University of Arizona

From the SelectedWorks of Scott Whiteford

2012

The Use of Social Media as a Tool for Collaborative Research on the U.S.-Mexico Border

Jeremy Slack
Scott Whiteford, *University of Arizona*
Sonia Bass
Alison Lee

The Use of Social Media as a Tool for Collaborative Research on the U.S.-Mexico Border

Jeremy Slack, Scott Whiteford,* Sonia Bass Zavala,** and Alison Elizabeth Lee****

*The University of Arizona

**Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez

***Universidad de las Américas Puebla

Abstract

This paper examines the use of social media in a large binational research project. The ongoing project includes a detailed survey of recently deported undocumented migrants in six Mexican cities. We discuss some of the challenges and successes of complex research and data management, including sampling strategies, shared methodological decision-making, coordinating sub-projects and student theses, and dealing with the ever-present challenge of drug-related violence at our field sites. This project is linked to a second ongoing project on migrant-sending communities in Puebla. After discussing the use of technology as a tool for collaborative research, we transition into a discussion of how social media is being used to challenge traditional academic outlets for our work. This involves presenting and disseminating our results in ways that contribute to a greater understanding of the social justice issues in our work, and hopefully work toward change. We then open a discussion of activist research and our desire to contribute to the field by problematizing notions of groups in collective struggle and static-bounded communities. We hope that our work with social networking and research provides a case study that explores the added benefits of communication technologies.

Resumen

Este ensayo examina el uso de los medios sociales dentro de un proyecto de investigación binacional. El proyecto incluye una encuesta detallada de migrantes indocumentados recientemente deportados a seis ciudades mexicanas. Discutimos algunos de los retos y éxitos de la investigación y el manejo de datos, incluyendo estrategias de muestreo, la toma de decisiones metodológicas compartidas, la coordinación de sub-proyectos, las tesis de estudiantes, y el reto de enfrentar la violencia asociada con el narcotráfico presente en los lugares del trabajo de campo. Este proyecto está vinculado con otro proyecto de las comunidades expulsoras de migrantes en Puebla. Después de discutir el uso de la tecnología como una herramienta para la investigación colaborativa, cuestionamos cómo se utilizan los medios sociales para debatir los destinos tradicionales de los productos académicos Esto involucra la presentación y diseminación de nuestros resultados en formas que contribuyen a un mejor entendimiento de los asuntos de la justicia social en nuestro trabajo y hacia cambios meramente necesarios. Discutimos las investigaciones activistas y nuestro deseo de contribuir en este campo por medio de problematizar las nociones de los grupos en luchas colectivas y comunidades tradicionales. Esperamos que nuestro trabajo, con los medios sociales e investigación, proporcione un estudio de caso que explore los valores agregados de las tecnologías de la comunicación.

Introduction

For several decades, pundits and critics have predicted the end of borders, envisioning a globalized world that ushers in a new era of collaboration and cooperation (Friedman 2005). Despite these proclamations and significant advancements in communication technology, as well as the explosion of social media, we have not seen significantly greater collaboration, even between partners as close as those along the U.S.-Mexico border. This is especially true in academic research. Perhaps communication technologies have taken more time to be fully integrated into the often age-restricted fields of academia. Maybe the very nature of academic collaboration needs far greater contact than is provided through online and technological resources. Whatever the cause, intense debates in recent years about the safety of working in northern Mexico have complicated research efforts and created a huge divide between Mexican and U.S. colleagues, as many institutions have banned official travel to Mexico.

We hope to take this opportunity to discuss the new opportunities that communication technologies and social media offer to academic research projects. This paper will outline our strategies to disseminate our research, provide new opportunities to expand the audience for our work, and make our findings more relevant to people looking for change. While it is still too early to analyze the results of this approach, our efforts are based on scholars' attempts to more directly engage with groups struggling for social change (Hale 2008). We will discuss this idea more fully in the second half of the paper, after we have discussed our methodology and research questions, as well as how they relate to the local contexts within which we are working.

The escalation of drug violence along the border has increased the need for communication technology in research as some people are now increasingly restricted from travelling into zones where they once freely collaborated. Through our recent collaborative experiences, not only across the border but also from east to west in Mexico, we have had to deal with numerous challenges and have relied on technology to help manage complicated and difficult research. While our use of communication technology is far from cutting edge, this paper focuses on the interplay between technology, communication, and collaboration in a context of border

3

insecurity. Our principal questions are: What is the nature of binational academic collaboration and how can it be advanced by technology? Conversely, what are the limitations of technology's role in collaboration? In order to explore these questions, we will examine the successes and failures of our recent research, developing issues stemming from a multi-site project, multi-disciplinary research, differing U.S. and Mexican academic systems, and the contemporary challenges of border violence. Technology plays a significant role in all of these areas.

The majority of our discussion will be based on our experiences collaborating along and across the U.S.-Mexico border during recently completed fieldwork that studied undocumented migration and deportation. The fieldwork took place during 2011 in Tijuana, BC; Mexicali, BC; Nogales, Sonora; Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas; and Mexico City. The research, funded by the Ford Foundation, Mexico, involved six teams of researchers conducting surveys and interviews in each city. Thirteen universities on both sides of the border worked together to study migration, security, and violence on the U.S.-Mexico border. It was a logistical challenge that involved multiple trips to each site as well as constant communication with each site to maintain coordination and ensure quality control. In addition, the project included colleagues working in two states in southern Mexico—Puebla and Oaxaca—that are the source of large migrant streams that cross the border on their way to different parts of the United States. Colleagues from the following universities collaborated on the project: Universidad de las Américas Puebla, University of Arizona, Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, San Diego State University, University of Texas at El Paso, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, Texas A & M International University, Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Universidad de Sonora, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, and Tecnológico de Oaxaca.

Counting research assistants, more than 60 people worked on the project. The central research question examined is, how can new social communication technologies enhance border research communication and collaboration? What impact does this technology make in the scholarship, policy initiatives, and dispersal of information in the two countries? To answer these questions, we have divided the paper into three sections. The first gives a detailed overview of the project and the methodological challenges and issues involved in trying to improve collaboration. The

second section presents an overview of the social media technologies we are trying to implement and what we have learned in the process. The third section examines the potential of these communication technologies for future border research and the expansion of activist academic frameworks as a way to increase the impact of research and challenge power relations.

Despite a long history of social science research on the U.S.-Mexico border, binational collaboration has not been the norm (Weaver and Downing 1976). This situation can be traced to separate educational systems, the different languages spoken in the two neighboring countries, and different research priorities for both countries. Each country has its own professional associations and distinct sets of priorities that determine promotions and tenure-like appointments. At the same time, globalization, free trade, and new communication technologies have enhanced or even necessitated collaboration. Increasingly, scholars on both sides of the border speak both languages and attend meeting on both sides of the border. Mexico's National Council on Science and Technology (CONACYT) awards scholars who publish in international journals. Organizations like the University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States (UCMEXUS) encourage joint research, and the Puentes Consortium explicitly requires collaboration. With time, these pressures and opportunities should increase the frequency and depth of international collaboration.

Migrant Border Crossing Study: (In)security and Violence on the Border

The deadly conflict being played out on the Mexico-U.S. border links the drug cartels, the Mexican government, U.S. immigration policy, and the militarization of the border. While this has impacted many scholars, activists, and journalists working along the border, it has also provided an important point of self-reflection. What is the purpose of academic research and how can we push ourselves to improve our work so that it leads to better results? This comes on the heels of extremely anti-immigrant legislation passed by Arizona and Alabama that has increased death rates for migrants in the Sonora Desert in Arizona, and the horrific massacre of 72 would-be migrants in San Fernando, Tamaulipas, in August of 2010. Even more difficult to understand, and equally important for academic research to address, is the abuse and violence occurring every day on the border, particularly with people attempting to cross into the United States. The

authors have documented many cases of robbery, kidnapping, physical abuse, rape, and manipulation by drug traffickers (Slack and Whiteford 2011).

The results of the Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS) have important policy implications for border security and migration. There is simply no academic data that quantitatively addresses the experiences of undocumented migrants in the current climate. The majority of the quantitative work on migration has been done in sending communities in central Mexico (Durand and Massey 2004; Massey, Durand, et al. 2002; Cornelius 2005; Cornelius and Lewis 2007; Massey 2011). There is often a large time lag between the migratory experiences and the interviews, which impacts the depiction of the experience. Scholars have suggested that this leads people to paint the ordeal in a more positive light (Spener 2009).

Another significant project that has addressed immigration quantitatively is the Encuesta de Migración Internacional en La Frontera (EMIF), run by the Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF). This is the only other study that conducts research at the border and focuses exclusively on deportees. However, the main focus of the EMIF is migratory flows, and the data available on human rights abuses or migratory experiences is highly limited (Secretaria de Mexico 2010). The MBCS study has taken a different approach by creating lengthy surveys that take about 45 minutes to an hour each to complete and address the many facets of violence experienced by undocumented migrants crossing the border. Additionally, in-depth interviews were conducted with many migrants to provide adequate qualitative data that can be used to fill in holes in the research and challenge the quantitative data in productive ways.

Based on the results of preliminary research in Nogales, Sonora, from 2007 through 2010, the Ford Foundation offered to support a larger study that would include more sectors of the border, with demographic and political characteristics very different from those found in the Nogales/Tucson sector. The first few years of research were instrumental in developing the survey questionnaire, leading us to ask specific questions about migrant experiences with the U.S. justice system and issues such as "fake" kidnapping and other types of extortion of migrants. We also included input from human rights organizations, lawyers, and NGOs that work with migrants in order to produce the most useful questionnaire possible. During the 2007-2010

6

period, an extended team, led by Daniel Martinez, a graduate student in the Sociology Department at the University of Arizona and a co-principal investigator of the Ford project, conducted more than 400 interviews.

In broadening the scope of the border project, we needed to incorporate more colleagues from all along the border. This type of study would be impossible without incorporating colleagues from both sides of the border from the cities where we are collecting information. In addition, it was important to include colleagues who could interview people in both the home communities of migrants in Mexico and migrants repatriated by airplanes to Mexico City. We held a two-day workshop with colleagues to decide on a timetable and methodology, and to discuss the results of the first round of data gathering in order to get as much input as possible before we selected the questions to include in the pre-test phase from January to February of 2011. While not all of the participants presently in the project attended the workshop, Mexican and U.S. colleagues who participated in the workshop played a major role in framing the project. Since that time, we have tried to cooperate with one another by exchanging information and resources, sharing data, and reflecting on the emerging comparisons.

The Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS) is the first binational attempt to obtain an overview of the abuses and violence experienced by recent border crossers who were subsequently deported; it addresses issues of banditry, violence by gender, kidnapping, extortion, physical abuse, and misconduct by authorities on both sides of the border, as well as legal misconduct in the court system and detention centers, among many other issues.

Research questions guiding the MBCS are:

1. To what degree do Mexicans encounter violence on their travels to and across the U.S.-Mexico borderlands?
2. Who is affected more by which types of violence, and how can our understanding of these abuses help protect specific populations (indigenous language speakers, women, the elderly, etc.)?
3. How do regional conditions along both sides of the border vary, and do these differences influence migrant decision-making and ultimately affect personal security?

4. What policy reforms need to be made in Mexico and the United States to reduce violence and insecurity on the border?

We recently finished data collection in all six cities and are beginning data entry and analysis. We completed more than 1200 interviews with a total of 250 questions per survey. All participants were randomly selected among people over the age of 18 staying at migrant shelters or were interviewed directly as they were being deported at ports of entry. We used a spatial sample to alternately select people from different parts of the shelter, and rotated between people sitting, standing, or on their way to public spaces such as the water cooler. We used a similar approach at ports of entry because people are forced to wait outside of the Instituto Nacional de Migración for rides to shelters or bus stations. Participants must have had at least one experience crossing into the United States without formal authorization within the past 10 years (post-9/11) and have been deported within the month previous to our interview. The questionnaire was designed to address their experiences during the last crossing and deportation, with the exception of sections about kidnapping, violence against women, and extortion, which were expanded to include previous crossing experiences.

Jeremy Slack of The University of Arizona conducted multiple site visits to each location in order to train surveyors, help establish the methodology, and provide background and context to the project. This meant two trips to Tijuana, three visits to Mexicali, four trips to Ciudad Juárez, and two trips to Nuevo Laredo, as well as bi-weekly research trips to Nogales, Sonora. Since we began interviewing in Nogales, Sonora, in 2007, we already had a significant amount of data with which to direct current research. This helped in developing our final survey instrument, but we had to adapt significantly to major variations along the border. For example, we were not aware that crossing the river in a boat or a raft, or by swimming, all carry significant price variations and therefore we had to code each as different answers. We also had to include both "fake" and "real " extortion, the former consisting of phone calls making false claims of kidnapping or having crossed someone into the U.S. and the latter being the actual crime of kidnapping. The benefit of having one person collaborating with all of the researchers was that he served as a point of contact between The University of Arizona and the other partner institutions. The point of contact had the most direct need to utilize social media and communication technology on a day-to-day basis in order to deal with issues that directly related

to specific questions about the survey, as well as other questions about literature, regional differences, and some nuanced understandings that were not captured by the survey.

Because of the impossibility of conducting quantitative research that addresses everything, especially in such a highly dynamic and complicated environment as the border, we also have a qualitative component to the research. This is in part to provide data that "generates healthy skepticism of the [quantitative] data and their categories ... that opens a space for allies to scrutinize and participate actively in pragmatic evaluations of the results" (Hale 2008). Many migrant stories involve very specific, complicated details that shed light on migration and violence. Some survey interviews were recorded, but the majority of the qualitative data came from handwritten notes that accompanied each survey, as well as documentation of the informal conversations and shelter dynamics.

These conversations were key to providing more nuanced understandings, particularly about issues that we were uncomfortable including in the survey, such as the role of drug trafficking and criminal organizations in contemporary migration. Surveys have the benefit and drawback of being very open forms of research. All of the questions are written down in black-and-white for everyone to see. This makes it easy to support claims such as, "we are interested in your experiences and how you were treated during your migratory experiences." Questions about drugs in explicit terms have the drawback of polluting this statement and could lead to problems in the field. Qualitative research, on the other hand, allows for an inductive approach to research, rather than a complicated set of survey questions designed to address the myriad experiences of individuals who may have crossed in the trunk of a car, with rented visas, or by trekking through the desert for days on end. Moreover, the addition of qualitative methods allows for individual participants to record their own data, focus on specific aspects of the experience, and write on a more flexible timeline. This is especially true when accommodating student participants' thesis and other research projects that need to be completed in an expedited manner.

It is important to note that all contexts facilitate some aspects of the research and detract from others. For example, while working along the border we have access to a high volume of people with the specific characteristics we are interested in, but we have a very short time with each person because very few people spend much time at the border, preferring to cross again or go home within a day or two. The mobility provides people with the feeling of anonymity, which is

helpful, but one is never able to build the type of rapport coveted by qualitative and ethnographic researchers. On the other hand, working in sending communities and small villages allows for return visits and follow-ups, but it is hard to find people with exactly the types of experiences we are looking for. In the following section, we highlight the differences of our experiences in rural sending communities as compared to the rich but often hectic nature of work along the border.

Research in Migrant-sending Communities in Puebla, Mexico: Comparing Experiences

Structural constraints not only confront migrants at the border; they are also members of urban and rural communities and nuclear and extended families in Mexico. A separate research team composed of anthropologists from the Universidad de las Américas Puebla and the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla have been studying the long-term impacts of migration on community and family dynamics in several peri-urban and rural communities in Puebla for almost a decade (Binford 2004; Binford and Churchill 2007; Cordero 2007; Lee 2008). Drawing on methodologies and survey instruments from the Mexican Migration Project (Durand, Massey 2004), surveys and in-depth interviews were conducted at the household level. Researchers are all based in the city of Puebla, Puebla, which makes it relatively easy to plan frequent face-to-face meetings to discuss research results and troubleshoot problems that may arise in the course of our investigations.

Our research, funded by CONACYT[1], involves a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies including surveys, interviews, and long-term participant observation in the communities. We have had the opportunity to develop rapport with community members through repeated visits over the years, spending weeks or months in the community while conducting research. Local research assistants introduce us to their network of family and friends; their public display of support for our presence and our work has greatly contributed to developing rapport. Researchers become "familiar faces" within the community, and have ample opportunity to participate in public celebrations as well as visit people in their homes. We take every opportunity to describe to participants what our research aims to study and how we will use the

---

[1] María Eugenia D'Aubeterre Buznego, "Crisis económica global y respuestas en tres comunidades de reciente migración", Proyecto CONACYT, 2008 (CB-2008-01-102222).

information that is provided to us, always insisting on the confidentiality of the information. Although there are a few people who decline to speak with the researchers, the overwhelming majority of individuals are willing participants.

Although their specific histories and economic activities vary, the communities share the fact that the vast majority of their migrants are undocumented. According to preliminary results of our ongoing investigation, 92.2 percent of migrants were undocumented on their first migration to the United States (D'Aubeterre 2012). The high rate of undocumented migration is related to the incorporation of the communities into migrant flows after the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986, which provided for the legalization of more than 2 million Mexicans. Due to their unauthorized status in the United States, these migrants, their families, and communities are profoundly impacted by the economic downturn in the United States, border security measures, and increased border violence.

International migration is a prominent feature of everyday life in these communities. Because of the lack of local employment after the 1980s and lack of opportunities within the country, households and individuals tied their hopes for survival and a dignified life to working in the United States and saving money to construct and furnish a house, fund the children's education, start a business, subsidize small-scale agriculture, and pay for the day-to-day costs of maintaining a family. This is usually achieved through extended absences from the community; because of the high costs and risks involved in border crossings, migrants' strategies generally involve working in the United States for three, four, or five years before coming back to visit their families and communities. Although not all migrants achieve their financial goals, this basic pattern of circular migration with extended stays in the United States is common to the four communities.

Since 2010, our research team has focused on the impact of the global economic crisis on the patterns of migration and the ways in which migrant and non-migrant households have adjusted to these difficult times. In the first phase of this project, we conducted household surveys in four communities in the state of Puebla: Pahuatlan (135 households), Huaquechula (130), Chautla (200), and Zapotitlán Salinas (170). These figures represent an approximately 20 percent sample of the households in each community obtained through the employment of a spatial sampling technique. The instrument used was a modified version of the Mexican Migration Project

Ethnosurvey, designed to capture basic socioeconomic and demographic information about each member of the household, recent changes in household composition, migration history, recent employment changes, and the use of remittances (Durand, Massey et al. 2004).

In the second phase of the project, we conducted semi-structured interviews with 30 migrants in each community who had returned from the United States in 2007, 2008, or 2009, a time period in which we expected to see the impact of the economic crisis on migration patterns. These individuals were identified from their responses to the questions administered in the first phase. We obtained detailed labor histories, information about reasons for migrating, reasons for returning, experiences in border crossings, and the ways in which social relationships were maintained with family members and friends back in the community of origin. The interviews lasted approximately one hour, although some individuals talked with us for several hours about their experiences.

Our preliminary results show that the majority of migrants migrate to urban areas of New York, California, and North Carolina. Migrants' unauthorized status shapes their insertion into low-wage jobs with virtually no benefits such as health care, or vacation, sick or overtime pay. Approximately 30 percent work in restaurants, 23 percent work in construction, 9 percent in unspecified services, 7 percent as general laborers, and almost 4 percent as domestic workers. The remaining individuals are spread over more than 40 different occupations.

The number of people migrating for the first time has sharply declined since 2007 in all four communities while the number of people returning has increased sharply. The higher number of returns reflects the weakening U.S. labor market; cuts in the construction industry alone eliminated jobs for tens of thousands of Mexican immigrants in 2007 (Kochar 2008). Contrary to predictions by some scholars that migrants would generally "tighten their belts" and remain in the U.S. during the crisis and analysis of census data in Mexico and the United States that noted steady or declining return rates (Alarcón et al. 2009; Rendall et al. 2011), our data suggests that increasing numbers of migrants from Puebla returned to their hometowns.
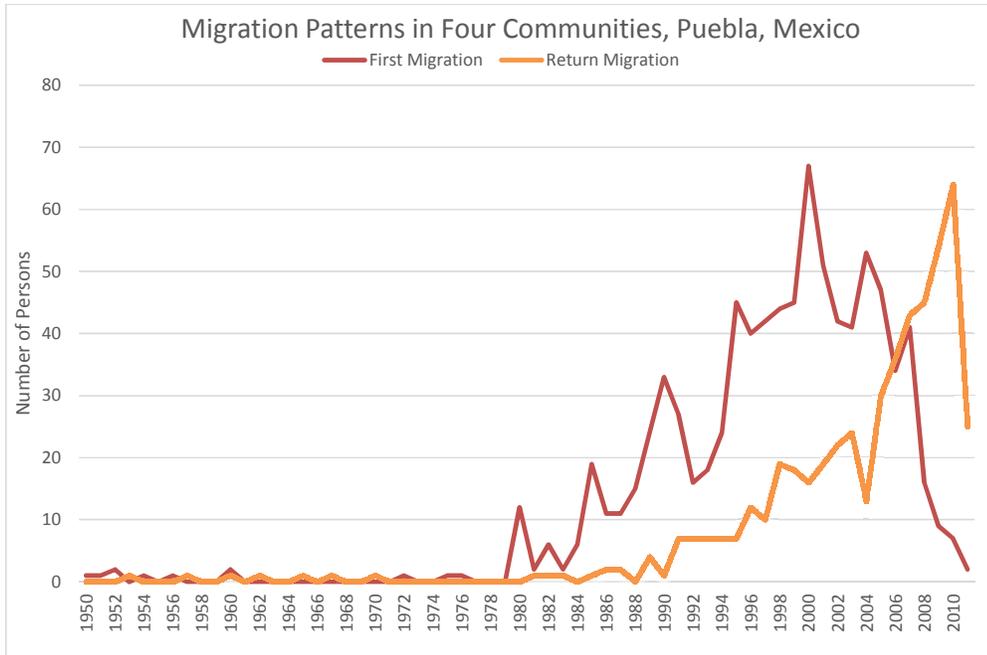
Figure 1: Migration Patterns in Four Communities, Puebla, Mexico. (Graph by Mario Macias)

The U.S. recession, and the fact that criminal organizations control, in large measure, the entry point for migrants on the border and pose unprecedented risks to migrants' psychological and physical well-being, have had the impact of a reduction in the circular travel patterns of migrants, as discussed above.

Migrants know that if they return to Mexico to visit their families, it will be very expensive and increasingly risky to cross back to the United States. However, there are those who had little choice in whether or not to return. Unemployed construction workers from Chautla found it too expensive to continue waiting in New York for work and so returned home, where they did not have to pay rent. And yet, the struggles did not end: return migrants have a hard time finding formal or informal employment back home. One unemployed construction worker from Chautla, Carlos, and his wife sold snacks to children outside the town's elementary school simply to survive. He has no hopes of continuing the construction of his house or paying off a $3,000 debt

to relatives that he acquired the last time he tried to cross the border, when he was detained for two months in Arizona by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and received a five-year deportation order. A sympathetic compatriot noted: "How much can they make from the stand? Elementary school children don't have a lot of money to spend." (6 March 2011)

Jorge, 39, returned to Zapotitlán in 2008 after construction work in New York became scarce. He had acquired some 15 years of work experience in the United States, including construction and restaurant work. Back in Mexico, he has looked for work in supermarkets and industrial plants; however, he has been denied work because he does not have a high school education. "I didn't have the opportunity to study … but I really want to work! I told my wife, you know what? I would rather migrate to the U.S. There they don't care if you didn't finish high school. What matters is that you work." His frustration is evident from the tears that roll down his cheeks. (Jorge, Zapotitlán Salinas, 10 June 2011)

The issue of returning, however, is much more complex because of border violence. In Zapotitlán Salinas, from the early 1990s to mid-2000s, residents were accustomed to making arrangements for their border crossings and journey to New York through local coyotes who accompanied them from the town, across the border, and into safe houses in Arizona. However, now local coyotes "sell" migrants to their contacts in larger criminal organizations involved in drug, arms, and human trafficking. Ana, 29, explains: "You leave Zapotitlán with the idea that the local coyote will take you across the border, but he sold us to another coyote in Agua Prieta." (Ana, Zapotitlán Salinas, 2 June 2011)

Instead of dense social networks held together by bonds of mutual trust that protect migrants as they cross through the desert, migrants sold to other coyotes experience a greater sense of vulnerability to the ubiquitous violence. Andrés, 30, attempting to cross the border and return to his restaurant job in New York, is "sold" to an organization with operations near Nogales, Sonora. Over the next six weeks, his coyotes use him as "meat," that is, a means to distract the border patrol while the organization crosses drugs and Asian migrants at a different location. "*Un Chino* is worth triple what we [Mexicans] are worth!" His money runs out while he attempts, time and time again, to cross and finally he is seriously injured running from the border patrol. He is forced to return home. "I tell my friends to take advantage of the fact that they are already in the U.S. and not to come home!" (Andrés, Zapotitlán Salinas, 19 June 2011). Violeta,

14

55, a single mother who lived in a cardboard house for 20 years with her four children explains to a border patrol officer that yes, she is willing to risk her life to build her children and grandchildren a house. "Es tanto la necesidad!" After several failed attempts and the realization that the coyotes are involved in kidnapping migrant children, she decides to return to Chautla without hope of joining her sons in New York. "I was so frightened by the experience. I will only go to the U.S. if I can get a visa. I won't walk through the desert again." (Violeta, Santo Tomás Chautla, 10 April 2011). There is a palpable sense in these sending communities that the door for opportunity is closing because of the recession and the violence, as well as the uncertainty and expense of border crossings.

Collaboration and Technology

In contrast to the experiences in rural Puebla, the MBCS team had to maintain communication with the teams conducting research. The constant flux of people as well as developments in regard to the violence and turmoil along the border create a hectic and dynamic atmosphere; it is helpful both to document these changes and provide support in adapting the methodology and requirements for research. Because of this, the teams were in constant contact with each other and the project manager. We use Google Docs to organize, scan, and analyze completed surveys; this allows us to maintain central control of data entry, but provides flexibility for cooperation and help in data analysis among different regions. We use Skype for team meetings and social media such as Facebook and Twitter to create longer-term collaborations between graduate students and younger faculty who will hopefully generate future collaborations and binational research. We also have been using these tools in conjunction with a formal website to raise awareness of the project and increase the impact of our findings.

Technological Tools and Lessons

While we, like everyone else, use technology almost every waking minute, we have selected a few specific areas where communication technology and social media have helped to integrate collaboration and reflection in a large and complicated research agenda. We have divided these

areas into three categories: research tools, collaboration and communication, and dissemination of results.

Tools for Research: iPad with TagPad

While we settled on the least technologically advanced method for data collection (a writing implement and paper),[2] we piloted some other possibilities for future research. The research team at San Diego State University (SDSU) was collaborating with individuals working on developing the TagPad app for the iPad (Bornoe et al. 2011). They programmed our 250-question survey into the application, allowing spaces for open-ended answers and precoded answers. The most intriguing function of TagPad is its ability to record audio of the interview while simultaneously answering pre-coded and open-ended answers within the structure of the survey. The audio recording is then divided according to which of the questions is being answered, allowing one to skip ahead to the audio that was being recorded while specific questions were highlighted in the application. For example, if we are asking questions about border patrol abuse, we can easily skip to this point in the audio recording because it is divided by the same structure as the survey. This allows for quick and easy coding of the audio files so that we can address specific issues, such as finding the verbatim recordings associated with people who experienced a kidnapping or abuse by the U.S. Border Patrol (USBP), for example.

We conducted test interviews with TagPad in Tijuana, but were not able to use the technology border-wide because it would have required a significant shift in our practices and having already begun the research process, it would have hindered progress. Moreover, unifying the databases would have required a significant amount of work. While the TagPad would have saved a significant amount of time in analysis, there were several drawbacks. One minor drawback that Jeremy Slack found while conducting interviews with TagPad was the inability to maintain eye contact with the subject. In addition, a technological device positioned between the interviewer and interviewee created a sense of separation, and challenges for developing a rapport. While this issue would have lessened with experience, the main concern about implementing border-wide use of iPads was a concern for the security of interviewers. Many of the shelters along the border are contentious areas where people have been released from prisons

---

[2] Although we originally used pen and paper, we did have to require people not to use pens as they caused legibility problems after scanning.

and may have a lot of need for fast cash to pay for a bus ticket back to their hometown in Mexico, or an even greater need to make money in order to pay their way back to family in the United States. Once it became known that researchers were carrying such valuable equipment, it could have created a situation where a researcher could get hurt. Moreover, as most of the shelters are only open at night, iPads provided yet another aspect of vulnerability to research that was already a point of concern among the team.

Collaboration and the New Social Media

The research teams are using Skype, Facebook, Twitter, and geographic information systems not only to enhance communication within the research network, but also to share the results of the project with a binational audience. Twitter, which has 140 million users, and Facebook with more than 510 million users, have transformed international communication. Their potential to enhance cross-border communication has not been examined. The MBCS is one of the largest binational research projects along the U.S.-Mexico border, and it is unclear if this type of collaboration would even be possible without modern communication technologies. Five binational research teams are completing more than 1000 one-hour surveys and interviews at five major border crossing locations (Tijuana/San Diego, Mexicali/El Centro, Nogales/Tucson, Ciudad Juarez/El Paso and Nuevo Laredo/Laredo).

Skype
Skype was key in maintaining contact with distinct teams. As everyone knows, there are always multiple complications that arise in the field. These issues often include questions about sampling and methodology or clarifications about the specific meaning of questions, planning conferences, a master's thesis, and how to maintain a workable timeline for research. In addition to these fairly standard concerns, we were also dealing with issues of security and potential violence.

Jeremy Slack used Skype to communicate on about a biweekly basis with team leaders in Ciudad Juarez and Nuevo Laredo, but where Skype really provided the biggest benefit was allowing us to participate in team meetings with the Tijuana team. Slack was able to participate in four team meetings in which he fielded questions and gave suggestions based both on his experience

17

conducting two field visits to Tijuana during planning phases and on the previous three years of development conducting research in Nogales, Sonora. This was useful in getting a feel for the unique challenges being faced in that city. For instance, Tijuana has a much longer history of research and therefore suffers from a bit of fatigue, having seen students researchers come and go for years. This complicated the ability to gain access. Moreover, Tijuana has the most shelters of any city, followed by Mexicali. These different shelters often compete with one another for resources, such as charitable donations and government aid. This makes it difficult to work in multiple shelters, as it casts suspicion on researchers whose often-murky roles may be misinterpreted by owners and workers as evaluators of the services they provide. Moreover, these shelters provide different types of services to groups, often leading to support that is a cross between a homeless service, drug rehabilitation center, halfway house, and migrant shelter.

Our conversations over Skype helped us understand the challenges of the city in question and brainstorm necessary modifications to the survey instrument in order to standardize the population so that it coincided with the other areas. This meant limiting the time that had elapsed since deportation in order to eliminate people who began living permanently in shelters or on the border. However, in our overzealousness, our restrictions on the amount of time since deportation were too stringent, making it too difficult to find people who fit in the sample framework. Our collaboration and communication was key in adapting to needs in the field and greatly increased the quality and quantity of the research.

We had not anticipated the value of this tool beforehand, and when we repeat this project in five years, we hope to formalize this aspect and arrange to use video conference calls in team meetings at all research sites to better communicate and provide direct feedback and contact with central organizers and teams on the ground. This was a great learning opportunity and opportunity to plan for better future research.

Facebook: Collaboration and Connections

As the most pervasive worldwide social network, Facebook has the added benefit that everyone you work with probably already uses it. Therefore, it also provides the most convenient way to communicate on a day-to-day basis. The chat function, although rudimentary, is useful because,

due to the nature of spending a lot of time working in an office in front of a computer, it can be used frequently to both say hello and to ask questions such as "what is the address to send the hard copies of the surveys?"

While we are not suggesting that one can create the type of relationship that leads to collaboration over the Internet, the use of Facebook is highly complementary to fieldwork because it is easier than ever to keep in touch with contacts and maintain friendships. The visiting scholar is no longer the only person who has the opportunity to look into someone else's life—the people being "studied" also now have at least a limited opportunity to learn more and see more than is available during typical research interactions. This by no means eliminates the anthropological dilemma of unequal power dynamics in research, but it is nonetheless a tool for providing greater equality and intimacy. Many of the researchers have developed friendships with people who participated in the project after the interview experience, as well as created stronger ties between teams of researchers from the United States and Mexico and from one city to the next. However, while Facebook is a revolutionary tool, it will never replace face-to-face interactions.

Especially in regions where cities have basically been abandoned by the outside world and stigmatized internationally as a "murder city" (Bowden and Cardona 2010), the act of showing up, participating in local events, and creating sustainable contacts is in itself a strong political statement. While it is true that new levels of caution are necessary while navigating border cities, decrees that ban research or official travel have a damning effect on binational relationships (Slack et al. 2011). However, facilitating interactions between people is not the only utility of Facebook.

We created a Facebook group to communicate with members and send out invitations to conferences, notices of publications, and new requests for proposals. While email is still the standard bearer for these types of announcements, the number of invitations to participate in conferences or to publish people receive on a daily basis can be overwhelming. Therefore, establishing a group specifically dedicated to this project helps to limit the scope of the content, allowing users to focus more specifically on the events associated with our group research rather

than on more general inquiries. It also makes it easy to check up on the project at any time, rather than searching through a mailbox for past emails. This can also be done in our open Facebook page (MBCS—Violencia y Migración, https://www.facebook.com/pages/MBCS-Violencia-y-Migracion/214057608671086). Whereas the group is limited to members who are directly involved in the project, the Facebook page is open to a general audience and serves as a forum to list open publications, public lectures, news coverage, and other forthcoming activities that might be of interest to the general public.

Our stated goal with this project is to create high profile, high quality information about violence and undocumented immigration along the border. We are not content to publish academic books and articles, although we have already begun this process and acknowledge its importance. As per the Ford Foundation's directives, high impact research is of the utmost importance when it comes to affecting policy debates. While this has normally entailed white papers, press coverage, and policy reports, we are determined to reach beyond traditional policy-oriented venues to create public awareness as well as an outcry against the tremendous abuses that we have documented. These tremendous new social media tools are seldom utilized within academia, especially because evaluations for advancement (such as tenure) do not take this type of activity into account. Funding agencies such as the Ford Foundation, however, are driving this type of innovation. In pressing grantees to create a national debate, the connections to social media become obvious. Where does academic research fit into helping build the type of momentum that contributed to the Arab Spring (Pollack 2011) and the Occupy Wall Street movement? Certainly it is hubristic or downright foolish to think that research alone can inspire a similarly sweeping impact, but why not provide relevant information that can contribute to the debates in the same places where the struggle occurs and protests are organized?

In the following section, we will discuss in more depth how we are planning to use social media to increase exposure and impact as well as contribute to more awareness of the types of problems being generated on our shared border.

Dissemination of Results

Twitter

Twitter is a social network service created in 2006 with more than 140 million users. Tweets are visible publicly but senders have the control to limit messages to a set audience. There is no charge. Because Facebook and Twitter can be closely connected, we have set up a Twitter account for our Facebook page that simultaneously publishes the information on both sites. We plan on using Twitter to send out descriptive statistics from our reports. For example, "only 30% of deportees have contact with the Mexican consulate" or "25% of migrants were robbed by bandits on their previous crossing attempts."[3] We hope that these tweets will serve to help raise awareness of the data and provide people a more accessible way of getting information that may direct them to our publications and full reports. Since we are attempting to push the boundaries of public- or policy-oriented scholarship, this is an indispensable tool and requires that we adapt our product accordingly. Twitter is most effective when the volume of tweets is high. That is why dividing a report that may be several hundred pages in length into small descriptive findings can do more than simply translate the information into an accessible, easy-to-find medium; it provides an entry point for people who are interested in learning more about MBCS and the debates surrounding migration, border violence, and drugs.

We are completely aware that the majority of our research findings will not lead to meaningful policy changes, especially in the current climate that solely focuses on security. This includes critiques on the human rights violation of deportees, which would allow the free movement of people back and forth so as to remove the incentives for human smuggling and make it easier for authorities to focus on drug trafficking, for example. Some of our findings simply reify the current debates—supporting the push to allow a path to U.S. citizenship or pass the DREAM Act or a guest worker program, as well as the ever-present dream of open borders—and therefore provide nothing new to policymakers or activists. Other more specific findings—like the discovery that rates of abuse by U.S. Border Patrol agents are much higher in the Tucson Sector than the rest of the border, or that sectors of the border that sentence people to jail time for having crossed into the United States throw away the migrants' possessions—provide specific, addressable concerns. A recommendation that people deported to dangerous northern border cities where they know no one are repatriated with documents and possessions, etc., have more

---

[3] Based on preliminary research in 2009 in Nogales, Sonora.

traction because of their specificity. (See policy recommendations later in this paper for a more in-depth discussion.) Therefore, we are using methods outside of traditional policy reports that create awareness and provide more resources to the wide-ranging activist communities that are struggling for change on innumerable levels. This can hopefully become a new avenue for activist researchers to gain further access to the public and other groups interested in their research.

Website

The MBCS project has put together a website (to date, offline) to host an overview of the project and lists of publications and reports as well as a media library. The static website will serve to establish a Web presence for the project. The initial static website will be an informational hub and can easily feature all of the following: the research project title, an introduction, research project funding, a basic overview, important articles, relevant links, downloadable pdfs with descriptive results and policy reports, biographies of all individuals involved, links, news, media coverage, and contact information. Once this site is online, updates can be made via a request from the principal investigator (PI) through an automated ticketing support system (SBS Technical Services at The University of Arizona). The static website will at least establish a presence online. Those searching the Web will learn that our project exists and can access basic information about it.

We plan to move to a dynamic website**.** The secondary stage involves converting the existing static site (such as bordertech.arizona.edu, for example) to a fully interactive website. This involves a more robust integration of server-side support and the migration of all existing content on the static site to the new upgrade. The upgrade involves adding new functionality that will allow independent researchers or personnel involved in the project to log in and update information, upload documents, post news, and create new pages at will. Extended usability will include news items, photo galleries or slide shows, researcher profiles, event listings, announcements, surveys, blogs, and more. This upgrade will allow the site to grow at any rate and become as large and as expansive as the project demands, while providing multiple users full responsibility for maintaining content.

We are currently developing a multi-media section of the project, archiving video interviews and photographic documentation of the border, shelters, and the people involved. This will highlight the individual characteristics of the people who are kind enough to open their lives and their tragedies to outsiders in the hope that their experiences will mean something. We also recently worked with CNN to produce a segment on the dangers of deportation to northern border cities where extortion and kidnapping of deportees is rampant. These additional types of media productions are important in achieving our overall goals.

By simply producing policy documents, researchers limit the impact of research to activities that can be carried out by politicians, bureaucrats, and other privileged people in positions of power. This is far too safe an approach for the type of research we are conducting and the type of change we hope to effect. We are drawing on the work of activist scholars such as Laura Pulido, Charles Hale, and Shannon Speed, to name a few (Hale 2006; Pulido 2006; Speed 2006; Hale 2008) to make a case that engaged research needs to be put in a form and context that is available to a wide range of actors with a broad set of goals in order to facilitate social change that happens from the bottom up, and not just the top down. In the next section, we would like to discuss our rationale for conducting this research.

Activist Scholarship and the MBCS: Opportunities through Technology

Social media as a form of globalization may increase both transparency and accountability. All too frequently, globalization works to increase economic and political inequality, enhancing the status quo (Whiteford and Cortez 2005). The ethical challenge of engaged social science—which involves a choice between pragmatic reforms that accept the status quo but attempt to make things "better," and a call for radical transformations—runs through activist scholarship. Some scholars have suggested an ongoing stream of moral thinking and decision-making on the part of researchers (Heyman 2009).

For the border region, fundamental reforms of national programs on both sides of the border may be required. In this context, others have found that cultural critiques are a failed exercise. Hale describes a "cultural critique" as embodying "familiar progressive desires to champion subaltern

peoples and to deconstruct the powerful … [by] research and writing in which political alignment is manifested through the content of the knowledge produced, not through the relationship established with an organized group of people in struggle" (2005). For Hale, this is a failed endeavor, and he proposes an activist framework in which "we affirm a political alignment with an organized group of people in struggle and allow dialogue with them to shape each phase of the process, from conception of the research topic to data collection to verification and dissemination of the results" (2005). While commendable for its radical and difficult paradigm shift, there are limitations to this approach as well. Namely, we ask how one engages with a group that is not organized? As is the case of undocumented immigration, there are many humanitarian and activist groups that protest and work toward immigration reform, but should we as researchers accept their political and ideological projects as our own? We tend to reject this view and take a broader, non-bounded conceptualization of community and struggle in order to address the broad range of issues and opinions set forth by people who agree to talk with us during our research.

The majority of the authors in activist scholarship, as well as other forms of engaged or social justice-oriented works, collaborate closely (if not fully integrate with existing or nascent social movements) (see Hale 2008). We hope to push the boundaries of this vein of research by associating with a non-bounded (spatially or temporarily) community that is often disparate and too afraid in the current political climate to actively participate in any sort of overt struggle. In a sense, the tools provided by social media are key in escaping this limited perspective and reaching the unbounded community of undocumented migrants. We want to reach the "1.5-generation"—the children born abroad who are struggling to find a place in the world they know, the only world many of them know. We want to gain the support of second-generation immigrants who do not understand the realities of the border but understand that, for many, there is simply no feasible way to legally migrate to the U.S.. We intend to provide reports and publications that go beyond policy recommendations. Nor do we look directly to the activist organizations such as No More Deaths, Samaritans, or Humane Borders to take up our research as a tool. We want to go beyond and speak to a non-geographical community. While many of the scholars involved in promoting activist scholarship have not yet dislodged themselves from static communities (often rural, with the notable exception of Laura Pulido), their work is inspiring in

24

that it breaks the dichotomy of "academic" versus "policy" research. We hope to further discuss the successes and failures of this approach as the project ends and we begin to use the data as a tool for change.

Conclusions

In this paper, we began by discussing how technology facilitated cross-border collaboration, provided more immediate feedback, and allowed the extra flexibility to manage a large and complicated research project. However, the most interesting opportunities that spring from technology lie in the use of new media outlets to publicize and generate a higher profile for the results of our project. There has been a constant tension between academic and public research. Academic critiques and dense theoretical discussion provide the foundation for a deep understanding of the root causes and systemic problems of inequality and violence that underlie issues such as migration. These findings, however rich and sophisticated they may be, often suffer from a lack of applicability and can fail to relate to people who are looking for ways to apply research, so are therefore rejected in certain circles. On the other hand, "policy" research works within a highly limited set of possible conclusions, making for very mundane research results; the big picture is frustratingly missing, and social inequality, poverty, structural factors and racial and ethnic divisions are ignored.

There is a constant struggle to produce academic work that takes into account the bigger picture and more nuanced findings while trying to produce social change. In this sense we are drawing from so-called activist scholars (Hale 2006; Pulido 2006; Speed 2006; Hale 2008; Speed 2008) and taking advantage of new methods of communication and social media to reach a broader audience and contribute to greater research impacts. This is precisely because our goal with this project has been to provide missing information about what is happening to people along our shared border. We are committed to using this information in every way possible to push for broader social change.

Intrinsic to this struggle is the use of technology. We outlined tools such as the TagPad and Google Docs, which can help the process of research, as well as Facebook and Skype, which provide new ways to collaborate and communicate effectively. Other tools such as Twitter and

dynamic websites can help provide new ways to access our results and create greater impacts and awareness. This is key to our overall goal of providing something of use to as many people as possible. On that note, we would like to leave with a few brief policy points.

Policy Recommendations

1. *Bi-national collaboration as well as technological and institutional support for alternative research*

a. Institutions should encourage their departments to recognize collaborative work, publications in other languages, and research for nonacademic audiences as valuable during tenure and promotion hearings.

b. Institutions should provide support for the use of technology as a tool for disseminating, creating, and raising awareness about critical research.

c. Good collaboration is long-term, requires flexibility, and is built on mutual interest and respect. It cannot be reverse-engineered and needs institutional support and recognition in order to spread on a larger scale.

2. *Undocumented Migration*

While we are proponents of a comprehensive immigration reform that would create a path to citizenship and greatly facilitate legal economic migration from Mexico, the gridlock in Washington has caused us to focus on more specific aspects of immigration enforcement. Even seemingly innocuous laws such as the DREAM Act, which would grant a path to citizenship for people who arrived in the United States as children and have finished high school and college without any legal trouble, have been deemed impossible in the current political climate. Therefore, using our data from recently deported migrants, our policy suggestions relate to specific policies, practices, and irregularities we have witnessed in our research:

a. Assure that families are deported and returned together. The separation of family members not only creates significant emotional stress, it also puts people in considerable danger. The violence on the border creates a vicious environment for people to navigate, often without any previous knowledge of border cities and with little to no money. Being alone exacerbates this situation, especially for women. Programs such as the Alien Transfer and Exit Program

(ATEP), also known as lateral repatriation, send people to different border sectors in an alleged attempt to break smuggling regimes (Government Accountability Office 2010). However, ATEP only targets men, which by default leaves any female partners stranded.

b. It is of the utmost importance that a migrant's possessions are not lost or destroyed while in U.S. custody. This is especially important in regard to Mexican documents and identification. Once deported, people must contact a friend or family member to get money for a bus ride home. If they do not have identification, they cannot receive a wire transfer or access bank funds. They are also unable to get formal employment along the border without documents. The only option many people have is to attempt another crossing because they already have a system to pay once they arrive in the U.S., because their friends or family are transferring money to a third party, or paying directly once they are in the same city or town. We have found that some border patrol sectors throw away personal possessions at much higher rates than other sectors. This is because they prosecute unauthorized entry at much higher rates and with harsher penalties. For example, in the El Paso sector, people are detained for over 30 days. In federal facilities, if no one claims an individual's belongings within 30 days, they are thrown away. This law needs to be changed in order to accommodate the realities of prisoners who cannot send someone to claim their possessions.

c. Currently, no bar on legal U.S. entry is as difficult to overcome as a prior false claim of citizenship (i.e., claiming to be a U.S. citizen to a law enforcement officer). People are deigned permanently inadmissible; while judges can waive other criminal infractions, they cannot do so in this instance (even in cases of marriage, for example). We would like to point out that the only people who get in trouble for this are people, usually young adults, who have spent the majority of their lives in the United States and know nothing of Mexico. Few people would dare to try to trick a customs official into believing they are from the United States unless they are culturally and linguistically American. We believe that this law directly targets people who are adversely affected by deportation to an extreme degree, usually finding themselves without an identity in Mexico because they left at a very young age. Moreover, this group of people should be considered at the top of the list for amnesty because of their familial and social responsibilities in the United States.

d. Our last, and perhaps most urgent point regards deportation to northeast Mexico. As is common knowledge, the high concentrations of drug-related violence along the border present a

new hazard for the nearly 500,000 annual deportees to Mexico. Pleas from the mayor of Ciudad Juárez greatly diminished the number of people deported to that hotspot of violence, largely because he blamed the migrants for the violence; other requests have not been granted. In October 2011, a group of migrants in a New Mexico detention center sent letters requesting that they not be deported to the northeast of Mexico. While it has received far less coverage than other parts of the border, Tamaulipas, and to an extent, Coahuila, has been host to one of the most brutal battles for control over the valuable passages to the north. The conflict between the paramilitary cartel Los Zetas and their former employers, the Gulf Cartel, has created a unique situation for undocumented migrants. The Zetas, with their military background, have diversified their activities away from drugs in contrast to other groups in Mexico (Garzon 2008; Ravelo 2009). This has created a particular emphasis on kidnapping, extortion, and even human trafficking, making it one of the deadliest zones on the planet for deportees. We have documented cases of kidnapping to extort a few thousand dollars for migrants because of their family contacts in the United States. The conditions are atrocious and include torture, rape, and even murder. Moreover, a disturbing number of the interviewees report escaping or mysteriously being let go, suggesting that we are not seeing the whole story. Combine this suspicion with the massacre of 72 migrants in San Fernando, Tamaulipas, in August 2010 and in 2011—almost 300 bodies were discovered in mass graves in the same area.

Despite this situation, deportations to this zone have actually increased in relation to other parts of the border (see Table 1.1). While border patrol apprehensions are still the highest in the Tucson Sector, which is adjacent to the state of Sonora, this is neither the top nor the second-most active state for repatriations, suggesting that there are about 30,000 people being selectively repatriated to Tamaulipas instead of a safer area. This is perhaps due to the growth of the Alien Transfer and Exit Program (ATEP), known colloquially as lateral repatriation. We are making a call to immediately halt ATEP to northeast Mexico and limit deportations to Tamaulipas to people who are from this area. It is of the utmost importance that people from northern border states are deported to their home states because our research confirms numerous accounts of kidnapping, interrogation, and even murder of people who are identified as enemy combatants because of their state of residence.
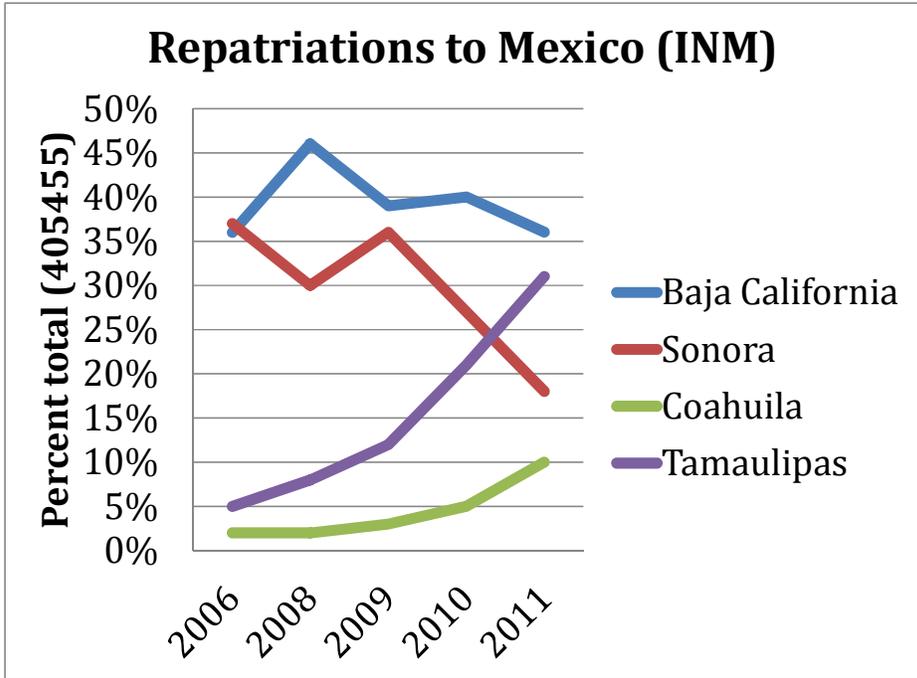
Repatriations to Mexico (INM)

Table 1.1

References

Alarcón, R., R. Cruz, A. Díaz-Bautista, G. González-König, A. Izquierdo, G. Yrizar and R.
  Zenteno. 2009. "La Crisis Financiera en Estados Unidos y Su Impacto En La Migración
  Mexicana." *Migraciones Internacionales* 5(1):193-210.

Binford, L. 2004. La Economía Política de la Migración Internacional en Puebla y Veracruz:
  Siete Estudios de Caso. Puebla, Mexico, CONACYT-ICSyH-BUAP.

Binford, L. and N. Churchill. 2007. "Stoneworkers, Masons and Maids: Neoliberal Crisis,
  Changing Social Fields and Cultural Change in Peri-urban Mexico." *Critique of
  Anthropology* 27(4): 359-75.

Binford, L. 2008. Crisis Económica Global y Respuesta en Tres Comunidades de Reciente
  Migración. Proyecto #102222, Consejo Nacional de Ciecia y Tecnología (CONACYT),
  Puebla.

Bornoe, Nis, L. Barkuus, B. Brown, and M. Hall. 2011. "TagPad for iPad: Designing a Support Tool for Interview Studies." Paper presented at the 11th Danish Human-Computer Interaction Research Symposium, November 23, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Bowden, C. and J. Cardona. 2010. *Murder City: Ciudad Juárez and the Global Economy's New Killing Fields*. New York: Nation Books.

Cordero, B. 2007. *Ser trabajador transnacional: procesos hegemónicos y transformación de clase en un circuito migratorio transnacional*. Puebla, México: ICSyH-BUAP-CONACYT.

Cornelius, W. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 775-794.

Cornelius, W. A. and J. M. Lewis. 2007. "Impacts of border enforcement on Mexican migration: the view from sending communities." Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, La Jolla, California.

D'Aubeterre, M.E. 2012. "Crisis Económica Global y Respuesta En Cuatro Comunidades de Reciente Migración," Informe Técnico 2011, CONACYT, #102222.

Denman, C., J. De Zapien, and E. Cornejo. 2004. *Working beyond borders: A handbook for transborder projects in health.* Hermosillo: Colegio de Mexico.

Durand, J., D. S. Massey, et al. 2004. *Crossing the border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Friedman, T. L. 2005. *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Garzon, J. C. 2008. "Mafia & Co.: The criminal networks in Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia." http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/Mafia and Company.pdf.

Government Accounting Office. 2010. Alien Smuggling: DHS Needs to Better Leverage Investigative Researoucres and Measure Program Performance along the Southwest Border. GAO -10-328.

Hale, C. R. 2006. "Activist Research v. Cultural Critique: Indigenous Land Rights and the Contradictions of Politically Engaged Anthropology." *Cultural Anthropology* 21(1): 96-120.

Hale, C. R. 2008. *Engaging contradictions: Theory, politics, and methods of activist scholarship*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Heyman, J. 2009. "Political-Ethical dilemmas participant observed: Difficult entanglements in politics of immigration at the border." Paper presented at the Conference on Border Research: Ethics and Methods, The University of Arizona.

Kochar, R. 2008. "Latino Labor Report, 2008: Construction Reverses Job Growth for Latinos." Washington, D.C. Pew Hispanic Center. Electronic Document, http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/88.pdf, accessed February 1, 2013.

Lee, A. 2008. "'Para Salir Adelante': The Emergence and Acceleration of International Migration in New Sending Areas of Puebla, Mexico." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 13(1): 48-78.

Massey, D. S. 2011. "Individual Decisions to Migrate During Civil Conflict." *Demography* 48(2): 401-424.

Massey, D. S., J. Durand, et al. 2002. *Beyond smoke and mirrors: Mexican immigration in an era of economic integration.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Mexico, Secretaria de et al. 2010. Encuesta sobre migración: en la Frontera Norte de Mexico, 2008. México, Secretaria de Gobernación: Consejo Nacional de Población: Instituto Nacional de Migración: Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores: Secretaria del Trabajo y Prevision Social: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

Pollack, K. M. 2011. "The Arab awakening: America and the transformation of the Middle East." fhttp://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=408108.

Pulido, L. 2006. *Black, brown, yellow, and left: Radical activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Slack, J. and S. Whiteford. 2011. "Violence and migration on the Arizona-Sonora border." *Human Organization* 70(1):11-21.

Slack, J. 2011. "Methods of Violence: Researcher Safety and Adaptability in Times of Conflict." *Practicing Anthropology* 22(1): 4.

Speed, S. 2006. "At the Crossroads of Human Rights: Towards a Critically Engaged Activist Research." *American Anthropologist* 108(1): 66-76.

Speed, S. 2008. *Rights in rebellion: Indigenous struggle and human rights in Chiapas*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Formatted: Spanish (Mexico)

Spener, D. 2009. *Clandestine crossings: Migrants and coyotes on the Texas-Mexico border*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London.

Ravelo, R. 2009. *Osiel: Vida y tragedia de un capo*. Mexico, D.F.: Grijalbo.

Rendall, M., P. Brownell and S. Kups. 2011. "Declining Return Migration From the United States to Mexico in the Late-2000s Recession: A Research Note." *Demography* 48:1049-1058.

Weaver, T. and T.D. Downing. 1976. Mexican Migration Tucson: Bureau of Ethnic Research, The University of Arizona.

Whiteford, S. and C. Cortez Lara. 2005. "Good to the last drop: the political ecology of water and health on the border." In *Globalization, water and health: Resource management in times of uncertainty*, edited by Linda Whiteford and Scott Whiteford. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.