when modes of interaction are very different. On several occasions, Mark talked about the uniqueness of his organizations' work and their distinctive placement to do such work.

We work pretty closely with a lot of groups...and you want to be on the same page and you are also doing it your own way. *Our way is much different* {emphasis added}...we have to eventually find our way with everybody.

Mark believes his organization is adaptable and must work with a variety of different organizations. At the same time, he continually emphasizes this organization's uniqueness as if it were something that should not be changed or tainted by another organization or environment. Such attitudes in cross-border organizing can both assist in developing stronger bi-national partnerships and also create difficulties.

Transnational organizing is rife with considerable conflicts about values and priorities. Cultural ways of communicating are unique and sometimes misunderstood in the context of organizations on either side of the border. Relationships between organizations in the United States and in Mexico are difficult to change after years of following the same patterns. Cultural and value conflicts are substantial issues separating people on different sides of the border.

Transnational Actors Crossing Borders

Taking into consideration the unique conflicts of transnational organizing, in this section I assess different social movement actors according to their skills and role in cross-border work. I build on the work of scholars who have previously categorized the cultural competency and border orientation of border residents. I also discuss the peacebuilding potential of the most skilled of transnational actors, the transboundary entrepreneur.

Border scholars have categorized or classified border dwellers. Martinez (1994) categorized individuals living on the border into groups with different levels of comfort and movement across the border including bi-culturalists, bi-national consumers, and commuters. Van Ham (2011) uses Martinez' categorization and places immigrant advocates in the category

of bi-culturalists (p. 76). Velasco and Contreras (2011) categorize individuals on Mexican's northern border according to their orientation to the border: as something never crossed, a backdrop, a daily event, something left behind, or an ambiguity. Yvonne Gastélum (2005) encourages participants to pay attention to their orientation to the border and to envision borderlands justice from the space of the borderland. Gastélum (2005) indicates that the social spaces in which people live are often left out of important political analysis. These characterizations are helpful starting points for considering the ways that actors orient themselves to the border and are integrated into transnational life.

In order to assess U.S. participant knowledge of cross border work and relationships, I studied three areas of expertise and interaction: participant knowledge of Mexican organizations, participant relationships with Mexican-based social movement actors, and regular participation in cross-border organizing work. I placed participants into different categories based on my assessment of these three areas.

Participant knowledge of cross-border activities varies greatly. Some participants especially those in Mexico cross the border regularly in their justice commitments and are very familiar with a plethora of initiatives on either side. Among U.S.-based participants, knowledge of Mexican-based organizations and individuals working to support migrants and/or end migrant deaths ranges from minimal to extensive.

The “transnationality” or cross-borderedness of U.S. and Mexican-based social movement actors is based on their knowledge, relationships, and work in crossing the international border. I have named the least active transnationalist actors as *locally-bounded doers*, another group with a global perspective but little experience and relationships in Sonora

as *global catalysts* and finally the extensive travellers and culturally adept as *transboundary entrepreneurs*.

Locally-bounded doers. A group of activists with limited knowledge about Mexican organizing, few cross-border relationships, and almost no travel into Mexico for activism or other reasons are locally-bounded doers. Locally-bounded doers are unfamiliar with groups that assist or relate with migrants in Mexico. They have little knowledge of Spanish and their perception of cross-border work is significantly different. They see cross border activism as being the purview of other actors. Locally-bound doers are firmly planted in the United States and approach their work through the lens of U.S. activism.

Mike and Jim are locally-bounded doers; they do not travel into Mexico. In the interview, they clarified why their work does not cross into Mexico. For one, they explained that in their humanitarian work, “It is other people’s job to go across the border; to go to the shelter.” At the same point, they wanted me to know that they do not avoid Mexico because they are fearful of Mexico but because they are not shoppers and do not like the long lines to get back into the United States. For Mike and Jim, traveling into Mexico is irrelevant as their life needs are met in the United States and there are other people who work in Mexico.

Global catalysts. Global catalysts are another set of U.S.-based participants with some knowledge and relationships in Mexico. These workers have no official tasks relating across the border. Global catalysts are somewhat aware of organizing work across the border as they can name several organizations that work with migrants in Mexico. Some global catalysts speak Spanish and understand aspects of cross border organizing. However, what ties many of these participants across the border is family and loose cross-border connections. When global catalysts cross into Mexico, they are travelling into the interior of the country or visiting family

in Sonora. The majority of their work and organizing occurs within the United States and they do not have active working relationships with organizations that are providing meals, shelter, healthcare, transportation, or advocacy regarding migrants in transit. Global catalysts do not necessarily consider organizing with Mexican counterparts regularly and yet they connect across the border. Global catalysts have a larger picture of organizing work than locally-bounded doers; they understand the importance of being in relationship with participants in Mexico; however, they do not have the organizational resources to cross the border regularly and/or do not prioritize cross-border work.

Transboundary entrepreneurs. In this conceptualization of transboundary entrepreneurs, I draw inspiration from Donatella Della Porta and Syndey Tarrow's (2005) idea of rooted cosmopolitans, important actors of transnational social activism who cross borders with ease, have multiple spaces of belonging, and flexible identities. The idea of rooted cosmopolitans is important but does not go far enough in identifying the competences needed to be successful in cross-border roles. The idea of rooted cosmopolitans also does not contemplate differences between actors living on one side of a border or another.

Transboundary entrepreneurs are individuals living on either side of the border displaying a range of competencies, relationships, and roles crossing the border. U.S.-based transboundary entrepreneurs are social movement actors with considerable knowledge, relationships, and work across the U.S.-Mexico border. They are knowledgeable about organizations and activism in Sonora; they are also familiar with a range of different Mexican organizations that are geared toward ending migrant deaths by providing meals, shelter, protection, transportation, healthcare, and advocacy for migrants in transit. Another set of knowledge that transboundary entrepreneurs possess is language skills to speak in English and Spanish. As bilingual communicators they

understand and communicate well in both dominant languages in the borderlands and subsets of Spanglish (English-Spanish combinations) as utilized by many people in the borderlands.

Transboundary entrepreneurs are also bicultural, at ease with traditions on both sides of the border. They have cultural knowledge of the nuances of working in the United States and in Mexico; they understand that accomplishing tasks on one side of the border may take a different process than on the other. In terms of relationships, transboundary entrepreneurs have collaborative relationships with many individuals that work in nongovernmental and government-sponsored organizations. They are tied into activist and humanitarian networks on both sides of the border. Lastly, they are connected organizationally in roles which make them cross the border regularly to interact with people on both sides.

Most transboundary entrepreneurs have at least one job task that requires relating on both sides. As a transboundary entrepreneur, Marco delivers humanitarian aid to an organization that provides meals for migrants returning to their home communities and reports back to humanitarian organizations in Tucson about this work. He acts as a go-between, communicating initiatives of a U.S.-based organization to a Mexican-based company and acquiring donated items for the Mexican organization. He is also in charge of assisting new U.S. volunteers in their placements with Mexican organizations. Another participant, Sol facilitates workshops in Sonora and relates with Mexican-based educational and advocacy organizations. She also raises money in the United States for Mexican-based organizations. While Marco and Sol have vital connecting roles, they do not have the same prominence as leaders in their respective organizations.

The Mexican-based research participants that I interviewed fall easily within the category of transboundary entrepreneurs. They are familiar with organizations and activism in the United

States. They are intimately aware of the work of U.S.-based organizations working to prevent migrant deaths. Whether this knowledge is due to previous collaborations with such institutions or because the perspectives and work of U.S.-based organizations are visible political projects is undetermined. All Mexican-based participants have some knowledge of English and speak Spanish fluently. They cross into the United States regularly for work and in other aspects of life including visiting family and making purchases. These transboundary entrepreneurs, a few of whom are unaffiliated with border justice organizations connect migrants with resources and provide information and assistance to recently returned individuals. These individuals are also in the process of creating, designing, and imagining other ways to respond to the needs of migrants in their communities.

Transboundary entrepreneurs based in the United States and Mexico are potential for the border justice movement. They are people that have recognized that the issues of border justice are not limited to one side of the border. Political, social, and economic changes need to occur on both sides of the border. As transboundary entrepreneurs consult and bring perspectives from one side of the border to the other, they generate ideas and cultural understanding that can help participants to comprehend worldview conflicts. They need increased prominence in border justice organizing as their perspectives are vital for connecting and lessening the prevalence of cross-border conflicts. Transboundary entrepreneurs ground their justice work in the local while also drawing connections across boundaries, important aspects to build a just peacebuilding movement.

In order to overcome barriers of cross-border collaboration, the border justice movement needs to draw on the relational capacity and knowledge of transboundary entrepreneurs who

have a unique role in peacebuilding. Transboundary entrepreneurs bridge divides and connections, two essential tasks of peacebuilding (Hansen, 2009).

Summary

As the introductory story to this section communicates, in the borderlands justice movement, sometimes we need others to show us the way and to help us see what we are missing. This is not just so we miss the hitchhiking prickly cholla, but so that the change that we envision is larger than ourselves. In this chapter, the analysis of gender and sexuality suggests that we need to learn from an array of people with varying identities. We need to consider the voices and perspectives of non-binary and non-heterosexual persons and also consider the potentiality of transboundary entrepreneurs.

Explorations of the experiences and perspectives of many border justice women participants show that there is not a single story about gender and its role in border justice. While this section explicates some distressing dynamics of gender in desert work and organizational meetings, women do not only speak of systemic bias and discrimination but recognise power-sharing, negotiation, and the positive aspects of bringing gender into their work.

This section also reveals the important role of transboundary entrepreneurs as activists who are intimately aware of organizing or activist work on both sides of the border and take on tasks to connect both sides. Transboundary entrepreneurs based in the United States and Mexico cross the border regularly in their work and create opportunities for exchange, cross-fertilization, and power-sharing in a transnational movement.

Chapter 9

Ritualistic Peacebuilding on the Migrant Trail

The precarious reality of our borderlands calls us to walk. We are a spiritually diverse, multi-cultural group who walk together on a journey of peace to remember people, friends and family who have died, others who have crossed, and people who continue to come. We bear witness to the tragedy of death and to the inhumanity in our midst. Lastly, we make this sacred journey as a community, in defiance of the borders that attempt to divide us, committed to working together for the human dignity of all peoples.

Migrant Trail Vision Statement

The Migrant Trail, a 75-mile walk between the U.S.-Mexico border and Tucson, Arizona is an intensely spiritual journey. For a week, a group of 50-60 walkers of all ages experience the beauty and insecurity of moving through desert land, dependent on our physical bodies, and each other for survival. As we remember the lives of people who have died in the desert, our mind, body, and spirit work in tandem. We work together to care for one another, putting up potty tents, filling water bottles, and bandaging nascent blisters. On the Walk we are a community that cares for one another and finds spaces to remember migrants who have died in the borderlands.

I have participated in the Migrant Trail as an organizer and walker since 2006. For several years, my commitment to the Trail was part of my paid work responsibilities as Associate for Migration and Peacebuilding with West Coast Mennonite Central Committee. Today, my dedication continues as the Migrant Trail is a significant aspect of my ongoing personal commitment to borderlands justice as well as a place of grounding for my academic studies. The Migrant Trail anchors me in meaningful relationships to the physical, emotional, and spiritual

spaces of the borderlands and to a community of emerging scholars and border justice activists. The Migrant Trail feeds me as an activist and scholar. I have come to consider this journey, not only as personally significant, but as movement-altering. On the Trail people are focused on tending to physical needs and caring for others, engaging in a practice of remembering more than helping migrants. These ways of acting foster transformative change, reminiscent of using rituals to build peace, what I am terming as ritualistic peacebuilding.

Several colleagues have recently undertaken scholarly examinations of the Migrant Trail. Abby Wheatley has written about the Migrant Trail as an autonomous political space of encounter (Wheatley, 2015). Migrant Trail organizer Kat Rodriguez (2016) has spoken about bearing witness, the act of doing and being on the Trail, as an essential component of social change. Chandra Russo (2014) studied collective identity on the Migrant Trail. While I have been influenced by conversations with these colleagues and others, I write about the trail as a spiritual journey and consider how the Migrant Trail is an example of ritualistic peacebuilding. Many aspects of the Migrant Trail meet Schirch's (2005) definition of an environment for ritual—an event occurring outside of daily life that draws on the five senses and works toward transforming perspectives. Relationship building among activists, remembering violence and death, and embracing new ways to make change are peacebuilding aspects of the Trail.

Much academic literature has expounded on the religiosity of the preceding Sanctuary Movement and contemporary border justice activists (Van Ham, 2006; 2011; Coutin, 1993; Cunningham, 1993; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2004). Many Migrant Trail participants are religious or come from religious backgrounds and partake in religious elements on the Walk. However, I am interested in aspects of spirituality on the trail. The Walk is an opportunity for activists to both be tended to and tend to other activists. The Migrant Trail is an action that disrupts the quotidian

ways of doing for, of working for, or saving migrants, as is common in other aspects of the border justice movement. For a week on the Trail, participants simply survive the Walk and remember those who have gone before them. In this walking to survive and to remember, participants create spiritual meaning in taking care of each other. Participants embrace and are embraced for who they are.

In this auto-ethnographic account of the Trail, which draws from personal narratives and experiences over the last ten years, I aim to uncover significances of the Migrant Trail as a spiritual component of remembering. I also build on the ideas of Lisa Schirch (2005) and Michele Lebaron (2002), who have written extensively about rituals and their importance in peacebuilding, as I consider how the Migrant Trail is ritualistic peacebuilding and integral to building social movement synergy.

Overview of the Walk

The Migrant Trail is a nonviolent event that bears witness to death in the borderlands. The Walk begins with a one-mile funeral march through Sásabe, Sonora, winds through the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge, and steps onto the bustling Arizona highway routes of 286 and 86 into Tucson, Arizona. Participants vary in age from children as young as seven to resilient adults in their eighties. The annual journey takes place over seven days beginning on U.S. Memorial Day. The Trail is organized by a coalition of activists and supported by humanitarian, human rights, religious, and community-based organizations. A core group of approximately fifteen walkers has participated in the event for the last decade while new walkers join each year from many parts of the United States, Canada, Mexico, and beyond. The Migrant Trail embodies nonviolent activism; participants honor and memorialize the lives of migrant people who have died crossing the border and remember migrants yet on the journey.

During the Walk, participants engage in a series of ceremonies or rituals, some lead by indigenous elders, to recognize the land, people, animals, and spirits in the Sonoran Desert. Many participants carry 2-foot white crosses as remembrances. These crosses are carefully painted with the name or sex of a migrant who has died, the date of death, and the location of the remains if known. Some crosses are marked unknown or desconocido/a depending on information available about the human remains that were found. These crosses are lovingly made and loaned to Migrant Trail walkers by a collaborating institution, the Coalición de Derechos Humanos. Additionally, each year a participating elder prayerfully creates bundles of tobacco, one bundle for each life lost in Arizona that year. Each red packet is tied together on a long red string and fastened to a plain stick. These prayer ties guide the group of walkers and many walkers lead a 1.5 mile leg with the prayer ties. Another way of remembering on the Trail is participating in a Latin American tradition of responding, “Presente” when the name of a deceased migrant is spoken aloud. From the beginning of the long line of walkers, a participant shouts out the name of a departed migrant to which we all bellow, “Presente.” Participants shout names until all the crosses have been read. Carrying crosses, following under the guise of prayer ties, and raising voices to remember migrants who have passed in the desert, are a few of the many ways that participants pray or remember migrants and their families during the weeklong walk.

On a typical day of the Trail, walkers wake at 5 a.m., pack their tents and bags into the back of a trailer, grab a cup of camp coffee and a bagel, circle up for announcements and stretching, and begin walking at 6 a.m. Participants walk in a disciplined, almost ceremonial fashion—double-file on the reserve and single-file along the highway with portions dedicated to walking quietly or silently and other periods dedicated to engaging in community practices to

read aloud the names of migrants. Every mile and a half to two miles, is “a water no stop,” where participants top-up their water bottles from large water carriers and continue walking. Every three to four miles is a full stop to use the desert facilities, refill water bottles, eat a snack, and briefly rest. Depending on the heat of the day, the support team may rig shaded rest facilities. By noon, walkers settle into a desert campsite and are served a freshly-made meal by a sponsoring organization. Daily routines vary slightly on the day we take showers and stay in a trailer park and the day we find refuge in the hospitality of a local Baptist Church and are fed by Buddhist monks. Most afternoons are filled with attempts to stay cool, rest, and meet with teams.

On the Trail, individuals are grouped into teams for undertaking tasks and for reflection. For example, the food team is responsible for preparing, serving, and cleaning up the snack table at full stops. The safety team wears bright orange vests and is responsible for keeping the group together and on the correct paths and roads. The logistics teams guides the belongings of 50+ people into trailers and unpacks the trailer every afternoon. Each team meets to reflect on the day’s events and consider how participants are coping or feeling. Team work is integral to the functioning, operation, and spiritual remembering of the Trail.

Migrant Trail participants are a diverse group. The first Migrant Trail participants were Tucson-based immigrant and border justice activists. Today participants are oftentimes immigrant justice activists but not necessarily based in Arizona. Some or most participants are familiar with the situation of border militarization and migrant deaths. Many are also students, teachers, instructors, retired persons, and faith-based activists. While participation varies from year to year, there are usually more white participants than participants of color. The age range of participants also creates interaction among various generations. The group has included children and an accompanying guardian, a walker in his early eighties, and a significant

population of elders. As noted in other parts of this dissertation, there are also a number of participants who identify with the LGBTQ community.

The Migrant Trail Tends Souls

The diversity of participants, the ethos of the Walk, the configuration of remembrance activities or a combination of all the above, motivate the creation of a caring community on the Migrant Trail. The care within this community manifests in several ways. At each rest stop, at least one person asks another individual how they are feeling and if they need anything. Often times, it is not just one concerned person who reaches out but several. A medical team member may offer to bandage feet or a participant who is riding in a support vehicle may bring snacks to the walkers as they sit in the shade resting. An ethos of care is created on the Migrant Trail.

This caring community creates space for the Migrant Trail to tend to activist spirits. Tired, unmotivated, or uninspired persons find refuge in the daily walking and in a community committed to taking care of one another. As participants are provided with meals lovingly prepared by churches, families, and other social movement groups that sponsor the Trail, they also feel the care of a wider network of people.

Taking care of the soul is not an everyday activity for involved, over-scheduled activists. On the Trail, cell phones are explicitly disallowed when walking. There are, of course, hours in the afternoon and evening when walkers escape to the confines of sun-heated tents to check their messages or update their Facebook statuses. However, when walking this lack of connection to the wider world or the world of technology frees walkers to simply walk and remember. When I walk, I am not only thinking about migrants and their journey in this land. I am thinking about myself, my state of well-being, and how I have engaged in political advocacy over the past year.

I also use time on the Migrant Trail to get caught up with important people that I see once a year. The Migrant Trail is a yearly ritual for me, a time to remember and reflect on the previous year.

For some, preparation for the journey is also part of the ritual of soul-tending. Wendy and I are two representatives from Shalom Mennonite Fellowship and we receive a special blessing before the Walk. For others, rituals prior to attending the Trail is sending out a press release, speaking on the radio, or updating their Facebook status requesting thoughts and prayers. It is an event for which participants need to be prepared physically and emotionally.

While the Migrant Trail tends souls, interpersonal conflicts are also common and the caring community on the Trail can sometimes seem less kind. Team meetings can become emotionally-heated spaces for sharing reflections and being honest about what we are experiencing. Walking in a disciplined format through a dry desert environment for several hours per day can put persons on edge and they may complain to others about their experience. Participants may snap at each other when told to bring their tent closer to camp. Conflicts erupt on the Trail, not only because the physical environment challenges the group but because the emotional or spiritual community creates new spaces to ask questions and wonder about life schematas.

The Migrant Trail as Disrupter

Living intimately in community is a challenge. In capitalist society, individuals form the core of society and in community, teams or groups are vital for accomplishing everyday tasks. The individual is as important as the group and team-work is integral. On the Trail, we survive together. In fact, no individual can carry enough gallons of water to survive a crossing without headaches and exhaustion. We need the vehicle train to bring us water and we need the Humane Borders truck to fill up our empty water bottles each night. When the environmental team

prepares and empties buckets for our personal waste, we can relieve ourselves. We are an involved community. Other people provide for us. Digging the spaces for waste is a team effort. Food is brought to us. Our work is visible to others. This is a major disruption in the way that we do everyday life; we become a community.

The Migrant Trail also disrupts my daily thinking and doing. I am focused on surviving and thinking about people who have died, and to a lesser extent on my family and my job. I am constantly trying to remember and pray for the families of individuals who have died in the desert. I pray to see beyond what I can currently see.

The group engages in rituals that help us to remember beyond ourselves. We walk in silence for certain 1.5 mile legs of the Walk. These times in silence are instances to remember, to connect with the desert land and to remember that the desert in itself is not dangerous. U.S. policy makes the desert a dangerous place to be. During the Walk, I pray a lot more than I do at any other time of the year. Every morning we say either the Migrant Trail vision (listed in the introductory vignette) or an adapted catholic prayer for the migrant. One person at the head of the line carries prayer ties and the rest of us walk behind that symbolic element. Prayers are our gift or offering on the Trail.

On the Walk, we are not providing humanitarian aid. We may assist a migrant if we come upon them, offer food and water, and/or connect them with resources if that is what they need. The group is not primarily engaged in educating walkers although the Walk is educational as conversations emerge helping participants to learn about the situation in the borderlands. Also, while this Walk could be considered awareness-raising, media efforts have yielded little in the national or international arenas.

What then is the utility of the Walk? How does or can it disrupt in a positive way? On the Trail, I have been challenged to re-think my conception of leadership, consider how my whiteness and middle class status inform my commitment to border justice, and have had to learn new ways of interacting in a desert environment. There were many points of discomfort as I engage in uncomfortable conflict on the Trail. After having a loud argument, I had to interact with this participant and find a way toward resolving our differences.

The Migrant Trail also serves as a place of healing for me. During my last year working for West Coast Mennonite Central Committee, there was a small and controversial Mennonite delegation for which I was responsible. One of the unofficial leaders of the delegation was outspoken and vocally disagreed with much of the Walk's leadership. She spoke rudely about inclusion of indigenous ceremonies on the Walk and was upset by the prominent presence of LGBTQ folks; ultimately, she felt there was little space for evangelical Christianity. As an MCC worker and Walk organizer, I was conflicted. I was also in the last few months of a four year contract with MCC and was disillusioned with MCC leadership. By participating in the Migrant Trail for years after this delegation, I have found healing. I have interacted with new MCC delegates no longer under my responsibility and for which indigenous ceremonies are appreciated. I am open about my sexuality and have found acceptance with many delegates. I am consulted by MCC delegates who want to embrace queer persons in the church. I do not think there are many places like the Migrant Trail which has honored my leadership and allowed me to become a better leader. While the Migrant Trail was a challenging place, it has also been a place of healing.

Ritualistic Peacebuilding

Schirch (2005) characterizes an environment for ritual as one that is unlike daily life, appeals to the five senses, and in partnership with others helps to alter perspectives. The Migrant Trail meets these three characteristics. The event occurs in the Sonoran Desert, a natural environment beyond the scope of daily life for most participants. Participants experience the breathtaking scenery of walking through the Buenos Aires National Wildlife Refuge, smell creosote on the way to outdoor potties, listen to the sounds of coyotes in the distance, eat specially prepared foods, and feel the give-and-take of sandy paths while walking. Lastly, the Trail is a cooperative and collaborative venture, working to transform ideas about the desert, migration, migrants, policy, and community living.

The environment of the Trail is extraordinary. Participants do daily tasks—sleeping, eating, and walking/working in a land of extremes. Each part of the day is a cooperative venture, requiring the work of others to complete what are considered in everyday life to be relatively simple and independent tasks. On the Trail, it is more complicated and tasks require others. For example for participants to fill their water bottles, participants must also be able to access the water jugs which are strapped to a trailer and must be unhooked for access. In order for those jugs to be full, water is transported daily from the city on Humane Borders water trucks. Getting a drink is not as simple as turning on the tap. This is one example of how life on the Trail is outside of the daily grind.

The initial one-mile funeral march through the town of Sásabe, Sonora is a ritual of senses that begins to transform perspectives. From the first moment that the group of Migrant Trail walkers steps across the line into Sonora, they are met with hospitality. Pick-up trucks await walkers who pile into the back for the one-mile ride to the church where a small group of Sásabe residents, Catholic nuns, and a priest serve a lunch of tamales and beans. We then enter

the simple, country church for an ecumenical blessing service before the *Padre* invites participants to the front of the church to grasp the sides of coffins representing children, women, and men who have gone missing or have died in the desert. In this somber time of remembrance, walkers clumsily clasp the hand-made wood coffins with tiny metal handles as they walk on the dusty, unpaved road to the wall separating Sásabe, Sonora from Sasabe, Arizona. This first mile of the Trail is memorable as we walk in silence and in public; it is the one time that people around us are living their normal routine and not staring from vehicles traveling at speeds above 60 miles per hour. School children gaze at the long-line of walkers, pick-up trucks amble by, and residents observe us from doorways and stores. As a group, we are also learning to walk in a single-file line, thirsting on the dryness of the desert air, and remembering people who have died. This first mile walk awakens our bodies, tugging on our legs and hearts to begin a journey.

After this first mile, we smudge and receive medicine in an indigenous blessing ceremony at the wall. Crossing back into the United States, we symbolically release our documents to walk in solidarity with those who cross outside of ports of entry and through the desert. In these rituals and symbolic gestures, the Migrant Trail arouses a desire to engage in change.

For some participants, the Migrant Trail is an initial encounter with the desert and the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. In the physical act of walking, participants alter their perspectives about the desert, the terrain that migrants traverse, and the fears and hopes that migrants carry. In the spiritual acts of remembering and being cared for, participants' ideas about community may change as we realize that alone we cannot survive in the desert. We cannot care for our own individual needs without others.

Summary

The Migrant Trail, a weeklong nonviolent event of social movement actors in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, is different from other social movement activities, protests, delivery of humanitarian aid, and visits to shelters. It is a week of symbolic action to remember migrants who have died and an opportunity to build community in the desert. The Migrant Trail is ritualistic peacebuilding in that perspectives transform as participants' senses are engaged. While the Walk is not immune to conflict, on the Migrant Trail, people practice taking care of others, disrupting the individualistic ways of everyday life for many participants.

Chapter 10

Recommendations and Conclusions

Mile 36. Brother John is sitting in the hastily created shaded tarp area, airing his tender feet during a 10-minute water and snack break. As I sit above on a comfortable seat in the sag wagon and begin to release my aching feet from my well-worn, brand-named shoes and thin socks made of synthetic fibers, I stare at his tattered sneakers. The soles are falling off and the shoes are barely stitched together; his footgear has traveled a lifetime already. Near the shabby shoes are two pairs of cotton tube socks, Brother John's attempts to protect his inflamed feet from the intensity of a 75-mile desert walk. Brother John and I have made different choices to protect ourselves. We have different means by which to accomplish our goals; yet we are walking together. We are part of a community that is walking, caring for one another in the desert, passing the time by sharing profound stories and frivolous anecdotes, traveling distances to make the change we want to see.

This research provides a forum to consider perspectives on the transnational border justice movement from people whose perspectives have not been central to popular accounts and scholarly work. Women, affected and racialized participants, and members of the LGBTQ community have profoundly shaped the border justice movement influencing the analysis provided in this dissertation. This study creates new connections in the fields of Peace and Conflict Studies and social movements and draws attention to what is currently under-theorized in peacebuilding—the importance of peacebuilder identity, how racialized power manifests and operates on multiple levels in peacebuilding activities, and the gendered nature of border peacebuilding. Secondly, this research promotes the peacebuilding work of actors, transboundary entrepreneurs whose skills, relationships, and ways of working cross distinctive cultural and

political barriers. Thirdly, this research proposes alternative ways to build peace in the borderlands through transformative rituals. Such original peacebuilding study offers distinctive contributions to construct a more cosmopolitan Peace and Conflict Studies.

Transnational social movements in the quest to create social change could gain by learning from the tools, theories, and perspectives of peacebuilding. In the following recommendations, I apply tools or learning from strategic peacebuilding to social movements and apply ideas of social movement learning to peacebuilding. The recommendations that I provide in this section are cross-fertilizations, gained from experience and in conversation with research participants.

Peacebuilding Model for the Border

Like Smith and Verdeja (2013) and Francis (2011), I want to re-politicize peace research. The larger global system and dominant ideas of war-making and militarization, influence peacebuilding possibilities on the ground. I have come to re-define peacebuilding as a political process of re-imagining and re-configuring relationships based on norms of nonviolent conflict transformation. This type of peacebuilding requires a wide array of people involved in re-thinking issues and problems, especially the ways racialized and gendered peacebuilding function. The recommendations that follow are geared around this new conceptualization of peacebuilding and provide ideas for social movement actors.

- 1. Learn different histories of the border justice movement.** Community-based organizations in Arizona and Sonora have been working for change along the border for decades. This history is not well-known among white activists and is vital to the health of the contemporary border justice movement. There is much holistic social movement learning that is needed among participants.

2. Approach the transnational border justice movement through notions of solidarity. Participants need to listen and comprehend the perspectives of affected and racialized participants, uncovering layers of white supremacy. At the same time, white peace-and-justice participants may also gain from concentrating on acting as allies, championing perspectives not under the leadership of white people. As participants recognize the contributions of other groups and campaigns and appreciate the dedication of people who have been organizing, the movement will begin to work from a version of history that is joining together in a struggle for change. The movement will be able to exclaim unpretentiously with Rebeca, “that it’s the Chicano, Mexicano, and Indigenous community that has brought forth [...] this activism.”

3. Listen to and incorporate different voices within the border justice movement especially voices of affected and racialized participants, women, and members of the LGBTQ community. A history of violent pacification has occurred in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Seeing the borderlands as a place that is violently placated provides a new lens to understand the political and economic forces that have ravaged this land historically and contemporarily. All border justice actors must understand the strength of disempowering messages of state and national politics toward indigenous peoples and Latinos while listening to their voices. Women have learned to negotiate spaces in border organizing while also feeling the constraint of white, male voices. Queer voices may find resonance in re-conceptualizing organizing strategies.

- 4. Build a strong set of relationships among border justice actors.** Strengthening resilient relationships may afford activists with ways to work together, define common goals, act as a potent community, create effective and common messages, engage in joint analysis, and sustain peacebuilding or collaborative conversations. Walking together as people with different approaches or different access to resources is important. Like the vignette that begins this section, as social movement actors, we can learn from those whose perspectives and positions are different. By participating in rituals, we can also develop stronger relationships, transform perspectives, and become more willing to recognize differences.
- 5. Attend educational events that provide participants with opportunities for cross-fertilization.** Organizations and individuals cannot work in silos; they must work in relationship and conversation with others. Cross-fertilization is needed to expand visions and learn to see from the paradigm of others. The multitude of organizations, coalitions, and movements in southern Arizona provides access to a wealth of information and meetings.
- 6. Listen to the voice and expertise of transboundary entrepreneurs.**

Transboundary entrepreneurs are social movement actors who have learned to transcend boundaries. They speak multiple languages; they consult with people on both sides of the border; and they know how to build momentum.
- 7. Create more reflective spaces for border justice actors to consider their experiences.** While meeting spaces are often used to report on organizational resources and consider strategic opportunities for involvement, some meetings

spaces are also open forums for sharing stories and ideas. Such spaces could be used to deepen understanding of racialized experiences to foment systemic understanding of the ways that whiteness functions. People may leave these spaces with new understandings of power. The Migrant Trail offers a potent opportunity for reflection, caring, disruption, transformative change, and synergy among social movement actors.

- 8. Celebrate small victories.** Annual celebrations build momentum for the ongoing work at the border. Celebrating the small victories of changed policy, of increased abilities to work as coalitions, and/or work together across borders could be another way to strengthen collaboration for the border justice movement.

Implications for Peace and Conflict Studies

In this ethnographic exploration of the transnational border justice movement in Arizona and Sonora, I uncover a breadth of organizations working to end migrant deaths. Within these organizations are participants with many different approaches. I recognize identity complexities in the various approaches that border justice participants bring to their activism and suggest that further examination and work on identity may elucidate more connections among diverse participants. Importantly, I name peacebuilding as racialized and gendered. Racialized peacebuilding occurs when the societal power of whiteness goes unchecked. Gendered peacebuilding occurs as women face powerful paradigms of patriarchy and negotiate new roles in peacebuilding endeavors. Lastly, I propose new ways of doing peacebuilding through the ritualistic components of the Migrant Trail and utilizing the skills of transboundary entrepreneurs. Throughout this analysis, the voices and perspectives of affected and racialized participants, women, and LGBTQ people are prominent.

The lessons of racialized peacebuilding are worthy of recapping. Where racialized and affected actors and their histories are forgotten or somehow invisible, racialized peacebuilding becomes a foundation. As participants engage in conversations about power and privilege; as they experience the dynamics of silencing, exclusion, tokenism and color-blindness and the harm such dynamics cause; as activists recognize the adjustment and dislocation required of people with a different cultural approach; and as timeliness, politeness, and civility are not held up as the highest virtues of relational dynamics, actors can move from spaces of racialized peacebuilding to building more equity in the processes of working for change. This departure from racialized peacebuilding requires conversations about the influence of race and racism on all participants, un-learning patterns of relating, and valorizing the voices of racialized peoples. Beginning to recognize how racialized peacebuilding functions is key to working for change.

Ritualistic peacebuilding is a force for positive change as it fosters community and can be practiced in a myriad of spaces outside of everyday life. On the Migrant Trail, walkers commit to a nonviolent endeavor to remember migrants who have died. The physically draining event in the Sonoran Desert awakens the senses and utilizes a variety of rituals and symbols to connect individuals to each other, building a community of care in a physical space of mourning.

Transboundary entrepreneurs are like the yeast leavening agents that Lederach (2005) indicates are vital for peacemaking ventures. Transboundary entrepreneurs are key in peacebuilding projects as activists that connect across lines of difference and with actors on both sides of a fortified political border and barriers of racialized peacebuilding. Even though they may act in the background, transboundary entrepreneurs that are consulted by movement leadership and given a space to provide input will strengthen relationships and increase

peacebuilding potential among loosely connected actors along the U.S.-Mexico border in Arizona and Sonora.

Future Research

Peacebuilder identity is an important element of study in social movements and Peace and Conflict Studies. Identity characteristics and experiences shape perspectives on working for change. The field of Peace and Conflict Studies needs to create more spaces to explore the ways that identities motivate and influence peacebuilders. LGBTQ peacebuilders may be quiet about their identities or may find more vocal ways to express their perspectives.

Future studies could also benefit from ethnographic studies primarily based on the Mexican side of the border in Nogales, Sonora or a more rural area of research. An ethnographer deeply rooted in Mexico and interacting with Mexican social movement actors on a daily basis would produce new ideas and insights. More research needs to attempt cross-border research with a south to north gaze.

Bibliography

ADL condemns AZ Senate invitation to "Anti-Semitic Bigot". (2012, March 8). *Arizona Jewish Post*.

Adler, Rosenfeld, Proctor, & Winder. (2012). *Interplay: The process of interpersonal communication*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2006). *Queer phenomenology: Orientations, objects, others*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Allen, B. (1998). Black womanhood and feminist standpoints. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 575-586.

Allen, J., Hammer, Z., & Kil, S. H. (2011). The Border Action Network and human rights: Community based resistance against the militarization of the U.S. Mexico border. In W. Armaline, D. Glasberg, & P. B., *Human rights in our own backyard: Injustice and resistance in the United States*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Alliance without Borders. (2016, April 18). *About us*. Retrieved from Alliance without Borders: <http://www.indigenousalliance.org/#!/about-us/c5qf>

Andreas, P. (2012). *Border games: Policing the US-Mexico divide*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands la frontera: The new mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). The homeland Aztlán/el otro México. In G. Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera* (pp. 2-13). San Francisco: Aunt Lute.

- Arizona Rural Policy Institute Center for Business Outreach. (2010). *Demographic analysis of the Tohono O'odham Nation using 2010 census and 2010 American community survey estimates*. Flagstaff: Arizona Rural Policy Institute.
- Armstrong, E., & Bernstein, M. (2008). Culture, power, and institutions: A multi-institutional politics approach to social movements. *Sociological Theory*, 74-99.
- Banaszak-Holl, J., Levitsky, S., & Zald, M. (2010). *Social movements and the transformation of American healthcare*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bandy, J., & Bickham Mendez, J. (2006). A place of their own? Women organizers in the maquilas of Nicaragua and Mexico. In H. Johnson, & P. Almeida, *Latin American social movements: Globalization, democratization and transnational networks*. Oxford: Roman and Littlefield.
- Bandy, J., & Smith, J. (2004). *Coalitions across borders: Transnational protest and the neoliberal order*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Benton-Cohen, K. (2009). *Borderline Americans: Racial division and labor war in the Arizona borderlands*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bevington, D., & Dixon, C. (2005). Movement-relevant theory: Rethinking social movement scholarship and activism. *Social Movement Studies*, 185-208.
- Blackwood, E. (2005). Transnational sexualities in one place: Indonesian readings. *Gender and Society*, 221-242.

- Boatright-Horowitz, S. L., Marraccini, M., & Harps-Logan, Y. (2012). Teaching antiracism: College students' emotional and cognitive reactions to learning about white privilege. *Journal of Black Studies*, 893-911.
- Border Action Network. (2016, April 18). *About us*. Retrieved from Border Action Network: <http://borderaction.org/about-us/>
- Burridge, A. (2009). Humanitarian aid and the production of spatial knowledge and practices in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Unpublished dissertation.
- Cabrera, N. (2014). Exposing whiteness in higher education: White male college students minimizing racism, claiming victimization, and recreating white supremacy. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 30-55.
- Cammarota, J., & Aguilera, M. (2012). 'By the time I get to Arizona': Race, language, and education in America's racist state. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 485-500.
- Carli, L. (1999). Gender, interpersonal power, and social influence. *Journal of Social Issues*, 81-99.
- Casas-Cortés, M. I., Osterweil, M., & Powell, D. E. (2008). Blurring boundaries: Recognizing knowledge-practices in the study of social movements. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 17-58.
- Chandler, D. (2010). Race, culture and civil society: Peacebuilding discourse and the understanding of difference. *Security Dialogue*, 369-390.
- Chari, S., & Donner, H. (2010). Ethnographies of activism: A critical introduction. *Cultural Dynamics*, 75-85.

- Chavez, K. R. (2011). Identifying the needs of LGBTQ immigrants and refugees in Southern Arizona. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 189-218.
- Childs, E. C. (2005). Looking behind the stereotypes of the "Angry Black Woman": An exploration of black women's responses to interracial relationships. *Gender & Society*, 544-561.
- Choudry, A., & Kapoor, D. (2010). *Learning from the ground up: Global perspectives on social movements and knowledge production*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Cohen, A. (1992). Self-conscious anthropology. In J. Okely, & H. Callaway, *Anthropology and Autobiography* (pp. 219-238). London: Routledge.
- Collins, D., & Talcott, M. (2011). A new language that speaks of change just as it steps toward it: Transnationalism, erotic justice and queer human rights praxis. *The British Sociological Association*, 576-590.
- Collins, P. H. (1998). It's all in the family: Intersections of gender, race, and nation. *Hypatia*, 62-82.
- Cook, M. L. (2011). "Humanitarian aid is never a crime:" Humanitarianism and illegality in migrant advocacy. *Law and Society Review*, 561-591.
- Cornell, S. (2015). Processes of Native nationhood: The indigenous politics of self-government. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 1-27.
- Coutin, S. B. (1993). *The culture of protest: Religious activism and the U.S. Sanctuary movement*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Crittenden, A. (1988). *Sanctuary: A story of American conscience and law in collision*. New York: Grove Press.
- Cunningham. (1995). *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande: Sanctuary and the politics of religion*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cunningham, H. (1999). The ethnography of transnational social activism: Understanding the global as local practice. *American Ethnologist*, 583-604.
- Cunningham, H. (2001). Transnational politics at the edges of sovereignty: Social movements, crossings and the state at the U.S.-Mexico border. *Global Networks*, 369-387.
- Cunningham, H. (2004). Nations rebound?: Crossing borders in a gated globe. *Identities*, 329-350.
- Davidson, M. (1988). *Convictions of the heart: Jim Corbett and the Sanctuary Movement*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Davila, A. (2012). To stop tip-toeing around race: what Arizona's battle against ethnic studies can teach academics. *Identities*, 411-417.
- Dear, J. (2013). *Why walls won't work: Repairing the US-Mexico divide*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Delay, B. (2008). *War of a thousand deserts: Indian raids and the U.S.-Mexican war*. Princeton: Yale University Press.
- della Porta, D., & Tarrow, S. (2005). *Transnational protest and global activism: People, passion and power*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Denskus, T. (2007). Peacebuilding does not build peace. *Development in Practice*, 656-662.

- Derechos Humanos. (2015, December 08). *Remembering the dead: Recovered human remains*. Retrieved from Derechos Humanos: <http://derechoshumanosaz.net/projects/missing-migrant-project/remembering-the-dead/>
- Derechos Humanos. (2016, April 18). *Missing migrant project*. Retrieved from Derechos Humanos: <http://derechoshumanosaz.net/projects/missing-migrant-project/>
- DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2002). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Diamond, L., & McDonald, J. W. (1996). *Multi-track diplomacy: A systems approach to peace*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
- DiAngelo, R., & Sensoy, Ö. (2014). Getting slammed: White depictions of race discussions as arenas of violence. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 103-128.
- Dolhinow, R. (2007). Caught in the middle: The state, NGOs, and the limits to grassroots organizing along the US-Mexico border. *Antipode*, 558-580.
- Dorsey, M. E., & Diaz-Barriga, M. (2010). Beyond surveillance and moonscapes: An alternative imaginary of the U.S.-Mexico border wall. *Visual Anthropology Review*.
- Doty, R. (2010). Autoethnography – making human connections. *Review of International Studies*, 1047-1050.
- Dufour, P., Masson, D., & Caouette, D. (2010). *Solidarities beyond borders: Transnationalizing women's movements*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Eastman, C. (2008). *Civil society on the line: Examining the relationship between media and activist groups along the Arizona/Sonora border*. Ann Arbor.

- Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An overview. *Forum Qualitative Research*, 273-290.
- Eppinga, J. (2002). *Nogales: Life and times on the frontier*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing.
- Esteves, L., Motta, S., & Cox, L. (2009). Issue two editorial: "civil society" versus social movements. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*, 1-21.
- Feagin, J. (2013). *Systemic racism: A theory of oppression*. New York: Routledge.
- Feldman, D. (2013, February 8). The fight to save Mexican-American studies in Tucson. *Counterpunch*.
- Fernández-Kelly, M. P. (1983). Mexican border industrialization, female labor force participation and migration. In M. P. Fernández-Kelly, & J. Nash, *Women, men and the international division of labour* (pp. 205-223). Albany: State University of New York.
- Fernández-Kelly, P. &. (2007). Borders for whom? The role of NAFTA in Mexico-U.S. migration. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 98-118.
- Fife, J. (2012, July 6). New Sanctuary Movement at the border can spiritually transform us. *National Catholic Reporter*.
- Flesher Fominaya, C. (2010). Collective identity in social movements: Central concepts and debates. *Sociology Compass*, 393-404.
- Francis, D. (2010). *From pacification to peacebuilding: A call to global transformation*. London: Earthscan.
- Gallagher, C. A. (2003). Color blind privilege: The social and political functions of erasing the color line in post race America. *Race, Gender & Class*.

- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means, peace and conflict, development and civilization*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gamson, W. (1991). Commitment and agency in social movements. *Sociological Forum*, 21-50.
- Garner, S. (2007). *Whiteness: An introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Gastélum, Y. A. (2005). *Borderlands and the claims of justice*. San Diego: University of Southern California.
- Gill, J. (1999). *BorderLinks: The road is made by walking*. Tucson: BorderLinks.
- Goodwin, J., & Jasper, J. (2004). *Rethinking social movements*. Lanham: Rowman & Little field.
- Gouin, R. (2009). An antiracist feminist analysis for the study of learning in social struggle. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 158-175.
- Green, L. (2011). The nobodies: Neoliberalism, violence, and migration. *Medical Anthropology*, 366-385.
- Greenberg, O. (2007). When they read what the papers say we wrote. In A. C. Robben, & J. A. Sluka, *Ethnographic fieldwork: An anthropological reader* (pp. 194-201). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Guerra, S. I. (2011). *From vaqueros to mafiosos: a community history of drug trafficking in rural South Texas*. Austin: University of Texas .
- Guidotti-Hernández, N. M. (2011). *Unspeakable violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican national imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Gutiérrez, L., Hanhardt, C. B., Joseph, M., Licona, A. C., & Soto, S. K. (2011). Nativism normativity, and neoliberalism in Arizona: Challenges inside and outside the classroom. *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy*, 123-148.
- Haddal, C. C. (2010). *Border security: Key agencies and their missions*. Washington, D.C: Congressional Research Service.
- Haines, D., & Rosenblum, E. (1999). *Illegal immigration in America: A reference handbook*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Hansen, T. (2009). Applying social network theory and analysis in the struggle for social justice. *Peace Research*, 5-10.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism of partial and the privilege. *Feminist Studies*, 575-599.
- Hardy, K., & Laszloffy, T. (2005). *Teens who hurt: Clinical interventions to break the cycle of adolescent violence*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Harro, B. (2000). The cycle of socialization. In M. Adams, R. Blumenfeld, H. W. Castaneda, M. Hackman, L. Peters, & X. Zuniga, *Readings for diversity and social justice* (pp. 15-21). New York: Routledge.
- Heider, D. (2000). *White news: Why local news programs don't cover people of color*. New York: Routledge.
- Hekman, S. (1997). Feminist standpoint theory revisited. *Signs*, 341-365.

- Herek, G. M. (2004). Beyond “Homophobia”: Thinking about sexual prejudice and stigma in the twenty-first century. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 6-24.
- Hernández, J. A. (2012). *Mexican American colonization during the nineteenth century: A history of the US-Mexico borderlands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hernandez, K. L. (2010). *Migra!: A history of the US border patrol*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hillhorst, D., & van Leeuwen, M. (2005). Grounding local peace organisations: A case study of southern Sudan. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 537.
- Hocker, J., & Wilmot, W. (2014). *Interpersonal conflict*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2004). *Religion and social justice for immigrants*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Hudig, K., & Dowling, E. (2013). Whatever happened to the counter-globalization movement? Some reflections on antagonism, vanguardism and professionalization. In A. Choudry, & D. Kapoor, *Learning from the Ground Up: Global Perspectives on Social Movements and Knowledge Production*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Humane Borders. (2015, 12 21). *Arizona OpenGIS Initiative for deceased migrants*. Retrieved from Humane Borders: <http://www.humaneborders.info/>
- Hurwitz, H., & Taylor, V. (2012). Women’s cultures and social movements in global contexts. *Sociology Compass*, 808-822.
- Hyers, L. (2010). Alternatives to silence in face-to-face encounters with everyday heterosexism: activism on the interpersonal front. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 539-65.

- Incite. (2016, 01 03). *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded Conference*. Retrieved from Incite!: <http://www.incite-national.org/page/revolution-will-not-be-funded-conference>
- Jandt, F. E. (2004). *An introduction to intercultural communication: Identities in a global community*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Jantzi, T., & Jantzi, V. (2009). Development paradigms and peacebuilding theories of change: Analysing embedded assumptions in development and peacebuilding. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 65-80.
- Jasper, J. (1997). *The art of moral protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jasper, J. (2010). Social movement theory today: Toward a theory of action? *Sociology Compass*, 965-976.
- Jasper, J. (2014). *Protest: A cultural introduction to social movements*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Jawhary, M. (2014). *Women and false choice: The truth about sexism: How to fight sexism in the workplace*. Bloomington: Balboa Press.
- Jimenez, M. (2009). *Humanitarian crisis: Migrant deaths at the U.S.-Mexico border*. San Diego: American Civil Liberties Union.
- Jiwani, Y. (2016, February 5). *Racism and the media*. Retrieved from Stop Racism and Hate Collective: <http://www.stopracism.ca/content/racism-and-media>
- Johnson, J. (2011). Mobilizing Minutewomen: Gender, cyberpower, and the new nativist movement. In A. C. Snyder, & S. P. Stobbe, *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (pp. 137-161). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

- Johnson, J. R. (2013). Cisgender privilege, intersectionality, and the criminalization of CeCe McDonald: Why intercultural communication needs transgender studies. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 135-144.
- Juris, J. S., & Khasnabish, A. (2013). *Insurgent encounters*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Juris, J., & Khasnabish, A. (2013). Introduction: Ethnography and activism within networked spaces of transnational encounter. In A. K. Jeffrey S. Juris, *Insurgent Encounters* (pp. 1-38). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kakabadse, N. K., Kouzmin, A., Kakabadse, A. K., & Savery, L. (2006). Low- and high-context communication patterns: Towards mapping cross-cultural encounters. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 3-24.
- Kearney, M. (1995). The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 547-565.
- Keashly, L., & Bryne, S. (2007). Working with ethno-political conflict: A multi-modal approach. *International Peacekeeping*, 97-120.
- Keck, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Khagram, S., & Levitt, P. (2007). *The transnational studies reader: Intersections and innovations*. London: Routledge.
- Kilgore, D. (1999). Understanding learning in social movements: A theory of collective learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 191-202.
- Kim-Puri, H. (2005). Conceptualizing gender-sexuality-state-nation: An introduction. *Gender & Society*, 137-159.

- Koopman, S. (2008). Imperialism within: Can the master's tools bring down empire? . *A Critical E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 283-307.
- Kraemer, K. (2007). Solidarity in action: Exploring the work of allies in social movements. *Peace & Change*, 20-38.
- Kriesberg, L. (1997). Social movements and global transformation. In J. Smith, C. Chatfield, & R. Pagnucco, *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Lavis, V. (2010). Multiple researcher identities: Highlighting tensions and implications for ethical practice in qualitative interviewing. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 316-331.
- Lederach, J. P. (1995). *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
- Lederach, J. P. (2005). *The moral imagination: The art and soul of building peace*. . New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lederach, J. P. (2012). The origins and evolution of infrastructures for peace: A personal reflection. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 8-13.
- Lederach, J. P., Neufeldt, R., & Culbertson, H. (2007). *Reflective peacebuilding: A planning, monitoring and learning toolkit*. Notre Dame: Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies.

- Lensmire, T., McManimon, S., Tierney, J., Lee-Nichols, M., Casey, Z., Lensmire, A., & Davis, B. (2013). McIntosh as synecdoche: How teacher education's focus on white privilege undermines antiracism. *Harvard Educational Review*, 410-432.
- Lorentzen, R. (1991). *Women in the sanctuary movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Lugones, M. (2008). The coloniality of gender. *Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise*, 1-17.
- Lynch, C. (2013). Neoliberal ethics, the humanitarian international, and practices of peacebuilding. In J. Smith, & E. Verdeja, *Globalization, social movements and peacebuilding*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Mac Ginty, R. (2008). Indigenous peace-making versus the liberal peace. *Cooperation and Conflict Journal for the Nordic International Studies Association*, 139-163.
- Mac Ginty, R. (2013). Everyday peace: The extraordinary skills of so-called 'ordinary' people. *Peace, Conflict and International Relations*.
- Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Methods, ethics, performance*. New York: Sage.
- Madison, D. S. (2011). The labor of reflexivity. *Cultural Studies & Critical Methodologies*, 129-138.
- Magaña, R. (2013). On shifting ground: The conundrums of participant observation and multi-actor ethnography in contemporary border research. In A. O'choa Leary, S. Whiteford, & C. Deeds, *Uncharted terrains: New directions in border research methodology, ethics and practice* (pp. 83-100). Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

- Mahler, S., & Pessar, P. (2001). Gendered geographies of power: Analyzing gender across transnational spaces. *Identities*, 441-459.
- Marcus, G. (1995). Ethnography in / of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 95-117.
- Marcus, G. (1998). *Ethnography through thick and thin*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Martínez, D. E., Reineke, R. C., Rubio-Goldsmith, R., Anderson, B. E., Hess, G. L., & Parks, B. O. (2013). *A continued humanitarian crisis at the border: Undocumented border crosser deaths recorded by the Pima County Medical Examiner, 1990-2012*. Tucson: Binational Migration Institute.
- Martínez, O. J. (1994). *Border people: Life and society in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political process and the development of black insurgency: 1930-1970*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- McCombs, B. (2009, July 12). O'dham increasingly drawn to drug smuggling for money. *Arizona Daily Star*.
- McCombs, B., & Volante, E. (2007, December 09). 'Deadliest migrant trail in U.S.' is right on Tucson's doorstep . *Arizona Daily Star*.
- McGuire, R. (2013). Steel walls and picket fences: Rematerializing the U.S.-Mexican border in Ambos Nogales. *American Anthropologist*, 466-480.

- McIntosh, P. (1990). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Independent School*, 31-36.
- McKinley, L. (2012). *Choque cultural in higher education*. Bibliolabs.
- Meierotto, L. (2009). *The co-evolution of nature conservation and militarization on the U.S.-Mexico border*. Ann Arbor.
- Melucci, A. (1995). The process of collective identity. *Social Movements and Culture*, 41-63.
- Mennonite Central Committee. (2013). *Sexuality and celibacy policy*. Akron: Mennonite Central Committee.
- Merry, S. E. (2005). *Human rights and gender violence: Translating human rights law into local justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Mesoamerican Working Group. (2014). *Rethinking the drug war in Central America and Mexico*. Mexico City: Mesoamerican Working Group.
- Miller, T. (2014). *Border patrol nation: Dispatches from the front line of homeland security*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.
- Mizzi, R., & Byrne, S. (2015). Queer theory and peace and conflict studies: Some critical reflections. In M. Flaherty, T. Matyók, S. Byrne, & H. Tusó, *Gender and peacebuilding: All hands required*. Lanham: Lexington.
- Mora, A. (2011). *Border dilemmas: Racial and national uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848–1912*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Morales, M., & Bejarano, C. (2009). Transnational sexual and gendered violence: An application of border sexual conquest at a Mexico-U.S. border. *Global Networks*, 420-439.

- Myers, D. (2008). Ally identity: The politically gay. In J. Reger, D. Myers, & R. Einwohner, *Identity work in social movements* (pp. 167-188). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nazario, S. (2007). *Enrique's journey*. New York: Random House.
- Nevins, J. (2007). Dying for a cup of coffee? Migrant deaths in the US-Mexico border region in a neoliberal age. *Geopolitics*, 228-247.
- Nevins, J. (2010). *Operation gatekeeper and beyond: The war on "illegals" and the remaking of the US-Mexico boundary*. New York: Routledge.
- Ngai, M. (2004). *Impossible subjects: Illegal aliens and the making of modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- No More Deaths. (2011). *A Culture of Cruelty Abuse and Impunity in Short-term U.S. Border Patrol Custody*. Tucson: No More Deaths.
- No More Deaths. (2012, March 23). *Aid stations, resource centers, shelters*. Retrieved from No More Deaths: <http://www.nomoredeaths.org/Mexico-Aid-Centers/aidstations.html>
- No More Deaths. (2016, April 25). *Civil initiative*. Retrieved from No More Deaths: <http://forms.nomoredeaths.org/about-no-more-deaths/civil-initiative/>
- Norrell, B. (2013, July 15). O'odham protest US Border Patrol disruption of sacred ceremonies July 16, 2013. *Narconews*.
- Norton School of Family and Consumer Sciences. (2012). *First thing first needs and assets report Tohono O'odham Nation regional partnership council*. Tucson: University of Arizona.

- O'Leary, A. (2006). Petit apartheid in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands: An analysis of community organization data documenting work force abuses of the undocumented. *Public Policy Forum*.
- O'Leary, A. O., Deeds, C. M., & Whiteford, S. (2013). *Uncharted terrains: New directions in border research methodology, ethics, and practice*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Olesen, T. (2005). Transnational publics: New spaces of social movement activism and the problem of global long-sightedness. *Current Sociology*, 419-440.
- Orjuela, C. (2003). Building peace in Sri Lanka: A role for civil society? *Journal of Peace Research*, 195-212.
- Orjuela, C. (2008). *The identity politics of peacebuilding: Civil society in war-torn Sri Lanka*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Otter, E., & Pine, D. (2004). *The sanctuary experience: Voices of the community*. Tucson: Aventine Press.
- Palos, A. L. (Director). (2012). *Precious knowledge* [Motion Picture].
- Pavlovich-Kochi, V., & Thompson, G. (2013). *Bi-national business linkages associated with fresh produce and production sharing: Foundations and opportunities for Nogales and Santa Cruz county*. Tucson: University of Arizona.
- Pearce, J. (2005). The international community and peacebuilding. *Development*, 41-49.
- Piekielek, J. (2009). *Public wildlands at the U.S.-Mexico border: Where conservation, migration and border enforcement collide*. Tucson: University of Arizona.

- Pink, S. (2006). *Doing visual ethnography*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Plesner, U. (2011). Studying sideways: Displacing the problem of power in research interviews with sociologists and journalists. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 471-482.
- Pleyers, G. (2013). From local ethnographies to global movement: Experience, subjectivity, and power among four alter-globalization actors. In J. Juris, & A. Khasnabish, *Insurgent encounters: Transnational activism, ethnography, and the political*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Polleta, F., & Jasper, J. (2001). Collective identity and social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 283-305.
- Pyclik, K., & Leibig, J. (2006, Fall). *Living in no man's land*. Cambridge: Cultural Survival.
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power, eurocentrism and Latin America. *Nepantla: Views from the South*, 533-580.
- Reger, J., & Myers, D. E. (2008). *Identity work in social movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Reineke, R. (2010). *Last seen alive: Desierto Arizona the missing of the U.S.-Mexico border*. Tucson: University of Arizona.
- Richmond, O. (2014). *Peace: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rinne, T., Steel, G. D., & Fairweather, J. (2011). Hofstede and Shane revisited: The role of power distance and individualism in national-level innovation success. *Cross Cultural Research*, 91-108.

- Rivera-Salgado, G. (2014). Transnational indigenous communities: The intellectual legacy of Michael Kearney. *Latin American Perspectives*, 26-46.
- Rodriguez, K. (2016, March 3). Bearing witness for meaningful change. TedX Talks. New York.
- Romo, D. (2005). *Ringside seat to a revolution: An underground cultural history of El Paso and Juárez, 1893-1923*. El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press.
- Rose, A. (2012). *Showdown in the Sonoran desert: Religion, law, and the immigration controversy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Routledge. (2013). Activists ethnography and translocal solidarity. In J. Juris, & A. Khasnabish, *Insurgent encounters: Transnational activism, ethnography, and the political*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Roy, B., Burdick, J., & Kriesberg, L. (2010). A conversation between conflict resolution and social movement scholars. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 347-368.
- Rubio Goldsmith, P. (2013). Research on oppressed communities. In A. O. O'Leary, C. M. Deeds, & S. Whiteford, *Uncharter terrains: New directions in border research methodology, ethics, and practice* (pp. 222-232). Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Rubio-Goldsmith, R., McCormick, M., Martinez, D., & Duarte, I. (2006). *The "Funnel Effect" and recovered bodies of unauthorized migrants processed by the Pima County Medical Examiner, 1990-2005*. Tucson: Binational Migration Institute.
- Russo, C. (2014). Allies forging collective identity: Embodiment and emotions on the Migrant Trail. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 19(1), 67-83.

- Scheper-Hughes, N. (1995). The primacy of the ethical: Propositions for a militant anthropology. *Current Anthropology*, 409-440.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (2007). Ire in Ireland. In A. C. Robben, & J. A. Sluka, *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader* (pp. 202-216). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Scanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1-24.
- Schirch, L. (2005). *Ritual and symbol in peacebuilding*. Oxford: Kumarian Press.
- Schirch, L. (2005). *Strategic peacebuilding*. Intercourse: Good Books.
- Scholarships A-Z. (2016, April 18). *Programs*. Retrieved from Scholarships A-Z: <http://www.scholarshipsaz.org/resources/programs/>
- Scholte, J. A. (2005). *The sources of neoliberal globalization*. Geneva: UNRISD.
- Scott, J. W. (1985). Gender: A useful category of historical analysis. *American Historical Review*, 1053-1075.
- Seif, H. (2011). "Unapologetic and unafraid": Immigrant youth come out from the shadows. In C. Flanagan, & B. Christens, *Youth civic development: Work at the cutting edge* (pp. 59-75). New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development.
- Shapira, H. (2013). *Waiting for Jose: The Minuteman's pursuit of America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sicilia, J. (2012, August 16). (J. M. Dueck-Read, Interviewer)

- Sierra Club. (2016, April 18). *Borderlands*. Retrieved from Sierra Club:
<http://www.sierraclub.org/borderlands>
- Slessarev-Jamir, H. (2011). *Prophetic activism: Progressive religious justice movements in contemporary America*. New York: New York University Press.
- Sletto, B., & Nygre, A. (2015). Unsettling neoliberal rationalities: Engaged ethnography and the meanings of responsibility in the Dominican Republic and Mexico. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 965-983.
- Smith, J., & Verdeja, E. (2013). *Globalization, social movements and peacebuilding*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Snow, D. (2001). Collective identity and expressive forms. *Irvine eScholarship Repository*.
- St. John, R. (2011). *Line in the sand: A history of the western US-Mexico Border*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stacey, J. (1988). Can there be feminist ethnography? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21-27.
- Staudt, K., & Coronado, I. (2002). *Fronteras no más: Toward social justice at the U.S.-Mexico border*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stern, A. M. (2004). Nationalism on the line: Masculinity, race and the creation of the U.S. Border Patrol, 1910-1940. In S. Truett, & E. Young, *Continental Crossroad: Remapping U.S.-Mexico borderlands history*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stryker, S., Currah, P., & Moore, L. J. (2008). Introduction: Trans-, trans, or transgender?. *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*, 11-22.

- Stuesse, A. (2010). Challenging the border patrol, human rights, and persistent inequalities: An ethnography of struggle in South Texas. *Latino Studies*, 23-47.
- Sundberg, J. (2007). Reconfiguring north-south solidarity: Critical reflections on experiences of transnational resistance. *Antipode*, 144-166.
- Sutton, B. (2011). Playful cards, serious talk: A qualitative research technique to elicit women's embodied experiences. *Qualitative Research*, 177-196.
- Taber, N. (2005). Learning how to be a woman in the Canadian Forces/unlearning it through feminism: An autoethnography of my learning journey. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 289-301.
- Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in movement: Social movements, collective action and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, S. (2005). *The new transnationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tavares, M. (2007). *Fencing out the neighbors: Legal implications of the U.S.-Mexico security fence*. Washington, DC: American University.
- Taylor, V. (1998). Feminist methodology in social movements. *North*.
- Taylor, V., & Rupp, L. (1999). Forging feminist identity in an international movement: A collective identity approach to twentieth-century feminism. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 363-386.
- Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (1992). Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization. In Morris, & Mueller, *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 104-129). New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Thapar-Björkert, S., & Henry, M. (2004). Reassessing the research relationship: Location, position and power in fieldwork accounts. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 363-381.
- The Border Network for Human Rights. (2013). *The New Ellis Island: Visions from the border for the future of America*. El Paso: The Border Network for Human Rights.
- Thompson, B. (2001). Central America peace movement. In B. Thompson, *A promise and a way of life: White antiracist activism* (pp. 235-266). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Threlkeld, M. (2014). *Politics and culture in modern America: Pan American women: U.S. internationalists and revolutionary Mexico*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From mobilization to revolution*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Truett, S., & Young, E. (2004). *Continental crossroad: Remapping U.S.-Mexico borderlands history*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Turner, F. J. (1962). *The frontier in American history*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- United States Mexico Border Health Commission. (2010). *Health disparities and the U.S.-México border: Challenges and opportunities*. El Paso: United States Mexico Border Health Commission.
- Van Ham, L. (2006). *Civil religion in Tucson immigrant advocacy groups*. Tucson: University of Arizona.

- Van Ham, L. (2011). *A common humanity: Ritual, religion, and immigrant advocacy in Tucson, Arizona*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Velasco Ortiz, M. L., & Contreras Montellano, O. F. (2011). *Mexican Voices of the border region*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Walia, H. (2013). *Undoing border imperialism*. Oakland: AK Press.
- Weber, C. (2006). *Visions of solidarity: U.S. peace activists in Nicaragua from war to women's activism and globalization*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Weissman, D. C. (2010). Global economics and their progenies theorizing femicide. In C. Bejarano, & R. Fregoso, *Terrorizing women: Feminicide in the Americas* (pp. 225-242). Chapel Hill: Duke University Press.
- Wheatley, A. (2015). *Con sangre y fuego: Mobility, autonomy and the politics of survival*. (Doctoral Dissertation).
- Whitaker, J. (2009). Mexican deaths in the Arizona desert: The culpability of migrants, humanitarian workers, governments, and businesses. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 265-376.
- Williams, J. (2011). Protection as subjugation. *City*, 414-428.
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research as ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Black Point: Fernwood.
- Ziadeh, R., & Hanieh, A. (2010). Collective approaches to activist knowledge: Experiences of the new anti-apartheid movement in Toronto. In A. Choudry, & D. Kapopr, *Learning from the ground up: Global perspectives on social movements and knowledge production* (pp. 85-100). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Appendix

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Transnational Activism: Peacebuilding and Intersectional Identities in the Border Justice Movement

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

RESEARCH PROJECT TITLE:

Transnational Activism: Peacebuilding and Intersectional Identities in the Border Justice Movement

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Jodi Read, PhD candidate in Peace and Conflict Studies, Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice, University of Manitoba.

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:

This research examines the work of individuals and organizations engaged in humanitarian and human rights work on the U.S.-Mexico border. This research seeks to understand how the international border impacts social movement activity on both sides of the border and to learn perspectives on the movement from people of color, women and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) individuals.

NATURE OF PARTICIPATION:

Participation in this study involves a one to one and a half hour interview and one follow up call regarding activities in which you engage as a humanitarian or human rights worker as well as your perspectives on said work. In case time is short, I also request the possibility of one follow-up meeting to complete the interview. The follow-up call will occur within six months of your

interview as I begin the research analysis process. I request permission to digitally record the interview. This recording will be utilized only by me for research purposes.

RISKS:

The potential risks of participation include the interview being inconvenient and emotionally fatiguing. You may pause or disengage from the project at any time without negative consequences.

REASONS TO PARTICIPATE:

The interview may be energizing and your experiences will inform the larger social movement. Also, published findings may help spread awareness of the realities of the U.S.-Mexico border and how individuals are working to create change.

DIGITAL RECORDING:

I request permission to digitally record the interview. This recording will be used by me for research purposes only.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

This research—including excerpts from interviews—will be published in my doctoral thesis and may be included in books, scholarly journals, or other types of written material. I may also speak about my findings at conferences or other public lectures in the U.S., Canada or Mexico.

Interviewees who participate in this study will remain anonymous and be asked to create a pseudonym. After the interview, I will change place names and render your interview anonymous or free of personally-identifiable information. Your transcripts and the digital recording will be destroyed when they are no longer needed for research purposes.

DEBRIEFING:

In order to create a space of dialogue about your interview and my initial analysis, I will call you within six months of the interview to discuss the emerging themes from your interview. Please indicate your Skype name, email address and/or telephone number below.

1. Participation

Yes, I wish to participate in this research project on activism in the U.S.-Mexico border as described on the previous pages.

(Signature)

(date)

2. Anonymity

Please refer to me in your research by means of a pseudonym.

(Suggested pseudonym)

3. Publications

I give Jodi Read permission to use my interview(s) in her scholarly publications.

(Signature)

(date)

(Print Name)

(date)

Your signature on this 3-page form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. You are free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation in this interview and this project.

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba's Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project, you may contact the researcher Jodi Read or the Human Ethics Secretariat at (204) 474-7122, or Dr. Jessica Senehi, Associate Director for the Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice at (204) 474-7978.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

(Participant's Signature)

(date)

(Participant's email, Skype name and/or phone number)

(Researcher's Signature)

(date)